Field Report

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February 1, 2005

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Political Issue Survey 2004

Introduction

Knowledge Networks conducted a study on attitudes about current political and election issues on behalf of Harvard University and the University of Arkansas. This survey measured the interaction between positions on campaign issues and party identification among U.S. adults. Specifically, the study assessed a variety of public affairs topics including interest in politics, opinions about the 2004 presidential candidates and voting behavior, and various public policy issues (e.g., opinions about welfare, labor unions, abortion).

The project consisted of a main survey preceded by a pretest to determine survey length and content. Additionally, due to an omission in the main survey, a one-question followup regarding gun ownership was administered to a subset of respondents who completed the main survey but were not asked the gun ownership question.

The pretest survey was fielded between October 22, 2004 and October 28, 2004. The median completion time for the pretest survey was 25.0 minutes (M = 34.0, SD = 37.2). Based upon pretest results, the survey instrument was shortened by removing seven items and making question and response changes to others.

The main survey was fielded between November 5, 2004 and November 16, 2004. The median completion time for the main survey was 22.6 minutes (M = 30.4, SD = 47.9). Because the survey was longer than what Knowledge Networks panel members are accustomed to, an incentive was offered for the Political Issue Survey. To maximize the response rate for this survey, respondents were enrolled in a sweepstakes drawing in exchange for completing the survey[1].

The gun ownership followup survey was fielded between December 8, 2004 and January 14, 2004 to a subset of main survey respondents who were not asked the gun ownership item.

The sample plan for this study consisted of 2800 interviews drawn from three strata:

- 1,150 interviews from the original 11 Southern States (Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia)
- 1,150 interviews from the other States
- 500 interviews from the U.S. general adult population (no oversample)

The overall completion rates for each survey are presented below.

[1] KN holds a sweepstakes for its panel members each month, beginning on the 1st of every month and ending on the last day of the month. Sweepstakes prizes range from $500 to $1000 in value and the winner(s) are randomly selected from all entries in that month.

Overall Survey Completion Rates

	Number Sampled	Number Completed	Overall Completion Rate
Pretest	298	184	61.7%
Main	4164	2837	68.1%
Gun	1486	1412	95.0%

For the main survey, the completion rates by sampling strata are presented below.

Main Survey Completion Rate by Sampling Strata

	Number Sampled	Number Completed	Completion Rate	Contract Target
Southern states	1707	1168	68.4%	1150
All other states	1709	1166	68.2%	1150
General population	748	503	67.2%	500

Data File Deliverables and Descriptions

For the pretest survey, in addition to the fully formatted SPSS file containing the final survey data, Knowledge Networks also prepared three sets of preliminary SPSS datasets and two sets of open-end responses for the client.

For the main survey, Knowledge Networks delivered the final closed- and open-end survey SPSS data along with two sets of weights as requested by the client. Knowledge Networks also delivered supplemental SPSS data (regarding internet usage and religion) and a crosswalk table linking the client's year 2000 project and the current project as separate deliverables.

For the gun ownership survey, Knowledge Networks delivered one fully formatted SPSS dataset.

The table below shows a detailed description of the data deliverables Knowledge Networks prepared.

Delivery Date	File Type	File Name	File Size	N Records	Inclusion of Standard Background Demographics
10/25/2004	SPSS	UnivArkansas_CrossPressures _preliminary_data_102504.sav	62 kilobytes	128	Yes
10/26/2004	SPSS	UnivArkansas_CrossPressures _preliminary_data_102604.sav	66 kilobytes	155	Yes
10/26/2004	Excel	UnivOfArk_CrossPressures_OE_102604.xls	33 kilobytes	155	n/a
10/29/2004	SPSS	UnivArkansas_CrossPressures _preliminary_data_102904.sav	71 kilobytes	184	Yes
10/29/2004	Excel	UnivOfArk_CrossPressures_OE_102904.xls	36 kilobytes	184	n/a
12/4/2004	SPSS	UnivArkansas_CrossPressures _final_data_client.zip	502 kilobytes	2837	Yes
12/7/2004	SPSS	UnivArkansas_CrossPressures _weights_client.sav	74 kilobytes	2837	n/a
12/7/2004	Excel	UnivArk_CrossPressures_OE_final.zip	77 kilobytes	2837	n/a
12/9/2004	SPSS	UnivArkansas_CrossPressures _updated_weights_client.sav	49 kilobytes	2837	n/a
12/15/2004	SPSS	UnivArk_Internet_Religion_data.sav	53 kilobytes	2837	n/a
12/15/2004	SPSS	UnivArk_2000-2004_xwalk.sav	173 kilobytes	2837	n/a
1/24/2004	SPSS	UnivArkansas_CrossPressures _GunReask_Final_Data_Client.sav	24 kilobytes	1421	n/a

In addition to the survey variables from the main interview, Knowledge Networks' standard profile and a series of data processing variables created by Knowledge Networks are provided in the data file for the condition eligible cases (n=2837). The table below shows the name and description of each of the supplemental variables.[2]

Supplemental Variables

Variable Name	Variable Description
caseid	Record Number
w1	Post-stratification weight (entire sample)
w2	Post-stratification weight (South and all other states separately)
weight2	Post-stratification weight (South vs. Non-South)
svy_date	Date interview started
svy_time	Duration of interview in minutes
svy_tcat	Duration of interview (categorized)
ppgender	Gender
ppage	Age -- profile and Recruitment
ppagecat	Age – 7 categories
ppagect4	Age – 4 categories

[2] Supplemental Variables are selected as part of each project's design.

Variable Name	Variable Description
pprace	Race
pphispan	Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino descent?
ppeth	Race/Ethnicity -- member level
ppethhh	Race/Ethnicity -- household level
ppmarit	Marital status
ppeduc	Education (highest degree received)
ppeducat	Education – categorical
ppwork	Current employment status
pphhhead	Household head
pprent	Ownership status of living quarters
pphouse	Housing type
ppincimp	Household income -- full scale
Ppcminci	Income imputed based on census block group data
ppt0_1	Total number of HH members age 1 or younger
ppt2_5	Total number of HH members age 2 to 5
ppt6_12	Total number of HH members age 6 to 12
ppt13_17	Total number of HH members age 13 to 17
ppt18ov	Total number of HH members age 18 or older
ppkids	Total number of HH members age 17 or younger
pphhsize	Household size -- from Recruitment
ppwebuse	Did R ever use the Internet before being given WebTV?
ppcomp	Number of computers in the HH (not including KN WebTV)
ppweb	Number of computers in the HH connected to the Internet
ppstate	State of residence
ppreg4	Region 4 - based on State of residence
ppreg9	Region 9 - based on State of residence
ppmsa	Metropolitan Statistical Area
ppdma	Designated Market Area
union	UNION: Are you or any member of your household a member of a local or national labor union?
gun	GUN: Are you or is any member of your household a gun owner?
serv	SERV: Aside from weddings and funerals how often do you attend religious services?
milp	MILP: Have you ever served or are you currently serving in the US military, the National Guard, or military reserves?
milhh	MILHH: Has a member of your family ever served or is currently serving in the US military, the National Guard, or military reserves?

