

Methodology Report and User's Guide for the ANES 2010 Panel Recontact Survey

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Contents

1. Introduction.....	4
Panel Study Overview.....	4
Recontact Study at a glance	5
2. Survey Questions	6
3. Data Collection	6
4. Outcome Statistics	7
5. Attrition Effects	9
6. Accuracy of Estimates	13
7. Weights and Variance Estimation.....	16
8. Orientation to the Data File.....	17
Linking to the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study data	17
Cases on the file	17
File formats	17
Combining data from branched questions	18
Missing data	19
Restricted-use data	20
Item time data	20
Anomalies & errors.....	21
Variables on the file	21
References.....	23
Appendix 1. Recontact Survey Questionnaire	24

1. Introduction

The ANES 2010 Panel Recontact Survey was a re-interview of the members of the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study. It was conducted over the Internet from June 2 through July 7, 2010, approximately 9 months after the Panel Study ended in late 2009, and two and a half years after the Panel Study's initial recruitment was completed in late 2007. For this recontact, 1,561 people completed a 23-minute survey online.

The ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study was a series of surveys of a representative sample of the American electorate. Panelists were recruited by telephone to complete up to 21 monthly surveys on the Internet from January 2008 through September 2009.

This report describes the Recontact Survey's design, data collection procedures, weights, response rate, and proper analysis procedures. For detailed information about the 2008-2009 Panel Study on which the Recontact Survey was built, including details on the original sample design, see DeBell, Krosnick, and Lupia (2010), *Methodology Report and User's Guide for the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study*.

Panel Study Overview

The ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study was a telephone-recruited Internet panel with two cohorts recruited using nearly identical methods. The first cohort was recruited in late 2007 using random-digit-dialing (RDD) methods common to telephone surveys. Prospective respondents were offered \$10 per month to complete surveys on the Internet each month for 21 months, from January 2008 through September 2009. Those without a computer and Internet service were offered a free web appliance, MSN TV 2, and free dial-up Internet service for the duration of the study. The second cohort was recruited the same way in the summer of 2008 and asked to join the panel beginning in September 2008.

The recruitment interview was conducted by telephone in nearly all cases. A small number of respondents completed the recruitment survey on the Internet after failing to complete a telephone interview. Before the first monthly survey, most respondents also completed an online profile survey consisting primarily of demographic questions.

To minimize panel attrition and conditioning effects, only 10 of the 21 monthly surveys contained questions about politics prepared by ANES. Other surveys were about a variety of non-political topics. The panelists answered political questions prepared by ANES in January, February, June, September, October, and November 2008, and in January, May, July, and August 2009.

The Panel Study included a mix of ANES-created political surveys and surveys on other topics that were developed and paid for by other organizations. As an extra bonus for the ANES user community, ANES secured permission to include these "off-wave" surveys in a supplemental dataset that can be easily merged and analyzed in conjunction with the

ANES data. However, ANES cannot take credit or responsibility for the design or preparation of the non-ANES data.

Note that the 2008-2009 Panel Study is entirely separate from the 2008 Time Series study, which was conducted using the traditional ANES method of face-to-face interviews before and after the 2008 election. Although there are a few questions common to both surveys, the samples, methods, and datasets are different.

Recontact Study at a glance

Title:	ANES 2010 Panel Recontact Survey
Main purpose:	To reinterview members of the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study to support research on the public's evaluations of the President after the 2008 presidential election.
Population:	The study represents U.S. citizens age 18 or older as of Election Day in November of 2008.
Sample:	Matches the landline telephone random-digit dialing (list-assisted) sample from the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study.
Design:	The ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study was a telephone-recruited Internet panel study with 10 ANES surveys and 11 primarily non-ANES surveys between January 2008 and September 2009. This survey was a recontact of those panelists.
Mode:	Internet
Number of cases on the file:	2,606, of whom 1,561 completed the survey
Number of variables:	874
Merging opportunity:	The dataset is intended to be merged with the data from the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study
Field period:	June 2 through July 7, 2010
Response rate:	Estimated 16 percent (AAPOR RR3); see section 4.
Interview length:	Median of 22.9 minutes
Weight:	All analyses that generalize to the population should employ weights. See section 7.
Significance testing:	Statistical significance testing should account for the complex sample design; see section 7.
Sponsors & design:	The National Science Foundation funded the study, which was designed by the ANES Principal Investigators and senior staff based in part on prior design decisions made for the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study.
Data collection firm:	Knowledge Networks, Inc.
How to get the data:	Download free of charge from the ANES web site: http://www.electionstudies.org

2. Survey Questions

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

Exhibit 1. Questionnaire topics and sections on the Recontact Survey

A. Interest in politics	T. Participation
AB. Cosmopolitanism	U. Obama evaluations (job approval)
B. Efficacy	UA. Expected turnout, probabilistic
C. Trust in government	V. Racial resentment scale
D. Emotions about what's going on in the country	W. Condition of country
E. Party ID	X. Economic performance
F. Divided government	Y. Size of government
G. Attitudes toward parties, Obama	YA. Miscellaneous policy (Kagan, oil, immigration)
H. Optimism-pessimism	Z. Tax policy
HJ. Religious services	ZA. Gays in military
J. Personality (Big 5)	ZB. Environment
K. Most important problem	ZC. Income inequality
L. Economic peril	ZD. Financial regulation policy
M. Housing security	ZE. Health care policy
N. Economic peril in social network	ZF. Iraq, Afghanistan
P. Race discrimination	ZG. Employment status
Q. Ideological self-placement	ZH. Fear of unemployment
R. Ideological placement of parties	ZJ. Income
S. Ideological placement of Obama	ZK. Expected turnout, verbal

Many questions on the recontact survey were previously asked on earlier waves of the Panel Study. For information about prior Panel Study survey content, see tables 1 and 2 and appendix A in DeBell, Krosnick, and Lupia (2010), *Methodology Report and User's Guide for the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study*, available on the ANES website.

3. Data Collection

Panelists Eligible for Recontact

At the conclusion of the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study in the fall of 2009, the panelists were invited to join the Knowledge Networks KnowledgePanel, which is a large probability-sampled panel of Americans who complete surveys regularly for Knowledge Networks. 3,518 panelists were invited and 984 actually enrolled in the KnowledgePanel and completed one or more KnowledgePanel surveys.

We identified 2,606 respondents from the 2008-2009 Panel Study as eligible for invitation to the recontact survey. These respondents were selected using the criteria that eligible respondents must have completed the post-election panel wave (wave 11) and any pre-election ANES wave (one or more of waves 1, 2, 6, 9, or 10; other waves did not establish eligibility because they were non-ANES waves that were largely devoid of

political content). Of these 2,606 respondents we wished to invite, 2,477 were potentially available to participate. The remaining 129 were unavailable, either because they had explicitly refused to be contacted for further surveys or, typically, because they were MSN TV2 respondents who had declined to join the KnowledgePanel and therefore had had their internet service disconnected and had no means to complete the survey.

Recruitment and Data Collection

Former ANES panelists who were eligible and potentially available were invited by email to complete the recontact survey and offered a \$10 incentive to participate. The recontact survey was “soft launched” on Wednesday, June 2, with about 100 invitations sent, and was fully fielded with all remaining invitations sent on Thursday, June 3.

Prerecorded telephone calls and up to four email reminder emails were sent to nonrespondents, with emails going out on June 4, 11, 17, and 22. On Tuesday, June 22, Knowledge Networks commenced telephone calls with live interviewers offering nonrespondents a doubled incentive of \$20 to complete the survey. Data collection was closed on July 7.

Data collection was completed entirely on the Internet. 1602 panelists started the interview, 41 did not complete it, and 1,561 completed the survey. The median time to complete the interview was about 22.9 minutes and the 25th and 75th percentiles were 17.6 and 30.6 minutes.

4. Outcome Statistics

Outcome statistics are shown in Table 1.

The statistics for *Interviews* show the number and percentage of the recontact respondents who completed selected prior waves. This is important because it indicates the completeness of datasets available for panel analysis. All of the recontact respondents previously completed Wave 11, because only respondents who had done so were invited to complete the recontact survey. Nearly all (99.6 percent) had also completed wave 9 or wave 10. 54 percent had completed wave 1, which is roughly proportional to the number of all panel respondents who were in the first recruitment cohort that had been invited to complete wave 1.

The *response rate* is the number of completed interviews divided by the number of eligible sample members. As in most surveys, the number of eligible sample members is unknown because the presence of an eligible person at some sampled telephone numbers was not determined. The number of eligible people in the sample must therefore be estimated. We calculate three response rates:

- The minimum response rate assumes that all cases with unknown eligibility were eligible for the study. The minimum response rate for the Recontact Study is 1,561 complete interviews divided by 15,944 eligible cases at Panel Study

recruitment: 9.8 percent. The true response rate cannot be less than 9.8 percent. (This corresponds to AAPOR Response Rate 1.)

- An estimated response rate is based on an assumption about the rate of eligibility, e , among cases with unknown eligibility. As discussed in DeBell et al. (2010), the proportional allocation method of estimating e for the 2008-2009 Panel Study produces $e = 42.66$ percent, which leads to an estimate of 10,038 eligible cases in the original sample. Based on this value of e , the response rate for the recontact wave would be $1,561/10,038 = 15.6$ percent. This is one of many possible values for AAPOR Response Rate 3.
- The maximum response rate assumes that no cases with unknown eligibility were eligible for the study. The maximum response rate is 1,561 divided by 5,644: 27.7 percent. The true response rate cannot exceed 27.7 percent (AAPOR RR 5).

Table 1. Outcome statistics from ANES 2010 Panel Recontact Study

Outcome statistic	Number	Percent
Interviews		
Total	1561	100.0
Completed Wave 1	856	54.8
Completed Wave 11	1561	100.0
Completed waves 9 or 10, & 11	1555	99.6
Response rate		
Minimum (RR1)	—	9.8
Estimated (RR3, observed $e=.427$)	—	15.6
Maximum (RR5)	—	27.7
Retention		
From wave 1 (January 2008)	856	52.7
From wave 9 (September 2008)	1470	56.8
From wave 11 (November 2008)	1561	58.6
From wave 20 (August 2009)	1445	63.6
Invitations		
Number invited (from 2,606 eligible)	2477	—
Yield	1561	63.0

The *retention* numbers show the number and proportion of panelists who completed a Panel Study wave and subsequently completed the Recontact survey. About 53 percent of respondents who completed the first wave of the Panel Study in January 2008 completed the recontact survey two and a half years later in June 2010; 57 percent of Wave 9 (September 2008) respondents completed the recontact; 59 percent of Wave 11 (November 2008) respondents completed the recontact; and 64 percent of Wave 20 (August 2009) respondents did so.

