The Report of the Planning Committee for the 2004 American National Election Studies to the ANES User Community and the ANES Board of Overseers

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Preface

Preface

This document contains the official report from the Planning Committee of the 2004 American National Election Studies. The committee's charge is to propose content for the part of the 2004 study that is *not* considered part of the time series (a.k.a, the ANES core). The document describes how the planning committee was formed and its decision-making procedures. It also attempts to impart the rationale for the committee's proposal.

This report is written for two audiences. One audience is the ANES Board of Overseers. At its May meeting, the Board and the principal investigators will render a final judgment on the planning committee's proposal. Another audience is the ANES user community. The planning committee offers this report to the community in an attempt to increase the transparency with which ANES content decisions are made. Our hope is that the report informs contemporary and future conversations about how to improve the effectiveness and efficiency of collaborative survey research efforts such as the ANES.

Section I. Overview and Timeline

The planning committee's responsibility is to propose content for the 2004 ANES to the Board of Overseers. The planning committee's domain covers "non-core" items only. It cannot propose to cut or alter questions that constitute the "core" of the ANES time series. The 2004 design allows for approximately 60 minutes of time for non-core questions. Therefore, *the planning committee's job is to propose content for these 60 minutes.*

In November of 2003, the Principal Investigators asked me to serve as the chair of the planning committee. I accepted and in mid-November, I made a presentation to the ANES Board of Overseers about how I planned to organize the planning committee and my vision of what it should accomplish. Board members made many constructive suggestions that helped to refine my strategy.

Chief among my goals was to increase the transparency of the committee's procedures. The public release of this report is one means for achieving this objective. This report is, to the best of my knowledge, the first attempt at a comprehensive public explanation of an ANES planning committee proposal. I describe other means for achieving this objective below.

We chose February 6-7, 2004 as the date for the Planning Committee to meet. Board members are automatically invited to be on the planning committee. We then sought five additional members. We wanted scholars who were familiar with important aspects of study design and experts in substantive areas likely to be important in 2004. The new members of the planning committee were David Brady (Stanford University), Raymond Duch (University of Houston), Kathleen McGraw (Ohio State University), Robert Y. Shapiro (Columbia University), and Daron Shaw (University of Texas). I am particularly grateful for their participation. They joined the Principal Investigators, Nancy Burns and Don Kinder, and Board members John H. Aldrich (Duke University), Stephen Ansolabehere (Massachusetts Institute of Technology), John Mark Hansen (University of Chicago), Simon Jackman (Stanford University), Jon A. Krosnick (Ohio State University), Diana C. Mutz (University of Pennsylvania), and Wendy Rahn (University of Minnesota) as committee members.

On December 11, Nancy Burns, Don Kinder, John Mark Hansen (the chairman of the Board of Overseers) and I sent a letter to the user community. The letter had several purposes. First and foremost, we wanted to solicit public input about the content of the 2004 study. Second, we wanted to alert the user community about the budget constraints for this funding cycle. An important implication of the 2004 budget is less interviewing time, which necessitated cutting questions that appeared on previous surveys. In an earlier meeting, the ANES Board voted to propose cutting core and non-core items by roughly equal amounts. The rationale for this decision was to balance the value of continuing previous questions with the value of covering the current election in a manner useful to the broad potential ANES user community. The letter is attached as Appendix A.

At the same time, ANES Director of Studies Dave Howell, Michigan graduate student Jesse Menning and I developed several additional means of improving communication with the user community and accomplishing the transparency described above.

E-mail. Dave set up a new e-mail system to ensure that he and I would see every e-mail message sent to ANES regarding the 2004 study. The system worked very well. It allowed us to respond to every query we received, to document all correspondences, and to make these correspondences available during the planning committee's deliberations. In other words, the planning committee had direct access to every e-mail message we received.

[ADDRESS DELETED; NO LONGER IN USE]. Jesse, the NES staff, and I designed a website that would inform visitors about the planning committee's activities and help users understand the parameters of the planning committee's decision. We launched it on the same day that we sent the letter to the user community. The site, which will remain open until the end of 2004, includes a description of the planning committee's mission, the letter to the user community, and a page that compares the proposed core questions for the 2004 study to the core questions from the 2000 study. We also developed several interactive components. For example, viewers can conduct longer-term comparisons of ANES surveys using [ADDRESS DELETED; NO LONGER IN USE]'s "historical comparison" utility. They can also use special message boards to deliberate with scholars around the country about the issues facing the planning committee. An online survey allows users to state preferences about which questions should be on the 2004 study. The utility of which we are most proud is the "time test." The time test allows viewers to simulate the tradeoffs that the planning committee will face. With it they can choose the questions that they would like to see on the study and then, within seconds, receive a response about whether their design fits within the National Election Studies' current budgetary parameters. This site was developed at no cost to the National Election Studies.

The ANES site. At the same time, Dave Howell and the ANES staff updated the original ANES website, www.umich.edu/~nes. In addition to containing data from previous ANES surveys, this site also houses the newly-created "Questions Asked in ANES Surveys" which contains a comprehensive inventory of questions asked over the years.

Our work on these activities provided the impetus to create similar utilities for the actual meeting of the Planning Committee. Dave Howell integrated the logic of the [ADDRESS DELETED; NO LONGER IN USE] "time test" with the database underlying "Questions Asked in ANES Surveys" to create a new tool for the Planning Committee. During the meeting, the committee had instant access about how its decisions measured up against its time constraint. It could also access the previous histories of many questions – such as when in the past ANES had run them and what kinds of results

they produced. These endeavors made the planning process more efficient and effective than ever before.

The planning committee met in Ann Arbor in February. Relying on reports from the user community received in response to questions raised in our December 11 letter, the e-mail and message board correspondences listed above, and additional reports prepared by the principal investigators, the planning committee developed a proposal for the 2004 study's non-core portion. The proposal is described in Section III below.

Appendix B details the agenda for the meeting. The first day, Friday, began with an orientation for new members. The meeting's purpose was to familiarize the new members with the ANES mission and its obligations to the user community. We also conveyed about the recent history of the ANES. Later that morning, the whole committee convened. We then distributed the feedback from the user community described above and the principal investigators' reports. The rest of the day was dedicated to deliberation. We decided not to make decisions about any non-core questions until we had discussed all such questions. We went through possible topics in a systematic way, organizing our discussions around the nine categories of questions in the ANES inventory. At the same time, we debated the content of new questions, particularly questions concerning the unique historical circumstances of the 2004 election.

At the end of the day, we distributed a ballot. Planning committee members could choose as many questions as they wished. Our default rule was that we would place on the survey every question approved by everyone, and that we would not discuss questions selected by no one. Beyond this rule, we did not have a specific plan for counting the votes. Rather we distributed the votes in disaggregated form to facilitate the second day's discussions.

Early on Saturday, the committee decided against proceeding in the topic-by-topic order described in the agenda for Saturday. Instead, we decided to sort every question on the ANES inventory spreadsheet by the number of approval votes it received. We then worked our way from the top of the list downward. To get a sense of how the approvals on the ballots compared to the 60 minute non-core time budget under which the planning committee worked, we had Dave Howell compute how far down the sorted list we could go and stay within the limit. The answer was approximately 8 approvals. In other words, if we had simply chosen questions on the basis of their approval number, we would be able to include questions receiving eight approvals or more. Instead, however, we explicitly deliberated on every question that received three or more approvals plus every question for which *any* member of the user community made an appeal in response to our December 11 letter, our websites or other queries.

In the end, the Planning Committee achieved the goal of having its decision on every question based on a clear awareness of the survey's overall content and time limits. As in the past, all decisions were made and discussed in a thorough and professional manner. In addition, the new instruments described above allowed us to use advice from the user community to inform and involve planning committee members in new ways.

The result of these practices and instruments is that the planning committee's proposal is the product of a consensus of all of its members.

Section II. Committee Decisions

The first day of the planning committee meeting was devoted to deliberation and exploration. The planning committee had to make decisions about three types of questions – questions that were described in the December 11 letter as candidates for reclassification from Core to inventory, existing inventory questions, and new questions. Note that our need to make decisions on the first type of questions is a result of their possible reclassification – for if the reclassification stands, then the questions fall into the Planning Committee's decision domain.

Question Types
CORE refers to questions that are part of the ANES time series (i.e., the Core) – and outside the jurisdiction of the planning committee
INVENTORY refers to question used on previous ANES time series that are not part of the Core.
ROTATION refers to questions that have, in recent years, rolled on and off the survey. They are not part of Core.
NEW refers to questions that fit none of the categories above. These questions have been tested on other surveys or submitted by CSES.

Together, the core, inventory, and rotation questions give the ANES the flexibility to adapt a particular year's questionnaire to contemporary circumstances while maintaining a dedication to the cross-election and long-term inferences for which the ANES is best known.

Potentially Reclassified Questions

We reviewed all feedback received from the user community as well as more detailed reports sent in response to the December 11 letter. The most frequent topic covered in these correspondences was the status of the religious questions. Our letter queried the extent to which the existing questions provided maximal inferential leverage. Based on the reports and feedback from the user community, the planning committee recommends that the following questions be included in the 2004 study:

- Is religion an important part of your life? (4101)
- Religion provides some guidance in day-to-day living (4102)
- How often does respondent pray? (4103)
- Feelings about the Bible: choose one of three statements (4105)
- Questions 9017-9024 about religious practice.

The planning committee recommended against including questions (4100) Born-again Christian and (4104) How often does respondent read the Bible? As the evidence we received from experts in the field shows that the information gleaned from these questions are very similar to what can be gleaned from the existing questions. Note that whether or not these questions remain in the ANES Core is up to the Board of Overseers. The planning committee's recommendation, therefore, is to run these questions in 2004 in the event that they are reclassified as inventory.

The December 11 letter mentioned the questions 500 (party likes and dislikes) and 6039 (care who wins House election) as candidates for reclassification. Based on ample feedback from the user community, the planning committee recommends inclusion of these questions. The letter also suggests cutting from core "up to four items from these seven-question candidate trait batteries." Based on feedback from the user community, the planning committee proposes cutting Compassionate, Inspiring, and Decent, while keeping Moral, Provides strong leadership, Really cares about people like you, Knowledgeable, and Intelligent. As will be explained below, the planning committee proposes that the most important problem question (2000) be asked as part of the CSES battery. On all other questions mentioned in the December 11 letter, the planning committee received little or no feedback from users, and the committee makes no further recommendation about their inclusion.

Questions from Inventory and Rotation

The planning committee selected questions from inventory and rotation using several criteria. One criterion is the extent to which the question appeared on previous surveys, has a potentially interesting pattern of variance, and has proven useful in influential scholarship. Another is the extent to which the question's topical focus was likely to be relevant in this year's election. The order in which we discussed these questions was determined by the result of the balloting. We started from the top of the list (questions that were approved in the straw vote by the most committee members) and worked downward. We discussed every question receiving three or more approvals. We also discussed every question mentioned in a communication from the user community.

All questions appearing in Section III that are denoted INVentory or ROTation fall into this category.

New Questions -- CSES

An issue to which we paid special attention was questions presented by the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems project. The CSES website describes the study as follows:

> "The Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES) is a collaborative program of cross-national research among election studies conducted in over fifty states. The CSES is composed of three tightly linked parts: First, a common module of public opinion survey questions is included in each participant country's post-election study. These "micro" level data include vote choice, candidate and party evaluations, current and retrospective economic evaluations, evaluation of the electoral system itself, in addition to standardized sociodemographic measures. Second, district level data are reported for each respondent, including electoral returns, turnout, and the number of candidates. Finally, system or "macro" level data report aggregate electoral returns, electoral rules and formulas, and regime characteristics. This design allows researchers to conduct cross-level, as well as cross-national analyses, addressing the effects of electoral institutions on citizens'

attitudes and behavior, the presence and nature of social and political cleavages, and the evaluation of democratic institutions across different political regimes.

The CSES is unique among comparative post-electoral studies because of the extent of cross-national collaboration at all stages of the project: The research agenda, the survey instrument, and the study design are developed by the CSES Planning Committee, whose members include leading scholars of electoral politics from around the world. This design is then implemented in each country by that country's foremost social scientists, as part of their national post-election studies. The survey component of Module 1 was carried in over 30 such projects, in a remarkably diverse sample of states."

We have been asked to carry CSES module 2, after having carried module 1 in 1996, and after ANES played an important role in CSES' founding. The theme of module 2 is as follows:

"The key theoretical question to be addressed by the second module is the contrast between the view that elections are a mechanism to hold government accountable and the view that they are a means to ensure that citizens' views and interests are properly represented in the democratic process. It is intended to explore how far this contrast and its embodiment in institutional structures influences vote choice and satisfaction with democracy."

http://www.umich.edu/~cses/about.htm

At the meeting we discussed the virtues and costs of including the CSES battery. While there was a consensus on the value of the CSES project, serious questions were raised about carrying the entire battery. Among the primary concerns were length of the battery, relationship to existing ANES questions, and question quality. Regarding length, we were reticent to add anything but the most essential CSES questions given the budgetary induced time cuts that the letter to the user community describes well. Regarding relationships to ANES questions, we noticed that some CSES questions were very similar but not identical to ANES questions. The problem here is that if we ran the CSES version instead of the ANES version, we were effectively breaking the time series. Alternatively, if we ran both versions of the question we would be using valuable time to ask largely duplicative questions – giving double coverage to some issues at the expense of not covering other issues at all. We were reticent to include questions that nearly duplicated existing questions. The planning committee also raised concerns about the clarity of several questions and their associated response categories. Having raised these concerns, it is also worth noting that the CSES battery also contains questions that will be of interest to some American scholars that ANES would not otherwise run.

