CCES Module

Pre-Election Module (10 minutes)

EAG1

Does R intend to vote in 2008?

SINGLE CHOICE WITH POP-UP

Do you intend to vote in the 2008 general election?

1. Yes
2. No
3. Undecided

EAG2a

How confident is R that vote will be counted?

SINGLE CHOICE; POP-UP

If EAG1==1; POP-UP follow-up to EAG1

How confident are you that your vote that election will be counted as you intend?

1. Very confident
2. Fairly confident
3. Not too confident
4. Not at all confident

EAG2b

If R votes, how confident is R that vote would be counted?

SINGLE CHOICE; POP-UP

If EAG1==3; POP-UP follow-up to EAG1

If you decide to vote, how confident are you that your vote in that election would be counted as you intend?

1. Very confident
2. Fairly confident
3. Not too confident
4. Not at all confident

EAG2c

Why R not voting

SINGLE-CHOICE; POP-Up

If EAG1==2; Pop Up Follow Up to EAG1; randomize

Is there any particular reason why you are not planning to vote?

1. I do not think the election matters
2. I do not like the candidates
3. I do not like the style of the campaigns
4. I don't think my vote matters
5. {fixed} Other, please specify: _____
6. {fixed} I don't know, no particular reason

ERP1

All Ballot Confidence, pre

SINGLE CHOICE

How confident are you that ballots across the country will be counted accurately in the 2008 election?

1 Very confident
2 Fairly confident
3 Not too confident
4 Not at all confident

PAB1

What does R think about partisanship of election officials?

SINGLE CHOICE

Rotate options 1-3

Recently, there has been some discussion about how we choose the people who conduct elections in counties and townships (local election officials). In some states, local election officials are appointed and in other states, local election officials are elected.

How do you think local election officials should be chosen?

1. They should be elected by the public, in a regular partisan contest
2. They should be elected by the public, in a non-partisan contest
3. They should be appointed by an elected official or legislature
4. {fixed} I don't think it matters
5. {fixed} I'm not sure

PAB2a

Does R think state election officials are fair?

SINGLE CHOICE WITH POP-UP

If the vote to elect the governor in your state was extremely close and a dispute arose, do you think that the state election officials would settle this in a fair way?

1. Yes, they would be fair
2. No, they would not be fair
3. Not Sure

PAB2b

In case of dispute, which party would be favored?

SINGLE CHOICE; POP-UP

If PAB2a != 1; POP-UP follow-up to PAB2a; randomize options 1-4

Who would most likely be favored?

1. The Democratic candidate
2. The Republican candidate
3. The election official would favor the candidate of his or her own party
4. The election official would favor the incumbent, regardless of the party
5. {fixed} I don't know

PAB3

Voter ID experiment randomization

RANDOMIZATION ASSIGNMENT

Assign with equal probability to one of the following two conditions:

A Opinionation filter
B No opinionation filter

Condition A: Gets PAB4, PAB5, PAB6
Condition B: Gets PAB7, PAB8

PAB4

Voter ID randomization with opinionation filter

RANDOMIZATION ASSIGNMENT

Assign with equal probability to one of the following four conditions:

A Neutral on ID
B Pro ID

C Anti ID
D Pro both

Condition A (neutral on ID): Some people think that voters should have to show an official photo identification, such as a drivers' license, when they go to vote on Election Day. Others don't think that this requirement is necessary.

Condition B (pro-ID): Some people think that voters should have to show an official photo identification, such as a drivers' license, when they go to vote on Election Day in order to prevent voter fraud. Others don't think that this requirement is necessary.

Condition C (anti-ID): Some people think that voters should have to show an official photo identification, such as a drivers' license, when they go to vote on Election Day. Others think that such a requirement would be unfair since some people don't have an acceptable ID and would have trouble getting one because of the cost or documents required.

Condition D (pro-both): Some people think that voters should have to show an official photo identification, such as a drivers' license, when they go to vote on Election Day in order to prevent voter fraud. Others think that such a requirement would be unfair since some people don't have an acceptable ID and would have trouble getting one because of the cost or documents required.

PAB5

Opinionation filter on voter ID

SINGLE CHOICE WITH POP-UP

The way the question will be presented (with or without the treatment information voter identification) will be determined by the preceding randomization in PAB4.

<WITH ONE OF FOUR RANDOMIZED CONDITIONS A-D IN PAB4> How about you? Do you have an opinion on whether voters should have to show photo identification in order to vote?

1. Yes
2. No

PAB6

Voter ID opinion scale with opinionation filter

SINGLE CHOICE

If PAB5==1; POP-UP follow-up to PAB5

What is your opinion?