The *invitations* numbers show that we asked 2,477 people to complete the recontact survey and 1,561 did so, for a yield of 63.0 percent. This is the response rate for the recontact stage alone.

5. Attrition Effects

Beyond the loss of statistical power caused by panel attrition, low yield or response rate is a concern because of potential bias introduced by panel attrition. Tables 2 and 3 quantify the extent of panel bias caused by attrition.

Table 2 shows the effects of attrition using Wave 1 as a baseline. It shows estimates measured for Wave 1 respondents and for three subsets of Wave 1 respondents: those who also completed Wave 11, those who also completed Wave 17, and those who also completed the recontact survey.

In Table 2, the “Attrition effect” columns show the difference between estimates for all Wave 1 respondents and estimates for those wave 1 respondents who later completed another wave (wave 11, 17, or Recontact). The boldface column on the right shows the effects of attrition at the recontact stage. The average absolute value of the attrition effects at waves 11 and 17 is 1.3 percentage points. The average absolute value of the attrition effect at Recontact is 3.0 percentage points.

Note that this indicates only the effect of attrition on Wave 1 respondents. It is not an estimate of the effect of attrition relative to other waves of the study, nor is it an estimate of the effect of attrition on a cross-sectional analysis of the recontact respondents, nor is it a direct estimate of the effects of attrition on the study’s accuracy.

Table 2. Effects of attrition on estimates from wave 1 to selected waves

Characteristic at wave 1	Wave 1		Wave 1 respondents who completed later waves								
	respondents		Wave 11		Attrition effect	Wave 17		Recontact 1			
	Percent	s.e.	Percent	s.e.		Percent	s.e.	Attrition effect	Percent	s.e.	Attrition effect
Age											
18-29	19.7	1.7	16.7	1.7	-3.0	16.1	1.8	-3.6	13.7	2.1	-6.0
30-39	16.8	1.2	17.4	1.4	0.6	16.7	1.4	-0.1	15.6	1.6	-1.2
40-49	19.9	1.3	19.8	1.4	-0.1	20.9	1.5	1.0	21.0	1.7	1.1
50-59	18.8	1.1	20.2	1.3	1.4	20.2	1.3	1.4	20.4	1.6	1.6
60-69	12.4	0.9	13.1	1.0	0.7	13.3	1.1	0.9	15.5	1.4	3.1
70 or older	12.4	1.1	12.8	1.3	0.4	12.8	1.3	0.4	13.9	1.7	1.5
Sex											
Male	47.2	1.7	45.6	1.8	-1.6	44.4	1.9	-2.8	44.3	2.5	-2.9
Female	52.8	1.7	54.4	1.8	1.6	55.6	1.9	2.8	55.7	2.5	2.9
Race/ethnicity indicators											
White	82.5	1.4	84.6	1.5	2.1	84.1	1.6	1.6	86.1	1.7	3.6
Black	12.0	1.2	10.6	1.2	-1.4	11.0	1.3	-1.0	9.0	1.3	-3.0
Hispanic	8.5	1.1	7.5	1.1	-1.0	7.5	1.1	-1.0	7.6	1.4	-0.9
Education											
Less than high school credential	10.8	1.3	8.0	1.3	-2.8	8.8	1.4	-2.0	7.2	1.7	-3.6
High school credential	31.1	1.8	29.1	1.9	-2.0	29.6	2.0	-1.5	25.2	2.3	-5.9
Some college	29.9	1.4	31.2	1.5	1.3	30.6	1.5	0.7	32.0	1.9	2.1
Bachelor's degree	18.8	1.1	21.2	1.3	2.4	20.8	1.4	2.0	24.3	1.8	5.5
Graduate degree	9.4	0.6	10.5	0.8	1.1	10.2	0.8	0.8	11.4	1.0	2.0
Income											
Under \$20,000	10.4	1.1	9.1	1.1	-1.3	9.2	1.2	-1.2	7.3	1.2	-3.1
\$20,000 to \$49,999	32.7	1.6	33.4	1.7	0.7	33.7	1.8	1.0	31.0	2.2	-1.7
\$50,000 to \$99,999	36.6	1.6	38.2	1.7	1.6	38.5	1.8	1.9	41.1	2.2	4.5
\$100,000 or more	18.0	1.2	19.3	1.3	1.3	18.6	1.3	0.6	20.5	1.7	2.5
Home tenure											
Own	73.4	1.6	76.4	1.7	3.0	76.1	1.8	2.7	80.1	2.1	6.7
Rent	17.4	1.4	14.4	1.3	-3.0	14.7	1.5	-2.7	12.5	1.6	-4.9
Other arrangement	9.2	1.2	9.2	1.3	0.0	9.1	1.4	-0.1	7.4	1.6	-1.8
Party identification											
Strong Democrat	17.9	1.3	17.5	1.3	-0.4	16.7	1.3	-1.2	18.7	1.7	0.8
Not very strong Democrat	16.3	1.3	14.4	1.3	-1.9	15.6	1.5	-0.7	13.3	1.5	-3.0
Independent, lean Democratic	10.6	1.1	10.7	1.1	0.1	11.3	1.2	0.7	12.1	1.6	1.5
Independent	15.1	1.3	14.5	1.4	-0.6	14.6	1.5	-0.5	11.1	1.4	-4.0
Independent, lean Republican	10.4	1.1	11.1	1.2	0.7	10.0	1.2	-0.4	11.5	1.5	1.1
Not very strong Republican	13.6	1	14.7	1.2	1.1	14.0	1.2	0.4	15.1	1.5	1.5
Strong Republican	16.2	1.2	17.1	1.3	0.9	17.8	1.4	1.6	18.2	1.7	2.0
Turnout in 2004											
Voted	77.3	1.6	81.6	1.6	4.3	81.8	1.7	4.5	83.8	1.9	6.5
Candidate choice in 2004											
Bush	59.4	1.8	60.0	1.9	0.6	60.5	1.9	1.1	59.0	2.3	-0.4
Kerry	37.3	1.7	36.5	1.8	-0.8	36.3	1.9	-1.0	37.8	2.3	0.5
Intended turnout in 2008											
Intend to vote	88.2	1.3	89.2	1.3	1.0	89.0	1.5	0.8	91.9	1.5	3.7
Attitude toward John McCain											
Like	41.8	1.6	42.6	1.7	0.8	42.6	1.8	0.8	45.5	2.2	3.7
Neither like nor dislike	41.8	1.7	40.0	1.8	-1.8	40.9	1.9	-0.9	35.6	2.3	-6.2
Dislike	16.4	1.3	17.4	1.4	1.0	16.5	1.4	0.1	18.8	1.8	2.4
Attitude toward Barack Obama											
Like	46.5	1.7	46.3	1.8	-0.2	46.9	1.9	0.4	49.8	2.3	3.3
Neither like nor dislike	30.5	1.4	28.2	1.7	-2.3	27.4	1.8	-3.1	25.1	2.0	-5.4
Dislike	23.0	1.6	25.5	1.6	2.5	25.7	1.7	2.7	25.0	2.1	2.0
Interest in politics											
Extremely interested	19.4	1.3	20.8	1.4	1.4	21.1	1.5	1.7	24.0	1.9	4.6
Very interested	28.2	1.4	29.2	1.6	1.0	28.9	1.7	0.7	27.8	1.9	-0.4
Somewhat interested	32.4	1.6	32.3	1.7	-0.1	32.5	1.8	0.1	34.5	2.2	2.1
Not very interested	15.6	1.4	14.8	1.4	-0.8	14.2	1.4	-1.4	12.0	1.7	-3.6
Not at all interested	4.4	0.9	2.8	0.7	-1.6	3.3	0.9	-1.1	1.7	0.8	-2.7

Note: all estimates are weighted with wgtcs01.

Wave 1 may not be an optimal point of focus because only slightly more than half the panelists had been recruited to the Panel Study when Wave 1 was fielded. Therefore, Table 3 shows the effects of attrition using Wave 9 as a baseline. Wave 9 was the first wave at which both cohorts of panelists had joined the study. Table 3 presents the same

type of estimates as Table 2, but for data from Wave 9. (Two variables are omitted because they were not measured at Wave 9.)

From Wave 9, the attrition effects are smaller. The average absolute values of attrition to waves 11 and 17 were 0.4 and 0.7 points, respectively; the average attrition effect at Recontact was 1.8 points.

The pattern of attrition shows that the panel lost representation of respondents who are relatively young, with low levels of education, lower incomes, renters, political independents, and those not very interested in politics. After attrition, the panel over-represented (by 2 percentage points or more) older respondents, whites, home owners, those with a bachelor's degree, those with incomes of \$50,000 to \$99,999, those who intended to vote in 2008, and those extremely interested in politics, relative to the composition of the panel at wave 9.

Note that these attrition statistics show the change in the panel over time, but do not directly assess the effects on the accuracy of the study's estimates. Accuracy is measured in the next section.

