Methodology Report and User's Guide for the 2008–2009 ANES Panel Study

August 2010

(*Revised September 22, 2010*)
(*Revised December 13, 2010*)

Matthew DeBell
Jon A. Krosnick
Arthur Lupia
American National Election Studies
Stanford University and the University of Michigan

This document may be freely copied or redistributed, provided it is not altered.

Suggested Citation
Matthew DeBell, Jon A. Krosnick, and Arthur Lupia. 2010. *Methodology Report and User's Guide for the 2008–2009 ANES Panel Study*. Palo Alto, CA, and Ann Arbor, MI: Stanford University and the University of Michigan.

Acknowledgments
This material is based upon work supported by the National Science Foundation under Grant Nos. SES-0535332 and SES-0535334. ANES is also supported by Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Sections of this report may reprint previous documentation of the American National Election Studies without explicit attribution.

Any opinions, findings and conclusions or recommendations expressed in this material are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of the National Science Foundation, Stanford University, or the University of Michigan.

The ANES Principal Investigators for the Panel Study were Jon A. Krosnick at Stanford University and Arthur Lupia at the University of Michigan. Vincent Hutchings at the University of Michigan was Associate Principal Investigator.

The Panel Study director was Matthew DeBell. ANES staff on the study were Caroline Roberts, Jaime Ventura, and Jonathan Cowden, with additional support from Darrell Donakowski, Catherine Wilson, Pat Luevano, Heather Branton, Laurie Pierson, and David Howell. Research assistance at Stanford was provided by Wendy Gross, Farah Giga, Gaurav Sood, Lucila Figueroa, Mackenzie Israel-Trummel, Yo-Yo Chen, Helen Chen, Troy Wu, Jade Wang, Logan Ensign, Peter Tu, Abiy Teshome, and Mario Suntanu, with some additional ad hoc support from Autumn Carter, Mai El-Sadany, Lucinda Gibbs, Natasha Kim, Andy Nguyen, Deborah Oh, Noelle Spring, and Elaine Albertson. Research assistance at the University of Michigan was provided by Mi Hwa Hong, Yanna Krupnikov, Adam Levine, Spencer Piston, Alex Von Hagen-Jamar, Nazia Kahn, Mary Nameth, and Willo Jean-Baptiste.

Knowledge Networks, Inc., performed the data collection and managed panel relations under a contract with Stanford University. Larry Osborn was the Knowledge Networks study director. Mike Dennis was the Knowledge Networks Principal Investigator. They were supported by a team including Melanie Thomas, Karen Semans, Naomi Keller, Tetyana Shvets, Charles DiSogra, Elisa Chan, Leticia Maciel, Xiaolu Tan, Xiuli Tang, Erlina Hendarwan, Mark Shanosky, and Alex Nagaev.

Questionnaire content was contributed by participants in the ANES Online Commons.

The members of the ANES Board of Overseers contributing to the Panel Study and reviewing Online Commons proposals were John Mark Hansen (chair), John Aldrich, Stephen Ansolabehere, Henry Brady, Brandice Canes-Wrone, Karen Cook, Catherine Eckel, Kenneth Goldstein, Donald Green, Vincent Hutchings, Paula McClain, Kathleen McGraw, Walter Mebane, Randy Olsen, Richard Petty, Gary Segura, Daron Shaw, V. Kerry Smith, Lynn Smith-Lovin, and Paul Sniderman.

We are grateful for additional advice, comments, and collaboration pertinent to questionnaire development from Clark McCauley, Lynn Smith-Lovin, Keith Payne, Charles Judd, Mark Chaves, Paul Gronke, Ken Wald, Stanley Feldman, Neil Malhotra, Adam Glynn, Gary Segura, Ken Goldstein, Tony Greenwald, N. Sriram, Brian Nosek, Chappell Lawson, and many others.

Contact
The ANES website address is http://www.electionstudies.org. Any questions not answered on the ANES website or by this report may be directed to ANES staff by email at anes@electionstudies.org

Contents

1. Introduction 5
Panel Study Overview 5
"Full Release" of the Panel Data 6
ANES Content and "Off-Wave" Content 6
Panel Study at a glance 7
2. Survey Questions 8
Online Commons 8
Surveys on non-political topics: the "off-waves" 9
ANES Question Design, Development, and Pilot Testing 11
Questionnaires and Wave Maps 12
3. Sample Design and Recruitment Procedures 18
Population and Sample 18
Household/Telephone Sample Design 18
Person-Sampling Procedures 19
4. Data Collection Procedures 26
Profile Survey 26
Monthly Survey Procedures 26
Timeline and Sequence of Interviews 28
5. Data Processing 39
Cleaning and Quality Control 39
Administrative Variables 40
Derived Variables 42
Disclosure Edits 42
File-Build Program 43
6. Recruitment Dispositions and Outcome Rates 44
Outcome Rates Defined 44
Calculating Final Dispositions 45
Final Dispositions 47
Estimating Eligibility 49
Response Rates and other Outcome Rates 50
7. Panel Retention 52
Interviews at Each Stage 52
Dropout Recovery 53
Retention Summaries 56
Retention Matrix 67
Attrition Effects 71
8. Weights 73
9. Accuracy of Estimates 78
10. Validation of Respondents & Data 83
11. Analyzing the Data with Weights and Correct Significance Testing 89
Selecting Appropriate Weights 89
Running Weighted Analysis 93
Statistical Significance Testing and Standard Errors 93
12. Orientation to the Data File 95

Cases on the file 95
File formats 95
Variables on the file 95
Combining data from branched questions 98
Missing data 99
Restricted-use data 100
Commas and semicolons 100
Age topcoding 101
Time zones 101
Item time data 101
Anomalies & errors 101
13. Implicit Association Test 105
14. Affect Misattribution Procedure 117
References 119
Appendix A. Question-Wave Map 121
Appendix B. Respondent Communications 193
Appendix C. Recruitment Interviewer Training Materials 232
Appendix D. Differences Between ANES Estimates and Benchmarks After Raking 258
Appendix E. Validation Survey Questionnaires 264
Addendum: Wave 22, October 2009 297

1. Introduction

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

This Methodology Report accompanies the complete 2010 release of the Panel Study data. The report describes the study's design, data collection procedures, weights, response rate, and proper analysis procedures, and it includes illustrative screenshots of the online survey instrumentation and a guide to the hundreds of questions and dozens of topics covered on the survey.

Panel Study Overview

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

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

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

The Panel Study included a mix of ANES-created political surveys and surveys on other topics that were developed and paid for by other organizations. As an extra bonus for the ANES user community, ANES has secured permission to include all of these "off-wave" surveys in a supplemental dataset that can be easily merged and analyzed in conjunction with the ANES data. However, ANES cannot take credit or responsibility for the design or preparation of the non-ANES data.

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

"Full Release" of the Panel Data

The data release that accompanies this guide includes the final version of all data collected for the study, except for a small amount of data that has been redacted because its release could pose a risk to respondent privacy. Those redacted data are available through ANES's restricted data access procedure. To learn more about this opportunity, please visit http://www.electionstudies.org/rda/anes_rda.htm.

This release replaces the "Advance Release" data that were first made public in January 2009. After the advance release, the Panel Study continued to collect data through September 2009. ANES staff then worked to improve the quality and usability of the data and to prepare comprehensive documentation, resulting in the current release.

Compared to the Advance Release version, data have changed. Changes include changes to the missing value codes, the addition or removal of a small amount of question response data that was erroneously omitted or incorrectly included in the prior release, re-computation of summary variables, changes to variable names and labels, deletion of cases determined to be ineligible for participation because they were not eligible to vote in 2008, and re-computation of weights to account for deleted cases. Users who conducted preliminary analyses using the Advance Release version should repeat their analyses using the new data.

ANES Content and "Off-Wave" Content

The Panel Study contains two distinct types of data. Of the 21 waves that compose the survey, eight are composed entirely of ANES questions. Two additional waves contain a substantial amount of ANES content. These ten waves are "ANES waves" because the design followed ANES specifications. The other 11 waves of the study consist largely or entirely of content that the ANES did not design. ANES has secured permission to make those data public with the rest of the study's data in order to maximize the opportunities for scholars to have access to data from this panel. Those 11 waves of non-ANES data are referred to as "off waves," and the data are in a supplemental data file to distinguish them from the data for which ANES is responsible.

Details of sponsorship and the contents of the surveys are in section 2, Survey Questions (page 8).

Panel Study at a glance

Title:	2008–2009 ANES Panel Study	
Main purpose:	To support research on candidate choice and voter turnout in the 2008 presidential election.	
Population:	The study represents U.S. citizens age 18 or older as of Election Day in November of 2008.	
Sample:	Landline telephone random-digit dialing (list-assisted)	
Design:	Telephone-recruited Internet panel study with 10 ANES surveys and 11 primarily non-ANES surveys between January 2008 and September 2009.	
Mode:	Recruitment was by computer-aided telephone interviewing. Monthly surveys were on the Internet.	
Cohorts:	The first cohort joined the study by January 2008 and a second cohort was added in September 2008.	
Number of cases on the files:	4,240 on the ANES data file; 23,529 on the supplemental files that include all sample lines	
Number of variables:	4,318 on the ANES data file; over 21,800 more on the supplemental files	
Per-wave respondents:	January 2008 (Wave 1)	1,623
(ANES waves)	February (Wave 2)	1,457
	June (Wave 6)	1,420
	September (Wave 9)	2,586
	October (Wave 10)	2,628
	November (Wave 11)	2,665
	January 2009 (Wave 13)	2,543
	May 2009 (Wave 17)	2,389
	July 2009 (Wave 19)	2,313
	August 2009 (Wave 20)	2,273
Field period:	January 2008 through September 2009.	
Response rate:	Estimated 42 percent at recruitment; see section 6 (p. 50).	
Interview length:	Designed median of 25-30 minutes in most months.	
Weights:	All analyses that generalize to the population should employ weights. See sections 8 (p. 73) and 11 (p. 89).	
Significance testing:	Statistical significance testing should account for the complex sample design; see section 11 (p. 93).	
Sponsors & design:	The National Science Foundation funded ANES content, which was designed by the ANES Principal Investigators and senior staff, based on Online Commons proposals. Other content, for which ANES is not responsible, was paid for and supplied by other organizations or investigators who contracted with the data collection firm.	
Data collection firm:	Knowledge Networks, Inc.	
How to get the data:	Download free of charge from the ANES web site: http://www.electionstudies.org	

2. Survey Questions

Online Commons

The ANES Online Commons is an Internet forum in which any interested scholar can contribute to the development of ANES surveys by submitting proposals for questionnaire content and by making comments on proposals. This forum is intended to improve the quality and scientific value of ANES data collections by promoting innovation, collaboration, and constructive dialogue about study design. It was central to the development of the Panel Study questionnaires.

In 2007 the Online Commons was open to proposals for Panel Study content from all members of the user community. Following the proposal period, an additional one-week comment period was open, during which opinions and remarks on the final set of submitted proposals continued to be accepted for consideration by the PIs and ANES Board as part of the decision-making process.

In addition to the proposal venue dedicated to the Panel Study, from November 21, 2007 to January 15, 2008, the Online Commons was open to proposals submitted in response to a special Terrorism and Homeland Security competition. Proposals on this topic, together with user-community commentary, were posted to the ANES Online Commons in a dedicated forum. Questions were evaluated for inclusion in either the 2008 ANES Time Series (primarily within a supplemental module) or for inclusion in the June 2008 and May 2009 waves of the ANES 2008-2009 Panel. Questions selected from this competition and included as part of either ANES study were funded by the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

More than 80 proposals were received and considered as part of the study design process. Each proposal was reviewed by the ANES Board of Overseers, which provided feedback to the Principal Investigators (PIs). The PIs selected content for the study based on the Online Commons proposals, and in many cases the PIs and study director worked with proposal authors and outside experts to develop and refine content for the study.

Winning proposals shaped questionnaire content on numerous topics. The Panel Study includes batteries of questions on topics including turnout and candidate choice in the primaries and general election; attitudes toward candidates, parties, and groups; religion; interest in politics; efficacy; party identification; attitudes regarding policy issues; the Iraq war; the environment; the condition of the country; evaluations of George W. Bush; attitudes on race; social networks; and other topics. To leverage the panel design, many questions were repeated, with the same respondents answering at two or more points in time.

The original proposals are available in the Online Commons section of the ANES web site at http://www.electionstudies.org/onlinecommons.htm.

Surveys on non-political topics: the "off-waves"

ANES and the Panel Study as a whole were funded by the National Science Foundation. To offset the substantial expense associated with recruiting and maintaining a survey panel for a period of almost two years, Stanford University negotiated a special contractual arrangement with the data collection firm for the Panel Study, Knowledge Networks, Inc. (KN). Under this arrangement, ANES had the right to specify the questions asked on some waves of the Panel Study while Knowledge Networks had the right to determine the questions on other waves, subject to restrictions including a veto by ANES for inappropriate content. Knowledge Networks' latitude to determine the questions on some waves included the right to place questions on the survey for other paying clients, provided those clients were nonpartisan. Chief features of the agreement were as follows:

- ANES has the right to publicly distribute all off-wave data.
- ANES takes no credit or responsibility for any questions or data that come from off-waves sold to other clients. Those questions were developed, written, and paid for by the other clients, not ANES.
- No clients were allowed whose mission was partisan or whose missions included advancing the interests or power of any political party or influencing legislation or election outcomes.
- No questions about electoral politics were allowed on off-waves.
- Any survey questions likely to increase panel attrition or otherwise likely to decrease the quality of the focal ANES waves could not be included. Pursuant to this goal, questions about political topics, broadly construed, were sharply limited.
- Other clients may only have access to ANES data by downloading it from the public website, like all other users.
- Off-wave clients are not permitted to credit or implicate the National Science Foundation, ANES, Stanford University, the University of Michigan, the ANES Principal Investigators, or any member of said entities in any way regarding any attribute or usage of the off-wave data.

This arrangement allowed ANES to collect more data about electoral politics, from more respondents over a longer span of time, than would have been possible using NSF funding alone. Moreover, this arrangement allows ANES to make all of the data paid for by other clients freely available, resulting in expanded opportunities for data analysis. Numerous topics were covered in off-waves, including the respondent's health, media use, group memberships, household composition, hobbies, travel, movie watching, cell phone use, gambling, smoking, major life events, science and environment attitudes and knowledge, charitable donations, religious beliefs, interpersonal trust, employment status, and economic security. In addition, numerous questions from the General Social Survey were asked, and one survey focused on the protection of Hawaiian coal reefs.

Below, in Exhibit 1, each wave of the study is listed with its sponsors and the topics covered. Headings of waves with ANES content are in bold.

Exhibit 1. Sponsors and topics of each wave of the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study (with waves containing ANES questions in bold)

Wave 1. January 2008
Sponsor: ANES
Topic: Electoral politics

Wave 2. February 2008
Sponsor: ANES
Topic: Electoral politics

Wave 3. March 2008
Sponsor: Knowledge Networks
Topics: Health profile; TV viewing

Wave 4. April 2008
Sponsor: Knowledge Networks
Topics: Household composition; leisure activities (hobbies); citizenship/naturalization; group memberships

Wave 5. May 2008
Sponsor: Jon Miller, Michigan State University
Topic: Science and environment attitudes and knowledge

Wave 6. June 2008
Sponsor: ANES, with Clark McCauley, Bryn Mawr College
Topics: Electoral politics; terrorism, radicalization, and preparedness

Wave 7. July 2008
Sponsors: David Sikkink, University of Notre Dame; Christopher Bader, Baylor University; Jonathan Haidt, University of Virginia
Topics: Generosity, values, donations, religious beliefs, interpersonal trust

Wave 8. August 2008
Sponsor: Knowledge Networks
Topics: Item replication from the General Social Survey

Wave 9. September 2008
Sponsor: ANES
Topics: Electoral politics; Affect Misattribution Procedure

Wave 10. October 2008
Sponsor: ANES
Topics: Electoral politics; Affect Misattribution Procedure

Wave 11. November 2008
Sponsor: ANES
Topic: Electoral politics

Wave 12. December 2008
Sponsor: Knowledge Networks
Topic: Cell phone use; lifestyle profile; movies; sports

Wave 13. January 2009
Sponsors: ANES (partial); Knowledge Networks
Topics: Electoral politics; household composition; newspaper reading

Wave 14. February 2009
Sponsor: Knowledge Networks
Topics: Employment status; travel; driving, smoking, gambling

Wave 15. March 2009
Sponsor: Mark Schlesinger, Yale University
Topic: Economic security

Wave 16. April 2009
Sponsor: Knowledge Networks; Jo Phelan, Columbia University
Topics: Background update; media use; health and race vignettes

Wave 17. May 2009
Sponsors: ANES, with Clark McCauley, Bryn Mawr College
Topics: Electoral politics; terrorism, radicalization, and preparedness

Wave 18. June 2009
Sponsors: David Chapman, Stratus Consulting, for NOAA
Topics: Coral reef protection in Hawaii

Wave 19. July 2009
Sponsors: ANES
Topics: Electoral politics; Implicit Association Test

Wave 20. August 2009
Sponsors: ANES (partial); Ann Owen, Emily Conover, Stephen Ellingson, Julio Videras, and Stephen Wu, Hamilton College
Topics: Electoral politics; environment; major life events; religion & spirituality

Wave 21. September 2009
Sponsors: Mark Schlesinger, Yale University
Topic: Economic security

ANES Question Design, Development, and Pilot Testing

The Panel Study was conceived as an entirely separate study from the venerable ANES Time Series surveys, and as such its design was regarded as a blank slate. On the Time Series, a balance is struck between optimal question wording and preservation of comparability over time. On the Panel Study, differences in the sample and mode, as well as the availability of the 2008 Time Series data, made comparisons to prior ANES surveys a minor concern. Therefore, no effort was made to assure comparability between Panel Study questions and questions asked on other ANES surveys.

In seeking to optimize question design on the Panel Study, we followed several design principles. As a rule, we asked no questions in an agree-disagree Likert format because these questions are subject to well-documented problems such as the acquiescence response set (e.g., Berg & Rappaport, 1954; Krosnick & Fabrigar, forthcoming; Lenski & Legett, 1960). We sought to use comprehensive and mutually exclusive sets of response options. We never asked respondents to use a numeric rating to describe themselves on a scale from 1 to 10 or 0 to 100; instead, we provide labeled substantive response options. For bipolar response choices (such as like or dislike, or favor or oppose), we used a branching question format. We favored specific, concrete questions over abstract, general ones. We favored simple words.

To discourage satisficing behavior such as filling in multiple responses in a straight line when a grid of questions is shown on one screen, we typically asked only one question per screen.

To discourage item nonresponse, we prompted respondents to answer every question. If they tried to skip a question, we asked them to please answer it. However, if they tried to skip a question after having been prompted to please answer that question, they were allowed to continue and a "no answer" (-7 code) response was recorded.

To help neutralize any bias that might result from the order in which response options were presented, we randomly assigned each respondent to receive the response options for many of the question formats in either forward or reverse order.

The bulk of the ANES content on the Panel Study was developed and included in response to Online Commons proposals. One of the requirements for inclusion on the study was a strong expectation of that the items would be useful for the prediction of candidate choice or voter turnout. The best basis for such an expectation is evidence from prior data collections, and in some cases, when such evidence was lacking but there were good theoretical reasons to field the proposed questions, we conducted pilot surveys to test the items before including them on the Panel Study. We ran pilot surveys online using convenience samples furnished by Survey Sampling, Inc, (SSI). We tested items' predictive validity in regression equations, typically using reports of prior or intended

voter turnout or candidate choice as dependent variables and using the tested items as independent variables.

When pilot testing was not practical due to scheduling constraints, we included survey items on the Panel Study without having previously tested the questions when the questions met several criteria that supported a strong expectation that the items would be useful predictors of turnout or candidate choice. These criteria were as follows: 1) a persuasive theoretical basis to support the expected association with turnout or candidate choice; 2) the question wording conformed to principles of good survey question design; 3) similar questions on other surveys provided empirical support for the expectation that the questions would gather data with appropriate variance.

Questionnaires and Wave Maps

The Panel Study questionnaires are available for download from the ANES web site. They are essential documentation of question wording, order, response options, and programming instructions for the display of the questions on the respondent's computer screen. However, they span hundreds of pages and are too voluminous to absorb or browse readily. To help users get oriented to the questionnaires and to identify repeated content, this guide includes topic-wave maps and a question-wave map.

Topic-Wave Maps: Tables 1 and 2 summarize the content of each wave of the Panel Study. Table 1 presents topics alphabetically and lists the label of the section where questions on each topic appear on each respective questionnaire. Table 2 presents the topics covered in each questionnaire in the order in which the sections were arranged on the questionnaires. The first is helpful for quickly seeing which questionnaires contain questions on a particular topic. The second is helpful for identifying the order in which topics were covered on the questionnaires.

Note that with very few exceptions the sections on an individual questionnaire appeared in alphabetical order by section label (so section A comes before section B, PA comes before PJ, etc.). Exceptions are that in the February 2008 questionnaire, section SV follows V; in June 2008, section PB followed PH and section M followed PJ; in September 2008, sections AB, B, and C appeared near the end; and in January 2009 the sections were not alphabetized.

Question-Wave Map: the question-wave map is Appendix A of this guide (beginning on page 121). Every question asked on the Panel Study's recruitment, profile, and ANES waves or sections is listed in this appendix, along with the item label (which corresponds to variable names) for the question on each survey on which the question was asked. Questions are grouped by topics listed alphabetically (like Table 1). Waves 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, 17, and 19 contain entirely ANES content, and waves 13 and 20 contain some ANES content; all of these questions are listed in the question-wave map.

The question-wave map shows how the question was worded, when it was asked, and where to find the relevant variables on the data file. For example, the question-wave map shows that the question, "Do you like the Democratic Party, dislike it, or neither like nor dislike it?" was asked on waves 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, and 19, and that the question was item E2 on each wave.

Additional questionnaires: In addition to the "ANES waves" of the study, the Panel Study includes questions for other waves ("off-waves") that were written by outside investigators who funded the administration costs. More questions were selected from among those that the data collection firm had already programmed for their own past research, rounding out additional waves of primarily non-political content. These additional questionnaires are not ANES products. With few exceptions, ANES did not write the questions.

Table 1. ANES Panel Study study topics, by wave, with section labels: ANES waves

No.	Topic	2008						2009			
		Jan	Feb	Jun	Sep	Oct	Nov	Jan	May	Jul	Aug
1	Abortion		N			R					
2	Affect Misattribution Proc. (AMP)				ZE	ZB					
3	Affirmative action (also see #53)				QR						
4	Age		A								
5	Attitudes toward candidates, parties, GWB	E	E	E	E	E			E	E	
6	Attitudes toward groups		D			D		D			D
7	Attribution for racial inequality										K
8	Background for off-panel respondents (also see #31 & #37)	Y	W		ZW	ZW					N
9	Biblical literalism and relig. denom. detail		V			W					
10	Bush evaluations	V	SV		S		WS				
11	Candidate abortion positions					RA	RA				
12	Candidate approval	G									
13	Cognitive style: Need for cognition and need to evaluate						ZE				
14	Condition of the country	T		T	R		U		U	U	
15	Congress				Y						
16	DHS 1 (also see #49)			Y					Y		
17	DHS 2-9			Z			*	*	Z		
18	DHS: attitudes toward groups			YA					YA		
19	Economic performance	U		U		U	V		V	V	
20	Efficacy	L	H		J	J	J		J		
21	Emotional responses to Bush, candidates and parties (also see #22)	W	T		T		WT	WT			
22	Emotional responses to Obama (also see #21)								WT	WT	
23	Employment status update						ZG				
24	Environment		P			S					
25	Expected election outcome	X	R		U	V					
26	Feelings about election outcome						W		W		
27	Foreigners' perceptions of USA									WZ	
28	Gasoline				W					W	
29	Group-based emotions							X			
30	Gun ownership									ZH	
31	Home tenure (also see #8)						ZF				
32	Household composition							Q			N
33	Hypothetical general election vote choice	F	F, FA, FB	FB							
34	Ideological placement of candidates			H	M	MB			MB		
35	Ideological self-placement	N	K	G		M	M				
36	Implicit Association Test--IAT									ZI	
37	Income (also see #8)						ZW				
38	Income inequality		Q				T	T			
39	Interest in politics	K	G		H	H	H			H	
40	Iraq war 1	Q		Q	QA		QA	QA	QA		
41	Iraq war 2		M	M	Q	Q	Q				
42	Item count technique: presidential race				X						

* "Terror risk" item run in Nov '08 (section WY) and Jan '09 (sec.Y).

Table continues next page

Table 1. ANES Panel Study study topics, by wave, with section labels: ANES waves — continued

No.	Topic	2008						2009			
		Jan	Feb	Jun	Sep	Oct	Nov	Jan	May	Jul	Aug
43	Media use	H			F	F				F	
44	Military service in Iraq or Afghanistan									ZG	
45	Nationalism				ZA		ZA				
46	Obama evaluations								WS	WS	
47	Obama performance									WU	
48	Optimism-pessimism				ZC		ZC			ZB	
49	Participation (also see #16)						ZD				
50	Partisan ambivalence		L				LB				
51	Party identification	M			L	L	L		L	L	
52	Patriotism									ZF	
53	Polarization							Z			
54	Policy addition: Social security, gun control, gay marriage, affirmative action (also see #4)						N	N			
55	Policy issues	P				P					
56	Policy issues: Barack Obama			PB	PB	PB	PB				
57	Policy issues: Hillary Clinton			PH							
58	Policy issues: John McCain			PJ	PJ	PJ	PJ				
59	Political knowledge		U		V		WV				
60	Primary turnout	B	B	B	B						
61	Primary vote choice	C	C	C	C						
62	Race				ZB		ZB	ZB	X		
63	Race stereotypes										M
64	Racial equality										E
65	Racial resentment scale										L
66	Recession									WX	
67	Religion	J			ZG						
68	Sexual orientation		X			ZX					
69	Size of government						X	ZA			
70	Social networks				ZD						
71	Trust in government		J		K	K	K		K	K	
72	Typicality of politicians										J
73	Typicality of race										F
74	Typcality of race and sex										H
75	Typicality of sex										G
76	Validation of birth month						ZX				
77	Vote: 04 turnout and vote choice	A	AB	AB	AB						
78	Vote: 08 turnout intention, choice, and expected turnout	D			D	A	A				
79	Watched presidential debate						B				

Table 2. ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study Advance Release questionnaire sections and topics at a glance, in questionnaire order

Wave 1: January '08	Wave 2: February '08	Wave 6: June '08	Wave 9: Sept. '08	Wave 10: Oct. '08
A 2004 turnout and vote choice	**A** Age	**AB** 2004 turnout and vote choice	**D** Vote: 08 turnout intention and choice	**A** Vote: 08 turnout intention, choice, and expected turnout
B Primary Turnout	**AB** 2004 turnout and vote choice	**B** Primary Turnout	**E** Attitudes toward candidates, parties, GWB	**D** Attitudes toward groups
C Primary vote choice	**B** Primary Turnout	**C** Primary vote choice	**F** Media use	**E** Attitudes toward candidates, parties, GWB
D Vote: 08 turnout intention	**C** Primary vote choice	**E** Attitudes toward candidates	**H** Interest in politics	**F** Media use
E Attitudes toward candidates	**D** Attitudes toward groups	**FB** Hypothetical vote choice, McCain addendum	**J** Efficacy	**H** Interest in politics
F Hypothetical general election vote choice	**E** Attitudes toward candidates	**G** Ideological self-placement	**K** Trust in government	**J** Efficacy
G Candidate Approval	**F** Hypothetical general election vote choice	**H** Ideological placement of candidates	**L** Party identification	**K** Trust in government
H Media use	**FA** Hypothetical vote choice, Huckabee addendum	**P** Policy intro text	**M** Ideological placement of candidates	**L** Party identification
J Religion	**FB** Hypothetical vote choice, McCain addendum	**PH** Policy Issues: Hillary Clinton	**P** Policy intro text	**M** Ideological self-placement
K Interest in politics	**G** Interest in politics	**PB** Policy Issues: Barack Obama	**PB** Policy Issues: Barack Obama	**MB** IdeologicalpPlacement of candidates
L Efficacy	**H** Efficacy	**PJ** Policy Issues: John McCain	**PJ** Policy Issues: John McCain	**P** Policy Issues
M Party identification	**J** Trust in government	**M** Iraq war 2	**Q** Iraq war 2	**PA** Policy intro text
N Ideological self-placement	**K** Ideological self-placement	**Q** Iraq War 1	**QA** Iraq War 1	**PB** Policy Issues: Barack Obama
P Policy Issues	**L** Partisan ambivalence	**T** Condition of the country	**QR** Affirmative action	**PJ** Policy Issues: John McCain
Q Iraq War 1	**M** Iraq war 2	**U** Economic performance	**R** Condition of the country	**Q** Iraq war 2
T Condition of the country	**N** Abortion	**Y** DHS 1	**S** Bush evaluations	**R** Abortion
U Economic performance	**P** Environment	**YA** DHS: attitudes toward groups	**T** Emotional responses to Bush and candidates	**RA** Candidate abortion positions
V Bush evaluations	**Q** Income inequality	**Z** DHS 2-9	**U** Expected election outcome	**S** Environment
W Emotional responses to Bush, candidates and parties	**R** Expected election outcome		**V** Political knowledge	**U** Economic performance
X Expected election outcome	**V** Biblical literalism and relig. denom. detail		**W** Gasoline	**V** Expected election outcome
Y Background for off-panel respondents	**SV** Bush evaluations		**X** Item count technique: presidential race	**W** Biblical literalism and relig. denom. detail
Z End	**T** Emotional responses to candidates		**Y** Congress	**ZB** Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP)
	U Political knowledge		**ZA** Nationalism	**ZW** Background for off-panel respondents
	W Background for off-panel respondents		**ZB** Race	**ZX** Sexual orientation
	X Sexual orientation		**ZC** Optimism-pessimism	
	Y End		**ZD** Social networks	
			ZE Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP)	
			ZG Religion	
			AB 2004 turnout and vote choice	
			B Primary Turnout	
			C Primary vote choice	
			ZW Background for off-panel respondents	

Table continues next page.

Table 2. ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study Advance Release questionnaire sections and topics at a glance, in questionnaire order

Wave 11: Nov. '08	Wave 13: January '09	Wave 17: May '09	Wave 19: July '09	Wave 20: August '09
A Vote: 08 turnout and choice	**N** Policy addition: Social security, gun control, gay marriage, affirmative action	**E** Attitudes towards candidates, parties, GWB	**E** Attitudes towards candidates, parties, GWB	**D** Attitudes toward groups
B Watched pres. debate	**WT** Emotional responses to Bush, candidates and parties	**J** Efficacy	**F** Media use	**E** Racial equality
H Interest in politics	**ZB** Race	**K** Trust in government	**H** Interest in politics	**F** Typicality of race
J Efficacy	**X** Group-based emotions	**L** Party identification	**K** Trust in government	**G** Typicality of sex
K Trust in government	**Y** Terror risk	**MB** Ideological Placement of Candidates	**L** Party identification	**H** Typicality of race and sex
L Party identification	**ZA** Size of government	**QA** Iraq war 1	**U** Condition of the country	**J** Typicality of politicians
LB Partisan Ambivalence	**T** Income inequality	**U** Condition of the country	**V** Economic performance	**K** Attribution for racial inequality
M Ideological self-placement	**D** Attitudes toward groups	**V** Economic performance	**W** Gasoline	**L** Racial resentment scale
N Policy addition: Social security, gun control, gay marriage, affirmative action	**QA** Iraq war 1	**W** Feelings about election outcome	**WS** Obama evaluations	**M** Race stereotypes
PA Policy intro text	**Z** Polarization	**WS** Obama evalautions	**WT** Emotional responses to Obama	**N** Background for off-panel respondents and household composition
PB Policy Issues: Barack Obama	**Q** Household composition	**WT** Emotional responses to Obama	**WU** Obama performance	
PJ Policy Issues: John McCain		**X** Race	**WX** Recession	
Q Iraq war 2		**Y** DHS 1	**WZ** Foreigners' perceptions of USA	
QA Iraq war 1		**YA** DHS: attitudes toward groups	**ZB** Optimism-pessimism	
RA Candidate abortion positions		**Z** DHS 2--9	**ZF** Patriotism	
T Income Inequality			**ZG** Military service in Iraq or Afghanistan	
U Condition of the country			**ZH** Gun ownership	
V Economic performance			**ZI** Implicit Association Test	
W Feelings about election outcome				
WS Bush evaluations				
WT Emotional responses to Bush, candidates and parties				
WV Political knowledge				
WY Terror risk				
X Size of government				
ZA Nationalism				
ZB Race				
ZC Optimism-pessimism				
ZD Participation				
ZE Cognitive style: Need for cognition and need to evaluate				
ZF Home tenure				
ZG Employment status update				
ZW Income				
ZX Validation				

3. Sample Design and Recruitment Procedures

Population and Sample

The Panel Study is designed to represent the population of U.S. citizens age 18 and older as of November 4, 2008 (Election Day).

The sample consists of individuals who, at the time of recruitment, were U.S. citizens, born on or before November 4, 1990, and residing in a U.S. household (all 50 states and the District of Columbia, but excluding territories without electoral votes) with a landline telephone.

Household/Telephone Sample Design

The study used a stratified list-assisted random-digit-dialing (RDD) sample of landline telephone numbers, prepared as follows.

Hundred-banks of telephone numbers containing two or more residential directory-listed phone numbers were used to construct the sampling frame. A hundred-bank is a set of 100 telephone numbers sharing the first 8 digits of the ten-digit phone number. Hundred-banks containing zero or one listed residential telephone number generally also contain few or no unlisted numbers and therefore contain very few residential numbers at all, making it inefficient to spend time calling numbers within these 100-banks. Their exclusion improves the cost-effectiveness of the recruitment process and the effect on the representativeness of the sample is expected to be small.

From the set of all 100-banks containing two or more residential directory-listed phone numbers, 51,386 telephone numbers were selected at random. This is a "list-assisted" approach because listed telephone numbers are used to identify 100-banks that contain residential telephone numbers; it is an RDD approach because numbers are selected at random from within those active 100-banks.

After selecting 51,386 phone numbers, KN screened the selected numbers for numbers identifiable as belonging to businesses or cellular phones or being nonworking or fax numbers. To do this, KN used the GENESYS-IDplus service from Marketing Systems Group, which removes listed business numbers and dials the remaining numbers. Tritone checks and human agents remove nonworking and additional business numbers. KN then used directory services to look up the address for each remaining sampled telephone number. Address matches were found for 32 percent of remaining telephone numbers from cohort 1 and 33 percent of the numbers in cohort 2.

The sample has two strata: address matched and non-matched. Numbers with a matched address were selected for the sample with certainty and constitute one stratum of the sample. Numbers with no match were subsampled at a rate of 75 percent and constitute the other stratum. This kind of subsampling approach that favors telephone numbers with

matched addresses is advantageous because recruitment efforts are more productive at numbers with a known address than numbers with an unknown address (Huggins, Tang, and Park, 2002), in part because numbers with no matching address are more likely to be unused numbers and in part because people with non-matched numbers cannot receive an advance letter describing the survey.

Advance Letters

Each sampled telephone number for which an address match was obtained was mailed an advance letter with a $2 bill enclosed. The letter is shown in Appendix B (beginning page 193). The letter introduced the study. It offered a $10 incentive to complete a short interview on the phone and offered $10 per month for each monthly survey. It identified the study as "a special new way to find out how Americans really think and feel" created by Stanford University and the University of Michigan, with funding from the National Science Foundation.

To avoid self-selection related to political variables, the study's focus was not described as political, and the "American National Election Study" connection was never revealed to respondents. Instead, the study was described by a generic name communicating that the study covered a variety of topics and occurred on a monthly basis. The exact name is not being placed in the public domain so that it can be used in the future without being readily connected to the ANES.

The advance mailing was printed on color letterhead bearing the logos of Stanford University, the University of Michigan, the National Science Foundation, and Knowledge Networks. It bore a printed (not hand-signed) signature of Mike Dennis, Ph.D., Senior Vice President and Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks. Letters were signed by Knowledge Networks personnel because Knowledge Networks was designated as the point of contact for all respondent communications, in part to prevent respondents from associating the survey with the American National Election Studies. Each letter was mailed from Janesville, Wisconsin, in a USPS Priority Mail envelope with first-class postage printed using a postage meter. The letters were addressed to the name associated with the sampled telephone number in the telephone directory. When no directory match was found, the letters were addressed to "Current Resident" – in 23 percent of the first cohort and 18 percent of the second cohort.

Person-Sampling Procedures

The sample for the Panel Study was drawn in two cohorts. The first cohort, recruited in late 2007, consisted of 12,809 landline telephone numbers. The second cohort, recruited in the summer of 2008, consisted of 10,720 landline telephone numbers, for a total of 23,529 telephone numbers in the two cohorts combined. Knowledge Networks called each of these numbers to attempt to recruit an eligible person to participate in the Panel Study. A person was eligible if he or she was 1) a U.S. citizen, 2) born on or before November 4, 1990, and 3) residing in a household served by a sampled landline telephone number at the time of recruitment.

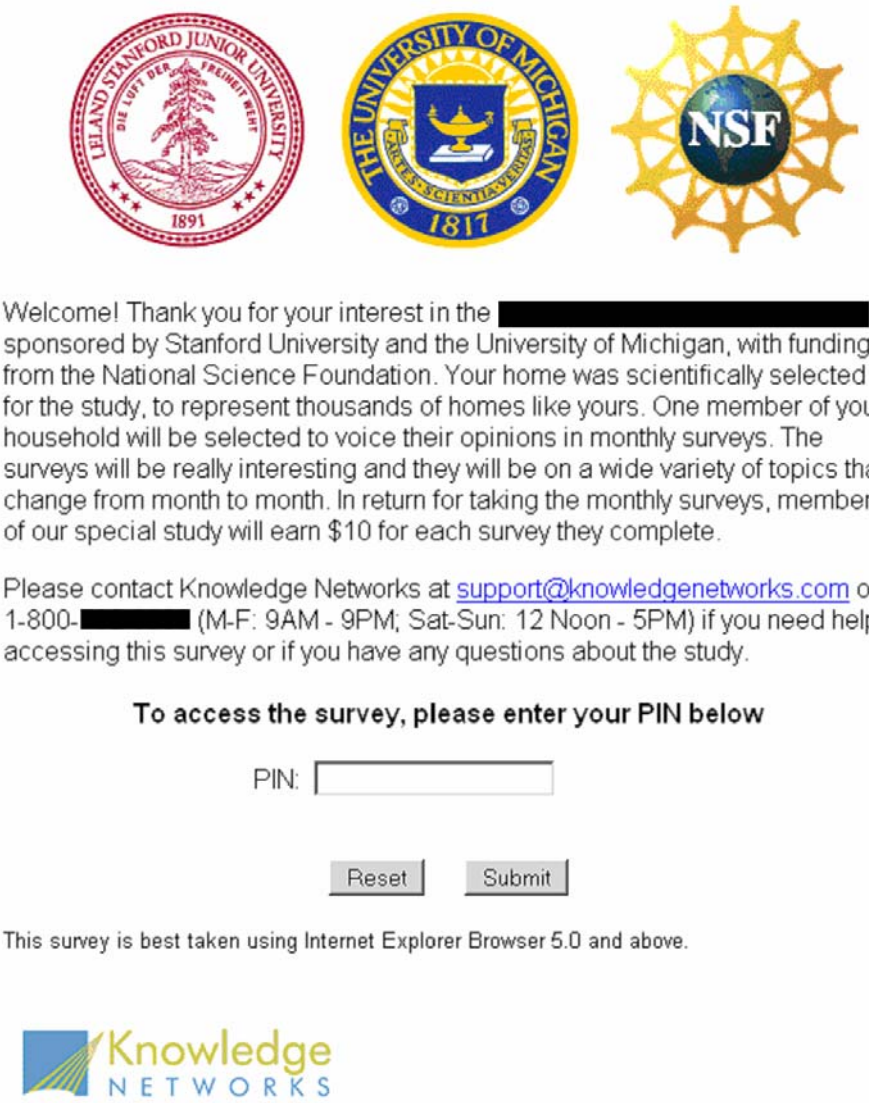
Recruitment spanned a period of four months for the first cohort and about 3.5 months for the second. No formal limit on the number of callbacks existed and in practice numbers were called up to 50 times to attempt an interview.

Recruitment interviewing was subcontracted by Knowledge Networks to Information Alliance, which placed recruitment calls from their call centers in Richfield and Blanding, Utah. Interviewers previously trained to conduct CATI surveys were given 4 hours of study-specific training for the ANES recruitment. Appendix C (page 232) presents materials used to train interviewers: the training schedule, a list of frequently asked questions (FAQs), a reference sheet with key information about the study, and the interviewer training manual.

At each telephone number, an interviewer attempted to identify all eligible household members, randomly select one eligible person for recruitment to the Panel Study, and complete a recruitment interview with the sampled person to invite that person to join the Panel Study. In all communications with prospective participants, the study was referred to by using a title appropriate for a periodic survey on a variety of topics, in order to avoid nonresponse bias that could be associated with interest in politics if the name "American National Election Study" were used. To prevent respondents from associating the study with ANES, the exact title used in respondent communications is confidential.

During recruitment of the first cohort, at telephone numbers where someone initially refused to be interviewed, "refusal conversion" specialists at the National Opinion Research Center made further attempts to complete a recruitment interview. These refusal conversion efforts yielded 84 additional interviews but were judged not cost-effective and were not pursued for the second cohort.

For telephone numbers at which all telephone recruitment efforts were exhausted without completing an interview or determining that no eligible person resided at the sampled telephone number (excepting selected firm refusals), KN instituted an "Internet-only" recruitment effort. Letters were sent to all of these telephone numbers' households for which an address match was available, inviting the residents to complete a recruitment questionnaire online. The online instrument used the same criteria as the telephone recruitment to determine eligibility for the study, sample one eligible household member, and administer a recruitment interview. In all, 119 respondents completed recruitment online after having been sampled by telephone, of whom 64 were in the first cohort and 55 were in the second cohort. The internet recruitment instrumentation is part of the Wave 1 questionnaire. The first screen of the internet recruitment is shown below, with the study name and phone number redacted.



Welcome! Thank you for your interest in the [redacted] sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan, with funding from the National Science Foundation. Your home was scientifically selected for the study, to represent thousands of homes like yours. One member of your household will be selected to voice their opinions in monthly surveys. The surveys will be really interesting and they will be on a wide variety of topics that change from month to month. In return for taking the monthly surveys, members of our special study will earn $10 for each survey they complete.

Please contact Knowledge Networks at support@knowledgenetworks.com or 1-800-[redacted] (M-F: 9AM - 9PM; Sat-Sun: 12 Noon - 5PM) if you need help accessing this survey or if you have any questions about the study.

To access the survey, please enter your PIN below

PIN:

Reset Submit

This survey is best taken using Internet Explorer Browser 5.0 and above.

Knowledge NETWORKS

The research protocol called for anyone completing the recruitment questionnaire who did not have Internet access to be provided free Internet access and, if necessary, to be sent a free MSN TV 2 Internet appliance. This device allows Internet access through a television and a telephone line.

After recruitment, panelists were invited to complete an online profile survey. The first cohort was then asked to complete the January 2008 wave of the ANES Panel Study and each subsequent wave. The second cohort was asked to complete the September 2008 wave and each subsequent wave.

Some sampled individuals were mailed a framed 8 x 10 inch certificate of appreciation to thank them for participating in the survey. These certificates were mailed to members of

the first cohort on January 10, 2008, and to the second cohort on August 6, 2008. Every sampled person who had an address on file and who had not completed the online profile survey as of the mailing date was sent a certificate of appreciation in an effort to promote response to the profile survey. An image of the certificate is shown in Appendix B (page 193), along with all the other materials mailed or emailed to respondents.

Off-Panel recruitment: After the recruitment phase of the study was completed, first-cohort sample households where recruitment was unsuccessful (excepting selected firm refusals) and for which an address match was available were sent letters inviting them to complete the January online survey in exchange for a $10 payment. All of these households also received an automated (recorded) telephone message with the same invitation. About 4,000 households were invited, and 46 (about 1 percent) responded. The individuals who completed the panel this way are called the "Off-Panel," and they were invited to complete each ANES wave (January, February, June, September, October, and November 2008, and May 2009). Off-Panelists did not complete the Profile Survey or the non-ANES waves. Off-panel invitations were not extended to the second sample cohort because of the extremely low yield from these invitations in the first cohort.

Provision of internet service

Sampled people who reported that they could not use the Internet at home, at work, or at school to complete surveys were offered free internet access for the duration of the panel study through MSN TV2. This is an internet appliance that attaches to a television and a telephone jack and is controlled with a wireless keyboard. It replaced a service previously known as WebTV. The connection speed is consistent with other dial-up internet access. The display resolution is limited to the resolution of a television, so many web sites require horizontal scrolling to view the entire page. All surveys for the Panel Study were designed with the limitations of MSN TV2 in mind and were limited to widths that would not require horizontal scrolling.

Each panelist who received MSN TV2 also received an email account, technical support for installing the device, and a local or toll-free number to use for dialup internet access.

Coverage issues

The sample is subject to several kinds of nonrandom error in its representation of the population, including errors drawing from population members in the categories below. These categories are not mutually exclusive but are conceptually distinct.

Residents of non-landline (including non-telephone and mobile-phone-only) households. A small percentage of U.S. households (5.5% in 2000, according to the Current Population Survey, as reported in prior ANES documentation) have no telephone at all. A larger and growing population of U.S. households have no landline telephone but have a mobile phone (12.8 percent in 2006, according to the National Health Interview Study, as reported by Keeter et al. 2007). Residents of any household without a landline

telephone had zero probability of selection in the Panel Study sample. (VOIP telephone numbers were included as landline phones.)

Institutional and other non-household populations. Only residents of households were recruited. Therefore, institutional populations such as people residing in nursing homes and dormitories were excluded even if they were part of the study population (i.e., eligible to vote in the 2008 presidential election). Prisoners were also excluded; many prisoners were not part of the study population because they were not eligible to vote, but vote-eligible prisoners were excluded from the sample. Also, transient and homeless populations, and any other populations not residing in households, were excluded.

