

**Methodology Report and User's Guide for the  
ANES 2010-2012 Evaluations of Government and Society Study**

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## 1. Introduction

The ANES 2010-2012 Evaluations of Government and Society Study is a series of cross-sectional surveys of the American electorate.

This report describes the EGSS design, data collection procedures, weights, response rate, and proper analysis procedures. This edition of the report describes only the first (October 2010) survey. Later editions of the report will include descriptions of the later surveys administered in 2011 and 2012.

### *EGSS Overview*

The EGSS is a series of relatively small, short, cross-sectional studies of the American electorate. Its chief aims are to measure public opinion well in advance of the 2012 election and to pilot-test new instrumentation. Survey questions for the EGSS mainly come from the public proposal process on the ANES Online Commons. Data collection is on the Internet using nationally representative probability samples. EGSS is not a panel design; different respondents complete each survey.

### *EGSS October 2010 Survey at a glance*

Title:	ANES 2010-2012 Evaluations of Government and Society Study, October 2010 Survey
Main purpose:	To support research on the public's evaluations of the President and American government and society
Population:	The study represents U.S. citizens age 18 or older.
Sample:	Address-based and random-digit dial probability sampling.
Design:	Cross-sectional survey.
Mode:	Internet
Number of cases on the file:	1,240, of whom 1,189 completed the survey.
Number of variables:	884
Field period:	October 8 through 19, 2010
Response rate:	Estimated 2.6 percent (AAPOR RR3) or less; see section 4.
Interview length:	Median of 22 minutes
Weight:	All analyses that generalize to the population should employ weights. See section 5.
Significance testing:	Statistical significance testing should account for the complex sample design; see section 5.
Sponsors & design:	The National Science Foundation funded the study, which was designed by the ANES Principal Investigators and senior staff based on proposals submitted to the ANES Online Commons.
Data collection firm:	Knowledge Networks, Inc.
How to get the data:	Download free of charge from the ANES web site: <a href="http://www.electionstudies.org">http://www.electionstudies.org</a>

## 2. Survey Questions

The questions on the survey covered topics shown in Exhibit 1. The letter codes correspond to sections of the questionnaire. The entire questionnaire is shown in Appendix 1 of this guide.

Exhibit 1. Questionnaire topics and sections on the EGSS October 2010

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A. Turnout	T. Economic peril, housing security, peril in network
B. Vote choice	TB. Attributions of responsibility for recession
BA. Tea Party support/opposition	U. Race discrimination
BB. Divided government 1, preference	V. Ideological placement of self, parties, Obama
C. Trust in government	W. Participation
D. Interest in politics	X. News media exposure
E. Efficacy	Y. Obama evaluations (job approval)
EB. Choice/Duty to vote	Z. Gender; modern sexism
F. Generalized interpersonal trust	ZA. Condition of country
G. Emotions about what's going on in the country	ZB. Economic performance
H. Party ID	ZD. Immigration
J. Divided government 2, ranking	ZE. Tax policy
K. Attitudes toward parties, Obama, candidates	ZF. Obama birthplace
KB. Tea Party stand for, open-end	ZG. Religion
L. Roll call votes	ZH. Racial resentment
M. Knowledge of representatives' health votes	ZJ. Political knowledge
N. Economic stimulus	ZL. Afghanistan
Q. Group closeness	ZM. Employment status
R. Authoritarianism, desiderata for children	
S. Most important problem	

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### *Background/Profile information*

In addition to the topics covered on the EGSS questionnaire, background information is included for the panelists on several additional topics. Background was collected from the respondents in surveys during the previous year. These include a demographic profile (including home tenure, age, sex, age and sex of household members, parenthood status, marital status, ethnicity, race, education, employment status, occupation, income) and a 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-identification as environmentalist, and gun ownership).

### *EGSS-1 questionnaire sections*

Questions on EGSS1 are organized by topic in the modules shown above in Exhibit 1. They have three general categories of provenance: questions drawn from the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study questionnaires, questions drawn from ANES Time Series questionnaires, and questions developed specifically for the EGSS, typically as a result of

an Online Commons proposal. The rest of this section briefly describes the origins of each section of the questionnaire.

Section A, Turnout: These questions are updated versions of ANES panel questions. A4 is a new question motivated by research on probabilistic turnout questions described in Delavande and Manski (2010). The probabilistic turnout measure may be a stronger predictor of behavior than the categorical measure.

Section B, Vote Choices: These questions are repeats of ANES panel questions.

Section BA, Tea Party Support/Opposition: These questions are new to the ANES. They are the product of ideas generated by a number of proposals on the Tea Party received by the ANES through the Online Commons. These proposals included “The Tea Party Movement” by Bryce Summary and “Tea Party and Historical Protest” by David Weaver.

Section BB, Divided Government 1, Preference: This question is an updated version of an ANES panel question. A second section on divided government appears at Section J.

Section C, Trust in Government: This question is an updated version of an ANES Time Series question.

Section D, Interest in Politics: This question is a repeat of an ANES panel question.

Section E, Efficacy: This question is a repeat of an ANES panel question.

Section EB, Choice/Duty to Vote: These questions are new to the ANES. They are based upon a proposal received through the Online Commons entitled “Proposal for a New Question about Civic Duty in the ANES” by Christopher Achen. This question is designed to accurately measure respondents’ perception of duty to vote so that it may be utilized in research determining the decision to vote.

Section F, Generalized Interpersonal Trust: This question is an updated version of an ANES panel question.

Section G, Emotions: These questions are updated versions of ANES panel questions.

Section H, Party Identification: These questions are repeats of ANES Time Series questions.

Section J, Divided Government 2, Ranking: This question is an updated version of an ANES panel question.

Section K, Attitude toward Parties, Obama, Palin, Candidates: These questions are updated versions of ANES panel questions. These questions measure affect toward the parties, President, and candidates, and serve the same purpose as feeling thermometer questions that have been asked on the ANES Time Series, but with better face validity.

Section KB, Tea Party “Stands For”, open-ended: This question is new to the ANES. It is the product of ideas generated by a number of proposals on the Tea Party received by the ANES through the Online Commons. It is designed to measure respondents’ evaluation of this movement.

Section L, Roll Call Votes: These questions are new to the ANES. They are included to measure support for specific high-profile policies as well as (when used in combination with each other) to measure support for policy agendas. The questions match questions asked on the Cooperative Congressional Election Study.

Section M, Knowledge of Representatives’ Health Votes: These questions are new to the ANES. They are the product of ideas generated by a proposal received through the Online Commons entitled “Are Constituents Aware of how their Elected Representatives Voted on the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Bill?” by Lindsey Cormack.

Section N, Economic Stimulus Package: These questions are new to the ANES. They are the product of ideas generated by a proposal received through the Online Commons entitled “Stimulus Spending and Blame Attribution” by Rick Wilson and Catherine Eckel. These questions are designed to measure respondents’ evaluations of economic stimulus policies, both generally and in terms of their impact on respondents’ own communities.

Section Q, Group Closeness: These questions are updated versions of older ANES Time Series questions.

Section R, Authoritarianism Desiderata for Children: These questions are repeats of ANES Time Series questions.

Section S, Most Important Problem: These questions are updated versions of ANES Time Series questions.

Section T, Economic Peril: These questions are new to the ANES. They are included to measure respondents’ perceptions of economic stability in a time of economic recession.

Section TB, Attributions of Responsibility for the Recession: These questions are new to the ANES. Like section N, they are the product of ideas generated by a proposal received through the Online Commons entitled “Stimulus Spending and Blame Attribution” by Rick Wilson and Catherine Eckel. These questions measure the degree of responsibility for the current economic recession that respondents attribute to various individuals and groups.

Section U, Race Discrimination: This question is a repeat of an ANES panel question.

Section V, Ideological Placement of Self, Parties, Obama: These questions are updated versions of ANES Time Series questions.

Section W, Participation: These questions are updated versions of ANES Time Series questions.

Section X, News Media Exposure: This question is an updated version of an ANES panel question.

Section Y, Obama Evaluations: These questions are updated versions of ANES Time Series questions.

Section Z, Gender and Modern Sexism: These questions are new to the ANES. They are the product of ideas generated by a number of proposals on gender received by the ANES through the Online Commons. They are designed to measure respondent sexism as well as perception of candidate quality based upon gender.

Section ZA, Condition of the Country: These questions are updated versions of ANES panel questions.

Section ZB, Economic Performance: These questions are repeats of ANES panel questions.

Section ZD, Immigration: This question is a new version of ANES questions about immigration. It is included to measure respondents' basic attitude toward immigrants in the US.

Section ZE, Tax Policy: These questions are updated versions of ANES panel questions.

Section ZF, Obama Birthplace: This question is new to the ANES. It is the product of ideas generated by a number of proposals on non-mainstream and non-established political views received by the ANES through the Online Commons.

Section ZG, Religion: This question is an updated version of an ANES panel question.

Section ZH, Racial Resentment Scale: These questions are repeats of ANES panel questions.

Section ZJ, Political Knowledge: These questions are updated versions of ANES panel questions.

Section ZL, Afghanistan: This question is an updated version of an ANES panel question.

Section ZM, Employment Status: This question is a repeat of an ANES panel question.

### 3. Data Collection

#### *KnowledgePanel Sampling and Recruitment*

Participants in the EGSS were members of the Knowledge Networks KnowledgePanel. The KnowledgePanel is a large online panel of survey respondents who are invited to complete surveys several times each month on a variety of topics for a variety of investigators. Panelists are recruited using two probability sampling methods: address-based sampling (ABS) and random-digit dialing (RDD). Prospective panelists who do not have Internet access at the time of recruitment are furnished with free Internet service and free hardware to connect to the Internet.

#### *KnowledgePanel Sampling*

The following description of sampling for the KnowledgePanel is reprinted from documentation furnished by Knowledge Networks.

##### **RDD and ABS Sample Frames**

Knowledge Networks initially selects households using random digit dialing (RDD) sampling and address-based sampling (ABS) methodology. In this section, we will describe the RDD-based methodology, while the ABS methodology is described in a separate section below.

KnowledgePanel recruitment methodology uses the quality standards established by selected RDD surveys conducted for the Federal Government (such as the CDC-sponsored National Immunization Survey).

Knowledge Networks utilizes list-assisted RDD sampling techniques based on a sample frame of the U. S. residential landline telephone universe. For efficiency purposes, Knowledge Networks excludes only those banks of telephone numbers (a bank consists of 100 numbers) that have less than 2 directory listings. Additionally, an oversample is conducted among a stratum telephone exchanges that have high concentrations of African-American and Hispanic households based on Census data. Note that recruitment sampling is done without replacement, thus numbers already fielded do not get fielded again.

A telephone number for which a valid postal address can be matched occurs in about 70% of the sample. These address-matched cases are all mailed an advance letter informing them that they have been selected to participate in KnowledgePanel. For efficiency purposes, the unmatched numbers are under-sampled at a current rate of 0.75 relative to the matched numbers. Both the oversampling mentioned above and this under-sampling of non-address households are adjusted appropriately in the panel's weighting procedures.

Following the mailings, the telephone recruitment begins for all sampled phone numbers using trained interviewer/recruiters. Cases sent to telephone interviewers are dialed for up to 90 days, with at least 14 dial attempts on cases where no one

answers the phone, and on numbers known to be associated with households. Extensive refusal conversion is also performed. The recruitment interview, about 10 minutes long, begins with informing the household member that they have been selected to join KnowledgePanel. If the household does not have a computer and access to the Internet, they are told that in return for completing a short survey weekly, they will be provided with a laptop computer (previously a WebTV device was provided) and free monthly Internet access. All members in a household are then enumerated, and some initial demographic and background information on prior computer and Internet use are collected.

Households that inform interviewers that they have a home computer and Internet access are asked to take their surveys using their own equipment and Internet connection. Incentive points per survey, redeemable for cash, are given to these “PC” respondents for completing their surveys. Panel members who were provided with either a WebTV earlier or currently a laptop computer (both with free Internet access) do not participate in this per survey points incentive program. However, all panel members do receive special incentive points for select surveys to improve response rates and for all longer surveys as a modest compensation for burden.

For those panel members receiving a laptop computer (as with the former WebTV), prior to shipment, each unit is custom configured with individual email accounts, so that it is ready for immediate use by the household. Most households are able to install the hardware without additional assistance, though Knowledge Networks maintains a telephone technical support line. The Knowledge Networks Call Center contacts household members who do not respond to email and attempts to restore both contact and cooperation. PC panel members provide their own email addresses and we send their weekly surveys to that email account.

All new panel members are sent an initial survey to both welcome them as new panel members but also to familiarize them with how online survey questionnaires work. They also complete a separate profile survey that collects essential demographic information such as gender, age, race, income, and education to create a personal member profile. This information can be used to determine eligibility for specific studies, is used for weighting purposes, and operationally need not be gathered with each and every survey. This information is updated annually with each panel member. Once completed new member is “profiled,” they are designated as “active” and ready to be sampled for client studies. [Note: Parental or legal guardian consent is also collected for conducting surveys with teenage panel members, ages 13-17.]

Once a household is contacted by phone—and additional household members recruited via their email address—panel members are sent surveys linked through a personalized email invitation (instead of by phone or mail). This permits surveys to be fielded quickly and economically, and also facilitates longitudinal research. In addition, this approach reduces the burden placed on respondents, since email notification is less obtrusive than telephone calls, and allows research subjects to participate in research when it is convenient for them.

### **Address-Based Sampling (ABS) Methodology**

When KN started KnowledgePanel panel recruitment in 1999, the state of the art in the industry was that probability-based sampling could be cost effectively carried out

using a national random-digit dial (RDD) sample frame. The RDD landline frame at the time allowed access to 96% of the U.S. population. This is no longer the case. We introduced the ABS sample frame to rise to the well-chronicled changes in society and telephony in recent years. The following changes have reduced the long-term scientific viability of the landline RDD sampling methodology: declining respondent cooperation to telephone surveys; do not call lists; call screening, caller-ID devices and answering machines; dilution of the RDD sample frame as measured by the working telephone number rate; and finally, the emergence and exclusion of cell-phone-only households (CPOHH) because they have no landline phone.

According to the Center for Disease Control, approximately 25% of U.S. households cannot be contacted through RDD sampling: 22% as a result of CPOHH status and 3% because they have no phone service whatsoever. Among some segments of society, the sample noncoverage is substantial: more than one-third of young adults, ages 18-24, reside in CPOHHs.

After conducting an extensive pilot project in 2008, we made the decision to add an address-based sample (ABS) frame in response to the growing number of cell-phone only households that are outside of the RDD frame. Before conducting the ABS pilot, we also experimented with supplementing our RDD samples with cell-phone samples. However, this approach was not cost effective for you our clients and raised a number of other operational, data quality, and liability issues (e.g., calling people's cell phones while they were driving).

The key advantage of the ABS sample frame is that it allows sampling of almost all U.S. households. An estimated 98% of households are "covered" in sampling nomenclature. Regardless of household telephone status, they can be reached and contacted via the mail. Second, our ABS pilot project revealed some other advantages beyond the expected improvement in recruiting adults from CPOHHs:

- Improved sample representativeness for minority racial and ethnic groups
- Improved inclusion of lower educated and low income households
- Exclusive inclusion of CPOHHs that have neither a landline telephone nor Internet access (approximately 4% to 6% of US households).