Key Personnel

Key personnel on the Political Issues Survey 2004 include:

Mike Dennis – Vice President and Managing Director, Client Service. M. Dennis is based in the Menlo Park office of Knowledge Networks.
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Knowledge Networks Methodology

Introduction

Knowledge Networks has recruited the first online research panel that is designed to be representative of the entire U.S. population. The panel is representative because it is recruited using high quality probability sampling techniques, and is not limited to current Web users or computer owners. Knowledge Networks selects households using random digit dialing (RDD) and provides selected households with free hardware and Internet access. This allows surveys to be administered using a Web browser and enables the inclusion of multimedia content. Once a person is recruited to the panel, they can be contacted by e-mail (instead of by phone or mail). This permits surveys to be fielded very quickly and economically. In addition, this approach reduces the burden placed on respondents, since e-mail notification is less obtrusive than telephone calls, and most respondents find answering Web questionnaires to be more interesting and engaging than being questioned by a telephone interviewer.

Panel Recruitment Methodology

Knowledge Networks' panel recruitment methodology uses the quality standards established by the best Random Digit Dialing (RDD) surveys conducted for the Federal Government.

Knowledge Networks utilizes list-assisted RDD sampling techniques on the sample frame consisting of the entire United States residential telephone population. Knowledge Networks excludes only those banks of telephone numbers (consisting of 100 telephone numbers) that have zero directory-listed phone numbers. Knowledge Networks' telephone numbers are selected from the 1+ banks with equal probability of selection for each number. Note that the sampling is done without replacement to ensure that numbers already fielded by Knowledge Networks do not get fielded again.

Telephone numbers for which Knowledge Networks is able to recover a valid postal address (about 70%) are sent an advance mailing informing them that they have been selected to participate in the Knowledge Networks Panel.

Following the mailing, the telephone recruitment process begins. The numbers called by interviewers consist of all numbers sent an advance mailing, as well as two-thirds of the numbers not sent an advance mailing. The resulting cost efficiency more than offsets the decrease in precision caused by the need for sample weights. Cases sent to telephone interviewers are dialed up to 90 days, with at least 10 dial attempts on cases where no one answers the phone, and on phone numbers known to be associated with households. Extensive refusal conversion is also performed. Experienced interviewers conduct all recruitment interviews. An interview, which typically requires about 10 minutes, begins with the interviewer informing the household member that they have been selected to join the Knowledge Networks Panel. If the household does not have a PC and access to the Internet, they are told that in return for completing a short survey weekly, the household will be given a WebTV set-top box and free monthly Internet access. All members in the household are then enumerated, and some initial demographic variables and background information of prior computer and Internet usage are collected.

As of August 2002, those RDD households that inform interviewers that they have a PC and Internet access have been recruited to the panel and asked to take their surveys using their own equipment and Internet connections. Points, which can be redeemed for cash are given to respondents for completing their surveys.

Prior to shipment, each WebTV unit is custom configured with individual email accounts, so that it is ready for immediate use by the household. Most households are able to install the hardware without additional assistance, though Knowledge Networks maintains a telephone technical support line and will, when needed, provide on-site installation. The Knowledge Networks Call Center also contacts household members who do not respond to e-mail and attempts to restore contact and cooperation.

All new WebTV panel members are sent an initial survey to confirm equipment installation and familiarize them with the WebTV unit. Demographics such as gender, age, race, income, and education are collected for each panel member to create a member profile. This information can be used to determine eligibility for specific studies and need not be gathered with each survey.

Survey Administration

For client-based surveys, a sample is drawn at random from active panel members who meet the screening criteria (if any) for the client's study. The typical sample size is between 200 and 2000 persons, depending on the purpose of the study. Once selected, members can be sent an advance letter by mail several days prior to receiving the questionnaire through their WebTV appliance to notify them of an important, upcoming survey.

Once assigned to a survey, members receive a notification email on their WebTV letting them know there is a new survey available for them to take. The email notification contains a button to start the survey. No login name or password is required. The field period depends on the client's needs, and can range anywhere from a few minutes to two weeks.

Email reminders are sent to uncooperative panel members. If email does not generate a response, a phone reminder is initiated. The usual protocol is to wait at least three days and to permit a weekend to pass before calling. Knowledge Networks also operates an ongoing incentive program to encourage participation and create member loyalty. To assist panel members with their survey taking, each individual has a personalized "home page" that lists all the surveys that were assigned to that member and have yet to be completed.

Survey Sampling from Panel

Once Panel Members are recruited and profiled, they become eligible for selection for specific surveys. In most cases, the specific survey sample represents a simple random sample from the panel. The sample is drawn from eligible members using an implicitly stratified systematic sample design. Customized stratified random sampling based on profile data is also conducted, as required by specific studies.

The primary sampling rule is not to assign more than one survey per week to members.
In certain cases, a survey sample calls for pre-screening, that is, members are drawn from a sub-sample of the panel (e.g., females, Republicans). In such cases, care is taken to ensure that all subsequent survey sample drawn that week are selected in such a way as to result in a sample that is representative of the panel distributions. Furthermore, Panel Members are not assigned surveys on the same topic in a given three-month period.

The completion goals for this study were as follows:
1,150 interviews from the original 11 Southern States [Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.];
-1,150 interviews from ALL other States
-500 from the U.S. general adult population (no oversample)

To achieve the requisite number of completes in each stratum, a total of 4164 Knowledge Networks panel members were sent the main survey. Knowledge Networks randomly selected members who met the regional requirements within each stratum's geographic sampling criteria. Prior to fielding the sample was inspected against the US population benchmarks to guarantee each stratum's representativity.

Weighting and Estimation

Whereas in principle the sample design for the Knowledge Networks panel is an equal probability design that is self-weighting, in fact there are several known deviations from this guiding principle. Furthermore, despite our efforts to correct for known sources of deviation from equal-probability design, there are several other sources of survey error that are an inherent part the process. We address these sources of survey error globally through post-stratification weighting to demographic and geographic benchmarks derived from the most recent Current Population Survey.