Table 3. Effects of attrition on estimates from wave 9 to selected waves

Characteristic at wave 9	Wave 9 respondents who completed later waves										
	Wave 9 respondents		Wave 11		Attrition effect	Wave 17		Attrition effect	Recontact 1		Attrition effect
	Percent	s.e.	Percent	s.e.		Percent	s.e.		Percent	s.e.	
Age											
18-29	18.6	1.3	17.0	1.3	-1.6	15.3	1.3	-3.3	14.0	1.6	-4.6
30-39	17.1	1.0	17.2	1.0	0.1	16.3	1.1	-0.8	15.7	1.3	-1.4
40-49	20.2	1.0	20.2	1.0	0.0	21.1	1.1	0.9	20.2	1.3	0.0
50-59	19.0	0.9	19.2	1.0	0.2	19.9	1.1	0.9	20.9	1.3	1.9
60-69	12.6	0.7	13.5	0.8	0.9	13.9	0.8	1.3	16.0	1.1	3.4
70 or older	12.4	0.9	13.1	1.0	0.7	13.5	1.1	1.1	13.2	1.3	0.8
Sex											
Male	47.1	1.3	47.0	1.4	-0.1	45.8	1.5	-1.3	46.3	1.8	-0.8
Female	52.9	1.3	53.0	1.4	0.1	54.2	1.5	1.3	53.7	1.8	0.8
Race/ethnicity indicators											
White	83.2	1.1	83.9	1.1	0.7	84.4	1.2	1.2	86.0	1.4	2.8
Black	12.5	1.0	11.9	1.0	-0.6	11.6	1.0	-0.9	11.0	1.2	-1.5
Hispanic	7.9	0.8	7.3	0.8	-0.6	7.5	0.9	-0.4	7.7	1.2	-0.2
Education											
Less than high school credential	9.8	1.1	9.7	1.1	-0.1	10.0	1.2	0.2	7.3	1.4	-2.5
High school credential	31.1	1.4	30.2	1.4	-0.9	29.7	1.5	-1.4	28.0	1.8	-3.1
Some college	30.4	1.1	30.6	1.1	0.2	30.5	1.2	0.1	31.8	1.5	1.4
Bachelor's degree	19.1	0.9	19.5	0.9	0.4	19.6	1.0	0.5	21.4	1.3	2.3
Graduate degree	9.5	0.5	10.0	0.6	0.5	10.2	0.6	0.7	11.4	0.8	1.9
Income											
Under \$20,000	9.8	0.9	8.6	0.8	-1.2	8.0	0.8	-1.8	7.2	1.0	-2.6
\$20,000 to \$49,999	33.1	1.3	33.4	1.3	0.3	33.4	1.4	0.3	31.9	1.7	-1.2
\$50,000 to \$99,999	37.2	1.3	38.1	1.3	0.9	38.5	1.4	1.3	39.6	1.7	2.4
\$100,000 or more	19.9	1.0	19.9	1.0	0.0	20.1	1.1	0.2	21.3	1.4	1.4
Home tenure											
Own	76.1	1.2	77.9	1.2	1.8	78.8	1.3	2.7	81.8	1.5	5.7
Rent	15.2	1.0	13.9	1.0	-1.3	13.3	1.0	-1.9	11.4	1.2	-3.8
Other arrangement	8.8	0.9	8.2	0.9	-0.6	7.9	1.0	-0.9	6.7	1.1	-2.1
Party identification											
Strong Democrat	20.6	1.1	20.2	1.1	-0.4	20.0	1.2	-0.6	20.4	1.4	-0.2
Not very strong Democrat	15.7	1.0	15.7	1.0	0.0	15.9	1.1	0.2	14.4	1.3	-1.3
Independent, lean Democratic	8.3	0.7	8.1	0.7	-0.2	8.1	0.7	-0.2	9.8	1.0	1.5
Independent	14.3	1.0	14.2	1.0	-0.1	14.1	1.1	-0.2	11.8	1.2	-2.5
Independent, lean Republican	9.8	0.7	10.0	0.8	0.2	9.3	0.8	-0.5	10.4	1.0	0.6
Not very strong Republican	13.9	0.9	14.2	0.9	0.3	14.5	1.0	0.6	14.0	1.2	0.1
Strong Republican	17.4	1.0	17.6	1.0	0.2	18.1	1.1	0.7	19.3	1.4	1.9
Intended turnout in 2008											
Intend to vote	88.5	1.0	88.7	1.0	0.2	89.1	1.1	0.6	91.8	1.2	3.3
Attitude toward John McCain											
Like	45.1	1.3	45.8	1.4	0.7	45.6	1.5	0.5	46.9	1.8	1.8
Neither like nor dislike	33.6	1.3	32.7	1.3	-0.9	33.4	1.4	-0.2	30.7	1.6	-2.9
Dislike	21.4	1.1	21.5	1.1	0.1	21.0	1.2	-0.4	22.4	1.5	1.0
Attitude toward Barack Obama											
Like	44.3	1.3	43.9	1.4	-0.4	43.0	1.4	-1.3	45.1	1.8	0.8
Neither like nor dislike	28.2	1.2	28.0	1.3	-0.2	28.5	1.4	0.3	25.6	1.6	-2.6
Dislike	27.4	1.2	28.1	1.2	0.7	28.4	1.3	1.0	29.2	1.6	1.8
Interest in politics											
Extremely interested	19.8	1.0	19.7	1.0	-0.1	19.8	1.1	0.0	22.7	1.5	2.9
Very interested	34.0	1.2	34.0	1.3	0.0	34.2	1.4	0.2	35.4	1.7	1.4
Somewhat interested	30.8	1.2	31.2	1.3	0.4	31.1	1.4	0.3	28.4	1.6	-2.4
Not very interested	12.0	0.9	12.2	1.0	0.2	12.1	1.0	0.1	11.6	1.3	-0.4
Not at all interested	3.3	0.6	2.9	0.6	-0.4	2.8	0.6	-0.5	1.9	0.6	-1.4

Note: all estimates are weighted with wgcs09.

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 to population benchmarks. Table 4 presents benchmark statistics (from the Current Population Survey or government vote data) along with unweighted and weighted estimates from Wave 11 and the Recontact survey. Once estimates are weighted with poststratification weights they will match whatever benchmarks we force them to match, at least within a percentage point or two for most estimates. However, if we compare the “Difference from benchmark” figures for the design-weighted estimates of the Wave 11 and Recontact surveys, we can get a sense of how much accuracy is being lost due to attrition in the recontact sample.

The right-most column in Table 4 (“Recontact relative accuracy”) shows the accuracy of the Recontact design-weighted estimate compared to the Wave 11 design-weighted estimate. Where this number is positive it means the Recontact survey estimate is more accurate (closer to the benchmark statistic) than the Wave 11 estimate; where it is negative, it means the Recontact survey is less accurate. The two estimates are the same for 4 variables, the Recontact is more accurate for 12 variables, and the Recontact is less accurate for 29 variables. On average, the recontact is less accurate by 0.6 percentage points. Compared to wave 11, the recontact’s largest inaccuracies are in over-representation of people in their 60s and of homeowners. In actual analysis, these accuracies would be less because the poststratified weights would be used for analysis, and the poststratified weights help to reduce these errors.

Table 4. Percentage distribution of selected characteristics in 2008 ANES Panel Study compared to population benchmarks: November 2008 and June 2010

Characteristic	Benchmark	Wave 11 (November 2008)						Recontact (June 2010)						Recontact relative accuracy
		Unweighted		Design weight		Poststratified		Unweighted		Design weight		Poststratified		
		Cross-section		Cross-section		Cross-section		Cross-section		Cross-section		Cross-section		
		Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	
Age														
18-29	21.3	8.3	-13.0	10.0	-11.3 ***	18.5	-2.8 *	5.7	-15.6	7.4	-13.9 ***	16.3	-5.0 **	-2.2
30-39	16.4	15.3	-1.1	15.2	-1.2	17.1	0.7	13.8	-2.6	13.6	-2.8 **	17.2	0.8	0.1
40-49	19.3	21.6	2.3	22.5	3.2 ***	20.3	1.0	21.2	1.9	22.4	3.1 *	21.1	1.8	-0.8
50-59	18.3	25.2	6.9	25.4	7.1 ***	19.0	0.7	26.7	8.4	26.6	8.3 ***	19.4	1.1	-0.4
60-69	12.6	19.0	6.4	18.1	5.5 ***	12.7	0.1	22.1	9.5	21.3	8.7 ***	13.2	0.6	-0.5
70 or older	12.2	10.6	-1.6	8.8	-3.4 ***	12.4	0.2	10.5	-1.7	8.8	-3.4 ***	12.9	0.7	0.5
Sex														
Male	48.0	42.1	-5.9	43.8	-4.2 ***	47.3	-0.7	41.7	-6.3	42.6	-5.4 ***	47.0	-1.0	-0.3
Female	52.0	57.9	5.9	56.2	4.2 ***	52.7	0.7	58.3	6.3	57.4	5.4 ***	53.0	1.0	-0.3
Race/ethnicity														
White	83.4	87.6	4.2	89.5	6.1 ***	83.4	0.0	89.2	5.8	90.8	7.4 ***	84.5	1.1	-1.1
Black	12.5	9.2	-3.3	6.7	-5.8 ***	12.2	-0.3	8.3	-4.2	6.0	-6.5 ***	12.7	0.2	0.5
Asian	3.7	3.9	0.2	4.3	0.6	4.0	0.3	3.8	0.1	4.0	0.3	3.2	-0.5	0.8
Native American or Alaska Nativ	1.8	1.9	0.1	1.9	0.1	2.1	0.3	1.7	-0.1	1.7	-0.1	2.2	0.4	0.7
Pacific Islander	0.3	0.9	0.6	1.0	0.7 ***	1.1	0.8 **	0.6	0.3	0.8	0.5 *	0.9	0.6	0.2
Hispanic	9.5	4.9	-4.6	4.6	-4.9 ***	7.9	-4.9 ***	4.4	-5.1	4.6	-4.9 ***	7.2	-2.3 *	2.6
Other	0.0	6.5	6.5	6.3	6.3 ***	8.7	8.7 ***	6.0	6.0	6.0	6.0 ***	8.0	8.0 ***	0.7
Educational attainment														
Less than high school credential	11.2	3.3	-7.9	3.4	-7.8 ***	9.8	-1.4	2.1	-9.1	2.5	-8.7 ***	8.0	-3.2 *	-1.8
High school diploma/equiv.	31.7	15.6	-16.1	15.4	-16.3 ***	31.1	-0.6	13.9	-17.8	13.7	-18.0 ***	30.6	-1.1	-0.5
Some college	29.6	36.9	7.3	37.7	8.1 ***	30.5	0.9	36.8	7.2	37.9	8.3 ***	31.7	2.1	0.0
Bachelor's degree	18.5	24.6	6.1	24.6	6.1 ***	19.0	0.5	25.6	7.1	25.4	6.9 ***	19.8	1.3	-0.8
Graduate degree	9.0	19.6	10.6	18.9	9.9 ***	9.6	0.6	21.6	12.6	20.6	11.6 ***	10.0	1.0	-0.4
Home tenure														
Own	74.4	81.5	7.1	82.7	8.3 ***	76.3	1.9	85.1	10.7	85.6	11.2 ***	80.1	5.7 ***	-3.8
Rent	24.3	13.7	-10.6	11.4	-12.9 ***	15.0	-9.3 ***	11.1	-13.2	9.6	-14.7 ***	12.0	-12.3 ***	-3.0
Other	1.2	4.8	3.6	5.9	4.7 ***	8.7	7.5 ***	3.8	2.6	4.7	3.5 ***	7.9	6.7 ***	0.8
Household size														
1 person	15.2	17.4	2.2	9.9	-5.3 ***	9.8	-5.4 ***	18.5	3.3	10.8	-4.4 ***	11.1	-4.1 ***	1.3
2 people	35.0	38.4	3.4	37.3	2.3 *	34.7	-0.3	40.8	5.8	40.0	5.0 ***	37.0	2.0	-2.3
3 people	19.1	17.1	-2.0	19.2	0.1	19.6	0.5	16.0	-3.1	18.4	-0.7	17.7	-1.4	0.0
4 people	17.1	15.9	-1.2	19.0	1.9 *	19.2	2.1	15.0	-2.1	18.5	1.4	19.7	2.6	-0.5
5 people	8.2	17.6	9.4	9.8	1.6 *	11.3	3.1 **	6.2	-2.0	7.9	-0.3	9.0	0.8	2.3
6 people	3.1	2.4	-0.7	3.0	-0.1	3.6	0.5	2.1	-1.0	2.7	-0.4	3.3	0.2	-0.3
7 or more	2.2	1.3	-0.9	1.8	-0.4	1.9	-0.3	1.3	-0.9	1.8	-0.4	2.1	-0.1	0.2
Marital status														
Married	55.1	64.4	9.3	71.9	16.8 ***	65.3	10.2 ***	66.9	11.8	74.6	19.5 ***	68.2	13.1 ***	-2.9
Separated	2.0	1.3	-0.7	1.0	-1.0 ***	1.5	-0.5	1.0	-1.0	0.6	-1.4 ***	1.2	-0.8	-0.3
Divorced	10.7	13.5	2.8	9.7	-1.0	8.7	-2.0 **	12.7	2.0	9.1	-1.6 *	7.6	-3.1 ***	-1.1
Widowed	6.6	5.3	-1.3	3.3	-3.3 ***	3.9	-2.7 ***	5.3	-1.3	3.3	-3.3 ***	3.9	-2.7 ***	0.0
Never married	25.6	15.5	-10.1	14.1	-11.5 ***	20.6	-5.0 ***	14.0	-11.6	12.3	-13.3 ***	19.1	-6.5 ***	-1.5
Household income, annual														
\$14,999 or less	8.9	5.5	-3.4	4.1	-4.8 ***	6.7	-2.2 **	4.7	-4.2	3.7	-5.2 ***	5.5	-3.4 ***	-1.2
\$15,000-\$29,999	13.6	10.7	-2.9	9.4	-4.2 ***	13.4	-0.2	9.7	-3.9	8.6	-5.0 ***	11.9	-1.7	-1.5
\$30,000-\$49,999	18.0	21.7	3.7	20.6	2.6 **	23.2	5.2 ***	21.1	3.1	20.2	2.2	23.5	5.5 ***	-0.3
\$50,000-\$74,999	19.2	22.5	3.3	22.8	3.6 ***	22.9	3.7 **	23.2	4.0	23.5	4.3 ***	23.7	4.5 **	-0.8
\$75,000-\$99,999	14.4	15.3	1.0	16.7	2.4 **	14.2	-0.2	15.9	1.6	17.1	2.8 *	15.0	0.7	0.8
\$100,000 or more	26.1	24.3	-1.8	26.4	0.3	19.5	-6.6 ***	25.4	-0.7	26.9	0.8	20.4	-5.7 ***	-0.9
Presidential vote choice														
Obama	52.9	51.8	-1.1	48.5	-4.4 ***	49.4	-3.5 *	51.9	-1.0	48.5	-4.4 **	50.5	-2.4	1.1
McCain	45.7	45.7	0.0	48.7	3.0 **	47.1	1.4	45.8	0.1	49.2	3.5 *	46.3	0.6	0.8
Other	1.4	2.5	1.1	2.8	1.4 ***	3.5	2.1 ***	2.4	1.0	2.3	0.9 *	3.2	1.8 *	0.3
Turnout														
Voted	62.3	89.5	27.2	89.0	26.7 ***	84.5	22.2 ***	91.5	29.2	91.0	28.7 ***	86.9	24.6 ***	-2.4
Did not vote	37.7	10.5	-27.2	11.0	-26.7 ***	15.5	-22.2 ***	8.5	-29.2	9.0	-28.7 ***	13.1	-24.6 ***	-2.4