These dueling concerns – supporting CSES while maximizing the value of the survey's content to the broader ANES constituency led the planning committee to sort the CSES battery into three categories: carry as stated in the CSES proposal, carry the ANES

version of the question instead of the CSES version, do not carry. The questions falling into each category are as follows. For full question wordings, please consult **http://www.umich.edu/~cses/resources/module2/m2micro.txt**.

Carry as stated

CSES2: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: PERSUADE OTHERS
CSES2: HOW OFTEN DID R PERSUADE OTHERS
CSES2: CONTACTED BY CANDIDATE OR PARTY DURING CAMPAIGN
CSES2: MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE
CSES2: GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE: MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE
CSES2: SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY
CSES2: WHO IS IN POWER CAN MAKE DIFFERENCE
CSES2: DEMOCRACY BETTER THAN ANY OTHER FORM OF GOVT
CSES2: HOW WELL VOTERS VIEWS ARE REPRESENTED IN ELECTIONS
CSES2: IS THERE A PARTY THAT REPRESENTS RS VIEWS
CSES2: PARTY THAT REPRESENTS RS VIEWS BEST
CSES2: QUESTIONNAIRE USED - LONG OR SHORT
CSES2: ARE YOU CLOSE TO ANY POLITICAL PARTY
CSES2: PARTY CLOSEST TO - 1ST, 2nd, 3rd MENTIONS
CSES2: NUMBER OF PARTIES MENTIONED IN A3005
CSES2: BLOCK PARTY CLOSEST TO - 1ST, 2nd, 3rd MENTIONS
CSES2: NUMBER OF PARTIES MENTIONED IN A3007
CSES2: WHICH PARTY DO YOU FEEL CLOSEST TO
CSES2: DO YOU FEEL CLOSER TO ONE PARTY
CSES2: WHICH PARTY DO YOU FEEL CLOSER TO
CSES2: DEGREE OF CLOSENESS TO THIS PARTY
CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - PARTY A-I
CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - LEADER A-I
CSES2: POL PARTIC: CONTACT POLITICIAN OR OFFICIAL
CSES2: POL PARTIC: PROTEST OR DEMOSTRATION
CSES2: POL PARTIC: WORK WITH OTHERS WHO SHARE CONCERNS
CSES2: HOW WIDESPREAD IS CORRUPTION
CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - SELF

Use ANES version:

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CSES2: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
CSES2: HOW OFTEN DID R PARTICIPATE IN CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES
CSES2: CURRENT ELECTION: DID RESPONDENT CAST A BALLOT
CSES2: CURRENT ELECTION: VOTE CHOICE - PRESIDENT
CSES2: CURRENT ELECTION: VOTE CHOICE - LOWER HOUSE
CSES2: CURRENT ELECTION: VOTE CHOICE - UPPER HOUSE
CSES2: CURRENT ELECTION: DID R CAST CAND PREFERENCE VOTE
CSES2: GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE: GENERAL
CSES2: PREVIOUS ELECTION: DID RESPONDENT CAST A BALLOT
CSES2: PREVIOUS ELECTION: VOTE CHOICE - PRESIDENT
CSES2: PREVIOUS ELECTION: VOTE CHOICE - LOWER HOUSE
CSES2: PREVIOUS ELECTION: VOTE CHOICE - UPPER HOUSE
CSES2: PREVIOUS ELECTION: DID R CAST CAND PREFERENCE VOTE
CSES2: PERF OF PARTY R VOTED FOR IN PREVIOUS ELECTION
CSES2: LIKE-DISLIKE - PARTY A-I
CSES2: POLITICAL INFORMATION ITEMS 1-3
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Do Not Carry:

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CSES2: WHO PEOPLE VOTE FOR MAKES A DIFFERENCE
CSES2: IS THERE A LEADER THAT REPRESENTS RS VIEWS
CSES2: LEADER THAT REPRESENTS RS VIEWS
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - PARTY A
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - PARTY B
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - PARTY C
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - PARTY D
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - PARTY E
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - PARTY F
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - ADDITIONAL - PARTY G
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - ADDITIONAL - PARTY H
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - ADDITIONAL - PARTY I
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - LEADER A
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - LEADER B
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - LEADER C
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - LEADER D
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - LEADER E
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - LEADER F
CSES2: RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS
CSES2: OPTIONAL SCALE - SELF
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After the meeting, we distributed our decision to Phil Shively (University of Minnesota). Dr. Shively has been instrumental in the development of the CSES. In addition, he was served as principal investigator, with Russell Dalton of UC Irvine, on a grant soliciting NSF funding for adding five additional minutes of interview time to the 2004 ANES for the express purpose of including the CSES battery.

His letter to the Board and to the PI's thanked the planning committee for its effort. The letter stressed the value to the CSES of ANES participation while recognizing the ANES budgetary situation. It also offers the following amendments to the CSES-related part of the planning committee's proposal. It asks the Board to run the CSES versions rather than just the ANES versions of the following questions: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES, HOW OFTEN DID R PARTICIPATE IN CAMPAIGN ACTIVITIES Q1A, GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE: GENERAL and LIKE-DISLIKE (which asks for responses on a 10-point scale) for Democrats and Republicans only. In addition, it asks that the board elevate from "do not carry" to "carry": WHO PEOPLE VOTE FOR MAKES A DIFFERENCE, IS THERE A LEADER THAT REPRESENTS RS VIEWS, LEADER THAT REPRESENTS RS VIEWS and CSES2: RESPECT FOR INDIVIDUAL FREEDOM AND HUMAN RIGHTS.

In the end, the decision of how much CSES content to carry is up to the Board of Overseers. However, the efforts of Shively and Dalton to acquire extra funds reduces makes the limited budget aspect of the decision much less important than we perceived it to be at our February meeting. In other words, because of their efforts, the ANES now has more minutes available than was the case at the planning committee meeting. The planning committee encourages the Board to consider the CSES questions in this light.

New Questions – General

In addition to drawing questions from the ANES Inventory and CSES, the Planning Committee also looked to other surveys for questions that could benefit the ANES user community. The reason for looking to other surveys is as follows. The ANES does not run untested questions on its surveys. Given the large number of people who rely on the ANES for the quality of data it produces, it is too risky to put brand new questions into the field without careful testing. In previous years, the ANES had the ability to test questions on pilot studies but the current funding agreement with the National Science Foundation specifically precluded pilot studies for this funding cycle. Given this state of affairs, the remaining alternative is to seek innovative questions from other leading surveys. Of course, it is reasonable to ask why NES should run such questions if other survey organizations do. The planning committee's view is that the context in which ANES data is collected – not only the qualities of the sample but also the range of other scientifically-oriented questions that appear on it – provides new research opportunities (e.g., they can analyze them in regressions with other ANES variables). All questions marked NEW in Section 3 are, therefore, from another source.

In nearly all cases, the "new" questions cover topics particular to 2004. The attacks of September 11, 2001 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq receive primary focus. We also added questions about military service given its importance when presidential election dynamics and current international relations are juxtaposed. The other theme represented in the "new" questions is recent economic changes.

New Questions -- Post-Meeting Decisions

On three topics – domestic issues, congressional content, and foreign policy – the planning committee delegated to specialized subcommittees the responsibility of distilling and refining questions. For each of these topics, we felt it necessary to research new opportunities for question wording in greater depth. In the domestic issues and foreign policy cases, we also agreed on the virtue of waiting until at least May to choose final question wordings. This delay would allows us to better account for important changes in world events and the presidential campaign that might occur after our February meeting, but before the survey had to go into the field. We ceded 60 additional seconds to the domestic issues committee and 90 additional seconds to the foreign policy subcommittee. We also felt that the ANES could do a better job of covering congressional public opinion dynamics than it had in years past. For this reason, the committee ceded an additional 120 seconds to the congressional content subcommittee to derive a more effective strategy for eliciting congressional phenomena. Note that all of these allocations are *in addition to* the substantial amount of questions on each topic that are included in the ANES core and the planning committee's proposal. The subcommittee reports were subsequently distributed to planning committee and board members and are attached here as Appendices C-E.

In the end, the Planning Committee achieved the goal of having its decision on every question based on a clear awareness of the survey's content and time limits. The result of these practices and instruments is that the planning committee's proposal is the product of a consensus of all of its members.

Section III. The Proposal

Key

ID refers to the question identification number developed for and used by the planning committee.

CoreID refers to the question identification number used in the past by ANES

Type refers to the questions classification vis-à-vis the time series.

> **COR** refers to questions that are part of the ANES time series (i.e., the Core) – and outside the jurisdiction of the planning committee
>
> **INV** refers to question used on previous ANES time series that are not part of the Core. Their inclusion here is by virtue of the planning committee's recommendation.
>
> **COR!** refers to items in the Core mentioned as candidates for reclassification to inventory in the December 11 letter to the user community.
>
> **INV!** refers to items in inventory mentioned as candidates for reclassification to Core in the December 11 letter to the user community.
>
> **ROT** refers to questions that have, in recent years, rolled on and off the survey. They are not part of Core. Their inclusion here is by virtue of the planning committee's recommendation.
>
> **2002** refers to questions that were asked for the first time on the 2002 study. The 2002 study was telephone only and was not funded by NSF.
>
> **NEW** refers to questions that fit none of the categories above. These questions have been tested on other surveys or submitted by CSES. Their inclusion here is by virtue of the planning committee's recommendation.

Time refers to the estimated number of seconds required to ask and answer the question.

Description refers to a brief description of the question. Full descriptions are available at **http://www.umich.edu/~nes** and the CoreID referred to below can be used to match these descriptions to complete question wordings.

ID	CoreID	Type	Time	Description
1	500	COR !	101	Party Likes/Dislikes
3	502	COR	28	Party Identification
4	503	COR	19	Which party better: handling nations economy
5	504	COR	13	Which party better: handle keeping out of war
6	505	COR	13	Feeling Thermometer: two parties
30	528	INV	19	Is it better when one party controls presidency and Congress?
42	1000	COR	21	Feeling Thermometer: Stem plus Incumbent President/Candidates
43	1001	COR	15	Feeling Thermometer: House candidates
44	1002	COR	22	Feeling Thermometer: Senate candidates - Democratic
45	1002	COR	8	Feeling Thermometer: Senate candidates - Republican
46	1002	COR	19	Feeling Thermometer: Senate candidates - time not up yet
48	1004	COR !	35	Traits for Incumbent President: Lead-in +Moral
49	1005	COR !	11	Traits for Incumbent President: provides strong leadership
50	1006	COR !	14	Traits for Incumbent President: really cares about people like you
51	1007	COR !	21	Traits for Incumbent President: knowledgeable
52	1008	COR !	15	Traits for Incumbent President: intelligent
56	1012	COR !	29	Traits for Presidential candidate: Moral
57	1013	COR !	9	Traits for Presidential candidate: intelligent

60	1016	COR !	9	Traits for Presidential candidate: provides strong leadership
62	1018	COR !	9	Traits for Presidential candidate: really cares about people like you
63	1019	COR !	9	Traits for Presidential candidate: knowledgeable
66	1021	COR	14	Affect for Incumbent President: angry
67	1022	COR	14	Affect for Incumbent President: hopeful
68	1023	COR	14	Affect for Incumbent President: afraid
69	1024	COR	14	Affect for Incumbent President: proud
70	1025	COR	16	Affect for Presidential candidate: angry
71	1025	COR	16	Affect for Presidential candidate: angry - how often
72	1026	COR	16	Affect for Presidential candidate: hopeful
73	1026	COR	16	Affect for Presidential candidate: hopeful - how often
74	1027	COR	16	Affect for Presidential candidate: afraid
75	1027	COR	16	Affect for Presidential candidate: afraid - how often
76	1028	COR	16	Affect for Presidential candidate: proud
77	1028	COR	16	Affect for Presidential candidate: proud - how often
78	1020	ROT	113	Like/Dislike Pres Cands
87		2002	8	Does R approve Bush handling 9-11/war on terrorism
100	1300	COR	26	Presidential approval: general job handling
101	1301	COR	26	Approval of Presidents handling of economy
102	1302	COR	26	Approval of Presidents handling foreign relations
103	1304	COR	21	Appr/disaprove House incumbent job
105	1305	COR	26	Approval of Congress handling its job
136	1336	INV	12	Federal income tax paid by avg working person during Clinton
145		2002	9	Current admin made U.S. more/less secure
148		2002	9	Moral climate btr/worse - admin retro
149		2002	9	Current admin made moral climate btr/worse
150		COR	9	House cands placement lib-con scale
184		2002	14	Contacted public official to express in last year
188	2001	ROT	11	Things in country on right track
200	2200	COR	53	Job and Good Standard of Living - 7-point scale: long version of scale
201	2201	COR	15	Job and Good Standard of Living Placement of Presidential Candidate
202	2202	COR	15	Job and Good Standard of Living Placement of Parties
204	2270	ROT	22	Govt pay/private insurance for medical expenses - 7 pt.
226	2300	COR	28	Government assistance to blacks - 7 point scale
227	2301	COR	28	Preferences for blacks in jobs
232	2305	ROT	27	Should government see to fair employment?
243	2500	COR	27	Better/worse off than 1 year ago
244	2501	COR	22	Will you be financially better/worse off one year from now
245	2502	COR	27	National economy better/worse in last year - standard
246	2502	COR	22	National economy better/worse in last year - experimental
247	2503	COR	14	Will national economy be better or worse in next 12 months - standard
248	2503	COR	14	Will national economy be better or worse in next 12 months - experimental
249	2504	ROT	16	Favor or oppose limits on foreign imports - standard
255	2509	INV	8	National economy better/worse since Incumbent President took office
261	2515	INV	11	Does R or spouse have any money invested in stock market now
276	2521	INV	11	Did R put off any medical treatment that he/she could not afford?
279	2524	INV	24	Has unemployment gotten better/worse in last year
280	2525	INV	10	Will there be more, less, same unemployment in coming 12 months?
286	2531	INV	9	Budget deficit/taxes: increasing deficit to increase domestic programs?
287	2531	INV	9	Budget deficit/taxes: cuts in domestic programs to cut taxes?
288	2531	INV	9	Budget deficit/taxes: an increase in the deficit to cut taxes?
289	2531	INV	9	Budget deficit/taxes: tax increase to inc spending on domestic progs?
290	2531	INV	9	Budget deficit/taxes: cuts in spending on domestic progs to cut taxes?