KN Panel Sample Design Weights[3]

The eight sources of deviation from an epsem[4] design that require an adjustment in the KN Panel sample design weights are:

1. Half-sampling of telephone numbers for which we could not find an address,
2. RDD sampling rates proportional to the number of phone lines in the household,
3. Minor over-sampling of Chicago and Los Angeles due to early pilot surveys in those two cities,
4. Short-term double-sampling the four largest states (CA, NY, FL, and TX) and the central region states, and
5. Under-sampling of households not covered by MSN TV.
6. Over-sampling of minority households (Black and Hispanic)
7. Over-sampling Internet capable households.
8. Selection of one adult per household.

A few words about each feature:

1. Once the telephone numbers have been purged and screened, we address match as many of these numbers as possible. The success rate so far has been in the 50-60% range. The telephone numbers with addresses are sent a letter. The remaining, unmatched numbers are half-sampled in order to reduce costs. Based on previous research we suspect that the reduced field costs resulting from this allocation strategy will more than offset increases in the design effect due to the increased variance among the weights. We are currently quantifying these balancing features.

2. As part of the field data collection operation, we collect information on the number of separate phone lines in the selected households. We correspondingly down-weight households with multiple phone lines.

3. Two pilot surveys carried out in Chicago and Los Angeles increased the relative size of the sample from these two cities. The impact of this feature is disappearing as the panel grows.

4. Since we anticipated additional surveying in the four largest states, we double-sampled these states during January-October 2000. Similarly, the central region states were over-sampled for a brief period.

5. Certain areas of the U.S. are not serviced by MSN®. We select a smaller sample of phone numbers in those areas and use other Internet Service Providers for Internet access of recruited households in those areas.

6. As of October 2001, we began over-sampling households (Black and Hispanic) to increase panel capacity for those subgroups.

[3] These are customized for each project.
[4] {E}qual {P}robability of {SE}lection {M}echanism.

7. As of August 2002, we began over-sampling households with personal computers and Internet access to reduce the cost of placing Internet appliances and paying for Internet Service in households that already have Internet access.

8. Finally, for most of our surveys, we select panel members across the board, regardless of household affiliation. For some surveys, however, we select members in two stages: households in the first stage and one adult per household in the second stage. We correct for this feature by multiplying the probabilities of selection by 1/ai where ai represents the number of adults (18 and over) in the household.

Post-Stratification Weights for Political Issue Survey 2004

The primary purpose of a post-stratification adjustment of survey weights is to reduce the sampling error for characteristics highly correlated with reliable demographic and geographic totals – called population benchmarks and to reduce any effects due to survey nonresponse.

In order to calculate final survey weights, we derive weighted sample distributions along various combinations of key demographic and geographic variables. Similar distributions are calculated using the most recent U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey data and/or the Knowledge Networks panel data whichever is most appropriate. Cell-by-cell adjustments over the various univariate and bivariate distributions are calculated to make the weighted sample cells match those of the U.S. Census and/or the Knowledge Networks panel. This process, known as raking, is repeated iteratively until there is convergence between the weighted sample and benchmark distributions. Occasionally, collapsing of post-stratification cells is necessary. This is dependent on the size of the sample and topology of the sample universe.

To implement post-stratification for the Political Issue Survey, we employed the following steps.

1. Calculate a base design weight for all sampled cases.

2. Calculate percent frequency distributions (benchmark distributions) from the Current Population Survey and the Knowledge Networks Panel for all persons 18+. The variables are:

- Age
- Gender
- Race/Hispanic ethnicity
- Census Region: northeast, midwest, south, west
- Metropolitan Area -Yes or No
- Internet Capable – Yes or No
- Southern State (AL, AR, FL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX, VA.) – Yes or No

1. weight1 - All respondents were weighted back to age 18+ CPS benchmarks. Weighting variables included age, gender, race/ethnicity, region, metro, education, internet access, Southern states and non-Southern states. Southern states were defined as: AL, AR, FL, GA, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, TX, VA.

2. weight2 - Respondents from the southern states and non-southern states were weighted back to age 18+ CPS benchmarks of Southern states and non-Southern states separately.

3. Modify the base design weight for the cases that completed the Political Issue survey by calculating post-stratification weights against Current Population Survey and Knowledge Networks panel benchmarks for people 18+created in step 2. This is the raking step that ensures the weighted sample percent frequency distributions of the raking variables match the benchmark percent frequency distributions.

4. Censor the weights calculated in step 3 at the extreme tails and then scale to the number of completed cases to be included in the final analyses.

Appendix A: Pretest Questionnaire

2004 Election Survey: Cross-pressures in South and Nation
October-November 2004
- Questionnaire -

SUNSHINE HILLYGUS AND TODD SHIELDS
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[DISPLAY]
Researchers at Harvard University and the University of Arkansas are conducting a critical study to help understand the feelings of people today. Your responses will be kept completely confidential. For any questions that you don't know how to answer, simply proceed to the next question.

[SP]
Q1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs…

Most of the time..... 1
Some of the time..... 2
Only now and then 3
Never 4

[SP]
Q2. How likely are you to vote in the presidential election on November 2?

Not likely 1
Somewhat likely 2
Very likely..... 3
Not sure 4

SHOW Q3 AND Q4 ONLY IF "SOMEWHAT LIKELY" OR "VERY LIKELY" IN Q2, ELSE SKIP TO Q5.

[SP]
Q3. If the election were held today, who will you vote for?

[RANDOMIZE FIRST 3 RESPONSES.]

George W. Bush (Republican) 1
John Kerry (Democrat)..... 2
Ralph Nader (Independent) 3
Other..... 4

[SP]

Q4. Are you considering consider voting for someone else?

[PROGRAM RESPONSES SUCH THAT CANDIDATES LISTED ARE THOSE NOT SELECTED IN 3)]

Yes, **[OTHER CANDIDATE 1]**..... 1
Yes, **[OTHER CANDIDATE 2]** 2
Yes, one of the other candidates 3
No 4

[SP]

Q5. How about the election for the U.S. House of Representatives?. Will you vote for the Democrat, the Republican, or are you not going to vote?

I don't plan to vote in this race 1
Democratic candidate 2
Republican candidate 3
Other..... 4

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q6A-I. We'd like to get your feelings toward some people and groups in the news these days. Please rate the following people or groups on a thermometer that runs from 0 to 100 degrees.

- A rating above 50 means that you feel favorable and warm toward them.
- A rating below 50 means that you feel unfavorable and cool toward them.
- A rating right at the 50 degree mark means you don't feel particularly warm or cold.

[RANDOMIZE THE FIRST 3 PEOPLE, THEN SHOW REMAINING ITEMS IN ORDER. KEEP REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT TOGETHER, RATHER THAN SPLITTING THEM WITH A GRID HEADER. SHOW THE EXPLANATION ABOVE ON EACH SCREEN.]

