

Some of the Constructs Measured in the ANES

Registration / Turnout

Vote choice

Attitudes toward candidates

Reasons to vote for and against the candidates

Perceptions of candidate personalities

Emotions evoked by the candidates

Predictions of the candidates' performance

Attitudes toward government policies

Perceptions of the candidates' policy attitudes

Evaluations of the incumbent's performance

Perceived recent changes in national conditions

Identification with political parties

Liberal/conservative ideology

Values

Policy issue priorities

Participation in the campaign

Exposure to the news media

Attitudes toward social groups

Perceptions of social groups' attitudes toward
policies

Desired government spending on specific
issues

Patriotism

Religion, religious behavior, religious beliefs

Interest in politics

Possession of political information

Social networks for talking about politics

Racial prejudice

Preferred size of government

Demographics

... and lots more

Feeling Thermometers (2004)

I'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. I'll read the name of a person and I'd like you to rate that person using something we call the feeling thermometer. Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person. If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just tell me and we'll move on to the next one.



Feeling Thermometers (2004)

- George W. Bush
 - John Kerry
 - Ralph Nader
 - Dick Cheney
 - John Edwards
 - Laura Bush
 - Hillary Clinton
 - Bill Clinton
 - Colin Powell
 - John Ashcroft
 - John McCain
 - Ronald Reagan
 - House and Senate Candidates
 - Democratic Party
 - Republican Party
 - The Federal Government
 - Congress
 - The Supreme Court
 - Liberals
 - Conservatives
 - Christian Fundamentalists
 - Catholics
 - The Catholic Church
 - Feminists
 - Rich People
 - Middle Class People
 - Poor People
 - People on Welfare
 - The Military
 - Big Business
 - Business People
 - Labor Unions
 - Older People
 - Young People
 - Gay Men and Lesbians, that is, homosexuals
 - Environmentalists
 - Asian Americans
 - Blacks
 - Whites
 - Hispanics
 - Muslims
 - Southerners
 - Men
 - Women
 - Illegal Immigrants
 - Israel
-

Other Feeling Thermometers

- Easterners
- Jews
- Protestants
- College Students
- Working Men and Wome
- Policemen
- Lawyers
- Farmers
- School Teachers
- City and County Officials
- Federal Employees
- Intellectuals
- Women's Liberation Movement
- Anti-Abortionists
- Moral Majority
- Black Militants
- Urban Rioters
- Protesting Ministers
- Civil Rights Leaders
- Vietnam War Protesters
- Radical Students
- Marijuana Users
- Suburb Dwellers
- City Dwellers

Traits of Social Groups (2004)

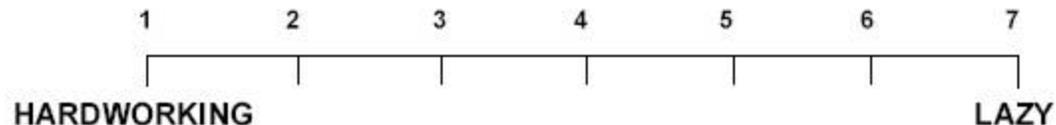
Now I have some questions about different groups in our society. I'm going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated.

In the first statement, a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be "hard-working." A score of 7 means that you think most people in the group are "lazy." A score of 4 means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

Groups: Whites, Blacks, Hispanic-Americans, Asian-Americans

Also: intelligent/not intelligent

trustworthy/untrustworthy



Efficacy (2000)

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

“Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.”

1. AGREE STRONGLY
2. AGREE SOMEWHAT
3. NEITHER AGREE NOR DISAGREE
4. DISAGREE SOMEWHAT
5. DISAGREE STRONGLY

Attention to Campaigns (2004)

Generally speaking, would you say that you personally care a good deal who wins the presidential election this fall, or that you don't care very much who wins?

How much would you say that you personally care about the way the election to the U.S. House of Representatives comes out: do you care very much, pretty much, not very much or not at all?

Trust in Government (2004)

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

Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interest looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all people?

Do you think that people in government waste a lot of the money we pay in taxes, waste some of it, or don't waste very much of it?

Do you think that quite a few of the people running the government are crooked, not very many are, or do you think hardly any of them are crooked?

Turnout (2006 Pilot)

The next question is about the election that was held on November 7, [NUMBER OF DAYS] ago.

In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, they didn't have time, or something else happened to prevent them from voting.

And sometimes, people who usually vote or who planned to vote forget that something unusual happened on election day this year that prevented them from voting this time. So please think carefully for a minute about the election held on November 7, [PAUSE] and past elections in which you may have voted, and answer the following questions about your voting behavior.