1. I strongly agree that voters should have to show photo ID
2. I agree that voters should have to show photo ID
3. I disagree that voters should have to show photo ID
4. I strongly disagree that voters should have to show photo ID

PAB7

Voter ID randomization with no opinionation filter

RANDOMIZATION ASSIGNMENT

Assign with equal probability to one of the following four conditions:

A Neutral on ID
B Pro ID
C Anti ID
D Pro both

Condition A (neutral on ID): Some people think that voters should have to show an official photo identification, such as a drivers' license, when they go to vote on Election Day. Others don't think that this requirement is necessary.

Condition B (pro-ID): Some people think that voters should have to show an official photo identification, such as a drivers' license, when they go to vote on Election Day in order to prevent voter fraud. Others don't think that this requirement is necessary.

Condition C (anti-ID): Some people think that voters should have to show an official photo identification, such as a drivers' license, when they go to vote on Election Day. Others think that such a requirement would be unfair since some people don't have an acceptable ID and would have trouble getting one because of the cost or documents required.

Condition D (pro-both): Some people think that voters should have to show an official photo identification, such as a drivers' license, when they go to vote on Election Day in order to prevent voter fraud. Others think that such a requirement would be unfair since some people don't have an acceptable ID and would have trouble getting one because of the cost or documents required.

PAB8

Voter ID opinion scale with no opinionation filter

SINGLE CHOICE

The way the question will be presented (with or without the treatment information voter identification) will be determined by the preceding randomization in PAB7.

<WITH ONE OF FOUR RANDOMIZED CONDITIONS A-D IN PAB7> How about you? What is your opinion?

1. I strongly agree that voters should have to show photo ID
2. I agree that voters should have to show photo ID
3. I disagree that voters should have to show photo ID
4. I strongly disagree that voters should have to show photo ID
5. I don't know.

PAB9a

Did R cast ballot in last two years?

SINGLE CHOICE WITH POP-UP

Think back to the last time you voted. Did you cast a ballot in an election in the past two years (including the November 2006 election)?

1. Yes
2. No
3. I don't remember

PAB9b

What mode did R use?

SINGLE CHOICE WITH TEXT; POP-UP

If PAB9a=1; pop-up follow-up to PAB9a

Which statement best describes the way that you cast that ballot?

1. I went to polling place and made my choice on a computer screen
2. I went to a polling place and marked my choice on a paper ballot
3. I marked my choices on a ballot I received in the mail
4. I cast my ballot in another way. Please specify: _____
5. I don't remember

PAB10

DRE Experiment randomization

RANDOMIZATION ASSIGNMENT

Assign with equal probability to one of the following two conditions:

A Opinionation filter
B No opinionation filter

Condition A: Gets PAB11, PAB12, PAB13
Condition B: Gets PAB14, PAB15

PAB11

DRE randomization with opinionation filter

RANDOMIZATION ASSIGNMENT

Assign with equal probability to one of the following four conditions:

A. Neutral

B. Pro-DRE
C. Anti-DRE
D. Pro-both

Condition A (neutral): As you may know, there is a lot of disagreement about the best way to record votes when voters go to the polls on Election Day. Some people think that voters should make their choices directly on a computer screen and have the computer count the results. Others think that voters should make their choices on paper ballots.

Condition B (pro-DRE): As you may know, there is a lot of disagreement about the best way to record votes when voters go to the polls on Election Day. Some people think that voters should make their choices directly on a computer screen and have the computer count the results so that voting can be as easy as using at ATM. Others think that voters should make their choices on paper ballots.

Condition C (anti-DRE): As you may know, there is a lot of disagreement about the best way to record votes when voters go to the polls on Election Day. Some people think that voters should make their choices directly on a computer screen and have the computer count the results. Others think that voters should make their choices on paper ballots and then run them through a scanner because computer systems might be prone to fraud.

Condition D (pro-both): As you may know, there is a lot of disagreement about the best way to record votes when voters go to the polls on Election Day. Some people think that voters should make their choices directly on a computer screen and have the computer count the results so that voting can be as easy as using at ATM. Others think that voters should make their choices on paper ballots and then run them through a scanner because computer systems might be prone to fraud.

PAB12

Which voting technology does R prefer opinionation filter

SINGLE CHOICE WITH POP-UP

The way the question will be presented (with or without the treatment information about DREs) will be determined by the preceding randomization in PAB11.

<WITH ONE OF FOUR RANDOMIZED CONDITIONS A-D IN PAB11> How about you? Do you have an opinion on how people should cast their ballots?