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

n = 2,665 for Wave 11 and 1,561 for Recontact.

Notes: Turnout is the total ballots counted divided by the voting eligible population. This differs from 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. Weights used are wgct11 for wave 11 and wgctsf1 for the recontact survey.

Sources: Presidential vote choice benchmarks: data compiled by Federal Election Commission, available at <http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2008/2008presgeresults.pdf>. Turnout benchmarks: United States Elections Project 2008 turnout estimates at http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2008G.html. Home tenure and household income benchmarks: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, March 2008. Other benchmarks: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2008. ANES estimates: 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study staff file.

Table 4A. Standard errors for Table 4

Characteristic	Wave 11						Recontact 1							
	Unweighted Cross-section			Design weight Cross-section		Poststratified Cross-section		Unweighted Cross-section			Design weight Cross-section		Poststratified Cross-section	
	S.E. for benchmark	S.E. for percent	S.E. for difference from benchmark	S.E. for percent	S.E. for difference from benchmark	S.E. for percent	S.E. for difference from benchmark	S.E. for percent	S.E. for difference from benchmark	S.E. for percent	S.E. for difference from benchmark	S.E. for percent	S.E. for difference from benchmark	
Age														
18-29	0.13	—	—	0.71	0.72	1.27	1.28	—	—	0.85	0.86	1.77	1.77	
30-39	0.12	—	—	0.76	0.77	0.99	1.00	—	—	0.94	0.95	1.39	1.40	
40-49	0.13	—	—	0.91	0.92	1.00	1.01	—	—	1.20	1.21	1.41	1.42	
50-59	0.12	—	—	0.96	0.97	0.94	0.95	—	—	1.25	1.26	1.32	1.33	
60-69	0.11	—	—	0.81	0.82	0.71	0.72	—	—	1.12	1.13	0.95	0.96	
70 or older	0.11	—	—	0.55	0.56	0.90	0.91	—	—	0.72	0.73	1.27	1.27	
Sex														
Male	0.16	—	—	1.07	1.09	1.33	1.34	—	—	1.39	1.40	1.85	1.86	
Female	0.16	—	—	1.07	1.08	1.33	1.34	—	—	1.39	1.40	1.85	1.86	
Race/ethnicity														
White	0.12	—	—	0.74	0.75	1.09	1.10	—	—	0.80	0.81	1.51	1.51	
Black	0.11	—	—	0.48	0.49	0.96	0.97	—	—	0.60	0.61	1.39	1.39	
Asian	0.06	—	—	0.45	0.45	0.54	0.54	—	—	0.59	0.59	0.59	0.59	
Native American or Alaska Native	0.04	—	—	0.30	0.30	0.41	0.41	—	—	0.38	0.38	0.64	0.64	
Pacific Islander	0.02	—	—	0.19	0.19	0.29	0.29	—	—	0.24	0.24	0.41	0.41	
Hispanic	0.09	—	—	0.48	0.49	0.83	0.84	—	—	0.64	0.65	1.11	1.11	
Other	0.00	—	—	0.44	0.44	0.92	0.92	—	—	0.70	0.70	1.11	1.11	
Educational attainment														
Less than high school credential	0.10	—	—	0.41	0.42	1.08	1.08	—	—	0.48	0.49	1.45	1.45	
High school diploma/equiv.	0.15	—	—	0.77	0.78	1.37	1.38	—	—	0.96	0.97	1.92	1.93	
Some college	0.15	—	—	1.06	1.07	1.11	1.12	—	—	1.38	1.39	1.57	1.58	
Bachelor's degree or higher	0.12	—	—	0.93	0.94	0.86	0.87	—	—	1.22	1.23	1.22	1.23	
Graduate degree	0.09	—	—	0.83	0.84	0.51	0.52	—	—	1.11	1.11	0.68	0.69	
Home tenure														
Own	0.17	—	—	0.84	0.86	1.22	1.23	—	—	1.03	1.04	1.63	1.64	
Rent	0.17	—	—	0.67	0.69	0.98	0.99	—	—	0.83	0.85	1.23	1.24	
Other	0.04	—	—	0.57	0.57	0.92	0.92	—	—	0.68	0.68	1.27	1.27	
Household size														
1 person	0.12	—	—	0.49	0.50	0.63	0.64	—	—	0.72	0.73	0.96	0.97	
2 people	0.15	—	—	1.01	1.02	1.26	1.27	—	—	1.41	1.42	1.79	1.80	
3 people	0.13	—	—	0.86	0.87	1.13	1.14	—	—	1.18	1.19	1.50	1.51	
4 people	0.12	—	—	0.88	0.89	1.16	1.17	—	—	1.22	1.23	1.66	1.66	
5 people	0.09	—	—	0.70	0.71	1.00	1.00	—	—	0.89	0.89	1.24	1.24	
6 people	0.06	—	—	0.39	0.39	0.59	0.59	—	—	0.53	0.53	0.77	0.77	
7 or more	0.05	—	—	0.57	0.57	0.40	0.40	—	—	0.44	0.44	0.63	0.63	
Marital status														
Married	0.16	—	—	0.94	0.95	1.31	1.32	—	—	1.18	1.19	1.80	1.81	
Separated	0.05	—	—	0.19	0.20	0.35	0.35	—	—	0.16	0.17	0.45	0.45	
Divorced	0.10	—	—	0.56	0.57	0.61	0.62	—	—	0.72	0.73	0.75	0.76	
Widowed	0.08	—	—	0.31	0.32	0.44	0.45	—	—	0.40	0.41	0.62	0.63	
Never married	0.14	—	—	0.77	0.78	1.25	1.26	—	—	0.95	0.96	1.72	1.73	
Household income, annual														
\$14,999 or less	0.07	—	—	0.40	0.41	0.71	0.71	—	—	0.52	0.52	0.86	0.86	
\$15,000-\$29,999	0.08	—	—	0.61	0.62	1.00	1.00	—	—	0.77	0.77	1.35	1.35	
\$30,000-\$49,999	0.09	—	—	0.86	0.86	1.14	1.14	—	—	1.13	1.13	1.62	1.62	
\$50,000-\$74,999	0.09	—	—	0.90	0.90	1.13	1.13	—	—	1.19	1.19	1.58	1.58	
\$75,000-\$99,999	0.08	—	—	0.83	0.83	0.86	0.86	—	—	1.07	1.07	1.23	1.23	
\$100,000 or more	0.10	—	—	0.98	0.99	0.96	0.97	—	—	1.27	1.27	1.38	1.38	
Presidential vote choice														
Obama	0	—	—	1.14	1.14	1.40	1.40	—	—	1.47	1.47	1.93	1.93	
McCain	0	—	—	1.14	1.14	1.39	1.39	—	—	1.47	1.47	1.91	1.91	
Other	0	—	—	0.39	0.39	0.58	0.58	—	—	0.45	0.45	0.78	0.78	
Turnout														
Voted	0	—	—	0.70	0.70	1.07	1.07	—	—	0.85	0.85	1.40	1.40	
Did not vote	0	—	—	0.70	0.70	1.07	1.07	—	—	0.85	0.85	1.40	1.40	

Notes: S.E. is standard error. — means not applicable. S.E.s are not meaningful for unweighted estimates. See Table 4 for additional notes.