Residents of households in single-household 100-banks. A small fraction of individuals lived in households with listed or unlisted telephone numbers that were part of a 100-bank with exactly one listed telephone number. (One-fifth of one percent of all listed telephone numbers are in 100-banks that have only one listed telephone number.) Due to the disproportionate expense of dialing in these 100-banks, the sampling frame excluded the banks, thereby excluding from the study the residents of households whose phone numbers were in 100-banks with exactly one listed telephone number.

Expatriates (citizens living outside the country) may have voted but were not sampled.

Members of the armed forces. Approximately 1.4 million Americans were on active duty in the armed forces and 0.86 million were in the reserves, amounting to roughly one percent of the study population. These individuals, if they meet the other selection criteria, were included in the sample. However, coverage of this population is not complete because some members of the armed forces were institutional populations (living in barracks in the United States) or were deployed outside the United States and not reachable to participate in the study.

Residents of households with inadequate infrastructure to support an Internet connection. Although the ANES furnished Internet appliances to cooperative respondents who did not have Internet access, participation was limited to households with adequate infrastructure to support an MSNTV2 Internet appliance, including electricity, a television, and a telephone jack located where it was possible to wire a connection to the MSN TV2 device near the TV.

English proficiency. Individuals who did not speak English well enough to complete the recruitment interview could not join the panel.

Vote-ineligible felons. In some states, people convicted of certain crimes are not eligible to vote even though they may not be imprisoned. The study did not screen out these vote-ineligible felons, so the sample may contain adult citizens who nonetheless could not vote.

Refusal conversion

During recruitment of the first cohort, at telephone numbers where someone initially refused to be interviewed, "refusal conversion" specialists at the National Opinion Research Center made further attempts to complete a recruitment interview. After a waiting period of at least several days following the refusal, a refusal conversion letter (shown in Appendix B, beginning page 193) was mailed to the household with a $5 bill enclosed. Three days after the letter's estimated arrival, highly experienced interviewers contacted the sampled household again and attempted to persuade the selected person to participate in the survey. These refusal conversion efforts yielded 84 additional interviews. However, they were judged not cost-effective and were not pursued for the second cohort.

Respondents' comments about their consent

Respondents provided varied commentary on their reasons for consenting to participate in the surveys. These comments illustrate that curiosity, cash incentives that accompanied letters, promises of $10 payments each month, offers of free internet access, interviewer persistence, interviewer rapport, the reputations of Stanford University and the University of Michigan, and the desire to be heard figured in respondents' decisions to participate. Some examples of their comments follow, verbatim, from the variable CPs3.

- I wanted to learn how to work the computer and inernet.
- I'm a huge Michigan Wolverine fan. So when I saw that the University of Michigan was participating,I wanted to help out.
- You folks badgered me until I broke down and consented to participate.
- I thought it would be interesting, and fun. Plus I think it's cool that I get a say on some topics that occur today.
- Ten dollars a month sounds like a pretty good deal.
- The lady that requested my participation over the phone impressed me with her professionalism.
- I have lots of opinions and like expressing them.
- The $2 bill got me interested
- I've never been part of a survey of this type before and thought it would be interesting.
- i hope that in this survey i get a chance to tell other the good news about Jesus Christ Gods on and olny son who came to save us from sins grasp on us and forgive us so we dont have to spend eternity in hell which is by the way the only thing we would have if Jesus had not died for us. thank you and God Bless
- Your people were pretty relentless in their pursuit to get me to take part in this reseach program.
- It was done by first-tier research universities.
- I thought it sounded like a good way to have my opinion count for something.
- The survey letter looked professional and was presented clearly.
- Thought Stanford could use midwestern values in their survey.
- Because being asked to participate is an honor
- I was mostly curious to find know what the surveys may consist of.
- becaus4e I truly thought someone was pulling my leg up until I received the msntv2! Since my friends knew that since I left my husband I was trying to get a computer but my credit wasn't good enough for the lap top that I wanted and then you guys called me, I thoght it was a joke because of the timing. However I thank-you from the bottom of my heart Now I really want the rest of it, not just internet access. Also I thank-you, with the internet access and no husband, I'm once again in contact with brothers and sisters in and out of the country after [REDACTED] years.

- The $10 reward will get us in and out of McDonald's!
- The lady who called me on the phone was really nice.
- The initial letter I received got my attention with the $2 bill - not that $2 is a lot of money, but I thought you must be doing something worthwhile to send money, so I read the letter and then responded positively to your phone call.
- When I read atricles on "surveys" and the opinions seem so different that those held by my associates and friends, I often wonder how truly representative surveys are. Therefore I look forward to being part of this survey.
- I LOVED MY FIRST PHONE INTERVIEW , THE PERSON WAS VERY HELPFUL AND I WOULD LIKE TO BE AS HELP TO THE SURVEY AS HE WAS TO ME.

4. Data Collection Procedures

Profile Survey

After completing the recruitment interview on the telephone (in 97.2 percent of cases) or online (in 2.8 percent of cases), panelists were asked to complete a profile survey online. The profile survey served two purposes. First, it introduced panelists to the online survey format and trained them to answer survey questions on the Internet, which was expected to be a novel experience for many, perhaps most, of the panelists. Next, the profile asked demographic background questions about the panelists.

The profile survey began with introductory questions about reasons for joining the panel and any difficulties the panelist may have experienced. These questions introduced respondents to questions of the following formats: multiple choice questions allowing one response, multiple choice questions allowing multiple responses, questions with pulldown menus to choose responses, and questions that ask the respondent to type words for their answer.

After this introduction, the profile survey asked questions about the respondent's home, who does the household grocery shopping, the age and sex of each person living in the household, types of pets, and the respondent's date of birth, marital status, Hispanic origin, race, ability to read and speak English, educational attainment, student status, employment status, income, and alternate email and telephone numbers.

Monthly Survey Procedures

Panelists were invited to complete one survey each month on the Internet. Invitations to these surveys were sent by email. If the respondent did not complete the survey within several days, reminder emails were sent. Telephone prompting was initiated when repeated email invitations did not yield a response. Details are given below in the Timeline and Sequence of Interviews section.

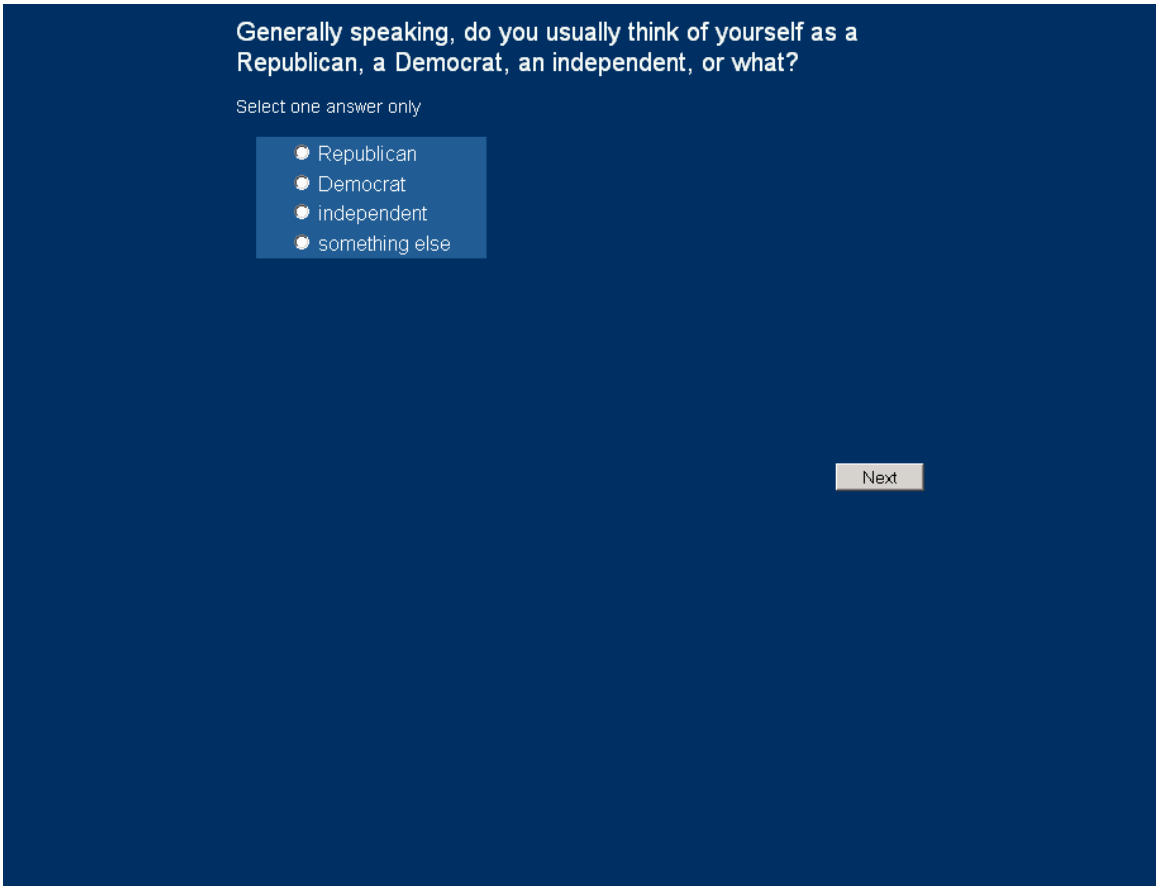
For illustrative purposes, two screen shots of the questionnaire are displayed below as they would have appeared in a respondent's web browser window. The first shows the version of the Party ID question that begins with "Republican." This question was asked identically on several waves, but this shot was taken from Wave 11 (November 2008). The second shows the version of the 2008 presidential vote question as it was administered to respondents in Hawaii. This question was tailored to each respondent's state by listing the candidates whose names were on the ballot in that state and by presenting the names in the same order on the questionnaire as they were presented on the ballot, whenever that information was available.

As these screenshots illustrate, questions appeared at the top of the screen. Special instruction text, such as "Select one answer only" appeared as smaller text below the question, followed by response options. Response options were set in a shaded box and listed vertically. In nearly all questions, the response options were listed in the main body

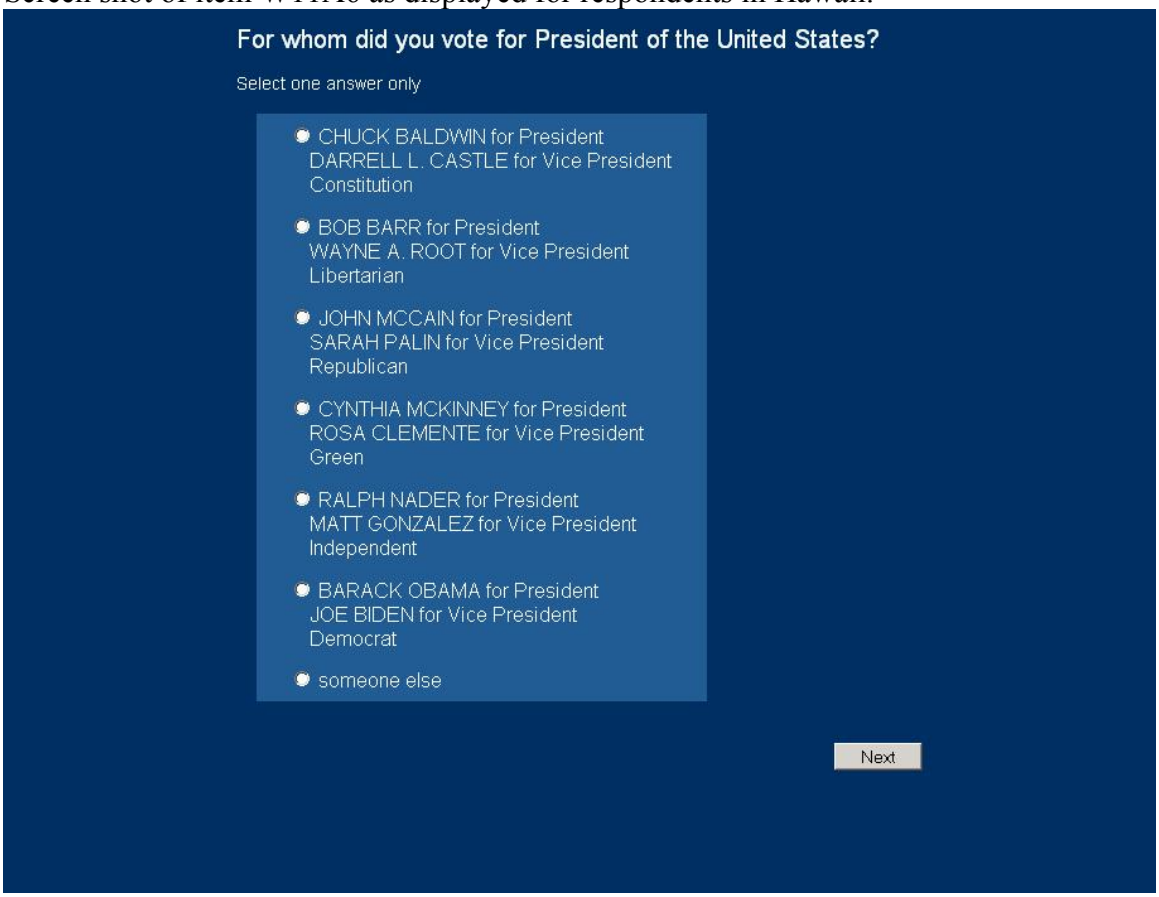
of the question text and repeated in the response box below the question. In many questions, the order of the response options was rotated or randomized. See the questionnaires for details about rotation and randomization.

Full screen-by-screen documentation of ANES waves is included with the study files on the ANES website. This documentation includes the HTML code for every page of the survey and image files showing every page of the survey.

Screen shot of item W11L1.



Screen shot of item W11A6 as displayed for respondents in Hawaii.



Timeline and Sequence of Interviews

The ANES Panel Study involved a recruitment phase, a profile survey, and surveys for 21 online waves. For information about the schedule, topics, and sponsors of the content, see Exhibit 1 on page 10.

Recruitment was conducted in two cohorts. Recruitment for the first cohort began September 26, 2007, and ended January 27, 2008. Recruitment for the second cohort began May 28, 2008, and ended September 9, 2008.

Profile surveying began in mid-November 2007 for the first cohort and in late June 2008 for the second cohort. Most respondents were invited to complete the Profile Survey approximately 1 week after completing the recruitment interview and most did so promptly. Profile surveys were left open throughout the study, and the last profile completion occurred in June, 2009. Most panelists who completed the profile survey did so within a few weeks of their recruitment.

At recruitment, we told respondents that they would complete the surveys once a month at their convenience. We followed a consistent prompting protocol (later revised; see below) to encourage timely completion, as follows:

Day 1: Survey launch with email invitation
Day 4: First email reminder
Day 7: Second email reminder
Day 14: Begin telephone reminder calls, repeating calls at 1-week intervals.

Wave 1 was initially planned to be released in four replicates, with respondents randomly assigned to replicates spread across the month. Because we continued recruitment through most of January, and because we chose to give each respondent the opportunity to complete the Profile Survey before inviting the respondent to complete Wave 1, we actually released Wave 1 in six replicates. Respondents assigned to the first replicate were first invited to complete Wave 1 on January 7, and invitations to later replicates were sent on January 12, January 19, January 26, January 31, and February 13. On Wave 1, as on subsequent waves, non-respondents received regular follow-ups by email, mail, and telephone to encourage participation. Data collection for Wave 1 ended on April 11.

Wave 2 was released beginning on February 7. As long as data collection for Wave 1 continued, no panelist was invited to complete Wave 2 until that panelist had completed Wave 1. (Thus, Waves 1 and 2 were always completed in order.) As panelists completed Wave 1, they were invited to complete Wave 2 after a brief delay. In order to send these invitations promptly, Wave 2 was released in 11 replicates. The last replicate was released on April 15. Data collection for Wave 2 ended on April 29.

After observing that data collection was taking longer than expected in Waves 1 and 2, and that operational considerations prevented purely random assignment to replicates, we changed the study protocol to release all available panelists to new waves at the beginning of each wave, rather than spacing their invitations across the month. We anticipated this would slightly reduce the amount of time needed for each future wave's data collection.

Wave 3 data collection began on March 20 and ended on June 3. Wave 4 began on April 24 and ended June 24. Wave 5 began on May 22 and ended July 1. Wave 6 began on June 5 and ended August 11. Wave 7 began on July 8 and ended August 11.

For the political waves in September, October, and November, it was critical that the August, September, and October waves be in the field for only one month, to allow the subsequent waves to start on time. Accordingly, the August wave was finished after one month and September invitations all went out at the beginning of the month, to afford September respondents the full month to complete the survey. At the beginning of October, the September wave closed and all invitations to the October survey were sent. This schedule allowed the two pre-election waves to be completed back-to-back in two months before Election Day.

To assure that this schedule would be met for these and later waves, we changed our invitation emails to ask respondents to complete surveys within 14 days, by a specific deadline. For instance, email invitations sent on the 2nd of September asked the respondent to please complete the survey "within two weeks, by September 16th." See Appendix B (page 193) for the text of the prompting emails.

The revised prompting protocol, from wave 8 forward, was as follows:

> Day -3: Pre-announcement email
> Day 1: Survey launch with email invitation containing deadline
> Day 4: First email reminder
> Day 7: Second email reminder
> Day 12: Third email reminder
> Day 14: Begin telephone reminder calls, repeating calls at 1-week intervals
> Day 20: Fourth email reminder, repeating at 10 day intervals as long as the survey was open

Beginning and ending dates for all Internet waves are shown in Table 3.

Table 3. Fielding dates of Internet surveys

Wave	Nominal month	Start date	End date
Wave 1	January	Jan 7	Apr 11
Wave 2	February	Feb 7	Apr 29
Wave 3	March	Mar 20	Jun 3
Wave 4	April	Apr 24	Jun 24
Wave 5	May	May 22	Jul 1
Wave 6	June	Jun 5	Aug 11
Wave 7	July	Jul 8	Aug 11
Wave 8	August	Aug 12	Sep 2
Wave 9	September	Sep 3	Oct 2
Wave 10	October	Oct 2	Nov 3
Wave 11	November	Nov 5	Dec 15
Wave 12	December	Dec 3	Jan 6
Wave 13	January	Jan 6	Feb 13
Wave 14	February	Feb 5	Mar 11
Wave 15	March	Mar 11	Apr 9
Wave 16	April	Apr 9	May 7
Wave 17	May	May 7	Jun 4
Wave 18	June	Jun 5	Jul 9
Wave 19	July	Jul 8	Aug 6
Wave 20	August	Aug 6	Sep 8
Wave 21	September	Sep 8	Oct 22

Most first-cohort panelists completed stages of the study in the following order: Recruitment, Profile, Wave 1, Wave 2, Wave 3, Wave 4, etc., through the end of the study. Most second-cohort panelists completed the Recruitment, Profile, and surveys for waves 9, 10, 11, etc., in that order. However, it is worth noting several exceptions to this modal sequencing:

- Off-Panelists never completed the Recruitment survey nor the Profile survey.
- Off-Panelists were not invited to the non-ANES waves.
- Some panelists (in addition to the Off-Panelists) failed to complete the Profile.
- Some panelists were slow to complete the Profile Survey, and completed it after completing one or more of the numbered waves.
- Many panelists missed one or more numbered waves but completed one or more later waves.

It is also worth noting a type of sequencing that cannot occur. Numbered waves could not be completed out of order. If a respondent failed to complete Wave 1 and later responded to Wave 2, that respondent was never allowed to complete Wave 1.

Primary & caucus voting questions

Questions about turnout and candidate choice in the presidential primaries and caucuses were asked at the first opportunity on an ANES wave after the voting was complete in the respondent's state. For example, New Mexico held a caucus for Democratic voting on February 5 and a primary for Republican voting on June 3. Residents of New Mexico were asked questions about turnout and voting on the June wave of the Panel Study.

Different states followed different practices regarding the type and schedule of voting. The dates and types of voting in the 2008 Presidential primaries are shown in Table 4. Questions were adjusted for each respondent to refer to the appropriate type of voting (primary, caucus, or both) based on the data in this table.

Table 4. Presidential primary and caucus voting schedule, 2008.

State	Republican Primary	Democratic Primary	Republican Caucus	Democratic Caucus	One-date or two-date	Latest event	Primary, Caucus, or Both
Alabama	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Alaska			5-Feb	5-Feb	1	5-Feb	Caucus
Arizona	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Arkansas	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
California	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Colorado			5-Feb	5-Feb	1	5-Feb	Caucus
Connecticut	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Delaware	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
DC	12-Feb	12-Feb			1	12-Feb	Primary
Florida	29-Jan	29-Jan			1	29-Jan	Primary
Georgia	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Hawaii			7-Feb	19-Feb	2	19-Feb	Caucus
Idaho	27-May			5-Feb	2	27-May	Both
Illinois	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Indiana	6-May	6-May			1	6-May	Primary
Iowa			3-Jan	3-Jan	1	3-Jan	Caucus
Kansas			9-Feb	5-Feb	2	9-Feb	Caucus
Kentucky	20-May	20-May			1	20-May	Primary
Louisiana	9-Feb	9-Feb			1	9-Feb	Primary
Maine			1-Feb	10-Feb	2	10-Feb	Caucus
Maryland	12-Feb	12-Feb			1	12-Feb	Primary
Massachusetts	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Michigan	15-Jan	15-Jan			1	15-Jan	Primary
Minnesota			5-Feb	5-Feb	1	5-Feb	Caucus
Mississippi	11-Mar	11-Mar			1	11-Mar	Primary
Missouri	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Montana	3-Jun	3-Jun			1	3-Jun	Primary
Nebraska	13-May			9-Feb	2	13-May	Both
Nevada			19-Jan	19-Jan	1	19-Jan	Caucus
New Hampshire	8-Jan	8-Jan			1	8-Jan	Primary
New Jersey	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
New Mexico	3-Jun			5-Feb	2	3-Jun	Both
New York	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
North Carolina	6-May	6-May			1	6-May	Primary
North Dakota			5-Feb	5-Feb	1	5-Feb	Caucus
Ohio	4-Mar	4-Mar			1	4-Mar	Primary
Oklahoma	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Oregon	20-May	20-May			1	20-May	Primary
Pennsylvania	22-Apr	22-Apr			1	22-Apr	Primary
Rhode Island	4-Mar	4-Mar			1	4-Mar	Primary
South Carolina	19-Jan	26-Jan			2	26-Jan	Primary
South Dakota	3-Jun	3-Jun			1	3-Jun	Primary
Tennessee	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Texas	4-Mar	4-Mar			1	4-Mar	Primary
Utah	5-Feb	5-Feb			1	5-Feb	Primary
Vermont	4-Mar	4-Mar			1	4-Mar	Primary
Virginia	12-Feb	12-Feb			1	12-Feb	Primary
Washington	19-Feb	19-Feb	9-Feb	9-Feb	2	19-Feb	Both
West Virginia	13-May	13-May			1	13-May	Primary
Wisconsin	19-Feb	19-Feb			1	19-Feb	Primary
Wyoming			5-Jan	8-Mar	2	8-Mar	Caucus

Sources: FEC, NASS, and party web sites, as of December 6, 2007; see separate source note.

Sources for primary schedule information in Table 4, last retrieved December 6, 2007:

http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/2008pdates.pdf
Note: FEC listed the Washington Democratic caucus date incorrectly and erroneously implied there was Democratic presidential voting in the primaries.
http://nass.org/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=74&Itemid=45
Note: NASS omitted the Nebraska Democratic caucus on February 9 and implied the Nebraska May 13 vote involves Democrats, which the Democratic Party says it does not.
http://www.sos.state.al.us/election/2008/scheduled.htm
http://www.alaskademocrats.org/index.php?page=events&view=eventdetail&eventid=20
http://www.azsos.gov/election/2008/info/ImportantDates.htm
http://www.votenaturally.org/all_about_voting_08_election_dates.html
http://www.sos.ca.gov/elections/elections_calendar2008.htm
http://www.elections.colorado.gov/WWW/default/2008.Election.Calendar.pdf
http://www.sots.ct.gov/ElectionsServices/Calendars/2008Election/CALINFO2007a.pdf
http://elections.delaware.gov/events.shtml
http://www.dcboee.org/nws/news_frame.asp?filename=pn_130.pdf&mid=9&yid=2007&type=News%20Releases&hl=t
http://election.dos.state.fl.us/online/elecdate.shtml
http://sos.georgia.gov/elections/ElectionsReferenceCalendar08.pdf
http://www.hawaiidemocrats.org/
Primary: http://www.idsos.state.id.us/elect/2008_pres_primary.pdf, Democratic Caucus http://www.idaho-democrats.org/ht/display/ReleaseDetails/i/1011889
http://www.elections.il.gov/Downloads/ElectionInformation/PDF/08ElecSchedule.pdf
http://www.in.gov/sos/elections/pdfs/2008CalendarBrochure(1).pdf
http://www.sos.state.ia.us/elections/2008Caucus/index.html
Democratic http://www.jocodems.org/?q=node/622
Republican http://ksgopcaucus.org/news.htm
http://www.elect.ky.gov/NR/exeres/D96C5DC4-E2D0-4BBD-B3FF-1731E752CFCB,frameless.htm?NRMODE=Published
http://www.sos.louisiana.gov/Portals/0/elections/pdf/Calendar-2008-elections.pdf
http://www.mainegop.com/Calendar/Detail.aspx?EventID=6230
http://www.elections.state.md.us/
http://www.sec.state.ma.us/ELE/elepres/presprimcal.htm
http://www.michigan.gov/documents/sos/Pres_Prim_Dates_New_31_208283_7.pdf
http://www.sos.state.mn.us/home/index.asp?page=11&recordid=112#ele
http://www.sos.state.ms.us/elections/2008/PDF/2008%20Elections%20Calendar%208-28-07.pdf
http://www.sos.mo.gov/elections/2008primary/2008ppp/default.asp
http://sos.mt.gov/ELB/calendar/index.asp
http://www.sos.ne.gov/elec/2008/index.html
http://www.nebraskademocrats.org/
http://sos.state.nv.us/elections/nvelection/caucus.asp
http://www.nj.gov/oag/elections/2008results/presidential-primary-timeline-2008.pdf
http://www.elections.state.ny.us/portal/page?_pageid=35,1,35_8617&_dad=portal&_schema=PORTAL
http://www.demnpl.com/index.asp?Type=B_EV&SEC={6483ABA8-B031-4B9D-8B89-C59BFE5EF59F}&DE={44A6AACA-85B7-4DC2-A8B3-A75F40265EC2}
"(no other sources show March 4th except FEC and nass)
Note: The May 8th date at the SOS Web site refers to the statewide primary, not the presidential primary.
http://www.oklaosf.state.ok.us/~elections/08cal.html
http://www.sos.state.or.us/elections/may202008/p08_offices_open.pdf,http://www.oregondemocrats.org/del_plan_comments
http://www.dos.state.pa.us/elections/lib/elections/030_important_dates/importantdatesupcoming.pdf
http://www.sec.state.ri.us/elections/ppp/ppp08.html
http://www.scvotes.org/files/2008%20PPP%20calendar.pdf
http://www.sdsos.gov/electionsvoteregistration/2008CALENDAR.pdf
http://www.state.tn.us/sos/election/2008%20ElectionScheduleevdatesandreg.pdf
http://www.sos.state.tx.us/elections/voter/2008dates.shtml

http://elections.utah.gov/electiondates.html
http://vermont-elections.org/elections1/critical_dates_2008.html
http://www.sbe.virginia.gov/cms/documents/Cidates/Bulletins/08PresPri_BAL_ACSS.pdf
http://www.secstate.wa.gov/elections/calendar_full.aspx?y=2008
http://www.wa-democrats.org/index.php?page=events&m=2&y=2008
http://www.wvsos.com/elections/voters/calendarregister.htm
http://elections.state.wi.us/index.asp
http://www.wygop.org/News/Read.aspx?ID=6017
http://www.wyomingdemocrats.com/ht/d/sp/i/1015876/pid/1015876

Preload Variables

On each wave of the survey, the presentation of one or more questions was contingent upon information already known about the respondents. Questions about the primary elections, as described above, were asked on the first survey administered after the primary was completed in the respondent's state. The information needed to customize the survey questions was saved in "preload variables" indicating the date and type of election that were researched by ANES staff and provided to Knowledge Networks to preload into the survey program.

Other questions were contingent upon information previously reported by respondents. For instance, some questions were intended to be asked once and not repeated, so if the question had been answered on a previous wave, that information was preloaded.

Preload variables for any given wave were created for each respondent immediately before each respondent's invitation was sent. Thus, if a respondent was invited to complete Wave 1 on January 7, the Wave 1 preload variables for that respondent would have been created not more than a few days before January 7. If a different respondent was invited to complete Wave 1 on January 26, that respondent's preload variables for Wave 1 would have been computed not more than a few days before January 26.

Preload variable names are distinguished by the letter X in the name following the wave number. The preload variables on each wave are listed below along with a concise explanation of where the information came from to create the variable.

Wave	***Preload variable***	***Explanation***
Wave1	W1XDATE	Provided by ANES staff
Wave1	W1XPRIMARY	Provided by ANES staff
Wave1	W1XBDAY	Respondent's birthday day of the month, from core profile survey
Wave1	W1XBMONTH	Birth month, from core profile
Wave1	W1XBYEAR	Birth year, from core profile
Wave1	W1XSTATE	State of residence, from recruitment survey
Wave1	W1XPROFILE	Profile survey completion status, from core profile completes
Wave1	W1XPANEL	Panel membership status, from phone recruitment completes
Wave2	W2XCOUNTY	From w1B2B_B2COUNTY, w2B2B_B2COUNTY
Wave2	W2XFIPS	Based on ZIP code from recruitment
Wave2	W2XDATE	From W1

Wave2	W2XPRIMARY	From W1
Wave2	W2XBDAY	From W1
Wave2	W2XBMONTH	From W1
Wave2	W2XBYEAR	From W1
Wave2	W2XSTATE	From W1
Wave2	W2XWAVE1	Completed wave 1 survey or not
Wave2	W2XPROFILE	From core profile completes
Wave2	W2XGENDER	From core profile
Wave2	W2XW1A2	From W1 A2
Wave2	W2XW1B1	From W1 B1
Wave2	W2XW1B2A	From W1 B2A
Wave2	W2XW1B2	From W1 B2
Wave2	W2XW1B3	From w1b3_B3STATE
Wave2	W2XW1B5	From W1 B5
Wave2	W2XW1B9	From W1 B9
Wave2	W2XW1B12	From W1 B12
Wave2	W2XW1B14	From W1 B14
Wave2	W2XW1J2	From W1 J2
Wave2	W2XW1Y2	From W1 Y2
Wave2	W2XPANEL	From phone recruitment completes
Wave3	W3Xage	From W1XBDAY, W1XBMONTH, W1XBYEAR
Wave3	W3XGENDER	From most recent of data from recruitment, core profile, W1, W2
Wave3	W3Xtzone	From KN Statistics team; state/zip code combination
Wave3	W3Xweb	Derived from W1PC
Wave4	W4xweb	From "PC_MSNTV2" file on Wave 1
Wave5	W5Xeduc	From core profile and Wave 1
Wave5	W5Xstate	From Wave 1
Wave5	W5Xstate_Codes	From Wave 1
Wave6	W6XW6COUNTY	From w1B2B_B2COUNTY, w2B2B_B2COUNTY, W2XCOUNTY
Wave6	W6XBDAY	From Y3A_Day in Wave1
Wave6	W6XBMONTH	From Y3A_Month in Wave1
Wave6	W6XBYEAR	From Y3A_Year in Wave1
Wave6	W6XW6HOMEST	State of residence; From W1XSTATE, xw1b2b, xw2b2b
Wave6	W6XW6REGST	State of voter registration; From W1 and W2
Wave6	W6XWAVE1	From Wave 1 completes
Wave6	W6XWAVE2	From Wave 2 completes
Wave6	W6XPROFILE	From core profile completes
Wave6	W6XW1B5	From W1 B5
Wave6	W6XW1B9	From W1 B9
Wave6	W6XW1B12	From W1 B12
Wave6	W6XW1B14	From W1 B14
Wave6	W6XW2B5	From W2 B5
Wave6	W6XW2B9	From W2 B9
Wave6	W6XW2B12	From W2 B12
Wave6	W6XW2B14	From W2 B14
Wave6	W6XJUNECAND	order for sections PH, PB, PJ; created in script
Wave6	W6XICT	order for section V; created in script
Wave6	W6XHHCOMP	From core profile

Wave7	W7xrelig	From W1 and W2 variables (W1J2 and W2V2)
Wave8	W8XWEBTV	From internal KN record (whether respondent is WebTV or PC household)
Wave8	W8XPRETEST	From assignment: Pretest or Main Sample
Wave8	W8xBIPOL	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave8	W8xUNIPOL	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave8	W8XRACE	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave8	W8XMONEY	incentive amount
Wave8	W8XHHSIZE	From core profile
Wave9	W9XW6COUNTY	From w1B2B_B2COUNTY, w2B2B_B2COUNTY, W2XCOUNTY
Wave9	W9XBDAY	Day of birth
Wave9	W9XBMONTH	Month of birth
Wave9	W9XBYEAR	Year of birth
Wave9	W9XW6HOMEST	State of residence; From W1XSTATE, xw1b2b, xw2b2b
Wave9	W9XW6REGST	State of voter registration; From W1, W2
Wave9	W9XWAVE1	From W1 completes
Wave9	W9XWAVE2	From W2 completes
Wave9	W9XWAVE6	From W6 completes
Wave9	W9XPRTURN	From w1 and w2 b5, b9, b12, v14
Wave9	W9XCOHORT	From first and second recruitment cohort
Wave9	W9XPROFILE	From core profile completes
Wave9	W9XMONEY	incentive amount
Wave9	W9XPANEL	From phone recruitment completes
Wave10	W10XW6COUNTY	From w1B2B_B2COUNTY, w2B2B_B2COUNTY, W2XCOUNTY
Wave10	W10XBDAY	Day of birth
Wave10	W10XBMONTH	Month of birth
Wave10	W10XBYEAR	Year of birth
Wave10	W10XW6HOMEST	State of residence; From W1XSTATE, xw1b2b, xw2b2b
Wave10	W10XW6REGST	State of voter registration; From most recent data from W1, W2
Wave10	W10XWAVE1	From W1 completes
Wave10	W10XWAVE2	From W2 completes
Wave10	W10XWAVE6	From W6 completes
Wave10	W10XWAVE9	From W9 completes
Wave10	W10XPRTURN	From w1 and w2 b5, b9, b12, v14
Wave10	W10XCOHORT	From first and second recruitment cohort
Wave10	W10XPROFILE	From core profile completes
Wave10	W10XPANEL	From phone recruitment completes
Wave10	W10XMONEY	incentive amount
Wave10	W10XGENDER	From core profile
Wave10	W10XW9G2	From W9ZG2
Wave10	W10XPOLICY	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave11	W11XW11COUNTY	From W10XW6COUNTY
Wave11	W11XBDAY	From W1
Wave11	W11XBMONTH	From W1
Wave11	W11XBYEAR	From W1
Wave11	W11XW11HOMEST	State of residence; derived from W6
Wave11	W11XW11REGST	State of voter registration; From W6

Wave11	W11XWAVE1	From W1 completes
Wave11	W11XWAVE2	From W2 completes
Wave11	W11XWAVE6	From W6 completes
Wave11	W11XWAVE9	From W9 completes
Wave11	W11XWAVE10	From W10 completes
Wave11	W11XCOHORT	From first and second recruitment cohort
Wave11	W11XPROFILE	From core profile completes
Wave11	W11XPANEL	From phone recruitment completes
Wave11	W11XMONEY	incentive amount
Wave11	W11XGENDER	From core profile
Wave11	W11XSENATE	From W6 voter registration state
Wave11	W11XHOUSE	From W6 voter registration state and district
Wave11	W11XDIST1	Provided by ANES staff
Wave11	W11XDIST2	Provided by ANES staff
Wave12	W12xcohort	From first and second recruitment cohort
Wave12	W12xmoney	incentive amount
Wave13	W13XWAVE1	From W1 completes
Wave13	W13XWAVE2	From W2 completes
Wave13	W13XWAVE6	From W6 completes
Wave13	W13XWAVE9	From W9 completes
Wave13	W13XWAVE10	From W10 completes
Wave13	W13XWAVE11	From W11 completes
Wave13	W13XRACE	From most recent of data from core profile, W1, W2, W9, W10
Wave13	W13XCOHORT	From first and second recruitment cohort
Wave13	W13XMONEY	incentive amount
Wave14	W14xconsume	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave14	W14xmoney	incentive amount
Wave15	W15XWORK	From W14QWORK17
Wave15	W15XMONEY	incentive amount
Wave16	W16xVig	randomly assigned "vignette"
Wave16	W16xmoney	incentive amount
Wave17	W17XWAVE1	From W1 completes
Wave17	W17XWAVE2	From W2 completes
Wave17	W17XWAVE6	From W6 completes
Wave17	W17XWAVE9	From W9 completes
Wave17	W17XWAVE10	From W10 completes
Wave17	W17XWAVE11	From W11 completes
Wave17	W17XMONEY	incentive amount
Wave17	W17XHHCOMP	From core profile
Wave18	W18xmoney	incentive amount
Wave19	W19XWAVE1	From W1 completes
Wave19	W19XWAVE2	From W2 completes
Wave19	W19XWAVE6	From W6 completes
Wave19	W19XWAVE9	From W9 completes

Wave19	W19XWAVE10	From W10 completes
Wave19	W19XWAVE11	From W11 completes
Wave19	W19XWAVE17	From W17 completes
Wave19	W19XMONEY	incentive amount
Wave19	W19XSTATE	from core profile
Wave20	W20xmoney	incentive amount
Wave20	W20xM	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xITEM29	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xITEM310	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xITEM411	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xITEM512	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xITEM613	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xITEM714	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xITEM815	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xF	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xG	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xH	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xJ	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xK2	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xK3	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xK4	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xK5	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xK6	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xK7	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xK8	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xK9	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xK10	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xTypord1	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xTypord2	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xTypord3	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xTypord4	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xRespor	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave20	W20xEORDER	randomly generated/assigned to sample
Wave21	W21xmoney	incentive amount
Wave21	W21xStrata	randomly assigned "strata"
Wave21	W21xF8	from W15F7
Wave21	W21xF10a	from W15F9a
Wave21	W21xF10b	from W15F9b
Wave21	W21xF10c	from W15F9c
Wave21	W21xF11	from W15F10

5. Data Processing

This chapter describes data cleaning and quality control procedures followed during and after data collection, the creation of administrative and derived variables, and coding.

Cleaning and Quality Control

Data quality control was a labor-intensive process intended to assure that the internet questionnaire worked correctly and the data were correctly output to our data files. It is necessary to review data more than once in the course of preparing it for publication, repeating some steps when major changes to the data file are made, such as renaming variables, calculating derived variables, and recoding missing variables. Quality control review included verifying the following.

- *Case ID checks*. Each respondent has a unique numeric identifier, and the data file is sorted by this identifier.

- *Respondent eligibility checks*. All completed interviews were with people who were eligible for the study. For the ANES Panel Study, they must have been U.S. citizens 18 years old on or before November 4, 2008.

- *Variable name and label review*. Each variable is correctly named and labeled.

- *Frequency & range review*. All codes for all variables are appropriate. No variables have out-of-range values, such as a 6 on a variable with a legitimate range of codes from 1 to 5 or a 2.3 on a variable that only allows integer response.

- *Missing data review*. Nonresponse codes have been assigned to every appropriate case, so that there are no inappropriate system-missing cases for any variable. Nonresponse codes are applied consistently. Rates of item nonresponse were not unusually high or low.

- *Skip pattern checks*. Skip instructions were followed correctly. Each respondent followed the correct path through the questionnaire. The pattern of response and of missing data is consistent with programming specifications. For each questionnaire variable on the file, the data are present for the correct subset of cases and that the data are missing for the correct subset of cases. For example, a variable for a question intended to have been asked of everyone should have response data or a "no answer" nonresponse code for every case that completed the questionnaire. Many variables are asked of subsets of the respondents. For example, W9E3 was asked "IF E2=1," so if E2=1, then the data are correct if E3 has a valid response code or a "no answer" nonresponse code, and if E2≠1, the data are correct if E3 has the "inapplicable" data code (-1).

- Branching checks. Cross tabulations indicate correct case counts receiving follow-up or branched questions.

- *Consistency checks*. Derived or calculated variables are consistent with their source variables, to the fullest extent possible. If a summary variable says that a person is "black, non-Hispanic," the race indicator variable for black is "yes" and the ethnicity variable for Hispanic is "no."

- *Randomization checks*. Randomization appeared to have been successful; values for each random variable had a plausible distribution and the variables that record these assignments appear independent of one another.

Data cleaning also involved resetting a small amount of response data to missing. In some cases, respondents answered questions, backed up to prior questions, and then quit responding to the questionnaire. These are incomplete interviews – "breakoff" cases – for which no weights are provided. When a respondent backed up and then terminated the interview, we considered all data after the termination point missing, even if those questions had been answered. This approach is based on the potential inapplicability or inaccuracy of answers that a respondent, in effect, erased. For example, if a respondent said she was a Republican, then answered the followup question saying she was a strong Republican, and then backed up to the first party ID question, changed the answer to Democrat, and then terminated the interview, the original answer of "strong" partisanship was not intended to apply to the "Democrat" response. We therefore reset such responses to missing (-5). These edits only affect partial interviews, so they have no effect on any analysis of weighted data from complete surveys.

Data Anomalies. See the "Orientation to the Data File" chapter (page 95) for information about known data anomalies and errors.

Administrative Variables

Administration. Administrative variables provide information about the administration of the interviews, such as the date and time of the interview session(s), the number of days between sessions (if any), the respondent's time zone, the duration of the interview, and the amount of incentives paid to the respondent. Such variables are sometimes called paradata. The administrative variables are described in detail in the study's codebook. Such variables are identified by the word "ADMIN" in the variable label. A set of administrative variables is grouped at the beginning of the data file (including the variables version, caseid, and reccohort, which respectively show the dataset version, the unique respondent identification number, and the respondent's status as a member of recruitment cohort 1 or cohort 2). Other administrative variables are grouped at the beginning of the variables for each survey, from recruitment through W21. These variables include dispositions and the dates, times, and completion status of interviews.

Randomization. Randomization was employed extensively and served several purposes in this study. Randomizations employed in survey administration are documented in variables listed in the codebook, which provide case-level randomization values. The codebook (variable list) documents individual variables. This section describes the general approach to randomization.

To test and control for the effects that response option order may have on respondents' answers, we wrote programming instructions to randomly assign each respondent to receive response options in "forward" order or "reverse" order on all applicable questions throughout the study. Whatever order a respondent was assigned on his or her first survey also determined the correct order for that respondent on all subsequent surveys.

For example, a respondent assigned to "forward" reading of response options would have received item E3 on wave 1 as follows: "Do you like it a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little?" A respondent assigned to "reverse" order received the question, "Do you like it a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal?" The data file is coded consistently for all respondents, so that for W1E3, a response code of 1 always means "a great deal," regardless of the order in which the response options were read.

The "forward" or "reverse" assignment thus determined two things: 1) the order in which response options were displayed on-screen as part of the question stem, and 2) the order in which the response categories appeared onscreen below the question. However, the forward/reverse assignment has no effect on the numerical code used to record the respondent's answer.

The randomization variables w1order, w2order, w6order, w9order, w10order, etc., indicate whether the respondent received forward or reverse response order for applicable questions on the indicated wave. In nearly all cases, individual respondents received the same order (forward or reverse) for each wave. In a few cases, typically about 10 respondents per wave, the forward/reverse response order was not made consistent from wave to wave. Respondents for whom this occurred can be identified by examining the randomization variables listed above.

The second major category of randomization concerns the assignment of respondents to experimental categories in which one group received one question and another group received an alternative question. Where applicable, such randomizations are noted on the questionnaire documentation.

A third type of randomization concerned question order in selected sections of the surveys. For example, in wave 1, section E, the first two questions were about Democrats and Republicans. The order in which these two questions were asked was randomized independently for each respondent. Randomization variables are on the file to indicate question order for such items.

Derived Variables

Derived variables are based upon transformations of responses to one or more survey questions or are based on cross-referencing responses to external data sources. For example, the respondent's age as of a particular date is easily derived from the questionnaire data on the respondent's date of birth. Geographic information such as the respondent's Congressional District was added to the dataset by reference to external sources based on the respondent's home address.

The dataset includes several derived variables. Several of these are "summary" variables of frequently used information, such as the seven-point party identification summary variable that indicates the respondent's placement on a seven point scale ranging from Strong Democrat to Strong Republican. Placement on this scale is based upon respondents' answers to more than one question.

Some derived variables are based on questions asked on several waves of the survey. Race is one such set of variables. Some respondents answered the source questions for derived variables more than once, creating the opportunity for inconsistent reporting. In such cases, derived variables are generally based on the first answer the respondent gave. For race/ethnicity questions, derived variables indicating whether the respondent belongs to a particular group are based on whether the respondent ever indicated membership in that group.

For a list of derived variables on the file, see the chapter titled "Orientation to the Data File," beginning on page 95.

Disclosure Edits

ANES survey participants were promised that their responses were confidential and that no one would ever be able to identify them as a participant in the survey. To preserve respondent confidentiality and protect survey respondents against public disclosure of their identities, we took several steps in preparing the public-use data file:

1. Removal of all variables containing direct identifiers, including but not limited to name, address, telephone number, and email address.
2. Redacting text from text responses to open-ended questions that could pose a disclosure risk. For details, see text below describing "*Open-ended item redaction*."
3. Including only two geographic location identifiers: state and Congressional District. All other geographic variables, including county, metropolitan area, metropolitan status, and ZIP code, were excluded from this data file.
4. Including no contextual data related to geographic location. We will not publicly release urban/rural status or latitude & longitude or GIS information prior to developing conducting a comprehensive disclosure risk assessment and developing a policy to mitigate such risks.

5. Removal of information identifying respondents as members of small racial/ethnic minority groups, such as Guamanian or Japanese. Such respondents are identified by more general categories such as Pacific Islander or Asian.
6. Topcoding of age in 2008 to 90 and age in 2004 to 86.

Variables with data that have been removed, but that could be obtained with a special request for restricted data access, are labeled "RESTRICTED ACCESS" in the variable label, and the data are coded -3. These consist primarily of date of birth, county of residence, and details concerning identification with small race/ethnicity groups. To learn about access to restricted data, see http://www.electionstudies.org/rda/anes_rda.htm.