[PROMPT IF NA]

	Unfavorable/Cool										Favorable/ Warm
	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
George W. Bush											
John Kerry											
Ralph Nader											
Southerners											
Northerners											
Democrats											
Republicans											
Conservative Democrats											
Liberal Republicans											

[SP]

Q7. Do you consider yourself a southerner?

Yes 1
No 2

SHOW Q8 TO INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN THE 11 CONFEDERATE STATES-- ALABAMA, ARKANSAS, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, TEXAS OR VIRGINIA (PPSTATEN = 63, 71, 59, 58, 72, 64, 56, 57, 62, 74, OR 54), ELSE SKIP TO Q9.

[SP]

Q8. At what age did you move to the South, or have you lived here all of your life?

I moved to the South when I was…

1-5 years old 1
6-10 years old 2
11-15 years old 3
16-20 years old 4
21-30 years old 5
31 years old or older..... 6
I've lived in the South my entire life 7

[DROPDOWN WITH COMPLETE STATE LIST IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER – ADD RESPONSE "OUTSIDE U.S."]

Q9. What state did you live in when you were 16? If more than one, select the state where you spent more time.

[SP]

Q10. Some people believe that presidential candidates from their own region of the country are more likely to understand the many problems and concerns they face. What about you? Do you think that candidates from your region are more likely to understand your problems and concerns?

Much more likely to understand 1
Somewhat more likely to understand..... 2
Slightly more likely to understand..... 3
Not at all more likely to understand 4

[SP]

Q11. Would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has generally gotten better, or has it stayed the same or generally gotten worse?

Much better 1
Somewhat better 2
Stayed about the same 3
Somewhat worse 4
Much worse..... 5

[SP]

Q12. Currently, the federal government taxes the money and property that people leave when they die if the value exceeds $1.5 million dollars. 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, or on no estates at all?

Tax all estates 1
Tax only some estates worth
more than $1.5 million 2
Tax only some estates worth
more than $3.5 million 3
Tax no estates 4

[SP]

Q13. Do you *agree* or *disagree* that most people who receive money from welfare could get along without it if they tried?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree..... 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]

Q14. Do you *agree* or *disagree* that trade unions are necessary to protect the rights of working people?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree..... 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]

Q15. Some people think that the federal government should place caps or limits on the amount of money people can receive in a lawsuit when they are injured by medical malpractice, even if the injury is permanent, disabling, or resulted in death. Other people think that caps are necessary to protect doctors and nurses.

Do you *favor* or *oppose* federal caps on lawsuit awards?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q16. Some want the federal government to make it easier for people to buy less expensive prescription drugs from Canada or other countries. Others oppose that idea, arguing that prescription drugs from other countries might not be safe.

Do you *favor* or *oppose* the federal government making it easier for people to buy prescription drugs from other countries?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q17. Some people have proposed allowing individuals to invest portions of their Social Security taxes in the stock market, which might allow them to make more money for their retirement, but would involve greater risk than the current government-run system.

Do you *favor* or *oppose* allowing individuals to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes in the stock market?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q18. Do you *favor* or *oppose* the federal government in Washington trying to reduce the income differences between the richest and poorest Americans?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor..... 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q19. Which of the following do you think should be emphasized more in an economic recovery plan: An expansion of unemployment benefits for laid-off workers? Or tax cuts for individuals and businesses?

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Unemployment benefits more important						Tax cuts more important
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q20. In dealing with corporate scandals, which of the following do you think is the greatest danger: That government regulations will go too far and impose restrictions on business that will hurt the economy? Or that government regulations will not go far enough toward raising the standards of accountability?

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Regulators will go too far						Regulators will not go far enough
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q21. In thinking about health care reform, which of the following do you think should be emphasized more in a reform plan: Expanding coverage for low income adults through federal and state health care programs? Or aiding small businesses in offering health care to their employees?

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

More important to expand coverage through government programs						More important to aid small businesses in offering coverage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q22. Some people believe the United States should solve international problems by using diplomacy and economic sanctions and only use military force if absolutely necessary. Other people believe diplomacy and sanctions often fail and the US must be ready to use military force. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

U.S. should use diplomacy, not military force						U.S. should be ready to use military force
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q23. People have different views on the best way to solve problems such as terrorism and the environment that are of a more international nature. Some people think it is increasingly necessary for the U.S. to work with other countries through international institutions. Other people think that it is better for the U.S. to solve such problems on our own. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

U.S. should work through international institutions						U.S. must go it alone
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q24. Some people say the Patriot Act is a necessary tool that helps the government find terrorists. Other people say it goes too far and is a threat to the civil liberties of average Americans. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Patriot Act is necessary tool						Patriot Act threatens civil liberties
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[SP]

Q25. Taking everything into account, do you *agree* or *disagree* that the war in Iraq has been worth the cost?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

RANDOMLY ASSIGN Q26A1/2, Q26B1/2, Q26C1/2 SO THAT EACH SET IS SEEN BY 1/3 OF RESPONDENTS.

[SP]

Q26a1. According to the president, a country in Africa is harboring terrorists. The president is prepared to use military force against this country.

Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the president that the country is harboring terrorists?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]

Q26a2. Do you *support* or *oppose* the use of military force against this country?

Completely support 1
Somewhat support 2
Neither support nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q26b1. According to the president, a country in Africa is harboring terrorists. The president is prepared to use military force against this country. Members of Congress, however, have cast doubts on the president's claims; and a majority in Congress opposes military action.

Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the president that the country is harboring terrorists?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]

Q26b2. Do you *support* or *oppose* the use of military force against this country?

Completely support 1
Somewhat support 2
Neither support nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]
Q26c1. According to the president, a country in Africa is harboring terrorists. The president is prepared to use military force against this country. Members of Congress have reiterated the president's claims; and a majority in Congress supports plans for military action.

Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the president that the country is harboring terrorists?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]
Q26c2. Do you *support* or *oppose* the use of military force against this country?

Completely support 1
Somewhat support 2
Neither support nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q27. Would you *favor* or *oppose* an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would define marriage as being between a man and a woman, thus barring marriages between gay or lesbian couples?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q28. On the whole, how much do you *favor* or *oppose* the use of stem cells taken from human embryos in medical research?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q29. Do you *favor* or *oppose* granting federal tax dollars to religious organizations to run social programs like day care and drug rehabilitation?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q30. Do you *favor* or *oppose* the registration and licensing of all new handguns sold in America?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q31. As you may have heard, the federal ban on the sale and manufacture of assault weapons recently expired. Do you *favor* or *oppose* banning assault weapons?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q32. Do you *favor* or *oppose* relaxing some environmental standards to increase oil and gas production in the United States?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q33. Do you *favor* or *oppose* allowing public schools to start each day with a prayer in the classrooms?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q34. A proposal has been made that would allow parents to send their school-age children to any public, private, or church-related school they choose. For those parents choosing nonpublic schools, the government would pay all or part of the tuition.