7. Weights and Variance Estimation

Weights for the Recontact Survey were computed by Knowledge Networks using the same procedures used for the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study. See that study's methodology report (DeBell et al. 2010) for details on the creation and use of the weights.

The data from the recontact survey 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.

There are four weight variables for the recontact survey:

Cross-sectional weight (wgtsf1). This weight should be used for analysis of the full recontact sample when substantially all cases are used and no cases are dropped due to unit nonresponse on prior Panel Study waves. This weight is provided for all 1,561 cases on the file. When in doubt, use this weight.

Cumulative extended panel weight (wgtef1). This weight is optimized for analysis of respondents who completed the recontact survey as well as all prior waves of the ANES Panel Study (waves 1 through 21). This weight is provided for the 448 cases having completed every wave of the study as well as the recontact.

Cumulative ANES panel weight (wgtcf1). This weight is optimized for analysis of respondents who completed the recontact survey as well as all prior ANES waves. This weight should be used for analyses that include variables from waves 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, and the recontact survey. This weight is provided for the 611 cases meeting the criterion of having completed every ANES wave of the study as well as the recontact.

Cumulative Late panel weight (wgtLf1). This weight is optimized for analysis of respondents who completed the ANES waves from wave 9 and later, when the second cohort of panelists joined the study. This weight should be used for analyses that include variables from waves 9 through 21 as well as the recontact survey. This weight is provided for the 1,133 cases meeting the selection criterion of having completed every ANES wave from wave 9 through 21, and the recontact survey.

Standard errors (also called sampling errors), confidence intervals, and statistical significance tests must be calculated using methods appropriate for a complex-sample survey. For comprehensive general instructions, see DeBell (2010). The Recontact data should be merged with the Panel Study data to conduct such analyses, which rely on a stratum variable found on the Panel Study dataset.

8. Orientation to the Data File

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.

Linking to the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study data

This dataset is best analyzed in conjunction with the same respondents' answers to questions on the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study. The case ID variable can be used to merge the datasets.

The following SPSS code can be used to merge the datasets, provided that both the recontact and ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study data are sorted in ascending order by the variable CASEID. In this example the recontact data are called recontact.sav and the panel data are called panel.sav, and both are saved in the folder C:\anes; edit the file names and paths to match your own system.

```
* Merge the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study & Recontact data files.
* This adds the Recontact variables to the Panel data.
GET FILE='C:\anes\panel.sav'.
MATCH FILES /FILE=*
  /TABLE='C:\anes\recontact.sav'
  /BY CASEID.
EXECUTE.
SAVE OUTFILE='C:\anes\anes panel and recontact merged.sav'
  /compressed.
```

Cases on the file

There are 2,606 cases on the Recontact Survey data file. These are all the cases that were identified as eligible for the study. Of these cases, 1,561 completed the survey.

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. SPSS portable files do not support variable names longer than 8 characters, so longer variable names will be truncated on the 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.

Analysts should use code such as this to create summary variables for branched questions. Summaries are provided on the data file for a few key variables of interest, such as party ID, as described below in the section “Variables on the file.”

Missing data

Missing data are assigned numeric codes between -1 and -9 to indicate the reason that the data are missing. The codes in use on most variables on the file are as follows:

- 1. Inapplicable
- 2. Missing, see documentation
- 3. Restricted access
- 4. Error, see documentation
- 5. Not asked, terminated
- 6. Not asked, unit non-response
- 7. No answer
- 8. Don't Know
- 9. Refused

“-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 Panel 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 redaction, 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.

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.

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 empty for questions that were not asked.

Anomalies & errors

If you find indications of an undocumented error in the data, please send a note to the ANES staff at anes@electionstudies.org so we can investigate and correct or document any problems. Check for known errors by clicking the Errata link from the study's page on the ANES web site.

Variables on the file

There are 874 variables on the file. About 200 variables are the respondents' answers to the questions on the questionnaire. Additional variables are described below.

The first variable, *version*, indicates the dataset and date on which it was produced.

The second variable, *caseid*, uniquely identifies each respondent and can be matched to the caseid on the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study dataset.

Variables beginning with “*der*” are derived from more than one source. The code used to create derived variables is available from the ANES web site.

Der06f1 is a derived variable that summarizes the respondent's income based on the sequence of questionnaire items ZJ1 through ZJ10.

Der08f1 is a derived variable that summarizes the respondent's party identification based on the sequence of questionnaire items E1 through E6.

Der09f1 summarizes liberal-conservative self-identification based on items Q1 through Q4.

Der26f1 summarizes the respondent's self-reported frequency of attending religious services for the half of respondents who were randomly assigned to answer question HJ1C through HJ1C.

Der27f1 summarizes the frequency of attending religious services for all respondents. This item is based on two different versions of the question. Half the respondents answered the HJ1A-HJ1C sequence and half the respondents answered HJ2. The former question sequence asked respondents to input numbers while the HJ2 asked respondents to select one of 7 response options. This derived variable summarizes all responses on the

same scale used in item HJ2 by converting responses such as “2 times per month, on average” to the scale used in item HJ2.

F1KN identifies panelists who agreed to join the Knowledge Networks KnowledgePanel and who subsequently completed at least on KnowledgePanel survey.

F1Assigned identifies panelists who were invited to complete the recontact survey.

F1EReminder[1-4] identify panelists who were sent email reminders to complete the survey on dates indicated in the variable labels.

F1PReminder identifies panelists who were called on the telephone to remind them to complete the survey and offered an increased incentive of \$20.

F1DataCollection_Status1 indicates if respondent completed the recontact survey.

F1DataCollection_Status3 identifies the 41 respondents who started the survey but did not complete it.

The variables with *_t_* in the name, *F1_t_TotalQual* through *F1_t_ZK1*, show the elapsed time to answer each question, in seconds. Fractional seconds are truncated, so a time of 0 seconds means less than 1.0.

The variables *F1_AI_1* through *F1_HJIC_4* indicates where respondents stopped the survey in the event that they failed to complete the survey in one sitting.

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

Appendix 1. Recontact Survey 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 B2 below.

- [B2] 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 panel study dataset, they are preceded by the letter W and the number of the wave on which the questionnaire appeared. Waves are numbered consecutively beginning with Wave 1 for the January 2008 survey. Thus the variable name for item E2 on the January survey is W1E2. On the recontact dataset, variables begin with F1 (for followup 1), so the variable name for item B2, above, is F1B2.

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 A1 was asked [**IF GE 18 YEARS OLD ON 20041102**]. This means that the respondent was asked this question if the respondent was greater than or equal to 18 years old on November 2, 2004. Other questions were asked only if a certain answer was given to a prior question. For example, in the January questionnaire, item A5 was asked [**IF A4=6**]. This means that if a respondent chose the answer coded 6 at question A4, that respondent was asked question A5, and if the respondent chose any other answer at A4, that respondent skipped A5.

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 B2 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 ANES Panel 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.”

ANES Panel Study Recontact, Spring 2010 Questionnaire

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.”
 - -2: 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, nonresponse should be handled as follows: For every item to which the R fails to respond, 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 “F1” (for followup 1) prepended to the item name. E.g. the response to the item E2 should be in a variable named F1E2.
- Codes for response options are indicated in brackets. These are not displayed to the respondent.
- Forward/reverse response option order: use the same respondent-level randomization for forward or reverse response option order that was used in prior ANES Panel Study waves.
- Timing: Record all item timings.
- Preloads:
 - Randomizations from prior waves.

[A. Interest in Politics]

[SP]

[A1]

How interested are you in information about what’s going on in government and politics? (Extremely interested, very interested, moderately interested, slightly interested, or not interested at all? / Not interested at all, slightly interested, moderately interested, very interested, or extremely interested?)

___ Extremely interested [1]
___ Very interested [2]

- Moderately interested [3]
- Slightly interested [4]
- Not interested at all [5]

[AB. Cosmopolitanism]

[GRID FORMAT – all questions AB1a through AB1e on one screen]
 [RANDOMIZE RESPONSE COLUMN ORDER BASED ON
 FORWARD/REVERSE RANDOMIZATION]

[AB1] We are interested in the kinds of things people do for recreation. In the last 10 years, have you done any of the following, or have you not done them?

		Have done this	Have not done this
[AB1a]	Visited Europe or Australia	—	—
[AB1b]	Visited Canada or Mexico	—	—
[AB1c]	Visited Asia, Africa, or South America	—	—
[AB1d]	Eaten at an Indian restaurant	—	—
[AB1e]	Eaten Japanese food	—	—

[B. Efficacy]

[SP]

[B1] How much do government officials care what people like you think? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?)

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

[SP]

[B2] 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]

[C. Trust in government]

[ORIGIN: NLS]

[SP]

[C1] How often does the federal government do what most Americans want it to do? (Always, most of the time, about half the time, once in a while, or never / Never, once in a while, about half the time, most of the time, or always.)

- Always [1]
- Most of the time [2]
- About half the time [3]
- Once in a while [4]

___ Never [5]

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

[RANDOMIZE THE ORDER OF D1 TO D6 – RECORD ORDER]

[SP]

[D1]

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

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

[SP]

[D2]

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

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

[SP]

[D3]

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

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

[SP]

[D4]

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

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

[SP]

[D5]

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

- ___ Extremely nervous [1]

- Very nervous [2]
- Somewhat nervous [3]
- A little nervous [4]
- Not at all nervous [5]

[SP]

[D6]

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

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

[E. PID]

[PROGRAMMING: The 2-1-3-4 code order for the Rep-Dem version (E1) is intentional.]

[ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO EITHER E1 OR E3; USING THE MOST RECENT PREVIOUSLY CREATED VARIABLE L1ORL3 FROM WAVE 19, 18, 11, 10, 9 OR BEFORE THAT M1ORM3 FROM WAVE 1. GENERATE E1ORE3=L1ORL3 / E1ORE3=M1ORM3. FOR E1ORE3=1 SHOW E1 (NOT E3), FOR E1ORE3=2 SHOW E3 (NOT E1).]

[SP]

[IF E1ORE3=1]

[NOTE RESPONSE CODE VALUES MATCH E3 BUT ORDER (2,1,3,4) DIFFERS]

- [E1] 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 E1=4]

[E2] [PROGRAMMING: If E2 is displayed, display it on the same screen as E1.]

What is that? _____

[SP]

[IF E1ORE3=2]

- [E3] 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 E3=4]

[E4] [PROGRAMMING: If E4 is displayed, display it on the same screen as E3.]

What is that? _____

[SP]

[IF E1=1 OR 2 OR E3=1 OR 2]

[IF E1=1 OR E3=1 INSERT "DEMOCRAT" IN [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN]; IF E1=2 OR E3=2 INSERT "REPUBLICAN" IN [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN]]

[E5] 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 E1=3, 4 OR IS SKIPPED OR E3=3, 4, OR IS SKIPPED]

[E6] 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]

[F. Divided Government]

[Was previously W9Y3, Congress]

[SP]

[USE RESPONSE ORDER FROM W9Y3; IF NOT ASSIGNED, RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 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]

[F1] Which of the following four situations do you prefer, or do you not prefer any of them?
___ That 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**. [1]
___ That 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**. [2]
___ That 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**. [3]
___ That 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**. [4]
___ No preference. [5]

[G. Attitudes toward parties, Obama]

[PROGRAMMING: Throughout section G, display the "IF LIKE" or "IF DISLIKE" follow-up items on the same screen as their parent items. E.g. when G2 is displayed, if the respondent chooses Like or Dislike, the follow-up intensity question (G3 or G4) should then appear below G2 on the same screen.]

[DISPLAY]

[G1] We'd like to ask how much you like or dislike various people and groups who have been in the news recently.

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF G2 AND G5; USE SAME ORDER AS WAVE 1 (XWAVE1=1); IF DID NOT COMPLETE WAVE1 (XWAVE1=2) USE SAME ORDER AS WAVE 2; IF DID NOT COMPLETE WAVE 2 USE SAME ORDER AS WAVE 6; IF DID NOT COMPLETE WAVE 6 USE SAME ORDER AS WAVE 9; IF DID NOT COMPLETE WAVE 9 THEN USE SAME ORDER AS WAVE 10; IF DID NOT

COMPLETE WAVE 10 THEN USE SAME ORDER AS WAVE 19; IF DID NOT COMPLETE WAVE 19 THEN RANDOMIZE ORDER AND RECORD]

[SP]

[G2]

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

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

[SP]

[IF G2=1]

[G3]

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

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

[SP]

[IF G2=2]

[G4]

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

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

[SP]

[G5]

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

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

[SP]

[IF G5=1]

[G6]

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

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

[SP]

[IF G5=2]

[G7]

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

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

[SP]

[G8]

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

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

[SP]

[IF G8=1]
[G9]

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

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

[SP]
[IF G8=2]
[G10]

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

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

[SP]
[G11]

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

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

[SP]
[IF G11=1]
[G12]

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

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

[SP]
[IF G11=2]
[G13]

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

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

[H. OPTIMISM-PESSIMISM]

[SP]
[H1]

When you think about your future, are you generally optimistic, pessimistic, or neither optimistic nor pessimistic?

- Optimistic [1]
- Pessimistic [2]
- Neither [3]

[SP]
[IF H1=1 OR 2]

[IF H1=1 INSERT "OPTIMISTIC" IN [OPTIMISTIC/PESSIMISTIC]; IF H1=2 INSERT "PESSIMISTIC" IN [OPTIMISTIC/PESSIMISTIC]]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS H1]

[H2] Are you extremely [optimistic/pessimistic], moderately [optimistic/pessimistic], or slightly [optimistic/pessimistic]?
___ Extremely [1]
___ Moderately [2]
___ Slightly [3]

[SP]

[H3] And when you think about the future of the United States as a whole, are you generally optimistic, pessimistic, or neither optimistic nor pessimistic?
___ Optimistic [1]
___ Pessimistic [2]
___ Neither [3]

[SP]

[IF H3=1 OR 2]

[IF H3=1 INSERT "OPTIMISTIC" IN [OPTIMISTIC/PESSIMISTIC]; IF H3=2 INSERT "PESSIMISTIC" IN [OPTIMISTIC/PESSIMISTIC]]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS H3]

[H4] Are you extremely [optimistic/pessimistic], moderately [optimistic/pessimistic], or slightly [optimistic/pessimistic]?
___ Extremely [1]
___ Moderately [2]
___ Slightly [3]

[PRELOAD: create random assignment variable HJran=1 or HJran=2.]

[HJ. Religious Services]

[IF HJran=1]

[3 NUMBER BOXES: RANGE 0-14, RANGE 0-62, RANGE 0-730: ONLY ALLOW DATA ENTRY IN 1 OF THE 3 BOXES]

[HJ1A] Next we'd like to know how often you went to religious services during the past 12 months, not including weddings or funerals. You can answer in any of the three different ways below; whichever one would be most accurate for you.

You can tell us how many times per **week** you went to services on average during the past 12 months, or how many times per **month** you went on average, or the **total** number of times you went.

Please type one number below to tell us how many times you went to religious services during the past 12 months.

HJ1A_1 ___ times per week on average [HARD RANGE 0-14]
HJ1A_2 ___ times per month on average [HARD RANGE 0-62]
HJ1A_3 ___ times, total during the past 12 months [HARD RANGE 0-730]

[SP]

[IF HJ1A_1 >1 OR HJ1A_2 >5 OR HJ1A_3 >52]

[INSERT RESPONSE AND UNITS FROM EITHER HJ1A_1, HJ1A_2, OR HJ1A_3 IN [NUMBER/UNITS]]

[HJ1B] Just to confirm, you went to religious services **[NUMBER/UNITS]** during the last 12 months?
 ___ I went **[NUMBER/UNITS]** [1]
 ___ I went a different number of times [2]

[3 NUMBER BOXES: RANGE 0-14, RANGE 0-62, RANGE 0-730: ONLY ALLOW DATA ENTRY IN 1 OF THE 3 BOXES]

[IF HJ1B=2]

[HJ1C] We'd like to know how often you went to religious services during the past 12 months, not including weddings or funerals. You can answer in any of the three different ways below; whichever one would be most accurate for you.

You can tell us how many times per **week** you went to services on average during the past 12 months, or how many times per **month** you went on average, or the **total** number of times you went.

Please type one number below to tell us how many times you went to religious services during the past 12 months.

HJ1C_1 ___ times per week on average [HARD RANGE 0-14]
 HJ1C_2 ___ times per month on average [HARD RANGE 0-62]
 HJ1C_3 ___ times, total during the past 12 months [HARD RANGE 0-730]

[IF HJran=2]

[HJ2] Aside from weddings and funerals, how often did you attend religious services during the past twelve months?
 [ROTATE FORWARD OR REVERSE ORDER]

___ More than once a week [1]
 ___ Once a week [2]
 ___ Two or three times a month [3]
 ___ Once a month [4]
 ___ Several times [5]
 ___ Once or twice [6]
 ___ Never [7]

[J. Personality Big 5]

[10 item version, Gosling et al.]

[DISPLAY]

[J1] Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with each statement. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies more strongly than the other.

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS J2 TO J11.]

[ITEMS J2 TO J11, SET REPEATED INTRO TEXT ("HERE ARE A NUMBER....THAN THE OTHER.") IN A LIGHTER, SLIGHTLY FADED OR LIGHT GRAY TYPEFACE.]

[SP]

[J2] Here are a number of personality traits that may or may not apply to you. Please mark how much you agree or disagree with each statement. You should rate the extent to which the pair of traits applies to you, even if one characteristic applies

more strongly than the other.

I see myself as: **extraverted, enthusiastic.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[SP]
[J3]

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

I see myself as: **critical, quarrelsome.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[SP]
[J4]

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

I see myself as: **dependable, self-disciplined.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[SP]
[J5]

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

I see myself as: **anxious, easily upset.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[SP]
[J6]

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

I see myself as: **open to new experiences, complex.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[SP]
[J7]

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

I see myself as: **reserved, quiet.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[SP]
[J8]

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

I see myself as: **sympathetic, warm.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[SP]
[J9]

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

I see myself as: **disorganized, careless.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[SP]
[J10]

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

I see myself as: **calm, emotionally stable.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[SP]

[J11]

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

I see myself as: **conventional, uncreative.**

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Agree slightly	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree slightly	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]

[K. 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]

[K1] 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]

[SP WITH TEXT BOX]

[IF K1= 1 TO 13]

[REMOVE THE ANSWER SELECTED FOR K1 FROM THE SET OF CHOICES FOR K2, REPEAT ORDER OF THE FIRST 11 RESPONSES AND KEEP "Something else" LAST]

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

[K2] You said [ANSWER SELECTED TO K1] is the most important problem. What do you think is the second 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]

[L. Economic peril]

[SP]

[L1]

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]

[L2]

Do you have health insurance now, or do you not have health insurance now?

- Have health insurance now [1]
- Do not have health insurance now [2]

[SP]

[IF L2=1]

[L3]

How worried are you about losing your health insurance 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]

[IF L2=2]

[L4]

Have you had health insurance at any time in the past 12 months, or have you not had health insurance at any time in the past 12 months?

- Have had health insurance in the past 12 months [1]
- Have not had any health insurance in the past 12 months [2]

[M. Housing security]

[SP]

[M1]

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

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

[SP]

[IF M1=4]

[M2]

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

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

[SP]

[If M1=1 or 2, or M2=1]

[IF M1=1 INSERT "RENT" IN (RENT/MORTGAGE/HOUSING); IF M1=2 INSERT "MORTGAGE" IN (RENT/MORTGAGE/HOUSING); IF M2=1 INSERT "HOUSING" IN (RENT/MORTGAGE/HOUSING)]

[M3] During the next 12 months, how likely is it that you will be able to make all of your (rent/mortgage/housing) payments on time? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?