Open-ended item redaction. To protect the confidentiality of respondent identities, information in open-ended responses that might facilitate identification of specific respondents has been redacted from the data file.

Redacted information has been replaced with a bracketed statement in capital letters describing the information that has been removed. The following kinds of statements have been redacted.

- Names of people, employers, or organizations with which the respondent is affiliated.
- Identifiable locations connected to the respondent, such as a place of residence, work, or voting.
- Descriptions of facilities or locations connected to the respondent that are likely to be unique. For example, "I work at the chemical plant" suggests there is only one chemical plant in the area, so the response would be redacted.
- Occupations associated with specific companies or that are very unusual. For example, the response, "I am a Barista at Starbucks", would be redacted.
- Any statement with a time, date, or location that could be matched to records or data outside the ANES. For example, the response, "I was in an auto accident yesterday morning" would be redacted.
- Any other information that might make it practical to locate or identify a respondent.
- Information from any of the above categories concerning the respondent's relatives or associates.

All selectively redacted text has been replaced with "[REDACTED]" in the data file. The type of information that has been redacted is usually described, such as "[REDACTED EMPLOYER NAME]."

File-Build Program

The 5 megabyte SPSS syntax file used to create the release-version of the data file, including the calculation of derived variables, is available on the ANES website.

6. Recruitment Dispositions and Outcome Rates

Outcome Rates Defined

This section describes several outcome rates that summarize the results of the Panel Study recruitment.

The first goal of the Panel Study's recruitment was to identify eligible respondents at the sampled telephone numbers. To identify an eligible respondent, an interviewer had to speak to someone at the telephone number to learn who (if anyone) used that number for a residential telephone and met the eligibility criteria. By calling every telephone number in the sample, we sought to determine the eligibility at each phone number and to identify every eligible sample member. The outcome of this process is summarized with two statistics:

- *Eligibility determination rate*: percentage of numbers at which eligibility for study participation was determined.
- *Contact rate*: the percentage of eligible cases that were contacted.

The ultimate goal of the Panel Study's recruitment was to recruit the sampled individuals. Successful recruitment of sampled individuals required that we identify and contact them (described above) and that they cooperate by completing a recruitment interview. Sampled individuals could fail to cooperate because we failed to reach them to give them the opportunity, or because they refused. Recruitment outcomes are summarized with three statistics:

- *Cooperation rate*: the percentage of contacted, eligible, sampled individuals who completed the interview. The numerator is the number of completed interviews; the denominator is the number of contacts at eligible phone numbers.
- *Refusal rate*: the percentage of all eligible individuals who refused the interview. The numerator is the number of eligible refusals; the denominator is the number of eligible sample cases.
- *Response rate*: the percentage of all eligible individuals who completed an interview. The numerator is the number of completed interviews; the denominator is the number of eligible sample cases.

A Note on AAPOR Outcome Rates: The American Association for Public Opinion Research (AAPOR) has adopted standard definitions for four survey outcome rates (AAPOR 2006). The *contact rate* is the proportion of the eligible sample that was reached to be asked for an interview. The *cooperation rate* is the proportion of eligible sample members contacted who were interviewed. The *refusal rate* is the proportion of eligible sample members contacted who refused to do an interview (whether they began an interview or not). The *response rate* is the proportion of eligible sample members who were interviewed. The Panel Study design makes it appropriate to consider outcome

rates using definitions that sometimes differ from AAPOR standards. When the rates we report do correspond to an AAPOR definition, we note that.

Calculating Final Dispositions

Dispositions describe the result of the recruitment effort for each individual telephone number and are used to calculate outcome rates. Every time Knowledge Networks dialed a telephone number in the sample – a total of more than 220,000 dial attempts – the disposition of the call was recorded. These disposition records indicate the end result of the telephone call. Among other dispositions, these codes indicate whether the call resulted in a completed interview, ringing with no answer, a busy signal, an answer with the sound of a fax machine or modem, a person who answered and subsequently hung up on the interviewer or refused to be interviewed, or a report that the number belonged to a government or business. They were recorded in the following categories:

001: Completed Interview
002: Refused
003: Language Barrier
004: Terminated During Introduction
005: Disconnected Number
006: Non-residential Number
007: Wrong Number
008: Computer Tone
009: Hard Refusal, Pre-Selection
010: Hard Refusal, Post-Selection
011: Hang-up During Introduction (FINAL)
012: Soft Refusal (FINAL)
019: No Citizen in HH Aged 16+
020: No Citizen in HH Aged 17+
021: Parent/Guardian Does Not Give Consent
022: Mid-Interview Terminate
023: QF Completes
025: Mental/Physical Impairment
026: MSN Set-up Not Possible
094: Maximum Attempts (re-released)
101: No Answer
102: Busy
103: Respondent Not Available
104: Specified Callback
105: Unspecified Callback
107: Answering Machine
168: Maximum Attempts (held and re-released)
169: Hang-up During Introduction (2ND TIME)
170: Soft Refusal, Pre-Selection
171: Soft Refusal, Post-Selection
172: Language Barrier (PENDING)
173: Disconnected Number (PENDING)
174: Wrong Number (PENDING)
175: Computer Tone (PENDING)
176: Hang-up During Introduction
177: Mental/Physical Impairment (PENDING)
178: Non-residential Number (PENDING)
179: Callback: Re-send Advance Mailing
182: Never available.

We analyzed the call-level disposition data to determine a "final disposition" status for each of the 23,529 numbers in the sample. The final disposition for a phone number is distinguished from the disposition of the last attempt to dial that telephone number. The default value for the final disposition was the disposition of the last call attempt, but other criteria, specified below, could trump that last call record.

The following criteria assume the case was not selected for internet-only recruitment unless otherwise specified. LD indicates last disposition (describing the status of the last call in the sequence of calls aimed at completing a recruitment interview) and FD indicates final disposition (which summarizes the status of the entire call effort).

- If LD was "completed interview" then FD was the same.
- If LD was "language barrier" and no respondent had been selected, FD was "Language barrier, pre-selection."

- If LD was "language barrier" and a respondent had been selected, FD was "Language barrier, post-selection."
- If LD was "computer tone," and all call attempts had that disposition, then FD was "Computer or fax tone on all attempts."
- If LD was "computer tone," but not on all attempts, and a respondent had been selected, FD was "Respondent never available, post-selection."
- If LD was "computer tone," but not on all attempts, and a respondent had not been selected, FD was "Informant never available, pre-selection, no contact."
- If LD was "refusal, pre-selection," then FD was the same.
- If LD was "refusal, post-selection," then FD was the same.
- If LD was "hang up during introduction" and a respondent had been selected, FD was "Refusal, post-selection."
- If LD was "hang up during introduction" and a respondent had not been selected, FD was "Refusal, pre-selection."
- If LD was "parent/guardian does not give consent," then FD was refusal, post-selection.
- If LD was "mental/physical impairment" and a respondent had been selected, FD was "Physical or mental impairment, post-selection."
- If LD was "mental/physical impairment" and a respondent had not been selected, FD was "Physical or mental impairment, pre-selection."
- If LD was "MSN setup not possible" and a respondent had been selected, then FD was "MSNTV setup not possible, post-selection."
- If LD was "MSN setup not possible" and a respondent had not been selected, then FD was "MSNTV setup not possible, pre-selection."
- If LD was "maximum attempts" and a respondent had been selected, FD was "respondent never available, post-selection."
- If LD was "maximum attempts" and a respondent had not been selected, FD was "informant never available, pre-selection."
- If LD was "no answer" and every disposition was the same, FD was "no answer on all attempts."
- If LD was "no answer" and a respondent had been selected, FD was "respondent never available, post-selection."
- If LD was "no answer" and a respondent had not been selected, FD was "Informant never available, pre-selection."
- If LD was "busy" and all dispositions were the same, FD was "busy on all attempts."
- If LD was "busy" and all dispositions were not the same and a respondent was not selected, FD was "Informant never available, pre-selection."
- If LD was "busy" and all dispositions were not the same and a respondent was selected, FD was "Respondent never available, post-selection."
- If LD was "respondent not available" and a respondent was selected, FD was "Respondent never available, post-selection."
- If LD was "respondent not available" and a respondent was not selected, FD was "Informant never available, pre-selection."
- If LD was "specified callback" and a respondent was not selected, FD was "Informant never available, pre-selection."
- If LD was "specified callback" and a respondent was selected, FD was "Respondent never available, post-selection."
- If LD was "unspecified callback" and a respondent was not selected, FD was "Informant never available, pre-selection."
- If LD was "unspecified callback" and a respondent was selected, FD was "Respondent never available, post-selection."
- If LD was "answering machine" and all call dispositions were the same, FD was 'Informant never available, pre-selection'
- If LD was "answering machine" and all call dispositions were not the same and a respondent was selected, FD was "Respondent never available, post-selection."

- If LD was "answering machine" and all call dispositions were not the same and a respondent was not selected, FD was "Informant never available, pre-selection."
- If LD was "hangup during introduction" and a respondent was selected, FD was "Refusal, post-selection."
- If LD was "hangup during introduction" and a respondent was not selected, FD was "Refusal, pre-selection."
- If LD was "callback" and a respondent had been selected, FD was
- If LD was "never available" and a respondent had been selected, the FD was 'Respondent ever available, post-selection'.
- If LD was "never available" and a respondent was never selected, the FD was "Informant never available, pre-selection, no contact."
- If LD was "Disconnected number," FD was the same.
- If LD was "Non-residential number," FD was the same.
- If LD was "Wrong number," FD was Number changed.
- If LD was "No citizen in HH age 17+," FD was the same.
- If LD was "Number forwarded," FD was "Number changed."
- Finally, if the FD assignment described above was "Informant never available, pre-selection" and any call disposition indicated a contact (i.e., language barrier, refusal, hang-up during introduction, no citizen age 17+, parental refusal of consent, mental or physical impairment, MSNTV setup impossible, respondent not available, or callback), then the FD was changed to "Informant never available, pre-selection, contact." Otherwise the "Informant never available, pre-selection" code was changed to "Informant never available, pre-selection, non-contact."

Final Dispositions

The final dispositions of the sampled telephone numbers are summarized in Table 5. All sample cases fall into one of four general categories: complete interviews (4,194), eligible nonresponse (1,450), unknown eligibility (10,300), and not eligible (7,585). The text in this section describes these categories in detail.

Recruitment interviews were completed at 4,194 of the 23,529 sampled telephone numbers. Completion of a recruitment interview is the operational definition of joining the panel. (There was no single question in the recruitment interview that explicitly asked, “Will you join the panel?”) Of these 4,194 recruitment completers, 3,991 completed the standard telephone interview, 84 completed refusal-conversion interviews administered by refusal conversion specialists at the National Opinion Research Center, and 119 completed the Internet-only recruitment instrument.

At 1,450 telephone numbers, we identified an eligible respondent who did not complete the recruitment interview. 945 of these were refusals. In 37 cases, the interviewer determined that the eligible respondent could not complete an interview in English, so we could not complete the interview. 62 had a physical or mental impairment, such as illness or hearing impairment, that made it impossible to complete an interview. 40 did not have Internet access and an MSN TV 2 device could not be installed. (This would be the case if the respondent did not own a television.) 340 were never available to complete the interview; most of these numbers were called back repeatedly, but we could not reach anyone or the sampled individual was never available to speak to us. In 26 cases there was a respondent selection error in which someone too young to vote in the 2008 election was erroneously selected from a household that contained other people

eligible for the study. These people completed the recruitment interview and in some cases completed online surveys, but they were not eligible for the study and should not have been selected. (Their data were later removed.) These telephone numbers are considered eligible contacts not complete because there was at least one eligible person identified in the household who should have been selected.

Table 5. Dispositions of telephone numbers in ANES Panel Study sample

	Cohort 1		Cohort 2		Total (both cohorts)	
Disposition	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total	Number	Percent of total
Total sampled telephone numbers	12,809	100.0	10,720	100.0	23,529	100.0
Complete interviews	**2,360**	**18.4**	**1,834**	**17.1**	**4,194**	**17.8**
Standard telephone interview	2,212	17.3	1779	16.6	3,991	17.0
Refusal conversion interview	84	0.7	0	0.0	84	0.4
Internet-only recruitment	64	0.5	55	0.5	119	0.5
Eligible nonresponse	**819**	**6.4**	**631**	**5.9**	**1,450**	**6.2**
Eligible non-contacts	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0.0
Eligible contacts not complete	819	6.4	631	5.9	1,450	6.2
Refusals, post-selection	558	4.4	387	3.6	945	4.0
Language barrier, post-selection	16	0.1	21	0.2	37	0.2
Physical or mental impairment, post-selection	25	0.2	37	0.3	62	0.3
MSNTV setup not possible, post-selection	19	0.1	21	0.2	40	0.2
Respondent never available, post-selection	190	1.5	150	1.4	340	1.4
Respondent selection error	11	0.1	15	0.1	26	0.1
Unknown eligibility	**5,601**	**43.7**	**4,699**	**43.8**	**10,300**	**43.8**
Contacts	4,063	31.7	3,491	32.6	7,554	32.1
Refusals, pre-selection	2,376	18.5	2162	20.2	4,538	19.3
Informant pre-selection contact, but never available	1,288	10.1	986	9.2	2,274	9.7
Language barrier, pre-selection	291	2.3	242	2.3	533	2.3
Physical or mental impairment, pre-selection	93	0.7	92	0.9	185	0.8
MSNTV setup not possible, pre-selection	15	0.1	9	0.1	24	0.1
Non-contacts	1,538	12.0	1,208	11.3	2,746	11.7
Computer/fax tone (on all attempts)	241	1.9	255	2.4	496	2.1
No answer (on all attempts)	198	1.5	32	0.3	230	1.0
Informant never available, non-contact, pre-selection	1,099	8.6	921	8.6	2,020	8.6
Not eligible	**4,029**	**31.5**	**3,556**	**33.2**	**7,585**	**32.2**
Disconnected phone	3,457	27.0	3049	28.4	6,506	27.7
Non-residential/business/government	518	4.0	467	4.4	985	4.2
Number changed	11	0.1	17	0.2	28	0.1
No age-eligible U.S. citizen in household	43	0.3	23	0.2	66	0.3

Source: ANES staff analysis of the 2008-09 ANES Panel Study sample file.

At 10,300 numbers, the presence of an eligible person was not determined; an interviewer was able to speak to someone at 7,554 of these numbers, but not at the rest (2,746 non-contacts).

Refusals constituted a majority (4,538) of the contacts where eligibility was not determined. In 2,274 cases, the interviewer spoke to someone at the sampled telephone number, and the person did not refuse but was never available to complete enough of the recruitment interview to determine eligibility. Typically such contacts consisted of the respondent saying he or she was busy or asking the interviewer to call back another time. In 533 cases, we could not determine eligibility because the person answering the phone did not speak English. At 185 numbers, the informant's physical or mental impairment prevented a determination of the presence of eligible sample members. There were 24

informants who did not have Internet access and could not have an MSN TV 2 device installed, and reported this condition before eligibility was determined.

Among the 2,746 telephone numbers where no direct contact was made with an informant on any calling attempt, computer or fax tones were heard on all dialing attempts at 496 phone numbers, and there was no answer on all dialing attempts at 230 numbers. At the remaining 2,020 numbers with unknown eligibility, the interviewer never spoke to an informant, and dial attempts typically consisted of some combination of non-contact dispositions including a busy signal, an answering machine that did not clearly identify the number as nonresidential, or ringing with no answer.

There were 7,585 numbers determined to have no eligible household member. Most of these, 6,506, were non-working numbers. There were 985 working nonresidential (typically business or government) telephone numbers, 28 numbers no longer in service that were being temporarily forwarded to another number following an announcement from the telephone company, and 66 numbers belonging to households that did not contain a U.S. citizen born on or before November 4, 1990.

Estimating Eligibility

To derive response rates and other outcome rates from information such as that just presented requires us to integrate information about the number and identity of persons in the population who are eligible to participate in the survey. Determining eligibility is, in many cases, non-trivial. The modal disposition has unknown eligibility to participate in the study. Even at telephone numbers where interviewers spoke to a person who conveyed the impression that the number was residential, we cannot be certain whether or not an eligible person – a U.S. citizen who would be age 18 by November 4, 2008 – resided in the household served by the sampled telephone number.

The problem of unknown eligibility is larger in the ANES Panel Study recruitment than in many general population RDD surveys because eligibility criteria for the ANES Panel Study are a subset of the adult population and screening questions were required to determine the presence of an eligible person in the household. Thus, eligibility is unknown in any household where the screening questions were not completed.

A simple, commonplace method to estimate the rate of eligibility, *e*, for unknown cases is to use the eligibility rate observed among cases where eligibility is known. (This is known as the proportional allocation method or CASRO method.) That is, *e* = (eligible cases) / (eligible cases + ineligible cases). For the panel study, this value of *e* is (4194 + 1450) / (4194 + 1450 + 7585) = 42.66 percent. This method of estimating *e* is not necessarily reliable or accurate, and is thought to overestimate the true eligibility rate in many cases (Smith, 2003; Kennedy, Keeter, and Dimock, 2008). In this sense it is conservative, in that overestimating *e* produces a lower response rate estimate. For the purpose of arriving at a preliminary estimate of the response rate, it is more credible than the minimum or maximum response rates (AAPOR RR1 and RR5).

Response Rates and other Outcome Rates

The *eligibility determination rate* is the number of telephone numbers for which eligibility is known (13,229) divided by the total number of sampled telephone numbers (23,529). This rate is 56 percent.

The *contact rate* is the number of contacts divided by the number of eligible cases in the sample. We calculate two contact rates.

- The minimum household contact rate assumes that all cases of unknown eligibility are eligible. The numerator is 13,198 and the denominator is 15,944; the rate is 83 percent. The true household contact rate cannot be less than this. (This is AAPOR Contact Rate 1 for households.)
- The minimum eligible respondent contact rate is 5,644 / 15,944 = 35 percent. (AAPOR Contact Rate 1 for respondents.)

The *cooperation rate* is the number of completed interviews (4,194) divided by the number of contacts. We calculate three cooperation rates (COOP).

- AAPOR COOP1 is described by AAPOR as the "minimum" cooperation rate. AAPOR defines the denominator as the minimum number of eligible cases (i.e., complete interviews (4,194) plus partial interviews (0 in this study) plus eligible refusals (945) plus other eligible cases (505)). COOP1 = 74 percent.
- AAPOR COOP3 excludes from the denominator those who were incapable of completing an interview: post-selection language barriers (37), those with impairments (62), and those who could not receive an MSN TV 2 (40). The calculation is 4,194 divided by (5644 – 37 – 62 – 40) = 76 percent.
- A third cooperation rate uses a larger denominator to reflect the likely presence of eligible people at contacted telephone numbers where eligibility is unknown. Using the maximum number of eligible contacts (13,198) in the denominator, the cooperation rate is 32 percent. The true cooperation rate cannot be less than this.

The *refusal rate* is the number of refusals divided by the number of eligible sample cases. AAPOR Refusal Rate 1 is the number of refusals (5,483) divided by the number of eligible and potentially eligible cases (15,944). This refusal rate is 34 percent. Because eligibility is unknown for a majority of refusal cases, the actual refusal rate may differ.

The *response rate* is the number of completed interviews divided by the number of eligible sample members. We calculate four response rates.

- The minimum response rate assumes that all cases with unknown eligibility are eligible for the study. The minimum response rate for the Panel Study recruitment is 4,194 complete interviews divided by 15,944 eligible cases: 26 percent. The true response rate cannot be less than 26 percent. (This corresponds to AAPOR Response Rate 1.)
- The maximum response rate assumes that no cases with unknown eligibility are eligible for the study. The maximum response rate is 4,194 divided by 5,644: 74 percent. The true response rate cannot exceed 74 percent (AAPOR RR 5).

- An estimated response rate is based on an assumption about the rate of eligibility, *e*, among cases with unknown eligibility. As discussed in the previous section, the proportional allocation method of estimating *e* produces *e* = 42.66 percent. Based on this value of *e*, the response rate would be (complete interviews) / (complete interviews + eligible nonresponse + *e*(unknown eligibility)) = 4194 / (4194 + 1450 + (.4266)(10300)) = 4194/10038 = 42 percent. This is one of many possible values for AAPOR Response Rate 3.
- An alternative method is to estimate *e* separately for categories of unknown eligibility. Data from the 2008 American Community Survey show 95.5 percent of English-speaking households and 13.6 percent of non-English-speaking households include an adult US citizen. We used these percentages to estimate *e* of 13.6 percent for contacts with a language barrier and 95.5 percent for other contacts with unknown eligibility. For non-contacts, lacking any compelling empirical basis to estimate eligibility, we assumed an eligibility rate of 50 percent. Based on these assumptions, the response rate is estimated as 30 percent, calculated as follows: 4194 / (4194 + 1450 + (.955)(4538+2274+185+24) + (.136)(533) + (.5)(2746)) = 30.4 percent. This reflects an overall *e* of .791.

All outcome rates presented here are unweighted. Outcome rates and numbers for the recruitment survey are summarized in table 6.

Table 6. Outcome numbers and rates for the ANES Panel Study recruitment

Statistic	Number
Sample telephone numbers	23,529
Numbers with known eligibility	13,229
Eligible contacts (respondents), minimum	5,644
Eligible cases, maximum	15,944
Completed interviews	4,194
Contacts capable of being interviewed	5,505
Eligible contacts, maximum (contacted households)	13,198
Refusals, all types	5,483
Eligible cases, estimated (CASRO)	10,038
Eligible cases, estimated (see text)	13,795
Eligible cases, minimum	5,644

Outcome	Numerator	Denominator	Rate
Eligibility determination	13,229	23,529	56
Contact rate 1 for households	13,198	15,944	83
Contact rate 1 for eligible respondents	5,644	15,944	35
Cooperation rate1	4,194	5,644	74
Cooperation rate 3	4,194	5,505	76
Cooperation minimum	4,194	13,198	32
Refusal rate 1	5,483	15,944	34
Response rate 1 (minimum)	4,194	15,944	26
Response rate 3 (*e* observed = .427)	4,194	10,038	42
Response rate 3 (*e* = .791)	4,194	13,795	30
Response rate 5 (maximum)	4,194	5,644	74

Notes: Unweighted. For definitions of AAPOR outcome rates, see AAPOR (2006).

7. Panel Retention

Interviews at Each Stage

For each stage of the Panel Study data collection, from recruitment through Wave 21, we report the number of completed interviews in Table 7.

Table 7. Number of completed interviews in the ANES Panel Study at indicated stages, by cohort

	Number of completed interviews		
Stage	Cohort 1	Cohort 2	Total
Recruitment	2,360	1,834	4,194
Profile	1,599	1,293	2,892
Wave 1 (January ANES)	**1,623**	**0**	**1,623**
Wave 2 (February ANES)	**1,457**	**0**	**1,457**
Wave 3	1,466	0	1,466
Wave 4	1,343	0	1,343
Wave 5	1,148	0	1,148
Wave 6 (June ANES)	**1,420**	**0**	**1,420**
Wave 7	1,108	0	1,108
Wave 8	1,396	0	1,396
Wave 9 (September ANES)	**1,488**	**1,098**	**2,586**
Wave 10 (October ANES)	**1,510**	**1,118**	**2,628**
Wave 11 (November ANES)	**1,507**	**1,158**	**2,665**
Wave 12	1,433	1,102	2,535
Wave 13 (January part ANES)	**1,453**	**1,090**	**2,543**
Wave 14	1,447	1,104	2,551
Wave 15	1,420	1,071	2,491
Wave 16	1,367	1,039	2,406
Wave 17 (May ANES)	**1,382**	**1,007**	**2,389**
Wave 18	1,328	1,002	2,330
Wave 19 (July ANES)	**1,323**	**990**	**2,313**
Wave 20 (August part ANES)	**1,304**	**969**	**2,273**
Wave 21	1,267	932	2,199

Note: panel waves with ANES questions are in bold.

Table 7 shows that after an initial loss of respondents who failed to complete Internet surveys after completing the recruitment, net attrition in ANES waves after the first Internet survey was limited. In the first cohort, 1,623 people completed Wave 1. This number declined to 1,457 in Wave 2, but remained approximately the same (within the range of 1,420 to 1,510) in later ANES waves in June, September, October, and November and in January 2009. The number of participants from the first cohort was 1,304 in the last wave with ANES questions, in August 2009. In Cohort 2, the number of respondents increased from 1,098 in September to 1,118 in October and 1,158 in November. These numbers then declined to 969 in the last ANES wave. It is worth noting that these are total figures, so the number of individuals who completed every

wave is smaller. (That aspect of retention is detailed later in this chapter.) Nonetheless, net attrition across ANES waves of the panel is limited.

Interestingly, the number of Cohort 1 completers in September, October, and November exceeds the number in February and June. Many factors could have contributed to this outcome, including interest in the election (if respondents surmised that surveys in October and November would be about politics) and a dropout recovery strategy that we implemented in the summer of 2008, described below.

Dropout Recovery

In June, 2008, ANES offered 100 people who had dropped out of the panel $30 per month to return to resume their participation and offered an additional 100 dropouts $50 per month to resume their participation. In September, ANES offered all 282 remaining dropouts $50 per month to resume their participation. This section describes the dropout recovery effort in detail.

All panel studies face attrition, in which members of the panel drop out of the study over time. The loss of panelists is detrimental to the study, so it is worthwhile to pay lost panelists more money to encourage them to resume participation. Beyond being worthwhile, the National Science Foundation awarded funds to ANES for this purpose. Because the ANES Panel Study design was in some respects unique – involving telephone recruitment to complete a survey on the Internet once per month for an extended period – prior research could not tell us what monthly incentive offer would be optimal. Therefore, before making offers to all dropouts, we first conducted an experiment testing two different dollar amounts.

ANES was advised by a Board of Overseers consisting of 21 scholars from 14 universities. The members of this Board who had the most experience with panel surveys recommended that we conduct an experiment by offering a sample of former panelists $30 or $50 to resume participation. Conducting an experiment with these two amounts allowed an assessment of their relative cost-effectiveness.

Panelists were considered to have left the panel if they had completed the first (January, 2008) substantive interview of the study and had completed none of the surveys for May, June, and July as of approximately July 21, 2008. Off-panelists were excluded. We randomly selected 100 such panelists to receive an offer of $30 to resume participation and an additional 100 such panelists to receive an offer of $50.

Offers were made on July 25, 2008, by mailing a first-class letter addressed to each selected panelist. Each letter was printed on project letterhead bearing the logos of Stanford University, the University of Michigan, the National Science Foundation (the funding agency), and Knowledge Networks (the data collection contractor). The letter thanked participants for their prior participation, explained that due to the study's scientific selection process we could not replace the respondent with anyone else, and

offered $30 or $50 as a thank-you gift if the respondent would complete the panel's June survey within two weeks, by August 8. The letter also offered to continue to make these monthly payments every month through May, 2009, if the respondent would complete each month's survey within three weeks of getting the invitation. The letter included the web site to complete the survey and the respondent's password.

Experiment results: Two distinct metrics are used to assess the results of the experiment. First is the *yield*: the proportion of survey respondents receiving the incentive offer who completed a given survey. The yields are important because they reflect the number of additional survey respondents who complete the survey in a given month. The second is the rate of *retention*: the proportion of panelists in the experiment who completed the June survey and completed a given subsequent survey. The retention rate is important because, in a panel study, the value of the data is maximized if the same respondents complete each wave of the survey. The difference between yield and retention is illustrated if we imagine that one half of the panelists complete the June survey, and the other half of the panelists complete the August survey; in this case, the yield is 50 percent in both months, but the retention rate is 0. Such a result would afford the benefits of two cross-sectional studies, but would afford none of the benefits of panel data.

Of the 200 cases selected for the offers, 104 completed the June survey. However, there was a brief delay between drawing the sample of cases to receive the offers and mailing the letters containing the offers. During this time, seven of the 200 respondents completed the June survey of their own accord, before the letters were mailed. Because the incentive offer cannot have affected their completion of the June survey, the seven respondents who completed the June survey before the letters were mailed on July 25 are excluded from the June yield calculations presented below. Because they had received the incentive offer before later surveys, they are included in calculations for later months.

The information on yields and retention rates for each month that was available to ANES in early September 2008 is shown in Table 8.

Table 8. Yield and retention percentages in Panel Study incentive groups, by month

	Yield				Retention			
Month	Total	$30 group	$50 group	Difference	Total	$30 group	$50 group	Difference
June	48.5	45.0	52.0	7.0	—	—	—	—
July	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
August	55.5	49.0	62.0	13.0 †	77.3	68.9	84.6	15.7 *
September	13.5	11.0	16.0	5.0	21.6	17.8	25.0	7.2

Notes:
— not applicable.
† statistically significant at p < .10.
* statistically significant at p<.05.
Initial N=100 in the $30 group, 100 in the $50 group, and 200 overall.
The September figures reflect only the first two days of data collection.
Yield is the proportion of the invited panelists who completed the survey
Retention is the proportion of invited panelists who completed the June survey and completed a later survey

Of the 200 cases selected for offers, 97 completed the June survey after the offers were made, for an overall yield of 48.5 percent. The $30 incentive had a yield of 45 percent

and the $50 incentive had a yield of 52 percent. The difference of 7 percentage points is not statistically significant.

Because of the late date at which the recipients of the incentive offers completed the June survey, they skipped the July survey and were invited to complete the August survey after completing the June survey. Several former panelists who received the incentive offers failed to complete the June survey but did complete the August survey, with the result that the yield for August exceeds the yield for June. The total yield was 55.5 percent, with yields of 49.0 percent and 62.0 percent, respectively, for the $30 and $50 groups. This group difference of 13 percentage points is statistically significant at $p < .1$ ($t = 1.86$).

As of September 5, when the September questionnaire had been in the field for two days, the yield for September was 13.5 percent, with yields of 11.0 percent and 16.0 percent, respectively, for the $30 and $50 groups. This group difference of 5 percentage points is not statistically significant.

In August, the retention rate – the number of panelists who received an incentive offer and completed the August survey divided by the number who received an incentive offer and completed the June survey – was 77.3 percent overall, 68.9 percent for the $30 group, and 84.6 percent for the $50 group. The between-groups difference of 15.7 percentage points is statistically significant.

In September, after two days of data collection, the retention rate was 21.6 percent overall, 17.8 percent for the $30 group, and 25.0 percent for the $50 group. This difference is not statistically significant.

Discussion: The success of the incentive offers is a function of the initial yield and the month-to-month retention. The goal of the incentive is to cause panelists to resume regular monthly participation in the panel over the long term. A high yield in the first month coupled with a very low retention rate in subsequent months would result in a great deal of missing data and in low total survey numbers in later months. In contrast, a moderate yield in the first month coupled with a moderate retention rate in subsequent months could result in a better outcome. The interaction of initial yield and month-to-month retention means that it is possible that one incentive amount could be better in the short term and another could be better in the long term.

The experiment showed a small, non-significant advantage for the $50 group in the initial yield, but a larger, statistically significant advantage in retention in the second month.

The ANES budget was sufficient to make $50 offers to all remaining dropouts in early September, 2008. The experiment suggested that $50 offers would be more effective than $30 offers – because the retention rate after two months was 16 percentage points higher in the $50 group than in the $30 group, and because yield rates were higher (though not at the .05 level of significance) – so we made $50 offers to all 282 remaining dropouts in September.

The $50 offers in September were made to panelists who, as of September 9, 2008, satisfied four criteria: 1) completed the profile survey or wave 1 or wave 2, 2) did not complete wave 7, wave 8, and wave 9, 3) were not off-panelists, and 4) had not completed a survey after receiving an experimental incentive offer.

Retention Summaries

Tables 9, 10, and 11 show summary outcome statistics for each stage of the Panel Study from recruitment through wave 21. Tables 9 and 10 show these statistics for cohorts 1 and 2, respectively, and Table 11 shows them for the entire panel of both cohorts combined. We report four types of metrics for each stage of the data collection: Interviews, Response rate, Retention, and Invitations. The statistics under the *Interviews* heading indicate the size and completeness of the datasets. The statistics under the *Response rate* heading indicate the proportion of eligible members of the RDD telephone sample who completed each stage. The statistics under the *Retention* heading are measures of panel retention. The Invitation statistics show the number of people who were asked to complete the wave and the percentage of those asked who did so.

In the next section of this chapter, we also present retention matrices that show the number and percentage of respondents completing each combination of waves.

Interviews. The numbers reported here show the number of complete interviews at each stage, as well as the number of respondents who completed prior stages of the study. The percentages show the proportion of completers of the given stage who completed a prior stage. (That is, among people who completed stage S, what percentage completed stage S–X?) This is an indicator of how much panel data will be missing due to unit nonresponse. For example, at Wave 2, 99 percent of respondents had completed the recruitment interview, 91 percent had completed the Profile survey, 96 percent had completed Wave 1, and 89 percent had completed all prior stages (Recruitment, Profile, and Wave 1 through Wave 5). The "Late" stages on this table refer to Waves 9 through 21.

Response rate. The estimated response rate is the percentage of eligible members of the original telephone RDD sample who completed a particular stage of the survey, based on assumptions about the true rate of eligibility among sample cases with unknown eligibility that are described in the previous chapter. The minimum response rate is based on the assumption that all of the sample cases with unknown eligibility were eligible to participate, while the maximum response rate is based on the assumption that none of the sample cases with unknown eligibility were eligible to participate. The estimated response rate is 42 percent at Recruitment, 29 percent at the Profile, 29 percent at Wave 1, and varies on later *ANES* waves from a high of 27 percent at Wave 11 to a low of 23 percent at Wave 20 (Table 11).

These response rate calculations include off-panelists in the calculation. The response rate could also be calculated by limiting the numerator to respondents who completed the recruitment survey. In that case, the response rate for any Internet wave would be the product of the recruitment response rate for a given cohort and the percentage of that cohort's recruitment completers who completed the given wave. For example, using the proportional allocation method to estimate a 42 percent response rate for the recruitment interview, the Cohort 1 RR for Wave 1 would be .42 × .67 = 28 percent. However, we recommend including the off-panelists in the response rate calculations.

Retention. Retention percentages show the proportion of completers of a prior stage who also completed a given later stage. (That is, among people who completed stage S–X, what percentage completed stage S? Note the difference between these percentages and the percentages reported in the Interviews section of the table.) The Profile survey was completed by 69 percent of the respondents who completed the Recruitment survey. In cohort 1, Wave 1 was completed by 90 percent of the respondents who completed the Profile survey. Wave 2 was completed by 87 percent of the respondents who completed Wave 1. Wave 6 was completed by 84 percent of the respondents who completed Wave 1.

Invitations. The number invited is the number of people who were asked to complete a survey at a particular stage. The yield is the number or proportion of those invitations that resulted in a completed survey.

Table 9. Outcome statistics from ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study at indicated stages: Cohort 1 only.

	Completed stages															
	Recruitment		Profile		Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Wave 4		Wave 5		Wave 6	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interviews[1]																
Total	2,360	100	1,599	100	1,623	100	1,457	100	1,466	100	1,343	100	1,148	100	1,420	100
Completed Recruitment	2,360	100	1,599	100	1,577	97	1,438	99	1,466	100	1,343	100	1,148	100	1,406	99
Completed Profile	—	—	1,599	100	1,438	89	1,325	91	1,345	92	1,237	92	1,066	93	1,311	92
Completed Wave 1	—	—	—	—	1,623	100	1,406	96	1,391	95	1,281	95	1,108	97	1,365	96
Completed previous stage	—	—	1,599	100	1,438	89	1,406	96	1,347	92	1,342	100	1,148	100	1,045	74
Completed all ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	1,623	100	1,406	96	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,253	88
Completed late ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Completed all stages to date	2,360	100	1,599	100	1,438	89	1,290	89	1,226	84	1,146	85	1,017	89	956	67
Response rate[2]																
Estimated (AAPOR RR 3)	—	42	—	28	—	29	—	26	—	26	—	24	—	20	—	25
Minimum (AAPOR RR 1)	—	27	—	18	—	18	—	17	—	17	—	15	—	13	—	16
Maximum (AAPOR RR 5)	—	74	—	50	—	51	—	46	—	46	—	42	—	36	—	45
Retention																
Retention from Recruitment	—	—	1,599	68	1,577	67	1,438	61	1,466	62	1,343	57	1,148	49	1,406	60
Retention from Profile	—	—	—	—	1,438	90	1,325	83	1,345	84	1,237	77	1,066	67	1,311	82
Retention from Wave 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,406	87	1,391	86	1,281	79	1,108	68	1,365	84
Retention from previous stage[3]	—	—	1,599	68	1,438	90	1,406	87	1,347	92	1,342	92	1,148	85	1,045	91
Invitations																
Number invited	—	—	2,360	—	2,227	—	2,153	—	2,161	—	1,451	—	1,219	—	2,171	—
Invitation yield	—	—	1,599	68	1,623	73	1,457	68	1,466	68	1,343	93	1,149	94	1,420	65

See notes at end of table.

Table 9. Outcome statistics from ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study at indicated stages: Cohort 1 only — continued.

	Completed stages															
	Wave 7		Wave 8		Wave 9		Wave 10		Wave 11		Wave 12		Wave 13		Wave 14	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interviews[1]																
Total	1,108	100	1,396	100	1,488	100	1,510	100	1,507	100	1,433	100	1,453	100	1,447	100
Completed Recruitment	1,108	100	1,396	100	1,466	99	1,487	98	1,482	98	1,433	100	1,453	100	1,447	100
Completed Profile	1,030	93	1,267	91	1,322	89	1,333	88	1,327	88	1,284	90	1,298	89	1,290	89
Completed Wave 1	1,058	95	1,302	93	1,366	92	1,381	91	1,380	92	1,313	92	1,324	91	1,310	91
Completed previous stage	1,064	96	1,041	75	1,272	85	1,393	92	1,432	95	1,398	98	1,363	94	1,386	96
Completed all ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	1,146	77	1,084	72	1,058	70	—	—	1,010	70	—	—
Completed late ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	1,488	100	1,393	92	1,345	89	—	—	1,272	88	—	—
Completed all stages to date	843	76	807	58	776	52	749	50	738	49	725	51	712	49	696	48
Response rate[2]																
Estimated (AAPOR RR 3)	—	20	—	25	—	26	—	27	—	27	—	25	—	26	—	26
Minimum (AAPOR RR 1)	—	13	—	16	—	17	—	17	—	17	—	16	—	17	—	16
Maximum (AAPOR RR 5)	—	35	—	44	—	47	—	47	—	47	—	45	—	46	—	46
Retention																
Retention from Recruitment	1,108	47	1,396	59	1,466	62	1,487	63	1,482	63	1,433	61	1,453	62	1,447	61
Retention from Profile	1,030	64	1,267	79	1,322	83	1,333	83	1,327	83	1,284	80	1,298	81	1,290	81
Retention from Wave 1	1,058	65	1,302	80	1,366	92	1,381	85	1,380	85	1,313	81	1,324	82	1,310	81
Retention from previous stage[3]	1,064	75	1,041	94	1,272	91	1,393	94	1,432	95	1,398	93	1,363	95	1,386	95
Invitations																
Number invited	1,226	—	2,116	—	2,158	—	2,148	—	2,137	—	2,084	—	2,075	—	2,019	—
Invitation yield	1,108	90	1,396	66	1,488	69	1,510	70	1,507	71	1,433	69	1,453	70	1,447	72

See notes at end of table.

Table 9. Outcome statistics from ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study at indicated stages: Cohort 1 only — continued.

	Completed stages													
	Wave 15		Wave 16		Wave 17		Wave 18		Wave 19		Wave 20		Wave 21	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interviews[1]														
Total	1,420	100	1,367	100	1,382	100	1,328	100	1,323	100	1,304	100	1,267	100
Completed Recruitment	1,420	100	1,367	100	1,367	100	1,328	100	1,303	100	1,304	100	1,267	100
Completed Profile	1,267	89	1,218	89	1,225	90	1,189	90	1,163	89	1,168	90	1,139	90
Completed Wave 1	1,295	91	1,248	91	1,258	92	1,213	91	1,209	93	1,183	91	1,148	91
Completed previous stage	1,370	96	1,322	97	1,264	92	1,271	96	1,242	95	1,237	95	1,221	96
Completed all ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	937	69	—	—	877	67	848	65	—	—
Completed late ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	1,171	86	—	—	1,090	84	1,051	81	—	—
Completed all stages to date	685	48	659	48	637	47	618	47	606	47	591	45	578	46
Response rate[2]														
Estimated (AAPOR RR 3)	—	25	—	24	—	24	—	24	—	17	—	17	—	17
Minimum (AAPOR RR 1)	—	16	—	16	—	16	—	15	—	15	—	15	—	14
Maximum (AAPOR RR 5)	—	45	—	43	—	43	—	42	—	42	—	41	—	40
Retention														
Retention from Recruitment	1,420	60	1,367	58	1,367	58	1,328	56	1303	55	1304	55	1267	54
Retention from Profile	1,267	79	1,218	76	1,225	77	1,189	74	1163	73	1168	73	1139	71
Retention from Wave 1	1,295	80	1,248	77	1,258	78	1,213	75	1209	74	1183	73	1148	71
Retention from previous stage[3]	1,370	95	1,322	93	1,264	92	1,271	92	1242	94	1237	93	1221	94
Invitations														
Number invited	2,017	—	2,016	—	2,055	—	2,009	—	2,047	—	1,994	—	1,961	—
Invitation yield	1,420	70	1,367	68	1,382	67	1,328	66	1,323	65	1,304	65	1,267	65

Notes:

— Not applicable.

1 Completions are counted; partials are not counted. See text for the meaning of ANES stages and late ANES stages.

2 Response rate: the numerator is the total number of completions for the stage. The denominators are 3,179 (maximum response rate), 8,780 (minimum), and 5,649 (estimated).

3 Retention from previous stage: percentages in this row are the corresponding number divided by the number in the previous stage's Total row. E.g. for Wave 2, .87 = 1406/1623. Note that off-panel respondents were only invited to ANES waves.

Table 10. Outcome statistics from ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study at indicated stages: Cohort 2 only.

	Completed stages															
	Recruitment		Profile		Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Wave 4		Wave 5		Wave 6	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interviews[1]																
Total	1,834	100	1,293	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Completed Recruitment	1,834	100	1,293	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Completed Profile	—	—	1,293	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Completed Wave 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Completed previous stage	—	—	1,293	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Completed all ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Completed late ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Completed all stages to date	1,834	100	1,293	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Response rate[2]																
Estimated (AAPOR RR 3)	—	42	—	29	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Minimum (AAPOR RR 1)	—	26	—	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maximum (AAPOR RR 5)	—	74	—	41	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Retention																
Retention from Recruitment	—	—	1,293	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Retention from Profile	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Retention from Wave 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Retention from previous stage[3]	—	—	1,293	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Invitations																
Number invited	—	—	1,827	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	—	0	—
Invitation yield	—	—	1,293	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

See notes at end of table.

Table 10. Outcome statistics from ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study at indicated stages: Cohort 2 only — continued.

	Completed stages															
	Wave 7		Wave 8		Wave 9		Wave 10		Wave 11		Wave 12		Wave 13		Wave 14	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interviews[1]																
Total	—	—	—	—	1,098	100	1,118	100	1,158	100	1,102	100	1,090	100	1,104	100
Completed Recruitment	—	—	—	—	1,098	100	1,118	100	1,158	100	1,102	100	1,090	100	1,104	100
Completed Profile	—	—	—	—	1,053	96	1,061	95	1,103	95	1,038	94	1,032	95	1,036	94
Completed Wave 1	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Completed previous stage	—	—	—	—	0	0	1,000	89	1,059	91	1,060	96	1,027	94	1,030	93
Completed all ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	—	—
Completed late ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	1,098	100	1,000	89	967	84	—	—	904	83	—	—
Completed all stages to date	—	—	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Response rate[2]																
Estimated (AAPOR RR 3)	—	—	—	—	—	25	—	25	—	26	—	25	—	25	—	25
Minimum (AAPOR RR 1)	—	—	—	—	—	15	—	16	—	16	—	15	—	15	—	15
Maximum (AAPOR RR 5)	—	—	—	—	—	45	—	45	—	47	—	45	—	44	—	45
Retention																
Retention from Recruitment	—	—	—	—	1,098	47	1,118	47	1,158	49	1,102	47	1,090	46	1,104	47
Retention from Profile	—	—	—	—	1,053	66	1,061	66	1,103	69	1,038	65	1,032	65	1,036	65
Retention from Wave 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Retention from previous stage[3]	—	—	—	—	1,053	66	1,000	91	1,059	95	1,060	92	1,027	93	1,030	94
Invitations																
Number invited	0	—	0	—	1,721	—	1,695	—	1,687	—	1,682	—	1,676	—	1,648	—
Invitation yield	—	—	—	—	1,098	64	1,118	66	1158	69	1,102	66	1,090	65	1,104	67

See notes at end of table.

Table 10. Outcome statistics from ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study at indicated stages: Cohort 2 only — continued.

	Completed stages													
	Wave 15		Wave 16		Wave 17		Wave 18		Wave 19		Wave 20		Wave 21	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interviews[1]														
Total	1,071	100	1,039	100	1,007	100	1,002	100	990	100	969	100	932	100
Completed Recruitment	1,071	100	1,039	100	1,007	100	1,002	100	990	100	969	100	932	100
Completed Profile	1,009	94	978	94	947	94	942	94	929	94	913	94	875	94
Completed Wave 1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Completed previous stage	1,033	96	995	96	939	93	933	93	936	95	920	95	892	96
Completed all ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	0	0	—	—	0	0	0	0	0	—
Completed late ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	809	80	—	—	757	76	723	75	—	—
Completed all stages to date	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Response rate[2]														
Estimated (AAPOR RR 3)	—	24	—	24	—	23	—	23	—	23	—	22	—	21
Minimum (AAPOR RR 1)	—	15	—	15	—	14	—	14	—	14	—	14	—	13
Maximum (AAPOR RR 5)	—	43	—	42	—	41	—	41	—	40	—	39	—	38
Retention														
Retention from Recruitment	1,071	45	1,039	44	1,007	43	1,002	42	990	42	969	41	932	39
Retention from Profile	1,009	63	978	61	947	59	942	59	929	58	913	57	875	55
Retention from Wave 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Retention from previous stage[3]	1,033	71	995	93	939	90	933	93	936	93	920	93	892	92
Invitations														
Number invited	1,620	—	1,622	—	1,620	—	1,603	—	1,601	—	1,588	—	1,549	—
Invitation yield	1,071	66	1,039	64	1,007	62	1,002	63	990	62	969	61	932	60

Notes:

— Not applicable.