Turnout (2006 Pilot)

During the past 6 years, did you usually vote in national, state, and local elections, or did you usually not vote?

During the months leading up to the election held on November 7, did you ever plan to vote in that election, or didn't you plan to do that?

In the election held on November 7, did you definitely vote in person on election day, definitely mail in a completed absentee ballot before election day, definitely not vote, or are you not completely sure whether you voted in that election?

What makes you not completely sure about this?

If you had to guess, would you say that you probably did vote in the election held on November 7, or probably did not vote in that election?

Predicted Vote (2004)

So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national elections this coming November or not?

Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?

or

If you were going to vote, who do you think you would vote for in the election for President?

Would you say that your preference for (that candidate) is strong or not strong?

Presidential Approval (2004)

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President?

Do you (approve/disapprove) strongly or not strongly?

Also:

...is handling the ECONOMY

...is handling our RELATIONS WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES

...is handling the BUDGET DEFICIT

...is handling the WAR ON TERRORISM

Party Identification (2004)

Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a **REPUBLICAN**, a **DEMOCRAT**, an **INDEPENDENT**, or what?

Would you call yourself a **STRONG** [Democrat/Republican] or a **NOT VERY STRONG** [Democrat/Republican]?

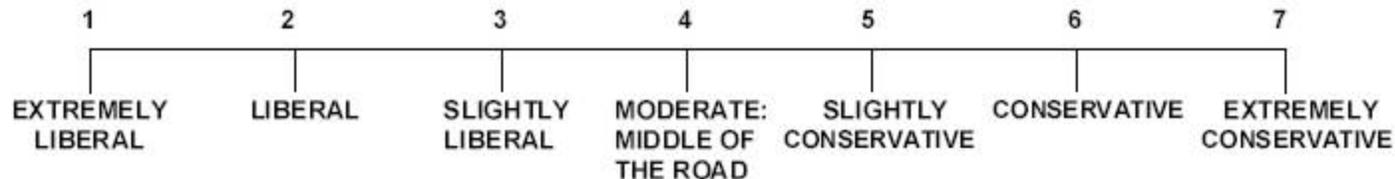
Do you think of yourself as **CLOSER** to the Republican Party or to the Democratic party?

Ideology (2004)

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

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

Liberal/Conservative



Open-Ended Likes-Dislikes (2004)

Now I'd like to ask you about the good and bad points of the major candidates for President.

Is there anything in particular about George W. Bush that might make you want to vote for him?

Anything else?

Is there anything in particular about George W. Bush that might make you want to vote AGAINST him?

Anything else?

Retrospective Economy (2004)

Would you say that compared to 2000, the nation's economy is **BETTER, WORSE, or ABOUT THE SAME?**

Would you say much (better/worse) or somewhat (better/worse)?

Candidates – Emotional Response (2004)

Now we would like to know something about the feelings you have toward the candidates for President. I am going to name a candidate, and I want you to tell me whether something about that person, or something he has done, has made you have certain feelings like anger or pride.

Has George W. Bush -- because of the kind of person he is or because of something he has done, ever made you feel angry?

How often would you say you've felt angry – very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?

...Also: HOPEFUL
 AFRAID
 PROUD

Candidates – Personality Traits (2004)

I am going to read a list of words and phrases people may use to describe political figures. For each, tell me whether the word or phrase describes the candidate I name.

In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is MORAL' describe George W. Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?

...Also:

- PROVIDES STRONG LEADERSHIP**
- REALLY CARES ABOUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU**
- KNOWLEDGEABLE**
- INTELLIGENT**
- DISHONEST**
- CAN'T MAKE UP HIS MIND**

Political Participation (2004)

We would like to find out about some of the things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election.

During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates?

Did you go to any political meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners, or things like that in support of a particular candidate?

Did you wear a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or place a sign in your window or in front of your house?

Did you do any (other) work for one of the parties or candidates?

Government Spending (2004)

Next, I am going to read you a list of federal programs. For each one, I would like you to tell me whether you would like to see spending increased or decreased.

If you had a say in making up the federal budget this year, should federal spending on building and repairing highways be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

...Also: **Social Security**

Public Schools

Science And Technology

Foreign Aid

The War On Terrorism

Tightening Border Security To Prevent Illegal

Immigration

Welfare Programs

Dealing With Crime

Child Care

Aid To Poor People

Abortion (2004)

There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years.

Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view?