Would you *favor* or *oppose* this proposal in your state?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q35. Given what you know about the "No Child Left Behind" educational reform legislation, do you *agree* or *disagree* that the plan does each of the following:

	Completely agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Completely agree

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE LIST.]

Identifies weak schools that need to do better
Improves learning by students
Increases parent's role in child's education
Punishes schools for failure instead of rewarding them for success
Imposes a financial burden on local schools
Encourages teaching for tests instead of knowledge

[SP]

Q36. Which of the following opinions comes closer to your view about abortion?

It should never be permitted 1
It should only be permitted when the woman's life is in danger 2
It should only be permitted if the woman's health or life is in danger 3
By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice. 4

[SP]

Q37. There is a new federal law that makes certain late-term abortion procedures, sometimes called partial birth abortions, illegal unless it is necessary to save the mother's life. This law is now being challenged in the courts because it does not provide an exception for the health of the mother. Supporters of the law say that such an exception would create too many loopholes.

Where do you stand on partial birth abortion?

It should never be permitted..... 1
It should only be permitted when the woman's life is in danger..... 2
It should only be permitted if the woman's health or life is in danger 3
No legal restrictions should be placed on this abortion procedure 4

[SP]

Q38. Some people think that we need tougher government regulations on business in order to protect the environment. Other people think that regulations to protect the environment are too much of a burden on business. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Tougher environmental regulations needed						Environmental regulations burden business too much
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[SP]

Q39. Some people think that racial diversity is an important goal in public schools. Other people think that schools should not make racial diversity a priority. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Racial diversity is an important goal						Racial diversity is not a priority
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[SP]

Q40. Some people say that affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas. Other people say that affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities, and should be ended because they unfairly discriminate against whites. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Affirmative action is necessary						Affirmative action should be ended
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[SP]

Q41. Regardless of where you stand on the following political issues, please indicate how important each issue or policy is to you personally.

Extremely Important	Very Important	Moderately Important	Slightly Important	Not at all Important		
1	2	3	4	5		

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE LIST.]

Abortion policy
Gay marriage policy
Gun control policy
Health care policy
Stem cell research policy
Education policy
Social Security policy
Environmental policy
Welfare policy

[SP]

Q42. Regardless of where you stand on the following political issues, please indicate *how important* each issue or policy is to you personally.

Extremely Important	Very Important	Moderately Important	Slightly Important	Not at all Important		
1	2	3	4	5		

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE LIST.]

Military issues like global terrorism
Employment issues like job security
Business issues like regulation
Legal issues like tort reform
Racial issues like affirmative action
Policies about civil liberties
Policies about school prayer

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q43. For the following issues, we want to know your impressions about the positions of the political parties. Compared to the Democratic Party, do you think the position of the Republican Party is *more conservative, more liberal, or about the same* on each of the following issues?

The Republican Party is…

	Much more conservative	Somewhat more conservative	About the same	Somewhat more liberal	Much more liberal

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE LIST.]

Abortion
Gay marriage
Gun control
Stem cell research
Environment
Welfare
Business regulation
Affirmative action

[SP]

Q44. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Republican 1
Democrat 2
Independent 3
Other, please specify: _____..... 4

SHOW Q45 IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT IN Q44. SHOW QUESTION TEXT BASED ON RESPONSE TO Q44.

[SP]

Q45. Would you call yourself a strong **[PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT]** or a not very strong **[PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT]**?

SHOW Q46 IF INDEPENDENT OR OTHER IN Q44.

[SP]

Q46. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

Republican Party..... 1
Democratic Party..... 2
Neither party 3

SHOW Q47 IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT IN Q44. SHOW QUESTION TEXT BASED ON RESPONSE TO Q44.

[SP]

Q47. Generally speaking, how well do you think the **[PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC]** Party represents your views on political issues?

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Represents my views extremely well	Very well	Moderately well	Slightly well	Does not at all represent my views		
1	2	3	4	5		

SHOW Q48A OR Q48B BASED ON RESPONSE IN Q44. IF "INDEPENDENT" OR "OTHER" IN Q44, SHOW BOTH Q48A AND Q48B.

[SP]

Q48A. Has there ever been a time when you considered yourself to be a (**PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT**)?

Q48B. Has there ever been a time when you considered yourself to be a (**PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT**)?

SHOW Q49 IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT IN Q44.

[LARGE TEXT BOX]

Q49. We find that many people disagree with their political party on a variety of different political issues. You said that you consider yourself to be a [**PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT].** Can you think of any political issues about which you disagree with the **[PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC]** party?

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q50. When you were growing up did your parents generally think of themselves as Democrats, Republicans, or what?

	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Not sure
Mother				
Father				

[SP]

Q51. How about your political views? Do you consider yourself generally liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Extremely liberal 1
Liberal 2
Somewhat liberal 3
Moderate, middle of the road 4
Somewhat conservative 5
Conservative 6
Extremely conservative 7

[SP]

Q52. In general, when you think about just economic issues, do you consider yourself:

Extremely liberal 1
Liberal 2
Somewhat liberal 3
Moderate, middle of the road 4
Somewhat conservative 5
Conservative 6
Extremely conservative 7

[SP]

Q53. In general, when you think about just non-economic issues, like social or cultural issues, would you consider yourself :

Extremely liberal 1
Liberal 2
Somewhat liberal 3
Moderate, middle of the road 4
Somewhat conservative 5
Conservative 6
Extremely conservative 7

[SP]

Q54. Regardless of your party affiliation, do you consider yourself closer to Democrats or Republicans on the economic issues that are important to you?

Democrats on nearly all economic issues	1
Democrats on most economic issues	2
Both parties equally close	3
Republicans on most economic issues	4
Republicans on nearly all economic issues	5

[SP]

Q55. Regardless of your party affiliation, do you consider yourself closer to Democrats or Republicans on the non-economic or social issues that are important to you?

Democrats on nearly all social issues	1
Democrats on most social issues	2
Both parties equally close	3
Republicans on most social issues	4
Republicans on nearly all social issues	5

[SP]

Q56. Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the following statement. Public officials don't care much what people like me think.

Completely agree	1
Somewhat agree	2
Neither agree nor disagree	3
Somewhat disagree	4
Completely disagree	5

[SP]

Q57. How would you rate the overall job President George W. Bush is doing as president?