ABS involves probability-based sampling of addresses from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Randomly sampled addresses are invited to join KnowledgePanel through a series of mailings and in some cases telephone follow-up calls to non-responders when a telephone number can be matched to the sampled address. Invited households can join the panel by one of several means:

- by completing and mailing back a paper form in a postage-paid envelope;
- by calling a toll-free hotline maintained by Knowledge Networks; or
- by going to a designated KN web-site and completing an online recruitment form.

After initially accepting the invitation to join the panel, respondents are then "profiled" online answering key demographic questions about themselves. This profile is maintained using the same procedures established for the RDD-recruited research subjects. Respondents not having an Internet connection are provided a

laptop computer and free Internet service. Respondents sampled from ABS frame, like those from the RDD frame are provided the same privacy terms and confidentiality protections that we have developed over the years and have been reviewed by dozens of Institutional Review Boards.

Large-scale ABS sampling for our KnowledgePanel recruitment began in April, 2009. As a result, KnowledgePanel will be improving its sample coverage of CPOHHs and young adults.

Because we will have recruited panelists from two different sample frames – RDD and ABS – we are taking several technical steps to merge samples sourced from these frames. Our approach preserves the representative structure of the overall panel for the selection of individual client study samples. An advantage of mixing ABS frame panel members in any KnowledgePanel sample is a reduction in the variance of the weights. ABS-sourced sample tends to align more true to the overall population demographic distributions and thus the associated adjustment weights are somewhat more uniform and less varied. This variance reduction efficaciously attenuates the sample’s design effect and confirms a real advantage for study samples drawn from KnowledgePanel with its dual frame construction.

### *EGSS Data Collection*

A sample of KnowledgePanel members who were English-speaking U.S. citizens was selected and invited to complete the EGSS survey using standard KnowledgePanel invitation procedures. These procedures consisted of initial invitation by email, with the email containing a link to the survey. At intervals thereafter, invited panelists were sent email reminders asking them to take the survey, and those who failed to respond received an automated (pre-recorded) telephone messaging reminding them to take the survey. Cooperating participants receive an incentive worth about \$1 per survey.

## **4. Outcome Statistics**

The recruitment procedures and composition of the KnowledgePanel sample complicate the calculation of outcome rates such as the response rate for the study. Response rate computations for online panels have been discussed by Callegaro and DiSogra (2008). Following their methods, Knowledge Networks reports the cumulative response rate for this study as 2.6 percent. This figure is the product of the following four rates.

- *Household recruitment rate* for the applicable KnowledgePanel recruitment cohort. A household is considered recruited if one or more household members joins the KnowledgePanel. The overall household recruitment rate is the weighted average recruitment rate for the components of the applicable cohort of sampled households, including RDD and ABS cases. For this study, the figure is 17.2 percent.
- *Household profile rate*. The profile rate is the proportion of recruited households at which a profile survey is completed. For this study the figure is 60.6 percent.

- *Household retention rate.* This is the proportion of recruited and profiled households that remained active in the KnowledgePanel at the time of the study: 40.8%.
- *Study completion rate.* This is the proportion of individuals (one per household) who were invited to complete the survey who did so: 60.0 percent.

Note that this method of calculating the cumulative response rate multiplies household rates by person rates. The resulting units are difficult to interpret but clearly do not describe the proportion of persons in the initial sample who completed this questionnaire. That proportion is probably lower than 2.6 percent, assuming the rate of person recruitment and profiling within each recruited household averaged less than 100 percent of eligible household members.

## 5. Weights and Variance Estimation

The data are designed to be analyzed with weights, and **you must use weights to generalize to the population**. See DeBell (2010) for general discussion of these issues and detailed instructions for weighting and sampling error calculations for ANES studies. The poststratified analysis weight in the EGSS October 2010 survey is the variable `C1_weight`.

Weights for the EGSS were computed by Knowledge Networks, following general instructions provided by ANES staff. The weights have three broad components. First, a “base weight” (`C1_sampwt`) was computed that accounts for differences in probability of selection for members of the KnowledgePanel. This weight accounts for the sampling design. Second, the base weight was poststratified to match known population benchmarks for key characteristics for the full KnowledgePanel. Finally, the subset of the KnowledgePanel responding to the ANES survey was poststratified to match known population benchmarks.

### *Base weight*

Knowledge Networks furnished the following description of the base weight computation, which was completed in several steps to account for known departures from simple random sampling.

1. Under-sampling of telephone numbers unmatched to a valid mailing address

An address match is attempted on all the Random Digit Dial (RDD) generated telephone numbers in the sample after the sample has been purged of business and institutional numbers and screened for non-working numbers. The success rate for address matching is in the 60-70% range. The telephone numbers with valid addresses are sent an advance letter, notifying the household that they will be contacted by phone to join KnowledgePanel. The remaining, unmatched numbers are under-sampled as a recruitment efficiency strategy. Advance letters improve recruitment success rates.

Under-sampling stopped between July 2005 and April 2007. It was resumed in May 2007 with a sampling rate of 0.75.

2. RDD selection proportional to the number of telephone landlines reaching the household

As part of the field data collection operation, information is collected on the number of separate telephone landlines in each selected household. A multiple line household's selection probability is down weighted by the inverse of its number of landlines.

3. Some minor oversampling of Chicago and Los Angeles due to early pilot surveys

Two pilot surveys carried out in Chicago and Los Angeles when the panel was first being built increased the relative size of the sample from these two cities. With natural attrition and growth in size, the impact is disappearing over time. It remains part of our base adjustment weighting because of a small number of extant panel members from that nascent panel cohort.

4. Early oversampling the four largest states and central region states

At the time when the panel was first being built, survey demand in the four largest states (California, New York, Florida, and Texas) required over-sampling during January-October 2000. Similarly, the central region states were over-sampled for a brief period. These now diminishing effects still remain in the panel membership and thus require weighting adjustments for these geographic areas.

5. Under-sampling of households not covered by the MSN<sup>®</sup> TV service network

Certain small areas of the U.S. are not serviced by MSN<sup>®</sup>, thus the MSN<sup>®</sup>TV units distributed to non-Internet households prior to January 2009 could not be used for those recruited non-Internet households. Overall, the result is a small residual under-sample in those geographic areas requiring a minor weighting adjustment for those locations. Since January 2010, laptop computers with dial-up access are being distributed to non-Internet households thus eliminating this under-coverage component.

6. RDD oversampling of African-American and Hispanic telephone exchanges

As of October 2001, over-sampling of telephone exchanges with a higher density of minority households (specifically African American and Hispanic) was implemented to increase panel membership for those groups. These exchanges were oversampled at approximately twice the rate of other exchanges. This over-sampling is corrected in the base weight.

7. Address-based sample phone match adjustment

Towards the end of 2008, Knowledge Networks began recruiting panel members using an address-based sample (ABS) frame in addition to RDD recruitment. Once recruitment through the mail, including follow-up mailings to ABS non-respondents was completed, a telephone recruitment was added. Non-responding ABS households where a landline telephone number could be matched to an address were subsequently called and a telephone recruitment initiated. This effort results in a slight overall disproportionate number of landline households being recruited in a given ABS sample. A base weight

adjustment is applied to return the ABS recruitment panel members to the sample's correct national proportion of phone-match and no phone-match households.

#### 8. ABS oversample stratification adjustment

In late 2009 the ABS sample began incorporating a geographic stratification design. Census blocks with high density minority communities were oversampled (Stratum 1) and the balance of the census blocks (Stratum 2) were relatively undersampled. The definition of high density, minority community and the relative proportion between strata differed among specific ABS samples. An appropriate base weight adjustment is applied to each sample to correct for this stratified design.

#### *Panel Demographic Post-Stratification*

To reduce the effects of any non-response and non-coverage bias in the overall panel membership, a post-stratification adjustment is applied using demographic distributions from the most recent data from the Current Population Survey (CPS). Benchmark distributions for Internet Access among the U.S. population of adults had been obtained from KnowledgePanel recruitment data since this measurement is not collected as part of the monthly CPS. However, as of June 2010, a special CPS supplement (October 2009) collected and reported an Internet access measurement and this replaces the recruitment source and is used as a benchmark for panel weighting.

The post-stratification variables include:

- Gender (Male/Female)
- Age (18-29, 30-44, 45-59, and 60+)
- Race/Hispanic ethnicity (White/Non-Hispanic, Black/Non-Hispanic, Other/Non-Hispanic, 2+ Races/Non-Hispanic, Hispanic)
- Education (Less than High School, High School, Some College, Bachelor and beyond)
- Census Region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West)
- Metropolitan Area (Yes, No)
- Internet Access (Yes, No)

This weighting adjustment is applied prior to the selection of any client sample from KnowledgePanel. These weights constitute the starting weights for any client survey selected from the panel.

#### *ANES Poststratification*

Poststratification is a weighting step in which weights are multiplied by an adjustment factor or set of adjustment factors to cause the weighted estimates to match population benchmarks (also called "control totals"). EGSS poststratification factors were selected by comparing all available benchmark statistics to estimates from the base-weighted EGSS and selecting variables for poststratification when the EGSS estimates differed from benchmarks by more than about 5 percentage points.

In the October 2010 EGSS, poststratification was performed on age, race/ethnicity, income, household size, and Internet access status at the time of recruitment. The Current Population Survey was used as the source of benchmarks, and poststratification was performed by Knowledge Networks.

### *Analyzing Data*

**Standard errors (also called sampling errors), confidence intervals, and statistical significance tests must be calculated using methods appropriate for a complex-sample survey.** No cluster or stratum variables are provided with this dataset, so analysts should use procedures to calculate sampling errors that account for the study weights, such as the “survey” procedures in Stata or equivalent procedures in SPSS with the Complex Samples module, SAS, R, or SUDAAN; for comprehensive general instructions, see DeBell (2010).

## **6. Accuracy of Estimates**

A component of survey data quality is the accuracy of estimates compared to known population characteristics. Such accuracy can be improved by using weights raked (poststratified) to population benchmarks. Table 2 presents benchmark statistics (from the Current Population Survey or government vote data) along with unweighted and weighted estimates from the October 2010 EGSS.

Poststratified estimates differ from benchmarks for seven of the 42 unique estimates presented. There are 44 statistics in Table 2, including the male-female and voted-did not vote pairs that are functions of each other. People whose race/ethnicity is “other” who have some college education but no bachelor’s degree, and who did not vote are under-represented. People who identify with two or more race/ethnicity groups, who have less than a high school education, who are married, who voted for a candidate other than Obama or McCain, and who voted at all are over-represented in the weighted sample.

Characteristic	Benchmark	Unweighted		Weighted (base weight)		Weighted (poststratified)		
		Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	
<b>Age</b>								
18-29	21.3	15.6	-5.7	14.1	-7.2 ***	21.4	0.1	
30-39	16.1	14.9	-1.2	15.7	-0.4	16.1	0.0	
40-49	18.3	19.3	1.0	17.7	-0.6	17.9	-0.4	
50-59	18.7	21.3	2.6	21.5	2.8	18.8	0.1	
60-69	13.3	16.9	3.6	18.7	5.4 ***	13.4	0.1	
70 or older	12.3	12.1	-0.2	12.3	0.0	12.4	0.1	
<b>Sex</b>								
Male	48.0	47.8	-0.2	49.0	1.0	48.3	0.3	
Female	52.0	52.2	0.2	51.0	-1.0	51.7	-0.3	
<b>Race/ethnicity</b>								
White	72.6	77.4	4.8	77.3	4.7 **	72.5	-0.1	
Black	11.8	9.6	-2.2	10.1	-1.7	11.8	0.0	
Hispanic	10.0	7.4	-2.6	6.8	-3.2 ***	10.0	0.0	
Other	4.4	2.3	-2.1	2.2	-2.2 ***	2.2	-2.2 ***	
Two or more	1.2	3.3	2.1	3.6	2.4 ***	3.4	2.2 ***	
<b>Educational attainment</b>								
Less than high school credential	10.5	12.7	2.2	12.6	2.1	13.2	2.7 *	
High school diploma/equiv.	31.2	29.7	-1.5	31.1	-0.1	29.2	-2.0	
Some college	29.9	25.8	-4.1	27.2	-2.7	26.2	-3.7 *	
Bachelor's degree	18.8	19.8	1.0	18.0	-0.8	20.2	1.4	
Graduate degree	9.6	12.0	2.4	11.1	1.5	11.1	1.5	
<b>Home tenure</b>								
Own	72.6	74.8	2.2	71.8	-0.8	72.8	0.2	
Rent	26.1	23.6	-2.5	27.0	0.9	26.1	0.0	
Other	1.3	1.5	0.2	1.2	-0.1	1.1	-0.2	
<b>Household size</b>								
1 person	15.1	18.1	3.0	21.7	6.6 ***	15.4	0.3	
2 people	34.8	36.9	2.1	38.1	3.3	35.1	0.3	
3 people	19.3	17.2	-2.1	15.2	-4.1 ***	19.2	-0.1	
4 people	16.8	16.0	-0.8	14.4	-2.4 *	17.2	0.4	
5 people	8.1	7.1	-1.0	6.1	-2.0 **	7.5	-0.6	
6 people	3.4	2.7	-0.7	2.5	-0.9	3.1	-0.3	
7 or more	2.5	2.1	-0.4	2.0	-0.5	2.4	-0.1	
<b>Marital status</b>								
Married	53.9	59.8	5.9	56.1	2.2	58.9	5.0 **	
Separated	2.2	2.0	-0.2	2.1	-0.1	1.9	-0.3	
Divorced	10.9	11.1	0.2	12.9	2.0	10.0	-0.9	
Widowed	6.5	5.9	-0.6	6.7	0.2	5.4	-1.1	
Never married	26.5	21.2	-5.3	22.3	-4.2 **	23.9	-2.6	
<b>Household income, annual</b>								
\$14,999 or less	12.8	12.9	0.1	15.2	2.4	13.3	0.5	
\$15,000-\$29,999	16.5	15.8	-0.7	18.2	1.7	15.5	-1.0	
\$30,000-\$49,999	20.3	22.2	1.9	22.6	2.3	21.3	1.0	
\$50,000-\$74,999	19.4	20.3	0.9	18.9	-0.5	19.7	0.3	
\$75,000-\$99,999	12.3	14.2	1.9	13.0	0.7	12.2	-0.1	
\$100,000 or more	18.8	14.6	-4.2	12.2	-6.6 ***	18.0	-0.8	
<b>Presidential vote choice</b>								
Obama	52.9	51.9	-1.0	52.1	-0.8	53.2	0.3	
McCain	45.7	45.0	-0.7	44.7	-1.0	43.5	-2.2	
Other	1.4	3.2	1.8	3.2	1.8 *	3.3	1.9 *	
<b>Turnout</b>								
Voted	61.6	77.8	16.2	76.1	14.5 ***	75.8	14.2 ***	
Did not vote	38.4	22.2	-16.2	23.9	-14.5 ***	24.2	-14.2 ***	

\* p<.05; \*\* p<.01; \*\*\* p<.001

Notes: Turnout is the total ballots counted divided by the voting eligible population. This differs from turnout rates based on the voting age population or the total ballots cast for president. Race/ethnicity categories are indicator variables. Respondents may identify with more than one race/ethnicity, so race/ethnicity percentages do not sum to 100 percent. n = 1,189.

Sources: Vote choice data compiled by Federal Election Commission, available at <http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2008/2008presgeresults.pdf>. Turnout: United States Elections Project estimates at [http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout\\_2008G.html](http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2008G.html). Income and home tenure benchmarks: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, March 2008. Other benchmarks: CPS, November 2008. ANES estimates: 2010 October

## 7. Orientation to the Data Files

This section briefly describes some features of the data files: the cases on the files, the file formats, variables, missing value codes, restricted use data, known and suspected errors in the data, and other things to be aware of.