1. By law, abortion should never be permitted.
2. The law should permit abortion only in case of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger.
3. The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.
4. By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.

Abortion (2008-2009 Panel)

Next, we'll describe a series of circumstances in which a woman might have an abortion. For each one, please say whether you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose it being legal for the woman to have an abortion in that circumstance.

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being legal if staying pregnant would hurt the woman's health but is very unlikely to cause her to die?

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

Abortion (2008-2009 Panel)

Also:

if staying pregnant could cause the woman to die?

if the pregnancy was caused by sex the woman chose to have with a blood relative?

if the pregnancy was caused by the woman being raped?

if the fetus will be born with a serious birth defect?

if the child will not be the sex the woman wants it to be?

if having the child would be extremely difficult for the woman financially?

Social Service Programs

Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.

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

... Also: **GEORGE W. BUSH**
JOHN KERRY
R's DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE
R's REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE
THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

Diplomacy vs. Military Force

Some people believe the United States should solve international problems by using diplomacy and other forms of international pressure and use military force only if absolutely necessary. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others believe diplomacy and pressure often fail and the U.S. must be ready to use military force. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.

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

Defense Spending

Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5 or 6.

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

Foreign Policy Goals (2004)

I am going to read a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one, please say how important you think it should be: A very important foreign policy goal, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important foreign policy goal at all.

Also:

- Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons
- Promoting and defending human rights in other countries strengthening the United Nations (and other international organizations)
- Combating world hunger
- Protecting the jobs of American workers
- Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations
- Controlling and reducing illegal immigration
- Promoting market economies abroad
- Combatting international terrorism

The Federal Budget (2004)

Here are a few more questions about what the government should do about the budget.

Do you favor cuts in spending on domestic programs like Medicare, education, and highways in order to cut the federal budget deficit?

Do you favor increases in taxes paid by ordinary Americans in order to cut the federal budget deficit?

Do you favor increases in the taxes paid by ordinary Americans in order to increase spending on domestic programs like Medicare, education and highways?

Immigration (2004)

Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased a lot, increased a little, left the same as it is now, decreased a little, or decreased a lot?

Now I'd like to ask you about immigration in recent years. How likely is it that recent immigration levels will take jobs away from people already here-- extremely likely, very likely, somewhat likely, or not at all likely?

Most Important Issue (2004)

What do you think has been the most important issue facing the United States over the last four years?

And thinking about that issue, how good or bad a job do you think the government in Washington has done over the past four years. Has it done a very good job, a good job, a bad job, a very bad job?

Now thinking about the performance of the government in Washington in general, how good or bad a job do you think the government in Washington has done over the past four years. Has it done a very good job, a good job, a bad job, a very bad job?

Policy Issue Importance (2004)

How important is this issue to you personally? Not important at all, slightly important, moderately important, very important, or extremely important?

Political Knowledge (2004)

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

The first name is Dennis Hastert.

What job or political office does he NOW hold?

... Also: Dick Cheney
 Tony Blair
 William Rehnquist

Values - Equality (2004)

I am going to read several more statements. After each one, I would like you to tell me how strongly you agree or disagree.

“Our society should do whatever is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed. “

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

Also: “We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.”

“One of the big problems in this country is that we don't give everyone an equal chance.”

“This country would be better off if we worried less about how equal people are.”

“It is not really that big a problem if some people have more of a chance in life than others.”

Patriotism (2004)

When you see the American flag flying does it make you feel extremely good, very good, somewhat good, or not very good?

Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with the next few statements:

“There are some things about America today that make me feel ashamed of America.”

“There are some things about America today that make me feel angry about America.”

How strong is your love for your country: extremely strong, very strong, somewhat strong, or not very strong?

Is being an American extremely important, very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important to you personally?

Trust in People (2004)

Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance or would they try to be fair?

Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are just looking out for themselves?

Need to Evaluate (2004)

Some people have opinions about almost everything; other people have opinions about just some things; and still other people have very few opinions. What about you? Would you say you have opinions about almost everything, about many things, about some things, or about very few things?

Compared to the average person do you have fewer opinions about whether things are good or bad, about the same number of opinions, or more opinions?

Would you say that you have a lot (more/fewer) opinions or just somewhat (more/fewer) opinions?

Some of the Demographics (2004)

- Birthdate
- Gender
- Marital Status
- Education
- Income
- Employment status
- Union Membership
- Military Service
- Race
- Ethnicity
- Nationality
- Citizenship
- Parents born in US?
- Birthplace
- Denomination
- Religious Attendance
- Religiosity