Excellent	1
Good	2
Fair	3
Poor	4
Very poor	5

[SP]

Q58. Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?

The Bible is the actual Word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word. 1
The Bible is the inspired Word of God, but not everything in it should be taken literally. 2
The Bible is a book written by men and is not the Word of God." 3

[SP]

Q59. What job or political office is held by Richard ("Dick") Cheney?

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES]

Vice President 1
National Security Advisor 2
Secretary of Defense 3
White House Chief of Staff 4

[SP]

Q69. Who is the current Attorney General of the United States?

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES]

Donald Rumsfeld 1
John Ashcroft 2
Condoleeza Rice 3
Colin Powell 4

[SP]

Q61. Who is the Chief Justice of the U.S. Supreme Court?

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES]

William Rehnquist 1
Clarence Thomas 2
Antonin Scalia 3
Anthony Kennedy 4

[SP]

Q62. What is the term of office of a U.S. senator?

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES]

2 years 1
4 years 2
6 years 3
8 years 4

[SP]

Q63. Whose responsibility is it to nominate judges to Federal Courts?

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES]

The President 1
Congress..... 2
The Supreme Court..... 3

UNION THROUGH MILHH TO BE ASKED OF THOSE WHO DID NOT COMPLETE PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROFILE (XPOLI = 2).

[SP]

UNION. Are you or any member of your household a member of a local or national labor union?

Yes 1
No 2

[SP]

GUN. Are you or is any member of your household a gun owner?

Yes 1
No 2

[SP]

SERV. Aside from weddings and funerals how often do you attend religious services?

More than once a week 1
Once a week 2
Once or twice a month 3
A few times a year 4
Seldom 5
Never 6

[SP]

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

Yes 1
No 2

[SP]

MILHH. Has a member of your family ever served or is currently serving in the US military, the National Guard, or military reserves?

Yes 1
No 2

INSERT STANDARD CLOSE.

Appendix B: Main Questionnaire

2004 Election Survey: Cross-pressures in South and Nation
October-November 2004
- Questionnaire -

SUNSHINE HILLYGUS AND TODD SHIELDS
HILLYGUS@FAS.HARVARD.EDU **(617-388-1076/617-496-4220)**
TSHIELD@UARK.EDU **(479-575-6440)**

[DISPLAY]
Researchers at Harvard University and the University of Arkansas are conducting a critical study to help understand the feelings of people today. Your responses will be kept completely confidential. For any questions that you don't know how to answer, simply proceed to the next question.

[SP]
Q1. Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs…

Most of the time 1
Some of the time 2
Only now and then 3
Never 4

[SP]
Q2. In talking to people about the November presidential election, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time. Which of the following statements best describes you?

I did not vote 1
I thought about voting this time - but didn't 2
I usually vote, but didn't this time 3
I am sure I voted 4

[SP]

Q3a.

[SHOW THIS QUESTION TEXT IF "I AM SURE I VOTED" IN Q2]

Who did you vote for in the election for President?

[SHOW THIS QUESTION TEXT IF NOT "I AM SURE I VOTED" IN Q2]

If instead you HAD voted in the election for President, who would you have voted for?

[RANDOMIZE FIRST 3]

George W. Bush (Republican) 1
John Kerry (Democrat) 2
Ralph Nader (Independent) 3
Other 4

SHOW Q4 AND Q5 ONLY IF "I AM SURE I VOTED" IN Q2, ELSE SKIP TO Q6.

[SP]

Q4. Did you ever consider voting for someone else?

[PROGRAM RESPONSES SUCH THAT CANDIDATES LISTED ARE THOSE NOT SELECTED IN 3)]

Yes, **[OTHER CANDIDATE 1]** 1
Yes, **[OTHER CANDIDATE 2]** 2
Yes, one of the other candidates 3
No 4

[SP]

Q5. How about the election for the U.S. House of Representatives?. Did you vote for the Democrat, the Republican, or did you not vote?

I did not vote in this race 1
Democratic candidate 2
Republican candidate 3
Other 4

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q6A-I. We'd like to get your feelings toward some people and groups in the news these days. Please rate the following people or groups on a thermometer that runs from 0 to 100 degrees.

- A rating above 50 means that you feel favorable and warm toward them.
- A rating below 50 means that you feel unfavorable and cool toward them.
- A rating right at the 50 degree mark means you don't feel particularly warm or cold.

[RANDOMIZE THE FIRST 3 PEOPLE, THEN SHOW REMAINING ITEMS IN ORDER. KEEP REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRAT TOGETHER, RATHER THAN SPLITTING THEM WITH A GRID HEADER. SHOW THE EXPLANATION ABOVE ON EACH SCREEN.]

[PROMPT IF NA]

	Unfavorable/Cool										Favorable/ Warm
	0	10	20	30	40	50	60	70	80	90	100
George W. Bush											
John Kerry											
Ralph Nader											
Southerners											
Northerners											
Democrats											
Republicans											
Conservative Democrats											
Liberal Republicans											

[SP]

Q7. Do you consider yourself a southerner?

Yes 1
No 2

SHOW Q8 TO INDIVIDUALS LIVING IN THE 11 CONFEDERATE STATES-- ALABAMA, ARKANSAS, FLORIDA, GEORGIA, LOUISIANA, MISSISSIPPI, NORTH CAROLINA, SOUTH CAROLINA, TENNESSEE, TEXAS OR VIRGINIA (PPSTATEN = 63, 71, 59, 58, 72, 64, 56, 57, 62, 74, OR 54), ELSE SKIP TO Q9.

[SP]

Q8. At what age did you move to the South, or have you lived here all of your life?

I moved to the South when I was…

1-5 years old 1
6-10 years old 2
11-15 years old 3
16-20 years old 4
21-30 years old 5
31 years old or older..... 6
I've lived in the South my entire life 7

[DROPDOWN WITH COMPLETE STATE LIST IN ALPHABETICAL ORDER – ADD RESPONSE "OUTSIDE U.S."]

Q9. What state did you live in when you were growing up? If more than one, select the state where you spent more time.

[SP]

Q10. Some people believe that presidential candidates from their own region of the country are more likely to understand the many problems and concerns they face. What about you? Do you think that candidates from your region are more likely to understand your problems and concerns?

Much more likely to understand 1
Somewhat more likely to understand..... 2
Slightly more likely to understand..... 3
Not at all more likely to understand 4

[SP]

Q11. Would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has generally gotten better, or has it stayed the same or generally gotten worse?

Much better 1
Somewhat better 2
Stayed about the same 3
Somewhat worse 4
Much worse..... 5

[SP]

Q13. Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the following statement?

Most people who receive money from welfare could get along without it if they tried.