1 Completions are counted; partials are not counted. See text for the meaning of ANES stages and late ANES stages.

2 Response rate: the numerator is the total number of completions for the stage. The denominators are 2,465 (maximum response rate), 7,164 (minimum), and 4,389 (estimated).

3 Retention from previous stage: percentages in this row are the corresponding number divided by the number in the previous stage's Total row. E.g. for Wave 20, .93 = 920/990. Note that off-panel respondents were only invited to ANES waves.

Table 11. Outcome statistics from ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study at indicated stages: both cohorts combined.

	Completed stages															
	Recruitment		Profile		Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Wave 4		Wave 5		Wave 6	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interviews[1]																
Total	4,194	100	2,892	100	1,623	100	1,457	100	1,466	100	1,343	100	1,148	100	1,420	100
Completed Recruitment	4,194	100	2,892	100	1,577	97	1,438	99	1,466	100	1,343	100	1,148	100	1,406	99
Completed Profile	—	—	2,892	100	1,438	89	1,325	91	1,345	92	1,237	92	1,066	93	1,311	92
Completed Wave 1	—	—	—	—	1,623	100	1,406	96	1,391	95	1,281	95	1,108	97	1,365	96
Completed previous stage	—	—	2,892	100	1,438	89	1,406	96	1,347	92	1,342	100	1,148	100	1,045	74
Completed all ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	1,623	100	1,406	96	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,253	88
Completed late ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Completed all stages to date	4,194	100	2,892	100	1,438	89	1,290	89	1,226	84	1,146	85	1,017	89	956	67
Response rate[2]																
Estimated (AAPOR RR 3)	—	42	—	29	—	29	—	26	—	26	—	24	—	20	—	25
Minimum (AAPOR RR 1)	—	26	—	18	—	18	—	17	—	17	—	15	—	13	—	16
Maximum (AAPOR RR 5)	—	74	—	51	—	51	—	46	—	46	—	42	—	36	—	45
Retention																
Retention from Recruitment	—	—	2,892	69	1,577	38	1,438	34	1,466	35	1,343	32	1,148	27	1,406	34
Retention from Profile	—	—	—	—	1,438	50	1,325	46	1,345	47	1,237	43	1,066	37	1,311	45
Retention from Wave 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,406	87	1,391	86	1,281	79	1,108	68	1,365	84
Retention from previous stage[3]	—	—	2,892	69	1,438	50	1,406	87	1,347	92	1,342	92	1,148	85	1,045	91
Invitations																
Number invited	—	—	4,187	—	2,227	—	2,153	—	2,161	—	1,451	—	1,219	—	2,171	—
Invitation yield	—	—	2,892	69	1,623	73	1,457	68	1,466	68	1,343	93	1,149	94	1,420	65

See notes at end of table.

Table 11. Outcome statistics from ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study at indicated stages: both cohorts combined — continued.

	Completed stages															
	Wave 7		Wave 8		Wave 9		Wave 10		Wave 11		Wave 12		Wave 13		Wave 14	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interviews[1]																
Total	1,108	100	1,396	100	2,586	100	2,628	100	2,665	100	2,535	100	2,543	100	2,551	100
Completed Recruitment	1,108	100	1,396	100	2,564	99	2,605	99	2,640	99	2,535	100	2,543	100	2,551	100
Completed Profile	1,030	93	1,267	91	2,375	92	2,394	91	2,430	91	2,322	92	2,330	92	2,326	91
Completed Wave 1	1,058	95	1,302	93	1,366	53	1,381	53	1,380	52	1,313	52	1,324	52	1,310	51
Completed previous stage	1,064	96	1,041	75	1,272	49	2,393	91	2,491	93	2,458	97	2,390	94	2,416	95
Completed all ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	1,146	44	1,084	41	1,058	40	—	—	1,010	40	—	—
Completed late ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	2,586	100	2,393	91	2,312	87	—	—	2,176	86	—	—
Completed all stages to date	843	76	807	58	776	30	749	29	738	28	725	29	712	28	696	27
Response rate[2]																
Estimated (AAPOR RR 3)	—	20	—	25	—	26	—	26	—	27	—	25	—	25	—	25
Minimum (AAPOR RR 1)	—	13	—	16	—	16	—	16	—	17	—	16	—	16	—	16
Maximum (AAPOR RR 5)	—	35	—	44	—	46	—	47	—	47	—	45	—	45	—	45
Retention																
Retention from Recruitment	1,108	26	1,396	33	2,564	61	2,605	62	2,640	63	2,535	60	2,543	61	2,551	61
Retention from Profile	1,030	36	1,267	44	2,375	82	2,394	83	2,430	84	2,322	80	2,330	81	2,326	80
Retention from Wave 1	1,058	65	1,302	80	1,366	84	1,381	85	1,380	85	1,313	81	1,324	82	1,310	81
Retention from previous stage[3]	1,064	75	1,041	94	1,272	91	2,393	93	2,491	95	2,458	92	2,390	94	2,416	95
Invitations																
Number invited	1,226	—	2,116	—	3,879	—	3,843	—	3,824	—	3,766	—	3,751	—	3,667	—
Invitation yield	1,108	90	1,396	66	2,586	67	2,628	68	2665	70	2,535	67	2,543	68	2,551	70

See notes at end of table.

Table 11. Outcome statistics from ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study at indicated stages: both cohorts combined — continued.

	Completed stages													
	Wave 15		Wave 16		Wave 17		Wave 18		Wave 19		Wave 20		Wave 21	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Interviews[1]														
Total	2,491	100	2,406	100	2,389	100	2,330	100	2,313	100	2,273	100	2,199	100
Completed Recruitment	2,491	100	2,406	100	2,374	100	2,330	100	2,293	100	2,273	100	2,199	100
Completed Profile	2,276	91	2,196	91	2,172	91	2,131	91	2,092	91	2,081	92	2,014	92
Completed Wave 1	1,295	52	1,248	52	1,258	53	1,213	52	1,209	53	1,183	52	1,148	52
Completed previous stage	2,403	96	2,317	96	2,203	93	2,204	95	2,178	95	2,157	95	2,113	96
Completed all ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	937	39	—	—	877	38	848	37	—	—
Completed late ANES stages to date	—	—	—	—	1,980	83	—	—	1,847	81	1,774	78	—	—
Completed all stages to date	685	27	659	27	637	27	618	27	606	26	591	26	578	26
Response rate[2]														
Estimated (AAPOR RR 3)	—	25	—	24	—	24	—	23	—	23	—	23	—	22
Minimum (AAPOR RR 1)	—	16	—	15	—	15	—	15	—	15	—	14	—	14
Maximum (AAPOR RR 5)	—	44	—	43	—	42	—	41	—	41	—	40	—	39
Retention														
Retention from Recruitment	2,491	59	2,406	57	2,374	57	2,330	56	2,293	97	2,273	96	2,199	93
Retention from Profile	2,276	79	2,196	76	2,172	75	2,131	74	2,092	131	2,081	130	2,014	126
Retention from Wave 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Retention from previous stage[3]	2,403	94	2,317	93	2,203	92	2,204	92	2,178	93	2,157	93	2,113	93
Invitations														
Number invited	3,637	—	3,638	—	3,675	—	3,612	—	3,648	—	3,582	—	3,510	—
Invitation yield	2,491	68	2,406	66	2,389	65	2,330	65	2313	63	2,273	63	2,199	63

Notes:

— Not applicable.

1 Completions are counted; partials are not counted. See text for the meaning of ANES stages and late ANES stages.

2 Response rate: the numerator is the total number of completions for the stage. For waves including both cohorts, the denominators are 5,644 (maximum response rate), 15,944 (minimum), and 10,038 (estimated). For waves including only the first cohort or only the second, see denominators listed in the notes on Tables 9 and 10.

3 Retention from previous stage: percentages in this row are the corresponding number divided by the number in the previous stage's Total row. E.g. for Wave 2, .87 = 1406/1623. Note that off-panel respondents were only invited to ANES waves.

Retention Matrix

Tables 12 and 13 present the number and percentage of respondents completing each wave in more detail. These retention matrices show the number and percentage of respondents who completed any given wave and also completed another given wave. Table 12 presents this information for Cohort 1 and Table 13 presents it for Cohort 2. Specifically, the retention tables show the percentage of the row wave completers who completed the column wave.

It can be informative to look at retention matrices in two ways. If we want to know how successfully the panel retained members over time, then we want to see the proportion of respondents at wave W who also completed a survey at time $W + n$. This is, literally, retention. On the other hand, if we want to analyze data from the survey at wave W in conjunction with data from earlier waves, then we may want to know the proportion of respondents at wave W who also completed a survey at wave $W – n$. The retention matrix shows this too.

The retention matrix shows counts and percentages. The counts show the number of respondents who completed any combination of waves from the recruitment survey ("Rct") through Wave 21 (W21). For example, on Table 12, row Wave 9 in column W11 shows 1,387 completions. This is the number of respondents in cohort 1 who completed both Wave 9 and Wave 11.

The middle diagonal in the same table shows the number of people who completed each wave. For example, the Wave 9 row in the W9 column shows 1,488 respondents from cohort 1 completed Wave 9, and the W11 column shows 1,507 respondents from cohort 1 completed Wave 11.

We used these numbers to compute retention percentages shown in the same table. The percentage of Wave 11 completers who also completed Wave 9 – that is, the number of people who completed both waves divided by the number who completed Wave 11 – is 1387 / 1507 = 92 percent. This means that from Wave 9 to Wave 11, 92 percent of respondents were retained.

The percentage of wave 9 completers who also completed wave 11 – that is, the number of people who completed both waves divided by the number who completed wave 9 – is 1387 / 1488 = 93 percent. This means that among the Wave 11 respondents, 93 percent completed the prior survey at Wave 9. Thus, 7 percent of those W11 respondents will not have any data available from the 9th wave.

Wave 11 is of particular interest because this is the post-election survey in November 2009. Between 85 and 95 percent of the panelists who completed any given wave from Wave 1 through Wave 10 also completed Wave 11. In both cohorts, the retention rate at

which people who completed the October pre-election interview also completed the November post-election interview is 95 percent.

Retention rates are higher in the ANES waves than in the off-waves. For example, the rate of retention from Wave 1 to Wave 6 was 82 percent, compared to 68 percent at Wave 5 and 65 percent in Wave 7. This difference in retention rates may result from special efforts ANES made to encourage participation by providing extra incentive offers to recover dropouts, described above, and by adjusting the field periods and invitation schedules for some waves. Specifically, we held some waves open longer than others and we did not invite every panelist to all of the non-political waves. Panelists who were slow to complete Wave 4 were given all of the month of May to complete the April (Wave 4) survey, and then were invited to complete Wave 6 (the June ANES wave) at the beginning of June, skipping wave 5. We did this in order to maximize the number of on-time invitations to the June survey. Therefore, the relatively low retention rate in Wave 5 probably reflects these efforts to maximize retention at Wave 6. Similarly, lower retention rates in Waves 7 and 8 reflect a priority placed on completing the surveys for wave 6 and 9.

It is important to note that panelists who were not "retained" in this sense were not necessarily lost to the panel. Panelists often failed to complete one or two surveys and then resumed their participation. Thus, nonparticipation in one wave is not an indication that a panelist did not participate in later waves.

Table 12. Retention matrices: Percentage and number of wave completers who also completed another wave, for cohort 1

Percentages

	Rct	Profile	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W6	W7	W8	W9	W10	W11	W12	W13	W14	W15	W16	W17	W18	W19	W20	W21
Rct	100	68	67	61	62	57	49	60	47	59	62	63	63	61	62	61	60	58	58	56	55	55	54
Profile	100	100	90	83	84	77	67	82	64	79	83	83	83	80	81	81	79	76	77	74	73	73	71
Wave 1	97	89	100	87	86	79	68	84	65	80	84	85	85	81	82	81	80	77	78	75	74	73	71
Wave 2	99	91	96	100	92	86	76	88	71	84	88	88	88	85	85	85	84	81	81	78	77	76	74
Wave 3	100	92	95	92	100	92	78	89	73	87	89	90	89	87	87	86	85	82	82	80	78	78	75
Wave 4	100	92	95	94	100	100	85	90	77	88	91	91	91	89	89	88	87	84	84	82	80	79	77
Wave 5	100	93	97	97	100	100	100	91	83	91	93	93	93	91	91	90	89	87	86	85	82	82	80
Wave 6	99	92	96	90	92	85	74	100	75	87	90	90	90	87	87	86	85	82	83	80	79	78	76
Wave 7	100	93	95	94	97	94	86	96	100	94	94	93	93	91	91	90	89	86	86	85	84	83	81
Wave 8	100	91	93	88	91	85	75	89	75	100	91	92	91	89	89	89	88	84	84	82	80	80	77
Wave 9	99	89	92	86	88	82	72	86	70	85	100	94	93	89	90	89	87	84	85	82	82	81	78
Wave 10	98	88	91	85	87	81	71	85	68	85	92	100	95	91	91	90	88	86	86	83	83	81	79
Wave 11	98	88	92	85	87	81	71	84	68	85	92	95	100	93	92	91	90	86	87	84	84	82	80
Wave 12	100	90	92	86	89	83	73	86	70	87	93	96	98	100	95	94	93	90	89	88	86	86	83
Wave 13	100	89	91	85	88	82	72	85	69	85	92	94	96	94	100	95	93	90	90	88	86	86	83
Wave 14	100	89	91	85	88	82	71	85	69	86	91	94	95	93	96	100	95	91	91	88	86	86	84
Wave 15	100	89	91	86	88	82	72	85	70	86	91	94	95	93	95	96	100	93	92	89	88	87	84
Wave 16	100	89	91	86	88	82	73	85	70	86	92	95	95	94	96	97	97	100	92	90	89	88	86
Wave 17	99	89	91	86	87	81	72	85	69	85	91	94	95	93	94	95	95	91	100	92	91	89	86
Wave 18	100	90	91	86	88	83	73	86	71	86	92	94	95	95	96	96	95	93	96	100	94	93	90
Wave 19	98	88	91	85	87	81	72	85	70	85	92	94	95	93	94	94	94	92	95	94	100	93	90
Wave 20	100	90	91	85	88	82	72	85	71	86	92	94	95	94	95	96	95	93	95	94	95	100	94
Wave 21	100	90	91	85	87	81	72	85	71	85	92	94	95	93	95	96	94	92	94	94	94	96	100

Number of completers

	Rct	Profile	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W6	W7	W8	W9	W10	W11	W12	W13	W14	W15	W16	W17	W18	W19	W20	W21
Rct	2360	1599	1577	1438	1466	1343	1148	1406	1108	1396	1466	1487	1482	1433	1453	1447	1420	1367	1367	1328	1303	1304	1267
Profile	/	1599	1438	1325	1345	1237	1066	1311	1030	1267	1322	1333	1327	1284	1298	1290	1267	1218	1225	1189	1163	1168	1139
Wave 1	/	/	1623	1406	1391	1281	1108	1365	1058	1302	1366	1381	1380	1313	1324	1310	1295	1248	1258	1213	1209	1183	1148
Wave 2	/	/	/	1457	1347	1258	1112	1279	1039	1231	1282	1288	1287	1237	1240	1235	1218	1179	1184	1142	1128	1113	1074
Wave 3	/	/	/	/	1466	1342	1147	1301	1073	1276	1308	1316	1312	1277	1275	1268	1250	1205	1197	1168	1148	1145	1102
Wave 4	/	/	/	/	/	1343	1148	1209	1037	1187	1220	1223	1221	1192	1193	1180	1166	1127	1123	1098	1071	1066	1032
Wave 5	/	/	/	/	/	/	1148	1045	950	1044	1068	1068	1068	1049	1049	1030	1022	995	989	971	947	943	916
Wave 6	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1420	1064	1238	1277	1284	1271	1230	1238	1223	1208	1165	1176	1139	1128	1113	1080
Wave 7	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1108	1041	1039	1031	1026	1009	1009	994	987	957	957	943	926	921	895
Wave 8	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1396	1272	1285	1277	1246	1240	1243	1222	1179	1168	1141	1121	1118	1078
Wave 9	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1488	1393	1387	1331	1337	1323	1297	1256	1264	1217	1214	1198	1164
Wave 10	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1510	1432	1371	1371	1357	1335	1294	1301	1253	1249	1230	1189
Wave 11	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1507	1398	1389	1372	1351	1298	1314	1265	1260	1243	1201
Wave 12	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1433	1363	1351	1326	1284	1282	1255	1229	1227	1184
Wave 13	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1453	1386	1356	1311	1303	1273	1247	1245	1208
Wave 14	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1447	1370	1322	1314	1274	1249	1250	1213
Wave 15	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1420	1322	1308	1265	1243	1241	1197
Wave 16	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1367	1264	1234	1213	1207	1170
Wave 17	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1382	1271	1254	1233	1195
Wave 18	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1328	1242	1232	1193
Wave 19	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1323	1237	1191
Wave 20	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1304	1221
Wave 21	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1267

/ Redundant cells; see entries on opposite diagonal.

Note: Percentages are the percentage of row-wave completers who also completed the column wave.

Table 13. Retention matrices: Percentage and number of wave completers who also completed another wave, for cohort 2

Percentages

	Rct	Profile	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W6	W7	W8	W9	W10	W11	W12	W13	W14	W15	W16	W17	W18	W19	W20	W21
Rct	100	71	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	60	61	63	60	59	60	58	57	55	55	54	53	51
Profile	100	100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	81	82	85	80	80	80	78	76	73	73	72	71	68
Wave 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 9	100	96	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	100	91	93	87	87	87	84	82	80	79	78	77	73
Wave 10	100	95	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	89	100	95	90	89	88	86	83	82	81	80	79	76
Wave 11	100	95	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	88	91	100	92	90	89	87	85	82	81	80	79	76
Wave 12	100	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	87	91	96	100	93	92	90	87	84	84	83	82	79
Wave 13	100	95	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	88	91	96	94	100	94	92	90	87	86	85	83	80
Wave 14	100	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	86	89	94	92	93	100	94	91	88	87	85	84	81
Wave 15	100	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	87	90	94	93	93	96	100	93	89	89	87	86	83
Wave 16	100	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	87	90	94	92	94	97	96	100	90	90	88	87	84
Wave 17	100	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	87	91	95	92	94	96	95	93	100	93	92	89	87
Wave 18	100	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	86	90	94	93	94	96	95	93	93	100	93	91	88
Wave 19	100	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	87	90	94	93	93	95	94	93	93	95	100	93	88
Wave 20	100	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	87	91	94	93	94	96	95	93	93	95	95	100	92
Wave 21	100	94	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	86	91	94	94	94	96	95	93	94	95	94	96	100

Number of completers

	Rct	Profile	W1	W2	W3	W4	W5	W6	W7	W8	W9	W10	W11	W12	W13	W14	W15	W16	W17	W18	W19	W20	W21
Rct	1834	1293	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1098	1118	1158	1102	1090	1104	1071	1039	1007	1002	990	969	932
Profile	/	1293	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1053	1061	1103	1038	1032	1036	1009	978	947	942	929	913	875
Wave 1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Wave 9	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1098	1000	1017	955	955	950	927	902	873	864	860	846	803
Wave 10	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	1118	1059	1002	994	984	962	933	918	900	891	880	845
Wave 11	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	1158	1060	1045	1036	1007	980	952	939	931	911	879
Wave 12	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	1102	1027	1017	994	960	931	929	916	904	875
Wave 13	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	/	1090	1030	1001	978	946	938	923	907	877
Wave 14	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	/	/	1104	1033	1003	966	962	943	928	895
Wave 15	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	/	/	/	1071	995	952	949	934	920	884
Wave 16	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1039	939	936	916	899	871
Wave 17	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1007	933	924	901	872
Wave 18	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	1002	936	916	882
Wave 19	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	990	920	874
Wave 20	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	969	892
Wave 21	/	/	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	/	932

/ Redundant cells; see entries on opposite diagonal.

— Not applicable; cohort 2 did not complete these waves

Attrition Effects

Attrition is the failure of a given wave's respondents to complete a later wave of the survey. To show the effects of attrition on the panel, this section reports frequencies for Wave 1 respondents and for Wave 1 respondents who completed later waves.

We ran frequencies of several variables for the questionnaire items on Wave 1 respondents who responded to that wave and to later waves. The results are shown in Table 14. Note that Table 14 does not show data from having asked the same questions repeatedly. Rather, Table 14 shows data from the indicated Wave 1 questions for multiple subsets of the Wave 1 respondents: all of them (in the Wave 1 column), and those Wave 1 respondents who later responded to Wave 11, and those Wave 1 respondents who later responded to Wave 17.

The table shows that for these waves and variables, most attrition effects are modest. All of the estimates from wave 11 and wave 17 are within 5 percentage points of the original Wave 1 estimates. For the variables shown here, the average absolute error due to attrition is 1.3 percentage points at Wave 11 and is also 1.3 percentage points at Wave 17.

These results indicate that after 10 and 16 months on the panel, respectively, the loss of respondents from Wave 1 resulted in modest changes in the estimates for the variables shown here. Note, also, that the effects of attrition on waves 9 through 21 will be mitigated by the introduction of a fresh second cohort of panelists at Wave 9.

The largest changes due to attrition – those exceeding 2.5 percentage points at Wave 11 or Wave 17 – were due to attrition of respondents age 18-29, males, renters, 2004 self-reported nonvoters, and those who neither liked nor disliked Barack Obama. When the ratio of the attrition-effected estimate to the original estimate is considered (calculations not shown in table), a few other estimates appear proportionally large even though they are less than 2.5 percentage points. These show a higher attrition rate among black and Hispanic respondents and among those who were not at all interested in politics. These characteristics associated with attrition are consistent with the profile of population groups that typically have lower than average response rates in survey research, namely members of minority groups, the young, the mobile (such as renters), and those who are politically disengaged (such as those who neither liked nor disliked Barack Obama in January 2008 and those with no interest in politics).

Note that for cross-sectional or cumulative estimates from the later panel waves, any errors introduced by attrition will have been mitigated somewhat by poststratification weighting of the later waves. For example, weights on each wave adjust for age, so that the disproportionate attrition of panelists in the 18-29 range is accounted for by counting the remaining 18-29 year olds more heavily. These weight adjustments are not reflected in Table 14's estimates of Wave 11 and Wave 17 because this table only presents estimates from the Wave 1 respondents using the Wave 1 cross-sectional weight (wgtcs01).

Table 14. Effects of attrition on estimates from wave 1 to selected waves

Characteristic	Wave 1 respondents		Wave 1 respondents who completed later waves					
			Wave 11			Wave 17		
	Percent	s.e.	Percent	s.e.	Attrition effect	Percent	s.e.	Attrition effect
Age								
18-29	19.7	1.7	16.7	1.7	-3.0	16.1	1.8	-3.6
30-39	16.8	1.2	17.4	1.4	0.6	16.7	1.4	-0.1
40-49	19.9	1.3	19.8	1.4	-0.1	20.9	1.5	1.0
50-59	18.8	1.1	20.2	1.3	1.4	20.2	1.3	1.4
60-69	12.4	0.9	13.1	1.0	0.7	13.3	1.1	0.9
70 or older	12.4	1.1	12.8	1.3	0.4	12.8	1.3	0.4
Sex								
Male	47.2	1.7	45.6	1.8	-1.6	44.4	1.9	-2.8
Female	52.8	1.7	54.4	1.8	1.6	55.6	1.9	2.8
Race/ethnicity indicators								
White	82.5	1.4	84.6	1.5	2.1	84.1	1.6	1.6
Black	12.0	1.2	10.6	1.2	-1.4	11.0	1.3	-1.0
Hispanic	8.5	1.1	7.5	1.1	-1.0	7.5	1.1	-1.0
Education								
Less than high school credential	10.8	1.3	8.0	1.3	-2.8	8.8	1.4	-2.0
High school credential	31.1	1.8	29.1	1.9	-2.0	29.6	2.0	-1.5
Some college	29.9	1.4	31.2	1.5	1.3	30.6	1.5	0.7
Bachelor's degree	18.8	1.1	21.2	1.3	2.4	20.8	1.4	2.0
Graduate degree	9.4	0.6	10.5	0.8	1.1	10.2	0.8	0.8
Income								
Under $20,000	10.7	1.1	9.1	1.1	-1.6	9.2	1.2	-1.5
$20,000 to $49,999	33.4	1.6	33.4	1.7	0.0	33.7	1.8	0.3
$50,000 to $99,999	37.5	1.6	38.2	1.7	0.7	38.5	1.8	1.0
$100,000 or more	18.4	1.2	19.3	1.3	0.9	18.6	1.3	0.2
Home tenure								
Own	73.4	1.6	76.4	1.7	3.0	76.1	1.8	2.7
Rent	17.4	1.4	14.4	1.3	-3.0	14.7	1.5	-2.7
Other arrangement	9.2	1.2	9.2	1.3	0.0	9.1	1.4	-0.1
Party identification								
Strong Democrat	17.9	1.3	17.5	1.3	-0.4	16.7	1.3	-1.2
Not very strong Democrat	16.3	1.3	14.4	1.3	-1.9	15.6	1.5	-0.7
Independent, lean Democratic	10.6	1.1	10.7	1.1	0.1	11.3	1.2	0.7
Independent	15.1	1.3	14.5	1.4	-0.6	14.6	1.5	-0.5
Independent, lean Republican	10.4	1.1	11.1	1.2	0.7	10.0	1.2	-0.4
Not very strong Republican	13.6	1	14.7	1.2	1.1	14.0	1.2	0.4
Strong Republican	16.2	1.2	17.1	1.3	0.9	17.8	1.4	1.6
Turnout in 2004								
Voted	77.3	1.6	81.6	1.6	4.3	81.8	1.7	4.5
Candidate choice in 2004								
Bush	59.4	1.8	60.0	1.9	0.6	60.5	1.9	1.1
Kerry	37.3	1.7	36.5	1.8	-0.8	36.3	1.9	-1.0
Intended turnout in 2008								
Intend to vote	88.2	1.3	89.2	1.3	1.0	89.0	1.5	0.8
Attitude toward John McCain								
Like	41.8	1.6	42.6	1.7	0.8	42.6	1.8	0.8
Neither like nor dislike	41.8	1.7	40.0	1.8	-1.8	40.9	1.9	-0.9
Dislike	16.4	1.3	17.4	1.4	1.0	16.5	1.4	0.1
Attitude toward Barack Obama								
Like	46.5	1.7	46.3	1.8	-0.2	46.9	1.9	0.4
Neither like nor dislike	30.5	1.4	28.2	1.7	-2.3	27.4	1.8	-3.1
Dislike	23.0	1.6	25.5	1.6	2.5	25.7	1.7	2.7
Interest in politics								
Extremely interested	19.4	1.3	20.8	1.4	1.4	21.1	1.5	1.7
Very interested	28.2	1.4	29.2	1.6	1.0	28.9	1.7	0.7
Somewhat interested	32.4	1.6	32.3	1.7	-0.1	32.5	1.8	0.1
Not very interested	15.6	1.4	14.8	1.4	-0.8	14.2	1.4	-1.4
Not at all interested	4.4	0.9	2.8	0.7	-1.6	3.3	0.9	-1.1

Note: all estimates are weighted with wgtcs01.

8. Weights

Weights are designed to make the data more representative of the population of interest, namely people eligible to vote in the 2008 U.S. presidential election (operationally defined as U.S. citizens age 18 or older as of November 4, 2008). To make the data more representative, the weights count respondents in proportion to the number of people in the population that each individual respondent represents. Hence, weights are a means of counting some respondents more than others when using the data to accurately represent the population.

The weights were calculated by Knowledge Networks following procedures specified by ANES. The weights make several adjustments for probability of selection and for non-response. The adjustments are as follows.

The *base weights* (the variable wgtbase) adjust for four factors affecting probability of selection: an oversample of telephone numbers in high-minority Census tracts, different sampling rates based on address matching (for purposes of sending advance recruitment letters), the number of residential landline telephone lines working in each household, and the number of people in each household who were eligible to be sampled for the study. Base weights were created separately for Cohort 1 and Cohort 2 because these cohorts are independent samples.

After base weights were calculated to account for differences affecting selection probability, *post-stratification* adjustments were made. Post-stratification adjustments help to correct coverage errors, non-response bias, and panel attrition related to the dimensions on which weighting adjustments are made, assuring that the data match (or nearly match) known population benchmarks (also known as control totals).

Benchmarks for the weights were computed using the March 2008 Current Population Survey (CPS) (with demographic supplement). CPS population counts were based on a subset of the CPS sample to match the characteristics of the study population as closely as possible: U.S. citizens age 18 or older on Nov. 4, 2008.

CPS benchmarks were established using the following variables,[1] with categories indicated:

- *Sex*: female, male.
- *Census region*: Northeast, Midwest, South, West.[2]
- *Age (as of Election Day)*: 18-29, 30-39, 40-49, 50-59, 60-69, 70 or older.[3]

[1] The respective CPS variable names for these variables are PESEX, GEREG, PEAGE, PTDTRACE, and PEEDUCA.
[2] Regions are defined as follows. West: AK, AZ, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NM, NV, OR, UT, WA, WY.
Midwest: IL, IN, IA, KS, MI, MN, MO, NE, ND, OH, SD, WI.
South: AL, AR, DE, DC, FL, GA, KY, LA, MD, MS, NC, OK, SC, TN, TX, VA, WV.
Northeast: CT, ME, MA, NH, NJ, NY, PA, RI, VT.

- *Race-ethnicity*: white non-Hispanic, black non-Hispanic, Hispanic, other non-Hispanic.[4]
- *Educational attainment*: less than high school diploma, high school diploma, some college but no bachelor's degree, bachelor's degree, graduate degree.

The benchmark statistics for these variables are shown in Table 15.

Table 15. Benchmark statistics for ANES Panel Study weights: percentage distribution of the U.S. adult citizen population, by selected characteristics, 2008

Characteristic	Percent
Sex	
Male	47.8
Female	52.2
Census region	
Northeast	18.5
Midwest	23.1
South	36.7
West	21.8
Age	
18-29	21.3
30-39	16.5
40-49	19.5
50-59	18.3
60-69	12.1
70 or older	12.2
Race/ethnicity	
White, non-Hispanic	73.9
Black, non-Hispanic	11.7
Hispanic	9.2
Other, non-Hispanic	5.2
Educational attainment	
Less than high school diploma	11.9
High school diploma	31.4
Some college	29.2
Bachelor's degree	18.4
Graduate degree	9.2

Source: March 2008 Current Population Survey

Post-stratification was performed using raking. Raking is an iterative process in which the weights are adjusted to make the marginal distributions of the weighted data match the benchmark statistics.

[3] CPS reports age at the time of the interview, that is, during March 2008 for the 2008 CPS March supplement. The weighting benchmarks are based on U.S. citizens age 18 and older in the March 2008 CPS data. It is likely that the true percentage distribution of the age of the U.S. population at the time of the recruitment for the ANES Panel Study differs negligibly from the distribution in March 2008.

[4] "Other" includes two or more races, non-Hispanic, as well as other races such as Asian, American Indian, and Alaska Native.

To minimize variability in the weights and the resulting increase in the variance of estimates, weights were trimmed so that no weight is more than 5 or 6 times larger than the average weight. Trimming the weights also reduces the potential for outliers with very large weights to skew the results of an analysis. The threshold of 5 was selected in consultation with a committee of experts who advised us. This was relaxed to 6 for a few weights to bring weighted estimates close to benchmarks. Details are shown in Table 16, which presents descriptive statistics for each weight. (The "design effect" shown on the table is discussed in the next chapter.)

The weights are scaled to a mean of 1.000 and a sum equal to the unweighted number of cases. Note that the mean will not necessarily equal 1.000 if a subset of the data is used. The weighted *n* does not necessarily equal the number of cases in an analysis if any cases are missing from the analysis.

The steps followed to develop these weights are summarized as follows.

1. Impute missing ANES data required for weighting.[5]

2. Calculate applicable base weights for every case in the sample based on the first four weighting components described above: household RDD selection & oversample component, address match sampling, number of phone lines was ascertained, and number of eligible people in the household.

3. Subset the CPS file to match the study population, operationally defined as being represented on the CPS file by U.S. citizens age 18 or older.

4. Run weighted CPS estimates of population totals for each of the raking factors (sex, census region, age, race-ethnicity, and educational attainment) using the categories described above. This step produced Table 15.

5. Rake.

6. Scale the weights to a mean of 1. Trim weights larger than 5. Re-run raking as necessary so that variance inflation due to raking is minimal, weights do not exceed 5 or 6, and most estimates are within 2 percentage points of benchmarks.

[5] Values were randomly imputed for 4 cases of missing data for the number of phone lines in the household and 1 case for the number of eligible persons in the household. Values were assigned randomly based on the observed distribution in the non-missing data. Values were imputed using a hot-deck procedure for sex (1 case), age (1 case), race/ethnicity (17 cases), and educational attainment (1,044 cases). Hot-deck imputation assigns a value to replace missing data by copying data from a similar respondent on the same data file. Similar respondents were identified by matching respondents using predictor variables. Sex was imputed by copying sex from a respondent selected at random from among those respondents who matched the missing case on age category, internet status, recruitment cohort, and state. Age was imputed from cases matched on internet status, recruitment cohort, and state. Race/ethnicity was imputed from cases matched on age and state. Education was imputed from cases matched on internet status.

For discussion of the different weight variables on the file and instructions on using appropriate weights with any given analysis, see chapter 11 (p. 89) on analyzing the data.

Differences between weighted estimates and benchmarks are shown in Appendix D (p. 258).

Table 16. Descriptive statistics for Panel Study weights

Wave	Variable	n	Average design effect	Minimum weight	Maximum weight	1st percentile	99th percentile	Percent trimmed
Base Weight	wgtbase	4240	1.28	0.10	5.43	0.21	2.52	0.00
Cross-sectional weights								
Recruitment	wgtcsr	4240	1.73	0.06	4.98	0.13	4.74	0.78
Core Profile	wgtcsp	2892	1.80	0.07	4.99	0.14	4.99	0.97
Wave 1	wgtcs01	1623	1.84	0.07	4.99	0.14	4.99	1.17
Wave 2	wgtcs02	1457	1.91	0.08	4.99	0.14	4.99	1.65
Wave 3	wgtcs03	1466	1.92	0.07	4.90	0.13	4.90	1.84
Wave 4	wgtcs04	1343	1.98	0.07	4.83	0.13	4.83	2.01
Wave 5	wgtcs05	1148	1.98	0.07	4.73	0.12	4.73	2.26
Wave 6	wgtcs06	1420	1.91	0.07	4.94	0.13	4.94	1.48
Wave 7	wgtcs07	1108	1.96	0.06	4.74	0.11	4.74	2.17
Wave 8	wgtcs08	1396	1.92	0.07	4.94	0.12	4.94	1.65
Wave 9	wgtcs09	2586	1.85	0.07	4.87	0.14	4.87	1.31
Wave 10	wgtcs10	2628	1.86	0.06	4.99	0.13	4.99	1.45
Wave 11	wgtcs11	2665	1.87	0.07	4.99	0.13	4.99	1.39
Wave 12	wgtcs12	2536	1.89	0.07	4.98	0.13	4.98	1.46
Wave 13	wgtcs13	2543	1.90	0.07	4.98	0.13	4.98	1.69
Wave 14	wgtcs14	2552	1.90	0.07	4.98	0.14	4.98	1.49
Wave 15	wgtcs15	2492	1.89	0.07	4.85	0.13	4.85	1.85
Wave 16	wgtcs16	2407	1.92	0.07	4.94	0.13	4.94	1.79
Wave 17	wgtcs17	2389	1.91	0.07	4.95	0.13	4.95	1.67
Wave 18	wgtcs18	2330	1.89	0.07	4.93	0.14	4.93	1.59
Wave 19	wgtcs19	2313	1.92	0.06	4.99	0.12	4.99	1.77
Wave 20	wgtcs20	2273	1.90	0.06	5.00	0.14	5.00	1.94
Wave 21	wgtcs21	2199	1.90	0.07	4.97	0.14	4.97	1.86
Cumulative ANES Panel weights								
Wave 2	wgtc02	1406	1.91	0.07	4.94	0.14	4.94	1.56
Wave 6	wgtc06	1253	1.94	0.07	4.99	0.13	4.99	1.76
Wave 9	wgtc09	1146	1.99	0.06	4.87	0.12	4.87	1.92
Wave 10	wgtc10	1084	2.03	0.06	4.99	0.11	4.99	1.85
Wave 11	wgtc11	1058	2.02	0.06	4.82	0.11	4.82	2.08
Wave 13	wgtc13	1010	2.10	0.07	4.94	0.10	4.94	2.28
Wave 17	wgtc17	937	2.10	0.08	4.92	0.10	4.92	2.35
Wave 19	wgtc19	877	2.12	0.06	4.94	0.10	4.94	2.85
Wave 20	wgtc20	848	2.11	0.07	4.96	0.10	4.96	2.71

Table continues. See notes at end of table

Table 16. Descriptive statistics for Panel Study weights—continued

Wave	Variable	n	Average design effect	Minimum weight	Maximum weight	1st percentile	99th percentile	Percent trimmed
Cumulative extended panel weights								
Wave 2	wgte02	1406	1.91	0.07	4.94	0.14	4.94	1.56
Wave 3	wgte03	1310	1.94	0.07	4.96	0.13	4.96	2.06
Wave 4	wgte04	1223	1.99	0.07	4.79	0.13	4.79	2.29
Wave 5	wgte05	1084	2.02	0.07	4.80	0.12	4.80	2.21
Wave 6	wgte06	1006	2.07	0.06	4.85	0.12	4.85	2.29
Wave 7	wgte07	886	2.08	0.06	4.91	0.10	4.91	2.37
Wave 8	wgte08	845	2.05	0.06	4.75	0.11	4.75	2.84
Wave 9	wgte09	811	2.07	0.06	4.93	0.10	4.93	2.59
Wave 10	wgte10	784	2.08	0.06	4.91	0.10	4.91	2.55
Wave 11	wgte11	773	2.08	0.06	4.83	0.10	4.83	2.59
Wave 12	wgte12	760	2.15	0.06	5.31	0.10	5.31	2.50
Wave 13	wgte13	745	2.14	0.06	5.17	0.10	5.17	2.55
Wave 14	wgte14	728	2.11	0.06	5.02	0.10	5.02	2.63
Wave 15	wgte15	717	2.12	0.06	5.09	0.10	5.09	2.65
Wave 16	wgte16	689	2.18	0.06	5.23	0.10	5.23	2.76
Wave 17	wgte17	665	2.26	0.06	5.62	0.10	5.62	2.41
Wave 18	wgte18	646	2.25	0.06	5.61	0.10	5.61	2.32
Wave 19	wgte19	632	2.34	0.06	6.04	0.10	6.04	2.06
Wave 20	wgte20	616	2.37	0.06	6.14	0.10	6.14	1.95
Wave 21	wgte21	602	2.39	0.06	6.26	0.10	6.26	1.99
Cumulative late panel weights								
Wave 9	wgtL09	2586	1.85	0.07	4.87	0.14	4.87	1.31
Wave 10	wgtL10	2393	1.88	0.07	4.86	0.13	4.86	1.50
Wave 11	wgtL11	2312	1.91	0.07	4.96	0.13	4.96	1.60
Wave 12	wgtL12	2195	1.93	0.07	4.90	0.13	4.90	1.78
Wave 13	wgtL13	2121	1.95	0.07	4.94	0.13	4.94	1.84
Wave 14	wgtL14	2067	1.95	0.07	4.90	0.13	4.90	1.94
Wave 15	wgtL15	1996	1.98	0.07	4.95	0.12	4.95	2.00
Wave 16	wgtL16	1910	1.97	0.07	4.95	0.12	4.95	2.20
Wave 17	wgtL17	1808	2.00	0.06	4.97	0.12	4.97	2.21
Wave 18	wgtL18	1733	1.99	0.06	4.82	0.11	4.82	2.54
Wave 19	wgtL19	1673	2.02	0.06	4.87	0.11	4.87	2.51
Wave 20	wgtL20	1628	2.03	0.06	4.99	0.11	4.99	2.46
Wave 21	wgtL21	1572	2.02	0.06	4.99	0.11	4.99	2.61
Post-election weights								
Wave 11	wgtpp11	2313	1.91	0.07	4.96	0.13	4.96	0.02
Wave 13	wgtpp13	2176	1.91	0.07	4.83	0.13	4.83	0.02
Wave 17	wgtpp17	1980	1.99	0.07	4.99	0.13	4.99	0.02
Wave 19	wgtpp19	1847	2.01	0.06	4.95	0.12	4.95	0.02
Wave 20	wgtpp20	1774	1.99	0.06	4.91	0.12	4.91	0.02
DHS weight								
Wave 17	wgtdhs	1176	2.04	0.06	4.99	0.10	4.99	0.02

Source: Knowledge Networks, Inc.

9. Accuracy of Estimates[†]

This chapter assesses the accuracy of the Panel Study estimates from November 2008. We focus on the November 2008 wave because this was the wave on which the study's focal outcome variables of voter turnout and candidate choice were measured and because the study was designed to represent the population of U.S. citizens age 18 or older on November 4, 2008.

Benchmarks. We assess accuracy by comparing selected Panel Study estimates to population benchmarks. Benchmarks are characteristics of the population that can be known with a high degree of certainty and compared to ANES studies. Benchmarks for demographic characteristics come from the Current Population Survey (CPS), conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau in collaboration with the Bureau of Labor Statistics. The CPS is a large, nationally representative survey with a very high response rate. Its most widely appreciated use is estimation of the nation's unemployment rate, but the large sample size and high response rate of the CPS make it a common reference point for survey statisticians to assess the quality of samples.

We calculated benchmark statistics from the November 2008 CPS for age, sex, race/ethnicity, educational attainment, household size, and marital status. Benchmarks for home tenure and household income were not available from the November 2008 CPS, so we used the March 2008 CPS for these statistics. All CPS statistics are for the subset of the population that is 18 years old or older and holds U.S. citizenship.

We also obtained benchmarks for presidential popular vote percentages and for turnout. The popular vote percentages are from official vote tallies compiled by Federal Election Commission (available at http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2008/2008presgeresults.pdf). The benchmark voter turnout rate is based on United States Elections Project 2008 turnout estimates of the total ballots counted and the voting eligible population (see http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2008G.html). This rate differs from rates based on the voting age population and from the total ballots counted for any specific office. For more information about how these and other statistics were calculated, see DeBell and Cowden (2010).

The Panel Study's post-stratified weights were designed to make the Panel Study estimates match March 2008 CPS estimates by age, sex, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment. The benchmarks presented here for these characteristics are from November 2008, and population changes between March and November 2008 may contribute slightly to the differences found.

[†] Most of this chapter is excerpted from *Benchmark Report for the 2008 American National Election Studies Time Series and Panel Study* (DeBell & Cowden, 2010).

Comparisons to Benchmarks

Table 17 presents comparisons of Panel Study estimates to benchmarks. Statistics are presented for age, sex, race/ethnicity, educational attainment, home tenure, household size, marital status, household income, presidential vote choice, and voter turnout.