### *Cases on the file*

There are 1,240 cases on the EGSS October 2010 data file, of which 1,189 are complete interviews and the remaining 51 are not complete (and are not weighted). The incomplete cases will be automatically excluded from weighted analyses because they have no weight.

### *File formats*

The data file is provided as a flat ASCII file. The flat file is comma-delimited to facilitate reading into statistical software, and it also uses a fixed-width format.

The data file is also provided as an SPSS portable file and as a Stata `.dta` file. SPSS portable files do not support variable names longer than 8 characters, so longer variable names will be truncated on the SPSS portable file.

ANES provides syntax for SPSS, Stata, and SAS to read the flat file and create datasets in the respective file formats of these applications. See the files themselves for instructions on running these syntax files.

### *Combining data from branched questions*

Some questions used a branching format where one question was asked in two parts, such as items N1, N2, and N3 on the October 2010 EGSS.

[N1] Overall would you say the economic stimulus was good for the economy, bad for the economy, or neither good nor bad for the economy?

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

If the response to N1 was 1, then N2 was asked.

[N2] How good? Extremely good, moderately good, or a little good?

__ Extremely good	[1]
__ Moderately good	[2]
__ A little good	[3]

If the response to N1 was 2 (bad), then N3 was asked.



“-1 Inapplicable” most often indicates a questionnaire variable for a question that was deliberately not asked of a particular respondent because the questionnaire specifications did not call for the question to be asked. For example, the followup question asking how conservative the respondent is would not be asked if the person said he or she was liberal.

“-2 Missing, see documentation” is a category used for data that do not fit any of the other codes. See the item-specific documentation in the codebook for information about these missing data, if any. Some variables with the -2 code may be labeled “Missing, misc nonresponse” to indicate nondifferentiated sources of nonresponse; cases with these codes may have missing data for a combination of reasons. If there is no specific explanation of the missing data in the codebook, then the -2 indicates nonresponse for one or more nondifferentiated reasons.

“-3 Restricted access” is assigned to variables that are not made public. See the entry on Restricted Use Data below.

“-4 Error, see documentation” indicates an error in data collection or data processing. Each case with this code has been investigated by ANES staff. See the item-specific documentation in the codebook for information about these missing data.

“-5 Not asked, terminated” indicates that before reaching this point in the questionnaire, the respondent stopped taking the survey. The -5 code is only present on data from incomplete (partial) interviews.

“-6 Not asked, unit nonresponse” indicates that the respondent never began the survey. “Unit nonresponse” means that a prospective respondent never took the survey.

“-7 No answer” means that the respondent clicked “Next” without answering the question. Respondents who did this on ANES online surveys were prompted to answer the question the first time, but if they clicked “Next” a second time, they were allowed to continue the survey without answering the question. This equivalent to a refusal to answer the question.

“-8 Don’t know” is a code assigned to telephone recruitment if the respondent answered the question by saying they did not know how to answer.

“-9 Refused” is a code assigned to telephone recruitment if the respondent refused to answer a question.

In addition to the standard missing data codes described above, a few variables use other values for missing data, and some alphanumeric (string) variables use “.” or the “system missing” value instead of a number. On some state variables that use two-letter state abbreviations, “X” denotes missing state data.

#### *Restricted-use data*

As with other ANES studies, most variables from the study are included in the public-use data file that is available to the public for free. Access to some variables is restricted to protect respondents' privacy. Data that could identify a respondent as part of a small and recognizable population or that could identify a respondent as a resident of a small geographic area have been redacted from the public-use data file. Such variables include the respondent's city and county of residence, date of birth, and detailed racial/ethnic identity when the respondent is a member of a small minority group. Such variables are labeled "RESTRICTED ACCESS" on the data file, and the data are coded -3. When respondents typed a response to an open-ended question and their response included information that could pose a risk, the potentially problematic response was redacted and marked as "[REDACTED]." For details concerning recent ANES redaction procedures, see DeBell, Krosnick, and Lupia (2010).

Data analysts interested in obtaining access to restricted access variables may do so by following the special access request procedures described on our website at [http://www.electionstudies.org/rda/anes\\_rda.htm](http://www.electionstudies.org/rda/anes_rda.htm).

#### *Item time data*

For many questions, the elapsed time the respondent took to answer was recorded. Times recorded are the elapsed time in seconds between the question appearing on the screen and the time that the "Next" button was clicked to advance to the next screen.

Time variables have the format `c1_t_b1`, where `c1` is the prefix for all variables on this first cross-sectional data file from the EGSS, `_t_` denotes a time variable, and `b1` indicates this variable applies to item B1. Thus `c1_t_b1` is the elapsed time to complete item B1, for which the question response data are in variable `c1_b1`.

If the respondent clicked "Next" without answering and received the item nonresponse prompt (asking the respondent to please answer the question), then the recorded time reflects the time that "Next" was clicked a second time to actually move on to the next question.

In the event that a respondent backed up to return to a screen with a previously answered question, the repeated visit to the question would add to its total time.

Fractions of a second are truncated. Thus, an item time of 0 was recorded for anything less than 1 full second. A 0 was only recorded for questions that were displayed; timing data cells should be set to a missing for questions that were not asked.

#### *Anomalies & errors*

Respondents were asked how their incumbent representatives in Congress voted on the 2010 health care reform bill (Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act), but in some cases a change in officeholder had occurred and the incumbent at the time of the survey did not vote on that bill. In these cases, respondents were asked how someone voted on

the bill who did not, in fact, vote on it. This affected questions about the House of Representatives for respondents in the PA-12, FL-19, and GA-9 districts (4, 4, and 5 respondents, respectively) and about the Senate for respondents in West Virginia (5 respondents) and Massachusetts (29 respondents). Data for these officeholders should be interpreted accordingly.

Questions regarding the House member Ed Perlmutter (CO-7) misspelled his name as “Ed Perimutter.” This affected two respondents. Questions regarding House member Heath Shuler (NC-11) misspelled his name as “Heath Schuler,” affecting three respondents.

If you find indications of an undocumented error in the data, please send a note to the ANES staff at [anes@electionstudies.org](mailto:anes@electionstudies.org) so we can investigate and correct or document any problems. We thank Lindsey Cormack for identifying the items noted above.

### *Variables on the file*

There are 884 variables on the file. These include the following variables or variable groups.

**c1\_caseid.** Unique case identifier. This is a cross-sectional survey with a fresh sample, and none of the respondents to this survey were respondents to prior ANES surveys, so any correspondence with case identifiers on other ANES surveys is purely coincidental.

**version.** Denotes the version of the data file by indicating the date it was produced.

**c1\_sampwt.** Sampling (base) weight.

**c1\_weight.** Poststratified weight for data analysis.

**der08c1 through dertaxes.** Derived variables (beginning with the letters “der”) summarize information contained in one or more questions on the survey, sometimes by cross-referencing it with other information.

**der08c1.** Party identification at the time of the survey.

**der10c1.** Voter turnout in the 2008 election.

**der10ac1.** Voter turnout with three categories (voting, not voting, and unsure).

**dertea.** Support or oppose Tea Party.

**derchoice.** Respondent’s opinion whether it is a choice or duty to vote.

**dercandgov.** Party of the respondent’s chosen candidate for governor.

**dercandhouse.** Party of the respondent’s chosen candidate for U.S. House.

**dercandsen.** Party of the respondent’s chosen candidate for U.S. Senate.

**derstimulus.** Opinion about the stimulus spending on the economy.

**derstimmoney.** Amount of stimulus money respondent believes was spent in his or her community.

derapp1. Presidential approval.  
derapp2. Presidential approval regarding Afghanistan war.  
derfree. Freedom today compared to 2008.  
derecon1. Economic conditions today compared to 1 year ago  
derecon2. Economic conditions today compared to 1 year hence  
dertaxes. Favor or oppose raising taxes on incomes over \$250,000/year

c1\_signup. Date the respondent joined the KnowledgePanel. The format of the variable is YYYYMMDDTHHMMSS, so e.g. 20070715T000000 means July 15, 2007, at midnight. Times of day are not indicated; all times are given as midnight.

c1\_num\_comp. Number of surveys the panelist has completed as of October 17, 2010.

c1\_timezone. Respondent's time zone.

c1\_tm\_start. Time the interview started. The format of the variable is YYYYMMDDTHHMMSS, so e.g. 20101008T001734 means October 8, 2010, at 17 minutes and 34 seconds past midnight and 20101019T183404 means October 19, 2010, at 6:34pm. These are the first and last interviews started.

c1\_tm\_finish. Time the interview was completed.

c1\_duration. Duration of the interview in minutes, including idle time.

c1\_dc\_s1 through c1\_dc\_s9. Administrative variables used by Knowledge Networks.

c1\_xg1tog6 through c1\_xeb (15 variables). Administrative variables for programming, including the order of randomized items and response options.

c1\_qflag. Qualification flag; indicates a complete interview.

c1\_days. Number of days in advance of November 2, 2010, that the survey was taken.

c1\_a1 through c1\_zm1. Questionnaire variables.

c1\_ppdate. Date the public affairs profile survey was completed. The format is YYYYMMDD.

c1\_ppage through c1\_pp122. Public affairs profile variables. See the public affairs profile questionnaire for more information.

c1\_capdate. Date the core profile was completed.

c1\_cap\_abs. Address-based sampling (ABS) recruitment flag indicates if the household was part of the address-based sample, as distinguished from a telephone sample.

**c1\_cap\_c\_size.** Nielsen county size, an ordinal variable indicating the size of the respondent's county.

**c1\_cap\_cbsamet.** Metropolitan statistical area identifier. (Note these are 5-digit numbers but are not ZIP codes.)

**c1\_cap\_ppdma.** Designated market area. Media market within which the respondent resided.

**c1\_cap\_ppcmtcat.** Time to complete the core profile survey.

**c1\_cap\_ppcomp** through **c1\_cap\_pphone** (6 variables). Telecommunications connectivity in the household.

**c1\_cap\_fp1100** through **c1\_cap\_fp1400** (7 variables). Indicator variables indicating whether the household is below indicated multiples of the federal poverty level.

**c1\_cap\_core\_par** through **c1\_cap\_ppinccat.** Core Adult Profile variables. See the Core Adult Profile questionnaire for more information about these items.

**c1\_t\_totalqual.** Total time to complete the EGSS survey (seconds).

**c1\_t\_introdisplay** through **c1\_t\_close.** Elapsed time on each EGSS item (seconds).

**c1\_a1\_a2\_1** through **c1\_b3\_4.** Variables indicating if the respondent stopped the interview at particular points. If the interview was stopped at the point indicated by the variable, the date and time are indicated in the YYYYMMDDTHHMMSS format.

## References

DeBell, Matthew. 2010. *How to Analyze ANES Survey Data*. ANES Technical Report Series, no 012492. Palo Alto, CA, and Ann Arbor, MI: Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Available at <http://www.electionstudies.org/resources/papers/nes012492.pdf>

DeBell, Matthew, Jon A. Krosnick, and Arthur Lupia. 2010. *Methodology Report and User's Guide for the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study*. Palo Alto, CA, and Ann Arbor, MI: Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Available at [http://www.electionstudies.org/studypages/2008\\_2009panel/anes2008\\_2009panel\\_MethodologyRpt.pdf](http://www.electionstudies.org/studypages/2008_2009panel/anes2008_2009panel_MethodologyRpt.pdf)

Delavande, Adeline, and Charles F. Manski. 2010. "Probabilistic Polling and Voting in the 2008 Presidential Election." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74(3): 433-459.

## Appendix 1. Questionnaire

This appendix contains the questionnaire programming specifications developed by ANES and used by Knowledge Networks to program the online survey. These specifications show the exact question wording, response options, response codes, and criteria for determining which respondents were asked which questions.

ANES questions are organized into sections, such as A, B, C, etc. Within sections, questions are numbered sequentially, such as A1, A2, etc. These question numbers appear in brackets to the left of the question, such as item E1 below.

- [E1] 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]

Variable names on the data file are based on these alphanumeric question codes. On the EGSS dataset, they are preceded by the letter E and the number of the wave on which the questionnaire appeared. Thus the variable name for item E1 on the October 2010 survey is E1E1.

Text within brackets is used for programming instructions and was not displayed to respondents.

Bracketed programming instructions appear on the lines above each question. Unless otherwise noted, a question was asked of everyone. When an “IF” condition is specified, the question was asked of respondents who meet the specified condition. For example, in the January questionnaire, item B2 was asked **[IF A1=1 (ALREADY VOTED) AND THERE IS A GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN R’S STATE]**. This means that the respondent was asked this question if the respondent’s answer to question A1 was that he or she had already voted and if there was an election for governor taking place in the respondent’s state. This means that if a respondent chose another answer at A1, or if there was no election for governor taking place, that respondent was not asked question B2. In this case, B2 would be assigned the code -1, inapplicable.

Questions marked **[SP]** allow one answer (“single punch”). Questions marked **[MP]** (for “multi-punch”) are allowed multiple answers. Items marked **[DISPLAY]** are screens that display instructions and do not collect data. Items marked **[TEXT BOX]** allow the respondent to type a string of text as an answer.

Parentheses ( ) are used to document dynamic fills within the text that is displayed to a respondent. This includes forward and reverse ordering of question options, filling

appropriate pronouns “he” or “she” or “it” when making references, and similar applications.

For many questions, including E1 as shown above, respondents were randomly assigned to have response options in either forward or reverse order. The “forward” and “reverse” response options were separated by a slash within the parentheses.

For questions like this, respondents assigned to forward order would have seen the order displayed like this:

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?

- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount
- A little
- Not at all

And respondents assigned reverse order would have seen it like this:

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

- Not at all
- A little
- A moderate amount
- A lot
- A great deal

Note that codes were always recorded the same way regardless of response order. “A great deal” is always coded 1, whether it was displayed first or last.

#### *Nonresponse Note*

Most questions did not include a “Don’t know” response choice, and none included a “Refused” response choice. Instead, respondents could simply skip any questions they did not wish to answer by clicking Next without answering the question.

However, for every question which the respondent failed to answer, the question was re-displayed once with the following text prominently displayed 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.”**

**AMERICAN NATIONAL ELECTION STUDIES**  
**OCTOBER, 2010**  
**- Questionnaire -**

**Questionnaire: ANES 2010-2012 EVALUATIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY STUDY, OCTOBER 2010**

(version 20101006)

**Fielding & Sample Specifications**

- Dates: data collection should begin between October 1 and 15, last at least 14 days, and end no later than November 1.
- Eligibility: respondents should meet three eligibility criteria:
  - U.S. citizen
  - Age 18 or older
  - Not a prior participant in any other ANES survey (including 2008-2009 Panel Study or any other study conducted for ANES by KN)
- $n = 1,151$  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.”
- Variable names: Please name all item variables with “C1” (for cross-section 1) prepended to the item name. E.g. the response to the item E2 should be in a variable named C1E2.
- 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.
- Preloads: Respondent’s state of residence; R’s Congressional District of residence; candidate database, various randomization variables as specified below.
- 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.)

**[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. Turnout]**

**[SP]**

**[FILL "DAYS" WITH THE NUMBER OF DAYS BETWEEN INTERVIEW DATE AND NOVEMBER 2]**

**[ALL RESPONDENTS]**

[A1] We'd like to ask you about the national elections for Congress and other offices to be held on November 2. Have you already voted in the election being held (DAYS) days from now, or not?