1. Yes
2. No

PAB13

DRE opinion scale with opinionation filter

SINGLE CHOICE

If PAB12==1; POP-UP follow-up to PAB12; please maintain a one line space between response options #2 and #3

What is your opinion?

1. I strongly think that electronic ballots should be used instead of paper ballots.
2. I somewhat think that electronic ballots should be used instead of paper ballots.

3. I somewhat think that paper ballots should be used instead of electronic ballots.
4. I strongly think that paper ballots should be used instead of electronic ballots.

PAB14

DRE randomization with no opinionation filter

RANDOMIZATION ASSIGNMENT

Assign with equal probability to one of the following four conditions:

A. Neutral
B. Pro-DRE
C. Anti-DRE
D. Pro-both

Condition A (neutral): As you may know, there is a lot of disagreement about the best way to record votes when voters go to the polls on Election Day. Some people think that voters should make their choices directly on a computer screen and have the computer count the results. Others think that voters should make their choices on paper ballots.

Condition B (pro-DRE): As you may know, there is a lot of disagreement about the best way to record votes when voters go to the polls on Election Day. Some people think that voters should make their choices directly on a computer screen and have the computer count the results so that voting can be as easy as using at ATM. Others think that voters should make their choices on paper ballots.

Condition C (anti-DRE): As you may know, there is a lot of disagreement about the best way to record votes when voters go to the polls on Election Day. Some people think that voters should make their choices directly on a computer screen and have the computer count the results. Others think that voters should make their choices on paper ballots and then run them through a scanner because computer systems might be prone to fraud.

Condition D (pro-both): As you may know, there is a lot of disagreement about the best way to record votes when voters go to the polls on Election Day. Some people think that voters should make their choices directly on a computer screen and have the computer count the results so that voting can be as easy as using at ATM. Others think that voters should make their choices on paper ballots and then run them through a scanner because computer systems might be prone to fraud.

PAB15

DRE opinion scale with no opinionation filter

SINGLE CHOICE

The way the question will be presented (with or without the treatment information regarding DREs) will be determined by the preceding randomization in PAB14.

Please maintain a one line space between response options #2 and #3

<WITH ONE OF FOUR RANDOMIZED CONDITIONS A-D IN PAB14> How about you? What is your opinion?

1. I strongly think that electronic ballots should be used instead of paper ballots.
2. I somewhat think that electronic ballots should be used instead of paper ballots.

3. I somewhat think that paper ballots should be used instead of electronic ballots.
4. I strongly think that paper ballots should be used instead of electronic ballots.

EAG3

How much election fraud does R think takes place?

SINGLE CHOICE

How much election fraud do you think takes place?

1. A lot of fraud
2. Some fraud
3. Only a little fraud
4. No fraud
5. Don’t know

PAB16

Does R believe Illegal immigrants are voting in elections?

SINGLE CHOICE

Some people think illegal immigrants are voting in elections. Others think this does not happen. In your opinion, which of the following statements best describes how frequently illegal immigrants are voting in elections?

1. **Many** illegal immigrants are voting in elections.
2. **Some** illegal immigrants are voting in elections.
3. **Only a few** illegal immigrants are voting in elections.
4. **No** illegal immigrants are voting in elections.
5. I don't know.

ERP2

Polling location

SINGLE CHOICE

Do you know where your polling place is?

1 Yes
2 No
3 I don't have a designated polling place because I live abroad, in a state that only votes by mail, or for some other reason.

ERP3

Vote Centers

SINGLE CHOICE

Most people cast their votes on Election Day by visiting a polling place near their home. In some areas, however, voters also have the option of voting at any one of several large polling sites (located in places like municipal buildings and shopping malls) near where they work or shop instead of being required to go to the smaller site near their home. Which of these two arrangements would you prefer?

1 I would prefer to visit one of several large polling sites.
2 I would prefer to visit a small polling site near my home.
3 I do not have a preference for a large polling site or a small polling site.

ERP4

Compulsory Voting

SINGLE CHOICE

In a few countries every eligible citizen is required by law to vote in national elections. Those who don't have a good excuse for not voting are subject to a small fine. Would you favor such a policy in the United States?

1 I strongly favor such a policy
2 I somewhat favor such a policy
3 I neither favor nor oppose such a policy
4 I somewhat oppose such a policy
5 I strongly oppose such a policy
6 I don't have an opinion on this issue

ERP5

Tuesday Elections

SINGLE CHOICE

As you may know, Election Day for offices like the president and Congress is always held on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November. In some other countries, Election Day is held

on a weekend or over a period of several days. Would you favor a policy in the United States that loosened constraints on when Election Day has to be held?