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

[N. Economic peril in social network]

[SP]

[N1]

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]

[SP]

[N2]

During the past 12 months, has anyone in your family or a close personal friend **lost their home because they could not afford payments**, or has no one in your family and no close personal friend lost their home because they could not afford payments in the past 12 months?

- Someone in my family or a close personal friend **lost their home because they could not afford payments** [1]
- No one in my family and no close personal friend **lost their home because they could not afford payments** [2]

[P. Race discrimination]

[SP]

[P1]

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]

[Q. Ideological self-placement]

[SP]

[Q1]

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

- Liberal [1]
- Conservative [2]

Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[SP]

[IF Q1=1]

[Q2]

Would you call yourself very liberal or somewhat liberal?

Very liberal [1]

Somewhat liberal [2]

[SP]

[IF Q1=2]

[Q3]

Would you call yourself very conservative or somewhat conservative?

Very conservative [1]

Somewhat conservative [2]

[SP]

[IF Q1=3 OR IS SKIPPED]

[Q4]

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

Closer to liberals [1]

Closer to conservatives [2]

Neither of these [3]

[R. Ideological placement of parties]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF R1 AND R5]

[SP]

[R1]

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

Liberal [1]

Conservative [2]

Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[SP]

[IF R1=1]

[R2]

Would you call Democrats very liberal or somewhat liberal?

Very liberal [1]

Somewhat liberal [2]

[SP]

[IF R1=2]

[R3]

Would you call Democrats very conservative or somewhat conservative?

Very conservative [1]

Somewhat conservative [2]

[SP]

[IF R1=3 OR R1 = REFUSED/NO ANSWER]

[R4]

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

Closer to liberals [1]

Closer to conservatives [2]

Neither of these [3]

[SP]

[R5] When it comes to politics, would you describe **Republicans** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?
__ Liberal [1]
__ Conservative [2]
__ Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[SP]

[IF R5=1]

[R6] Would you call Republicans very liberal or somewhat liberal?
__ Very liberal [1]
__ Somewhat liberal [2]

[SP]

[IF R5=2]

[R7] Would you call Republicans very conservative or somewhat conservative?
__ Very conservative [1]
__ Somewhat conservative [2]

[SP]

[IF R5=3 OR R5 = REFUSED/NO ANSWER]

[R8] Do you think of Republicans as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?
__ Closer to liberals [1]
__ Closer to conservatives [2]
__ Neither of these [3]

[S. Ideological Placement of Obama]

[SP]

[S1] When it comes to politics, would you describe **Barack Obama** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?
__ Liberal [1]
__ Conservative [2]
__ Neither liberal nor conservative [3]

[SP]

[IF S1=1]

[S2] Would you call Barack Obama very liberal or somewhat liberal?
__ Very liberal [1]
__ Somewhat liberal [2]

[SP]

[IF S1=2]

[S3] Would you call Barack Obama very conservative or somewhat conservative?
__ Very conservative [1]
__ Somewhat conservative [2]

[SP]

[IF S1=3 OR S1=REFUSED/NO ANSWER]

[S4] Do you think of Barack Obama as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?
__ Closer to liberals [1]
__ Closer to conservatives [2]
__ Neither of these [3]

[T. PARTICIPATION]

[SP]

[T1]

During the past 12 months, have you joined in a protest 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]

[T2]

During the past 12 months, have you attended a meeting to talk about political or social concerns, 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]

[U. Obama evaluations]

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

[SP]

[U1]

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 U1=1 OR 2]

[IF U1=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF U1=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]

[U2]

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]

[FOR ITEMS U3, U5, U7, U9, U11, AND U13, USE RANDOMIZATION ORDER FROM SECTION WS ON WAVE 17. IF WAVE 17 RANDOMIZATION ORDER WAS NOT ASSIGNED, USE MOST RECENT AVAILABLE PRIOR WAVE FOR ITEMS 3, 5, 7, 9, AND 11: SECTION WS ON WAVE 11, SECTION S ON WAVE 9, SECTION SV ON WAVE 2, OR SECTION V ON WAVE 1; AND FOR ITEMS U9, U11, AND U13, IF WAVE 17 ORDER WAS NOT ASSIGNED, RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER. ASK U15 LAST.]

[SP]

[U3]

Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the economy**?

Approve [1]

Disapprove [2]

Neither approve nor disapprove [3]

[SP]

[IF U3=1 OR 2]

[IF U3=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF U3=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]

[U4] 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]
[U5] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the federal government's budget deficit**?
___ Approve [1]
___ Disapprove [2]
___ Neither approve nor disapprove [3]

[SP]
[IF U5=1 OR 2]
[IF U5=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF U5=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]
[U6] 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]
[U7] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the war in Iraq**?
___ Approve [1]
___ Disapprove [2]
___ Neither approve nor disapprove [3]

[SP]
[IF U7=1 OR 2]
[IF U7=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF U7=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]
[U8] 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]
[U9] 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 U9=1 OR 2]
[IF U9=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF U9=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]
[U10] 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]

[U11]

Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **health care in the U.S.**?

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

[SP]

[IF U11=1 OR 2]

[IF U11=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF U11=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]

[U12]

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]

[U13]

Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the environment**?

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

[SP]

[IF U13=1 OR 2]

[IF U13=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF U13=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]

[U14]

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]

[U15]

Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the threat of terrorism**?

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

[SP]

[IF U15=1 OR 2]

[IF U15=1 INSERT "APPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]; IF U15=2 INSERT "DISAPPROVE" IN [APPROVE/DISAPPROVE]]

[U16]

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]

[UA. Expected Voting, Probabilistic]

[TEXT BOX – 3 CHARACTER NUMERIC ONLY]

[UA1] 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?

[SP]

[UA2] If the 2010 elections for Congress were being held today, who would you vote for in the district where you live? (The Republican candidate, the Democratic candidate, neither, or are you not sure? / The Democratic candidate, the Republican candidate, neither. Or are you not sure?)

- The Republican candidate [1]
- The Democratic candidate [2]
- Neither [3]
- Not sure [4]

[SP]

[IF UA2=4]

[UA3] If you had to decide, would you lean toward (The Republican candidate, the Democratic candidate, or neither? / The Democratic candidate, the Republican candidate, or neither?)

- The Republican candidate [1]
- The Democratic candidate [2]
- Neither [3]

[V. RACIAL RESENTMENT SCALE]

[Note: “Jewish” is used in V1 to match the wording used on other studies. Do not change it to “Jews.”]

[SP]

[V1] 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]

[V2] 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]
[V3]

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]
[V4]

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]

[W. Condition of the country]

[RANDOMIZE ITEMS W1 TO W5 USING RANDOMIZATION ORDER FROM SECTION U ON WAVE 19. IF WAVE 19 RANDOMIZATION ORDER WAS NOT ASSIGNED, USE MOST RECENT AVAILABLE PRIOR WAVE: SECTION U ON WAVE 17 OR WAVE 11, SECTION R ON WAVE 9, SECTION T ON WAVE 6 OR WAVE 1]

[SP]
[W1]

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)?

Our relations with foreign countries

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

[SP]

[W2] 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]

[W3] 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)?

Health care in the U.S.

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

[SP]

[W4] 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]

[W5] 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 risk of terrorist attacks in the U.S.

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

[X. Economic performance]

[PROGRAMMING: X2/X3 appears on the same page as X1.]

[SP]

[X1]

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 X1=1]

[X2]

Much better or somewhat better?

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

[SP]

[IF X1=3]

[X3]

Much worse or somewhat worse?

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

[PROGRAMMING: X5/X6 appears on the same page as X4.]

[SP]

[X4]

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 X4=1]

[X5]

Much better or somewhat better?

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

[SP]

[IF X4=3]

[X6]

Much worse or somewhat worse?

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

[Y. SIZE OF GOVERNMENT]

[SP]

[Y1]

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

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

[SP]

[IF Y1=1]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS Y1]

[Y2] Do you think that the government should provide a lot more services, somewhat more services, or slightly more services than it does now?
__ A lot more [1]
__ Somewhat more [2]
__ Slightly more [3]

[SP]

[IF Y1=2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS Y1]

[Y3] Do you think that the government should provide a lot fewer services, somewhat fewer services, or slightly fewer services than it does now?
__ A lot fewer [1]
__ Somewhat fewer [2]
__ Slightly fewer [3]

[YA. MISC POLICY: KAGAN, OIL, IMMIGRATION]

[SP]

[YA1] Elena Kagan has been nominated for the job of Associate Justice on the Supreme Court. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the Senate confirming her for this job?
__ Favor [1]
__ Oppose [2]
__ Neither favor nor oppose [3]

[SP]

[IF YA1=1 OR 2]

[IF YA1=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]; IF YA1=2 INSERT "OPPOSE" IN

[FAVOR/OPPOSE]]

[YA2] Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little / a little, moderately, or a great deal)?
__ A great deal [1]
__ Moderately [2]
__ A little [3]

[SP]

[YA3] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose drilling for oil and gas under the water off the coast of the United States?
__ Favor [1]
__ Oppose [2]
__ Neither favor nor oppose [3]

[SP]

[IF YA3=1 OR 2]

[IF YA3=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]; IF YA3=2 INSERT "OPPOSE" IN

[FAVOR/OPPOSE]]

[YA4] Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little / a little, moderately, or a great deal)?
__ A great deal [1]
__ Moderately [2]
__ A little [3]

[SP]

[YA5] Arizona has passed a law that will require state and local police to determine the immigration status of a person if they find that there is a reasonable suspicion he or she is an undocumented immigrant. Those found to be in the U.S. without permission will have broken Arizona law.

From what you have heard, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the new immigration law in Arizona?

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

[SP]

[IF YA5=1 OR 2]

[IF YA5=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]; IF YA5=2 INSERT "OPPOSE" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]]

[YA6] Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little / a little, moderately, or a great deal)?

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

[SP]

[YA7] Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following statement about the Arizona immigration law?

"When deciding who to stop and question, the police will primarily choose people because they are Hispanic or Latino."

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

[SP]

[YA8] Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following statement about the Arizona immigration law?

"This law will reduce the costs of illegal immigration on the state of Arizona."

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

[SP]

[YA9] Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following statement about the Arizona immigration law?

"If most of the immigrants in Arizona were non-Hispanic whites, this law would not have been passed."

- Agree strongly [1]

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

[SP]
[YA10]

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with the following statement about the Arizona immigration law?

“This law will help prevent crimes committed by illegal immigrants.”