291	2531	INV	9	Budget deficit/taxes: increase in taxes to cut budget deficit?
293	2533	INV	20	Feel youre asked to pay more than should for federal income taxes?
308		2002	9	Rich pay more/right amount/less taxes than should
309		2002	9	Poor pay more/right amount/less taxes than should
329	2600	COR	23	During last year, is U.S. position in world weaker/stronger
330	2601	COR	29	Country would be better off if we just stayed home - standard
331	2601	COR	24	Country would be better off if we just stayed home - experimental
332	2602	COR	27	Defense spending - 7-point scale
333	2603	COR	15	Defense spending Placement of Presidential Candidates
334	2604	COR	15	Defense spending Placement of Parties
341	2609	INV	11	How willing should U.S. be to use military force to solve intern. prob?
342	2610	INV	14	Preventing spread of nuclear weapons be a foreign policy goal for U.S.?
343	2611	INV	13	Important for U.S. to have strong military force to deal with enemies?
344	2612	INV	13	How willing should U.S. be to give humanitarian aid to countries?
345	2613	INV	9	How willing should U.S. be to give financial assistance to countries?
346	2614	INV	25	Should spreading democracy be a foreign policy goal?
356		2002	11	Reason for 9/11: US support of Israel
357		2002	14	Reason for 9/11: Desert Storm - US war against Iraq in 1991
358		2002	9	Reason for 9/11: To carry out a religious war
359		2002	8	Reason for 9/11: Terrorists believe America is immoral
360		2002	13	Likelihood of serious terrorist attack in next 12 months
361		2002	8	Was US war against Taliban in Afghanistan worth the cost
363		2002	8	Does R favor/oppose US military action against Iraq
364		2002	8	Approve/Disapprove of Bushs Handling of Persian Gulf
365		2002	8	Did U.S. Do the Right Thing in Sending Military Forces
369		2002	8	Was the War Worth the Cost
371	3000	COR !	24	Womens role - 7-point scale (self)
372	3001	COR !	29	Womens role: Placement of Presidential Candidates
373	3002	COR !	21	Womens role - 7-point scale Placement of Parties
374	3003	COR	12	Abortion scale placement - self
375	3003	COR	12	Importance of abortion issue to R
376	3004	COR	12	Abortion scale placement - Congressional candidates
377	3004	COR	12	Abortion scale placement - Congressional candidates
378	3005	COR	14	Abortion scale placement - two parties
383	3010	ROT	16	Favor/oppose death penalty
384	3011	ROT	20	Should be laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?
385	3012	ROT	20	Should homosexuals serve in U.S. armed forces?
386	3013	ROT	20	Should homosexual couples be allowed to adopt?
387	3014	ROT	16	Should immigration be increased, decreased, stay same
401	3026	INV	15	Abortion scale placement - presidential candidates
403	3027	INV	13	Favor/oppose ban on late-term/partial-birth abortions
420		INV	22	Should fed govt make it more difficult to buy a gun? - self place
422		INV	22	Should fed govt make it more difficult to buy a gun? - Pres place
424		2002	24	Is rich/poor gap in US larger/smaller than 20 yrs ago
425		2002	24	Is income inequality change in the last 20 yrs good or bad
461	3500	INV	27	Environment vs. jobs tradeoff scale - standard
463	3501	INV	7	Environment vs. jobs tradeoff: Placement of President
489	2203	COR	26	Spending and Services - 7-point scale
490	2204	COR	13	Spending and Services Placement of Parties
491	2205	COR	15	Spending and Services Placement of Presidential Candidates
493	2003	ROT	16	Federal Budget Spending: Social Security
495	2005	ROT	16	Federal Budget Spending: programs to assist blacks
496	2006	ROT	16	Federal Budget Spending: public schools

497	2007	ROT	14	Federal Budget Spending: Space Program/Science and Technology
500	2008	INV	14	Federal Budget Spending: crime
501	2009	INV	14	Federal Budget Spending: welfare programs
503	2011	INV	14	Federal Budget Spending: child care
504	2012	INV	14	Federal Budget Spending: foreign aid
507		2002	13	Federal Budget Spending: poor people/aid to the poor
509	2015	INV	14	Federal Budget Spending: border security and preventing illegal immigration
522		2002	7	Should federal spending on homeland security be inc/dec
534	4000	COR	34	Liberal/conservative self-placement -7-point scale
535	4001	COR	15	Liberal/conservative Placement of Presidential Candidates
536	4002	COR	13	Liberal/conservative Placement of Parties
555	4101	COR !	15	Is religion important part of your life? - guidance
556	4102	COR !	23	Religion provides some guidance in day-to-day living
557	4103	COR !	11	How often does R pray
559	4105	COR !	22	Feelings about the Bible; Bible is word of God or men
560	4106	COR	29	Moral Traditionalism: adjust view of Moral Traditionalism to changing world
561	4107	COR	11	Moral Traditionalism: Should be more tolerant of different moral standards
562	4108	COR	11	Moral Traditionalism: should be more emphasis on traditional family ties
563	4109	COR	11	Moral Traditionalism: newer lifestyles causing societal breakdown
564	4110	COR	36	Equal: do what is necessary so that everyone has Equal opportunity
565	4111	COR	11	Equal: gone too far pushing equal rights
566	4112	COR	13	Equal: big problem is not giving everyone equal chance
567	4113	COR	13	Equal: better off if worried less about equality
568	4114	COR	11	Equal: many fewer problems if people treated equally
569	4115	COR	13	Equal: not that big a problem if people have unequal chances
570	4116	COR	29	Racial Prejudice: blacks should work like other minorities
571	4117	COR	11	Racial Prejudice: blacks gotten less than they deserve
572	4118	COR	13	Racial Prejudice: blacks should try harder
573	4119	COR	13	Racial Prejudice: history of slavery made it difficult for blacks to advance
584	4126	INV	19	Social Trust: Would people try to take advantage of you or be fair?
585	4127	INV	13	Social Trust: Would you say most people can be trusted?
586	4128	INV	18	Social Trust: Most people try to be helpful or they just look out for themselves?
592	4131	INV	10	Desirable qualities for children: Independence or respect for elders
593	4131	INV	10	Desirable qualities for children: Obedience or self-reliance
594	4131	INV	10	Desirable qualities for children: Curiosity or good manners
595	4131	INV	10	Desirable qualities for children: Considerate or well behaved
601		INV	9	How opinionated is R
602		INV	9	R have fewer or more opinions than avg
603		INV	9	Does R like respnsbty for thinking
604		INV	9	Like simple or complex problems
614	5000	COR	14	Sys Supp: government waste tax money
615	5001	COR	20	Sys Supp: crooked people running government
616	5002	COR	16	Sys Supp: trust government in Washington to do right
617	5003	COR	21	Sys Supp: run by few big interests or benefit of all
619	5005	COR	13	Efficacy: people like me dont have any say in what government does
621	5007	COR	11	Efficacy: public officials dont care what people think
622	5008	COR	14	Responsiveness: elections make govt pay attn to what people think?
623	5009	COR	11	Responsiveness: how much attention does govt pay to what people think
624	5010	INV !	15	Limited Government: less government the better
625	5011	INV !	15	Limited Government: need strong government
626	5012	INV	15	Limited Government: problems we face have become bigger
630	5016	INV	15	Patriotism: flag flying make you feel good
631	5017	INV	15	Patriotism: how strong is your love of country

634	5020	INV	40	Was last election conducted fairly? (5 point scale)
650	6000	COR	31	R follows govt and public affairs
651	6001	COR	29	Interested in following campaigns?
653	6003	INV	16	Attention to national (network) news
654	6003	INV	16	Attention to local news
655	6003	INV	16	How much attention to Presidential campaign news
656	6003	INV	16	How much attention to magazines on campaign
659	6012	INV	15	Last year, worked/joined org to address community problem or Issue?
660	6013	INV	19	In last 12 months, made contributions of money to church or charity?
661	6014	INV	10	Able to devote time to volunteer work in last 12 months
683		INV	15	Has R been active member at place of worship past 6 months
684		INV	14	Has R planned/chaired meeting at place of worship past 6 mo
685		INV	23	Has R given presentation at place of worship in past 6 mo
687	6036	COR !	11	Ever talk politics with family and friends?
690	6039	COR !	31	Care who wins House election
691	6040	COR	31	Which party most members in House before election?
692	6041	COR	26	Which party most members in Senate?
693	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge - office recognition House/Senate leader
694	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge w/PROBE- office recognition House/Senate leader
695	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge - office recognition difficult (Chief Justice)
696	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge w/PROBE - office recogn difficult (Chief Justice)
697	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge - office recognition foreign leader
698	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge w/PROBE - office recognition foreign leader
699	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge - office recogn easy
700	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge w/PROBE - office recogn easy
701	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge - Pres Cand Knowledge - state Pres cand is from
702	6042	COR	8	Political knowledge - Pres Cand Knowledge - Pres cand religion
703	6043	COR	15	Care who wins Presidential Election
704	6060	INV	13	Who do you think will be elected President?
705	6065	INV	11	Will it be a close race or will (winner) win by quite a bit
706	6070	INV	22	Which Presidential candidate will carry state?
707	6071	INV	14	Will Pres race in state be close
711		2002	8	Was 2000 presidential election decided in a fair/unfair way
712		2002	16	R taken part in Protest or march in last year
724	6100	COR	20	Campaign: Did R try to influence vote of others?
725	6101	COR	22	Campaign: Did R display campaign button/sticker/sign
726	6102	COR	13	Campaign: Did R go to campaign meetings, rallies, speeches, dinners?
727	6103	COR	13	Campaign: Did R do any other campaign work for party or candidates?
728	6104	COR	21	Contributions: Did R contribute to candidate
729	6104	COR	18	Contributions: Did R contribute to candidate - which party
730	6105	COR	21	Contributions: Did R give money to party
731	6105	COR	18	Contributions: Did R give money to party - which party
732	6106	COR	15	Did R give money to group for/against candidate
733	6107	COR	11	Mobilization: anyone from political parties contact you?
734	6107	COR	11	Mobilization: anyone from political parties contact you? - Which party?
735	6108	COR	22	Mobilization: anyone other than parties contact you? Which candidate?
757	6200	COR	13	Do you think you will vote this November
758	6201	COR	13	Who do you think you will vote for President
759	6201	COR	13	Who do you think you will vote for President - strength
760	6202	COR	31	Vote: did you vote last November - traditional
761	6202	COR	31	Vote: did you vote last November
762	6203	COR	17	Vote: (if did not vote) Were you registered to vote in this election?
764	6205	COR	11	Did R vote in person or absentee

765	6206	COR	15	How long before election R voted
766	6207	COR	15	Recall of last President vote choice
767	6208	COR	27	Vote for (or prefer) House of Representatives
768	6208	COR	27	Nonvoter: Vote for (or prefer) House of Representatives
769	6209	COR	23	Vote for a U.S. Senator?
770	6209	COR	23	Nonvoter: Vote for a U.S. Senator?
771	6210	COR	15	Who vote for President
772	6210	COR	15	Who vote for President - strenth
773	6210	COR	15	Nonvoter Presidential preferences
774	6210	COR	15	Nonvoter Presidential preferences - strength
784	6215	INV	13	How long before election knew you would vote the way you did?
789	7000	COR	10	Days past week watch news on TV (No distinction local/national)
790		COR	11	Days past week watch natl news on TV
791		COR	9	Days past week watch the local news on TV in the late aft/early eve
792		COR	9	Days past week watch the local news on TV in the late evening
793	7001	COR	24	Watch any programs about campaign on TV?
794	7001	COR	22	Watch any programs about campaign on TV? - How many
795	7002	COR	15	How much attention pay to TV news re campaign?
796	7003	COR	11	How many days past week read a daily newspaper?
797	7004	COR	9	Read about campaign in any newspaper?
798	7005	COR	15	Attention to newspaper articles
799	7006	COR	11	Listen to campaign speeches or discussions on radio?
800	7006	COR	9	Listen to campaign speeches or discussions on radio? - How many
801	7007	COR	10	Read about campaign in magazines?
806	7010	INV	11	Does R listen to political talk radio
810	7012	INV	14	Trust the media to report the news fairly
811	7013	INV	6	Do you have access to the internet or web?
812	7014	INV !	6	Did you see any information about this election campaign on the Web
839	8000	COR	9	Feeling Thermometer: Blacks
840	8001	COR	11	Feeling Thermometer: Whites
841	8002	COR	12	Feeling Thermometer: Conservatives
842	8003	COR	12	Feeling Thermometer: Liberals
843	8004	COR	7	Feeling Thermometer: Labor Unions
844	8005	COR	7	Feeling Thermometer: Poor people
845	8006	COR	9	Feeling Thermometer: The Military
846	8007	COR	7	Feeling Thermometer: Big Business
847	8008	COR	10	Feeling Thermometer: People on welfare
848	8009	COR	15	Feeling Thermometer: Hispanics
849	8010	COR	12	Feeling Thermometer: Christian Fundamentalists
869	8013	ROT	7	Feeling Thermometer: Illegal aliens (immigrants)
871	8015	ROT	7	Feeling Thermometer: Feminists
872	8016	ROT	7	Feeling Thermometer: Catholics
873	8017	ROT	12	Feeling Thermometer: Jews
874	8018	ROT	7	Feeling Thermometer: Congress
875	8019	ROT	10	Feeling Thermometer: Federal Government
876	8020	ROT	7	Feeling Thermometer: Older people (the elderly)
877	8021	ROT	10	Feeling Thermometer: People seeking to protect the environment
878	8022	ROT	7	Feeling Thermometer: Southerners
879	8023	ROT	7	Feeling Thermometer: U.S. Supreme Court
881	8025	INV	5	Feeling Thermometer: Rich People
884	8028	INV	7	Feeling Thermometer: Middle class people
886	8030	INV	7	Feeling Thermometer: Women
890	8033	INV	8	Feeling Thermometer Laura Bush