1 I strongly favor such a policy
2 I somewhat favor such a policy
3 I neither favor nor oppose such a policy
4 I somewhat oppose such a policy
5 I strongly oppose such a policy
6 I don't have an opinion on this issue

ERP6

When Registered

SINGLE CHOICE

When did you register to vote?

1 I registered to vote within the past year.
2 I registered to vote sometime before this past year.
3 I do not remember when I registered to vote.
4 I am not registered to vote.

PAB17

Does R know whether to update voter registration?

SINGLE CHOICE WITH POP-UP

There are lots of things that people have to do when they move—change their address, change your subscriptions, and get a new driver's license.

Do you happen to know, when you move, do you know whether you need to change or update your voter registration information?

1. Yes
2. No, my change-of-address form with the Postal Service does that for me
3. No, my county elections office takes care of that for me
4. I don't know

PAB18

Does R know how to change voter reg?

MULTIPLE CHOICE; POP-UP

IF PAB17 == 1 popup follow-up to PAB17; rotate

How can you change you voter registration information? (Check all that apply)

1. At the Department of Motor Vehicles (DMV)
2. At the library
3. At the county elections office
4. At the website of my elections office or Secretary of State
5. By mailing in a form
6. Through my political party
7. Through another political organization or campaign
8. *{fixed}* In some other way

ERP7

Vote Frequency

SINGLE CHOICE

In any election some people are not able to vote because they are sick or busy or for some other reason, and others do not want to vote. How frequently would you say that you are able to vote?

1 I vote in almost every election.
2 I vote in many, but not all, elections.
3 I only vote in occasional elections.
4 I almost never vote in an election.
5 I have never voted.

BRK1

How closely following Fannie and Freddie?

SINGLE CHOICE

The financial troubles for home mortgage lenders Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac have been in the news a lot this fall. How closely have you followed these stories?

1 Very closely
2 Fairly closely
3 Not too closely
4 Not at all closely

BRK2

Respondent's vote on housing bill

SINGLE CHOICE WITH POPUP

Congress considered a bill this year to deal with the crisis in the housing sector. The bill proposed federal assistance for homeowners facing foreclosure and for Freddie Mac and Fannie Mae, two government-sponsored lending agencies at risk of failing. Proponents of the bill argued that it would keep people in their homes and would stabilize housing markets. Opponents argued that it would be very costly and reward irresponsible behavior by borrowers and lenders. What do you think? If you were faced with this decision, would you vote for or against this bill?

1 For
2 Against
9 I don’t know

BRK3

Probable vote on housing bill

SINGLE CHOICE; POP-UP

If BRK2=9; pop-up to follow BRK2

Would you **probably** support or **probably** oppose the bill?

1 Probably support
2 Probably oppose
9 I don’t know.

BRK4, BRK5, BRK6

How did your members vote?

GRID

Did your members in Congress vote for or against the bill?

Rows
BRK4 Senator [SEN1name]
BRK5 Senator [SEN2name]
BRK6 House member Representative [name rep]

Columns
1 For
2 Against
9 I don’t know

BRK7a

How do you finance your housing?

SINGLE CHOICE WITH POPUP

Which of the following best describes your housing situation?

1 I’m currently renting
2 I’m paying a mortgage on my house
3 My house is entirely paid for
9 I don’t know

BRK7b

Type of mortgage

SINGLE CHOICE; POP-UP

If BRK7a=2; pop-up to follow BRK7a

What type of mortgage do you have?

1 Fixed-rate
2 Adjustable-rate
9 I don't know

BRK8

Value of your house

SINGLE CHOICE

If BRK7a=2 or 3

There has been a lot in the news this year about falling house values in the U.S. Do you think the value of your house this year has:

1 Increased
2 Decreased
3 Stayed the same
9 I don't know

BRK9

Concern about your mortgage

GRID WITH SPLIT LABELS

If BRK7a=2

How concerned are you about not being able to make your monthly mortgage payments?

1 Not at all concerned
2
3
4
5
6
7 Very concerned
<77> Don't know

BRK10

Concern about mortgages in your community

GRID WITH SPLIT LABELS

In your local community, how concerned do you think most people are about not being able to make their monthly mortgage payments?

1 Not at all concerned
2
3
4
5
6
7 Very concerned
<77> Don't know

BRK11

Legislator randomization

RANDOMIZATION ASSIGNMENT

Assign with equal probability to one of the following two conditions

A no party ID
B party ID

If the R lives in the 14th district of California, then the text leading into the following question would be "Representative Anna Eshoo" under condition A and "Democratic Representative Anna Eshoo" under condition B. Similarly, for senators it would be "Senator Dianne Feinstein" under condition A and "Democrat Dianne Feinstein" under condition B.