- Have already voted in that election [1]
- Have not voted in that election [2]

**[SP]**

**[IF A1=1]**

**[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS A1]**

[A2] Which one of the following best describes how you voted?

- Definitely voted in person at a polling place **before** election day [1]
- Definitely voted by **mailing** a ballot to elections officials before election day [2]
- Definitely voted in some other way [3]
- Not completely sure whether you voted or not [4]

**[TEXT BOX]**

**[IFA2 =3]**

[A3]

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

---

---

---

[SP]

[IF A1 NE 1]

[TEXT BOX – NUMERIC ONLY]

[A4]

What is the percent chance that you will vote in the Congressional elections this November? The percent chance can be thought of as the number of chances out of 100. You can use any number between 0 and 100. For example, numbers like 2 and 5 percent may be “almost no chance,” 20 percent or so may mean “not much chance,” a 45- or 55-percent chance may be a “pretty even chance,” 80 percent or so may mean a “very good chance,” and a 95- or 98-percent chance may be “almost certain.”

What is the percent chance that you will vote in the Congressional elections this November?

\_\_\_ [NUMERIC INPUT, HARD RANGE 0-100]

[B. Vote choices]

[PROGRAMMING: THROUGHOUT SECTION B, CANDIDATES SHOULD FILL AS FIRST AND LAST NAME FOLLOWED BY PARTY AFFILIATION IN PARENTHESES, SUCH AS “Abraham Lincoln (Republican Party)” WITH THE PARTIES DRAWN FROM THE CANDIDATE DATABASE. PARTY NAMES DISPLAY AS “([Name] Party)” EXCEPT FOR INDEPENDENTS WHO ARE LABELED “(independent)”.]

[SP]

[IF A1=1 (ALREADY VOTED)]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF FIRST RESPONSE OPTIONS; KEEP FOURTH LAST]

[FILL RESPONSE OPTIONS WITH CANDIDATES FOR US HOUSE FROM R’S DISTRICT. TO INSERT CANDIDATE NAME(S), MATCH RESPONDENT’S PPSTATEN AND xCD PRELOAD TO PPSTATEN AND DISTRICT AND WHERE COLUMN “GENERAL”=1 IN THE LOOKUP TABLE (TAB “HOUSE”)]

[B1] Who did you vote for in the election for the **U.S. House of Representatives**?

- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 1) [1]
- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 2, IF ANY) [2]
- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 3, IF ANY) [3]
- \_\_\_ Another person running for Representative [4]

[SP]

[IF A1=1 (ALREADY VOTED) AND THERE IS A GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN R’S STATE]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF FIRST RESPONSE OPTIONS; KEEP FOURTH LAST]

[FILL RESPONSE OPTIONS WITH CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR OF R’S STATE. TO INSERT CANDIDATE NAME(S), MATCH RESPONDENT’S PPSTATEN TO PPSTATEN IN THE LOOKUP TABLE AND WHERE COLUMN “GENERAL”=1 IN THE LOOKUP TABLE (TAB “GOVERNOR”)]

[FILL “STATE” WITH R’S STATE OF RESIDENCE]

[B2] Who did you vote for in the election for **Governor of (STATE)**?

- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 1) [1]

- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 2, IF ANY) [2]
- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 3, IF ANY) [3]
- \_\_\_ Another person running for Governor [4]

[SP]

[IF A1=1 (ALREADY VOTED) AND THERE IS A U.S. SENATE ELECTION IN R'S STATE]  
 [RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF FIRST RESPONSE OPTIONS; KEEP FOURTH LAST]

[FILL RESPONSE OPTIONS WITH CANDIDATES FOR SENATE FROM R'S STATE. TO INSERT CANDIDATE NAME(S), MATCH RESPONDENT'S PPSTATEN TO PPSTATEN AND WHERE COLUMN "GENERAL"=1 IN THE LOOKUP TABLE (TAB "SENATE")]

[B3] Who did you vote for in the election for the U.S. Senate?

- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 1) [1]
- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 2, IF ANY) [2]
- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 3, IF ANY) [3]
- \_\_\_ Another person running for Senator [4]

\*\*\*\*PROGRAMMER NOTE: WE NEED ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR THIS QUESTION'S TEXT INSERTS, BUT INFORMATION WILL ONLY BEW AVAILABLE IN SEPTEMBER\*\*\*\*

[SP]

[IF A1=1 (ALREADY VOTED) AND THERE IS A SPECIAL (2<sup>ND</sup>) SENATE ELECTION IN R'S STATE]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF FIRST RESPONSE OPTIONS; KEEP FOURTH LAST]

[FILL RESPONSE OPTIONS WITH CANDIDATES FOR SENATE SPECIAL ELECTION TO THE SECOND SEAT FROM R'S STATE]

[B4] Who did you vote for in the special election for the U.S. Senate?

- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 1) [1]
- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 2, IF ANY) [2]
- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 3, IF ANY) [3]
- \_\_\_ Another person running for Senator [4]

[SP]

[IF A1= 2 (DID NOT ALREADY VOTE)]

[FILL CANDIDATE RESPONSE OPTIONS WITH NAMES OF CANDIDATES FOR HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN R'S DISTRICT. MATCH RESPONDENT'S PPSTATEN AND xCD PRELOAD TO PPSTATEN AND DISTRICT IN THE LOOKUP TABLE (TAB "HOUSE") TO INSERT CANDIDATE NAMES]

[IF A4 < 50, FILL "(ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE, w/W)" WITH "ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE"; IF A4 >= 50, FILL "(ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE, w/W)" WITH "W"]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF CANDIDATE NAMES, KEEPING OPTION 4 LAST. TO INSERT CANDIDATE NAME(S), MATCH RESPONDENT'S PPSTATEN AND xCD PRELOAD TO PPSTATEN AND DISTRICT AND WHERE COLUMN "GENERAL"=1 IN THE LOOKUP TABLE (TAB "HOUSE")]

[B5] (Assuming you do vote, w/W)ho do you think you will vote for in the election for U.S. House of Representatives?

- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 1) [1]
- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 2, IF ANY) [2]
- \_\_\_ (CANDIDATE 3, IF ANY) [3]
- \_\_\_ Another person running for Representative [4]

[SP]

**[IF A1= 2 (DID NOT ALREADY VOTE)]**

[IF THERE IS A GUBERNATORIAL ELECTION IN R'S STATE]

[FILL "R'S STATE" WITH THE RESPONDENT'S STATE OF RESIDENCE]

**[IF A4 < 50, FILL "(ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE, w/W)" WITH "ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE"; IF A4 >= 50, FILL "(ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE, w/W)" WITH "W"]**

[FILL CANDIDATE RESPONSE OPTIONS WITH NAMES OF CANDIDATES FOR GOVERNOR IN R'S STATE. **TO INSERT CANDIDATE NAME(S), MATCH RESPONDENT'S PPSTATEN TO PPSTATEN IN THE LOOKUP TABLE AND WHERE COLUMN "GENERAL"=1 IN THE LOOKUP TABLE (TAB "GOVERNOR")**]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF CANDIDATE NAMES, KEEPING OPTION 4 LAST]

[B6] (Assuming you do vote, w/W)ho do you think you will vote for in the election for **Governor of (R'S STATE)?**

- (CANDIDATE 1) [1]
- (CANDIDATE 2, IF ANY) [2]
- (CANDIDATE 3, IF ANY) [3]
- Another person running for Governor [4]

[SP]

**[IF A1= 2 (DID NOT ALREADY VOTE)]**

[IF THERE IS A SENATE ELECTION IN R'S STATE]

[FILL CANDIDATE RESPONSE OPTIONS WITH NAMES OF CANDIDATES FOR SENATE IN R'S STATE. **TO INSERT CANDIDATE NAME(S), MATCH RESPONDENT'S PPSTATEN TO PPSTATEN AND WHERE COLUMN "GENERAL"=1 IN THE LOOKUP TABLE (TAB "SENATE")**]

**[IF A4 < 50, FILL "(ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE, w/W)" WITH "ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE"; IF A4 >= 50, FILL "(ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE, w/W)" WITH "W"]**

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF CANDIDATE NAMES, KEEPING OPTION 4 LAST]

[B7] (Assuming you do vote, w/W)ho do you think you will vote for in the election for **U.S. Senate?**

- (CANDIDATE 1) [1]
- (CANDIDATE 2, IF ANY) [2]
- (CANDIDATE 3, IF ANY) [3]
- Another person running for US Senate [4]

**\*\*\*\*PROGRAMMER NOTE: WE NEED ADDITIONAL INFORMATION FOR THIS QUESTION'S TEXT INSERTS, BUT INFORMATION WILL ONLY BEW AVAILABLE IN SEPTEMBER\*\*\*\***

[SP]

**[IF A1= 2 (DID NOT ALREADY VOTE)]**

[IF THERE IS A SPECIAL (SECOND) US SENATE ELECTION IN R'S STATE]

[FILL CANDIDATE RESPONSE OPTIONS WITH NAMES OF CANDIDATES FOR THE SECOND SENATE SEAT IN R'S STATE]

**[IF A4 < 50, FILL "(ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE, w/W)" WITH "ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE"; IF A4 >= 50, FILL "(ASSUMING YOU DO VOTE, w/W)" WITH "W"]**

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF CANDIDATE NAMES, KEEPING OPTION 4 LAST]

[B8] (Assuming you do vote, w/W)ho do you think you will vote for in the special election for U.S. Senate?

- (CANDIDATE 1) [1]
- (CANDIDATE 2, IF ANY) [2]
- (CANDIDATE 3, IF ANY) [3]
- Another person running for US Senate [4]

**[BA. Tea Party support/opposition]**

**[SP]**

[BA1] Do you support, oppose, or neither support nor oppose the Tea Party movement?

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

[IF BA1=1 or BA1=2]

[BA2] Do you (support/oppose) the Tea Party movement (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]

**[BB. Divided government 1, preference]**

**[SP]**

[BB1] How would you prefer the 2010 Congressional election to turn out? Would you prefer Democratic control, Republican control, or split control of the U.S. Senate and House of Representatives?

- Prefer Democratic control [1]
- Prefer Republican control [2]
- Prefer split control [3]

**[C. Trust in government]**

[C1]

How much of the time do you think you can trust the federal government in Washington DC to do what is right – just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

- Just about always [1]
- Most of the time [2]
- Only some of the time [3]

**[D. Interest in Politics]**

**[SP]**

[D1] 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]

**[E. Efficacy]**

**[SP]**

[E1]

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]

**[EB. Choice/Duty to vote]**

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN EB1A OR EB1B]

[IF ASSIGNED EB1A]

[EB1A]

Different people feel differently about voting. For some, voting is a **duty** – they feel they should vote in every election no matter how they feel about the candidates and parties. For others voting is a **choice** – they feel free to vote or not to vote, depending on how they feel about the candidates and parties.

For you personally, is voting mainly a duty, mainly a choice, or neither a duty nor a choice ?

- Mainly a duty [1]
- Mainly a choice [2]
- Neither a choice nor a duty [3]

[IF ASSIGNED EB1B]

[NOTE RESPONSE CODES MATCH EB1A BUT ORDER DIFFERS]

[EB1B]

Different people feel differently about voting. For some, voting is a **choice** – they feel free to vote or not to vote, depending on how they feel about the candidates and parties. For others voting is a **duty** – they feel they should vote in every election no matter how they feel about the candidates and parties.

For you personally, is voting mainly a choice, mainly a duty, or neither a choice nor a duty?

- Mainly a choice [2]
- Mainly a duty [1]
- Neither a choice nor a duty [3]

[IF EB1A=1 or EB1A=2 or EB1B=1 or EB1B=2]

[IF EB1A=1 OR EB1B=1, FILL “CHOICE/DUTY” WITH “DUTY”, ELSE FILL “CHOICE”]

[EB2]

How strongly do you feel that voting is a (choice/duty)?

- Very strongly [1]
- Moderately strongly [2]
- A little strongly [3]

**[F. Generalized interpersonal trust]**

**[SP]**

[F1] Generally speaking, do you believe that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

- Most people can be trusted [1]
- You can't be too careful in dealing with people [2]

**[G. Emotions about what's going on in the country]**

**[RANDOMIZE THE ORDER OF G1 TO G16 USING xG1G6]**

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

**[SP]**

[G1] Generally speaking, how do you feel about the way things are going in the country these days?

		Extremely [1]	Very [2]	Moderately [3]	A little [4]	Not at all [5]
[G1]	How angry?	○	○	○	○	(
[G2]	How afraid?	(	(	(	(	(
[G3]	How proud?	(	(	(	(	(
[G4]	How hopeful?	(	(	(	(	(
[G5]	How worried?	(	(	(	(	(
[G6]	How outraged?	(	(	(	(	(

**[H. PID]**

[PROGRAMMING: The 2-1-3-4 code order for the Rep-Dem version (H1) is intentional. This way H1 and H3 have the same codes even though their response order differs.]

**[RANDOMLY ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO EITHER H1 OR H3 BY RANDOMLY ASSIGNING A VALUE OF 1 OR 2 TO THE VARIABLE H1ORH3]**

**[SP]**

**[IF H1ORH3=1]**

**[NOTE RESPONSE CODE VALUES MATCH H3 BUT ORDER (2,1,3,4) DIFFERS]**

[H1] 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 H1=4]**

[H2] **[PROGRAMMING: If H2 is displayed, display it on the same screen as H1.]**

What is that? \_\_\_\_\_

[SP]

[IF H1ORH3=2]

- [H3] 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 H3=4]

- [H4] **[PROGRAMMING: If H4 is displayed, display it on the same screen as H3.]**  
What is that? \_\_\_\_\_

[SP]

[IF H1=1 OR 2 OR H3=1 OR 2]

[IF H1=1 OR H3=1 INSERT "DEMOCRAT" IN [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN]; IF H1=2 OR H3=2 INSERT "REPUBLICAN" IN [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN] ]

- [H5] 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]

[SP]

[IF H1=3, 4 OR IS SKIPPED OR H3=3, 4, OR IS SKIPPED]

- [H6] 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]

## [J. Divided Government 2, ranking]

[RANK 4 ITEMS]

- [J1] Please rank each of these situations as your first, second, third, or fourth choice. Rank all four.

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTION DISPLAY AS 1,2,3,4 OR 1,2,4,3 OR 2,1,3,4, OR 2,1,4,3 OR 4,3,2,1 OR 4,3,1,2, OR 3,4,1,2, OR 3,4,2,1]

[J1A] The President of the United States, a majority of the members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and a majority of U.S. Senators are all **Democrats**. [RANK]

[J1B] The President of the United States, a majority of the members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and a majority of U.S. Senators are all **Republicans**. [RANK]

[J1C] The President of the United States is a **Democrat**, and a majority of the members of the U.S. House of Representatives and a majority of U.S. Senators are **Republicans**. [RANK]

[J1D] The President of the United States is a **Republican**, and a majority of the members of the U.S. House of Representatives and a majority of U.S. Senators are **Democrats**. [RANK]

**[K. Attitudes toward parties, Obama, candidates]**

[PROGRAMMING: Throughout section K, display the "IF LIKE" or "IF DISLIKE" follow-up items on the same screen as their parent items. E.g. when K2 is displayed, if the respondent chooses Like or Dislike, the follow-up intensity question (K3 or K4) should then appear below K2 on the same screen.]

**[GRID]**

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

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

[K1] How much do you like or dislike each group or person?