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree..... 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]

Q14. Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the following statement?

Trade unions are necessary to protect the rights of working people.

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]

Q15. A proposal has been made to place caps or limits on the amount of money people can receive in a lawsuit when they are injured by medical malpractice, even if the injury is permanent, disabling, or resulted in death. Some argue caps are necessary to protect doctors and nurses. Others argue caps hurt people with legitimate claims.

Do you *favor* or *oppose* caps on lawsuit awards?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q16. Some want the federal government to make it easier for people to buy less expensive prescription drugs from other countries. Others oppose that idea, arguing that prescription drugs from other countries might not be safe.

Do you *favor* or *oppose* the federal government making it easier for people to buy prescription drugs from other countries?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q17. Some people have proposed allowing individuals to invest portions of their Social Security taxes in the stock market, which might allow them to make more money for their retirement, but would involve greater risk than the current government-run system.

Do you *favor* or *oppose* allowing individuals to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes in the stock market?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q18. Do you *favor* or *oppose* the federal government in Washington trying to reduce the income differences between the richest and poorest Americans?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q19. Which of the following do you think should be emphasized more in an economic recovery plan: An increase in minimum wage? Or tax cuts for businesses?.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Minimum wage increase more important						Tax cuts more important
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q20. In dealing with corporate scandals, which of the following do you think is the greatest danger: That government regulations will go too far and impose restrictions on business that will hurt the economy? Or that government regulations will not go far enough toward raising the standards of accountability?

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Regulators will go too far						Regulators will not go far enough
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q21. In thinking about health care reform, which of the following do you think should be emphasized more in a reform plan: Expanding coverage for low income adults through federal and state health care programs? Or aiding small businesses in offering health care to their employees?

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

More important to expand coverage through government programs						More important to aid small businesses in offering coverage
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q22. Some people believe the United States should solve international problems by using diplomacy and economic sanctions and only use military force if absolutely necessary. Other people believe diplomacy and sanctions often fail and the US must be ready to use military force. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

U.S. should use diplomacy, not military force						U.S. should be ready to use military force
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q23. People have different views on the best way to solve problems such as terrorism and the environment that are of a more international nature. Some people think it is better for the U.S. to work with other countries through international institutions. Other people think that international institutions are slow and bureaucratic, so the U.S. should be prepared to solve such problems on our own. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

U.S. should work through international institutions						U.S. must go it alone
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

[SP]

Q25. Taking everything into account, do you *agree* or *disagree* that the war in Iraq has been worth the cost?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

RANDOMLY ASSIGN Q26A1/2, Q26B1/2, Q26C1/2 SO THAT EACH SET IS SEEN BY 1/3 OF RESPONDENTS.

[SP]

Q26a1. According to the president, Eritrea (a small country on the east coast of Africa) is harboring terrorists. The president is prepared to use military force against this country.

Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the president that the country is harboring terrorists?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]

Q26a2. Do you *support* or *oppose* the use of military force against this country?

Completely support 1
Somewhat support 2
Neither support nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q26b1. According to the president, Eritrea (a small country on the east coast of Africa) is harboring terrorists. The president is prepared to use military force against this country. Members of Congress, however, have cast doubts on the president's claims; and a majority in Congress opposes military action.

Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the president that the country is harboring terrorists?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]

Q26b2. Do you *support* or *oppose* the use of military force against this country?

Completely support 1
Somewhat support 2
Neither support nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]
Q26c1. According to the president, Eritrea (a small country on the east coast of Africa) is harboring terrorists. The president is prepared to use military force against this country. Members of Congress have reiterated the president's claims; and a majority in Congress supports plans for military action.

Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the president that the country is harboring terrorists?

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]
Q26c2. Do you *support* or *oppose* the use of military force against this country?

Completely support 1
Somewhat support 2
Neither support nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]
Q27. Would you *favor* or *oppose* an amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would define marriage as being between a man and a woman, thus barring marriages between gay or lesbian couples?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]
Q28. On the whole, do you *favor* or *oppose* the use of stem cells taken from human embryos in medical research?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q29. Do you *favor* or *oppose* granting federal tax dollars to religious organizations to run social programs like day care and drug rehabilitation?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q30. Do you *favor* or *oppose* the registration and licensing of all new handguns sold in America?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q32. Do you *favor* or *oppose* relaxing some environmental standards to increase oil and gas production in the United States?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q33. Do you *favor* or *oppose* allowing public schools to start each day with a school-organized religious prayer in the classrooms?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[SP]

Q34. A proposal has been made that would allow parents to send their school-age children to any public, private, or church-related school they choose. For those parents choosing nonpublic schools, government-funded school vouchers would pay all or part of the tuition.

Would you *favor* or *oppose* this proposal in your state?

Completely favor 1
Somewhat favor 2
Neither favor nor oppose 3
Somewhat oppose 4
Completely oppose 5

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q35. Given what you know about the "No Child Left Behind" educational reform legislation, do you *agree* or *disagree* that the plan does each of the following:

	Completely agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Completely agree

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE LIST.]

Identifies weak schools that need to do better
Improves learning by students
Imposes a financial burden on local schools
Encourages teaching for tests instead of knowledge

[SP]

Q36. Which of the following opinions comes closer to your view about abortion?

It should never be permitted 1
It should only be permitted when the woman's life is in danger 2
It should only be permitted if the woman's health or life is in danger 3
By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice. 4

[SP]

Q37. There is a new federal law that makes certain late-term abortion procedures, sometimes called partial birth abortions, illegal unless it is necessary to save the mother's life. This law is now being challenged in the courts because it does not provide an exception for the health of the mother. Supporters of the law say that such an exception would create too many loopholes.

Where do you stand on partial birth abortion?

It should never be permitted..... 1
It should only be permitted when the woman's life is in danger..... 2
It should only be permitted if the woman's health or life is in danger 3
No legal restrictions should be placed on this abortion procedure 4

[SP]

Q38. The federal government currently prohibits logging, drilling, and development in 58.5 million acres of national forest. A proposal has been made that would allow state governors to request an exemption from this federal rule, thereby giving states more discretion in developing national forests. Which level of government (state or federal) do you think should make decisions about managing national forests?

Only state governments 1
Primarily state governments..... 2
Primarily the federal government..... 3
Only the federal government 4

[SP]

Q39. Some people think that racial diversity is an important goal in public schools. Other people think that schools should not make racial diversity a priority. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Racial diversity is an important goal						Racial diversity is not a priority
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[SP]

Q40. Some people say that affirmative action programs are still needed to counteract the effects of discrimination against minorities, and are a good idea as long as there are no rigid quotas. Other people say that affirmative action programs have gone too far in favoring minorities, and should be ended because they unfairly discriminate against whites. Still others have opinions somewhere in between these two.