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

[SP]
[YA11]

How likely do you think it is that Latinos who are **legal** immigrants or U.S. citizens will get stopped or questioned by the police in this manner? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?

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

[Z. TAX POLICY]

[SP]
[Z1]

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **more** than \$200,000 per year?

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

[SP]

[IF Z1=1 OR 2]

[IF Z1=1 INSERT “FAVOR” IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]; IF Z1=2 INSERT “OPPOSE” IN

[FAVOR/OPPOSE]]

[Z2] 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]

[ZA. GAYS IN MILITARY]

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN ZA1 OR ZA2 – RECORD]

[SP]

[IF ASSIGNED TO ZA1]

[ZA1] Do you think homosexuals should be allowed to serve in the United States armed forces, or do you think they should not be allowed to serve in the United States armed forces?
___ Should be allowed to serve [1]
___ Should not be allowed to serve [2]

[SP]

[IF ASSIGNED TO ZA2]

[ZA2] Do you think homosexuals should be allowed to serve openly in the United States armed forces, or do you think they should not be allowed to serve in the United States armed forces?
___ Should be allowed to serve [1]
___ Should not be allowed to serve [2]

[ZB. Environment]

[SP]

[ZB1] You may have heard about the idea that the world's temperature may have been going up slowly over the past 100 years. What is your personal opinion on this? Do you think this has probably been happening, or do you think it probably hasn't been happening?
___ Has probably been happening [1]
___ Probably hasn't been happening [2]

[SP]

[IF ZB1=1]

[ZB2] Do you think a rise in the world's temperatures is being caused mostly by things people do, mostly by natural causes, or about equally by things people do and by natural causes?
___ Mostly by things people do [1]
___ Mostly by natural causes [2]
___ About equally by things people do and by natural causes [3]

[SP]

[IF ZB1=2]

[ZB3] Assuming it's happening, do you think a rise in the world's temperatures would be caused mostly by things people do, mostly by natural causes, or about equally by things people do and by natural causes?
___ Mostly by things people do [1]
___ Mostly by natural causes [2]
___ About equally by things people do and by natural causes [3]

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN AND RECORD "AMOUNT" AS 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90, 100, 110, OR 120]

[SP]

[ZB4] One way to lower greenhouse gas emissions that scientists say contribute to global warming would be to increase taxes on fuels such as coal, oil, gasoline, and natural gas. These taxes could significantly lower greenhouse gas emissions, but would increase the average person's energy costs by \$(AMOUNT) per month. Would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose this?
___ Favor [1]
___ Oppose [2]
___ Neither favor nor oppose [3]

[SP]

[IF ZB4=1 OR ZB4=2]

[IF ZB4=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE], IF ZB4=2 INSERT "OPPOSE" IN

[FAVOR/OPPOSE]]

[ZB5] 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]

[ZC. Income Inequality]

[SP]

[ZC1]

The American households with incomes in the top 20% earn an average of \$170,000 per year, and households with incomes in the bottom 20% earn an average of less than \$11,000 per year. Should this difference be (smaller, bigger / bigger, smaller), or about what it is now?

- Smaller [1]
- Bigger [2]
- About what it is now [3]

[PROGRAMMING: DISPLAY THE APPROPRIATE FOLLOWUP ON THE SAME PAGE AS [ZC1]]

[IF ZC1=1]

[SP]

[ZC2]

Should this difference be (a great deal smaller, moderately smaller, or a little smaller / a little smaller, moderately smaller, or a great deal smaller)?

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

[IF ZC1=2]

[SP]

[ZC3]

Should this difference be (a great deal bigger, moderately bigger, or a little bigger / a little bigger, moderately bigger, or a great deal bigger)?

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

[ZD. FINANCIAL REGULATION POLICY]

[SP]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS]

[ZD1]

When it comes to government regulation of banks and financial institutions, which of these statements comes closer to your opinion?

- The government should increase regulations on these institutions now to help prevent more financial crises from happening in the future. [1]
- The government should not increase regulations on these institutions now, because that will discourage private investors and slow down economic growth. [2]

[ZE. HEALTH CARE POLICY]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ZE1 AND ZE3]

[SP]

[ZE1]

A new law passed in March will change the way we pay for health insurance in two ways:

-require all Americans to buy health insurance, with the government helping to pay for those who can't afford it.

-require health insurance companies to cover anyone who applies for insurance, no matter what pre-existing medical condition they may have.

Taken together, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose these changes?

- 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]

[SP]

[ZE3]

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a public, government-run health insurance plan to compete with plans offered by private health insurance companies?

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

[SP]

[IF ZE3=1 OR 2]

[IF ZE3=1 INSERT "FAVOR" IN [FAVOR/OPPOSE]; IF ZE3=2 INSERT "OPPOSE" IN

[FAVOR/OPPOSE]]

[ZE4]

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. Iraq, Afghanistan]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS ZF1 AND ZF2 – RECORD ORDER]

[SP]

[ZF1]

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

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

[SP]

- [ZF2] 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]

[ZG. Employment status]

- [SP]
[ZG1] Which statement best describes your current employment status?
- Working – as a paid employee [1]
 - Working – self-employed [2]
 - Not working – on temporary layoff from a job [3]
 - Not working – looking for work [4]
 - Not working – retired [5]
 - Not working – disabled [6]
 - Not working – other [7]

[IF ZG1=1 OR 2]

- [SP]
[ZG2] Altogether, how many jobs do you have?
- One [1]
 - Two [2]
 - Three [3]
 - Four or more [4]

[IF ZG2=1]

- [SP]
[ZG3] How many hours per week do you USUALLY work at your job?
- 35 hours a week or more [1]
 - Less than 35 hours a week [2]

[IF ZG2=2, 3, OR 4]

- [SP]
[ZG4] How many hours per week do you USUALLY work at your main job? By main job we mean the one at which you usually work the most hours.
- 35 hours a week or more [1]
 - Less than 35 hours a week [2]

[ZH. Fear of unemployment]

- [SP]
[IF ZG2>1 FILL (YOUR/A) WITH "A"; ELSE FILL WITH "YOUR"]
[ZH1] How worried are you about losing (your/a) job in the next 12 months? (Extremely worried, very worried, moderately worried, slightly worried, or not worried at all / Not worried at all, slightly worried, moderately worried, very worried, or extremely worried)?
- Extremely worried [1]
 - Very worried [2]
 - Moderately worried [3]
 - Slightly worried [4]
 - Not worried at all [5]

[ZJ. Income]

[DISPLAY]

[ZJ1] The next question is about the total income of YOUR HOUSEHOLD for the PAST 12 MONTHS. Please include your income PLUS the income of all members living in your household (including cohabiting partners and armed forces members living at home). Please count income BEFORE TAXES, including income from all sources (such as wages, salaries, tips, net income from a business, interest, dividends, child support, alimony, and Social Security, public assistance, pensions, or retirement benefits).

[SP]
[ZJ2] Was your total HOUSEHOLD income in the past 12 months ...

- ___ below \$35,000 [1]
- ___ \$35,000 or more [2]

[DISPLAY]
[ZJ2A] **[PROMPT IF NO RESPONSE TO ZJ2, PROMPT UP TO 2 TIMES]**
Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.
[REPEAT ZJ2]

[SP]
[IF ZJ2=1]
[ZJ3] Was it ...

- ___ less than \$20,000 [1]
- ___ \$20,000 to \$34,999 [2]

[DISPLAY]
[ZJ3A] **[IF NO RESPONSE TO ZJ3, PROMPT UP TO 2 TIMES]**
Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.
[REPEAT ZJ3]

[SP]
[IF ZJ3=1]
[ZJ4] Was it ...

- ___ less than \$5,000 [1]
- ___ \$5,000 to \$7,499 [2]
- ___ \$7,500 to \$9,999 [3]
- ___ \$10,000 to \$12,499 [4]
- ___ \$12,500 to \$14,999 [5]
- ___ \$15,000 to \$19,999 [6]

[DISPLAY]
[ZJ4A] **[PROMPT IF NO RESPONSE TO ZJ4 UP TO 2 TIMES]**
Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.
[REPEAT ZJ4]

[SP]
[IF ZJ3=2]
[ZJ5]

Was it ...

___ \$20,000 to \$24,999 [1]

___ \$25,000 to \$29,999 [2]

___ \$30,000 to \$34,999 [3]

[DISPLAY]

[ZJ5A]

[IF NO RESPONSE TO ZJ5 PROMPT UP TO 2 TIMES]

Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.

[REPEAT ZJ5]

[SP]

[IF ZJ2=2]

[ZJ6]

Was it ...

___ \$35,000 to \$49,999 [1]

___ \$50,000 or more [2]

[DISPLAY]

[ZJ6A]

[IF NO RESPONSE TO ZJ6, PROMPT UP TO 2 TIMES]

Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.

[REPEAT ZJ6]

[SP]

[IF ZJ6=1]

[ZJ7]

Was it ...

___ \$35,000 to \$39,999 [1]

___ \$40,000 to \$49,999 [2]

[DISPLAY]

[ZJ7A]

[IF NO RESPONSE TO ZJ7, PROMPT UP TO 2 TIMES]

Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.

[REPEAT ZJ7]

[SP]

[IF ZJ6=2]

[ZJ8]

Was it ...

___ \$50,000 to \$99,999 [1]

___ \$100,000 or more [2]

[DISPLAY]

[ZJ8A]

[IF NO RESPONSE TO ZJ8, PROMPT UP TO 2 TIMES]

Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.

[REPEAT ZJ8]

[SP]

[IF ZJ8=1]

[ZJ9]

Was it ...

- \$50,000 to \$59,999 [1]
- \$60,000 to \$74,999 [2]
- \$75,000 to \$84,999 [3]
- \$85,000 to \$99,999 [4]

[DISPLAY]
[ZJ9A]

[IF NO RESPONSE TO ZJ9, PROMPT UP TO 2 TIMES]

Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.

[REPEAT ZJ9]

[SP]
[IF ZJ8=2]
[ZJ10]

Was it ...

- \$100,000 to \$124,999 [1]
- \$125,000 to \$149,999 [2]
- \$150,000 to \$174,999 [3]
- \$175,000 or more [4]

[DISPLAY]
[ZJ10A]

[IF NO RESPONSE TO ZJ10, PROMPT UP TO 2 TIMES]

Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.

[REPEAT ZJ10]

[ZK. Expected Voting, Verbal]

[SP]
[ZK1]

How likely is it that you will vote in the Congressional elections this November?
(Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all /
Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?

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