Select one answer from each row in the grid

		Like a great deal	Like a moderate amount	Like a little	Neither like nor dislike	Dislike a little	Dislike a moderate amount	Dislike a great deal
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
[K1A]	Democratic Party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[K1B]	Republican Party	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[K1C]	Barack Obama	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[K1D]	Sarah Palin	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[GRID]**

[ASK A, B, C, D ONLY IF A CANDIDATE IS RUNNING IN R's STATE; IF NOT RUNNING, CODE -1, INAPPLICABLE]

[TO INSERT CANDIDATE NAME, USE RESPONDENT'S PPSTATEN TO MATCH TO PPSTATEN AND RESPONDENT'S xCD AND PARTY AND COLUMN "GENERAL"=1 IN THE LOOKUP TABLE (TAB "HOUSE/SENATE/GOVERNOR").]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ROWS A, B, C, D ON GRID AS ABCD, BACD, ABDC, OR BADC]

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

[K2] How much do you like or dislike each person?

Mark one answer on each row.

		Like a great deal	Like a moderate amount	Like a little	Neither like nor dislike	Dislike a little	Dislike a moderate amount	Dislike a great deal
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
[K2A]	[House Republican Candidate]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[K2B]	[House Democratic Candidate]	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[K2C]	[Senate Republican	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[K2D] Candidate]           
 [Senate  
 Democratic  
 Candidate]

**[KB. Tea Party stand for, open-end]**

[TEXT BOX]

[KB1] What does the Tea Party stand for?

Please type the answer to tell us in your own words

[TEXT BOX]

**[L. Roll call votes]**

**[DISPLAY L0 THRU L9 ON ONE PAGE]**

**[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF L0 THROUGH L9]**

[L0] Congress considered many important bills over the past two years. For each of the following tell us whether you support or oppose the legislation in principle.

[L1] **American Recovery and Reinvestment Act** Support Oppose  
 Authorizes \$787 billion in federal spending to stimulate economic growth in the US. \_\_\_ [1] \_\_\_ [2]

[L2] **State Children’s Health Insurance Program** Support Oppose  
 Program insures children in low income households. Act would renew the program through 2014 and include 4 million additional children. \_\_\_ [1] \_\_\_ [2]

[L3] **American Clean Energy and Security Act** Support Oppose  
 Imposes a cap on carbon emissions and allows \_\_\_ [1] \_\_\_ [2] companies to trade allowances for carbon emissions. Funds research on renewable energy.

[L4] **Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act** Support Oppose  
 Requires all Americans to have health insurance. \_\_\_ [1] \_\_\_ [2]  
 Allows people to keep current provider.  
 Sets up health insurance exchange for those without coverage.  
 Increases taxes on investment income for families making more than \$250,000

[L6] **Restoring American Financial Stability Act** Support Oppose  
 Protects consumers against abusive lending. \_\_\_ [1] \_\_\_ [2]  
 Creates a Bureau of Consumer Financial Protection.  
 Regulates high risk investments known as derivatives.  
 Allows government to shut down failing financial institutions.

[L7] **End Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell** Support Oppose  
 Would allow gays to serve openly in the armed services. \_\_\_ [1] \_\_\_ [2]

[L8] **Federal Intelligence and Security Act** Support Oppose  
 Allow U.S. spy agencies to eavesdrop on overseas terrorist suspects without first getting a court order \_\_\_ [1] \_\_\_ [2]

[L9] **Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act** Support Oppose  
 Allow federal funding of embryonic stem cell research \_\_\_ [1] \_\_\_ [2]

**[M. Knowledge of representatives' health votes]**

[ASK ITEM A ONLY IF REPRESENTATIVE IS NOT "VACANT"]

[FILL "REP" WITH THE REPRESENTATIVE FROM THE R's STATE; FILL "JUNIOR SENATOR" AND "SENIOR SENATOR" WITH THE RESPECTIVE SENATORS FROM THE R's STATE.]

- [M1] In March, Congress passed a "health care reform" law. This law will
- require all Americans to have health insurance,
  - help low-income people pay for health insurance,
  - require insurance companies to insure anyone, regardless of pre-existing medical conditions, and
  - raise taxes for families making over \$250,000 per year.

How did your Representative and Senators in Congress vote on this law? If you're not sure, please give your best guess.

Mark one answer on each row of the grid.

	Yes [1]	No [2]
[M1A] Representative (REP)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[M1B] Senator (JUNIOR SENATOR)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[M1C] Senator (SENIOR SENATOR)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[N. Economic Stimulus]**

[N1] Overall would you say the economic stimulus was good for the economy, bad for the economy, or neither good nor bad for the economy?

\_\_\_ Good [1]  
 \_\_\_ Bad [2]  
 \_\_\_ Neither good nor bad [3]

[IF N1=1]

[N2] How good? Extremely good, moderately good, or a little good?

\_\_\_ Extremely good [1]  
 \_\_\_ Moderately good [2]  
 \_\_\_ A little good [3]

[IF N1=2]

[N3] How bad? Extremely bad, moderately bad, or a little bad?

\_\_\_ Extremely bad [1]  
 \_\_\_ Moderately bad [2]  
 \_\_\_ A little bad [3]

[N4] Compared to other communities, how much money has your community gotten because of the economic stimulus? More than others, less than others, or the same as others?

\_\_\_ More [1]  
 \_\_\_ Less [2]  
 \_\_\_ The same [3]

[DISPLAY ON SAME SCREEN AS ORIGINAL STEM]

[IF N4=1]

[N5] How much more? A lot more, a moderate amount more, or a little more?

\_\_\_ A lot more [1]

\_\_\_ A moderate amount more [2]

\_\_\_ A little more [3]

[DISPLAY ON SAME SCREEN AS ORIGINAL STEM]

[IF N4=2]

[N6] How much less? A lot less, a moderate amount less, or a little less?

\_\_\_ A lot less [1]

\_\_\_ A moderate amount less [2]

\_\_\_ A little less [3]

[GRID, ONE SCREEN]

[Q. Group closeness]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ITEMS N1 THROUGH N8]

[“FORWARD” ORDER AS SHOWN, DISPLAY “REVERSE” ORDER BY REVERSING RESPONSE OPTION ORDER]

[Q0] How close do you feel to each of these groups in terms of ideas and interests?  
Select one answer from each row in the grid

		Extremely close	Very close	Moderately close	A little close	Not at all close
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[Q1]	Whites	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Q2]	Blacks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Q3]	Hispanics or Latinos	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Q4]	Asians	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Q5]	Immigrants	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Q6]	Evangelical Christians	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Q7]	Men	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Q8]	Women	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[R. Authoritarianism, desiderata for children]

[DISPLAY]

[R0] Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. We are going to show you pairs of desirable qualities.

[R1] Please tell us which one you think is more important for a child to have: independence or respect for elders?

\_\_\_ independence [1]

\_\_\_ respect for elders [2]

[R2] Please tell us which one you think is more important for a child to have: obedience or self reliance?

\_\_\_ obedience [1]

\_\_\_ self reliance [2]

[R3] Please tell us which one you think is more important for a child to have:  
curiosity or good manners?  
\_\_\_ curiosity [1]  
\_\_\_ good manners [2]

[R4] Please tell us which one you think is more important for a child to have:  
being considerate or well behaved?  
\_\_\_ considerate [1]  
\_\_\_ well behaved [2]

**[S. Most important problem]**

**[SP WITH TEXT BOX]**

**[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF THE FIRST 12 RESPONSES AND KEEP**

**'Something else' LAST]**

**[ADD A ONE-LINE TEXT BOX FOR OPTION 13]**

[S1] What do you think is the most important problem facing the United States today?  
\_\_\_ the economy [1]  
\_\_\_ terrorism [2]  
\_\_\_ health care [3]  
\_\_\_ the war in Iraq [4]  
\_\_\_ the war in Afghanistan [5]  
\_\_\_ education [6]  
\_\_\_ the deficit and government spending [7]  
\_\_\_ moral decline [8]  
\_\_\_ the environment [9]  
\_\_\_ immigration [10]  
\_\_\_ crime [11]  
\_\_\_ poverty [12]  
\_\_\_ something else, please specify [TEXT BOX] [13]

**[T. Economic peril, housing security, peril in network]**

**[SP]**

[T1] 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]**

[T2] How worried are you about not being able to pay for health care during the next  
12 months? (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]

[T6]

During the past 12 months, has anyone in your family or a close personal friend **lost a job**, or has no one in your family and no close personal friend lost a job in the past 12 months?

- \_\_\_ Someone in my family or a close personal friend lost their job in the last 12 months [1]
- \_\_\_ No one in my family and no close personal friend lost their job in the last 12 months [2]

[TB. Attributions of Responsibility for Recession]

[SP]

[USE XTB TO RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF OPTIONS A,B,C,D IN GRID]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD RESPONSE OPTION FORWARD OR REVERSE]

[TB1]

In the past two years the economy has been in recession. How responsible are each of the following people or groups for the poor economic conditions of the past two years?

		Extremely responsible [1]	Very responsible [2]	Moderately responsible [3]	A little responsible [4]	Not at all responsible [5]
[TB1A]	President Obama	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[TB1B]	President Bush	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[TB1C]	The U.S. Congress	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[TB1D]	Wall Street bankers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[U. Race discrimination]

[SP]

[U1]

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]

**[V. Ideological placement of self, parties, Obama]**

**[GRID]**

**[RANDOMIZE USING xV1AD AND RECORD FORWARD OR REVERSE RESPONSE ORDER]**

[V1] 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	A little liberal	Neither liberal nor conservative	A little conservative	Somewhat conservative	Very conservative
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
[V1A]	Yourself	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[V1B]	Democrats	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[V1C]	Republicans	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[V1D]	Barack Obama	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[W. PARTICIPATION]**

**[SP]**

[W1] 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]**

[W2] 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 any of these things 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]**

[W3] 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 any of these things 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]**

[W4] 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]

**[X. News media exposure]**

**[NUMBER BOX, RANGE 0-7]**

[X1] During a typical week, how many days do you watch local news on TV?  
 \_\_\_ days [HARD RANGE 0-7]

**[Y. Obama evaluations]**

**[PROGRAMMING: branching follow-ups appear on the same page as the parent item.]**

**[SP]**

[Y1]

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 Y1=1 OR 2]**

**[IF Y1=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF Y1=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]**

[Y2]

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]**

[Y3]

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 Y3=1 OR 2]**

**[IF Y3=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF Y3=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]**

[Y4]

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]

**[Z. Gender; Modern Sexism]**

**[SP]**

[Z3]

In general, who do you think would do a better job as a government official representing your interests: a man, a woman, or do you think the sex of your elected official makes no difference at all?

- a man [1]
- a woman [2]
- the sex of the elected official makes no difference at all [3]

**[GRID]**

[Z4]

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with these statements?

Mark one answer on each row.

		Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[Z4A]	Discrimination against women is no longer a problem in the United States.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Z4B]	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.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Z4C]	When women demand equality these days, they are actually seeking special favors.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Z4D]	Women who complain about harassment cause more problems than they solve.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[Z4E]	Society has reached the point where women and men have equal opportunities for achievement.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[ZA. Condition of the country]

[SP]

[ZA1]

Compared to 2008, would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)?

**The federal budget deficit**

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

[SP]

[ZA2]

Compared to 2008, would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)?

**Poverty in the U.S.**

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

[SP]

[ZA3]

Compared to 2008, would you say the following is now (much lower, somewhat lower, about the same, somewhat higher, or much higher / much higher, somewhat higher, about the same, somewhat lower, or much lower)?

**The risk of terrorist attacks in the U.S.**

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

[SP]

[ZA4]

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 ZA4=1 OR ZA4=2]

[IF ZA4=1 FILL “(MORE/LESS)” WITH “MORE”; IF ZA4=2 FILL WITH “LESS”]

[ZA5]

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]

**[ZB. Economic performance]**

**[PROGRAMMING: ZB2/ZB3 appears on the same page as ZB1.]**

[SP]

[ZB1]

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 ZB1=1]

[ZB2]

Much better or somewhat better?

- Much better [1]
- Somewhat better [2]

[SP]

[IF ZB1=3]

[ZB3]

Much worse or somewhat worse?

- Much worse [1]
- Somewhat worse [2]

**[PROGRAMMING: ZB5/ZB6 appears on the same page as ZB4.]**

[SP]  
[ZB4] 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 ZB4=1]  
[ZB5] Much better or somewhat better?  
\_\_\_ Much better [1]  
\_\_\_ Somewhat better [2]

[SP]  
[IF ZB4=3]  
[ZB6] Much worse or somewhat worse?  
\_\_\_ Much worse [1]  
\_\_\_ Somewhat worse [2]

[ZD. IMMIGRATION]

[SP]  
[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD]  
[ZD3] Which of these two statements comes closer to your own views?  
  
\_\_\_ Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents. [1]  
  
\_\_\_ Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing, and health care. [2]

[ZE. TAX POLICY]

[SP]  
[ZE1] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **more** than \$250,000 per year?  
\_\_\_ Favor [1]  
\_\_\_ Oppose [2]  
\_\_\_ Neither favor nor oppose [3]

[SP]  
[IF ZE1=1 OR 2]  
[IF ZE1=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]; IF ZE1=2 INSERT "OPPOSE" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]]  
[ZE2] 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]

[ZF. Obama birthplace]

- [ZF1] Was Barack Obama definitely born in the United States, probably born in the United States, probably born in another country, or definitely born in another country?
- Definitely born in the United States
  - Probably born in the United States
  - Probably born in another country
  - Definitely born in another country

**[ZG. Religion]**

[if x xppa0070=1-4, 9-11, insert "Bible"; if x xppa0070=5 insert "Torah"; if xppa0070=6-8, 12-13, 15 insert "Holy Scripture"]

- [ZG3] 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]

**[ZH. RACIAL RESENTMENT SCALE]**

[Note: "Jewish" is used in the next item to match the wording used on other studies. Do not change it to "Jews."]

**[SP]**

- [ZH1] 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]**

- [ZH2] 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]**

[ZH3]

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]**

[ZH4]

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]

**[ZJ. POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE]**

**[DISPLAY]**

[ZJ0]

Next are some questions to help us see how much information about politics gets out to the public. Many people don't know the answers to these questions, but we'd be grateful if you would please answer every question, even if you're not sure what the right answer is.

**[SP]**

[ZJ2]

What job or political office is held by Nancy Pelosi?

- U.S. Secretary of Defense [1]
- Vice President of the United States [2]
- Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives [3]
- Chief Justice of the United States [4]
- None of these [5]

**[DESIGN NOTE: MATCHING CCES cc309a-d]**

**[GRID, SP EACH ROW]**

**[FILL "R'S STATE" WITH RESPONDENT'S STATE OF RESIDENCE]**

**[IF PPSTATEN IS CA, NV, NY, OR WI, FILL "BODY" WITH "PPSTATEN Assembly"]**

**[IF PPSTATEN IS NJ, FILL "BODY" WITH "PPSTATEN General Assembly"]**

**[IF PPSTATEN IS NE, FILL "BODY" WITH "PPSTATEN Legislature"]**

**[IF PPSTATEN IS DC, FILL "BODY" WITH "city Council"]**

**[IF PPSTATEN IS MD, VA, OR WV, FILL "BODY" WITH "PPSTATEN House of Delegates"]**  
**[IF PPSTATEN IS ANY OTHER, FILL "BODY" WITH "PPSTATEN House of Representatives"]**  
**[ASK C IF R DOES NOT LIVE IN NEBRASKA OR WASHINGTON DC]**

[ZJ3] Which party has a majority of seats in...