891	8033	INV	8	Feeling Thermometer Hillary Clinton
892	8033	INV	8	Feeling Thermometer Dick Cheney
895	8033	INV	8	Feeling Thermometer: Ralph Nader
896	8033	INV	8	Feeling Thermometer Bill Clinton
897	8033	INV	8	Feeling Thermometer Colin Powell
898	8033	INV	8	Feeling Thermometer John Ashcroft
900	8034	INV	7	Feeling Thermometer: Young people
902	8036	INV	7	Feeling Thermometer: Gay Men and Lesbians, Homosexuals
904	8038	INV	7	Feeling Thermometer: Asian Americans
925	8059	INV	8	How likely is it that Hispanic immigration will take jobs away from people?
932		INV	12	Attend commun meeting about issue in last year
933		INV	41	Is R a member of any organizations
934		INV	8	Has R planned/chaired a meeting in the last 6 months
935		INV	8	Has R given a presentation/speech in last 6 months
970	9000	COR	13	Birthdate/age
971	9001	COR	13	Marital status
972	9002	COR	27	Highest grade of school or year of college R completed
973	9003	COR	22	Spouse: highest grade or year of college
974	9004	COR	29	R employment status
975	9005	COR	24	Spouse: employment status
976	9006	COR	28	Occupation of R
977	9006	COR	28	Industry of R
978	9007	COR	7	Does R work for self or others?
979	9008	COR	7	Employed by federal, state or local government?
980	9009	COR	9	How many hours worked in average week? right amount?
981	9010	COR	11	How worried about losing job in near future?
982	9011	COR	11	Working now: out of work or laid off in last 6 months?
983	9012	COR	9	During last 6 months, had reduction in work hours or pay cut?
984	9013	COR	17	Anyone in HH belong to labor union? who?
985	9014	COR	14	Household income - brackets
986	9014	COR	14	Household income
987	9015	COR	24	R income
988	9016	COR	24	Subjective Social Class: Working/Middle
989	9016	COR	24	Subjective Social Class: Average/Upper
990	9017	COR !	15	Ever attend church/religious services?
991	9018	COR !	17	Attend religious services how often
992	9019	COR !	11	Ever think of self as part of church or denomination?
993	9020	COR !	11	Attend church more often than once a week?
995	9022	COR !	13	R major religous group
996	9023	COR !	13	Major relig denomination
997	9024	COR !	9	Specific religious denomination
998	9025	COR	22	Main ethnic or nationality group
999	9026	COR	21	Spanish or Hispanic descent - type
1000	9027	COR	11	Where R grew up
1002	9029	COR	8	How long lived in this community
1003	9030	COR	8	How long lived in this dwelling unit?
1004	9031	COR	8	Where Lived Previously - City
1005	9031	COR	8	Distance to Previous Residence
1006	9032	COR	11	Does R family own/rent home
1007	9213	COR	9	Both parents born in U.S.?
1017	9200	INV	7	Any children?
1018	9201	INV	7	How many children under age 6? Live with at least half time?
1019	9202	INV	7	How many children 6-18? Live with at least half time?

1021	9204	INV	10	Does R Have Health Insurance
1037		INV	9	R job in past 6 mos.
1038		INV	9	R looking for work
1039		INV	9	R ever work for pay
1050		NEW	9	CSES2: POLITICAL PARTICIPATION: PERSUADE OTHERS
1052		NEW	9	CSES2: HOW OFTEN DID R PERSUADE OTHERS
1054		NEW	9	CSES2: CONTACTED BY CANDIDATE OR PARTY DURING CAMPAIGN
1066		NEW	9	CSES2: MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE
1067		NEW	9	CSES2: GOVERNMENT PERFORMANCE: MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE
1069		NEW	9	CSES2: SATISFACTION WITH DEMOCRACY
1070		NEW	9	CSES2: WHO IS IN POWER CAN MAKE DIFFERENCE
1072		NEW	9	CSES2: DEMOCRACY BETTER THAN ANY OTHER FORM OF GOVT
1082		NEW	9	CSES2: HOW WELL VOTERS VIEWS ARE REPRESENTED IN ELECTIONS
1083		NEW	9	CSES2: IS THERE A PARTY THAT REPRESENTS RS VIEWS
1084		NEW	9	CSES2: PARTY THAT REPRESENTS RS VIEWS BEST
1087		NEW	9	CSES2: QUESTIONNAIRE USED - LONG OR SHORT
1088		NEW	9	CSES2: ARE YOU CLOSE TO ANY POLITICAL PARTY
1089		NEW	9	CSES2: PARTY CLOSEST TO - 1ST MENTION
1090		NEW	9	CSES2: PARTY CLOSEST TO - 2ND MENTION
1091		NEW	9	CSES2: PARTY CLOSEST TO - 3RD MENTION
1092		NEW	9	CSES2: NUMBER OF PARTIES MENTIONED IN A3005
1093		NEW	9	CSES2: BLOCK PARTY CLOSEST TO - 1ST MENTION
1094		NEW	9	CSES2: BLOCK PARTY CLOSEST TO - 2ND MENTION
1095		NEW	9	CSES2: BLOCK PARTY CLOSEST TO - 3RD MENTION
1096		NEW	9	CSES2: NUMBER OF PARTIES MENTIONED IN A3007
1097		NEW	9	CSES2: WHICH PARTY DO YOU FEEL CLOSEST TO
1098		NEW	9	CSES2: DO YOU FEEL CLOSER TO ONE PARTY
1099		NEW	9	CSES2: WHICH PARTY DO YOU FEEL CLOSER TO
1100		NEW	9	CSES2: DEGREE OF CLOSENESS TO THIS PARTY
1110		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - PARTY A
1111		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - PARTY B
1112		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - PARTY C
1113		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - PARTY D
1114		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - PARTY E
1115		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - PARTY F
1116		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - ADDITIONAL - PARTY G
1117		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - ADDITIONAL - PARTY H
1118		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - ADDITIONAL - PARTY I
1119		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - LEADER A
1120		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - LEADER B
1121		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - LEADER C
1122		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - LEADER D
1123		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - LEADER E
1124		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - LEADER F
1125		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - ADDITIONAL - LEADER G
1126		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - ADDITIONAL - LEADER H
1127		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - ADDITIONAL - LEADER I
1143		NEW	9	CSES2: POL PARTIC: CONTACT POLITICIAN OR OFFICIAL
1144		NEW	9	CSES2: POL PARTIC: PROTEST OR DEMOSTRATION
1145		NEW	9	CSES2: POL PARTIC: WORK WITH OTHERS WHO SHARE CONCERNS
1147		NEW	9	CSES2: HOW WIDESPREAD IS CORRUPTION
1148		NEW	9	CSES2: LEFT-RIGHT - SELF
NEW		NEW	15	Congressional Content (closed) 1

NEW	NEW	15	Congressional Content (closed) 2
NEW	NEW	15	Any important differences between parties? y/n only
NEW	2002	15	Feeling Thermometer: Men
NEW	2002	15	Feeling Thermometer: Working Class
NEW	2002	15	Feeling Thermometer: Biz people/big biz
NEW	NEW	15	Gay/Lesbian campaign content
NEW	NEW	15	Feeling Thermometers: Public Figure (4 total)
NEW	NEW	15	Feeling Thermometers: Public Figure (4 total)
NEW	NEW	15	Feeling Thermometers: Public Figure (4 total)
NEW	NEW	15	Feeling Thermometers: Public Figure (4 total)
NEW	NEW	15	Gun Ownership
NEW	NEW	10	Will there be more, less, same unemployment in coming 12 months? - other cand
NEW	NEW	22	Should fed govt make it more difficult to buy a gun? - other cand place
NEW	NEW	15	tax cut q
NEW	NEW	15	can you afford to pay for health care
NEW	NEW	60	domestic issues group placeholder
NEW	NEW	90	congressional content
NEW	NEW	90	foreign policy placeholder

NOTE: The Internet version of this table should also include the previous years in which questions have been asked. This attribute will allow viewers to begin planning multi-election studies before the data release.

Appendix A. Letter to the User Community

December 11, 2003

To: The NES Research Community

From: Mark Hansen, Chair, NES Board of Overseers
         Arthur Lupia, Chair, 2004 NES Planning Committee
         Nancy Burns, Principal Investigator
         Donald Kinder, Co-Principal Investigator

RE: The 2004 National Election Study: Process and Planning

The Board of Overseers of the National Election Studies is in the midst of planning the 2004 Election Study, the latest in a continuous series of presidential election studies now spanning more than fifty years.

We write to inform you about current plans for the 2004 Study and to seek your input. We will also tell you about a new website whose sole purpose is to enhance communication between planners and potential users of the 2004 study.

At present, the 2004 NES survey will consist of 1200 cases with 100 minutes of interview time per respondent. All interviews will be conducted face-to-face using the same probability area sampling design as in the past. As usual, the pre-election interviewing will begin early in September and continue until the day before the election. Pre-election interviews are 50 minutes long. Post-election interviewing will begin the day after the election, and we expect approximately two-thirds of the interviews to be completed over the following three weeks. Post-election interviews are 50 minutes long.

   Study Content

Some of the instrumentation for the 2004 study will be chosen with the upcoming election in mind. Such instrumentation may or may not have been relevant in previous elections or have appeared in previous studies. As always, however, a sizable fraction of the 2004 survey will consist of "core": concepts and questions that have appeared regularly over the years and that provide a basis for systematic analysis of political continuity and change on an ever-lengthening time scale. Core is not absolutely fixed, but the Board considers additions to it only under special circumstances - which include new theoretical or conceptual developments, methodological innovations, or changes in the political world.

A challenge for NES planners in 2004 is that current funding levels mandate shorter interviews than before. The 100 minutes of interview time per respondent is more than 30 minutes shorter than the face-to-face interview time in 2000. To increase the number of cases and the interview length, Nancy Burns and Don Kinder (the NES principal investigators) are pursuing additional funding from a variety of sources. One of these pursuits would allow re-interviews of the panel

respondents from 2000 and 2002 – an exciting possibility for scholars who want to gauge the impact of important political and foreign policy events since those times. Similar efforts by Burns and Kinder funded the entire 2002 National Election Study. Their success in coming months will determine whether the 2004 study has more cases or longer interviews.

At present, however, the Board of Overseers and the Planning Committee will proceed on the basis of existing funding. Therefore, it proposes to reconcile the difference in interview length by cutting the interview time devoted to core items from 70 minutes per respondent to less than 60 minutes per respondent.

Please note that if Burns and Kinder are not able to secure additional funding, then any increases to the proposed 2004 core must come at the expense of new questions specifically designed to capture important attributes of the 2004 elections or of other "non-core" questions that have rotated on and off past studies.

    Core Review

At its November meeting, the Board completed its review of core with these circumstances in mind. It identified questions that should be included at the discretion of the Planning Committee (a.k.a. inventory) rather than mandated to appear on NES surveys as part of core. It also proposed soliciting views from the user community about how another set of questions can be asked more efficiently or effectively.

The number in parentheses following each of the questions below refers to the identification number on the NES Core Spreadsheet (see the new interactive version at **[ADDRESS DELETED; NO LONGER IN USE]**). The spreadsheet lists all items included in core and specifies in which previous NES study each has appeared. The spreadsheet also lists questions and concepts that the Board has previously designated for "rotation": that is, to be asked occasionally, for time-series purposes, but not routinely.

The questions proposed for change in status from "core" to inventory are:

- Party likes/dislikes (500)
- Any important differences between parties (501)
- Likes/dislikes for two congressional candidates (1003)
- Remember anything special that your rep has done for this district (1303)
- Recall House candidates (1400)
- Was either of the candidates an Incumbent Representative? Which one? (1500)
- Most important problem (2000)*
- Efficacy: Politics and Government seem too complicated to understand (5006)
- Care who wins House election? (6039)
- Mobilization: Anyone talk to you about registering? (6109)
- Locale where registered (6204)

- In what size locale mostly brought up? (9028)

See note about starred items below.

In light of changing patterns in political communication and media usage, the Board recommends that the question "Did you see any information about this election campaign on the Web?" (7014, asked since 1996) be promoted from inventory to core.