Table 17. Percentage distribution of selected characteristics in 2008 ANES Panel Study compared to population benchmarks: November 2008

		Unweighted		Design weight		Post-stratified weights					
		Cross-section		Cross-section		Cross-section		Cumulative, cohort 1		Late cumulative	
Characteristc	Benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark	Percent	Difference from benchmark
Age											
18-29	21.3	8.3	-13.0	10.0	-11.3 ***	18.5	-2.8 *	18.0	-3.3	18.0	-3.3 *
30-39	16.4	15.3	-1.1	15.2	-1.2	17.1	0.7	16.8	0.4	17.1	0.7
40-49	19.3	21.6	2.3	22.5	3.2 ***	20.3	1.0	20.4	1.1	20.4	1.1
50-59	18.3	25.2	6.9	25.4	7.1 ***	19.0	0.7	19.4	1.1	19.1	0.8
60-69	12.6	19.0	6.4	18.1	5.5 ***	12.7	0.1	12.7	0.1	12.7	0.1
70 or older	12.2	10.6	-1.6	8.8	-3.4 ***	12.4	0.2	12.7	0.5	12.6	0.4
Sex											
Male	48.0	42.1	-5.9	43.8	-4.2 ***	47.3	-0.7	48.4	0.4	47.5	-0.5
Female	52.0	57.9	5.9	56.2	4.2 ***	52.7	0.7	51.6	-0.4	52.5	0.5
Race/ethnicity											
White	83.4	87.6	4.2	89.5	6.1 ***	83.4	0.0	83.2	-0.2	83.7	0.3
Black	12.5	9.2	-3.3	6.7	-5.8 ***	12.2	-0.3	11.5	-1.0	12.0	-0.5
Asian	3.7	3.9	0.2	4.3	0.6	4.0	0.3	4.1	0.4	4.0	0.3
Native American or Alaska Nat	1.8	1.9	0.1	1.9	0.1	2.3	0.5	3.5	1.7	2.4	0.6
Pacific Islander	0.3	0.9	0.6	1.0	0.7 **	1.1	0.8 **	1.3	1.0 *	1.2	0.9 **
Hispanic	9.5	4.9	-4.6	4.6	-4.9 ***	7.9	-1.6	7.9	-1.6	7.5	-2.0 *
Other	0.0	6.5	6.5	6.3	6.3 ***	8.7	8.7 ***	10.1	10.1 ***	8.4	8.4 ***
Educational attainment											
Less than high school credenti	11.2	3.3	-7.9	3.4	-7.8 ***	9.8	-1.4	9.4	-1.8	9.6	-1.6
High school diploma/equiv.	31.7	15.6	-16.1	15.4	-16.3 ***	31.1	-0.6	30.6	-1.1	30.9	-0.8
Some college	29.6	36.9	7.3	37.7	8.1 ***	30.5	0.9	31.2	1.6	30.7	1.1
Bachelor's degree	18.5	24.6	6.1	24.6	6.1 ***	19.0	0.5	19.2	0.7	19.3	0.8
Graduate degree	9.0	19.6	10.6	18.9	9.9 ***	9.6	0.6	9.8	0.8	9.6	0.6
Home tenure											
Own	74.4	81.5	7.1	82.7	8.3 ***	76.3	1.9	78.3	3.9	77.3	2.9 *
Rent	24.3	13.7	-10.6	11.4	-12.9 ***	15.0	-9.3 ***	13.8	-10.5 ***	14.2	-10.1 ***
Other	1.2	4.8	3.6	5.9	4.7 ***	8.7	7.5 ***	7.9	6.7 ***	8.5	7.3 ***
Household size											
1 person	15.2	17.4	2.2	9.9	-5.3 ***	9.8	-5.4 ***	10.5	-4.7 ***	9.6	-5.6 ***
2 people	35.0	38.4	3.4	37.3	2.3 *	34.7	-0.3	36.4	1.4	35.2	0.2
3 people	19.1	17.1	-2.0	19.2	0.1	19.6	0.5	19.1	0.0	19.4	0.3
4 people	17.1	15.9	-1.2	19.0	1.9 *	19.2	2.1	17.0	-0.1	18.9	1.8
5 people	8.2	17.6	9.4	9.8	1.6 *	11.3	3.1 **	12.3	4.1 *	11.5	3.3 **
6 people	3.1	2.4	-0.7	3.0	-0.1	3.6	0.5	2.5	-0.6	3.6	0.5
7 or more	2.2	1.3	-0.9	1.8	-0.4	1.9	-0.3	2.2	0.0	1.9	-0.3
Marital status											
Married	55.1	64.4	9.3	71.9	16.8 ***	65.3	10.2 ***	67.7	12.6 ***	66.7	11.6 ***
Separated	2.0	1.3	-0.7	1.0	-1.0 ***	1.5	-0.5	1.6	-0.4	1.5	-0.5
Divorced	10.7	13.5	2.8	9.7	-1.0	8.7	-2.0 **	7.0	-3.7 ***	8.2	-2.5 ***
Widowed	6.6	5.3	-1.3	3.3	-3.3 ***	3.9	-2.7 ***	3.7	-2.9 ***	3.7	-2.9 ***
Never married	25.6	15.5	-10.1	14.1	-11.5 ***	20.6	-5.0 ***	20.0	-5.6 **	19.9	-5.7 ***
Household income, annual											
$14,999 or less	8.9	5.5	-3.4	4.1	-4.8 ***	6.7	-2.2 **	7.1	-1.8	5.9	-3.0 ***
$15,000-$29,999	13.6	10.7	-2.9	9.4	-4.2 ***	13.4	-0.2	13.1	-0.5	12.9	-0.7
$30,000-$49,999	18.0	21.7	3.7	20.6	2.6 **	23.2	5.2 ***	22.1	4.1 *	22.7	4.7 ***
$50,000-$74,999	19.2	22.5	3.3	22.8	3.6 ***	22.9	3.7 **	22.9	3.7 *	24.1	4.9 ***
$75,000-$99,999	14.4	15.3	1.0	16.7	2.4 **	14.2	-0.2	16.5	2.2	14.8	0.5
$100,000 or more	26.1	24.3	-1.8	26.4	0.3	19.5	-6.6 ***	18.3	-7.8 ***	19.7	-6.4 ***
Presidential vote choice											
Obama	52.9	51.8	-1.1	48.5	-4.4 ***	49.4	-3.5 *	45.8	-7.1 **	48.4	-4.5 **
McCain	45.7	45.7	0.0	48.7	3.0 **	47.1	1.4	49.8	4.1	47.6	1.9
Other	1.4	2.5	1.1	2.8	1.4 ***	3.5	2.1 ***	4.4	3.0 *	3.9	2.5 ***
Turnout											
Voted	62.3	89.5	27.2	89.0	26.7 ***	84.5	22.2 ***	84.0	21.7 ***	85.1	22.8 ***
Did not vote	37.7	10.5	-27.2	11.0	-26.7 ***	15.5	-22.2 ***	16.0	-21.7 ***	14.9	-22.8 ***

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

n = 2,665 for cross-section, 1,058 for Cumulative cohort 1, and 2,312 for Late Cumulative estimates.

Notes: Turnout is the total ballots counted divided by the voting eligible population. This differs from rates based on the voting age population or the total ballots cast for president. Race/ethnicity categories are indicator variables. Respondents may identify with more than one race/ethnicity, so race/ethnicity percentages do not sum to 100 percent. For standard errors of these estimates, see DeBell & Cowden (2010), Table 2A.

Sources: Presidential vote choice benchmarks: data compiled by Federal Election Commission, available at http://www.fec.gov/pubrec/fe2008/2008presgeresults.pdf. Turnout benchmarks: United States Elections Project 2008 turnout estimates at http://elections.gmu.edu/Turnout_2008G.html. Home tenure and household income benchmarks: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, March 2008. Other benchmarks: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, November 2008. ANES estimates: 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study staff file. Table: DeBell & Cowden (2010), Table 2.

The cross-sectional estimates (with poststratification weights) are accurate within 5 points of the benchmark for 84 percent of statistics examined (36 of 43). The Panel Study over-estimates voter turnout by 22 points and also differs from benchmarks by more than 5 points for the proportion of those self-identifying as an "other" race (though, as will be noted, this estimate is not comparable to the benchmark), those renting or having "other" home tenure status, households of one person, those who are married, and those in households with incomes of $30,000 to $49,999 or $100,000 or more. Excluding turnout, the average absolute error across all proportions examined was 2.1 percentage points.

The remainder of this chapter discusses the comparisons to benchmarks in detail.

The Panel Study estimates are from the November (post-election) wave of the panel. Five sets of estimates are presented.

- Unweighted estimates present raw data that are not intended for analysis and are not designed to be representative of the population. These numbers are based on all 2,665 respondents to the November 2008 wave of the Panel Study.

- The "Design weight, Cross-section" estimates use weights that adjust for probability of selection but are not poststratified. These estimates use data from all of the 2,665 respondents to the November 2008 wave of the Panel Study.

- The Post-stratified Cross-section estimates use weights that are post-stratified to match March 2008 CPS estimates for sex, census region, metropolitan status, age, race/ethnicity, and educational attainment. These estimates use all of the 2,665 respondents to the November 2008 survey.

- The Post-stratified Cumulative, cohort 1 estimates are poststratified as described above and use the 1,058 respondents from the first recruitment cohort (recruited to begin panel participation in January 2008) who completed the ANES panel surveys in January, February, June, September, October, and November 2008.

- The Post-stratified Late Cumulative estimates are poststratified as described above and use the 2,312 respondents who completed the ANES panel surveys in September, October, and November 2008. This includes respondents from both recruitment cohorts.

Table 17 presents 46 rows of statistics, of which a few are functions of each other, leaving statistics for 44 unique characteristics. We also exclude the "other" race/ethnicity category from these comparisons because there is no CPS question comparable to the Panel Study question that gathered this information. This leaves 43 categories for comparison.

For the Cross-sectional post-stratified estimates, no statistically significant difference between the benchmark and the estimate is detected for 26 of these 43 statistics. Of the

18 statistics for which a statistically significant difference is detected (excluding one redundant sex category, one redundant turnout category, and the "other" race/ethnicity category), seven are less than 3 percentage points. Three are between 3 and 4.9 percentage points, six are between 5 and 10 percentage points, and two exceed 10 percentage points.

For the cross-sectional estimates, the average absolute error was 2.6 percentage points. Excluding turnout, the average error was 2.1 points; for the poststratification factors alone, the average error was 0.8 points, and for the factors not used in weighting, the average error was 3.8 points.

We discuss the statistically significant differences below, focusing on the cross-sectional estimates. The cumulative estimates are very similar and may be gleaned from Table 17.

Panel Study estimates for age show one statistically significant difference from benchmarks, for those age 18-29. There are no statistically differences for sex. Slight differences exist after poststratification because poststratification weights were computed to allow small differences in order to minimize design effects.

Race and ethnicity match the CPS estimates (within 2 percentage points) in all CPS categories. Differences for Pacific Islanders are statistically significant, but small (0.8 percentage points in the November cross-sectional estimates). The "other" category is not used by CPS, but ANES estimates 8.7 percent of the population would identify this way.

Education estimates are accurate overall. No differences are statistically significant.

Home tenure estimates show significant inaccuracy. The study over-estimates the proportion of adult citizens who own their own homes by about 2-4 percentage points (significant only for the late cumulative estimates) while under-estimating renters by about 9-11 percentage points. This may be because the greater mobility of renters makes them more difficult to recruit to a long-term panel study. Those living in "other" household arrangements are over-represented by about 7-8 points.

Household size estimates are not always accurate. For five person households the post-stratified estimates overshoot the benchmark by 3-4 points, while for 1-person households these estimates are too low (by about 5-6 percent).

Married people are over-represented (by 10 to 13 points) and people who are divorced, widowed, or never married are all under-represented (by about 2 to 6 points).

On income, the sample over-represents the middle and under-represents the extremes. For example, in the poststratified cross-sectional estimates, the lowest income category ($14,999 or less per year) is 6.7 percent of the sample compared to 8.9 percent for the benchmark, and the highest income category ($100,000 or more) is 19.5 percent compared to 26.1 for the benchmark. In the middle categories ($30,000 to $49,999 and $50,000 to $74,999), the survey estimates are 4 to 5 points too high.

Presidential vote choice is a variable of special interest in the ANES. No statistically significant difference is detected between the true McCain vote percentage and any poststratified survey estimate. However, estimates for Obama's vote percentage are consistently too low. The poststratified cross-sectional weight puts Obama and McCain at 49.4 percent and 47.1 percent, respectively, which understates Obama's percentage, overstates McCain's percentage, and understates Obama's margin. Although the cumulative cohort 1 estimate shows McCain ahead by 4 percentage points, the difference between the McCain and Obama estimates is not statistically significant. However, the under-estimate of Obama's vote percentage is statistically significant.

Turnout was substantially over-estimated. Compared to the benchmark of 62.3 percent, the Panel Study's weighted estimates are 22 to 23 percentage points too high (at 84.0 to 85.1 percent). ANES is currently undertaking a voter validation study that may show the extent to which this over-estimate is due to mis-reporting or sample bias.

Conclusions. Overall, four-fifths of reported estimates for the Panel Study have only small errors, that is, differences that are less than five percentage points, that are statistically insignificant, or both. Excluding turnout, the average absolute error across all proportions examined was 2.1 percentage points.

Consistent with prior results from ANES surveys and other sources, the Panel Study data over-estimate voter turnout by a large margin (22 points). The data also miss population benchmarks by more than 5 percentage points for those self-identifying as an "other" race, those renting or having "other" home tenure status, households of one person, those who are married, and those in households with incomes of $30,000 to $49,999 or $100,000 or more.

10. Validation of Respondents & Data

After data collection for each ANES survey in January, February, June, September, October, and November 2008 and May 2009, validation studies were conducted by telephone with a subset of the ANES respondents.

The validation surveys were intended to allow verification that the person who completed the online survey was the sampled respondent. The validation studies also collected data that allow tests of the reliability of online reporting compared to telephone reporting for a very small set of questions, and they collected feedback from panelists about their experience with the surveys.

Validation Survey Methods, Design, and Content

Validation surveys were conducted with random samples of approximately 10 percent of panelists who completed the prior ANES wave. Panelists selected for a validation survey were contacted by telephone for short surveys designed to take about 5 minutes.

Seven validation surveys were conducted, following the ANES waves in January, February, June, September, October, and November 2008 and May 2009. Selection for each validation survey was random and independent, so individual panelists may have completed anywhere from 0 to 7 validation surveys during the course of the Panel Study.

Because the validation surveys were conducted with a 10 percent sample of each wave's respondents, they are not comprehensive. However, the validation method is sensitive enough that if substitutions were prevalent, in which the online surveys were being completed by someone other than the sampled person, the validation surveys would be likely to detect this.

Each validation survey followed the same general procedure. Telephone interviewers began validation after most or all data collection was complete for a particular wave. At least 7 dial attempts were made with each selected panelist, continuing until an interview was completed, refused, or the target number of interviews for the survey was completed. The dates and number of validation interviews for each survey are shown in the table below. The validation questionnaires are in Appendix E (page 264). The validation data are included on the study's supplemental data files.

Table 18. Dates and number of validation interviews for ANES waves

ANES Wave	Field dates	Validation dates	Validation *n*
January 2008	Jan. 18 – April 11	March 6 – 26	169
February 2008	Feb. 7 – May 1	April 15 – May 15	145
June 2008	June 5 – Aug 11	Sept. 11 – 18	166
September 2008	Sept. 3 – Oct. 2	Oct. 14 – Nov. 8	249
October 2008	Oct 2 – Nov 5	Dec 12 – 21	250
November 2008	Nov. 5 – Dec. 15	Dec. 19 – Jan. 4	266
May 2009	May 7 – June 4	June 12 – 24	239

In each validation survey, the interviewer began by asking for the sampled person by name. This was a key element of the validation process. Sampled members of the panel were identified by name during the recruitment and the same named individual was asked for at the beginning of each validation call. After identifying the panelist by name, the interviewer continued the interview by asking whether that respondent had signed up as a panelist and had completed the prior month's survey. Any respondent who said anything but "yes" was asked if someone else in the household might have completed the survey instead of the respondent. No respondent ever said this could have happened.

The interviewer asked if the respondent remembered the topic of the survey, and the interviewer typed the response. The interviewer next asked the respondent's year of birth, recorded or asked their sex, and asked their educational attainment.

On each of the last four surveys, U.S. citizenship status was asked. On each survey, the interviewer also asked three or four additional questions that were asked on the ANES online survey being validated, such as party identification, home ownership status, and voter turnout.

Outcome rates from validation surveys

The validation-stage response rate for a validation survey is the number of completed validation interviews divided by the number of cases subsampled for a validation attempt. These stage-specific response rates vary from a low of 58.0 percent to a high of 67.6 percent, with an average of 63.5 percent. The rate for each wave is shown below.

Table 19. Validation-survey-stage response rates

Wave	Number sampled	Number completed	Response rate
1	250	169	67.6
2	250	145	58.0
6	249	165	66.3
9	397	249	62.7
10	396	250	63.1
11	399	266	66.7
17	398	238	59.8

Additional outcome rates for the validation surveys, such as completion, contact, and refusal rates, can be calculated by analyzing the publicly available call record data.

Results of validation of respondent identity

A brief overview of the results of the validation surveys is presented here as documentation of the Panel Study methodology. The validation survey data are a resource for the research community in the same vein as the data from the main ANES surveys, and are available for download from the ANES web site. ANES staff have not undertaken a comprehensive analysis of these data because the ANES mission is the public dissemination of datasets rather than their analysis.

The main purpose of the validation surveys was to verify that the sampled person completed the online surveys, rather than allowing a substitute to do so. We assessed this in three ways: by directly asking the sampled person if he or she had signed up to be a part of the panel and take a survey each month and if anyone else could have completed the survey instead of the sampled person; by testing the respondent's knowledge of the survey topic; and by matching the online survey responses to the telephone survey responses for items that should be measured with a high degree of reliability and that are expected to be stable over time, such as sex and year of birth.

Direct questioning: In a total of 1,482 validation interviews, every respondent on every validation wave said that he or she had signed up to be a panelist. No respondent ever said that someone else had done a survey in their place.

Recollection of the survey topic: The proportion of validation respondents reporting that they could remember the topic of the survey in the reference month ranged from a low of 16.9 percent in the Wave 6 validation survey to a high of 74.0 percent in the Wave 1 validation survey. Excluding the low 16.9 percent recall rate for Wave 6, which is an outlier, the average proportion reporting that they remembered the topic was 59.3 percent. The rates for each wave are presented in Table 20, below.

Table 20. Number and percent of validation survey respondents saying they remembered the Internet survey topic

Wave	*Number*	*Percent*
1	125	74.0
2	96	66.2
6	28	16.9
9	156	62.7
10	133	53.2
11	132	49.6
17	120	50.2

The low recall rates for the survey topic may result from the passage of time between respondents' completion of the online survey and the validation interviews. The lowest recall rate was obtained on the validation survey with the longest delay in fielding, and the highest recall rates were obtained for surveys with shorter delays in fielding. For example, the September data collection took place between September 3 and October 4, and the validation study for September took place between October 14 and November 8. About 63 percent of respondents said they remembered the topic of the September survey. However, for the June survey, for which validation was conducted in September, only 17 percent of respondents said they could remember the topic. It is not surprising that most respondents could not remember the June survey topic when they were asked about it three months later, after they had completed two or three additional surveys on other topics.

The low topic recollection rates combined with their evident association with the timing of the questionnaires precludes drawing any firm conclusions about survey validity from topic recollection rates. Certainly the proportion of validation respondents who remember the survey topic does not reflect the proportion who actually took the survey, because direct confirmation of respondent identity and matching of demographic characteristics and survey responses indicate much higher proportions.

Any future validation effort of this type should minimize the delay between survey completion and validation and should attempt to conduct validation surveys immediately after an individual's completion of the online survey, rather than after the end of the online field period.

Results of item reliability assessments for sex and year of birth

Consistency of reports of sex and birth year between the online survey and the telephone validation surveys would afford confidence that the same person completed the online survey and the validation interview. Any differences would be attributable to reporting error, data entry error, data processing error, or to a different person completing the two surveys, since an actual change in these variables is unlikely. Although distinguishing respondent substitutions from reporting, data entry, and data processing errors in individual cases is not possible with the current data, a low but nonzero level of

inconsistency would be consistent with the expected low reporting error rate for data on sex and year of birth. A high rate of inconsistency would raise concerns about respondent substitution as a possible explanation for the errors.

These variables differ in their sensitivity to respondent substitution. If a spouse completes a survey for the sampled respondent, then sex will usually differ and year of birth will often differ. If a child completes the survey for a sampled parent, then age will differ and sex will also differ half the time. However, if a roommate acts as a substitute, then neither sex nor birth year may differ. Thus the item reliability assessments are only a rough indicator of the possibility of respondent substitution. They are also more general indicators of the reliability of the data.

There are two ways to evaluate the consistency of these items. One is to examine the number of cases that reported definitively different (clearly inconsistent) information. Another is to examine the number of cases that failed to report identical information. The difference between these two methods lies primarily in missing data due to item nonresponse. For example, on the Wave 1 validation, one respondent's sex was reported to be different than the sex reported online. This is inconsistent information. An additional 12 cases did not match their online report due to missing data in one of the two collections. Data for these cases are not identical, but they do not contain inconsistent reports of respondent characteristics.

Missing data in one data collection do not constitute evidence that data reported in another data collection are incorrect, and respondents may decline to answer questions for a variety of reasons, so we examine item reliability by reporting the number and proportion of cases with inconsistent reports of respondent characteristics.

Table 21. Number and percent of validation survey respondents with inconsistent reports of sex or birth year

	Sex inconsistency		Year of birth inconsistency	
Wave	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
1	1	0.6	5	3.0
2	2	1.4	4	2.8
6	0	0.0	10	6.1
9	3	1.2	19	7.6
10	2	0.8	14	5.6
11	4	1.5	21	7.9
17	6	2.5	18	7.6

The number of match inconsistencies rises after wave 6. This is expected because of the increased size of the panel with the addition of the second recruitment cohort at wave 9.

These inconsistency rates, which range from a low of 0 to a high of 7.9 percent, could reflect occasional instances of surrogate respondents completing an online survey instead of the sampled person. There are two reasons to doubt that many of these are due to surrogate responses, however.

First, 65 percent of the year of birth inconsistencies differ by one digit, either as a difference of 1 year or as a difference of 10 years. A single keystroke typographical error could cause such inconsistency. If the differences are due to typographical errors, we would expect a high proportion of them to be differences of 1 or 10 years, because this would be the consequence of accidentally typing the adjacent key on a keyboard. However, if differences were due to respondent substitutions, we would not necessarily expect such a pattern. (Moreover, other patterns are possible due to typographical error.) This number of differences of 1 or 10 years is consistent with typographical error as a predominant explanation for inconsistencies.

Second, these results are comparable to the reliability results for similar questions from face-to-face panel surveys including the ANES Time Series and the General Social Survey. Data on the respondent's sex, age, country of birth, and other "invariant" characteristics have been found to be inconsistent after repeated measures. Item error rates in the single digits, as observed here, do not appear unusual when compared to face-to-face surveys (Schreiber, 1976; Smith and Stephenson, 1979).

11. Analyzing the Data with Weights and Correct Significance Testing

This section describes the use of weights and the procedures to perform tests of statistical significance that are consistent with the design of the study. For more general information about analysis of ANES data, see DeBell (2010).

Selecting Appropriate Weights

You must use the weights to generalize to the population.[6] The Panel Study used a complex sample design and is intended to be analyzed with weights. The weights adjust for unequal probabilities of selection and for nonresponse bias. In so doing, they account for differences in the number of Americans represented by each member of the panel.

This section provides concise instructions for selecting the most appropriate weight for a given analysis. For description of the procedure by which the weights were created, see the Weights section (page 73).

The ANES data file has data from twelve stages of data collection (recruitment, profile, and online questionnaires nominally in each month from January, February, June, September, October, and November 2008 and January, May, July, and August 2009). At least one unique subset of respondents completed each stage. As such, different weights are needed for analysis of various subsets of respondents at particular stages of data collection.

In addition to these weights for ANES data, weights computed using the same methods as the ANES weights are provided for the off-wave data on the supplemental data file.

There are 71 weight variables for the study. These consist of the base weight (an interim stage in the calculation of the other weights), one cross-sectional weight variable each for the Recruitment and Profile surveys, and additional weights for the analysis of ANES waves individually or in various combinations. With the exception of the base weight, which is not post-stratified, the 70 post-stratified weights intended for use in data analysis are listed in Table 22. Only the weights from ANES waves are on the ANES data file; weights from the off waves are included with the supplemental data.

[6] Model-based alternatives to weighting are possible, but for most users weights are both the easiest and the most accurate method to produce estimates that can be generalized to the population.

Table 22. Weights for the ANES 2008-2009 Panel Study: Weight variables and number of cases for each weight

Stage/wave	Cross-sectional weight	Cumulative ANES panel weight	Cumulative extended panel weight	Cumulative late panel weight	Post-election weight	DHS weight
Recruitment	wgtcsr	—	—	—	—	—
	4240	—	—	—	—	—
Profile	wgtcsp	—	—	—	—	—
	2892	—	—	—	—	—
1 (ANES)	wgtcs01	(=wgtcs01)	(=wgtcs01)	—	—	—
	1623	1623	1623	—	—	—
2 (ANES)	wgtcs02	wgtc02	wgte02	—	—	—
	1457	1406	1406	—	—	—
3	wgtcs03	—	wgte03	—	—	—
	1466	—	1310	—	—	—
4	wgtcs04	—	wgte04	—	—	—
	1343	—	1223	—	—	—
5	wgtcs05	—	wgte05	—	—	—
	1148	—	1084	—	—	—
6 (ANES)	wgtcs06	wgtc06	wgte06	—	—	—
	1420	1253	1006	—	—	—
7	wgtcs07	—	wgte07	—	—	—
	1108	—	886	—	—	—
8	wgtcs08	—	wgte08	—	—	—
	1396	—	845	—	—	—
9 (ANES)	wgtcs09	wgtc09	wgte09	wgtL09	—	—
	2586	1146	811	2586	—	—
10 (ANES)	wgtcs10	wgtc10	wgte10	wgtL10	—	—
	2628	1084	784	2393	—	—
11 (ANES)	wgtcs11	wgtc11	wgte11	wgtL11	(=wgtL11)	—
	2665	1058	773	2312	—	—
12	wgtcs12	—	wgte12	wgtL12	—	—
	2536	—	760	2195	—	—
13 (Part ANES)	wgtcs13	wgtc13	wgte13	wgtL13	wgtpp13	—
	2543	1010	745	2121	2176	—
14	wgtcs14	—	wgte14	wgtL14	—	—
	2552	—	728	2067	—	—
15	wgtcs15	—	wgte15	wgtL15	—	—
	2492	—	717	1996	—	—
16	wgtcs16	—	wgte16	wgtL16	—	—
	2407	—	689	1910	—	—
17 (ANES)	wgtcs17	wgtc17	wgte17	wgtL17	wgtpp17	wgtdhs
	2389	937	665	1808	1980	1176
18	wgtcs18	—	wgte18	wgtL18	—	—
	2330	—	646	1733	—	—
19 (Part ANES)	wgtcs19	wgtc19	wgte19	wgtL19	wgtpp19	—
	2313	877	632	1673	1847	—
20 (Part ANES)	wgtcs20	wgtc20	wgte20	wgtL20	wgtpp20	—
	2273	848	616	1628	1774	—
21	wgtcs21	—	wgte21	wgtL21	—	—
	2199	—	602	1572	—	—

— Not applicable.

Note: Weight names such as wgtcs01 are variable names on the data file. Numbers below each name such as 1623 are the number of cases for which the weight has been calculated. See main text for information about how each weight was calculated and how to choose the best weight for an analysis. Entries in parentheses, such as "(=wgtcs01)," indicate that the weight for this category is the same as the indicated variable.

Source: ANES and Knowledge Networks staff.

Table 22 shows six kinds of analysis weights, calculated for different subsets of the sample to support different kinds of analysis. These are the Cross-sectional weight, Cumulative ANES panel weight, Cumulative extended panel weight, Cumulative late panel weight, Post-election weight, and DHS weight. In analysis, you use one weight at a time. Simple instructions for choosing the best weight for an analysis are presented below, after a description of each type of weight.

- *Cross-sectional weight*. The cross-sectional weight is non-zero for any respondent who completed a given wave of the study. It is zero for each respondent who did not complete a given wave. This weight is calculated for all 23 stages of the study. For example, the cross-sectional weight for wave 9 is non-zero for each respondent who completed wave 9 and is zero for everyone else who did not complete wave 9. The cross-sectional weight is for an analysis of data from just one wave. Note: The cross-sectional weight may not be optimal for analysis of a given wave and prior waves together because the panelists who responded to a prior wave may not be the same panelists who responded to the current wave. As a result, cases may be unnecessarily dropped from an analysis, or the weight used may have been calculated for optimal use with a larger number of cases. For such analyses, a cumulative weight may be more appropriate.
- *Cumulative ANES panel weight*. This weight is non-zero for respondents who completed a given ANES wave and all prior ANES waves. For example, the cumulative ANES panel weight for wave 9 is non-zero for each respondent who completed waves 1, 2, 6, and 9, and is zero for everyone else.
- *Cumulative extended panel weight*. This weight is non-zero for respondents who completed a given wave and all prior numbered waves including off-waves. For example, the cumulative extended panel weight for wave 9 is non-zero for each respondent who completed waves 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9, and is zero for everyone else. The word "extended" refers to the extension of the data to include off-wave (non-ANES) data.
- *Cumulative late panel weight*. Cohort 2 added new respondents to the panel beginning with wave 9, marking a new phase in the study. This weight is non-zero for respondents who completed a given wave and all prior waves from wave 9 onward. For example, this weight for wave 11 is non-zero for respondents who completed waves 9, 10, and 11, whether those respondents are part of cohort 1 or cohort 2.
- *Post-election weight*. There are four post-election weights: wgtpp13 is non-zero for respondents who completed waves 9, 10, 11, and 13; wgtpp17 is non-zero for respondents who completed waves 9, 10, 11, and 17; wgtpp19 and wgtpp20 are non-zero for respondents who additionally completed waves 19 and 20, respectively The post-election weight could also be called "Cumulative Late ANES panel weight" because it is analogous to the Cumulative ANES panel weight, but excludes waves (1-8) for which Cohort 2 was not part of the panel.
- *DHS weight*. The DHS weight is for analyses using data from waves 6 and 17 in combination. This weight is non-zero for respondents who completed both waves.

"DHS" refers to the Department of Homeland Security, which funded half the content on these waves.

The algorithm in Exhibit 2 indicates the recommended weight for an analysis. Note that although each weight is optimized for a particular kind of analysis (more specifically, for analysis of a particular subset of the sample), there are other possible analyses for which the optimal weight is not included on the file. In this event, the data analyst would have to develop a new weight or choose a sub-optimal weight from among those provided. For example, an analysis of waves 1 and 6 in combination could be undertaken using the Wave 6 cross-sectional weight (wgtcs06) or using the Wave 6 cumulative ANES panel weight (wgtc06). The former weight is optimized for analysis of wave 6 alone. The latter is optimized for analysis of waves 1, 2, and 6 in combination. The optimal weight for an analysis of variables from waves 1 and 6 would be calculated using the subset of respondents who completed both wave 1 and wave 6. In practice, the difference between the cumulative weight wgtc06 and a weight optimized for waves 1 and 6 in combination is likely to be slight and is not included with the file, so we recommend the use of wgtc06 for this kind of analysis.

Exhibit 2. Analyst's weight selection algorithm for the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study, with examples.

Algorithm for weight selection (start at 1):

1. What is the latest wave from which you are using an analysis variable? You will use a weight from that row in Table 22. Go to step 2.
2. Are all of your analysis variables from one wave (or from one wave as well as the Profile and/or Recruitment stages)? If yes, use the cross-sectional weight from the row of Table 22 identified in step 1. If no, go to step 3.
3. Are you using any off-wave data (i.e., waves 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 12, 14-16, 18, or 21), or are your data from waves 9 and 10 only? If yes, go to step 4. If no, go to step 5.
4. Are you using any data collected from waves 1 through 8? If yes, use the Cumulative *extended* panel weight. If no, use the Cumulative *late* panel weight.
5. Are you using data from waves 6 and 17 only (or from W6 & W17 as well as the Profile and/or Recruitment stages)? If yes, use wgtdhs. If no, go to step 6.
6. Are you using any data from wave 1, 2, or 6? If yes, use the Cumulative *ANES* panel weight. If no, use the Post-election weight.

Examples of correct weight selection:

- To analyze a single wave of data from any wave, use that wave's Cross-sectional weight, such as wgtcs1 for wave 1 or wgtcs17 for wave 17.
- To analyze ANES data using variables from waves 1, 2, 6, 9, 10, 11, 13, 17, 19, and 20 (i.e., all ANES waves), use the Cumulative ANES panel weight wgtc20.
- To analyze data from September, October, and November 2008, use the cumulative late panel weight wgtL11.
- To analyze data from the DHS waves (June 2008 and May 2009) in combination, use wgtdhs.
- To analyze November 2008 data with variables drawn from many prior ANES and off-wave surveys, use the Cumulative extended panel weight wgte11.
- To analyze data from waves 18 and 19, use the Cumulative late panel weight wgtL19.

When selecting a weight, always use the weight corresponding to the latest wave of data under analysis. For example, when analyzing data from the Profile survey and waves 1, 2, 6, and 9, one must use a weight for wave 9. Also note that the unit of analysis in the ANES is the individual, and all weights are calculated at the individual level and may not be used to draw inferences about the population of households, families, or other units.

Running Weighted Analysis

Nearly all sophisticated statistical software, including Stata, SPSS, and SAS, will apply weights easily. See your survey documentation for appropriate commands. Typically these commands should be given in conjunction with commands to produce correct standard errors, as described below. For detailed examples, see DeBell (2010).

Statistical Significance Testing and Standard Errors

Standard statistical procedures for calculating statistical significance are not appropriate for analyses of ANES Panel Study data because the Panel Study uses a complex sample design. To account for this, **standard errors (also called sampling errors), confidence intervals, and statistical significance tests must be calculated using methods appropriate for a complex-sample survey**. Two methods are briefly noted here: Taylor-series procedures available in statistical software, and generalized variance estimation. For comprehensive instructions, see DeBell (2010).

Taylor series procedures are available in most modern statistical software, including Stata, SAS, SUDAAN, SPSS when the appropriate complex samples module is present, R, and AM. To use these survey procedures, configure your software to weight the data and to use the survey stratum in variance calculations. (The variable name is stratum.) The panel study did not use a cluster sample, so cluster/PSU does not need to be specified.

Generalized procedures are not as accurate as Taylor series procedures but are better than using procedures that assume simple random sampling. To use generalized procedures, the weight can be adjusted to reflect the "effective" sample size, that is, the sample size where standard errors for a simple random sample are about the same, on average, as would be obtained from design-consistent procedures on a complex sample.

The generalized procedure is very easy to implement: divide the analysis weight by the design effect, weight the data (with the new weight), and run normal sampling error and statistical significance procedures.

The design effects associated with each weight are listed in table 16 in the previous chapter. The design effect is the ratio of the variance accounting for the study design to the variance that would be obtained with simple random sampling. For weights scaled to the sample size (i.e., a mean of 1.000), as ANES weights are, the average design effect

can be estimated as the sum of the squared weights divided by the sum of the weights. Just use the design effect associated with the weight for your analysis.

For example, if you are using wgtL11, and you wish to use the generalized variance estimation method for your significance testing, the SPSS code below would adjust and apply the weights to do so, so that the estimates produced by SPSS would be properly weighted and would have standard errors that are unbiased on average.

```
compute deffwgtL11 = wgtL11/1.91 .
weight by deffwgtL11 .
```

12. Orientation to the Data File

This section briefly describes some features of the data files: the cases on the files, the file formats, variables, missing value codes, restricted use data, known and suspected errors in the data, and other things to be aware of.

Main and supplemental data files

The study's data are released in two parts. This section is focused on the study's main data file, which contains survey response data for all ANES questions. Off-wave survey data are not included on the main data file because off-wave data were not developed by ANES.

A supplemental set of data files, which are far larger than the main data file, contains all available data (except those redacted to protect confidentiality) for all 23,529 sampled telephone numbers and for every survey question on every off-wave survey. Users who wish to do so can merge these data files using their common case ID variable. This guide does not address the supplemental data in detail because most of those data are not ANES data.

Cases on the file

There are 4,240 cases on the ANES data file. Each one is a U.S. citizen who turned 18 years old before November 4, 2008 and who completed at least one wave of the panel study in January, February, June, September, October, or November 2008 or in January, May, July, or August 2009. Nearly all (4,194) also completed the recruitment survey, and most of those who completed internet waves also completed the profile survey (2,892).

File formats

The data file is provided as a flat ASCII file. The flat file is comma-delimited to facilitate reading into statistical software, and it also uses a fixed-width format such that each variable is the same width for every respondent.

The data file is also provided as an SPSS portable file. SPSS portable files do not support variable names longer than 8 characters, so many variable names on the portable file will be truncated.

ANES provides syntax for SPSS, Stata, and SAS to read the flat file and create datasets in the respective file formats of these applications. See the files themselves for instructions on running these syntax files.

Variables on the file

There are 4,318 variables on the file. These include variables recording respondents' answers to questions, variables that record how variable order and response options were randomized, other variables recording aspects of the survey administration, and "derived variables" that ANES staff created to summarize information about respondents, such as their age, that may have been collected in many different variables.

Variables that record answers given by respondents on the Internet waves are named using the letter W, the wave number, and the item label from the questionnaire. For example, the responses from item E2 on Wave 1 are in a variable named W1E2. For a few variables, variable names use a slight variation from the item label that will be obvious upon inspection.

Variables from the recruitment survey start with the letter r. Variables from the "Core Profile" survey start with the letters cp.

Each variable has a variable label. For example, the variable w1invitedate has the label "W1 ADMIN. Email invitation date". The label indicates that it is an administrative (ADMIN) variable, distinguished from a questionnaire variable, derived variable, or weight. This particular variable indicates the date on which the respondent was invited (by email) to complete the Wave 1 (W1) survey.

Weights are provided to make accurate estimates of population parameters. See the weights sections for more information about how the weights were calculated (page 73) and how to use the weights (page 89).

Derived variables provide summaries of key items of interest for which data were not reported in a single survey question. Basic demographic information about respondents was collected on different survey waves and may have been reported on multiple occasions, creating the possibility of inconsistencies across reports. The derived variables that summarize such background variables using the following method: use the respondent's report from the profile survey; where this is unavailable, use the earliest report from one of the ANES waves; where no other reports are available, use the data from the recruitment survey. For the variables indicating the respondent's race and ethnicity, the respondent was coded as belonging to a particular group if the respondent ever indicated membership in that group. For exact details concerning the creation of derived variables, see the code used to create the variables, available in the file-build program on the ANES website.

The following derived variables are on the file:

der01. R gender
der02. R age on election day 2008
der03. R ethnicity
der03a. Ethnicity - White
der03b. Ethnicity - African American
der03c. Ethnicity - Asian American
der03d. Ethnicity - Pacific Islander
der03e. Ethnicity - other
der04. R race/ethnicity
der05. R educational attainment
der06. R income
der07. R home ownership
der08w1. R party identification at wave 1
der08w9. R party identification at wave 9
der08w10. R party identification at wave 10
der08w11. R party identification at wave 11

der08w17. R party identification at wave 17
der08w19. R party identification at wave 19
der09w1. R liberal - conservative ideology at wave 1
der09w2. R liberal - conservative ideology at wave 2
der09w6. R liberal - conservative ideology at wave 6
der09w10. R liberal - conservative ideology at wave 10
der09w11. R liberal - conservative ideology at wave 11
der10. Turnout in 2008 Primaries
der10a. Primary voter tournout, dichotomous
der11. Party voted for in primary or caucus
der12. Candidate voted for in primary or caucus
der13. Republican primary candidate choice
der14. Democratic primary candidate choice
der15. Turnout in 2008 general election
der16. Presidential candidate choice in 2008 election
der17. Number of names mentioned at W9ZD2
der18. Eligible persons in household
der19. Turnout in 2004 presidential election
der20. Vote in 2004 presidential election
der21. Usual voter in the last 6 years
der22. Religion
der23. Race Summary w/o Ethnicity
der24. Marital status
der25. Voter Registration
derw1b1. Did R. usually vote, reported at W1
derw1b2. Vote plan, reported at W1
derw1b3. Primary turnout, reported at W1
derw1fcg. summary W1F Clinton v Giuliani
der1fcr. summary W1F Clinton v Romney
derw1fog. summary W1F Obama v Giuliani
derw1for. summary W1F Obama v Romney
derfcgs. How sure are you of that? Clinton v Giuliani
derfcrs. How sure are you of that? Clinton v Romney
derfogs. How sure are you of that? Obama v Giuliani
derfors. How sure are you of that? Obama v Romney
derw1j1d. Church attendance, yearly, wave 1
derw2b1. Did R usually vote, reported at W2
derw2b2. Primary Vote Plan, reported at W2
derw2b3. Primary Turnout, reported at W2
derw2fcg. summary W2F Clinton v Giuliani
derw2fcr. summary W2F Clinton v Romney
derw2fog. summary W2F Obama v Giuliani
derw2for. summary W2F Obama v Romney
derfcgs2. How sure are you of that? Clinton v Giuliani
derfcrs2. How sure are you of that? Clinton v Romney
derfogs2. How sure are you of that? Obama v Giuliani
derfors2. How sure are you of that? Obama v Romney
derw6b1. Did R usually vote, reported at wave 6
derw6b2. Primary Vote Plan, reported at wave 6
derw6b3. Primary Turnout, reported at wave 6
derw6fbcm. summary W6F Clinton v McCain
derw6fbom. summary W6F Obama v McCain
derfbcms6. How sure are you of that? Clinton v McCain
derfboms6. How sure are you of that? Obama v McCain
derw9b1. For whom will R. vote, reported at W9
derw9b2. Vote plan, reported at wave 9
derw9b3. Primary turnout, reported at wave 9
derw9d1. Who will you vote for, reported at W9
derw9d2. Certainty of choice between McCain and Obama, Wave 9
derw10a1. For whom will R. vote, Wave 9

A few additional variables were derived: congressional district indicates the district for the U.S. House of Representatives within which the respondent lives, and metropolitan status is based on the Core Based Statistical Area (a Census Bureau definition) associated with the respondent's residential ZIP code.

Combining data from branched questions

Hundreds of Panel Study questions used a branching format where one question was asked in two parts, such as items E2, E3, and E4 on Wave 1.

[E2] Do you like the **Democratic Party**, dislike it, or neither like nor dislike it?
__ Like [1]
__ Dislike [2]
__ Neither like nor dislike [3]

If the response to E2 was 1, then E3 was asked.

[E3] Do you like it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?
__ A great deal [1]
__ A moderate amount [2]
__ A little [3]

If the response to E2 was 2 (dislike), then E4 was asked.

[E4] Do you dislike it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?
__ A great deal [1]
__ A moderate amount [2]
__ A little [3]

The purpose of this sequence of branched questions is to place the respondent on a 7-point attitude scale ranging from disliking the object a great deal to liking it a great deal. For analysis, data from questions like this are meant to be combined. One way to accomplish such a combination is with code such as the following (SPSS):

```
* create the summary variable for w1e2.
compute w1e2sum = -9.
missing values w1e2sum (-9).
do if w1e2=3.
       compute w1e2sum=4.
  else if w1e3=1.
       compute w1e2sum=7.
  else if w1e3=2.
       compute w1e2sum=6.
  else if w1e3=3.
       compute w1e2sum=5.
  else if w1e4 ge 1.
  compute w1e2sum=w1e4.
end if.
```

```
variable label w1e2sum 'w1e2 summary, Dem attitude' .
* scale the variable 0 to 1.
do if w1e2sum ne -9.
       compute w1e2sum = (w1e2sum-1)/6.
end if.
value labels w1e2sum 0 'dislike a great deal' 1 'like a great deal' .
```

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

Missing data

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

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

"-1 Inapplicable" most often indicates a questionnaire variable for a question that was deliberately not asked of a particular respondent because the questionnaire specifications did not call for the question to be asked. For example, the followup question asking how conservative the respondent is would not be asked if the person said he or she was liberal.

"-2 Missing, see documentation" is a category used for data that do not fit any of the other codes. See the item-specific documentation in the codebook for information about these missing data, if any. Some variables with the -2 code may be labeled "Missing, misc nonresponse" to indicate nondifferentiated sources of nonresponse; cases with these codes may have missing data for a combination of reasons. If there is no specific explanation of the missing data in the codebook, then the -2 indicates nonresponse for one or more nondifferentiated reasons.

"-3 Restricted access" is assigned to variables that are not made public. See the entry on Restricted Use Data below.

"-4 Error, see documentation" indicates an error in data collection or data processing. Each case with this code has been investigated by ANES staff. See the item-specific documentation in the codebook for information about these missing data.

"-5 Not asked, terminated" indicates that before reaching this point in the questionnaire, the respondent stopped taking the survey. The -5 code is only present on data from incomplete (partial) interviews.

"-6 Not asked, unit nonresponse" indicates that the respondent never began the survey. "Unit nonresponse" means that a prospective respondent never took the survey.

"-7 No answer" means that the respondent clicked "Next" without answering the question. Respondents who did this on ANES online surveys were prompted to answer the question the first time, but if they clicked "Next" a second time, they were allowed to continue the survey without answering the question. This is equivalent to a refusal to answer the question.

"-8 Don't know" is a code assigned to telephone recruitment if the respondent answered the question by saying they did not know how to answer.

"-9 Refused" is a code assigned to telephone recruitment if the respondent refused to answer a question.

In addition to the standard missing data codes described above, a few variables use other values for missing data, and some alphanumeric (string) variables use "." or the "system missing" value instead of a number. On some state variables that use two-letter state abbreviations, "X" denotes missing state data.

Restricted-use data

As with other ANES studies, most variables from the Panel Study are included in the public-use data file that is available to the public for free. Access to some variables is restricted to protect respondents' privacy. Data that could identify a respondent as part of a small and recognizable population or that could identify a respondent as a resident of a small geographic area have been redacted from the public-use data file. Such variables include the respondent's city and county of residence, date of birth, and detailed racial/ethnic identity when the respondent is a member of a small minority group. Such variables are labeled "RESTRICTED ACCESS" on the data file, and the data are coded -3. When respondents typed a response to an open-ended question and their response included information that could pose a risk, the potentially problematic response was redacted and marked as "[REDACTED]." For details concerning redaction, see page 43.

Data analysts interested in obtaining access to restricted access variables may do so by following the special access request procedures described on our website at http://www.electionstudies.org/rda/anes_rda.htm.

Commas and semicolons

The data file is comma-delimited, meaning that commas are used to distinguish one variable from another when the data are read by statistical software. When the source data contained commas, such as in open-ended responses that respondents typed, we changed these to semicolons to avoid conflicts with the comma-delimited data format. In

nearly all cases, when a semicolon appears in an open-ended response, it was entered as a comma by the respondent.

Age topcoding

All age variables indicating an age greater than 90 have been recoded to 90 to protect respondents' privacy because extremely old people are rare in the population. Similarly, variables indicating age in 2004 have been topcoded to 86.

Time zones

The time zone of the respondent's residence is recorded in the variable R_TZ. Times at which recruitment telephone calls occurred are in Mountain Time, corresponding to the time zone of the call center. Time zones for the start and completion of the interviews (TM_START, TM_FINISH) are all Universal Time (formerly known as Greenwich Mean Time).

Item time data

For many questions, the elapsed time the respondent took to answer was recorded. Times recorded are the elapsed time in seconds between the question appearing on the screen and the time that the "Next" button was clicked to advance to the next screen.

If the respondent clicked "Next" without answering and received the item nonresponse prompt (asking the respondent to please answer the question), then the recorded time is the time that "Next" was clicked a second time to actually move on to the next question.

In the event that a respondent backed up to return to a screen with a previously answered question, the repeated visit to the question would add to its total time.

Fractions of a second are truncated. Thus, an item time of 0 was recorded for anything less than 1 full second. A 0 was only recorded for questions that were displayed; timing data cells should be empty for questions that were not asked.

In the AMP section, the timing clock started with the display of the "static mask screen." After the face and the Chinese character have been displayed, the static mask screen replaces them while the instrument awaits a response. If the respondent took 999 milliseconds or less to press P or Q after the response prompt appeared, the time recorded was 0.

Anomalies & errors

The complete ANES Panel Study dataset, including off-waves and all sample lines for the cumulative rectangular file delivered by the data collection firm, contains over 600 million data points. With so much data, even a tiny error rate will result in quite a few

errors. Staff at Knowledge Networks and ANES devoted hundreds of hours to quality-control efforts intended to avoid and correct errors. Nonetheless, this is a large and complex dataset, and as such it contains errors, some of which may not have been discovered. This section describes the known errors, as well as some oddities or anomalies that might appear to be errors.

The primary vote choices indicated in the variables der13 and der14 (which indicate candidates chosen in the Republican and Democratic primaries/caucuses) differ slightly from the vote choice summary in der12 because a few respondents reported having cast primary votes for candidates outside their party.

The summary of general election vote choice, der16, differs for a few cases from individual reports of candidate choice because of inconsistent reporting by individual respondents. Specifically, some respondents who answered early voting questions in October by indicating their presidential vote later changed their reported vote on the November questionnaire. Der16 uses the earliest report available.