		Republicans	Democrats	Neither	Not sure
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]
[ZJ3A]	U.S. House of Representatives	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZJ3B]	U.S. Senate	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZJ3C]	(R'S STATE) state Senate	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZJ3D]	(R'S STATE) (BODY)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[GRID, SP EACH ROW]**

**[IF R'S STATE NOT DC]**

**[ASK ZJ4D IF R'S REP NOT "VACANT". TO INSERT REP NAMES, USE TABS ZJ4\_1 AND ZJ4\_2 IN THE LOOKUP TABLE. FOR GOVERNOR AND SENATORS, MATCH USING PPSTATEN; FOR REPRESENTATIVE, USE PPSTATEN AND xCD ]**

**[RANDOMLY PUT RESPONSE COLUMNS IN INDICATED ORDER OR IN ORDER "REPUBLICAN DEMOCRAT INDEPENDENT" AND RECORD ORDER]**

[ZJ4] Please mark the political party of each person. Even if you're not completely sure, please give us your best guess.  
 Select one answer from each row in the grid.

		Democrat	Republican	Independent
		[1]	[2]	[3]
[ZJ4A]	Governor (R'S GOVERNOR)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZJ4B]	Senator (R'S SR SENATOR)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZJ4C]	Senator (R'S JR SENATOR)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[ZJ4D]	Representative (R'S REP)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[ZL. Afghanistan]**

**[SP]**

[ZL2] 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]

**[ZM. Employment status]**

**[SP]**

[ZM1] 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]

**[END QUESTIONNAIRE]**

[PROGRAMMING DATA: Senators and Governors by state]

<i>State</i>	<i>Senior Senator</i>	<i>Junior Senator</i>	<i>Governor</i>
Alabama	Richard C. Shelby	Jeff Sessions	Bob Riley
Alaska	Lisa Murkowski	Mark Begich	Sean Parnell
Arizona	John McCain	Jon Kyl	Jan Brewer
Arkansas	Blanche L. Lincoln	Mark L. Pryor	Mike Beebe
California	Dianne Feinstein	Barbara Boxer	Arnold Schwarzenegger
Colorado	Mark Udall	Michael F. Bennet	Bill Ritter
Connecticut	Christopher J. Dodd	Joseph I. Lieberman	M. Jodi Rell
Delaware	Thomas R. Carper	Edward E. Kaufman	Jack Markell
Florida	Bill Nelson	George S. LeMieux	Charlie Crist
Georgia	Saxby Chambliss	Johnny Isakson	Sonny Perdue
Hawaii	Daniel K. Inouye	Daniel K. Akaka	Linda Lingle
Idaho	Mike Crapo	James E. Risch	Butch Otter
Illinois	Richard J. Durbin	Roland W. Burris	Pat Quinn
Indiana	Richard G. Lugar	Evan Bayh	Mitch Daniels
Iowa	Chuck Grassley	Tom Harkin	Chet Culver
Kansas	Sam Brownback	Pat Roberts	Mark Parkinson
Kentucky	Mitch McConnell	Jim Bunning	Steve Beshear
Louisiana	Mary L. Landrieu	David Vitter	Bobby Jindal
Maine	Olympia J. Snowe	Susan M. Collins	John Baldacci
Maryland	Barbara A. Mikulski	Benjamin L. Cardin	Martin O'Malley
Massachusetts	John F. Kerry	Scott P. Brown	Deval Patrick
Michigan	Carl Levin	Debbie Stabenow	Jennifer Granholm
Minnesota	Amy Klobuchar	Al Franken	Tim Pawlenty
Mississippi	Thad Cochran	Roger F. Wicker	Haley Barbour
Missouri	Christopher S. Bond	Claire McCaskill	Jay Nixon
Montana	Max Baucus	Jon Tester	Brian Schweitzer
Nebraska	Ben Nelson	Mike Johanns	Dave Heineman
Nevada	Harry Reid	John Ensign	Jim Gibbons
New Hampshire	Judd Gregg	Jeanne Shaheen	John Lynch
New Jersey	Frank R. Lautenberg	Robert Menendez	Chris Christie
New Mexico	Jeff Bingaman	Tom Udall	Bill Richardson
New York	Charles E. Schumer	Kirsten E. Gillibrand	David Paterson
North Carolina	Richard Burr	Kay R. Hagan	Beverly Perdue
North Dakota	Kent Conrad	Byron L. Dorgan	John Hoeven
Ohio	George V. Voinovich	Sherrod Brown	Ted Strickland
Oklahoma	James M. Inhofe	Tom Coburn	Brad Henry
Oregon	Ron Wyden	Jeff Merkley	Ted Kulongoski
Pennsylvania	Arlen Specter	Robert P. Casey, Jr.	Ed Rendell
Rhode Island	Jack Reed	Sheldon Whitehouse	Donald Carcieri
South Carolina	Lindsey Graham	Jim DeMint	Mark Sanford
South Dakota	Tim Johnson	John Thune	Mike Rounds
Tennessee	Lamar Alexander	Bob Corker	Phil Bredesen
Texas	Kay Bailey Hutchison	John Cornyn	Rick Perry
Utah	Orrin G. Hatch	Robert F. Bennett	Gary Herbert
Vermont	Patrick J. Leahy	Bernard Sanders	Jim Douglas
Virginia	Jim Webb	Mark R. Warner	Bob McDonnell
Washington	Patty Murray	Maria Cantwell	Christine Gregoire
West Virginia	John D. Rockefeller, IV	Carte P. Goodwin	Joe Manchin

Wisconsin  
Wyoming

Herb Kohl  
Michael B. Enzi

Russell D. Feingold  
John Barrasso

Jim Doyle  
Dave Freudenthal

[PROGRAMMING DATA: for candidates for House, Senate, and governor, see separate candidates database]

[PROGRAMMING DATA: House of Representatives incumbents]

<i>State</i>	<i>District</i>	<i>Representative</i>
Alabama	1st	Jo Bonner
Alabama	2nd	Bobby Bright
Alabama	3rd	Mike Rogers
Alabama	4th	Robert Aderholt
Alabama	5th	Parker Griffith
Alabama	6th	Spencer Bachus
Alabama	7th	Artur Davis
Alaska	1st	Don Young
Arkansas	1st	Marion Berry
Arkansas	2nd	Vic Snyder
Arkansas	3rd	John Boozman
Arkansas	4th	Mike Ross
Arizona	1st	Ann Kirkpatrick
Arizona	2nd	Trent Franks
Arizona	3rd	John Shadegg
Arizona	4th	Ed Pastor
Arizona	5th	Harry E. Mitchell
Arizona	6th	Jeff Flake
Arizona	7th	Raul Grijalva
Arizona	8th	Gabrielle Giffords
California	1st	Mike Thompson
California	2nd	Wally Herger
California	3rd	Daniel E. Lungren
California	4th	Tom McClintock
California	5th	Doris O. Matsui
California	6th	Lynn Woolsey
California	7th	George Miller
California	8th	Nancy Pelosi
California	9th	Barbara Lee
California	10th	John Garamendi
California	11th	Jerry McNerney
California	12th	Jackie Speier
California	13th	Fortney Pete Stark
California	14th	Anna G. Eshoo
California	15th	Mike Honda
California	16th	Zoe Lofgren
California	17th	Sam Farr
California	18th	Dennis Cardoza
California	19th	George P. Radanovich

California	20th	Jim Costa
California	21st	Devin Nunes
California	22nd	Kevin McCarthy
California	23rd	Lois Capps
California	24th	Elton Gallegly
California	25th	Buck McKeon
California	26th	David Dreier
California	27th	Brad Sherman
California	28th	Howard Berman
California	29th	Adam Schiff
California	30th	Henry Waxman
California	31st	Xavier Becerra
California	32nd	Judy Chu
California	33rd	Diane E. Watson
California	34th	Lucille Roybal-Allard
California	35th	Maxine Waters
California	36th	Jane Harman
California	37th	Laura Richardson
California	38th	Grace Napolitano
California	39th	Linda Sanchez
California	40th	Ed Royce
California	41st	Jerry Lewis
California	42nd	Gary Miller
California	43rd	Joe Baca
California	44th	Ken Calvert
California	45th	Mary Bono
California	46th	Dana Rohrabacher
California	47th	Loretta Sanchez
California	48th	John Campbell
California	49th	Darrell Issa
California	50th	Brian P. Bilbray
California	51st	Bob Filner
California	52nd	Duncan D. Hunter
California	53rd	Susan Davis
Colorado	1st	Diana DeGette
Colorado	2nd	Jared Polis
Colorado	3rd	John T. Salazar
Colorado	4th	Betsy Markey
Colorado	5th	Doug Lamborn
Colorado	6th	Mike Coffman
Colorado	7th	Ed Perimeter
Connecticut	1st	John B. Larson
Connecticut	2nd	Joe Courtney
Connecticut	3rd	Rosa L. DeLauro
Connecticut	4th	Jim Himes
Connecticut	5th	Christopher S. Murphy
Delaware	1st	Michael N. Castle
District of Columbia	1st	Eleanor Holmes Norton
Florida	1st	Jeff Miller
Florida	2nd	Allen Boyd

Florida	3rd	Corrine Brown
Florida	4th	Ander Crenshaw
Florida	5th	Virginia Brown-Waite
Florida	6th	Cliff Stearns
Florida	7th	John Mica
Florida	8th	Alan Grayson
Florida	9th	Gus M. Bilirakis
Florida	10th	C.W. Bill Young
Florida	11th	Kathy Castor
Florida	12th	Adam Putnam
Florida	13th	Vern Buchanan
Florida	14th	Connie Mack
Florida	15th	Bill Posey
Florida	16th	Tom Rooney
Florida	17th	Kendrick Meek
Florida	18th	Ileana Ros-Lehtinen
Florida	19th	Ted Deutch
Florida	20th	Debbie Wasserman Schultz
Florida	21st	Lincoln Diaz-Balart
Florida	22nd	Ron Klein
Florida	23rd	Alcee L. Hastings
Florida	24th	Suzanne M. Kosmas
Florida	25th	Mario Diaz-Balart
Georgia	1st	Jack Kingston
Georgia	2nd	Sanford D. Bishop Jr.
Georgia	3rd	Lynn A. Westmoreland
Georgia	4th	Henry C. "Hank" Johnson Jr.
Georgia	5th	John Lewis
Georgia	6th	Tom Price
Georgia	7th	John Linder
Georgia	8th	Jim Marshall
Georgia	9th	Tom Graves
Georgia	10th	Paul C. Broun
Georgia	11th	Phil Gingrey
Georgia	12th	John Barrow
Georgia	13th	David Scott
Hawaii	1st	Charles Djou
Hawaii	2nd	Mazie Hirono
Idaho	1st	Walt Minnick
Idaho	2nd	Mike Simpson
Illinois	1st	Bobby L. Rush
Illinois	2nd	Jesse L. Jackson Jr.
Illinois	3rd	Daniel Lipinski
Illinois	4th	Luis Gutierrez
Illinois	5th	Mike Quigley
Illinois	6th	Peter J. Roskam
Illinois	7th	Danny K. Davis
Illinois	8th	Melissa L. Bean
Illinois	9th	Jan Schakowsky
Illinois	10th	Mark Kirk
Illinois	11th	Deborah "Debbie" Halvorson

Illinois	12th	Jerry Costello
Illinois	13th	Judy Biggert
Illinois	14th	Bill Foster
Illinois	15th	Timothy V. Johnson
Illinois	16th	Donald Manzullo
Illinois	17th	Phil Hare
Illinois	18th	Aaron Schock
Illinois	19th	John Shimkus
Indiana	1st	Peter Visclosky
Indiana	2nd	Joe Donnelly
Indiana	3rd	VACANT
Indiana	4th	Steve Buyer
Indiana	5th	Dan Burton
Indiana	6th	Mike Pence
Indiana	7th	Andre Carson
Indiana	8th	Brad Ellsworth
Indiana	9th	Baron Hill
Iowa	1st	Bruce L. Braley
Iowa	2nd	David Loebsack
Iowa	3rd	Leonard Boswell
Iowa	4th	Tom Latham
Iowa	5th	Steve King
Kansas	1st	Jerry Moran
Kansas	2nd	Lynn Jenkins
Kansas	3rd	Dennis Moore
Kansas	4th	Todd Tiahrt
Kentucky	1st	Ed Whitfield
Kentucky	2nd	S. Brett Guthrie
Kentucky	3rd	John A. Yarmuth
Kentucky	4th	Geoff Davis
Kentucky	5th	Harold Rogers
Kentucky	6th	Ben Chandler
Louisiana	1st	Steve Scalise
Louisiana	2nd	Joseph Cao
Louisiana	3rd	Charlie Melancon
Louisiana	4th	John Fleming
Louisiana	5th	Rodney Alexander
Louisiana	6th	William "Bill" Cassidy
Louisiana	7th	Charles W. Boustany Jr.
Maine	1st	Chellie Pingree
Maine	2nd	Michael Michaud
Maryland	1st	Frank M. Kratovil Jr.
Maryland	2nd	Dutch Ruppersberger
Maryland	3rd	John P. Sarbanes
Maryland	4th	Donna F. Edwards
Maryland	5th	Steny H. Hoyer
Maryland	6th	Roscoe Bartlett
Maryland	7th	Elijah Cummings
Maryland	8th	Chris Van Hollen
Massachusetts	1st	John Olver
Massachusetts	2nd	Richard E. Neal

Massachusetts	3rd	James McGovern
Massachusetts	4th	Barney Frank
Massachusetts	5th	Niki Tsongas
Massachusetts	6th	John Tierney
Massachusetts	7th	Ed Markey
Massachusetts	8th	Michael E. Capuano
Massachusetts	9th	Stephen F. Lynch
Massachusetts	10th	William Delahunt
Michigan	1st	Bart Stupak
Michigan	2nd	Pete Hoekstra
Michigan	3rd	Vernon J. Ehlers
Michigan	4th	Dave Camp
Michigan	5th	Dale Kildee
Michigan	6th	Fred Upton
Michigan	7th	Mark Schauer
Michigan	8th	Mike Rogers
Michigan	9th	Gary Peters
Michigan	10th	Candice Miller
Michigan	11th	Thaddeus McCotter
Michigan	12th	Sander Levin
Michigan	13th	Carolyn Kilpatrick
Michigan	14th	John Conyers Jr.
Michigan	15th	John D. Dingell
Minnesota	1st	Timothy J. Walz
Minnesota	2nd	John Kline
Minnesota	3rd	Erik Paulsen
Minnesota	4th	Betty McCollum
Minnesota	5th	Keith Ellison
Minnesota	6th	Michele Bachmann
Minnesota	7th	Collin C. Peterson
Minnesota	8th	James L. Oberstar
Mississippi	1st	Travis Childers
Mississippi	2nd	Bennie G. Thompson
Mississippi	3rd	Gregg Harper
Mississippi	4th	Gene Taylor
Missouri	1st	William "Lacy" Clay Jr.
Missouri	2nd	Todd Akin
Missouri	3rd	Russ Carnahan
Missouri	4th	Ike Skelton
Missouri	5th	Emanuel Cleaver
Missouri	6th	Sam Graves
Missouri	7th	Roy Blunt
Missouri	8th	Jo Ann Emerson
Missouri	9th	Blaine Luetkemeyer
Montana	1st	Dennis Rehberg
Nebraska	1st	Jeff Fortenberry
Nebraska	2nd	Lee Terry
Nebraska	3rd	Adrian Smith
Nevada	1st	Shelley Berkley
Nevada	2nd	Dean Heller
Nevada	3rd	Dina Titus