The board also recommends consolidating the questions:
- Ever talk politics with family and friends? (6036)*
- (If ever) How often discuss politics? (6037)*

into the question
- How many days in past week discuss politics? (6038)

The Board also requests information from the user community about potential substitutes for the following questions:
- Women's role – 7-point scale (3000)
- Women's role: Placement of Presidential Candidates (3001)
- Women's Role – 7-point scale placement of parties (3002)

In recent years, question 3000's response variance has dwindled and remained small. Low variance, in turn, reduces the potential inferential power of these questions. We ask the user community to propose more effective ways of addressing matters of gender politics and policy and to provide arguments about the importance of such items relative to other topical areas that the NES can pursue.

The Board also recommends changes to the following sets of questions:

Replace
- Limited Government: Government too powerful or not (5004)

With
- Limited Government: less government the better (5010)
- Limited Government: need strong government (5011)

Cut from core up to four items from these seven-question candidate trait batteries:
- Moral (1004 for incumbent, 1012 for challenger)
- Provides strong leadership (1005 for incumbent, 1013 for challenger)
- Really cares about people like you (1006 for incumbent, 1014 for challenger)
- Knowledgeable (1007 for incumbent, 1015 for challenger)
- Intelligent (1008 for incumbent, 1016 for challenger)
- Compassionate (1009 for incumbent, 1017 for challenger)
- Inspiring (1010 for incumbent, 1018 for challenger)
- Decent (1010 for incumbent, 1018 for challenger)

The Board also asks the user community to comment on the effectiveness and efficiency of the NES' questions about religion.

On this topic, it recommends that three of the following six questions be cut from core:

- Born-again Christian (4100)
- Is religion an important part of your life? (4101)
- Religion provides some guidance in day-to-day living (4102)
- How often does respondent pray? (4103)
- How often does respondent read the Bible? (4104)
- Feelings about the Bible: choose one of three statements (4105)

The Board seeks information about whether each of these items provides independent value to a broad community of users and about the extent to which scales made from all of these questions outperforms the best three-item scales. Specific examples will be helpful. More generally, the Board seeks input from users about which of the religion questions (which also includes questions 9017-9024) should be given the highest priority and retained in core.

In the event that question 4100 is retained, the Board asks whether there is a more effective way to ask the "Born-Again Christian" question. We have received conflicting reports about whether the term has been eclipsed in common parlance by terms such as "Evangelical" and whether the information can be derived from questions 9022-9024.

The Board also seeks advice on the value of the group closeness questions (8011). Have they been successful in providing to scholars informational value above and beyond that conveyed by the long-standing feeling thermometer questions (8000-8010)? Specific examples will be helpful.

The ANES and the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems

The American National Election Studies is part of an international consortium called the Comparative Study of Electoral Systems (CSES). All member nations commit to run a common set of items to enable and enhance comparative election research. Our plan is to nest the new CSES module within the 2004 study – to this end, Burns and Kinder, Russ Dalton, and Phil Shively have submitted two grant proposals to add minutes to the 2004 study for this purpose. To learn more about CSES, visit **http://www.umich.edu/~cses** or view the module at **www.umich.edu/~cses/resources/module2/m2micro.txt** (the 2004 ANES will contain only those questions pertaining to the U.S. electoral system).

Note About Starred Items

The CSES module contains slight variations of the starred questions listed above. So while the Board recommends that these questions be removed from core, it also recommends that such questions be asked in 2004 as part of NES' commitment to CSES.

Tell Us What You Think

We are soliciting your advice concerning these Board recommendations.
Tell us what you think about core, and any other advice you might have
about the 2004 Election Study. There are several ways in which you can
participate in this process.

The best way to offer advice is through an email address dedicated to
the 2004 study. It is **[ADDRESS DELETED; NO LONGER IN USE]**. Additional
opportunities for correspondence will appear in mid-December, with the
launch of a new website, **[ADDRESS DELETED; NO LONGER IN USE]**. This site
is dedicated to providing information about the 2004 study and to
making it easier for the user community to offer constructive advice.
It will include message boards, interactive utilities about the design
of the 2004 study, and a question usage poll. This site will remain
open until the Fall of 2004.

You can continue to consult existing NES resources at the NES website,
www.umich.edu/~nes. In addition to containing data from previous NES
surveys, this site also houses the newly-created "Questions Asked in
NES Surveys" which contains a comprehensive inventory of questions
asked over the years
http://www.umich.edu/~nes/resources/questions/questions.htm. To view
recent questionnaires, visit
   • http://www.umich.edu/~nes/studyres/nes1996/nes1996.htm)
   • http://www.umich.edu/~nes/studyres/nes1998/nes1998.htm)
   • http://www.umich.edu/~nes/studyres/nes2000/nes2000.htm)
   • http://www.umich.edu/~nes/studyres/nes2002/nes2002.htm)

If you have trouble downloading these documents or the core spreadsheet
from the Web, please contact the NES2004 Project Staff at **[ADDRESS
DELETED; NO LONGER IN USE]**.

The next major step in the planning process will be the meeting on
February 6-8 of the 2004 NES Planning Committee, chaired by Arthur
Lupia. In addition to Board members, the Planning Committee consists of
David Brady of Stanford University, Raymond Duch of the University of
Houston, Kathleen McGraw of the Ohio State University, Robert Shapiro
of Columbia University, and Daron Shaw of the University of Texas. The
committee will make a detailed recommendation about the content of the
2004 study, which the Board of Overseers will review at its meeting in
May.

Given the reduction in available interview time, the Planning Committee
must recommend cutting some non-core questions that appeared on earlier
surveys. Note also that while the Board's recommended cuts in core
increases the Planning Committee's discretion, they do not prevent the
Planning Committee from including such questions in its proposal for
2004. The Planning Committee, therefore, will appreciate not only
appeals to include certain questions in 2004 but also arguments for
excluding particular questions. In all cases, such appeals are more
informative when accompanied by concrete demonstrations of the
questions' importance to a broad scientific community.

Important decisions are ahead of us. We want to hear from you.

Appendix B. Agenda from the Planning Committee meeting, February 6-7

Dear NES 2004 Planning Committee,

Welcome to Ann Arbor and thanks again for agreeing to serve on the planning committee. I look forward to working with you. This letter is an updated version of the memo that I sent to you in January. It describes the task ahead of us and provides a preliminary timeline for the weekend.

We have three primary objectives:

1. Produce a concrete recommendation about the content of the 2004 American National Election Study. By concrete, I mean that our goal is to propose specific questions for inclusion and exclusion.

2. Produce a report about how we came to this decision. The report will provide a written record of the rationale for the committee's choices. It will explain cases where the committee was unified, cases where it was divided, and cases where it changed its opinion in the course of deliberation. It will not associate the names of individual members with any questions or rationales. I will write the report. Soon after the meeting, I will circulate a draft to all members. I will amend as members suggest. When we have a document whose content we regard as an accurate reflection of our deliberations and rationales, I will present it to the NES so that it may begin the required programming and testing of the prospective 2004 instrument. This document will also be sent to Board Members for their deliberations in May and will be available to NES as a record for future decision makers. I would also like to post the report on [ADDRESS DELETED; NO LONGER IN USE]. I believe that doing so will not only increase the transparency of our procedures to the user community, but also provide a focal point for constructive future debates about survey design.

3. Have you leave the meeting with the knowledge that you made an important contribution to the discipline by improving the instrument.

Our decisions will affect the effectiveness of the instrument. It will impact not only researchers interested in the 2004 elections, but also those who want to study the time series. If the ANES history is an indication, this study will be a focal source of data for generations of scholars.

Some of our decisions will be difficult, particularly when it comes to excluding questions from the study. The decisions are necessary because our constraint is real. At current funding levels, the survey will be about 100 minutes long (including the pre- and post-election interviews). We estimate that core questions will consume about half of this time. Our committee's task is to determine the content of the other half.

In the past, the NES inventory has served as common source of such content. The inventory contains questions from past surveys including former core questions as well as non-core questions that have cycled on and off past surveys in a predictable manner.

Past practice has entailed privileging questions that have performed effectively on previous surveys – where effective performance can be measured in terms of service to a time series or the ability to identify interesting cleavages at a particular point in time. NES has such documentation available for all questions in its inventory. Since no pilot studies for 2004 were funded, NES has not tested any new questions that were designed with this year's study in mind.

These facts do not limit us to choosing from existing NES inventory. We can incorporate "new" questions from non-NES sources. Keeping with past practice, we want to know that the questions have tested well in other reputable surveys. Documentation of such performance may include the source of the question and marginals.

While the present funding scenario will serve as the background of our deliberations, alternate funding scenarios are possible. There are, at present, several efforts to acquire additional funds for the 2004 study. As we will discuss at the first full meeting of the planning committee on Friday morning, some of these efforts will increase the number of non-Core questions we can ask, others may further restrict this number. Combining such possibilities with the likelihood of measurement error in the listed question timings produces a need for the following decision parameters:

- By the end of the meeting that we will place all questions into one of three categories: must run, run if possible, don't run.
- The total length of "must run" questions can be no more than 40 minutes as currently measured.
- The total length of "run if possible questions" will be broken into two segments.
    - Tier 1 can be no more than 10 minutes in length and is the first group from which extra questions will be asked. If our timing assumptions are correct in the aggregate and none of the alternate scenarios arise or if more favorable conditions emerge, all of these questions will be asked.
    - Tier 2 is the second group and we can place a time limit on this tier if we choose.

What follows is a proposed schedule of events. I want us to have time to discuss the issues before us while keeping the big picture – contribution to science, what users want, and our time constraint – in mind. On Friday, we should stick to the discipline that the schedule implies. On Saturday, we should be mindful of issues that need close attention and adjust the stated times accordingly.

See you tomorrow.

Sincerely,
Skip

Agenda

Out-of-town members arrive in Ann Arbor and stay at the Bell Tower Inn.

Friday, February 6

All sessions are held at the Institute for Social Research, Room 6080.

Friday 8:30-9. Breakfast available.

Friday 9-9:30. Orientation for New Board Members and Planning Committee Members

We present a brief history of the project with an emphasis on current circumstances. We then explain in greater detail goals for the planning committee and the 2004 study. We then review the planning committee's responsibilities. We want new members to be comfortable with the task ahead and to participate on an equal basis. They should not feel like outsiders once the real work begins.

Friday 9:45-10:30. A basic overview of the time budget, a review of reactions from the user community, and a discussion of themes.

In this session, we will:
- Update the committee on our time constraints.
- Discuss alternate scenarios and their impact on our decision.
  - CSES supplements
  - NES-Krosnick-Groves methods supplement
  - Other supplements
- Review comments from the user community.
- Begin a conversation here about themes to which we should pay special attention. For example, there may be an aspect of the coming election that is likely to make it particularly important to future scholars. This is the time to put such ideas on the table.

Friday. 10:30-12:15, 1-5. A session where we discuss the components of the study but we make no decisions. Wholly deliberative.

Parameters. Core is off the table. Main question: Which non-core items should be included on the 2004 study?

10:30-11   Section 9   Personal Demographic Data
    We may not need 30 minutes to discuss this topic. If not, we can
    reserve it for the morning's remaining topics.

11:15-11:45 Section 7   Media
11:45-12:15 Section 1. Partisanship and Attitudes towards Parties

Friday 12:15-1. Lunch in the Conference Room.

1-1:30   Section 2. Candidate and Incumbent Evaluations
1:30-2   Section 3. Issues
2-2:30   Section 4. Ideology and Values

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2:45-3:15    Section 5. System Support
3:15-3:45    Section 6. Civic Participation
3:45-4:15    Section 8. Social Groups

4:30-5:15    Thematic Discussion continued. Also an explanation of the
voting procedure.
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Friday 5:15pm. Ballots are Distributed.

Friday evening. Dinner. Time and place TBA.

Each member is given a ballot. They are available in electronic form
for those who have computer access or in paper. The ballot contains all
non-Core items on the NES inventory. The electoral method is approval
voting. We will announce additional aspects of the voting rules during
the 4:30.

At the beginning of the day on Saturday, we will collect the ballots.

While we do not expect that many, if any items, will be chosen by all,
if they are the first motion on Saturday will be to put them on the
survey. Such motions can also be entertained on Friday.

We will then direct the day's conversation to items that some people
checked. We will not introduce items that were checked by no one. So if
you are uncertain about whether we should include an item but want it
discussed, check it on your ballot.

As soon as possible, we will release the results. The release will be
in tabular format, which connects every member to their vote, so that
we can gauge the extent and range of support for different questions.
The table will not be included in any post-meeting reports, it is
strictly for our reference on Saturday.

Saturday 8:30-9. Breakfast available.

Saturday 8:30. Collect Ballots. *Please* turn them in sooner if you can.