Preload variables (described on page 34) do not necessarily match questionnaire variables on which they were based. Preloads for each respondent were created before the respondent's invitation to the survey was sent. As such, a respondent may have completed the survey that was the source for a preload after the preload was already saved. The preload variables show what information was incorporated into the programming of a particular wave. The questionnaire variables show the final response data recorded.

In some cases the respondent time zone variable, rtz, indicates a time zone that does not match the respondent's state. For example, of the 15 panelists in the District of Columbia, 14 are correctly indicated as being in the Eastern time zone and 1 is in the Central time zone. The rtz codes are based on the time zone of the location associated with the sampled telephone area code and exchange. Discrepancies such as this may result from phone number portability, which allows telephone users to keep their number when they move to a new area.

Forward/reverse randomization of response options was intended to be, and usually was, consistent from one wave to the next for each respondent. The variables w1order, w2order, w6order, w9order, w10order, etc., indicate whether the respondent received forward or reverse response order for applicable questions on the indicated wave. In nearly all cases, individual respondents received the same order (forward or reverse) for every wave. In a few cases, typically about 10 respondents per wave, the forward/reverse response order was not made consistent from wave to wave. Respondents for whom this occurred can be identified by examining the randomization variables listed above.

On wave 1, the cases 6147 and 6845 have -4 error codes for some responses due to an unknown technical malfunction with the server hosting the survey. We have no information about the nature of the error. Cases 7398 and 9417 experienced a "timeout" because of an extended period of inactivity during the survey.

On wave 1, 60 respondents were not asked item B2 (specifying whether they were registered to vote in their reported county of residence or somewhere else) because their residential county was unknown. The survey should have been designed to ask these respondents their county of residence, but this part of the questionnaire was designed based on the incorrect assumption that all respondents to wave 1 would have previously completed the profile survey. These cases are coded -2 to indicate the error.

On wave 2, thirteen respondents were asked their voter registration status when they need not have been asked, since they had reported that status on wave 1. Only three of these cases were eligible respondents who completed both interviews; the other 10 are not complete interviews for one or both waves.

On wave 2, responses to item D21 are missing due to a technical error.

Responses to W2L2 and W2L4 (respectively asking if the R has any favorable and unfavorable thoughts or feelings about the Democratic Party) are extremely similar, with 13 not answering each, and differences of 5 cases in the number of affirmative and negative responses. ANES asked Knowledge Networks to investigate the programming and raw data for these items. No error was identified, so this appears to be a valid, coincidental result.

On wave 9, 248 respondents were asked about voter registration status, primary turnout, and primary voting when, according to the questionnaire instructions, they need not have been asked these questions because they had reported that information on a previous wave. This occurred because of an error in the preload variable W9XPRTURN that indicated whether the data had been previously recorded. Derived variables based on these repeated questions typically use the earliest report because that report was the soonest after the primary and may, therefore, be more reliable.

On wave 9, case 3156 answered questions intended for people who were less than 18 years old on election day in 2004 (items W9B5, W9B6, W9B7, W9B8), despite an age preload variable indicating a greater age. Some additional age-inappropriate cases (95, 2068, 2272, 4100, 5214, 5619, 8141, 8706, 8919, 10805, 12946, 13214) answered items W9B9, W9B10, and W9B11.

In the social networks section of wave 9, there are a few cases where there are no data for the first network member but there are data for subsequent network members. This probably occurred because the respondent deleted the first entry in the network name list.

Due to a technical error, item timings are missing for many variables on wave 10.

On wave 13, all 36 respondents who said they felt “cold” toward the U.S. military are coded as having not answered the followup question about the intensity of their feelings. We have no technical data indicating this is an error, but it is an unexpected result and may be due to a programming or data processing error.

On wave 20, case 11948 has -4 error codes due to a technical malfunction with the server hosting the survey. We have no information about the nature of the error.

On many waves, the number of cases coded as a breakoff for one question may appear smaller than the number of breakoffs coded for a question listed earlier on the questionnaire. For example, W13T47 has 24 breakoffs and W13T53 has 23 breakoffs. This might appear odd; the number of breakoffs can only stay the same or increase as one examines questions that appear later and later in the questionnaire. These results are a consequence of randomizing the order of questions within a section of the questionnaire. Thus, question W13T53 was not always after W13T47. Therefore these results are not erroneous.

There are some inconsistencies between information shown in derived variables and the questionnaire data on some waves if the respondent gave different information at different times. The derived variables generally use the earliest reported data. If the respondent was asked the same question at a later time, the later response was not reflected in the derived variable.

If you find indications of an undocumented error in the data, please send a note to the ANES staff at anes@electionstudies.org so we can investigate and correct or document any problems.

13. Implicit Association Test

The Implicit Association Test (IAT) is designed to measure implicit bias. It is a widely used measure in experimental psychology, but the ANES Panel Study is one of the first studies to administer the IAT to a representative sample.

The Panel Study's 19th wave (July 2009) included a brief version of the IAT to measure black-white racial bias. It did so by measuring respondents' response latency when pressing keyboard keys to associate pictures of white and black faces with positive or negative words. The review process that led to the inclusion of the IAT on the Panel Study was described by Krosnick and Lupia (2008). For additional information on the IAT, see https://implicit.harvard.edu, Sriram and Greenwald (2009), Lane et al. (2007), and Nosek et al. (in press).

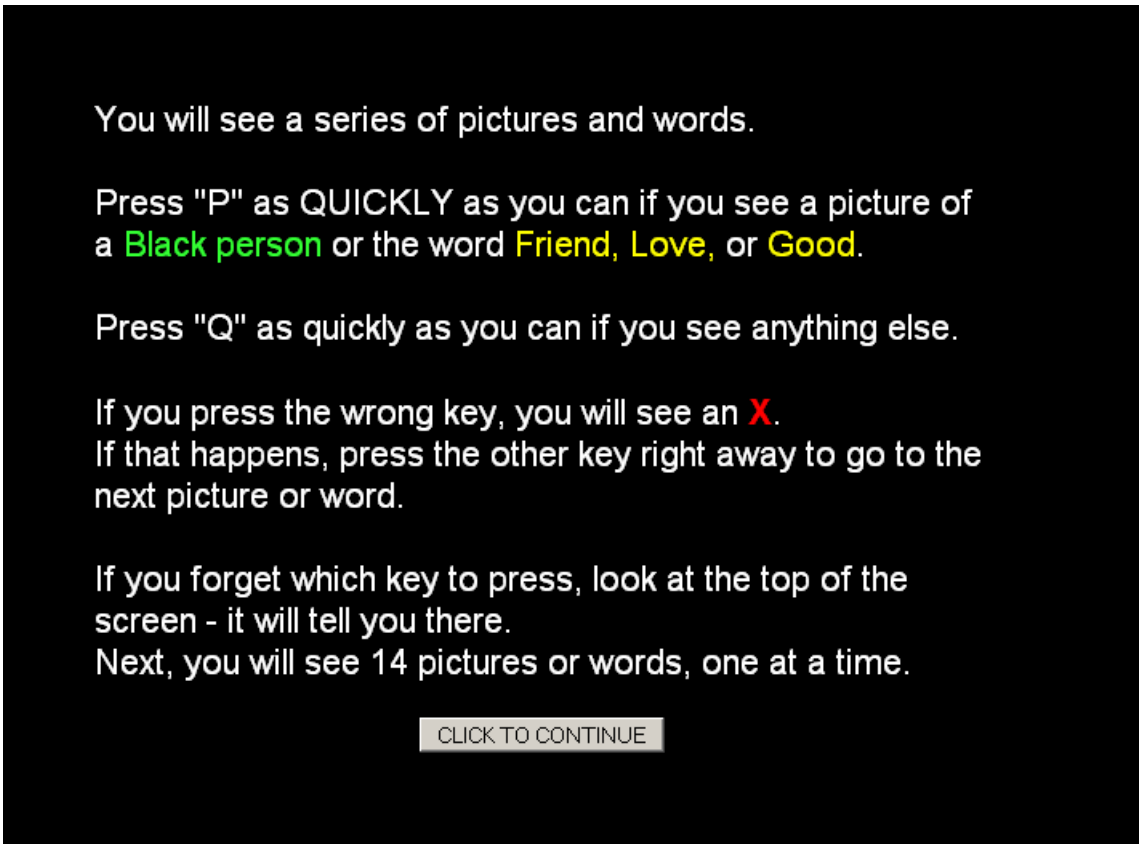
Instrumentation

Respondents were instructed to press a keyboard key as quickly as possible after seeing one of four kinds of stimuli on their screen. Respondents saw a picture of a black face, a white face, a positive word ("love," "good," or "friend"), or a negative word ("hate," "bad," or "enemy"). The survey recorded how long it took respondents to perform what amounted to a sorting task in which respondents were alternately asked to press the same key for white faces and for positive words and another key for any other stimulus, or to press the same key for black faces as for positive words and to press another key for any other stimulus.

The brief IAT for the Panel Study took respondents a few minutes to complete by reading instructions and responding to a total of 84 stimuli, with two practice runs for 14 screens each and two data collection blocks of 28 screens each. The screens respondents saw in this section of the questionnaire are shown or described below.

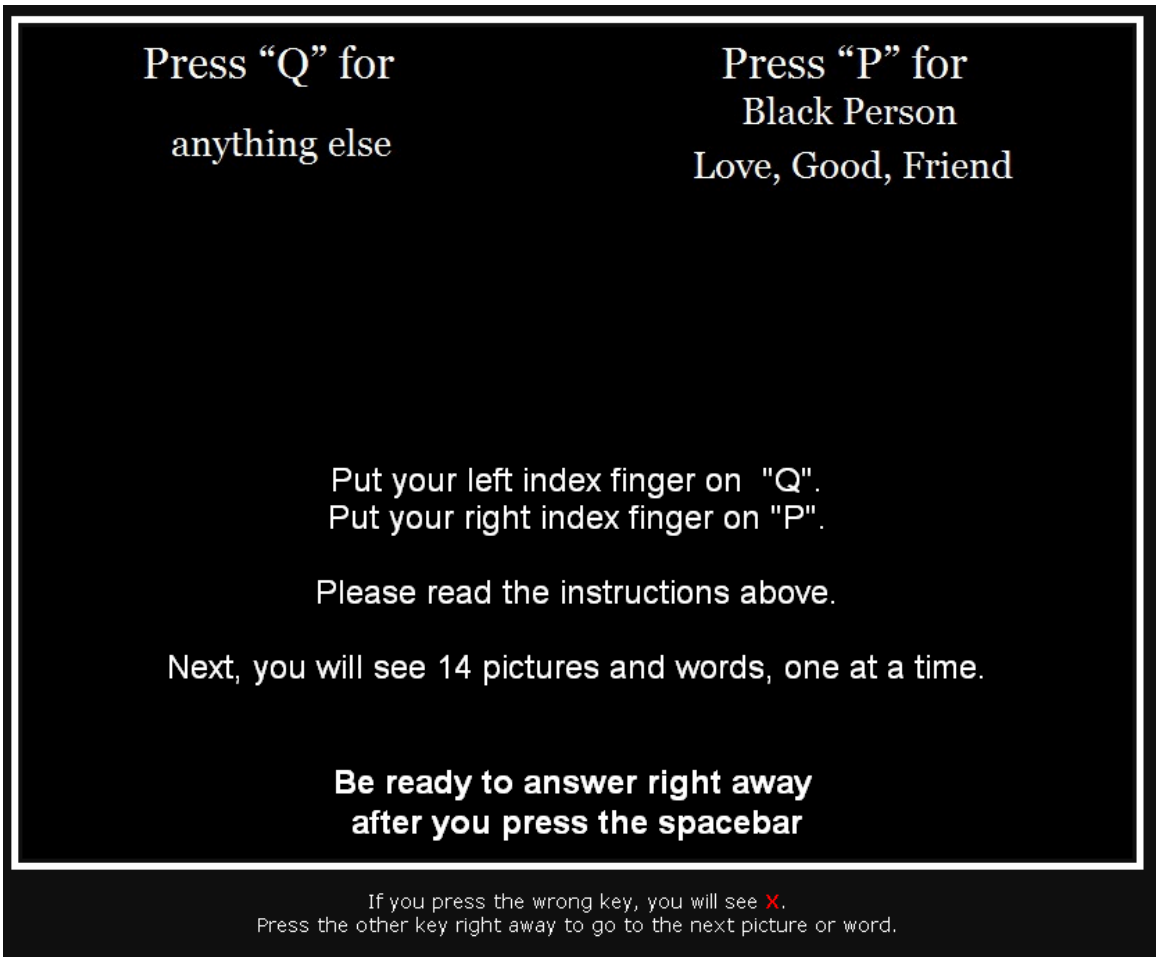
The first screen that transitioned from the main part of the July 2009 ANES survey to the IAT displayed text: "During the next part of the survey, there may be a brief delay while some pictures of people's faces load onto your screen."

The next screen displayed the instructions shown below.



The next screen showed text: Click here to begin

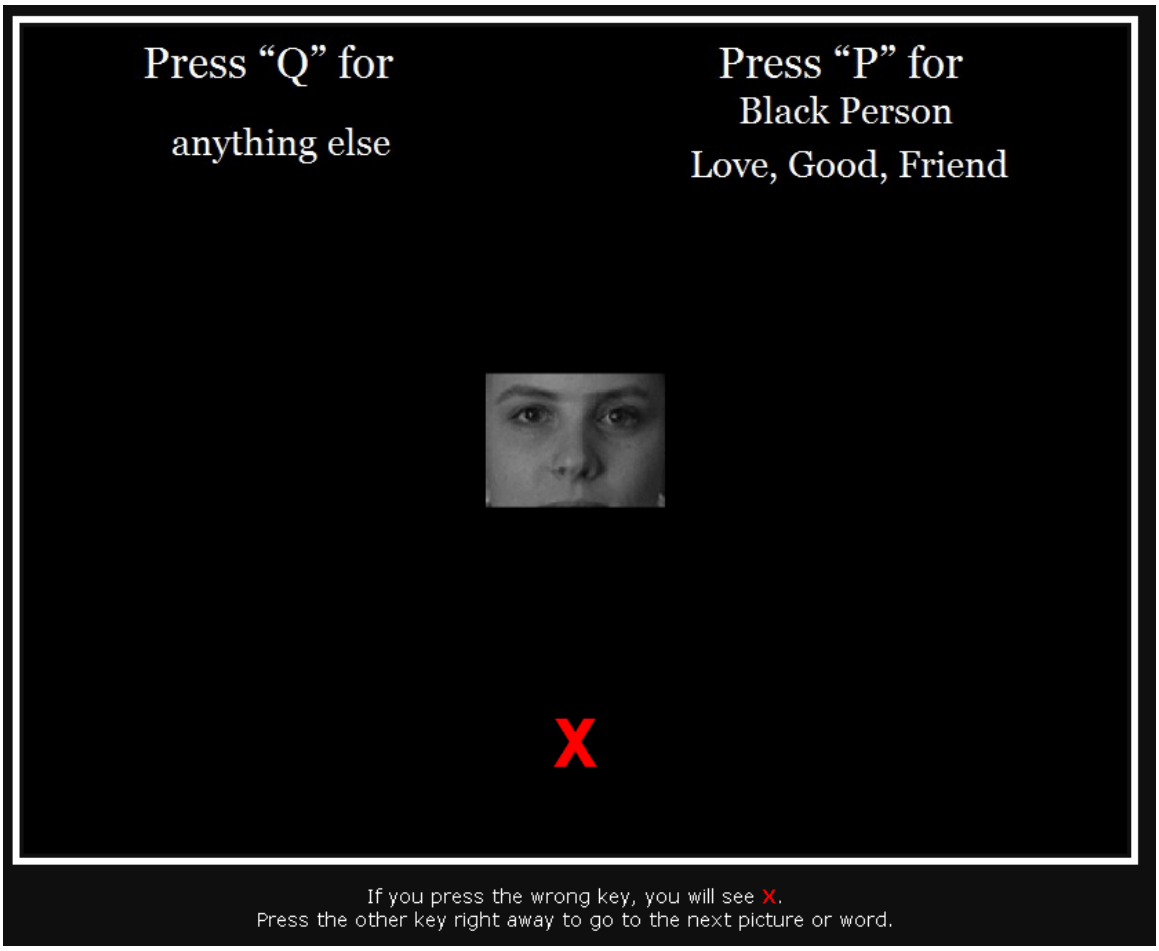
The next screen, shown below, reiterated the instructions in a different format.



After pressing the space bar, the respondent began a practice session to gain familiarity with the IAT. The first screen in this practice session is shown below.

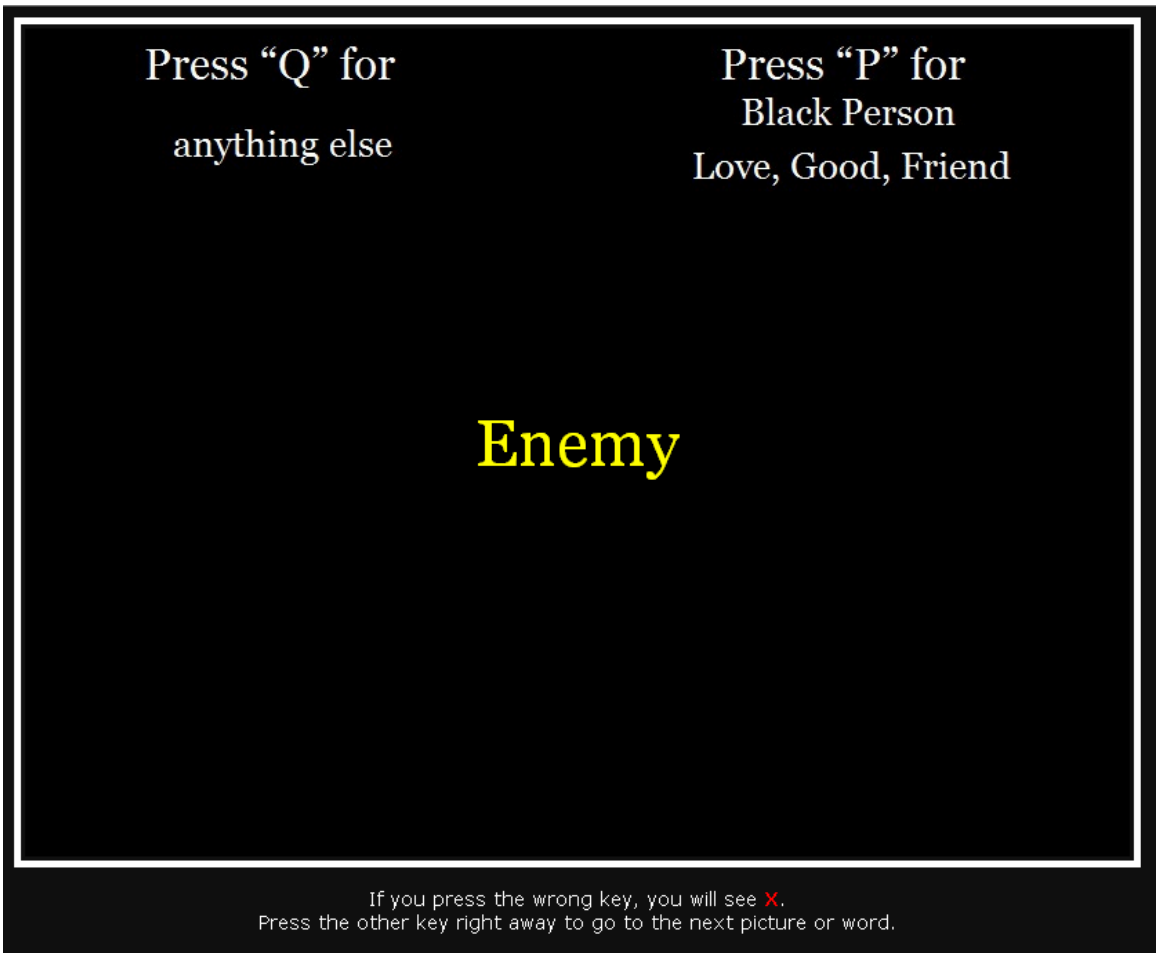
This screen shows a black face, so if the respondent pressed P, the next screen was displayed, with a new face, as shown below.

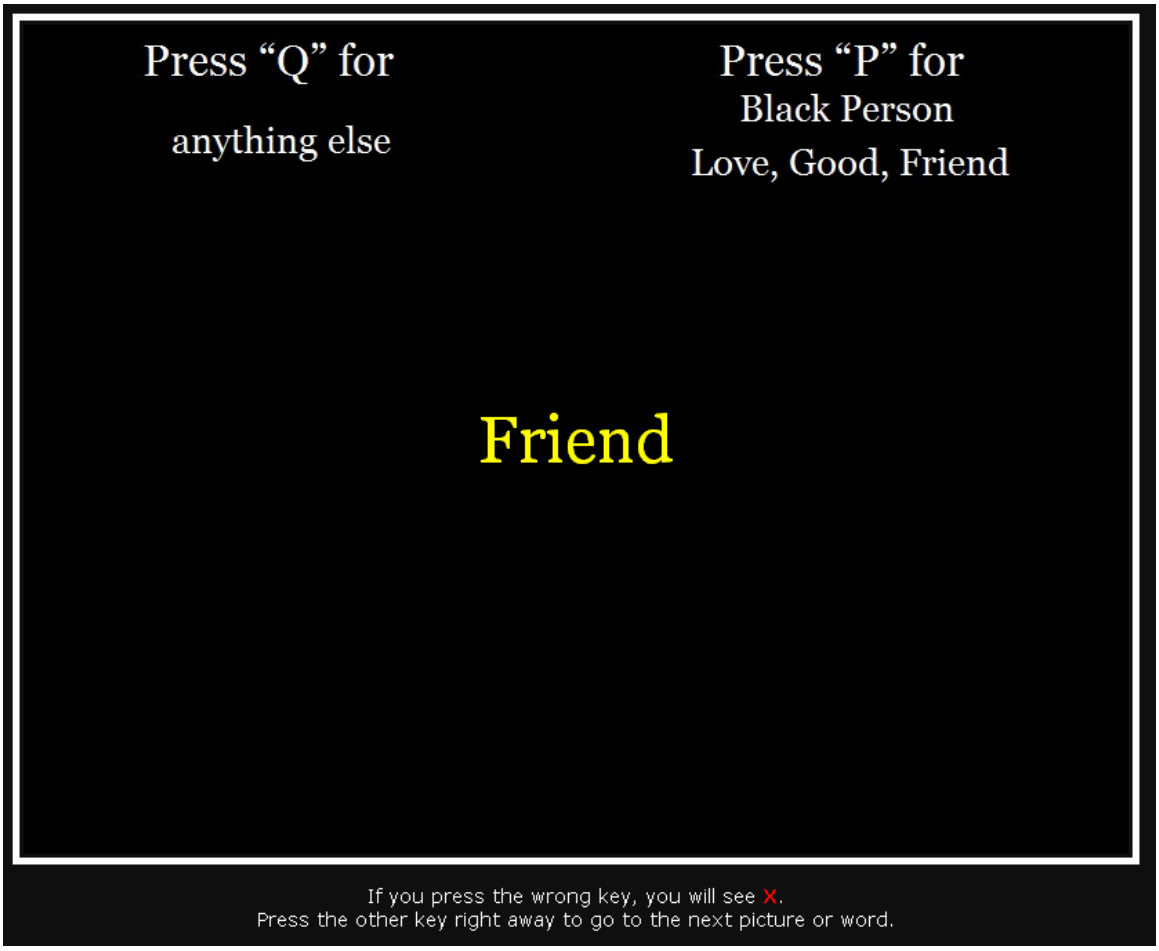
This screen shows a white face, so Q is the correct choice. If the respondent pressed P, the red X was displayed, as shown below.



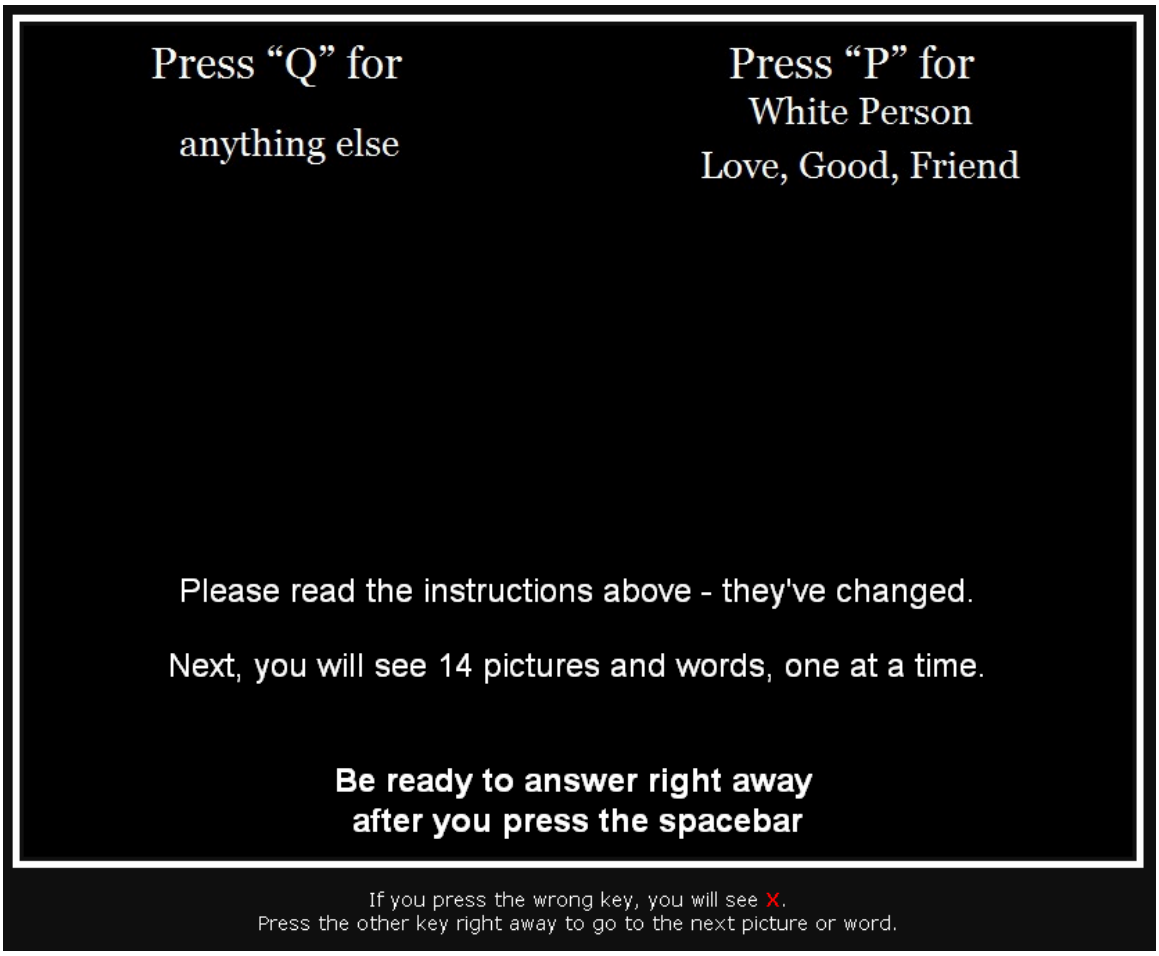
After pressing the correct key, the respondent advanced to another screen. Screens showed either a white face, a black face, or one of the words Love, Good, Friend, Hate, Bad, or Enemy. Examples of such screens with words are shown below.

After the first two trials that showed faces, words and faces alternated for the next 12 trials.

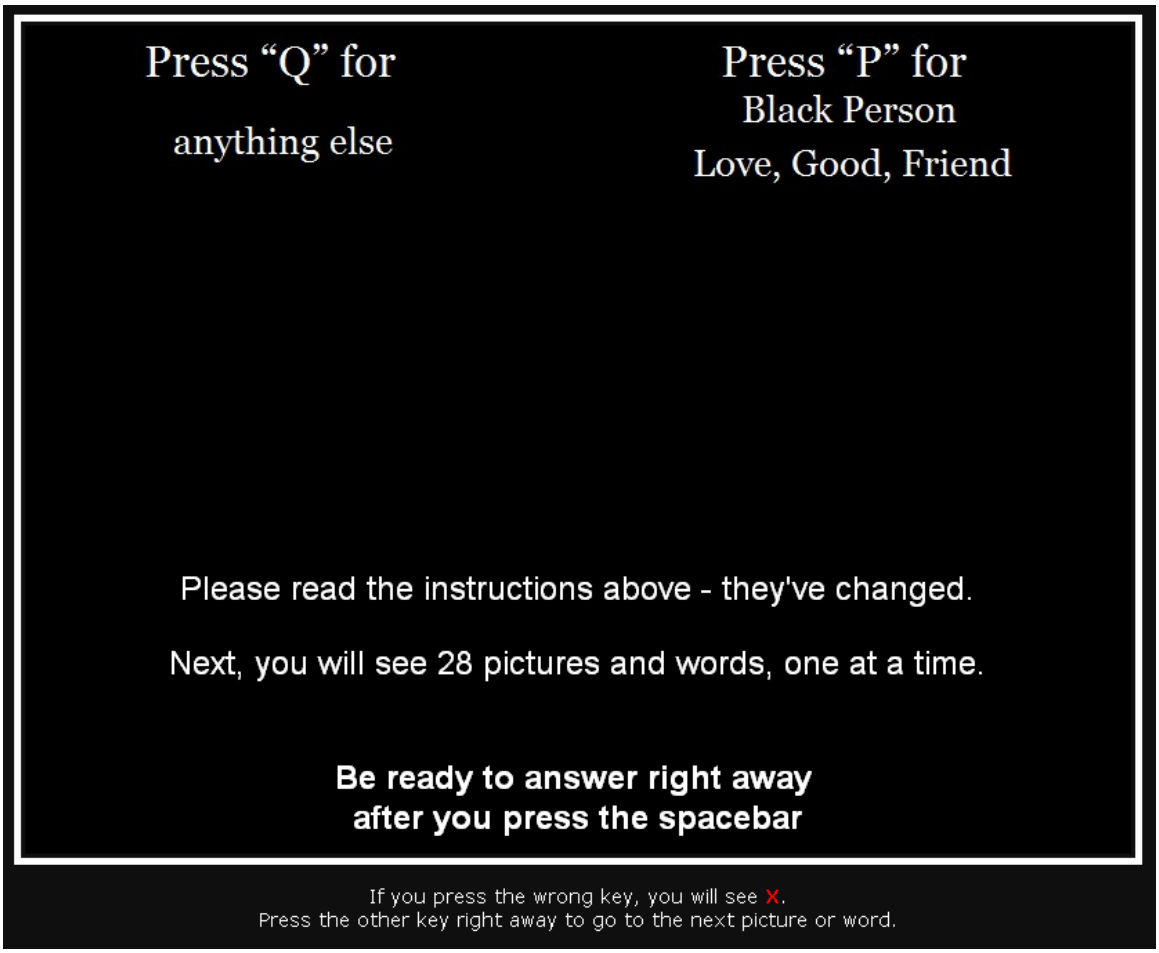

Press “Q” for
anything else
Press “P” for
Black Person
Love, Good, Friend
Enemy
If you press the wrong key, you will see X.
Press the other key right away to go to the next picture or word.



After 14 practice trials like this, a new instruction screen was displayed (below) to indicate that the instructions changed from pressing P for a black person to pressing P for a white person.



Following this screen, 14 more practice trials were completed before a new instruction screen was displayed, such as the version below. The instructions were randomly assigned to be "Press P for Black Person Love, Good, Friend" or "Press P for White Person Love, Good, Friend".



The next 28 screens displayed a white face, black face, positive word, or negative word, all using the same set of instructions and the same format as the trial sessions. The first 4 screens displayed faces, and words and faces alternated for the remaining 24 trials. The specific images were selected randomly.

Then the instructions changed to press “P” for the other race, and 28 more trials were completed.

After these trials were complete, the IAT was finished. The screen briefly said “Please wait,” then “Press spacebar to continue.” After pressing the space bar, the respondent was shown the final thank-you screen for the July 2009 ANES survey.

IAT Data Variables

This data release provides the raw data from the IAT. It does not provide summary scores. Data analysts may use the raw data to compute summary scores using methods of their own choosing.

IAT data were collected in 84 "trials" that were administered in four "blocks." Each screen where the respondent was asked to press P or Q in response to a face or word stimulus is one trial. The four blocks consist of the two practice sessions of 14 trials each and two main study sessions of 28 trials each.

The variables recording the IAT data are as follows, where the number sign (#) represents an actual number in the dataset. These numbers range from 1 to 84, one for each trial.[7]

W19IATsession_date. Records the date and time (Eastern time zone) the IAT session began.

W19IATblock_number_#: The block number, ranging from 0 to 3. Block 0 is the first set of 14 practice trials. Block 1 is the second set of 14 practice trials. Block 2 is the first set of 28 study trials. Block 3 is the second set of 28 study trials with instructions reversed from those in block 2.

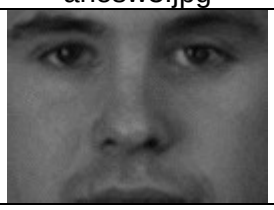
W19IATblock_trial_count_#. Indicates the number of trials in the block. This variable is 14 in blocks 0 and 1 and is 28 in blocks 2 and 3.

W19IATblock_pairing_#: These alphanumeric variables say whether a black-bad & white-good pairing was used, or whether a black-good & white-bad pairing was used. This variable is the same for each trial in the same block, so for any given case, W19IATblock_pairing_1 through W19IATblock_pairing_14 will be the same, and W19IATblock_pairing_15 through W19IATblock_pairing_28 will indicate the opposite pairing. The first category describes stimuli for which respondents were instructed to press the Q key and the second category describes stimuli for which respondents were to press the P key. For example, if this variable reads "WhitePeople-Bad_BlackPeople-Good" then the respondent was to press P for a picture of a black face or a good word. Good words were always pared with the P key and bad words with the Q, but the paring of white or black pictures varied.

W19IATtrial_number_#: Each screen where the respondent was asked to press P or Q is one trial. Trials are numbered from 0 through 13 in the first two blocks of 14 trials each and are numbered from 0 through 27 in the last two blocks of 28 trials each.

W19IATtrial_name_#: Records the trial's stimulus. These alphanumeric variables indicate which word (either Bad, Enemy, Friend, Good, Hate, or Love) or face picture was displayed during the trial. The pictures of black faces were anesb1.jpg, anesb2.jpg, and anesb3.jpg; the pictures of white faces were anesw1.jpg, anesw2.jpg, and anesw3.jpg. These images were as follows.

[7] For example, there is no variable called *W19IATblock_number_#*. There are variables *W19IATblock_number_1, W19IATblock_number_2, …, W19IATblock_number_84.*

anesb1.jpg	anesb2.jpg	anesb3.jpg
anesw1.jpg	anesw2.jpg	anesw3.jpg
		

W19IATtrial_latency_#: The number of milliseconds the respondent took to respond to the trial by pressing P or Q.

W19IATtrial_error_#: Indicates whether the respondent's first answer was incorrect, with 0 indicating no error (i.e., the correct match was made) and 1 indicating the respondent's first keystroke was incorrect.

The variables ending with the # designation above repeat for all 84 trials. The IAT data are presented in 589 variables – the session date variable, plus 84 versions of each of the other 7 variables described above.

Note: Some respondents used the Back button in their web browsers to back up and take the IAT more than once. Only data from each person's first run are on the publicly released ANES file.

14. Affect Misattribution Procedure

The Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP) is designed to measure implicit bias. The review process that led to its inclusion on the Panel Study was described by Krosnick and Lupia (2008). For information on the AMP, see Payne et al. (2005). Keith Payne of the Psychology Department at the University of North Carolina assisted in adapting the design for the ANES. The Panel Study was the first fielding of this instrument to a representative sample.

The AMP was administered in two versions: one to measure black-white racial bias and one to measure implicit attitudes toward Barack Obama and John McCain. The exact procedure by which the stimuli were presented is described in the questionnaire for the Wave 9 panel study survey. In brief, the AMP measures attitudes toward an object by flashing a picture of that object on the computer screen for a fraction of a second, then flashing a picture of a Chinese symbol (word) on the screen for a longer fraction of a second, and asking respondents to say whether the Chinese symbol appeared pleasant or unpleasant.

On the ANES Panel Study, the AMP was administered on Wave 9 and Wave 10. It showed either faces of Obama & McCain or faces of non-famous black and white young men. Each respondent got one version of the AMP on Wave 9 and the other version on Wave 10. The variables w9amp_ver or w10amp_ver indicate the version of the AMP administered on each wave.

People who got the Obama/McCain version saw all the Obama and McCain pictures in randomized order. People who got the black/white version saw all the black and white pictures in randomized order. The pictures of faces and Chinese symbols used in the administration of the AMP are contained in a file available from the Panel Study's page on the ANES website.

Eight variables indicate the order in which faces were shown:

```
W9amp_faces1_dat (with 48 entries)
W9amp_faces2_dat (with 48 entries)
w9amp_symbols2_dat (with 71 entries)
w9amp_symbols4_dat (with 4 entries)
W10amp_faces1_dat (with 48 entries)
W10amp_faces2_dat (with 48 entries)
W10amp_symbols2_dat (with 71 entries)
W10amp_symbols4_dat (with 4 entries)
```

The AMP began with four practice trials. The symbols shown during the practice trials are shown in w9amp_symbols4_dat and w10amp_symbols4_dat. For example, if a respondent's data for w9amp_symbols4_dat shows "symbol1,symbol4,symbol3,symbol2" then that respondent's practice session showed symbol 1 first, symbol 4 second, symbol 3 third, and symbol 2 fourth.

Following the practice trials, the test block consisted of 48 symbol-face pairings. The symbols were shown in the order indicated in w9amp_symbols2_dat (for Wave 9) and W10amp_symbols2_dat (for Wave 10). These variables have 71 entries, but only the first 48 were used, for the 48 trials of the test block.

Each symbol was paired with a face image. If the black-white version of the AMP was shown (as indicated by w9amp_ver or w10amp_ver), then the face paired with the symbol is indicated by W9amp_faces1_dat (for Wave 9) or W10amp_faces1_dat (for Wave 10). If the Obama-McCain version of the AMP was shown, then the face paired with the symbol is indicated by W9amp_faces2_dat or W10amp_faces2_dat.

The numbers in these variables correspond to the numbering of the image files for the faces and symbols. For example, if w9amp_ver shows that a respondent received the black-white version of the AMP on Wave 9, and the first entry for W9amp_faces1_dat is "face29" and the first entry for w9amp_symbols2_dat is "symbol39," then on the first test trial, the respondent saw the face shown in the file wface29face41.jpg and saw the symbol shown in the file PIC39.gif.

Each black and white face file had two numbers associated with it, such as wface29face41.jpg. The same face was used for two positions – in this case, positions 29 and 41. Each Obama and McCain face file has three positions associated with it, such as face3face11face19.jpg.

See the AMP description in the Wave 9 questionnaire for more details about the AMP administration.

References

The American Association for Public Opinion Research. 2006. *Standard Definitions: Final Dispositions of Case Codes and Outcome Rates Surveys*. 4th edition. Lenexa, KS: AAPOR.

Berg, I.A., and G.M. Rappaport. 1954. Response Bias in an Unstructured Questionnaire. *Journal of Psychology, 38*, 475-481.

DeBell, Matthew. 2010. *How to Analyze ANES Survey Data*. ANES Technical Reports series no. nes012492. Ann Arbor, MI, and Palo Alto, CA: American National Election Studies. Available at http://www.electionstidies.org

DeBell, Matthew, and Jon A. Krosnick. 2009. *Computing Weights for American National Election Study Survey Data*. ANES Technical Report series, no. nes012427. Ann Arbor, MI, and Palo Alto, CA: American National Election Studies. Available at http://www.electionstidies.org

DeBell, Matthew, and Jonathan Cowden. 2010. *Benchmark Report for the 2008 American National Election Studies' Time Series and Panel Study*. Ann Arbor, MI, and Palo Alto, CA: American National Election Studies. Available at http://www.electionstudies.org

Huggins, Vicki J., Xiuli Tang and Mikyoung Park. 2002. "Evaluation of Differential Sampling in the Knowledge Networks Panel: What is the Effect on Coverage, Variance and Bias for Key Statistics?" American Statistical Association. Proceedings of the Section of Survey Research Methods, August 2002.

Keeter, Scott, Courtney Kennedy, Trevor Thompson, Mike Mokrzycki, and April Clark. 2007. "What's Missing from National RDD Surveys? The Impact of the Growing Cell-Only Population." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 71, 772-792.

Kennedy, Courtney, Scott Keeter, and Michael Dimock. 2008. "A "Brute Force" Estimation of the Residence Rate for Undetermined Telephone Numbers in an RDD Survey." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 72, 28-39.

Krosnick, Jon, and L. R. Fabrigar. Forthcoming. *The Handbook of Questionnaire Design*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Krosnick, Jon A., and Arthur Lupia. (2008). Decisions Made about Implicit Attitude Measurement in the 2008 American National Election Studies. Memorandum, online at http://www.electionstudies.org/announce/newsltr/20090625_IAT.pdf

Lane, K. A., Banaji, M. R., Nosek, B. A., & Greenwald, A. G. (2007). Understanding and using the Implicit Association Test: IV: Procedures and validity. In B. Wittenbrink & N.

Schwarz (Eds.), *Implicit measures of attitudes: Procedures and controversies (pp. 59-102)*. New York: Guilford Press.

Lenski, G.E., and J.C. Legett. 1960. Caste, Class, and Deference in the Research Interview. *American Journal of Sociology*, *65*, 463-467.
Nosek, Brian A., Graham, J., & Hawkins, C. B. (in press). Implicit political cognition. In B. Gawronski & B. K. Payne (Eds.), *Handbook of Implicit Social Cognition*. New York, NY: Guilford.

Payne, B. Keith, Clara Michelle Cheng, Olesya Govorun, and Brandon D. Stewart. (2005). An Inkblot for Attitudes: Affect Misattribution as Implicit Measurement. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 89, 277-293.

Schreiber, E.M. 1976. Dirty Data in Britain and the USA: The Reliability of "Invariant" Characteristics Reported in Surveys. *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, 39, 493-506.

Smith, Tom W. 2003. *A Review of Methods to Estimate the Status of Cases with Unknown Eligibility*. Available at http://www.aapor.org/uploads/erate.pdf (accessed January 26, 2009).

Smith, Tom W. and C. Bruce Stephenson. 1979. An Analysis of Test/Retest Experiments on the 1972, 1973, 1974, and 1978 General Social Surveys. GSS Methodological Report No. 8. Available at http://publicdata.norc.org:41000/gss/DOCUMENTS/REPORTS/Methodological_Reports/MR008.pdf (accessed April 1, 2010).

Sriram, N. & Anthony G. Greenwald. (2009). The Brief Implicit Association Test. *Experimental Psychology, 56*, 283–294.

Appendix A. Question-Wave Map

The next 66 pages present each ANES question asked on the panel study, organized by topic.

The questionnaires are available separately from the ANES web site. You may wish to review the questionnaire programming specifications, which list each question and the programming instructions regarding how the question was displayed and to whom it was asked. You may also review screen images of what the questions looked like on users' computer screens.

Appendix A.
Question-Wave Map

This document lists all the questions asked on the ANES waves of the 2008-2009 ANES Panel Study. The questions are organized alphabetically by topic, such as abortion, age, Affect Misattribution Procedure, etc. For each question, the waves on which the question was asked are indicated and the question number on each wave's respective questionnaire is shown. For example, the first question on the list was item N1 on the Wave 2 survey and the same question was item R1 on the Wave 10 survey. Note: on the data files, variable names are generally composed of the question/item label preceded by the wave code, so the data from responses to the first abortion question are in the variables W2N1 and W10R1.