New Hampshire	1st	Carol Shea-Porter
New Hampshire	2nd	Paul W. Hodes
New Jersey	1st	Robert E. Andrews
New Jersey	2nd	Frank LoBiondo
New Jersey	3rd	John Adler
New Jersey	4th	Chris Smith
New Jersey	5th	Scott Garrett
New Jersey	6th	Frank Pallone Jr.
New Jersey	7th	Leonard Lance
New Jersey	8th	Bill Pascrell Jr.
New Jersey	9th	Steven Rothman
New Jersey	10th	Donald M. Payne
New Jersey	11th	Rodney Frelinghuysen
New Jersey	12th	Rush Holt
New Jersey	13th	Albio Sires
New Mexico	1st	Martin T. Heinrich
New Mexico	2nd	Harry Teague
New Mexico	3rd	Ben R. Lujan
New York	1st	Timothy Bishop
New York	2nd	Steve Israel
New York	3rd	Pete King
New York	4th	Carolyn McCarthy
New York	5th	Gary Ackerman
New York	6th	Gregory W. Meeks
New York	7th	Joseph Crowley
New York	8th	Jerrold Nadler
New York	9th	Anthony D. Weiner
New York	10th	Edolphus Towns
New York	11th	Yvette D. Clarke
New York	12th	Nydia M. Velazquez
New York	13th	Michael E. McMahon
New York	14th	Carolyn Maloney
New York	15th	Charles B. Rangel
New York	16th	Jose E. Serrano
New York	17th	Eliot Engel
New York	18th	Nita Lowey
New York	19th	John J. Hall
New York	20th	Scott Murphy
New York	21st	Paul D. Tonko
New York	22nd	Maurice Hinchey
New York	23rd	Bill Owens
New York	24th	Michael A. Arcuri
New York	25th	Daniel B. Maffei
New York	26th	Christopher J. Lee
New York	27th	Brian Higgins
New York	28th	Louise Slaughter
New York	29th	VACANT
North Carolina	1st	G.K. Butterfield
North Carolina	2nd	Bob Etheridge
North Carolina	3rd	Walter B. Jones
North Carolina	4th	David Price

North Carolina	5th	Virginia Foxx
North Carolina	6th	Howard Coble
North Carolina	7th	Mike McIntyre
North Carolina	8th	Larry Kissell
North Carolina	9th	Sue Myrick
North Carolina	10th	Patrick T. McHenry
North Carolina	11th	Heath Schuler
North Carolina	12th	Mel Watt
North Carolina	13th	Brad Miller
North Dakota	1st	Earl Pomeroy
Ohio	1st	Steve Driehaus
Ohio	2nd	Jean Schmidt
Ohio	3rd	Michael Turner
Ohio	4th	Jim Jordan
Ohio	5th	Robert E. Latta
Ohio	6th	Charles A. Wilson
Ohio	7th	Steve Austria
Ohio	8th	John A. Boehner
Ohio	9th	Marcy Kaptur
Ohio	10th	Dennis J. Kucinich
Ohio	11th	Marcia L. Fudge
Ohio	12th	Pat Tiberi
Ohio	13th	Betty Sutton
Ohio	14th	Steven C. LaTourette
Ohio	15th	Mary Jo Kilroy
Ohio	16th	John A. Boccieri
Ohio	17th	Tim Ryan
Ohio	18th	Zachary T. Space
Oklahoma	1st	John Sullivan
Oklahoma	2nd	Dan Boren
Oklahoma	3rd	Frank Lucas
Oklahoma	4th	Tom Cole
Oklahoma	5th	Mary Fallin
Oregon	1st	David Wu
Oregon	2nd	Greg Walden
Oregon	3rd	Earl Blumenauer
Oregon	4th	Peter DeFazio
Oregon	5th	Kurt Schrader
Pennsylvania	1st	Robert Brady
Pennsylvania	2nd	Chaka Fattah
Pennsylvania	3rd	Kathy Dahlkemper
Pennsylvania	4th	Jason Altmire
Pennsylvania	5th	Glenn W. Thompson
Pennsylvania	6th	Jim Gerlach
Pennsylvania	7th	Joe Sestak
Pennsylvania	8th	Patrick J. Murphy
Pennsylvania	9th	Bill Shuster
Pennsylvania	10th	Christopher P. Carney
Pennsylvania	11th	Paul E. Kanjorski
Pennsylvania	12th	Mark Critz
Pennsylvania	13th	Allyson Y. Schwartz

Pennsylvania	14th	Mike Doyle
Pennsylvania	15th	Charles W. Dent
Pennsylvania	16th	Joseph R. Pitts
Pennsylvania	17th	Tim Holden
Pennsylvania	18th	Tim Murphy
Pennsylvania	19th	Todd Platts
Rhode Island	1st	Patrick Kennedy
Rhode Island	2nd	Jim Langevin
South Carolina	1st	Henry Brown
South Carolina	2nd	Joe Wilson
South Carolina	3rd	J. Gresham Barrett
South Carolina	4th	Bob Inglis
South Carolina	5th	John Spratt
South Carolina	6th	James E. Clyburn
South Dakota	1st	Stephanie Herseth Sandlin
Tennessee	1st	Phil Roe
Tennessee	2nd	John J. Duncan Jr.
Tennessee	3rd	Zach Wamp
Tennessee	4th	Lincoln Davis
Tennessee	5th	Jim Cooper
Tennessee	6th	Bart Gordon
Tennessee	7th	Marsha Blackburn
Tennessee	8th	John Tanner
Tennessee	9th	Steve Cohen
Texas	1st	Louie Gohmert
Texas	2nd	Ted Poe
Texas	3rd	Sam Johnson
Texas	4th	Ralph M. Hall
Texas	5th	Jeb Hensarling
Texas	6th	Joe Barton
Texas	7th	John Culberson
Texas	8th	Kevin Brady
Texas	9th	Al Green
Texas	10th	Michael T. McCaul
Texas	11th	K. Michael Conaway
Texas	12th	Kay Granger
Texas	13th	Mac Thornberry
Texas	14th	Ron Paul
Texas	15th	Ruben Hinojosa
Texas	16th	Silvestre Reyes
Texas	17th	Chet Edwards
Texas	18th	Sheila Jackson Lee
Texas	19th	Randy Neugebauer
Texas	20th	Charlie A. Gonzalez
Texas	21st	Lamar Smith
Texas	22nd	Pete Olson
Texas	23rd	Ciro Rodriguez
Texas	24th	Kenny Marchant
Texas	25th	Lloyd Doggett
Texas	26th	Michael Burgess
Texas	27th	Solomon P. Ortiz

Texas	28th	Henry Cuellar
Texas	29th	Gene Green
Texas	30th	Eddie Bernice Johnson
Texas	31st	John Carter
Texas	32nd	Pete Sessions
Utah	1st	Rob Bishop
Utah	2nd	Jim Matheson
Utah	3rd	Jason Chaffetz
Vermont	1st	Peter Welch
Virginia	1st	Robert J. Wittman
Virginia	2nd	Glenn C. Nye III
Virginia	3rd	Robert C. "Bobby" Scott
Virginia	4th	J. Randy Forbes
Virginia	5th	Tom Perriello
Virginia	6th	Bob Goodlatte
Virginia	7th	Eric Cantor
Virginia	8th	Jim Moran
Virginia	9th	Rick Boucher
Virginia	10th	Frank Wolf
Virginia	11th	Gerald E. "Gerry" Connolly
Washington	1st	Jay Inslee
Washington	2nd	Rick Larsen
Washington	3rd	Brian Baird
Washington	4th	Doc Hastings
Washington	5th	Cathy McMorris Rodgers
Washington	6th	Norman D. Dicks
Washington	7th	Jim McDermott
Washington	8th	David G. Reichert
Washington	9th	Adam Smith
West Virginia	1st	Alan B. Mollohan
West Virginia	2nd	Shelley Moore Capito
West Virginia	3rd	Nick Rahall
Wisconsin	1st	Paul Ryan
Wisconsin	2nd	Tammy Baldwin
Wisconsin	3rd	Ron Kind
Wisconsin	4th	Gwen Moore
Wisconsin	5th	F. James Sensenbrenner
Wisconsin	6th	Thomas Petri
Wisconsin	7th	David R. Obey
Wisconsin	8th	Steve Kagen
Wyoming	1st	Cynthia M. Lummis

## Appendix 2: Derived variable code (abbreviated)

The SPSS code shown below was used to create the derived variables (which begin with the letters “der”) on the EGSS1 data file. The code that created the variables indicating the party of the candidates the respondent voted for in the elections for governor, US House, and US Senate has been abbreviated or omitted in the interest of space.

```
*****
**DERIVED VARIABLES**
*****

get file =
'N:\anes\unitfiles\projects\2010PanelStudy\EGSS1\work\filebuild1\egss1_0.sav'.

**Turnout
**Create der10C1.
do if (C1_A1 = -6).
compute der10C1=-6.
else if (C1_A1 = -7).
compute der10C1 = -7.
else if (C1_A1 = 2).
compute der10C1=1.
else if (C1_A2 = 1).
compute der10C1 = 2.
else if (C1_A2 = 2).
compute der10C1 = 3.
else if (C1_A2 = 3).
compute der10C1 = 4.
else if (C1_A2 = 4).
compute der10C1 = 5.

end if.
EXECUTE.

var lab der10C1 'TURNOUT'.
val lab der10C1 -6 "Unit non-response"
-7 "No answer"
1 "1. Have not voted in that election"
2 "2. Definitely voted in person at a polling"
3 "3. Definitely voted by mailing a ballot to"
4 "4. Definitely voted in some other way"
5 "5. Not completely sure whether you voted"

**Turnout, trichotomous
**Create der10aC1.
do if (C1_A1 = -6).
compute der10aC1=-6.
else if (C1_A1 = -7).
compute der10aC1 = -7.
else if (C1_A1 = 2).
compute der10aC1=1.
else if (C1_A2 = 1).
compute der10aC1 = 2.
else if (C1_A2 = 2).
```

```

compute der10aC1 = 2.
else if (C1_A2 = 3).
compute der10aC1 = 2.
else if (C1_A2 = 4).
compute der10aC1 = 3.

end if.
EXECUTE.

```

```

var lab der10aC1 'TURNOUT, TRICHOTOMOUS'.
val lab der10aC1 -6 "Unit non-response"
                -7 "No answer"
                1 "1. Did not vote"
                2 "2. Voted"
                3 "3. Not completely sure"

```

```

**Support/Oppose Tea Party.
***Create derTeaPartyC1.
do if (C1_BA1 = -7 or C1_BA2_support = -7).
compute derTeaPartyC1=-7.
else if (C1_BA1=-6).
compute derTeaPartyC1=-6.
else if (C1_BA1=-5).
compute derTeaPartyC1=-5.
else if (C1_BA1= 1 and C1_BA2_support= 1).
compute derTeaPartyC1= 1.
else if (C1_BA1= 1 and C1_BA2_support= 2).
compute derTeaPartyC1= 2.
else if (C1_BA1= 1 and C1_BA2_support= 3).
compute derTeaPartyC1= 3.
else if (C1_BA1= 3).
compute derTeaPartyC1= 4.
else if (C1_BA1= 2 and C1_BA2_oppose= 3).
compute derTeaPartyC1= 5.
else if (C1_BA1= 2 and C1_BA2_oppose= 2).
compute derTeaPartyC1= 6.
else if (C1_BA1= 2 and C1_BA2_oppose= 1).
compute derTeaPartyC1= 7.

end if.
EXECUTE.

```

```

var lab derTeaPartyC1 'SUPPORT OPPOSE TEA PARTY'.
val lab derTeaPartyC1 -7 "No answer"
                    -6 "Unit non-response"
                    -5 "Break-off"
                    1 "1. Support a great deal"
                    2 "2. Support a moderate amount"
                    3 "3. Support a little"
                    4 "4. Neither support nor oppose"
                    5 "5. Oppose a little"
                    6 "6. Oppose a moderate amount"
                    7 "7. Oppose a great deal"

```

```

**Choice/Duty to Vote.
***Create derEB1AorEB1BC1.
do if (C1_EB1A = -7 or C1_EB1B = -7).

```

```

compute derEB1AorEB1BC1=-7.
else if (C1_EB1A=-6).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1=-6.
else if (C1_EB1A=-5).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1=-5.
else if (C1_EB1A= 1 and C1_EB2= 1).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 1.
else if (C1_EB1B= 1 and C1_EB2= 1).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 1.
else if (C1_EB1A= 1 and C1_EB2= 2).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 2.
else if (C1_EB1B= 1 and C1_EB2= 2).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 2.
else if (C1_EB1A= 1 and C1_EB2= 3).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 3.
else if (C1_EB1B= 1 and C1_EB2= 3).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 3.
else if (C1_EB1A= 3).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 4.
else if (C1_EB1B= 3).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 4.
else if (C1_EB1A= 2 and C1_EB2= 3).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 5.
else if (C1_EB1B= 2 and C1_EB2= 3).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 5.
else if (C1_EB1A= 2 and C1_EB2= 2).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 6.
else if (C1_EB1B= 2 and C1_EB2= 2).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 6.
else if (C1_EB1A= 2 and C1_EB2= 1).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 7.
else if (C1_EB1B= 2 and C1_EB2= 1).
compute derEB1AorEB1BC1= 7.

end if.
EXECUTE.

```

```

var lab derEB1AorEB1BC1 'CHOICE/DUTY TO VOTE'.
val lab derEB1AorEB1BC1 -7 "No answer"
-6 "Unit non-response"
-5 "Break-off"
1 "1. Very strongly mainly a duty"
2 "2. Moderately strongly mainly a duty"
3 "3. A little strongly mainly a duty"
4 "4. Neither a choice nor a duty"
5 "5. A little strongly mainly a choice"
6 "6. Moderately strongly mainly a choice"
7 "7. Very strongly mainly a choice"

```

```

**Party ID.
**Create C1_H1ORH3DV.
compute C1_H1ORH3DV=-9999.
do if (C1_H1>0).
compute C1_H1ORH3DV=C1_H1.
else if (C1_H3>0).
compute C1_H1ORH3DV=C1_H3.
else if (C1_H1 = -2 AND C1_H3 = -2).
compute C1_H1ORH3DV = -2.

```

```

else if (C1_H1 = -7 AND C1_H3 = -1).
  compute C1_H1ORH3DV = -7.
else if (C1_H1 = -1 AND C1_H3 = -7).
  compute C1_H1ORH3DV = -7.
else if (C1_H1 = -6 AND C1_H3 = -6).
  compute C1_H1ORH3DV = -6.
else if (C1_H1 = -5 AND C1_H3 = -5).
  compute C1_H1ORH3DV = -5.
else if (C1_H1 = -1 AND C1_H3 = -2).
  compute C1_H1ORH3DV = -2.
else if (C1_H1 = -2 AND C1_H3 = -1).
  compute C1_H1ORH3DV = -2.
end if.
EXECUTE.