**Saturday 9-12:15, 1:30-6. Time for decisions. Section by section with
general discussions to start and end the day.**

```
     9-10         General: Themes and Priorities
     10           Goal for polling result distribution
     10-10:30     Section 1

     10:45-11:15  Section 2
     11:15-11:45  Section 3
     11:45-12:15  Section 4
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Friday 12:15-1:30. Lunch in the Conference Room.

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     1:30-2       Section 5
     2-2:30       Section 6
     2:30-3       Section 7

     3:15-3:45    Section 8
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3:45-4:45   Section 9, General Discussion: tying up loose ends and establishing priorities in the event of changing resources.

5-6   Overtime

Saturday evening. Dinner. Time and place TBA.

Appendix C. Report of the Foreign Policy Subcommittee

The following are a series of questions that we propose to add to the already-agreed to questions of foreign affairs from the Planning Committee Meeting, Please note that the first battery also substitutes for questions that were approved at that meeting, to be revised, if desired by the committee (and approved by the NES Board).

We first propose adopting a portion of a larger battery of questions that measure respondents' beliefs about the importance of various goals of US foreign policy. This battery includes among them four of the goals that have been addressed by individual questions on prior NES surveys, adopted (subject to proposed revision) by the Planning Committee. The advantage of these questions is that we can gather a larger number of responses over a larger and diverse set of goals reasonably quickly.

We include two versions of the wording of the question for this battery, one used by the Chicago Council on Foreign Affairs in their survey work and the other proposed in the Shanks, et al. memo to the NES Board (02/05/04) that has also been used in the field, in their PACES survey. While we have slight differences in taste among them, the basic feeling was that the differences are slight enough in content that the NES should choose as appropriate, considering technical and administrative concerns as well as content.

Our second proposal is to adopt a new 7-point issue scale concerning diplomacy versus the use of military as means of achieving foreign policy goals of the US. This proposal links up with requests from other committees, especially for gathering information about congressional candidates. The idea of this proposal is to ask a general question that might serve as a useful question on which to develop a time series. Please note that we do not have any template for a 7-point issue scale actually used in other surveys. To develop this question, as desired by the Planning Committee (including us) requires developing a new and thereby untested question. Again, we include two possible wordings. The committee as a whole prefers the former, but does wish to suggest an alternative, allowing for additional considerations to weigh in the final choice.

Our third proposal provides wording for a new veteran's status question. This one has been used by the Feaver-Gelpi team in their national surveys and they argue for this wording in particular as appropriate for both more senior and younger veterans. At the Planning Committee Meeting, there was some discussion of distinguishing between active duty and National Guard/Enlisted Reserve status, but the difference between WWII/Korean/Vietnam era and the all volunteer Army era makes this a nearly impossible question to ask effectively. It also turns out to be very difficult to ask a "combat veteran" question, as had been discussed at the Meeting (we think of this in "army" terms – were you in a combat zone – but the obvious ways to ask the question fail to distinguish well for Navy and Air Force members). Therefore, we propose the Feaver-Gelpi question wording.

The second part of this proposal is to ask a comparable question about family members. Unsurprisingly, spouses and parents of members of the military often take quite different views than those on active duty themselves.

Our fourth proposal is a rewording of the "is war with Iraq worth the cost" question as asked in 2002 to reflect the fact of the war rather than its anticipation. We adopted the question wording (up to minor phrasing) from the Feaver-Gelpi project, because it is tested.

Proposed Question Wordings

1. Foreign Policy Goals   (Estimate of 15 seconds to ask question through first goal, 9 second for each additional goal) (Substitutes for four goals type questions on current list from planning committee, taking 74 seconds)

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

Q576 in CCFR

0	1	2	3	8	9
No	Very	Somewhat	Not Important	Not	
Decline					
Answer		Important	Important	At All	Sure
Answer					

[ROTATE]

1. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries.
2. Strengthening the United Nations (and other international organizations?)
3. Helping to improve the standard of living of less developed nations
4. Protecting the jobs of American workers
5. Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations
6. Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggressions.
7. Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons
8. Improving the global environment
9. Controlling and reducing illegal immigration
10. Maintaining superior military power worldwide
11. Securing adequate supplies of energy
12. Promoting market economies abroad
13. Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries
14 Combating international terrorism
[Added 5/14: Combating world hunger]

Alternative Question Wordings:

We report here an alternative structure for this question taken from the Shanks, Strand, Carmines, and Brady memo to the NES Board of Overseers, February 5, 2004. We would use one of these two forms of the introductory question, in place of the CCFR one, but follow it with the list of foreign policy objectives, above. These question were suggested by them from their Public Agendas and Citizen Engagement Survey (PACES), begun in 2001.

Question Wording A: Now we're going to ask what you think of the federal government's CURRENT ACTIVITIES in several different areas. In each case, I will ask whether you think the federal government should put MORE effort into that area COMPARED TO WHAT IT DOES NOW, the SAME amount of effort AS NOW, LESS effort than now, or should the federal government put NO effort AT ALL into that area. If you aren't sure about an area, just say so.

       Illustrative Response Format: How about "restricting the number of LEGAL immigrants allowed into the United States" - (Do you think the federal government should   put more, the same, less, or no effort at all into restricting LEGAL immigration?)

                                                 <1> More effort
       <2> Same effort
       <3> Less effort
       <4> No effort at all
       <7> VOLUNTEERED: It depends
       <8> Not sure, don't know

Question Wording B: Now we'd like to get your views on what the FEDERAL government in Washington should be TRYING TO ACCOMPLISH in several different areas. Most people think the government SHOULD BE trying to do some of the following things, but SHOULD NOT be doing others. If you aren't sure about an area, just say so.

   Do you think the federal government should -- or should not -- give permits for temporary worker status to undocumented immigrants, in other words, to illegal aliens?

       <1> Yes, federal government should
       <5> No, government should not
       <7> VOLUNTEERED: It depends
       <8> Not sure, don't know
       <9> Refused

2. Foreign Policy Scale: (estimate of 57 seconds through party placements, congressional candidate placements extra, as per Congressional Questions memo, adding another 15 seconds) (newly created):

Some people believe that the United States should help solve international problems by working using diplomacy and other forms of international pressure but use military force only in extreme circumstances. Suppose we put such people at "1" on this scale [*show scale*]. Others believe that peaceful means often fail and that the US needs to use military force more often. Suppose we put them at number 7 on this scale. And, of course, others fall at positions in between.

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

And where would you place George W. Bush on this scale? ….. John Kerry….?

And where would you place the Republican Party on this scale? … the Democratic Party….?

And where would you place [congressional candidate 1]….[congressional candidate 2] on this scale?

Alternative Scale on type of intervention (also newly created)

Some people believe that U.S. troops should never (rarely?) be sent to help solve serious international problems. Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1. Others feel that U.S. troops should always be sent to help solve serious international problems. Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7. And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2,3,4,5 or 6.

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

And where would you place George W. Bush on this scale? ….. John Kerry….?

And where would you place the Republican Party on this scale? … the Democratic Party….?

And where would you place [congressional candidate 1]….[congressional candidate 2] on this scale?

3. Veteran's Status Questions: (estimate of 8 seconds each)

A. Respondent's Status (Wording for Question Agreed to by Planning Committee)

Have you ever served or are you currently serving in the US military, the National Guard, or military reserves?

B. R's Family Status (Possible new Question):

Has a member of your family ever served or is currently serving in the US military, the National Guard, or military reserves [Indicate immediate family, if asked]

4. Possible following question to "Iraq worth it" question: (estimate of 18 seconds):

Revised wording of "worth it" question (already included):

As you know, the United States is currently involved in a war in Iraq. All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the current war with Iraq has been worth fighting, or not?

       1. Worth it
       5. Not worth it
       9. DK

Appendix D. Report of the Congressional Content Subcommittee

Attached is the proposed congressional battery for the 2004 National Election Survey. We have consulted with selected users of the congressional elections questions, and have received very constructive comments from Gary Jacobson and Charles Stewart.

These scholars are concerned about the loss of two key questions – candidate likes/dislikes and candidate recall. The concern is in part substantive – the questions are of value to researchers in this area. (See the attached graph from Gary Jacobson on changes in candidate name recall over time.) But, there is also a sense that the congressional battery has been reduced dramatically since 1994, and that the 2004 study would have very little CORE content on congressional candidates and elections.

In addition to vote, the core battery of congressional material consists of liberal-conservative rating of the congressional candidates, job approval of the member of Congress and of Congress generally, feeling thermometers of the congressional candidates, and the 7-pt placement on abortion (but not other issues).

We recommend more content to clearly distinguish assessments of the institution and the member of Congress, and to provide a richer battery of evaluations of the candidates on issues.

To get at assessments of the institution of Congress, we think it would be good to add a feeling thermometer of Congress generally as well. Also, we think that the question "how good a job does Rep do keeping in touch" has been asked over time and would capture some of what is lost with name recall (i.e., how prominent or visible is the member back home).

The 7-point scales on Abortion and other issues are useful for getting at issue voting. In addition to Abortion, which is in the Core, we recommend that 7 point scales on other issues be introduced into Core. On the spreadsheets, there are five such scales: Government-Private Health Care, Spending-Services, Guaranteed Jobs-standard of living, Environment v. Jobs, and Defense Spending. There may be others in older surveys worth resurrecting, but we focused on these. Of these five, we thought Spending-Services and Jobs-Standard of Living best captured the issues of the day and campaign. Also, health care is an important issue this year and every year, but the question does not map nicely into the current debate, which concerns the prescription drug benefit.

Looking at the 7-pt scales, we think they obviously lack a true foreign policy question that taps internationalism v. isolationism. This will be relevant for assessments of Iraq, but it is also a lasting dimension of American ideology. Whether to include such a measure seems to us to be a question for the Foreign Affairs committee as well, but we would be very interested in such an item for the congressional content over the long-run.

We recommend that
- The 2004 NES include Spending-Services and Jobs-Standard of Living scales for the congressional candidates. We also think that the Board ought to consider these for inclusion in CORE, along with Abortion.
- That additional issues presented by the Domestic Issues group include congressional candidate versions, where appropriate.
- That a new 7-point scale question be written to capture Internationalism v. Isolationism.
- The 2004 study include the "keep in touch" question to see if at least one measure of the activities that sustain the personal vote have changed since the 1980s.

There ought also to be some content devoted to the context of this year's election. Perhaps more than previous congressional contests, this year's election seems to be strongly tied to the assessment of the president and the parties.

This, of course, is a conjecture, and the central question for the congressional scholars looking at this specific election is how much assessments of the policies of the president affect people's voting decisions. The key issues that may affect the congressional election are: the Iraq conflict, the tax cut (and Bush's economic policies generally), the Medicare prescription drug benefit, and morality.

Because these issues are also domestic policy issues we would like to piggyback on the content developed by the Domestic Policy group to develop the specific wordings. But, since these are the key issues in the election, not just in the congressional election, we think it is highly advisable to develop and include questions about the voters' agreement with these Bush administration policy issues. Questions about the perceptions of the congressional candidates on these issues might also be useful, but it may be enough to know agreement with Bush on taxes, moral issues, Medicare, and foreign affairs to learn whether legislators are held accountable. Such a battery of questions would be expensive – more than the time allotted.

We have included two possible questions: Rep support Bush's legislative proposals (a version was asked for Clinton) and responsibility for the deficit (which might effectively be used to see if those opposed to deficit hold Republican members accountable). Versions of each have been asked in the past.

If time allows, assessments of the congressional candidates on the domestic policy issues would be very useful content to include on the 2004 NES. This content would allow scholars to assess whether voters distinguished the candidates on the key issues of the election, whether (and on what issues) voters distinguished the candidates from the president, and whether the issues affected the voting preferences in the congressional elections.

Below is a sketch of the congressional content with seconds of new (non-core) material.

Secs.   Lib/Con
- Member (CORE - #?; ID 150)
- Congressional Candidate (CORE #?; ID 150)

Job Approval
- Member (CORE - #1304)
- Congress (CORE - #1305)
- How good job does Rep do of keeping in touch? [#1316]

18

Feeling Thermometers
- Member (CORE - #1001)
- Congressional Candidate (CORE - #1001)
- Congress generally (INV - #8018)

7

7-point Placement (Ask Congressional Questions to Match Presidential &
Party perception questions) – 14 sec each.
- Abortion (CORE - #3004)
- Spending-services (INV #2208)