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Affirmative action is necessary						Affirmative action should be ended
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[SP]

Q41. Regardless of where you stand on the following political issues, please indicate how important each issue or policy is to you personally.

Extremely Important	Very Important	Moderately Important	Slightly Important	Not at all Important		
1	2	3	4	5		

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE LIST.]

Abortion policy
Gay marriage policy
Gun control policy
Health care policy
Stem cell research policy
Education policy
Social Security policy
Environmental policy
Welfare policy

[SP]

Q42. Regardless of where you stand on the following political issues, please indicate *how important* each issue or policy is to you personally.

Extremely Important	Very Important	Moderately Important	Slightly Important	Not at all Important		
1	2	3	4	5		

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE LIST.]

Military issues like global terrorism
Employment issues like job security
Business issues like regulation
Legal issues like tort reform
Racial issues like affirmative action
Policies about prescription drugs
Policies about school prayer

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q43. For the following issues, we want to know your impressions about the positions of the political parties. Compared to the Democratic Party, do you think the position of the Republican Party is *more conservative, more liberal, or about the same* on each of the following issues?

The Republican Party is…

	Much more conservative	Somewhat more conservative	About the same	Somewhat more liberal	Much more liberal

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE LIST.]

Abortion
Gay marriage
Gun control
Stem cell research
Environment
Welfare
Business regulation
Affirmative action

[SP]

Q44. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

Republican 1
Democrat 2
Independent 3
Other 4

SHOW Q45 IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT IN Q44. SHOW QUESTION TEXT BASED ON RESPONSE TO Q44.

[SP]

Q45. Would you call yourself a strong **[PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT]** or a not very strong **[PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT]**?

SHOW Q46 IF INDEPENDENT OR OTHER IN Q44.

[SP]

Q46. Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic Party?

Republican Party 1
Democratic Party 2
Neither party 3

SHOW Q47 IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT IN Q44. SHOW QUESTION TEXT BASED ON RESPONSE TO Q44.

[SP]

Q47. Generally speaking, how well do you think the **[PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC]** Party represents your views on political issues?

Where would you place yourself on the scale below?

[PLEASE ADD NUMBERS BELOW RADIO BUTTONS]

Represents my views extremely well	Very well	Moderately well	Slightly well	Does not at all represent my views		
1	2	3	4	5		

SHOW Q48A OR Q48B BASED ON RESPONSE IN Q44. IF "INDEPENDENT" OR "OTHER" IN Q44, SHOW BOTH Q48A AND Q48B.

[SP]

Q48A. Has there ever been a time when you considered yourself to be a (**PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT**)?

Q48B. Has there ever been a time when you considered yourself to be a (**PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT**)?

SHOW Q49 IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT IN Q44.

[LARGE TEXT BOX]

Q49. We find that many people disagree with their political party on a variety of different political issues. You said that you consider yourself to be a [**PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT].** Can you think of any political issues about which you disagree with the **[PARTY SELECTED IN Q44: REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRATIC]** party?

[GRID – SP BY ROW]

Q50. When you were growing up did your parents generally think of themselves as Democrats, Republicans, or what?

	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Not sure
Mother				
Father				

[SP]

Q51. How about your political views? Do you consider yourself generally liberal, moderate, or conservative?

Extremely liberal 1
Liberal 2
Somewhat liberal 3
Moderate, middle of the road 4
Somewhat conservative 5
Conservative 6
Extremely conservative 7

[SP]

Q52. In general, when you think about just economic issues, do you consider yourself:

Extremely liberal 1
Liberal 2
Somewhat liberal 3
Moderate, middle of the road 4
Somewhat conservative 5
Conservative 6
Extremely conservative 7

[SP]

Q53. In general, when you think about just non-economic issues, like social or cultural issues, would you consider yourself :

Extremely liberal 1
Liberal 2
Somewhat liberal 3
Moderate, middle of the road 4
Somewhat conservative 5
Conservative 6
Extremely conservative 7

[SP]

Q56. Do you *agree* or *disagree* with the following statement? Public officials don't care much what people like me think.

Completely agree 1
Somewhat agree 2
Neither agree nor disagree 3
Somewhat disagree 4
Completely disagree 5

[SP]

Q57. How would you rate the overall job President George W. Bush is doing as president?

Excellent 1
Good 2
Fair 3
Poor 4
Very poor 5

[SP]

Q58. Which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?

The Bible is the actual Word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word. 1
The Bible is the inspired Word of God, but not everything in it should be taken literally. 2
The Bible is a book written by men and is not the Word of God." 3

[SP]

Q69. Who is the current Attorney General of the United States?

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES]

Donald Rumsfeld 1
John Ashcroft 2
Condoleeza Rice 3
Colin Powell 4

[SP]

Q62. What is the term of office of a U.S. senator?

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES]

2 years 1
4 years 2
6 years 3
8 years 4

[SP]

Q63. Whose responsibility is it to nominate judges to Federal Courts?

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES]

The President 1
Congress..... 2
The Supreme Court..... 3

UNION THROUGH MILHH TO BE ASKED OF THOSE WHO DID NOT COMPLETE PUBLIC AFFAIRS PROFILE (XPOLI = 2).

[SP]

UNION. Are you or any member of your household a member of a local or national labor union?

Yes 1
No 2

[SP]

GUN. Are you or is any member of your household a gun owner?

Yes 1
No 2

[SP]

SERV. Aside from weddings and funerals how often do you attend religious services?

More than once a week 1
Once a week 2
Once or twice a month 3
A few times a year 4
Seldom 5
Never 6

[SP]

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

Yes 1
No 2

[SP]

MILHH. Has a member of your family ever served or is currently serving in the US military, the National Guard, or military reserves?

Yes 1
No 2

INSERT STANDARD CLOSE.

Appendix C: Gun Ownership Followup Questionnaire

UnivArk Gun Reask
December 2004
- Questionnaire -

[GRID – SP BY ROW]
US. Please read each statement and indicate how much you agree or disagree.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

[RANDOMIZE RESPONSES.]

Being an American is very important to me
There's no better place to live than America; no other country even comes close
America needs to be more open to cultural influences from other countries
Overall there is too much immigration; it threatens the purity of the country

[SP]
HUNT. In the past year, have you or has member of your household gone hunting or fishing?

Yes..... 1
No 2
Not sure 3

[SP]
NRA. Are you or is someone in your household a member of the National Rifle Association?

Yes..... 1
No 2
Not sure 3

[SP]
GUN. Are you or is any member of your household a gun owner?

Yes 1
No 2