```

```

**Create der08C1.
compute der08C1=C1_H1ORH3DV.
do if (C1_H1ORH3DV=1 AND C1_H5=1).
  compute der08C1=0.
else if (C1_H1ORH3DV=1 AND C1_H5=2).
  compute der08C1=1.
else if (C1_H1ORH3DV=3 AND C1_H6=2).
  compute der08C1=2.
else if (C1_H1ORH3DV=4 AND C1_H6=2).
  compute der08C1=2.
else if (C1_H1ORH3DV=3 AND C1_H6=3).
  compute der08C1=3.
else if (C1_H1ORH3DV=4 AND C1_H6=3).
  compute der08C1=3.
else if (C1_H1ORH3DV=3 AND C1_H6=1).
  compute der08C1=4.
else if (C1_H1ORH3DV=4 AND C1_H6=1).
  compute der08C1=4.
else if (C1_H1ORH3DV=2 AND C1_H5=2).
  compute der08C1=5.
else if (C1_H1ORH3DV=2 AND C1_H5=1).
  compute der08C1=6.
end if.
EXECUTE.

```

```

var lab der08C1 'PARTY IDENTIFICATION AT CROSS 1'.
val lab der08C1 0 "0. Strong Democrat"
  1 "1. Not very strong Democrat"
  2 "2. Independent Democrat"
  3 "3. Independent-Independent"
  4 "4. Independent Republican"
  5 "5. Not very strong Republican"
  6 "6. Strong Republican"
-1 '-1. Inapplicable'
-2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
-4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
-5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
-6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
-7 '-7. No answer'.

```

\*\*\*Create variable for what Party R voted for in Gubernatorial election from C1\_B2 and C1\_B6.

\*\*\* This code for the variable dercandgov has been abbreviated in the interest of space.

\*\*\* The next few lines are the beginning and end of this code.

\*\*\* This example illustrates the approach.

```
*compute dercandgov=-7.
*do if (C1_B2 ="Bob Riley").
*compute dercandgov=2.
*else if (C1_B2 ="Robert J. Bentley").
*compute dercandgov=2.
*else if (C1_B2 ="Bradley Byrne").
*compute dercandgov=2.
*else if (C1_B2 ="Tim James").
*compute dercandgov=2.
*else if (C1_B2 = "Bill Johnson" ).
*compute dercandgov=2.
* [PAGES OF CODE OMITTED].
*else if (C1_B6 = "Another person running for Governor").
*compute dercandgov=4.
*else if (C1_B6 = "Jerry Wilson").
*compute dercandgov=3.
*else if (C1_A4=-6 OR C1_A2=-6).
*compute dercandgov=-6.
*else if (C1_A4=-5 or C1_A2=-5).
*compute dercandgov=-5.
*else if (C1_BA1=-5).
*compute dercandgov=-5.
*else if (C1_STATE=22 or C1_STATE=32 or C1_STATE=43 or C1_STATE=44 or C1_STATE=51 or
C1_STATE=53 or C1_STATE=54 or C1_STATE=55 or C1_STATE=56 or C1_STATE=61 or
C1_STATE=64 or C1_STATE=72 or C1_STATE=81 or C1_STATE=91).
*compute dercandgov=-1.
*end if.
*EXECUTE.
*var lab dercandgov 'CANDIDATE PARTY VOTED FOR GOVERNOR'.
*val lab dercandgov 1 "1. Democratic Party"
                2 "2. Republican Party"
                3 "3. Other Party"
                4 "4. Other"
                -1 '-1. Inapplicable'
                -2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
                -4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
                -5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
                -6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
                -7 '-7. No answer'.
```

\*\*\* Candidate Party R voted for for House election.

\*\*\* [code omitted; followed same logic and approach as dercandgov].

\*\*\*Create variable for what Party R voted for in Senate election from C1\_B3 and C1\_B7.

\*\*\* [code omitted; followed same logic and approach as dercandgov].

\*\*Create derstimulus variable. Overall would you say the economic stimulus was good for the economy bad for the economy, or neither? (Branched question).

```
compute derstimulus=-9999.
```

```
do if (C1_N1=1 AND C1_N2=1).
```

```

compute derstimulus=1.
else if (C1_N1=1 AND C1_N2=2).
compute derstimulus=2.
else if (C1_N1=1 AND C1_N2=3).
compute derstimulus=3.
else if (C1_N1=3).
compute derstimulus=4.
else if (C1_N1=2 AND C1_N3=3).
compute derstimulus=5.
else if (C1_N1=2 AND C1_N3=2).
compute derstimulus=6.
else if (C1_N1=2 AND C1_N3=1).
compute derstimulus=7.
else if (C1_N1=-7 OR C1_N2=-7 OR C1_N3=-7).
compute derstimulus=-7.
else if (C1_N1=-6).
compute derstimulus=-6.
else if (C1_N1=-5).
compute derstimulus=-5.
end if.

```

EXECUTE.

```

var lab derstimulus 'EFFECT OF STIMULUS ON ECONOMY'.
val lab derstimulus 1 "1. Extremely Good"
    2 "2. Moderately Good"
    3 "3. A Little Good"
    4 "4. Neither Good Nor Bad"
    5 "5. A Little Bad"
    6 "6. Moderately Bad"
    7 "7. Extremely Bad"
    -1 '-1. Inapplicable'
    -2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
    -4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
    -5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
    -6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
    -7 '-7. No answer'.

```

\*\*Create derstimmoney. Compared to other communities, how much money has your community gotten because of the economic stimulus? More than others, less than others, or the same as others? (Branched)

```

compute derstimmoney=-9999.

do if (C1_N4=1 AND C1_N5=1).
compute derstimmoney=1.
else if (C1_N4=1 AND C1_N5=2).
compute derstimmoney=2.
else if (C1_N4=1 AND C1_N5=3).
compute derstimmoney=3.
else if (C1_N4=3).
compute derstimmoney=4.
else if (C1_N4=2 AND C1_N6=3).
compute derstimmoney=5.
else if (C1_N4=2 AND C1_N6=2).
compute derstimmoney=6.
else if (C1_N4=2 AND C1_N6=1).
compute derstimmoney=7.
else if (C1_N4=-7 OR C1_N5=-7 OR C1_N6=-7).
compute derstimmoney=-7.

```

```

else if (C1_N4=-6).
compute derstimmoney=-6.
else if (C1_N4=-5).
compute derstimmoney=-5.
end if.

EXECUTE.

var lab derstimmoney 'COMPARATIVE AMOUNT OF STIMULUS MONEY TO COMMUNITY'.
val lab derstimmoney 1 "1. A lot more"
2 "2. A moderate amount more"
3 "3. A little more"
4 "4. The same"
5 "5. A little less"
6 "6. A moderate amount less"
7 "7. A lot less"
-1 '-1. Inapplicable'
-2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
-4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
-5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
-6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
-7 '-7. No answer'.

**Create approval of Obama's job as president.

compute derapprov1=-9999.
do if (C1_Y1=1 AND C1_Y1_approve=1).
compute derapprov1=1.
else if (C1_Y1=1 AND C1_Y1_approve=2).
compute derapprov1=2.
else if (C1_Y1=1 AND C1_Y1_approve=3).
compute derapprov1=3.
else if (C1_Y1=3).
compute derapprov1=4.
else if (C1_Y1=2 AND C1_Y1_oppose=3).
compute derapprov1=5.
else if (C1_Y1=2 AND C1_Y1_oppose=2).
compute derapprov1=6.
else if (C1_Y1=2 AND C1_Y1_oppose=1).
compute derapprov1=7.
else if (C1_Y1=-7 OR C1_Y1_approve=-7 OR C1_Y1_oppose=-7).
compute derapprov1=-7.
else if (C1_Y1=-6).
compute derapprov1=-6.
else if (C1_Y1=-5).
compute derapprov1=-5.

end if.

EXECUTE.

var lab derapprov1 'APPROVE OF OBAMA AS PRESIDENT'.
val lab derapprov1 1 "1. Approve extremely strongly"
2 "2. Approve moderately strongly"
3 "3. Approve slightly strongly"
4 "4. Neither approve nor disapprove"
5 "5. Disapprove slightly strongly"
6 "6. Disapprove moderately strongly"
7 "7. Disapprove extremely strongly"
-1 '-1. Inapplicable'

```

```

-2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
-4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
-5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
-6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
-7 '-7. No answer'.

```

**\*\*Create approval of Obama's handling of war in Afghanistan.**

```
compute derapprov2=-9999.
```

```

do if (C1_Y3=1 AND C1_Y3_approve=1).
  compute derapprov2=1.
else if (C1_Y3=1 AND C1_Y3_approve=2).
  compute derapprov2=2.
else if (C1_Y3=1 AND C1_Y3_approve=3).
  compute derapprov2=3.
else if (C1_Y3=3).
  compute derapprov2=4.
else if (C1_Y3=2 AND C1_Y3_oppose=3).
  compute derapprov2=5.
else if (C1_Y3=2 AND C1_Y3_oppose=2).
  compute derapprov2=6.
else if (C1_Y3=2 AND C1_Y3_oppose=1).
  compute derapprov2=7.
else if (C1_Y3=-7 OR C1_Y3_approve=-7 OR C1_Y3_oppose=-7).
  compute derapprov2=-7.
else if (C1_Y3=-6).
  compute derapprov2=-6.
else if (C1_Y3=-5).
  compute derapprov2=-5.

```

```
end if.
```

```
EXECUTE.
```

```

var lab derapprov2 'APPROVE OF OBAMA HANDLING AFHGHANISTAN WAR'.
val lab derapprov2 1 "1. Approve extremely strongly"
  2 "2. Approve moderately strongly"
  3 "3. Approve slightly strongly"
  4 "4. Neither approve nor disapprove"
  5 "5. Disapprove slightly strongly"
  6 "6. Disapprove moderately strongly"
  7 "7. Disapprove extremely strongly"
  -1 '-1. Inapplicable'
  -2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
  -4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
  -5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
  -6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
  -7 '-7. No answer'.

```

**\*\*Create freedom variable.**

```
compute derfree=-9999.
```

```

do if (C1_ZA4=1 AND C1_ZA5_more=1).
  compute derfree=1.
else if (C1_ZA4=1 AND C1_ZA5_more=2).
  compute derfree=2.
else if (C1_ZA4=1 AND C1_ZA5_more=3).

```

```

compute derfree=3.
else if (C1_ZA4=3).
compute derfree=4.
else if (C1_ZA4=2 AND C1_ZA5_less=3).
compute derfree=5.
else if (C1_ZA4=2 AND C1_ZA5_less=2).
compute derfree=6.
else if (C1_ZA4=2 AND C1_ZA5_less=1).
compute derfree=7.
else if (C1_ZA4=-7 OR C1_ZA5_more=-7 OR C1_ZA5_less=-7).
compute derfree=-7.
else if (C1_ZA4=-6).
compute derfree=-6.
else if (C1_ZA4=-5).
compute derfree=-5.
end if.

```

EXECUTE.

```

var lab derfree 'FREEDOM TODAY COMPARED TO 2008'.
val lab derfree 1 "1. A great deal more freedom today"
                2 "2. A moderate amount more freedom today"
                3 "3. A little more freedom today"
                4 "4. The same amount of freedom"
                5 "5. A great deal less freedom today"
                6 "6. A moderate amount less freedom today"
                7 "7. A little less freedom today"
                -1 '-1. Inapplicable'
                -2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
                -4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
                -5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
                -6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
                -7 '-7. No answer'.

```

\*\*Create economic performance today compare to one year ago variable.

```

compute derecon1=-9999.

do if (C1_ZB1=1 AND C1_ZB2=1).
compute derecon1=1.
else if (C1_ZB1=1 AND C1_ZB2=2).
compute derecon1=2.
else if (C1_ZB1=2).
compute derecon1=3.
else if (C1_ZB1=3 AND C1_ZB3=2).
compute derecon1=4.
else if (C1_ZB1=3 AND C1_ZB3=1).
compute derecon1=5.
else if (C1_ZB1=-7 OR C1_ZB2=-7 OR C1_ZB3=-7).
compute derecon1=-7.
else if (C1_ZB1=-6).
compute derecon1=-6.
else if (C1_ZB1=-5).
compute derecon1=-5.
end if.

```

EXECUTE.

```

var lab derecon1 'ECONOMY TODAY COMPARED TO 1 YEAR AGO'.

```

```

val lab derecon1 1 "1. Much better"
    2 "2. Somewhat better"
    3 "3. About the same"
    4 "4. Somewhat worse"
    5 "5. Much worse"
-1 '-1. Inapplicable'
    -2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
    -4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
    -5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
    -6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
    -7 '-7. No answer'.

**Create economic performance today compared to 12 months from now variable.

compute derecon2=-9999.

do if (C1_ZB4=1 AND C1_ZB5=1).
compute derecon2=1.
else if (C1_ZB4=1 AND C1_ZB5=2).
compute derecon2=2.
else if (C1_ZB4=2).
compute derecon2=3.
else if (C1_ZB4=3 AND C1_ZB6=2).
compute derecon2=4.
else if (C1_ZB4=3 AND C1_ZB6=1).
compute derecon2=5.
else if (C1_ZB4=-7 OR C1_ZB5=-7 OR C1_ZB6=-7).
compute derecon2=-7.
else if (C1_ZB4=-6).
compute derecon2=-6.
else if (C1_ZB4=-5).
compute derecon2=-5.
end if.

EXECUTE.

var lab derecon2 'ECONOMY TODAY COMPARED TO 12 MONTHS FROM NOW'.
val lab derecon2 1 "1. Much better"
    2 "2. Somewhat better"
    3 "3. About the same"
    4 "4. Somewhat worse"
    5 "5. Much worse"
-1 '-1. Inapplicable'
    -2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
    -4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
    -5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
    -6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
    -7 '-7. No answer'.

**create support for raising federal income taxes for those who make >$250k variable.

compute dertaxes=-9999.

do if (C1_ZE1=1 AND C1_ZE2_favor=1).
compute dertaxes=1.
else if (C1_ZE1=1 AND C1_ZE2_favor=2).
compute dertaxes=2.
else if (C1_ZE1=1 AND C1_ZE2_favor=3).

```

```

compute dertaxes=3.
else if (C1_ZE1=3).
compute dertaxes=4.
else if (C1_ZE1=2 AND C1_ZE2_oppose=3).
compute dertaxes=5.
else if (C1_ZE1=2 AND C1_ZE2_oppose=2).
compute dertaxes=6.
else if (C1_ZE1=2 AND C1_ZE2_oppose=1).
compute dertaxes=7.
else if (C1_ZE1=-7 OR C1_ZE2_favor=-7 OR C1_ZE2_oppose=-7).
compute dertaxes=-7.
else if (C1_ZE1=-6).
compute dertaxes=-6.
else if (C1_ZE1=-5).
compute dertaxes=-5.
end if.

EXECUTE.

var lab dertaxes 'FAVOR/OPPOSE RAISING TAXES FOR PEOPLE WHO MAKE >$250K'.
val lab dertaxes 1 "1. Favor a great deal"
      2 "2. Favor moderately"
      3 "3. Favor a little"
      4 "4. Neither favor nor oppose"
      5 "5. Oppose a little"
      6 "6. Oppose moderately"
      7 "7. Oppose a great deal"
-1 '-1. Inapplicable'
      -2 '-2. Missing, see documentation'
      -4 '-4. Error, see documentation'
      -5 '-5. Not asked, terminated'
      -6 '-6. Not asked, unit non-response'
      -7 '-7. No answer'.

string version (A55).
compute version = 'PRELIMINARY DATA FOR ANES 2010 EGSS, Oct 2010, 20110207'.
exe.

formats der10C1 to dertaxes (f2.0).
execute.

save outfile =
'N:\anes\unitfiles\projects\2010PanelStudy\EGSS1\work\filebuild1\egss1_1.sav'.

```