			2008						2009			
ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
1		**Abortion**										
1.01		Next, we'd like to ask you about some situations in which a woman might want to have an abortion. For each one, please say whether you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose it being **legal** for the woman to have an abortion in that situation.	--	N1	--	--	R1	--	--	--	--	--
1.02		[First/Next], do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if staying pregnant would hurt the woman's health but is very unlikely to cause her to die?	--	N2	--	--	R2	--	--	--	--	--
1.03		[First/Next], do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if staying pregnant could cause the woman to die?	--	N4	--	--	R4	--	--	--	--	--
1.04		[First/Next], do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if the pregnancy was caused by sex the woman chose to have with a blood relative?	--	N6	--	--	R6	--	--	--	--	--
1.05		[First/Next], do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if the pregnancy was caused by the woman being raped?	--	N8	--	--	R8	--	--	--	--	--
1.06		[First/Next], do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if the fetus will be born with a serious birth defect?	--	N10	--	--	R10	--	--	--	--	--
1.07		[First/Next], do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if the child will not be the sex the woman wants it to be?	--	N12	--	--	R12	--	--	--	--	--
1.08		[First/Next], do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if having the child would be extremely difficult for the woman financially?	--	N14	--	--	R14	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	N3, N5, N7, N9, N11, N13, N15	--	--	R3, R5, R7, R9, R11, R13, R15	--	--	--	--	--
2		**Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP)**										
		[CASI GRAPHIC DISPLAY -- See Methodology Report section 14.]	--	--	--	ZE	ZB	--	--	--	--	--
3		**Affirmative action**										

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
3.01		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing universities to increase the number of black students studying at their schools by considering race along with other factors when choosing students? [See also: Policy addition 54.08]	--	--	--	QR1	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	--	QR2	--	--	--	--	--	--
4		**Age**										
4.01		Are you 18 years old or older?	--	A1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5		**Attitudes toward candidates, parties, GWB**										
5.01		[Next,] we'd like to ask how much you like or dislike various people [and groups] who have been in the news recently.	E1	E1	E1	E1	E1	--	--	E1	E1	--
5.02		Do you like the **Democratic Party**, dislike it, or neither like nor dislike it?	E2	E2	E2	E2	E2	--	--	--	E2	--
	/	IF LIKE: Do you like it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E3	E3	E3	E3	E3	--	--	--	E3	--
	/	IF DISLIKE: Do you dislike it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E4	E4	E4	E4	E4	--	--	--	E4	--
5.03		Do you like the **Republican Party**, dislike it, or neither like nor dislike it?	E5	E5	E5	E5	E5	--	--	--	E5	--
	/	IF LIKE: Do you like it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E6	E6	E6	E6	E6	--	--	--	E6	--
	/	IF DISLIKE: Do you dislike it (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E7	E7	E7	E7	E7	--	--	--	E7	--
5.04		Do you like **Rudy Giuliani**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E8	E8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.05		Do you like **Mitt Romney**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E11	E11	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.06		Do you like **John McCain**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E14	E14	E14	E14	E14	--	--	E14	--	--
5.07		Do you like **Fred Thompson**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E17	E17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.08		Do you like **Mike Huckabee**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E20	E20	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.09		Do you like **Ron Paul**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E23	E23	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.10		Do you like **Duncan Hunter**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E26	E26	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.11		Do you like **Alan Keyes**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E29	E29	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.12		Do you like **Tom Tancredo**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E32	E32	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		IF LIKE: Do you like him (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E9, E12, E15, E18, E21, E24, E27, E30, E33	E9, E12, E15, E18, E21, E24, E27, E30, E33	E15	E15	E15	--	--	E15	--	--
		IF DISLIKE: Do you dislike him (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E10, E13, E16, E19, E22, E25, E28, E31, E34	E10, E13, E16, E19, E22, E25, E28, E31, E34	E16	E16	E16	--	--	E16	--	--
5.13		Do you like **Hillary Clinton**, dislike her, or neither like nor dislike her?	E35	E35	E35	E35	--	--	--	E35	--	--
5.14		Do you like **Barack Obama**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E38	E38	E38	E38	E38	--	--	E38	E38	--
5.15		Do you like **John Edwards**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E41	E41	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.16		Do you like **Bill Richardson**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E44	E44	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.17		Do you like **Joe Biden**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E47	E47	--	E62	E68	--	--	E68	--	--
5.18		Do you like **Chris Dodd**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E50	E50	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.19		Do you like **Dennis Kucinich**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E53	E53	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
5.20		Do you like **Mike Gravel**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E56	E56	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
		IF LIKE: Do you like [him/her] (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E36, E39, E42, E45, E48, E51, E54, E57	E36, E39, E42, E45, E48, E51, E54, E57	E36, E39	E36, E39, E63	E39, E69	--	--	E36, E39, E69	E39	--
		IF DISLIKE: Do you dislike [him/her] (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E37, E40, E43, E46, E49, E52, E55, E58	E37, E40, E43, E46, E49, E52, E55, E58	E37, E40	E37, E40, E64	E40, E70	--	--	E37, E40, E70	E40	--
5.21		Do you like **George W. Bush**, dislike him, or neither like nor dislike him?	E59	E59	E59	E59	E59	--	--	--	E59	--
		Do you like him (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E60	E60	E60	E60	E60	--	--	--	E60	--
		Do you dislike him (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	E61	E61	E61	E61	E61	--	--	--	E61	--
5.22		Do you like **Cindy McCain**, dislike her, or neither like nor dislike her?	--	--	--	--	E62	--	--	--	--	--
		Do you like her (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	--	--	--	--	E63	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		Do you dislike her (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	--	--	--	--	E64	--	--	--	--	--
5.23		Do you like **Michelle Obama**, dislike her, or neither like nor dislike her?	--	--	--	--	E65	--	--	--	--	--
		Do you like her (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	--	--	--	--	E66	--	--	--	--	--
		Do you dislike her (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	--	--	--	--	E67	--	--	--	--	--
5.24		Do you like **Sarah Palin**, dislike her, or neither like nor dislike her?	--	--	--	E65	E71	--	--	--	--	--
		Do you like her (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	--	--	--	E66	E72	--	--	E69	--	--
		Do you dislike her (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	--	--	--	E67	E73	--	--	E70	--	--
6		**Attitudes toward groups**										
6.01		[Now] we'd like to ask how you feel about various groups [that have been in the news recently].	--	D1	--	--	D1	--	D1	--	--	D1
6.02		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward the people who are **in charge of big companies**?	--	D2	--	--	--	--	D2	--	--	--
6.03		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward current **members of the U.S. military**?	--	D5	--	--	--	--	D5	--	--	--
6.04		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **Mormons**?	--	D8	--	--	--	--	D8	--	--	--
6.05		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **blacks**?	--	D11	--	--	D11	--	--	--	--	D11
6.06		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **whites**?	--	D14	--	--	D14	--	--	--	--	D14
6.07		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **Latinos/Hispanics**?	--	D17	--	--	D17	--	D17	--	--	--
6.08		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **men**?	--	D20	--	--	D20	--	--	--	--	--
6.09		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **women**?	--	D23	--	--	D23	--	--	--	--	--
6.10		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **evangelical Christians**?	--	D26	--	--	D26	--	--	--	--	--
		[IF WARM]: Do you feel (extremely warm, moderately warm, or a little warm / a little warm, moderately warm, or extremely warm) toward [group]?	--	D3, D6, D9, D12, D15, D18, D21, D24, D27	--	--	D12, D15, D21, D24, D27	--	D3, D6, D9, D18	--	--	D12, D15
		[IF COLD]: Do you feel (extremely cold, moderately cold, or a little cold / a little cold, moderately cold, or extremely cold) toward [group]?	--	D4, D7, D10, D13, D16, D19, D22, D25, D28	--	--	D13, D16, D22, D25, D28	--	D4, D7, D10, D19	--	--	D13, D16
7		**Attribution for racial inequality**										

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
7.01		Why do you think that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower incomes than whites do? For each possible explanation listed on the next few screens, please mark how important you think it is.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K1
7.02		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it because **employers are more likely to hire whites?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K2
7.03		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it **because whites have more in-born ability to learn?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K3
7.04		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it **because discrimination holds blacks back?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K4
7.05		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it **because blacks just don't work as hard?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K5
7.06		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it **because blacks don't get a chance to get a good education?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K6
7.07		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it **because blacks just choose low-paying jobs?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K7
7.08		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it **because government policies have helped whites more?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K8
7.09		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it **because God made people different from one another?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K9
7.10		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it **because discrimination held blacks back in the past?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K10
7.11		Why do you think it is that in America today blacks tend to have worse jobs and lower income than whites do? Is it **because of other reasons we haven't asked about?** How important is this explanation?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	K11
8		**Background for Off-Panel Respondents**										
8.01		What state do you live in? Select from the list. [PULLDOWN LIST OF 50 STATES AND DC]	Y1	W1	--	ZW1	ZW1	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
8.02		Are you male or female?	Y2	W2	--	ZW2	ZW2	--	--	--	--	--
8.03		Please confirm your date of birth	Y3A	--	--			--	--	--	--	--
8.04		What year were you born?	--	W3	--	ZW3	ZW3	--	--	--	--	N3
8.05		Do you own your home, rent your home, or have some other arrangement? [See also: Home tenure 31.01]	Y4	W4	--	ZW4	ZW4	--	--	--	--	N1
8.06		What is your housing arrangement? Please be specific.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	N2
8.07		What is the highest degree or level of school you have **completed**?	Y5	W5	--	ZW5	ZW5	--	--	--	--	--
8.08		Are you of Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino descent?	Y6A	W6	--	ZW6	ZW6	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Please check one or more categories below to indicate what **race(s)** you consider yourself to be.	Y6	W7	--	ZW7	ZW7	--	--	--	--	--
8.09		Are you now married, widowed, divorced, separated, or never married?	Y7	W8	--	ZW8	ZW8	--	--	--	--	--
8.10		Are you now living with a partner?	Y8	W8A	--	ZW8A	ZW8A	--	--	--	--	--
8.11		The next question is about the total income of YOUR HOUSEHOLD for the PAST 12 MONTHS. Please include your income PLUS the income of all members living in your household (including cohabiting partners and armed forces members living at home). Please count income BEFORE TAXES, including income from all sources (such as wages, salaries, tips, net income from a business, interest, dividends, child support, alimony, and Social Security, public assistance, pensions, or retirement benefits). [See also: Income 37.01]	Y9	W9	--	ZW9	ZW9	--	--	--	--	--
8.12		Was your total HOUSEHOLD income in the past 12 months … (1) below $35,000 (2) $35,000 or more [See also: Income 37.02]	Y10	W10	--	ZW10	ZW10	--	--	--	--	--
8.13		Was it ... (1) less than $20,000 (2) $20,000 to $34,499 [See also: Income 37.03]	Y11	W11	--	ZW11	ZW11	--	--	--	--	--
8.14		Was it ... (1) less than $5,000 (2) $5,000 to $7,499 (3) $7,500 to $9,999 (4) $10,000 to $12,499 (5) $12,500 to $14,999 (6) $15,000 to $19,999 [See also: Income 37.04]	Y12	W12	--	ZW12	ZW12	--	--	--	--	--
8.15		Was it ... (7) $20,000 to $24,999 (8) $25,000 to $29,999 (9) $30,000 to $34,999 [See also: Income 37.05]	Y13	W13	--	ZW13	ZW13	--	--	--	--	--
8.16		Was it ... (1) $35,000 to $49,999 (2) $50,000 or more [See also: Income 37.06]	Y14	W14	--	ZW14	ZW14	--	--	--	--	--
8.17		Was it ... (10) $35,000 to $39,999 (11) $40,000 to $49,999 [See also: Income 37.07]	Y15	W15	--	ZW15	ZW15	--	--	--	--	--
8.18		Was it ... (1) $50,000 to $99,999 (2) $100,000 or more [See also: Income 37.08]	Y16	W16	--	ZW16	ZW16	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
8.19		Was it ... (12) $50,000 to $59,999 (13) $60,000 to $74,999 (14) $75,000 to $84,999 (15) $85,000 to $99,999 [See also: Income 37.09]	Y17	W17	--	ZW17	ZW17	--	--	--	--	--
8.20		Was it ... (16) $100,000 to $124,999 (17) $125,000 to $149,999 (18) $150,000 to $174,999 (19) $175,000 or more [See also: Income 37.10]	Y18	W18	--	ZW18	ZW18	--	--	--	--	--
		Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.	--	W10A, W11A, W12A, W13A, W14A, W15A, W16A, W17A, W18A	--	ZW10A. ZW11A. ZW12A. ZW13A, ZW14A. ZW15A, ZW16A ZW17A, ZW18A	ZW10A. ZW11A. ZW12A. ZW13A, ZW14A. ZW15A, ZW16A, ZW17A, ZW18A	--	--	--	--	--
		*In addition to the coverage shown here, certain background/demographic questions were asked in the surveys in April and September 2009										
9		**Biblical literalism and religious denomination detail**										
9.01		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. __ The Bible is the word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word. __ The Bible is a book written by men and is not the word of God.	--	V1	--	--	W1	--	--	--	--	--
9.02		Do you consider yourself Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, another religion, or not religious?	--	V2	--	--	W2	--	--	--	--	--
		(In last month's survey you said you were Jewish.) Do you consider yourself Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, or something else?	--	V3	--	--	W3	--	--	--	--	--
9.03		What is your religion?	--	V4	--	--	W4	--	--	--	--	--
9.04		What is your Christian church or denomination? If you are Christian but don't have a specific church or denomination, mark that answer. If you are part of a different Christian church or denomination that is not listed here, mark that answer at the bottom of the list.	--	V5	--	--	W5	--	--	--	--	--
		Do you consider yourself Protestant, or not?	--	V6	--	--	W6	--	--	--	--	--
		With which Baptist group is your church associated?	--	V7	--	--	W7	--	--	--	--	--
		Is your church the Church of the Brethren, the Plymouth Brethren, or another Brethren group?	--	V8	--	--	W8	--	--	--	--	--
		Is your church the Church of Christ, the United Church of Christ, or another Church of Christ?	--	V9	--	--	W9	--	--	--	--	--
		Is your church the Church of God of Anderson, Indiana, the Church of God of Cleveland, Tennessee, the Church of God in Christ, or another Church of God?	--	V10	--	--	W10	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		What is your church called, exactly? Is it part of a larger denomination?	--	V11	--	--	W11	--	--	--	--	--
		Is your church part of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the Missouri Synod, or anther Lutheran group?	--	V12	--	--	W12	--	--	--	--	--
		Is your church part of the United Methodist Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Church, the African Methodist Episcopal Zion Church, or another Methodist group?	--	V13	--	--	W13	--	--	--	--	--
		Is your church the Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. (formerly the United Presbyterian Church), or another Presbyterian group?	--	V14	--	--	W14	--	--	--	--	--
		Is your church the Christian Reformed Church, the Reformed Church in America, or another Reformed group?	--	V15	--	--	W15	--	--	--	--	--
10		**Bush evaluations**										
10.01		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling **his job as president**?	V1	SV1	--	S1	--	WS1	--	--	--	--
10.02		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling **the economy**?	V3	SV3	--	--	--	WS3	--	--	--	--
10.03		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling **our relations with foreign countries**?	V5	SV5	--	--	--	WS5	--	--	--	--
10.04		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling **the federal government's budget deficit**?	V7	SV7	--	--	--	WS7	--	--	--	--
10.05		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling **the war in Iraq**?	V9	SV9	--	--	--	WS9	--	--	--	--
10.06		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling **the effort to reduce the risk of terrorist attacks in the United States**?	V11	SV11	--	--	--	WS11	--	--	--	--
		Do you **[approve/disapprove]** (extremely strongly, moderately strongly, or slightly strongly / slightly strongly, moderately strongly, or extremely strongly)?	V2, V4, V6, V8, V10, V12	SV2, SV4, SV6, SV8, SV10, SV12	--	S2	--	WS2, WS4, WS6, WS8, WS10, WS12	--	--	--	--
11		**Candidate abortion positions**										
11.01		Does **Barack Obama** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if staying pregnant would hurt the woman's health but is very unlikely to cause her to die?	--	--	--	--	RA1	RA1	--	--	--	--
		Does Barack Obama [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	--	--	RA2	RA2	--	--	--	--
11.02		Does **Barack Obama** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if the child will not be the sex the woman wants it to be?	--	--	--	--	RA3	RA3	--	--	--	--
		Does Barack Obama [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	--	--	RA4	RA4	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
11.03		Does **John McCain** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if staying pregnant would hurt the woman's health but is very unlikely to cause her to die?	--	--	--	--	RA5	RA5	--	--	--	--
	/	Does John McCain [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	--	--	RA6	RA6	--	--	--	--
11.04		Does **John McCain** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being **legal** if the child will not be the sex the woman wants it to be?	--	--	--	--	RA7	RA7	--	--	--	--
	/	Does John McCain [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	--	--	RA8	RA8	--	--	--	--
12		**Candidate approval**										
12.01		Suppose that instead of voting for one candidate for president, you could vote for as many candidates as you like. The winner would be the candidate who gets the most votes. If you could vote for as many candidates as you like, which of the following candidates would you vote for? Mark all that apply.	G1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
13		**Cognitive style: Need for cognition & need to evaluate**										
13.01		Some people have opinions about almost everything; other people have opinions about just some things; and still other people have very few opinions. What about you? Would you say you have opinions about (almost everything, about many things, about some things, or about very few things / very few things, about some things, about many things, or about almost everything?)	--	--	--	--	--	ZE1	--	--	--	--
13.02		Compared to the average person do you have fewer opinions about whether things are good or bad, about the same number of opinions, or more opinions?	--	--	--	--	--	ZE2	--	--	--	--
	/	Would you say that you have a lot (fewer/more) opinions or just somewhat (fewer/more) opinions?	--	--	--	--	--	ZE3	--	--	--	--
13.03		Some people like to have responsibility for handling situations that require a lot of thinking, and other people don't like to have responsibility for situations like that. What about you? Do you like having responsibility for handling situations that require a lot of thinking, do you dislike it, or do you neither like nor dislike it?	--	--	--	--	--	ZE4	--	--	--	--
	/	Do you (like/dislike) it (a lot or just somewhat / just somewhat or a lot)?	--	--	--	--	--	ZE5	--	--	--	--
13.04		Some people prefer to solve simple problems instead of complex ones, whereas other people prefer to solve more complex problems. Which type of problem do you prefer to solve: simple or complex?	--	--	--	--	--	ZE6	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
14		**Condition of the country**										
14.01		Compared to 2001, would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **The nation's economy**	T1	--	T1	R1	--	U1	--	--	--	--
14.02		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **Our relations with foreign countries**	T2	--	T2	R2	--	U2	--	U2	U2	--
14.03		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **The nation's moral values**	T3	--	T3	R3	--	U3	--	U3	U3	--
14.04		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **The federal budget deficit**	T4	--	T4	R4	--	U4	--	U4	U4	--
14.05		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **The strength of the U.S. military**	T5	--	T5	R5	--	U5	--	U5	U5	--
14.06		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **The environment**	T6	--	T6	R6	--	U6	--	U6	U6	--
14.07		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **The nation's crime rate**	T7	--	T7	R7	--	U7	--	U7	U7	--
14.08		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **Education in the U.S.**	T8	--	T8	R8	--	U8	--	U8	U8	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
14.09		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse? / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **Health care in the U.S.**	T9	--	T9	R9	--	U9	--	U9	U9	--
14.10		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **Poverty in the U.S.**	T10	--	T10	R10	--	U10	--	U10	U10	--
14.11		Compared to 2001, would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **The effort to reduce the risk of terrorist attacks in the U.S.**	T11	--	T11	R11	--	U11	--	--	U11	--
14.12		Compared to [2001 / January 2009], would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **How blacks and whites get along in the U.S.**	--	--	--	R12	--	U12	--	U12	U12	--
14.13		Compared to January 2009, would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **The war in Iraq.**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	U13	--
14.14		Compared to January 2009, would you say the following is now (much better, somewhat better, about the same, somewhat worse, or much worse / much worse, somewhat worse, about the same, somewhat better, or much better)? **The war in Afghanistan.**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	U14	--
15		**Congress**										
15.01		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress is handling its job?	--	--	--	Y1	--	--	--	--	--	--
		Do you **[approve/disapprove]** (extremely strongly, moderately strongly, or slightly strongly / slightly strongly, moderately strongly, or extremely strongly)?	--	--	--	Y2	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
15.02		Which of the following four situations do you prefer, or do you not prefer any of them? __ That the President of the United States, a majority of the members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and a majority of U.S. Senators are all **Democrats** __ That the President of the United States, a majority of the members of the U.S. House of Representatives, and a majority of U.S. Senators are all **Republicans** __ That the President of the United States is a **Democrat**, and a majority of the members of the U.S. House of Representatives and a majority of U.S. Senators are **Republicans** __ That the President of the United States is a **Republican**, and a majority of the memebers of the U.S. House of Representatives and a majority of U.S. Senators are **Democrats** __ No pereference	--	--	--	Y3	--	--	--	--	--	--
15.03		What do you think are the chances that after the November election, a majority of the members of the U.S. House of Representatives and a majority of U.S. Senators will be **Democrats**? Please give an answer between 0 percent (meaning this definitely won't happen) and 100 percent (meaning this definitely will happen).	--	--	--	Y4	--	--	--	--	--	--
15.04		What do you think are the chances that after the November election, a majority of the members of the U.S. House of Representatives and a majority of U.S. Senators will be **Republicans**? Please give an answer between 0 percent (meaning this definitely won't happen) and 100 percent (meaning this definitely will happen).	--	--	--	Y5	--	--	--	--	--	--
16		**DHS 1**										
16.01		Do you think the federal government has become so large and powerful that it poses an immediate threat to the rights and freedoms of ordinary citizens, or not?	--	--	Y1, Y46	--	--	--	--	Y1, Y46	--	--
16.02		In the future, how likely are you to join in a protest march, rally, or demonstration? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Y2	--	--	--	--	Y2	--	--
16.03		In the future, how likely are you to attend a meeting of a town or city government or school board? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Y3	--	--	--	--	Y3	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
16.04		In the future, how likely are you to sign a petition **on the Internet** about a political or social issue? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Y4	--	--	--	--	Y4	--	--
16.05		In the future, how likely are you to sign a petition **on paper** about a political or social issue? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Y5	--	--	--	--	Y5	--	--
16.06		In the future, how likely are you to give money to a religious organization? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Y6	--	--	--	--	Y6	--	--
16.07		In the future, how likely are you to give money to any other organization concerned with a political or social issue, not counting a religious organization? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Y7	--	--	--	--	Y7	--	--
16.08		In the future, how likely are you to attend a meeting to talk about political or social concerns? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Y8	--	--	--	--	Y8	--	--
16.09		In the future, how likely are you to invite someone to attend a meeting about political or social concerns? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Y9	--	--	--	--	Y9	--	--
16.10		In the future, how likely are you to distribute information or advertisements supporting a political or social interest group? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, a little likely, or not at all likely / Not at all likely, a little likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Y10	--	--	--	--	Y10	--	--
16.11		Please indicate below how many of the adults living in the United States you think have ever done these things. (All, most, about half, a few, or none / None, a few, about half, most, or all)? **Ever joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration**	--	--	Y11	--	--	--	--	Y11	--	--
16.12		Please indicate below how many of the adults living in the United States you think have ever done these things. (All, most, about half, a few, or none / None, a few, about half, most, or all)? **Ever attended a meeting of a town or city government or school board**	--	--	Y12	--	--	--	--	Y12	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
16.13		Please indicate below how many of the adults living in the United States you think have ever done these things. (All, most, about half, a few, or none / None, a few, about half, most, or all)? **Ever signed a petition *on the Internet* about a political or social issue**	--	--	Y13	--	--	--	--	Y13	--	--
16.14		Please indicate below how many of the adults living in the United States you think have ever done these things. (All, most, about half, a few, or none / None, a few, about half, most, or all)? **Ever signed a petition *on paper* about a political or social issue**	--	--	Y14	--	--	--	--	Y14	--	--
16.15		Please indicate below how many of the adults living in the United States you think have ever done these things. (All, most, about half, a few, or none / None, a few, about half, most, or all)? **Ever gave money to a religious organization**	--	--	Y15	--	--	--	--	Y15	--	--
16.16		Please indicate below how many of the adults living in the United States you think have ever done these things. (All, most, about half, a few, or none / None, a few, about half, most, or all)? **Not counting a religious organization, ever gave money to any other organization concerned with a political or social issue.**	--	--	Y16	--	--	--	--	Y16	--	--
16.17		Please indicate below how many of the adults living in the United States you think have ever done these things. (All, most, about half, a few, or none / None, a few, about half, most, or all)? **Ever attended a meeting to talk about political or social concerns**	--	--	Y17	--	--	--	--	Y17	--	--
16.18		Please indicate below how many of the adults living in the United States you think have ever done these things. (All, most, about half, a few, or none / None, a few, about half, most, or all)? **Ever invited someone to attend a meeting about political or social concerns**	--	--	Y18	--	--	--	--	Y18	--	--
16.19		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration** [see also: Participation 50.01]	--	--	Y21	--	--	ZD21	--	Y21	--	--
	/	When you joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration, did you ever think you would be arrested or punished by police or security forces?	--	--	Y21A	--	--		--	Y21A	--	--
16.20		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Attended a meeting of a town or city government or school board** [see also: Participation 49.02]	--	--	Y22	--	--	ZD22	--	Y22	--	--
16.21		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Signed a petition *on the Internet* about a political or social issue** [see also: Participation 49.03]	--	--	Y23	--	--	ZD23	--	Y23	--	--
16.22		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Signed a petition *on paper* about a political or social issue** [see also: Participation 49.04]	--	--	Y24	--	--	ZD24	--	Y24	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
16.23		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Gave money to a religious organization** [see also: Participation 49.05]	--	--	Y25	--	--	ZD25	--	Y25	--	--
	/	When you gave money to a religious organization, did you ever think you would be arrested or punished by police or security forces?	--	--	Y25A	--	--		Y25A	Y25A	--	--
16.24		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Not counting a religious organization, gave money to any other organization concerned with a political or social issue.** [see also: Participation 49.06]	--	--	Y26	--	--	ZD26	Y26	Y26	--	--
	/	When you gave money to any other organization concerned with a political or social issue, did you ever think you would be arrested or punished by police or security forces?	--	--	Y26A	--	--		Y26A	Y26A	--	--
16.25		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Attended a meeting to talk about political or social concerns** [see also: Participation 49.07]	--	--	Y27	--	--	ZD27	Y27	Y27	--	--
	/	When you attended a meeting to talk about political or social concerns, did you ever think you would be arrested or punished by police or security forces?	--	--	Y27A	--	--		Y27A	Y27A	--	--
16.26		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Invited someone to attend a meeting about political or social concerns** [see also: Participation 49.08]	--	--	Y28	--	--	ZD28	Y28	Y28	--	--
16.27		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Distributed information or advertisements supporting a political or social interest group** [see also: Participation 49.09]	--	--	Y29	--	--	ZD29	Y29	Y29	--	--
	/	When you distributed information or advertisements supporting a political or social interest group, did you ever think you would be arrested or punished by police or security forces?	--	--	Y29A	--	--	--	Y29A	Y29A	--	--
16.28		Does it seem to you that the people you know personally are more angry with the federal government than they used to be?	--	--	Y30	--	--	--	Y30	Y30	--	--
16.29		Are you, personally, more angry at the federal government than you used to be?	--	--	Y31	--	--	--	Y31	Y31	--	--
16.30		When you think about what the U.S. federal government has done [during the last four years / since January 2009], how **angry** does that make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all)?	--	--	Y32	--	--	--	Y32	Y32	--	--
	/	Do you feel more angry about things the government has done to (**you personally / other people**), more angry about things the government has done to (**other people / you personally**), or equally angry about both?	--	--	Y33	--	--	--	Y33	Y33	--	--
16.31		When you think about what the U.S. federal government has done [during the last four years / since January 2009], how **hopeful** does that make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all) ?	--	--	Y34	--	--	--	Y34	Y34	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		Do you feel more hopeful about things the government has done to (**you personally / other people**), more hopeful about things the government has done to (**other people / you personally**), or equally hopeful about both?	--	--	Y35	--	--	--	Y35	Y35	--	--
16.32		When you think about what the U.S. federal government has done [during the last four years / since January 2009], how **afraid** does that make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all)?	--	--	Y36	--	--	--	Y36	Y36	--	--
		Do you feel more afraid about things the government has done to (**you personally / other people**), more afraid about things the government has done to (**other people / you personally**), or equally afraid about both?	--	--	Y37	--	--	--	Y37	Y37	--	--
16.33		When you think about what the U.S. federal government has done during the last four years, how **proud** does that make you feel?	--	--	Y38	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
16.34		When you think about what the U.S. federal government has done since January 2009, how **proud** does that make you feel?							Y38	Y38	--	--
		Do you feel more proud about things the government has done to (**you personally / other people**), more proud about things the government has done to (**other people / you personally)**, or equally proud about both?	--	--	Y39	--	--	--	Y39	Y39	--	--
16.35		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the U.S. federal government has handled **the war in Afghanistan** during the last four years?	--	--	Y40	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
16.36		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the U.S. federal government has handled **the war in Afghanistan** since January 2009?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Y40	Y40	--	--
		Do you **[approve/disapprove]** (extremely strongly, moderately strongly, or slightly strongly / slightly strongly, moderately strongly, or extremely strongly)?	--	--	Y41	--	--	--	Y41	Y41	--	--
16.37		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the U.S. federal government has handled **the war in Iraq** during the last four years?	--	--	Y42	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
16.38		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the U.S. federal government has handled **the war in Iraq** since January 2009?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Y42	Y42	--	--
		Do you **[approve/disapprove]** (extremely strongly, moderately strongly, or slightly strongly / slightly strongly, moderately strongly, or extremely strongly)?	--	--	Y43	--	--	--	Y43	Y43	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
16.39		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the U.S. federal government has handled **the effort to reduce the risk of terrorist attacks in the United States** during the last four years?	--	--	Y44	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
16.40		Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the U.S. federal government has handled **the effort to reduce the risk of terrorist attacks in the United States** since January 2009?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Y44	Y44	--	--
	/	Do you **[approve/disapprove]** (extremely strongly, moderately strongly, or slightly strongly / slightly strongly, moderately strongly, or extremely strongly)?	--	--	Y45	--	--	--	Y45	Y45	--	--
17		**DHS 2-9**										
17.01		As you know, on September 11th 2001, a group of terrorists took control of several U.S. commercial airplanes and crashed them into the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington. What do you think the terrorists were trying to accomplish by their actions? Type the answer. [LARGE TEXT BOX]	--	--	Z1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
17.02		Compared to one year ago, was the amount of violent crime in your city or town during the last month more, less, or about the same?	--	--	Z2	--	--	--	--	Z2	--	--
	/	Is it a great deal (more/less), moderately (more/less), or slightly (more/less)?	--	--	Z3	--	--	--	--	Z3	--	--
17.03		Compared to one year ago, was the amount of violent crime in the United States during the last month more, less, or about the same?	--	--	Z4	--	--	--	--	Z4	--	--
	/	Is it a great deal (more/less), moderately (more/less), or slightly (more/less)?	--	--	Z5	--	--	--	--	Z5	--	--
17.04		Compared to one year ago, are the chances that there will be a terrorist attack in the United States now more, less, or about the same?	--	--	Z6	--	--	--	--	Z6	--	--
	/	Are they a great deal (more/less), moderately (more/less), or slightly (more/less)?	--	--	Z7	--	--	--	--	Z7	--	--
17.05		During the next 12 months, how likely is it that there will be a terrorist attack in the United States that kills 100 or more people? (Is it extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not at all likely / Is it not at all likely, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	Z8	--	--	WY1	Y1	Z8	--	--
17.06		During the last year, how well has the U.S. government reduced the chances that a terrorist attack will happen in the United States? (Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well)?	--	--	Z9	--	--	--	--	Z9	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
17.07		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Decrease as much as possible the amount of oil imported to the U.S. from the Middle East**	--	--	Z10	--	--	--	--	Z10	--	--
17.08		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Encourage Middle East countries that are not democracies now to become democracies.**	--	--	Z12	--	--	--	--	Z12	--	--
17.09		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Prevent countries that are trying to get nuclear weapons for the first time from doing so**	--	--	Z14	--	--	--	--	Z14	--	--
17.10		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Spend more money on the U.S. military**	--	--	Z16	--	--	--	--	Z16	--	--
17.11		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Give more money to countries in the Middle East to reduce the amount of poverty there.**	--	--	Z18	--	--	--	--	Z18	--	--
17.12		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Stop doing things in other countries to try to solve problems there**	--	--	Z20	--	--	--	--	Z20	--	--
17.13		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Do more to stop terrorists from entering the United States**	--	--	Z22	--	--	--	--	Z22	--	--
17.14		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Do more to prevent terrorists from getting aboard airplanes**	--	--	Z24	--	--	--	--	Z24	--	--
17.15		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Do more to stop terrorists from bringing things into the United States that could be used to kill people**	--	--	Z26	--	--	--	--	Z26	--	--
17.16		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Strengthen the militaries of countries that are friends of the United States.**	--	--	Z28	--	--	--	--	Z28	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
17.17		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Help American companies to sell things to other countries**	--	--	Z30	--	--	--	--	Z30	--	--
17.18		If the U.S. government were to do the following, would the chances of a terrorist attack in the United States increase, decrease, or stay the same? **Make it easier for people from other countries to move to the United States**	--	--	Z32	--	--	--	--	Z32	--	--
		Would it (increase/decrease) the chances a (great deal, moderately, or slightly / slightly, moderately, or a great deal)?	--	--	Z11, Z13, Z15, Z17, Z19, Z21, Z23, Z25, Z27, Z29, Z31, Z33	--	--	--	--	Z11, Z13, Z15, Z17, Z19, Z21, Z23, Z25, Z27, Z29, Z31, Z33	--	--
17.19		How likely is the following kind of terrorist attack to happen in the United States during the next 12 months? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)? **A person sets off a bomb to kill himself or herself and to kill other people**	--	--	Z34	--	--	--	--	Z34	--	--
17.20		How likely is the following kind of terrorist attack to happen in the United States during the next 12 months? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all? / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely?) **A person sets off a bomb to kill other people but not himself or herself**	--	--	Z35	--	--	--	--	Z35	--	--
17.21		How likely is the following kind of terrorist attack to happen in the United States during the next 12 months? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)? **A person uses explosives to scatter radioactive material over a small area**	--	--	Z36	--	--	--	--	Z36	--	--
17.22		How likely is the following kind of terrorist attack to happen in the United States during the next 12 months? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all? / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely?) **A person sets off a nuclear bomb**	--	--	Z37	--	--	--	--	Z37	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
17.23		How likely is the following kind of terrorist attack to happen in the United States during the next 12 months? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)? **A person uses a rifle to shoot people from far away**	--	--	Z38	--	--	--	--	Z38	--	--
17.24		How likely is the following kind of terrorist attack to happen in the United States during the next 12 months? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)? **A person releases bacteria, viruses, or other germs to cause diseases in people.**	--	--	Z39	--	--	--	--	Z39	--	--
17.25		How likely is the following kind of terrorist attack to happen in the United States during the next 12 months? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)? **A person releases chemicals to kill people**	--	--	Z40	--	--	--	--	Z40	--	--
17.26		How likely is the following kind of terrorist attack to happen in the United States during the next 12 months? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)? **Some other kind of attack we have not asked you about**	--	--	Z41	--	--	--	--	Z41	--	--
17.27		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government torturing people, who are suspected of being terrorists, to try to get information?	--	--	Z50	--	--	--	--	Z50	--	--
	/	Do you (favor/oppose) that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	Z51	--	--	--	--	Z51	--	--
17.28		Here are some things some people have done to prepare for an emergency. For each one, please tell us if you have done it, have thought about doing it but haven't done it, or have not thought about doing it. **Put together emergency supplies like water, food, or medicine kept in your home**	--	--	Z70	--	--	--	--	Z70	--	--
17.29		**Changed any part of your home to protect it against wind, flooding, or other natural disasters**	--	--	Z71	--	--	--	--	Z71	--	--
17.30		**Made a plan for how you and the people you live with would communicate in an emergency.**	--	--	Z72	--	--	--	--	Z72	--	--
17.31		**Decided on a place for the people you live with to meet if they cannot go home in an emergency**	--	--	Z73	--	--	--	--	Z73	--	--
17.32		**Practiced what to do if there is an emergency when you are at home**	--	--	Z74	--	--	--	--	Z74	--	--
17.33		**Volunteered to help your local community prepare for or respond to an emergency**	--	--	Z75	--	--	--	--	Z75	--	--
17.34		**Taken first aid training such as CPR to keep someone breathing or resuscitate someone**	--	--	Z76	--	--	--	--	Z76	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
17.35		**Bought insurance to protect you or your property against a disaster.**	--	--	Z77	--	--	--	--	Z77	--	--
17.36		Do you have a radio that is **battery operated or hand-cranked** in your home?	--	--	Z78	--	--	--	--	Z78	--	--
17.37		Do you have a first aid kit in your home?	--	--	Z79	--	--	--	--	Z79	--	--
17.38		Do you have at least three days' worth of canned or dried food for each person who lives in your household?	--	--	Z80	--	--	--	--	Z80	--	--
17.39		Do you have at least three days' worth of bottled water for each person who lives in your household?	--	--	Z90	--	--	--	--	Z90	--	--
17.40		Do you have a flashlight at home?	--	--	Z91	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
17.41		Do you have extra batteries for a radio or flashlight in your home right now?	--	--	Z92	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
17.42		Does anyone in your household definitely need to take medicine every day?	--	--	Z93	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
17.43		Do you have at least three days' worth of medicine that people living in your household would definitely need in an emergency?	--	--	Z94	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
18		**DHS: attitudes toward groups**										
18.01		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **Christians**?	--	--	YA42	--	--	--	--	YA42	--	--
18.02		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **Jews**?	--	--	YA45	--	--	--	--	YA45	--	--
18.03		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **Hindus**?	--	--	YA48	--	--	--	--	YA48	--	--
18.04		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **Muslims**?	--	--	YA51	--	--	--	--	YA51	--	--
18.05		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward **atheists**?	--	--	YA54	--	--	--	--	YA54	--	--
18.06		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward the people who live **in Canada**?	--	--	YA57	--	--	--	--	YA57	--	--
18.07		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward the people who live **in Mexico**?	--	--	YA60	--	--	--	--	YA60	--	--
18.08		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward the people who live **in Iraq**?	--	--	YA63	--	--	--	--	YA63	--	--
18.09		Do you feel warm, cold, or neither warm nor cold toward the people who live **in Iran**?	--	--	YA66	--	--	--	--	YA66	--	--
		[IF WARM]: Do you feel (extremely warm, moderately warm, or a little warm / a little warm, moderately warm, or extremely warm) toward [group]?	--	--	YA43, YA46, YA49, YA52, YA55, YA58, YA61, YA64, YA67	--	--	--	--	YA43, YA46, YA49, YA52, YA55, YA58, YA61, YA64, YA67	--	--
		[IF COLD]: Do you feel (extremely cold, moderately cold, or a little cold / a little cold, moderately cold, or extremely cold) toward [group]?	--	--	YA44, YA47, YA50, YA53, YA56, YA59, YA62, YA65, YA68	--	--	--	--	YA44, YA47, YA50, YA53, YA56, YA59, YA62, YA65, YA68	--	--
19		**Economic performance**										