BRK12 BRK13 BRK14

Legislators' effectiveness on housing crisis with party

GRID

The way the name of the representative and senators will be presented in the rows of the grid (with or without the Party ID) will be determined by the preceding randomization in BRK11.

In general, how effective do you think your legislators have been in helping homeowners who are having trouble keeping up with their monthly mortgage payments?

Columns:
1 Not Effective
2
3
4
5
6

7 Very Effective
77 Don't know

Rows
BRK12 <WITHOUT/WITH Party ID> [name rep], your representative in the U.S. House
BRK13 <WITHOUT/WITH Party ID> Senator [SEN1name]
BRK14 <WITHOUT/WITH Party ID> Senator [SEN2name]

BRK15

Bailout randomization

RANDOMIZATION ASSIGNMENT
Assign with equal probability to one of the following two conditions:

A Preferences without information (control)
B Preferences with information (treatment)

Condition A (control): Do you think the government should do more to help homeowners who are having a hard time making their monthly mortgage payments?

Condition B (treatment): By most accounts, over two million families in the U.S. have lost or will soon lose their homes to foreclosure. Do you think the government should do more to help homeowners who are having a hard time making their monthly mortgage payments?

BRK16

Preferences on bailout with experiment

SINGLE CHOICE

The way the question will be presented (with or without the treatment information about the number of families affected by foreclosures) will be determined by the preceding randomization in BRK15.

<WITHOUT/WITH NUMBER OF FAMILIES AFFECTED TREATMENT> Do you think the government should do more to help homeowners who are having a hard time making their monthly mortgage payments?

1 Yes
2 No
9 I don't know

BRK17

Should the government intervene in mortgage markets?

SINGLE CHOICE

The federal government took unprecedented steps this past fall to take over the troubled mortgage lenders, Fannie Mae and Freddie Mac. Supporters say that if the government had failed to act, Americans would have had a much harder time getting affordable mortgages, loans, and credit for personal and business finances. Opponents say that the government should not intervene in financial markets and that the actions could become one of the most expensive financial bailouts in American history.

Do you favor or oppose the government's actions?

1 Favor
2 Oppose
3 I don't know

BRK18

Political candidate randomization

RANDOMIZATION ASSIGNMENT

This variable captures the condition of the political candidate experiment into which the respondents are randomized. Assign respondents with equal probability to one of the following four conditions:

A Female candidate
B Male candidate
C Androgynously named candidate
D No name given

Condition A (female candidate): Anne Pressler is a staunch opponent of raising taxes and a life-long member of the National Rifle Association. She previously served on the local public safety commission, and she has actively participated in an organization that encourages abstinence to prevent unwanted teenage pregnancies.

Condition B (male candidate): Roger Pressler is a staunch opponent of raising taxes and a life-long member of the National Rifle Association. He previously served on the local public safety commission, and he has actively participated in an organization that encourages abstinence to prevent unwanted teenage pregnancies.

Condition C (androgynous candidate): Casey Pressler is a staunch opponent of raising taxes and a life-long member of the National Rifle Association. Candidate Pressler previously served on the local public safety commission, and has actively participated in an organization that encourages abstinence to prevent unwanted teenage pregnancies.

Condition D (no candidate name or gender): The candidate is a staunch opponent of raising taxes and a life-long member of the National Rifle Association. The candidate previously served

on the local public safety commission, and has actively participated in an organization that encourages abstinence to prevent unwanted teenage pregnancies.

BRK19

Gender and ideology experiment

SCALE WIDGET -- WITH TIME LIMIT (1 MINUTE)

The description of the political candidate presented in this question will be determined by the randomization in BRK18. Include a "Don't know enough to rate" box. Both BRK19 and BRK20 should appear on the same screen as scale widgets. Respondents' time limit for answering each question should be set at 1 minute.

Consider the following politician running for elective office:

< CONDITION A, B, C, OR D FROM BRK18 INSERTED HERE>

How would you rate the ideology of the candidate?

1 Not very conservative
2
3
4
5 Extremely conservative

9 Don't know enough to rate

BRK20

Gender and vote choice experiment

SCALE WIDGET -- WITH TIME LIMIT (1 MINUTE LIMIT)

Include a "Don't know enough to rate" box. This question's scale widget should appear on the same screen as the scale widget for BRK19. Respondents' time limit for answering question should be set at 1 minute.

How likely would you be to vote for such a candidate?

1 Not very likely
2
3
4
5 Extremely likely

9 Don't know enough to rate