- Guaranteed Job-standard of living (INV #2201)
- (Possible addition: Intervention-Isolation [send troops v. diplomacy or
  send troops under what circumstances—only when military threat v. to
  change world affairs]; we need to coordinate this question with the
  recommendation of the Foreign Affairs committee. Other possible
  7pt-ers are Environment v. Jobs (INV #3501), Defense Spending (INV
  #2607), and Government Provided Health Care (INV #2112).)

42

Presidential Support
- How often has Representative supported Bush's legislative proposals?
  (INV #1318) [28 seconds]
- Who deserves blame for federal budget deficit President or Congress?
 (INV #1313) [10 seconds]

38

95 seconds

An alternative to what is proposed above is to jettison presidential support questions and restore the candidate recall question. Gary Jacobson argues that this shows some interesting overtime variation within states, such as California.

The following graph was sent by Gary Jacobson. It concerns the congressional candidate recall question. There is clearly important overtime and cross-sectional variation in this question that might reflect institutional changes in Congress (e.g., California's delegation grew and there was a substantial gerrymander in 1982). This variation is likely not capture by name recognition.

On the margin he would cut presidential evaluations in order to keep the post-election candidate recall measure.

Recall of House Candidates, California and Other States, 1958-2000
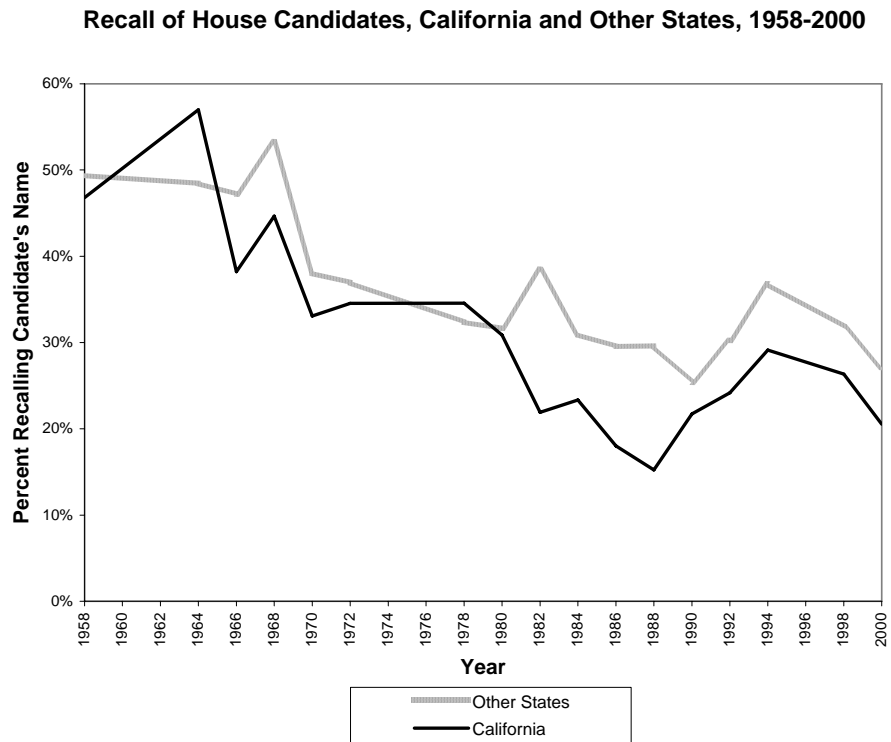
REPORT FROM THE 2004 NES DOMESTIC ISSUES COMMITTEE

TO: The NES Board of Overseers
FROM: Daron Shaw, Simon Jackman, and Jon Krosnick (chair)
SUBJECT: 2004 NES Domestic Policy Items[1]
DATE: May 20, 2004

The domestic issues committee took our charge to be identifying domestic policy issues (and measures of attitudes on those issues) that are (1) likely to play important roles in the 2004 presidential campaign, and (2) are not already addressed (sufficiently) by items in the 2004 NES questionnaires.

We began this process by acknowledging the tremendous difficulty of accomplishing this task long in advance of election day. Although we recognize the importance of completing and testing the CAPI programming long before the field period begins, we felt that choosing our policy issues too early would compromise the value of this component of the study.

Illustration of the need for delay in making these decisions became vivid to us as time has passed since our last meeting in Ann Arbor. At that time, we thought that the issue of gay unions would be big in the campaign, because it was getting a tremendous amount of news media attention at that time. But since then, attention to that issue and its apparent prominence in the campaign has faded considerably. We do not think it is completely off the radar screen or completely irrelevant, but it seems much less obvious now that that issue will be a centerpiece of the campaign. This sort of shift gives us considerable humility about guessing where the campaign will go in the future.

With that caveat in mind, we would like to propose a tentative set of issues to consider (and items with which to measure relevant attitudes), recognizing that it makes sense to keep an open mind as long as possible about whether to remove some of these issues and add others.

Needless to say, it seems that the issue of prisoner abuse in Abu Ghraib prison has emerged powerfully and may well stay on the campaign's radar screen until election day (or at least stay active in the minds of Americans). It seems reasonable to imagine asking our respondents about who they perceive to be responsible for causing the abuse, how they evaluate the Preident's handling of the events, and other such specific matters. But we have not proposed specific questions on this issue because it may fall more squarely in the territory of the NES Foreign Policy Subcommittee.

In selecting issues, we sought to identify ones that have these four features:

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[1] Huge thanks go to Daron Shaw for doing a tremendous amount of work in assembling material for this report.

1. The two major party candidates will talk about the issue and clearly state their stands on it (a necessary condition for voters to use the issue in their decision-making)
2. The two major party candidates will take different positions on the issue (another necessary condition for voters to use the issue).
3. The media will devote considerable attention to the issue (so that voters can learn the candidates' positions, yet another necessary condition).
4. Nearly all respondents will be at least familiar with the issue and understand what it is about without requiring much explanation (so that the questions we write need not explain the issue in detail).

In order to learn about the likelihood that various issues will be prominent in the campaigns, we sought input from pollsters involved in leading and shaping the campaigns. At the end of this document is an email we received from one of the leading pollsters for one of the two major party candidates, who looked at the current NES questionnaire and suggested additions/changes.

We had a conversation with another leading pollster and learned that the following four issues are worthy of coverage in the questionnaire:

Outsourcing jobs (not driven by racial prejudice or labor union concerns) – rather, whether sending good American jobs oversees will help the US economy or hurt it.

Health care. Controlling rising health care costs, and the patient bill of rights.

Energy independence. Whether government should take steps to help accomplish this.

Iraq. In the end, will the US be the only nation paying the costs of the war and suffering condemnation for other nations, or will other nations share in the costs of the war and praise US involvement.

Using the criteria outlined above, the issues we think may deserve consideration for inclusion in the 2004 NES questionnaire include:

1. Outsourcing of jobs oversees
2. President Bush's tax cuts
3. Education/no child left behind/school vouchers
4. Prescription drugs/Imports from Canada
5. Medicare reform
6. The Patriot Act
7. Corporate Scandals/Enron/Hailburton
8. Gay Marriage
9. Partial birth abortion
10. Stem cell research
11. Gasoline prices
12. Oil exploration restrictions
13. Social security

14. Health care costs
15. Energy independence

Below are items addressing some of these issues (though not all) drawn from other surveys (and the results obtained) that might be considered for inclusion in the NES:

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1. **Out-sourcing**—This is the major omission among the potential economic items. Both campaigns clearly think it's going to be an issue. There are very few interesting questions on it, however, since almost nobody outside of a few business schools is in favor. The most interesting items we came across involved broader questions of the beneficence of free trade. One of these would be a nice addition.

   Here's a possibility:

"Recently, some big American companies have been hiring workers in foreign countries to replace workers in the US, such as people who take customer service telephone calls. Do you think the federal government should discourage companies from doing this, encourage companies to do this, or stay out of this matter? (If encourage/discourage:) Do you think the government should do this a great deal or only a little?

   Other potential items:

"In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the WTO (World Trade Organization) have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?"

	Good Thing	Bad Thing	Mixed (vol.)	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%
2/04	28	35	11	26

"A government official recently said that the 'outsourcing' of American service jobs to other countries is not only inevitable but is good for Americans. Do you generally agree or disagree?"

	Agree	Disagree	Don't Know
	%	%	%
2/04	23	68	9

Newsweek **Poll** conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates. Feb. 19-20, 2004. N=1,019 adults nationwide. MoE ± 3.

"In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA, (the North American Free Trade Agreement) and the WTO (World Trade Organization), have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?" If uncertain, respondents were read full name.

	Good Thing	Bad Thing	Don't Know
	%	%	%
12/03	34	33	33

"Thinking about the financial situation of you and your family: Do you think these free trade agreements (like NAFTA and the WTO) have definitely helped, probably helped, probably hurt, or definitely hurt the financial situation of you and your family?"

	Def. Helped	Probably Helped	Probably Hurt	Def. Hurt	Neither (vol.)	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%	%	%
12/03	2	25	24	14	15	20

Pew Research Center for the People & the Press survey conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates. Dec. 15-17, 2003. N=815 adults nationwide. MoE ± 4.

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2. **Education/"No Child Left Behind"—**There were no specific items we could find about the particular components of the "No Child Left Behind" initiative compared with more traditional approaches to educational reform (standards versus funding). Kerry people told us that they will make an aggressive effort to reclaim this from Bush. The charter schools questions are the closest we have to additional items that tap into the relevant current discussion.

There are a lot of components to the proposed "No Child Left Behind" legislation (**http://www.whitehouse.gov/news/reports/no-child-left-behind.html#7**). Our focus is on the stuff under the heading **"Promoting Parental Options and Innovative Programs"**, including charter schools and vouchers.

There is an NES inventory item on vouchers, but we think we should use an item that explains the voucher idea more simply, clearly, and directly than the NES item does.

One relevant question is:

`Now I would like to read you an idea and please tell whether you favor it, oppose it....Parents, teachers, and residents of local communities would be allowed to start independent public schools of their own if they are dissatisfied with their own public schools. These schools, called charter schools, would be funded by the government, but run by local residents and free from government regulation. However, charter schools will be subject to the same performance standards as public schools. Now, do you favor or oppose that idea? (If favor/oppose, ask:) And do you definitely or just probably favor/oppose that idea?`

Source: PUBLIC OPINION STRATEGIES (6/30/02 poll - **http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe/document?_m=2e5f5e437c301592d1bc821bcfeee086&_docnum=**

RESULTS: Definitely favor 25%, Probably favor 21, Probably oppose 12, Definitely oppose 31, Don't know 11, Refused 1.

But we would propose this revised wording:

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Local communities are allowed to start independent public schools,
called charter schools, if they are not satisfied with their own public
schools. These schools are funded by the government but run by local
residents and not regulated by the government.  However, charter
schools have to achieve the same performance standards as public
schools in order to continue to operate.  Do you favor charter schools
being allowed, oppose it, or neither favor nor oppose it? (If
favor/oppose, ask:) And do you favor/oppose it strongly or not
strongly?
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Other questions:

"As you may know, charter schools operate under a charter or contract that frees them from many of the state regulations imposed on public schools and permits them to operate independently. Do you favor or oppose the idea of charter schools?"

	ALL	Public School Parents
	%	%
Favor	42	40
Oppose	47	47
Don't know	11	13

Phi Delta Kappa/Gallup Poll. June 5-29, 2000. N=1,093 adults nationwide.

"Would you support or oppose having the government give parents in low-income families money to help pay for their children to attend a private or religious school instead of their local public school?"

	%
Support	50
Oppose	47
No opinion	3

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If "Support":
"Would you support or oppose that if it meant less money for the public schools?"

	%
Support	57
Oppose	42
No opinion	2

ABC News.com Poll. July 11-14, 2002. N=1,017 adults nationwide. MoE ± 3. Field work by TNS Intersearch.

3. **Prescription Drugs/Medicare**—Again, both sides intend to fight on this one in the fall.

One possible item:

"Recently, Congress passed a new law making the federal government pay for part of the cost of prescription drugs that senior citizens on Medicare get. Do you favor this law, oppose it, or neither favor not oppose it?" (If favor/oppose:) Do you favor/oppose it strongly or not strongly? (If neither): Do you lean toward favoring it, lean toward opposing it, or don't you lean either way?"

Other possibilities:

"As you may know, there is a new Medicare law that deals with prescription drug benefits for senior citizens and changes the way Medicare will cover the medical expenses of some senior citizens. Based on what you have heard or read, do you favor or oppose the new prescription drug benefit for Medicare recipients?"

	Favor	**Oppose**	**No Opinion**
	%	%	%
ALL adults:			
3/04	41	35	24
12/03	52	30	18
Adults 65 & older:			
3/04	36	48	16
12/03	46	39	15

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"Which of the following best describes your view of what the changes to Medicare prescription coverage will do to assist seniors who have problems paying for prescription drugs: it will help the situation, it will not have much effect, or it will hurt the situation?"
Options rotated

	Help	**Little Effect**	**Hurt**	**No Opinion**
	%	%	%	%
3/04	35	30	20	15

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"Which of the following best describes your view of what the changes to Medicare will do to solve the problem of making the Medicare system financially secure for the future: it will help the situation, it will not have much effect, or it will hurt the situation?"
Options rotated

	Help	**Little Effect**	**Hurt**	**No Opinion**
	%	%	%	%
3/04	18	37	28	17

CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup Poll. March 26-28, 2004. N=1,001 adults nationwide (MoE ± 3), including 228 adults 65 & older (MoE ± 7).

4. **"Patriot Act"**—We're not sure this will be a serious issue in the fall campaign, but it will be an interesting dependent variable for some subset of scholars. Unfortunately, we found almost no relevant items on the subject. The LAT item below is the closest we could find, and the response distribution suggests it could be a nice one to add, perhaps in shortened form.

"The Department of Defense is developing a program which could compile information from sources such as phone calls, e-mails, web searches, financial records, purchases, school records, medical records and travel histories to provide a database of information about individuals in the United States. Supporters of the system say that it will provide a powerful tool for hunting terrorists. Opponents say it is an invasion of individual privacy by the government. Based on what you just heard, are you inclined to support this program, or inclined to oppose it, or haven't you heard enough about it to say?"

	ALL	Demo-crats	Indepen-dents	Repub-licans
	%	%	%	%
Inclined to support	31	18	30	50
Inclined to oppose	36	42	40	22
Haven't heard enough	28	34	26	25
Don't know	5	6	4	3

The Los Angeles Times **Poll**. Dec. 12-15, 2002. N=1,305 adults nationwide. MoE ± 3 (total sample).

5. **Corporate Scandal/Enron/Haliburton**—The most interesting items we have seen attempt to tap into the larger issue of whether or not government regulation is appropriate/sufficient to redress corporate abuses. I'd like to see one of these. The Kerry campaign will play this up at the convention, but this may pale in comparison to Iraq.

    NES asked questions about corporate corruption in 2002, but none of those questions is about preferred government policy. Here's a proposed rewording of Q310 that may be more on target:

"Recent investigations into large companies such as Enron have found that top executives lied about their companies' financial situations and received huge bonuses, and their companies later went bankrupt and workers lost their jobs and retirement savings. Do you think that government efforts to prevent this sort of thing from happening again should be increased, decreased, or kept about as they are now? (If increase/decrease) Do you think they should be increased/decreased a lot or a little? (If kept about the same) Do you lean toward increasing them, decreasing them, or don't you lean either way?"

    Other questions to consider:

"Which is your view of government regulations: most are necessary and protect consumers or the environment, or most are unnecessary and harm the economy?" Half

sample (Form B)

	7/02	1/95
	%	%
Most are necessary	52	40
Most are unnecessary	30	47
Some of both (vol.)	13	6
Not sure	5	7

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"When it comes to dealing with the problems of the financial markets and major corporations, which do you think is the greatest danger: that regulators will go too far and impose restrictions on business that will hinder the economy, OR that they will not go far enough toward raising the standards of accountability and restoring confidence in the markets and U.S. corporations?" Half sample (Form B)

	%
Will go too far	36
Will not go far enough	59
Not sure	5

NBC News/ *Wall Street Journal* Poll conducted by the polling organizations of Peter Hart (D) and Robert Teeter (R). July 19-21, 2002. N=1,014 adults nationwide. MoE ± 3.1 (total sample).

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6. **Gay Marriage**—We simply have to add one here. Our items on homosexuality don't get at the nuances of this specific issue. Many examples to chose from.

   An example from the PA Times (**http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe/document?_m=44a9171c262fc6b9f18e647b48063eb1&_docnum=2&wchp=dGLbVtb-zSkVb&_md5=d89df9ee261616d447f5c66ea4c017a4**

"Which of the following three statements comes closest to your view? 'Same-sex couples should be allowed to legally marry'. 'Same-sex couples should be allowed to legally form civil unions, but not marry'. 'Same-sex couples should not be allowed to either marry or form civil unions.'"

        Other possibilities:

"Do you think laws regarding marriages and civil unions between gay people should be determined by the federal government or by each state government?"

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	Federal	State	Neither (vol.)	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%
ALL	43	44	6	7
Republicans	55	34	4	7
Democrats	39	47	6	8
Independents	37	49	6	8

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"Which comes closest to your view? Gay couples should be allowed to legally marry. OR, Gay couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry. OR There should be no legal recognition of a gay couple's relationship."

	Legal Marriage	Civil Unions	No Legal Recognition	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%
ALL	22	33	40	5
Republicans	10	31	56	3
Democrats	28	31	35	6
Independents	26	36	31	7

"Do you think defining marriage as a union only between a man and a woman is an important enough issue to be worth changing the Constitution for, or isn't it that kind of issue?"

	Important Enough	Not That Kind of Issue	Don't Know
	%	%	%
ALL	38	56	6
Republicans	56	40	4
Democrats	33	64	3
Independents	29	63	8

CBS News/*New York Times* Poll. March 10-14, 2004. N=1,206 adults nationwide. MoE ± 3 (for total sample).

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7. **Abortion/ Partial Birth**—We're not sure we need one here, but pollsters on both sides criticized our abortion question for being "out of date." Still, not a "have to have".

NES has an inventory question on this, but it requires the respondent to know what the jargony terminology means. We would favor:

"A new law has been proposed that would make partial birth abortion illegal unless it is necessary to save the mother's life. This is a specific type of abortion performed during the last six months of pregnancy. Do you favor this new law, oppose it, or neither favor nor oppose ? (If Favor/Oppose, ask:) Do you favor/oppose it strongly or not strongly?"

Another possibility:

"Do you favor or oppose a law which would make it illegal to perform a specific abortion procedure conducted in the last six months of a woman's pregnancy known as a partial-birth abortion, except in cases necessary to save the life of the mother?"

	ALL	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
	%	%	%	%

Favor	57	53	56	65
Oppose	38	42	39	31
Don't know	5	5	5	4

***The Los Angeles Times* Poll**. Jan. 30-Feb. 2, 2003. N=1,385 adults nationwide. MoE ± 3 (total sample).

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8. **Environment/Gas Prices/Energy**—NES has an item in its catalogue getting at the trade-off between environment and jobs, so we may not need this. Still, we see value in a more particular item ascertaining opinion on the trade-off between gas prices and the environment.

"Do you favor or oppose relaxing some environmental standards to increase oil and gas production in the United States?"

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	Favor	**Oppose**	**Not Sure**
	%	%	%
ALL	46	43	11
Democrats	34	54	12
Republicans	63	26	11
Independents	40	49	11

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"Do you favor or oppose opening a small amount -- less than 10 percent -- of the Alaskan wilderness areas for oil exploration as a way to reduce the country's dependence on foreign oil?"

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	Favor	**Oppose**	**Not Sure**
	%	%	%
4/04	57	33	10

FOX News/Opinion Dynamics Poll. April 6-7, 2004. N=900 registered voters nationwide. MoE ± 3 (total sample).

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9. **Social Security**—The Bush campaign may reintroduce their plan to allow people to invest part of their social security taxes into private accounts. We may want to anticipate the debate on social security that may come sometime in the next fifteen years. Note how question wording affects the results (Gallup v. LAT).

"A proposal has been made that would allow people to put a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts that would be invested in private stocks and bonds. Do you favor or oppose this proposal?"

Favor	**Oppose**	**No Opinion**

	%	%	%
10/03	62	34	4
11/02	57	40	3
9/02	52	43	5
6/02	57	39	4
4/02	63	33	4
1/02	63	33	4
11/01	64	31	5
8/01	62	34	4
3/01	63	30	7
6/00	65	30	5

CNN/*USA Today*/Gallup Poll. Oct. 24-26, 2003. N=1,006 adults nationwide. MoE ± 3.

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"There has been some talk about allowing younger workers to divert payroll tax money from Social Security into private investment accounts which they can then manage themselves. Some people say this is a good thing because it is possible to earn a higher rate of return in the stock market. Others say the stock market is too unpredictable to trust it with Social Security funds. What do you think? Do you approve or disapprove of allowing younger workers to divert their payroll tax money from Social Security into private investment accounts?"

	ALL	Demo-crats	Indepen-dents	Repub-licans
	%	%	%	%
Approve	38	25	33	55
Disapprove	55	66	59	42
Don't know	7	9	8	3

***The Los Angeles Times* Poll**. Dec. 12-15, 2002. N=1,305 adults nationwide. MoE ± 3 (total sample)

"Do you think the Social Security system will have the money available to provide the benefits you expect for your retirement?"

	Yes	No	Already Getting Benefits (vol.)	Don't Know
	%	%	%	%
11/02	28	55	9	8
1/02	34	46	10	11
8/01	35	53	8	4
6/01	30	56	8	6
5/00	41	45	7	7
5/99	29	55	8	8

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"Some people have suggested allowing individuals to invest portions of their Social Security taxes on their own, which might allow them to make more money for their retirement, but would involve greater risk. Do you think allowing individuals to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes on their own is a good idea or a bad idea?"

	Good Idea	Bad Idea	Don't Know

	%	%	%
11/02	48	46	6
1/02	54	39	7
8/01	52	43	5
6/01	48	46	6
5/00	51	45	4

CBS News/*New York Times* Poll. Nov. 20-24, 2002. N=996 adults nationwide. MoE ± 3.

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10. **President Bush's Tax Cuts**. NES has asked a question about the death tax, but it is not clearly specific about the policy:

M7b1. There has been a lot of talk recently about doing away with the tax on large inheritances, the so-called "[estate/death] tax". Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE doing away with the [estate/death tax]? FAVOR ELIMINATING ESTATE/DEATH TAX - COMBINED WORDING

An alternative is based on this NYTimes wording:

http://web.lexis-nexis.com/universe/document?_m=f253dfa377adbedeee104f50b2aea731&_docnum=19&wchp=dGLbVtb-zSkVb&_md5=4765d9bf1a975ec633a6fc0e1194b932

Currently, the federal government taxes the money and property that people leave when they die. This is called an "estate tax." Do you think there should be such a tax on all estates, only on estates worth more than three and a half million dollars, or on no estates at all?

Here are some NES questions that seem good:

"Do you feel you are asked to pay MORE THAN YOU SHOULD in federal income taxes, about the RIGHT AMOUNT, or LESS THAN YOU SHOULD?"

"What about rich people? Do you feel rich people are asked to pay MORE THAN THEY SHOULD in federal income taxes, about the RIGHT AMOUNT, or LESS THAN THEY SHOULD?"

"What about poor people? Do you feel poor people are asked to pay MORE THAN THEY SHOULD in federal income taxes, about the RIGHT AMOUNT, or LESS THAN THEY SHOULD?"

Here's a new proposed item:

"A few years ago, President Bush proposed reducing the amount of income taxes Americans pay, and the Congress enacted those tax cuts. Do you favor those tax cuts, oppose them, or neither favor nor oppose them? (If favor/oppose:) Do you favor/oppose them strongly or not strongly?"

Notes on Terrorism Questions

We currently have a variety of domestic security items slated for inclusion in the questionnaire: 87, 145, 522, 356-369.

Most of the 356-369 series seems dated and out of step with current debate or jargony.

For example, support of Israel doesn't seem like a viable explanation these days. "Desert Storm" isn't exactly the reason people talked about - it's Bush II's desire to avenge his father's defeat in 1991. "Religious war" is very ambiguous in meaning.

"an attack as serious as the one in New York and Washington" seems oddly ambiguous, whereas saying "the September 11 attack" would be clear to most everyone.

The question about bin Laden being still alive seems a little silly, since he clearly is.

VV023122 is again not useful, since it asks whether we should go to war in Iraq.

Our Proposal

Based on the above, here are 12 questions we might ask. If we assume that these are generally 15 seconds each, they would total to 4 minutes, which is well beyond what has been allotted to the domestic issues committee. We look to the Board for guidance on how to prioritize these.

Outsourcing

"Recently, some big American companies have been hiring workers in foreign countries to replace workers in the US, such as people who take customer service telephone calls. Do you think the federal government should discourage companies from doing this, encourage companies to do this, or stay out of this matter? (If encourage/discourage:) Do you think the government should do this a great deal or only a little?

Charter Schools

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Local communities are allowed to start independent public schools,
called charter schools, if they are not satisfied with their own public
schools. These schools are funded by the government but run by local
residents and not regulated by the government.  However, charter
schools have to achieve the same performance standards as public
schools in order to continue to operate.  Do you favor charter schools
being allowed, oppose it, or neither favor nor oppose it? (If
favor/oppose, ask:) And do you favor/oppose it strongly or not
strongly?
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School Vouchers

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose having the government give parents in low-income families money to help pay for their children to attend a private or religious school instead of their local public school? (If favor/oppose:) Do you favor/oppose it strongly or not strongly? (If neither:) Do you lean toward favoring it, lean toward opposing it, or not lean either way?

Prescription Drugs

Recently, Congress passed a new law making the federal government pay for part of the cost of prescription drugs that senior citizens get from Medicare. Do you favor this law, oppose it, or neither favor not oppose it?" (If favor/oppose:) Do you favor/oppose it strongly or not strongly? (If neither): Do you lean toward favoring it, lean toward opposing it, or don't you lean either way?

Patriot Act

The Department of Defense is developing a program to use information from phone calls, e-mails, financial records, school records, medical records, travel histories, and more to use in hunting terrorists. Do you favor this program, oppose it, or neither favor nor oppose it? (If favor/oppose:) Do you favor/oppose it strongly or not strongly? (If neither): Do you lean toward favoring it, lean toward opposing it, or don't you lean either way?

Corporate Scandal

Recent investigations into large companies such as Enron have found that top executives lied about their companies' financial situations and received huge bonuses, and their companies later went bankrupt and workers lost their jobs and retirement savings. Do you think that government efforts to prevent this sort of thing from happening again should be increased, decreased, or kept about as they are now? (If increase/decrease) Do you think they should be increased/decreased a lot or a little? (If kept about the same) Do you lean toward increasing them, decreasing them, or don't you lean either way?

Gay Marriage

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Which of the following three statements comes closest to your view?
'Same-sex couples should be allowed to legally marry'. 'Same-sex
couples should be allowed to legally form civil unions, but not marry'.
'Same-sex couples should not be allowed to either marry or form civil
unions.'
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Partial Birth Abortion

A new law has been proposed that would make partial birth abortion illegal unless it is necessary to save the mother's life. This is a specific type of abortion performed during the last six months of pregnancy. Do you favor this new law, oppose it, or neither favor nor oppose it? (If favor/oppose, ask:) Do you favor/oppose it strongly or not strongly? (If neither): Do you lean toward favoring it, lean toward opposing it, or don't you lean either way?

Energy Independence

Congress is considering opening a small amount of the Alaskan wilderness areas, say less than 10%, for oil exploration as a way to reduce the country's dependence on foreign oil? Do you favor this idea, oppose it, or neither favor nor oppose it? (If favor/oppose, ask:) Do you favor/oppose it strongly or not strongly? (If neither): Do you lean toward favoring it, lean toward opposing it, or don't you lean either way?

Social Security

A proposal has been made that would allow people to put a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts that would be invested in private stocks and bonds. Do you favor this idea, oppose it, or neither favor nor oppose it? (If favor/oppose, ask:) Do you favor/oppose it strongly or not strongly? (If neither): Do you lean toward favoring it, lean toward opposing it, or don't you lean either way?

Tax Cuts

Currently, the federal government taxes the money and property that people leave when they die. This is called an "estate tax." Do you think there should be such a tax on all estates, only on estates worth a lot of money, say more than three and a half million dollars, or on no estates at all?

A few years ago, President Bush proposed reducing the amount of income taxes Americans pay, and the Congress enacted those tax cuts. Do you favor those tax cuts, oppose them, or neither favor nor oppose them? (If favor/oppose:) Do you favor/oppose them strongly or not strongly? Do you lean toward favoring them, lean toward opposing them, or don't you lean either way?