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
19.01		Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that as compared to one year ago, the nation's economy is now better, about the same, or worse?	U1	--	U1	--	U1	V1	--	--	--	--
19.02		Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that as compared to January 2009, the nation's economy is now better, about the same, or worse?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	V1	V1	--
19.03		What about 12 months from now? Do you think the economy, in the country as a whole, will be better, about the same, or worse in 12 months?	U4	--	U4	--	U4	V4	--	V4	V4	--
	/	Much better or somewhat better?	U2, U5	--	U2, U5	--	U2, U5	V2, V5	--	V2, V5	V2, V5	--
	/	Much worse or somewhat worse?	U3, U6	--	U3, U6	--	U3, U6	V3, V6	--	V3, V6	V3, V6	--
20		**Efficacy**										
20.01		How much do government officials care what people like you think? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all / Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal)?	L1	H1	--	J1	J1	J1	--	J1	--	--
20.02		How much can people like you affect what the government does? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all / Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal)?	L2	H2	--	J2	J2	J2	--	J2	--	--
21		**Emotional responses to Bush, candidates and parties**										
21.01		Think about Hillary Clinton. Please click "Next" to continue.	--	T1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.02		When you think about **Hillary Clinton**, how **angry** does she make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)?	--	T2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.03		When you think about **Hillary Clinton**, how **hopeful** does she make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful)?	--	T3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.04		When you think about **Hillary Clinton**, how **afraid** does she make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	--	T4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.05		When you think about **Hillary Clinton**, how **proud** does she make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud.)?	--	T5	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
21.06		Think about Barack Obama. Please click "Next" to continue. [See also: Emotional responses to Obama 22.01]	--	T6	--	T6	--	WT6	--	--	--	--
21.07		When you think about **Barack Obama**, how **angry** does he make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)? [See also: Emotional responses to Obama 22.02]	--	T7	--	T7	--	WT7	--	--	--	--
21.08		When you think about **Barack Obama**, how **hopeful** does he make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all? / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful?) [See also: Emotional responses to Obama 22.03]	--	T8	--	T8	--	WT8	--	--	--	--
21.09		When you think about **Barack Obama**, how **afraid** does he make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)? [See also: Emotional responses to Obama 22.04]	--	T9	--	T9	--	WT9	--	--	--	--
21.10		When you think about **Barack Obama**, how **proud** does he make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)? [See also: Emotional responses to Obama 22.05]	--	T10	--	T10	--	WT10	--	--	--	--
21.11		Think about John Edwards. Please click "Next" to continue	--	T11	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.12		When you think about **John Edwards**, how **angry** does he make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)?	--	T12	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.13		When you think about **John Edwards**, how **hopeful** does he make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful)?	--	T13	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.14		When you think about **John Edwards**, how **afraid** does he make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	--	T14	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
21.15		When you think about **John Edwards**, how **proud** does he make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)?	--	T15	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.16		Think about Rudy Giuliani. Please click "Next" to continue.	--	T16	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.17		When you think about **Rudy Giuliani**, how **angry** does he make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)?	--	T17	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.18		When you think about **Rudy Giuliani**, how **hopeful** does he make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful)?	--	T18	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.19		When you think about **Rudy Giuliani**, how **afraid** does he make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	--	T19	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.20		When you think about **Rudy Giuliani**, how **proud** does he make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)?	--	T20	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.21		Think about Mitt Romney. Please click "Next" to continue.	--	T21	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.22		When you think about **Mitt Romney**, how **angry** does he make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)?	--	T22	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.23		When you think about **Mitt Romney**, how **hopeful** does he make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful)?	--	T23	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.24		When you think about **Mitt Romney**, how **afraid** does he make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	--	T24	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
21.25		When you think about **Mitt Romney**, how **proud** does he make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)?	--	T25	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.26		Think about Fred Thompson. Please click "Next" to continue.	--	T26	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.27		When you think about **Fred Thompson**, how **angry** does he make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)?	--	T27	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.28		When you think about **Fred Thompson**, how **hopeful** does he make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful)?	--	T28	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.29		When you think about **Fred Thompson**, how **afraid** does he make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	--	T29	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.30		When you think about **Fred Thompson**, how **proud** does he make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)?	--	T30	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.31		Think about Mike Huckabee. Please click "Next" to continue.	--	T31	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.32		When you think about **Mike Huckabee**, how **angry** does he make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)?	--	T32	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.33		When you think about **Mike Huckabee**, how **hopeful** does he make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all? / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful?)	--	T33	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.34		When you think about **Mike Huckabee**, how **afraid** does he make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	--	T34	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
21.35		When you think about **Mike Huckabee**, how **proud** does he make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)?	--	T35	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
21.36		Think about John McCain. Please click "Next" to continue.	--	T36	--	T36	--	WT36	--	--	--	--
21.37		When you think about **John McCain**, how **angry** does he make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)?	--	T37	--	T37	--	WT37	--	--	--	--
21.38		When you think about **John McCain**, how **hopeful** does he make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful)?	--	T38	--	T38	--	WT38	--	--	--	--
21.39		When you think about **John McCain**, how **afraid** does he make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	--	T39	--	T39	--	WT39	--	--	--	--
21.40		When you think about **John McCain,** how **proud** does he make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)?	--	T40	--	T40	--	WT40	--	--	--	--
21.41		Think about George W. Bush. Please click "Next" to continue.	W1	T41	--	T41	--	WT41	--	--	--	--
21.42		When you think about **George W. Bush**, how **angry** does he make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)?	W2	T42	--	T42	--	WT42	--	--	--	--
21.43		When you think about **George W. Bush**, how **hopeful** does he make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful)?	W3	T43	--	T43	--	WT43	--	--	--	--
21.44		When you think about **George W. Bush**, how **afraid** does he make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	W4	T44	--	T44	--	WT44	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
21.45		When you think about **George W. Bush**, how **proud** does he make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)?	W5	T45	--	T45	--	WT45	--	--	--	--
21.46		Think about the Democratic [political] party. Please click "Next" to continue	W6	--	--	--	--	WT46	WT46	--	--	--
21.47		When you think about the Democratic Party, how **angry** does it make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all? / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry?)	W7	--	--	--	--	WT47	WT47	--	--	--
21.48		When you think about the **Democratic Party**, how **hopeful** does it make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful)?	W8	--	--	--	--	WT48	WT48	--	--	--
21.49		When you think about the **Democratic Party**, how **afraid** does it make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	W9	--	--	--	--	WT49	WT49	--	--	--
21.50		When you think about the **Democratic Party**, how **proud** does it make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)?	W10	--	--	--	--	WT50	WT50	--	--	--
21.51		Think about the Republican [political] party. Please click "Next" to continue	W11	--	--	--	--	WT51	WT51	--	--	--
21.52		When you think about the **Republican Party**, how **angry** does it make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)?	W12	--	--	--	--	WT52	WT52	--	--	--
21.53		When you think about the **Republican Party**, how **hopeful** does it make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful)?	W13	--	--	--	--	WT53	WT53	--	--	--
21.54		When you think about the **Republican Party**, how **afraid** does it make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)?	W14	--	--	--	--	WT54	WT54	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
21.55		When you think about the **Republican Party**, how **proud** does it make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)?	W15	--	--	--	--	WT55	WT55	--	--	--
22		**Emotional responses to Obama**										
22.01		Think about Barack Obama. Please click "Next" to continue. [See also: Emotional responses to Bush, candidates and parties 21.06]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WT6	WT6	--
22.02		When you think about **Barack Obama**, how **angry** does he make you feel? (Extremely angry, very angry, moderately angry, slightly angry, or not angry at all / Not angry at all, slightly angry, moderately angry, very angry, or extremely angry)? [See also: Emotional responses to Bush, candidates and parties 21.07]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WT7	WT7	--
22.03		When you think about **Barack Obama**, how **hopeful** does he make you feel? (Extremely hopeful, very hopeful, moderately hopeful, slightly hopeful, or not hopeful at all? / Not hopeful at all, slightly hopeful, moderately hopeful, very hopeful, or extremely hopeful?) [See also: Emotional responses to Bush,	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WT8	WT8	--
22.04		When you think about **Barack Obama**, how **afraid** does he make you feel? (Extremely afraid, very afraid, moderately afraid, slightly afraid, or not afraid at all / Not afraid at all, slightly afraid, moderately afraid, very afraid, or extremely afraid)? [See also: Emotional responses to Bush, candidates and parties 21.09]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WT9	WT9	--
22.05		When you think about **Barack Obama**, how **proud** does he make you feel? (Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or not proud at all / Not proud at all, slightly proud, moderately proud, very proud, or extremely proud)? [See also: Emotional responses to Bush, candidates and parties 21.10]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WT10	WT10	--
23		**Employment status update**										
23.01		Which statement best describes your current employment status? __ Working – as a paid employee [1] __ Working – self-employed [2] __ Not working – on temporary layoff from a job [3] __ Not working – looking for work [4] __ Not working – retired [5] __ Not working – disabled [6] __ Not working – other [7]	--	--	--	--	--	ZG1	--	--	--	--
23.02		Altogether, how many jobs do you have?	--	--	--	--	--	ZG2	--	--	--	--
23.03		How many hours per week do you USUALLY work at your job?	--	--	--	--	--	ZG3	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
23.04		How many hours per week do you USUALLY work at your main job? By main job we mean the one at which you usually work the most hours. __ 35 hours a week or more 1 __ Less than 35 hours a week 2	--	--	--	--	--	ZG4	--	--	--	--
24		**Environment**										
24.01		You may have heard about the idea that the world's temperature may have been going up slowly over the past 100 years. What is your personal opinion on this? Do you think this has probably been happening, or do you think it probably hasn't been happening?	--	P1	--	--	S1	--	--	--	--	--
		How sure are you that the world's temperature has been going up? (Extremely sure, very sure, somewhat sure, slightly sure, or not sure at all? / Not sure at all, slightly sure, somewhat sure, very sure, or extremely sure?)	--	P2	--	--	S2	--	--	--	--	--
		How sure are you that the world's temperature hasn't been going up? (Extremely sure, very sure, somewhat sure, slightly sure, or not sure at all? / Not sure at all, slightly sure, somewhat sure, very sure, or extremely sure?)	--	P3	--	--	S3	--	--	--	--	--
24.02		Do you think a rise in the world's temperatures is being caused mostly by things people do, mostly by natural causes, or about equally by things people do and by natural causes?	--	P4	--	--	S4	--	--	--	--	--
		Assuming it's happening, do you think a rise in the world's temperatures would be caused mostly by things people do, mostly by natural causes, or about equally by things people do and by natural causes?	--	P5	--	--	S5	--	--	--	--	--
24.03		Scientists use the term "global warming" to refer to the idea that the world's average temperature may be about five degrees Fahrenheit higher in 75 years than it is now. Overall, would you say that global warming would be good, bad, or neither good nor bad?	--	P6	--	--	S6	--	--	--	--	--
		Would you say it would be (extremely good, moderately good, or slightly good / slightly good, moderately good, or extremely good)?	--	P7	--	--	S7	--	--	--	--	--
		Would you say it would be (extremely bad, moderately bad, or slightly bad / slightly bad, moderately bad, or extremely bad)?	--	P8	--	--	S8	--	--	--	--	--
24.04		Next, we'd like to ask whether you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a series of ways that the federal government might try to reduce future global warming. Power plants put gases into the air that could cause global warming. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government lowering the amount of these gases that power plants are allowed to put into the air?	--	P9	--	--	S9	--	--	--	--	--
		Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	P10	--	--	S10	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
24.05		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government requiring automakers to build cars that use less gasoline?	--	P11	--	--	S11	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little?/ a little, moderately, or a great deal)?	--	P12	--	--	S12	--	--	--	--	--
24.06		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increasing taxes on gasoline so people either drive less or buy cars that use less gas?	--	P13	--	--	S13	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	P14	--	--	S14	--	--	--	--	--
25		**Expected election outcome**										
25.01		Of the following Democrats running for President, who [do you think] is most likely to [be nominated by/get the nominatino of] the Democratic Party? Mark one answer.	X1	R1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
25.02		Of the following Republicans running for President, who [do you think] is most likely to [be nominated by/get the nomination of] the Republican Party? Mark one answer.	X2	R2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
25.03		What do you think is the percent chance that [DEMCAND] will win the 2008 election for President?	X3	R3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
25.04		What do you think is the percent chance that [REPCAND] will win the 2008 election for President?	X4	R4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
25.05		How much do you care who wins the presidential election in November? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all / Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal)?	--	--	--	U1	V1	--	--	--	--	--
25.06		Who do you think **will be** elected President in November? (Barack Obama, John McCain / John McCain, Barack Obama), or someone else?	--	--	--	U2	V2	--	--	--	--	--
25.07		Do you think the Presidential race will be close, or will [Barack Obama / John McCain / one candidate] win by quite a bit?	--	--	--	U3	V3	--	--	--	--	--
25.08		What about here in [STATE]? Which candidate will win in [STATE]? __ Barack Obama __ John McCain __ someone else	--	--	--	U4	V4	--	--	--	--	--
25.09		Do you think the Presidential race will be close here in [STATE], or will [Barack Obama / John McCain / one candidate] win by quite a bit?	--	--	--	U5	V5	--	--	--	--	--
26		**Feelings about election outcome**										
26.01		Are you happy, unhappy, or neither happy nor unhappy that [Barack Obama/John McCain] won the election for President?	--	--	--	--	--	W1	--	W1	--	--
26.02	/	Are you (extremely happy, moderately happy, or slightly happy / slightly happy, moderately happy, or extremely happy) that [Barack Obama/John McCain] won the election for President?	--	--	--	--	--	W2	--	W2	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		Are you (extremely unhappy, moderately unhappy, or slightly unhappy / slightly unhappy, moderately unhappy, or extremely unhappy) that [Barack Obama / John McCain] won the election for president?	--	--	--	--	--	W3	--	W3	--	--
27		**Foreigners' perceptions of USA**										
27.01		Compared with one year ago, how do you think that the leaders of most other countries like the U.S. government? Do those leaders like the U.S. government more now, like the U.S. government less now, or like it about the same now?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WZ1	--
27.02		Compared with one year ago, do you think that most citizens of other countries like the U.S. government more now, like it less now, or like it about the same now?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WZ4	--
		[A great deal more, a moderate amount more, or a little more? / A little more, a moderate amount more, or a great deal more?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WZ2, WZ5	--
		[A great deal less, a moderate amount less, or a little less? / A little less, a moderate amount less, or a great deal less?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WZ3, WZ6	--
28		**Gasoline**										
28.01		What is your best guess of the average price of a gallon of regular unleaded gasoline across all of [STATE] today?	--	--	--	W1	--	--	--	--	W1	--
29		**Group-Based Emotions**										
29.01		Now we have a few questions about black people who you know personally, and how you feel toward them. Consider the black person you know now, toward whom you feel the most warmth. How warm do you feel toward this person? Extremely warm, very warm, moderately warm, slightly warm, or can you not think of any black person you know personally who you feel warm toward?	--	--	--	--	--	--	X1	--	--	--
29.02		Consider the black person you know now, toward whom you feel the most respect. How much respect do you feel for this person? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or can you not think of any black person you know personally who you respect?	--	--	--	--	--	--	X2	--	--	--
29.03		Consider the black person you know now, toward whom you feel the most sympathy How much sympathy do you feel for this person? A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or can you not think of any black person you know personally toward whom you feel sympathy?	--	--	--	--	--	--	X3	--	--	--
29.04		Consider the black person you know now who does the most to make you feel proud. How proud do you feel because of this person? Extremely proud, very proud, moderately proud, slightly proud, or can you not think of any black person you know personally who makes you feel proud?	--	--	--	--	--	--	X4	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
30		**Gun Ownership**										
30.01		Do you or does any other member of your household own a handgun, rifle, shotgun, or any other kind of firearm, or does no one in your household own a firearm?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZH1	--
30.02		Do you happen to have in your home or garage any guns or revolvers?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZH2	--
31		**Home Tenure**										
31.01		Do you own your home, rent your home, or have some other arrangement? [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.05]	--	--	--	--	--	ZF1	--	--	--	--
32		**Household Composition**										
32.01		How many people live in your household, including you? Please count everyone who lives with you, including small children and anyone who usually lives with you but is temporarily away from home.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q50	--	--	N4
32.02		You said [INSERT NUMBER FROM Q50/N4] people live in your household. Is that right? Are there [INSERT NUMBER FROM Q50/N4] people who live with you in your home?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q51	--	--	N5
32.03		How many people live in your household, including you? Please count everyone who lives with you, including small children and anyone who usually lives with you but is temporarily away from home.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q50A	--	--	N6
32.04		Please type your name or initials on the first line below. Then please type the first name or initials of each person who lives in your household. Please be sure not to type the same name or initials for two different people. If two people have the same name or initials, please be sure to give them different names below, like "John" and "John jr." or "older John" and "younger John".	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q52	--	--	--
32.05		Please type your name or initials on the first line below. Then please type the first name or initials of the 8 people who live in your household whose ages are closest to yours. Please be sure not to type the same name or initials for two different people. If two people have the same name or initials, please be sure to give them different names below, like "John" and "John jr." or "older John" and "younger John".	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q52A	--	--	--
32.06		You typed the name or initials [INSERT DUPLICATE NAME FROM Q52 OR Q52A] [INSERT "TWICE" IF REPEATED TWO TIMES IN Q52 OR Q52A OR INSERT NUMBER OF TIMES REPEATED IF MORE THAN TWO TIMES IN Q52 OR Q52A]. Are there [INSERT NUMBER OF TIMES NAME REPEATED IN Q52 OR Q52A] people with the name or initials [INSERT REPEATED NAME FROM Q52 OR Q52A] who live in your household?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q53	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
32.07		We need to ask a few questions about [IF NUMBER OF IDENTICAL NAMES = 2, INSET "both"; ELSE INSERT "all"] the people with the name or initials [INSERT IDENTICAL NAMES/INITIALS FROM Q52/Q52A]. It would really help to use names or initials that let us tell them apart. Please type something like a middle initial or a nickname so that each person has a different name below.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q54	--	--	--
		Is [INSERT NAME Q52/Q52A] male or female?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q55S2, Q55S3, Q55S4, Q55S5, Q55S6, Q55S7, Q55S8	--	--	--
		How old is [INSET NAME Q52/Q52A]? Please give us your best estimate, even if you're not completely sure.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q55A2, Q55A3, Q55A4, Q55A5, Q55A6, Q55A7, Q55A8	--	--	--
		What is [INSERT NAME FROM Q52/Q52A]'s relationship to you?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q56N_1, Q56N_2, Q56N_3, Q56N_4, Q56N_5, Q56N_6, Q56N_7, Q56N_8	--	--	--
		Is [INSERT NAME FROM Q52/Q52A] your biological [INSERT BASED ON ABO E INSTRUCTIONS "son/daughter/child"], step [INSERT BASED ON ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS 'son/daughter/child"], adopted [INSERT BASED ON ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS "son/daughter/child"], or foster [INSERT BASED ON ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS "son/daughter/child"], or something else?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q57N_1, Q57N_2, Q57N_3, Q57N_4, Q57N_5, Q57N_6, Q57N_7, Q57N_8	--	--	--
		How is [USING ABOVE INSTRUCTIONS, INSERT NAME FROM Q52/Q52A] related to you?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q58N_1, Q58N_2, Q58N_3, Q58N_4, Q58N_5, Q58N_6, Q58N_7, Q58N_8	--	--	--
		How is [INSERT NAME FROM Q52/Q52A IF Q56N = 1] related to [INSERT NAME FROM Q52/Q52A IF Q56N=3]?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q59N_1, Q59N_2, Q59N_3, Q59N_4, Q59N_5, Q59N_6, Q59N_7, Q59N_8	--	--	--
32.08		Do you have any sons or daughters of any age who do not live with you in this household?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q60	--	--	--
32.09		How many sons or daughters do you have who now live somewhere else, not in your household?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q61	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
32.10		How many sons or daughters do you have in each of these categories who now live somewhere else, not in your household: biological, step, adopted, foster, or other sons or daughters?	--	--	--	--	--	--	Q62	--	--	--
33		**Hypothetical general election vote choice**										
In the following questions [NAME1], [NAME2], (fbname1), (fbname2), (fbname3), and (fbname4) refer to various combinations of listed candidates. In wave 6, 27.02 and 27.03 refer to McCain vs. Obama and McCain vs. Clinton.												
33.01		If, in the 2008 presidential election, [NAME1/NAME3] were running against [NAME2/NAME4], who would you vote for?	F1, F3, F5, F7	F1, F3, F5, F7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	How sure are you of that? (Extremely sure, very sure, moderately sure, slightly sure, or not sure at all / Not sure at all, slightly sure, moderately sure, very sure, or extremely sure)?	F2, F4, F6, F8	F2, F4, F6, F8	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
33.02		If, in the 2008 presidential election, (faname1/fbname1) were running against (faname2/fbname2), who would you vote for?	--	FA1, FB1	FB1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	How sure are you of that? (Extremely sure, very sure, moderately sure, slightly sure, or not sure at all / Not sure at all, slightly sure, moderately sure, very sure, or extremely sure)?	--	FA2. FB2	FB2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
33.03		If, in the 2008 presidential election, (faname3/fbname3) were running against (faname4/fbname4), who would you vote for?	--	FA3, FB3	FB3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	How sure are you of that? (Extremely sure, very sure, moderately sure, slightly sure, or not sure at all / Not sure at all, slightly sure, moderately sure, very sure, or extremely sure)?	--	FA4, FB4	FB4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
34		**Ideological placement of candidates**										
34.01		When it comes to politics, would you describe **Hillary Clinton** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?	--	--	H1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Would you call Hillary Clinton very liberal or somewhat liberal?	--	--	H2	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Would you call Hillary Clinton very conservative or somewhat conservative?	--	--	H3	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Do you think of Hillary Clinton as closer to liberals, conservatives, or neither of these?	--	--	H4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
34.02		When it comes to politics, would you describe **Barack Obama** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?	--	--	H5	M5	MB5	--	--	MB5	--	--
	/	Would you call Barack Obama very liberal or somewhat liberal?	--	--	H6	M6	MB6	--	--	MB6	--	--
	/	Would you call Barack Obama very conservative or somewhat conservative?	--	--	H7	M7	MB7	--	--	MB7	--	--
	/	Do you think of Barack Obama as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?	--	--	H8	M8	MB8	--	--	MB8	--	--
34.03		When it comes to politics, would you describe **John McCain** as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?	--	--	H9	M9	MB9	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Would you call John McCain very liberal or somewhat liberal?	--	--	H10	M10	MB10	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Would you call John McCain very conservative or somewhat conservative?	--	--	H11	M11	MB11	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		Do you think of John McCain as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?	--	--	H12	M12	MB12	--	--	--	--	--
35		**Ideological self-placement**										
35.01		When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?	N1	K1	G1	--	M1	M1	--	--	--	--
35.02		Would you call yourself very liberal or somewhat liberal?	N2	K2	G2	--	M2	M2	--	--	--	--
35.03		Would you call yourself very conservative or somewhat conservative?	N3	K3	G3	--	M3	M3	--	--	--	--
35.04		Do you think of yourself as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?	N4	K4	G4	--	M4	M4	--	--	--	--
36		**Implicit Association Test (IAT)**										
36.01		Implicit Association Test -- CASI display. See Methodology Report section 13.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZI	--
37		**Income**										
37.01		The next question is about the total income of YOUR HOUSEHOLD for the PAST 12 MONTHS. Please include your income PLUS the income of all members living in your household (including cohabiting partners and armed forces members living at home). Please count income BEFORE TAXES, including income from all sources (such as wages, salaries, tips, net income from a business, interest, dividends, child support, alimony, and Social Security, public assistance, pensions, or retirement benefits). [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.11]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW9	--	--	--	--
37.02		Was your total HOUSEHOLD income in the past 12 months … (1) below $35,000 (2) $35,000 or more [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.12]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW10	--	--	--	--
37.03		Was it ... (1) less than $20,000 (2) $20,000 to $34,499 [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.13]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW11	--	--	--	--
37.04		Was it ... (1) less than $5,000 (2) $5,000 to $7,499 (3) $7,500 to $9,999 (4) $10,000 to $12,499 (5) $12,500 to $14,999 (6) $15,000 to $19,999 [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.14]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW12	--	--	--	--
37.05		Was it ... (7) $20,000 to $24,999 (8) $25,000 to $29,999 (9) $30,000 to $34,999 [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.15]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW13	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
37.06		Was it ... (1) $35,000 to $49,999 (2) $50,000 or more [See also:Background for off-panel respondents 8.16]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW14	--	--	--	--
37.07		Was it ... (10) $35,000 to $39,999 (11) $40,000 to $49,999 [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.17]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW15	--	--	--	--
37.08		Was it ... (1) $50,000 to $99,999 (2) $100,000 or more [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.18]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW16	--	--	--	--
37.09		Was it ... (12) $50,000 to $59,999 (13) $60,000 to $74,999 (14) $75,000 to $84,999 (15) $85,000 to $99,999 [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.19]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW17	--	--	--	--
37.10		Was it ... (16) $100,000 to $124,999 (17) $125,000 to $149,999 (18) $150,000 to $174,999 (19) $175,000 or more [See also: Background for off-panel respondents 8.20]	--	--	--	--	--	ZW18	--	--	--	--
		Information about your household income is very important. We greatly appreciate your response and will keep it strictly confidential.	--	--	--	--	--	ZW10A. ZW11A. ZW12A. ZW13A, ZW14A. ZW15A, ZW16A, ZW17A, ZW18A	--	--	--	--
38		**Income inequality**										
38.01		The American households with incomes in the top 5% earn an average of $300,000 per year, and households with incomes in the bottom 5% earn an average of less than $10,000 per year. Should this difference be (smaller, bigger / bigger, smaller), or about what it is now?	--	Q1	--	--	--	T1	T1	--	--	--
38.02		The American households with incomes in the top 20% earn an average of $170,000 per year, and households with incomes in the bottom 20% earn an average of less than $11,000 per year. Should this difference be (smaller, bigger / bigger, smaller), or about what it is now?	--	Q2	--	--	--	T2	T2	--	--	--
		Should this difference be (a great deal smaller, moderately smaller, or a little smaller / a little smaller, moderately smaller, or a great deal smaller)?	--	Q3	--	--	--	T3	T3	--	--	--
		Should this difference be (a great deal bigger, moderately bigger, or a little bigger? / a little bigger, moderately bigger, or a great deal bigger)?	--	Q4	--	--	--	T4	T4	--	--	--
39		**Interest in politics**										

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
39.01		How interested are you in information about what's going on in government and politics? (Extremely interested, very interested, moderately interested, slightly interested, or not interested at all / Not interested at all, slightly interested, moderately interested, very interested, or extremely interested)?	K1	G1	--	H1	H1	H1	--	--	H1	--
39.02		During a typical week, how many **days** do you talk about politics with family or friends? __ days [PULLDOWN NUMBER RANGE: 0-7]	K2	G2	--	H2	H2	H2	--	--	H2	--
40		**Iraq war 1**										
40.01		Do you think the United States should or should not have sent troops to fight the war in Iraq in 2003?	Q1	--	Q1	QA1	--	QA1	QA1	QA1	--	--
40.02		Do you think the war in Iraq has caused the chance of a terrorist attack in the United States to increase, caused it to decrease, or has it had no effect on the chance of a terrorist attack in the U.S.?	Q2	--	Q2	QA2	--	QA2	QA2	QA2	--	--
	/	Has it increased the chance (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	Q3	--	Q3	QA3	--	QA3	QA3	QA3	--	--
	/	Has it decreased the chance (a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little / a little, a moderate amount, or a great deal)?	Q4	--	Q4	QA4	--	QA4	QA4	QA4	--	--
41		**Iraq war 2**										
41.01		Compared to the number of U.S. troops in Iraq now, should the number of troops in Iraq **three months** from now be more, less or about the same?	--	M1	M1	Q1	Q1	Q1	--	--	--	--
	/	A little more, somewhat more, or a lot more?	--	M2	M2	Q2	Q2	Q2	--	--	--	--
	/	A little less, somewhat less, a lot less but not none, or none at all?	--	M3	M3	Q3	Q3	Q3	--	--	--	--
	/	How important to you personally is the issue of the number of U.S. troops in Iraq three months from now? (Extremely important, very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not at all important? / Not at all important, slightly important, moderately important, very important, or extremely important?)	--	--	M3A	Q4	Q4	Q4	--	--	--	--
41.02		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq?	--	M4	M4	Q5	Q5	Q5	--	--	--	--
	/	Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	M5	M5	Q6	Q6	Q6	--	--	--	--
	/	How important to you personally is the issue of setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq? (Extremely important, very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not at all important? / Not at all important, slightly important, moderately important, very important, or extremely important?)	--	--	M6	Q7	Q7	Q7	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
41.03		How important is the Iraq war to you personally? (Extremely important, very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not at all important? / Not at all important, slightly important, moderately important, very important, or extremely important?)	--	M6	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
41.04		Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq?	--	--	--	Q8	Q8	Q8	--	--	--	--
	/	Does John McCain [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	--	Q9	Q9	Q9	--	--	--	--
41.05		Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq?	--	--	--	Q10	Q10	Q10	--	--	--	--
	/	Does Barack Obama [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	--	Q11	Q11	Q11	--	--	--	--
42		**Item Count Technique: Presidential Race**										
42.01		Below are (four/five) things. Please tell us how many of them you would dislike. We do not need to know which ones you would dislike, just how many. - Listening to music - Making it legal for two men to marry - Getting a phone call from a telemarketer - Being a garbage collector - FILL ITEM: A black person becoming President/ Barack Obama becoming President/ [NO FILL]	--	--	--	X1	--	--	--	--	--	--
43		**Media use**										
43.01		During a typical week, how many **days** do you watch news on TV, not including sports? __ days	H1	--	--	F1	F1	--	--	--	F1	--
43.02		During a typical week, how many **days** do you listen to news on the radio, not including sports? __ days	H2	--	--	F2	F2	--	--	--	F2	--
43.03		During a typical week, how many **days** do you watch or read news on the Internet, not including sports? __ days	H3	--	--	F3	F3	--	--	--	F3	--
43.04		During a typical week, how many **days** do you read news in a printed newspaper, not including sports?__ days	H4	--	--	F4	F4	--	--	--	F4	--
43.05		When you watch **news on TV**, how much attention do you usually pay to news about politics? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all?)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	F5	--
43.06		When you listen **news on radio**, how much attention do you usually pay to news about politics? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all?)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	F6	--
43.07		When you watch or read **news on the Internet**, how much attention do you usually pay to news about politics? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all?)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	F7	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
43.08		When you read **news in a printed newspaper**, how much attention do you usually pay to news about politics? (A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all?)	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	F8	--
44		**Military Service in Iraq or Afghanistan**										
44.01		Have you ever served in the U.S. armed forces in Iraq or Afghanistan, or have you never served there?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZG1	--
44.02		Do you have a spouse, brother, sister, mother, father, son, or daughter who has ever served in the U.S. armed forces in Iraq or Afghanistan, or has no one related to you like that ever served there?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZG2	--
45		**Nationalism**										
45.01		Which of these statements comes closest to your view about the United States? Is the United States the greatest nation in the world, or is the United States not the greatest nation in the world?	--	--	--	ZA1	--	ZA1	--	--	--	--
46		**Obama evaluations**										
46.01		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **his job as president**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS1	WS1	--
46.02		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the economy**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS3	WS3	--
46.03		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **our relations with foreign countries**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS5	WS5	--
46.04		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the federal government's budget deficit**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS7	WS7	--
46.05		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the war in Iraq**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS9	WS9	--
46.06		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the effort to reduce the risk of terrorist attacks in the United States**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS11	WS11	--
46.07		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the war in Afghanistan**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS13	WS13	--
46.08		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **education in the U.S.**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS15	WS15	--
46.09		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **health care in the U.S.**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS17	WS17	--
46.10		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the environment**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS19	WS19	--
46.11		Do you approve, disapprove or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **the threat of terrorism**?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS21	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		Do you [approve/disapprove] (extremely strongly, moderately strongly, or slightly strongly)?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WS2, WS4, WS6, WS8, WS10, WS12, WS14, WS16, WS18, WS20	WS2, WS4, WS6, WS8, WS10, WS12, WS14, WS16, WS18, WS20, WS22	--
47		**Obama performance**										
47.01		In his first few months in office, do you think Barack Obama has accomplished more than you expected, less than you expected, or about what you expected him to have accomplished by now?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU1	--
47.02		[A great deal more, a moderate amount more, or a little more? / A little more, a moderate amount more, or a great deal more?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU2	--
47.03		[A great deal less, a moderate amount less, or a little less? / A little less, a moderate amount less, or a great deal less?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU3	--
47.04		How much do you think Barack Obama cares about the needs and problems of people like you? [A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU7	--
47.05		How much do you think Barack Obama cares about the needs and problems of black people? [A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU8	--
47.06		During his campaign for President, Barack Obama said what he would do if he were elected. How much of this do you think he will actually do by January, 2013? [All of it, most of it, about half of it, a little of it, or none of it? / None of it, a little of it, about half of it, most of it, or all of it?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU9	--
47.07		Since he has been President, do you think Barack Obama has brought about any real change to the way things are done in the federal government in Washington, D.C. or has he not done that?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU10	--
47.08		Since Barack Obama has been President, how much do you think the ways that the U.S. deals with other countries has changed? [A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or not at all? / Not at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU11	--
47.09		Overall do you think the changes have been good, bad, or neither good nor bad?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU12	--
47.10		Since he has been President, do you think Barack Obama has done anything that is getting this country out of the economic recession, or has he not done that?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU13	--
47.11		Since he has been President, do you think Barack Obama has cut taxes for middle-class Americans, or has he not done that?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU15	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
47.12		Since he has been President, do you think Barack Obama has begun reducing the U.S. military involvement in Iraq, or has he not done that?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU16	--
47.13		Do you think that U.S. military involvement in Iraq will end before January 2013, or that that won't happen by then?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU17	--
47.14		How likely do you think it is that the U.S. health care system will be improved a lot before January 2013? Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU18	--
47.15		Before January 2013, how likely do you think it is that Barack Obama will signficantly improve the way America handles immigration by people from other countries who want to live here? Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU19	--
47.16		Before January 2013, how likely do you think it is that Barack Obama will signficantly improve U.S. energey policy in his first term? [Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all? / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU20	--
47.17		Do you think President Obama has made a terrorist attack in the United States more likely, made it less likely, or has had no effect on how likely a terrorist attack is in the future?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU21	--
47.18		[A great deal more likely, a moderate amount more likely, or a little more likely? / A little more likely, a moderate amount more likely, or a great deal more likely?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU22	--
47.19		[A great deal less likely, a moderate amount less likely, or a little less likely? / A little less likely, a moderate amount less likely, or a great deal less likely?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WU23	--
48		**Optimism-pessimism**										
48.01		When you think about your future, are you generally optimistic, pessimistic, or neither optimistic nor pessimistic?	--	--	--	ZC1	--	ZC1	--	--	ZB1	--
	/	Are you extremely (optimistic/pessimistic), moderately (optimistic/pessimistic), or slightly (optimistic/pessimistic)?	--	--	--	ZC2	--	ZC2	--	--	ZB2	--
48.02		And when you think about the future of the United States as a whole, are you generally optimistic, pessimistic, or neither optimistic nor pessimistic?	--	--	--	ZC3	--	ZC3	--	--	ZB3	--
	/	Are you extremely (optimistic/pessimistic), moderately (optimistic/pessimistic), or slightly (optimistic/pessimistic)?	--	--	--	ZC4	--	ZC4	--	--	ZB4	--
49		**Participation**										
49.01		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration** [see also: DHS 16.19]	--	--	--	--	--	ZD21	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
49.02		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Attended a meeting of a town or city government or school board** [see also: DHS 16.20]	--	--	--	--	--	ZD22	--	--	--	--
49.03		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Signed a petition *on the Internet* about a political or social issue** [see also: DHS 16.21]	--	--	--	--	--	ZD23	--	--	--	--
49.04		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Signed a petition *on paper* about a political or social issue** [see also: DHS 16.22]	--	--	--	--	--	ZD24	--	--	--	--
49.05		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Gave money to a religious organization** [see also: DHS 16.23]	--	--	--	--	--	ZD25	--	--	--	--
49.06		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Not counting a religious organization, gave money to any other organization concerned with a political or social issue** [see also: DHS 16.24]	--	--	--	--	--	ZD26	--	--	--	--
49.07		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Attended a meeting to talk about political or social concerns** [see also: DHS 16.25]	--	--	--	--	--	ZD27	--	--	--	--
49.08		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Invited someone to attend a meeting about political or social concerns** [see also: DHS 16.26]	--	--	--	--	--	ZD28	--	--	--	--
49.09		Have you done this, or have you never done it? **Distributed information or advertisements supporting a political or social interest group** [see also DHS 16.27]	--	--	--	--	--	ZD29	--	--	--	--
50		**Partisan ambivalence**										
50.01		You might have favorable thoughts or feelings about the **Democratic Party**. Or you might have unfavorable thoughts or feelings about the Democratic Party. Or you might have some of each. We would like to ask you first about any favorable thoughts and feelings you might have about the Democratic Party. Then in a moment, we'll ask you some separate questions about any unfavorable thoughts and feelings you might have.	--	L1	--	--	--	LB1	--	--	--	--
50.02		First, do you have **any favorable thoughts or feelings** about the **Democratic Party**, or do you not have any?	--	L2	--	--	--	LB2	--	--	--	--
		How favorable are your favorable thoughts and feelings about the **Democratic Party**? (Extremely favorable, very favorable, moderately favorable, or slightly favorable / Slightly favorable, moderately favorable, very favorable, or extremely favorable)?	--	L3	--	--	--	LB3	--	--	--	--
50.03		Do you have **any unfavorable thoughts or feelings** about the **Democratic Party**, or do you not have any?	--	L4	--	--	--	LB4	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		How unfavorable are your unfavorable thoughts and feelings about the **Democratic Party**? (Extremely unfavorable, very unfavorable, moderately unfavorable, or slightly unfavorable / Slightly unfavorable, moderately unfavorable, very unfavorable, or extremely unfavorable)?	--	L5	--	--	--	LB5	--	--	--	--
50.04		You might have favorable thoughts or feelings about the **Republican Party**. Or you might have unfavorable thoughts or feelings about the Republican Party. Or you might have some of each. We would like to ask you first about any favorable thoughts and feelings you might have about the Republican Party. Then in a moment, we'll ask you some separate questions about any unfavorable thoughts and feelings you might have.	--	L6	--	--	--	LB6	--	--	--	--
50.05		First, do you have **any favorable thoughts or feelings** about the **Republican Party**, or do you not have any?	--	L7	--	--	--	LB7	--	--	--	--
		How favorable are your favorable thoughts and feelings about the **Republican Party**? (Extremely favorable, very favorable, moderately favorable, or slightly favorable / Slightly favorable, moderately favorable, very favorable, or extremely favorable)?	--	L8	--	--	--	LB8	--	--	--	--
50.06		Do you have **any unfavorable thoughts or feelings** about the **Republican Party**, or do you not have any?	--	L9	--	--	--	LB9	--	--	--	--
		How unfavorable are your unfavorable thoughts and feelings about the **Republican Party**? (Extremely unfavorable, very unfavorable, moderately unfavorable, or slightly unfavorable / Slightly unfavorable, moderately unfavorable, very unfavorable, or extremely unfavorable)?	--	L10	--	--	--	LB10	--	--	--	--
51		**Party identification**										
51.01		Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a [Republican/Democrat], a [Democrat/Republican], an independent, or what?	M1, M3	--	--	L1. L3	L1. L3	L1. L3	--	L1, L3	L1, L3	--
		What is that? (M1=4)	M2, M4	--	--	L2, L4	L2, L4	L2, L4	--	L2, L4	L2, L4	--
51.02		Would you call yourself a strong [Democrat/Republican] or a not very strong [Democrat/Republican]?	M5	--	--	L5	L5	L5	--	L5	L5	--
51.03		Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?	M6	--	--	L6	L6	L6	--	L6	L6	--
52		**Patriotism**										
52.01		Do you love the United States, hate it, or neither love nor hate it?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZF1	--
		How much do you (love/hate) the United States? A great deal, a moderate amount, or a little?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZF2	--
52.02		When you see the American flag flying, does it make you feel good, make you feel bad, or not make you feel either good or bad?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZF3	--
		Extremely (good/bad), moderately (good/bad), or slightly (good/bad)?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZF4	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
52.03		How strongly do you feel that you must support your country, regardless of whether what it does is right or wrong? [Extremely strong, very strong, moderately strong, slightly strong, or not at all? / Not at all, slightly strongly, moderately strongly, very strongly, or extremely strongly?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZF5	--
52.04		How much of what the U.S. federal government does is morally correct? [All, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none? / None, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or all?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZF6	--
52.05		Do you think there should be more criticism of the United States, less criticism of the United States, or about the same amount of criticism of the United States as there is now?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZF7	--
		[A great deal more, a moderate amount more, or a little more? / A little more, a moderate amount more, or a great deal more?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZF8	--
		[A great deal less, a moderate amount less, or a little less? / A little less, a moderate amount less, or a great deal less?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZF9	--
53		**Polarization**										
53.01		Next, we will ask you about your opinion on some political issues. We will also ask what you think other people's opinionsare on these issues. Click on the "Next" button below to begin.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z1	--	--	--
53.02		Do you favor or oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans? Click a button with your mouse to make your selection.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z2	--	--	--
53.03		Now we'd like to know how many Americans you think favor or oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans. Please use your mouse to click on each bar below and drag it to be taller or shorter. The more people you think favor, the taller the bar above the word "Favor" should be. The more people you think oppose, the taller the bar above the word "Oppose" should be. When you've finished changing the heights of the bars, click the "Next" button.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z3	--	--	--
53.04		Now we want to ask you the same questions, but this time with the option of saying that you neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans. Below are three buttons. Click the button with your mouse that best represents your opinion.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z4	--	--	--
53.05		Now we'd like you to think again about how many Americans you think favor or oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans. Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many people you think have each of the three views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z5	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
53.06		Now we want to ask again about your view of the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans, but this time with five choices: you can say you strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose. Choose the button that best represents your opinion.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z6	--	--	--
53.07		Now we want you to think again about how many Americans you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans. Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many people you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z7	--	--	--
53.08		Now please think only about Americans who think of themselves as Democrats. How many of them do you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans? Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many Democrats you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z8	--	--	--
53.09		Now please think only about Americans who think of themselves as Republicans. How many of them do you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans? Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many Republicans you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z9	--	--	--
53.10		Now we want to ask about your views about setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose setting such a deadline? Choose the button that best represents your opinion.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z10	--	--	--
53.11		Now we want you to think about how many Americans you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq. Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many people you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z11	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
53.12		Now please think only about Americans who think of themselves as Democrats. How many of them do you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq? Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many Democrats you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z12	--	--	--
53.13		Now please think only about Americans who think of themselves as Republicans. How many of them do you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq? Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many Republicans you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z13	--	--	--
53.14		Now we want to ask about your views about requiring the U.S. government to get a court order before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose such a requirement? Choose the button that best represents your opinion.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z14	--	--	--
53.15		Now we want you to think about how many Americans you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose requiring the U.S. government to get a court order before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists. Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many people you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z15	--	--	--
53.16		Now please think only about Americans who think of themselves as Democrats. How many of them do you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose requiring the U.S. government to get a court order before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists? Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many Democrats you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z16	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
53.17		Now please think only about Americans who think of themselves as Republicans. How many of them do you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose requiring the U.S. government to get a court order before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists. Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many Republicans you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z17	--	--	--
53.18		Citizens of other countries who have come to live in the United States without the permission of the U.S. government are called "illegal immigrants." Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose allowing illegal immigrants to work in the United States for up to three years, after which they would have to go back to their home country? Choose the button that best represents your opinion.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z18	--	--	--
53.19		Now we want you to think about how many Americans you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose allowing illegal immigrants to work in the United States for up to three years, after which they would have to go back to their home country. Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many people you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z19	--	--	--
53.20		Now please think only about Americans who think of themselves as Democrats. How many of them do you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose allowing illegal immigrants to work in the United States for up to three years, after which they would have to go back to their home country? Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many Democrats you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z20	--	--	--
53.21		Now please think only about Americans who think of themselves as Republicans. How many of them do you think strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose allowing illegal immigrants to work in the United States for up to three years, after which they would have to go back to their home country? Please change the heights of the bars below to show how many Republicans you think have each of the five views.	--	--	--	--	--	--	Z21	--	--	--
54		**Policy addition: social security, gun control, gay marriage, affirmative action**										

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
54.01		Some people have suggested allowing individuals to invest portions of their Social Security taxes on their own, which might allow them to make more money for their retirement, but would involve greater risk. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing individuals to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes on their own?	--	--	--	--	--	N1	N1	--	--	--
54.02		Currently, people pay Social Security taxes only on the first $102,000 of their annual income. If it were necessary to keep the Social Security program paying benefits as it does now, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increasing the amount of income that is subject to Social Security taxes, so that people who make more than $102,000 would pay more tax?	--	--	--	--	--	N3	N3	--	--	--
54.03		If it were necessary to keep the Social Security program paying benefits as it does now, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increasing the [Social Security tax rate / percentage of income on which workers pay Social Security tax]?	--	--	--	--	--	N5	N5	--	--	--
54.04		If it were necessary to keep the Social Security program paying benefits as it does now, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising the age at which a person can retire and receive full Social Security benefits?	--	--	--	--	--	N7	N7	--	--	--
54.05		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose making it illegal for anyone to keep a handgun at home?	--	--	--	--	--	N9	N9	--	--	--
54.06		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose giving permits to allow any adult to carry a concealed handgun if they have never been convicted of committing a crime and they have passed a test showing that they know how to use the gun safely?	--	--	--	--	--	N11	N11	--	--	--
54.07		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing homosexuals to marry members of their own sex and have regular marriage laws apply to them?	--	--	--	--	--	N13	N13	--	--	--
54.08		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing universities to increase the number of black students studying at their schools by considering race along with other factors when choosing students? [See also: Affirmative action 4.01]	--	--	--	--	--	--	N15	--	--	--
54.09		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing companies to increase the number of black workers by considering race along with other factors when choosing employees?	--	--	--	--	--	N15	N17	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	--	--	--	N2, N4, N6, N8, N10, N12, N14, N16	N2, N4, N6, N8, N10, N12, N14, N16, N18	--	--	--
55		**Policy issues**										
55.01		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose an amendment to the U.S. Constitution banning marriage between two people who are the same sex?	P1	--	--	--	P1	--	--	--	--	--
55.02		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **more** than $200,000 per year?	P4	--	--	--	P4	--	--	--	--	--
55.03		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **less** than $200,000 per year?	P7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
55.04		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all of the cost of prescription drugs for senior citizens who are living on very little income?	P10	--	--	--	P10	--	--	--	--	--
55.05		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans?	P13	--	--	--	P13	--	--	--	--	--
55.06		Imagine that the U.S. government suspects a person in the United States of being a terrorist. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the government being able to put this person in prison for months without ever bringing the person to court and charging him or her with a crime?	P16	--	--	--	P16	--	--	--	--	--
55.07		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government being required to get a court order before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists?	P19	--	--	--	P19	--	--	--	--	--
55.08		Citizens of other countries who have come to live in the United States without the permission of the U.S. government are called "illegal immigrants." Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing illegal immigrants to work in the United States for up to three years, after which they would have to go back to their home country?	P22	--	--	--	P22	--	--	--	--	--
55.09		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government making it possible for illegal immigrants to become U.S. citizens?	P25	--	--	--	P25	--	--	--	--	--
		Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	P2, P5, P8, P11, P14, P17, P20, P23, P26	--	--	--	P2, P5, P11, P14, P17, P20, P23, P26	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		How important is this issue to you personally? (Extremely important, very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not at all important? / Not at all important, slightly important, moderately important, very important, or extremely important?)	P3, P6, P9, P12, P15, P18, P21, P24, P27	--	--	--	P3, P6, P12, P15, P18, P21, P24, P27	--	--	--	--	--
56		**Policy issues: Barack Obama**										
56.01		The next few questions ask you to say whether you think that **Barack Obama** favors, opposes, or neither favors nor opposes certain things. If you're not sure how to answer, please give us your best estimate, even if you are not completely sure.	--	--	PB0	PB0	PB0	PB0	--	--	--	--
56.02		Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose an amendment to the U.S. Constitution banning marriage between two people who are the same sex?	--	--	PB1	PB1	PB1	PB1	--	--	--	--
56.03		Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **more** than $200,000 per year?	--	--	PB4	PB4	PB4	PB4	--	--	--	--
56.04		Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **less** than $200,000 per year?	--	--	PB7	PB7	--	PB7	--	--	--	--
56.05		Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all of the cost of prescription drugs for senior citizens who are living on very little income?	--	--	PB10	PB10	PB10	PB10	--	--	--	--
56.06		Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans?	--	--	PB13	PB13	PB13	PB13	--	--	--	--
56.07		Imagine that the U.S. government suspects a person in the United States of being a terrorist. Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the government being able to put this person in prison for months without ever bringing the person to court and charging him or her with a crime?	--	--	PB16	PB16	PB16	PB16	--	--	--	--
56.08		Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government being required to get a court order before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists?	--	--	PB19	PB19	PB19	PB19	--	--	--	--
56.09		Citizens of other countries who have come to live in the United States without the permission of the U.S. government are called "illegal immigrants." Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing illegal immigrants to work in the United States for up to three years, after which they would have to go back to their home country?	--	--	PB22	PB22	PB22	PB22	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
56.10		Does Barack Obama favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government making it possible for illegal immigrants to become U.S. citizens?	--	--	PB25	PB25	PB25	PB25	--	--	--	--
56.11		Next, we'd like to ask whether **Barack Obama** favors, opposes, or neither favors nor opposes a series of ways that the federal government might try to reduce future global warming. Power plants put gases into the air that could cause global warming. Does **Barack Obama** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government lowering the amount of these gases that power plants are allowed to put into the air?	--	--	--	PB27	PB27	PB27	--	--	--	--
56.12		Does **Barack Obama** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government requiring automakers to build cars that use less gasoline?	--	--	--	PB29	PB29	PB29	--	--	--	--
56.13		Does **Barack Obama** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increasing taxes on gasoline so people either drive less or buy cars that use less gas?	--	--	--	PB31	PB31	PB31	--	--	--	--
56.14		Does **Barack Obama** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing universities to increase the number of black students studying at their schools by considering race along with other factors when choosing students?	--	--	--	QR3	--	--	--	--	--	--
		Does Barack Obama [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	PB2, PB5, PB8, PB11, PB14, PB17, PB20, PB23, PB26	PB2, PB5, PB8, PB11, PB14, PB17, PB20, PB23, PB26, PB28, PB30, PB32, QR4	PB2, PB5, PB11, PB14, PB17, PB20, PB23, PB26, PB28, PB30, PB32	PB2, PB5, PB8, PB11, PB14, PB17, PB20, PB23, PB26, PB28, PB30, PB32	--	--	--	--
57		**Policy issues: Hillary Clinton**										
57.01		The next few questions ask you to say whether you think that **Hillary Clinton** favors, opposes, or neither favors nor opposes certain things. If you're not sure how to answer, please give us your best estimate, even if you are not completely sure.	--	--	PH0	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
57.02		Does Hillary Clinton favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose an amendment to the U.S. Constitution banning marriage between two people who are the same sex?	--	--	PH1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
57.03		Does Hillary Clinton favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **more** than $200,000 per year?	--	--	PH4	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
57.04		Does Hillary Clinton favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **less** than $200,000 per year?	--	--	PH7	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
57.05		Does Hillary Clinton favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all of the cost of prescription drugs for senior citizens who are living on very little income?	--	--	PH10	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
57.06		Does Hillary Clinton favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans?	--	--	PH13	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
57.07		Imagine that the U.S. government suspects a person in the United States of being a terrorist. Does Hillary Clinton favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the government being able to put this person in prison for months without ever bringing the person to court and charging him or her with a crime?	--	--	PH16	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
57.08		Does Hillary Clinton favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government being required to get a court order before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists?	--	--	PH19	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
57.09		Citizens of other countries who have come to live in the United States without the permission of the U.S. government are called "illegal immigrants." Does Hillary Clinton favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing illegal immigrants to work in the United States for up to three years, after which they would have to go back to their home country?	--	--	PH22	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
57.10		Does Hillary Clinton favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government making it possible for illegal immigrants to become U.S. citizens?	--	--	PH25	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
		Does Hillary Clinton [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	PH2, PH5, PH8, PH11, PH14, PH17, PH20, PH23, PH26	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
58		**Policy Issues: John McCain**										
58.01		The next few questions ask you to say whether you think that **John McCain** favors, opposes, or neither favors nor opposes certain things. If you're not sure how to answer, please give us your best estimate, even if you are not completely sure.	--	--	PJ0	PJ0	PJ0	PJ0	--	--	--	--
58.02		Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose an amendment to the U.S. Constitution banning marriage between two people who are the same sex?	--	--	PJ1	PJ1	PJ1	PJ1	--	--	--	--
58.03		Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **more** than $200,000 per year?	--	--	PJ4	PJ4	PJ4	PJ4	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
58.04		Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make **less** than $200,000 per year?	--	--	PJ7	PJ7	--	PJ7	--	--	--	--
58.05		Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all of the cost of prescription drugs for senior citizens who are living on very little income?	--	--	PJ10	PJ10	PJ10	PJ10	--	--	--	--
58.06		Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans?	--	--	PJ13	PJ13	PJ13	PJ13	--	--	--	--
58.07		Imagine that the U.S. government suspects a person in the United States of being a terrorist. Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the government being able to put this person in prison for months without ever bringing the person to court and charging him or her with a crime?	--	--	PJ16	PJ16	PJ16	PJ16	--	--	--	--
58.08		Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government being required to get a court order before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists?	--	--	PJ19	PJ19	PJ19	PJ19	--	--	--	--
58.09		Citizens of other countries who have come to live in the United States without the permission of the U.S. government are called "illegal immigrants." Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing illegal immigrants to work in the United States for up to three years, after which they would have to go back to their home country?	--	--	PJ22	PJ22	PJ22	PJ22	--	--	--	--
58.10		Does John McCain favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government making it possible for illegal immigrants to become U.S. citizens?	--	--	PJ25	PJ25	PJ25	PJ25	--	--	--	--
58.11		Next, we'd like to ask whether **John McCain** favors, opposes, or neither favors nor opposes a series of ways that the federal government might try to reduce future global warming. Power plants put gases into the air that could cause global warming. Does **John McCain** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government lowering the amount of these gases that power plants are allowed to put into the air?	--	--	--	PJ27	PJ27	PJ27	--	--	--	--
58.12		Does **John McCain** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government requiring automakers to build cars that use less gasoline?	--	--	--	PJ29	PJ29	PJ29	--	--	--	--
58.13		Does **John McCain** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increasing taxes on gasoline so people either drive less or buy cars that use less gas?	--	--	--	PJ31	PJ31	PJ31	--	--	--	--
58.14		Does **John McCain** favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing universities to increase the number of black students studying at their schools by considering race along with other factors when choosing students?	--	--	--	QR5	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
		Does John McCain [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	PJ2, PJ5, PJ8, PJ11, PJ14, PJ17, PJ20, PJ23, PJ26	PJ2, PJ5, PJ8, PJ11, PJ14, PJ17, PJ20, PJ23, PJ26, PJ28, PJ30, PJ32, QR6	PJ2, PJ5, PJ11, PJ14, PJ17, PJ20, PJ23, PJ26, PJ28, PJ30, PJ32	PJ2, PJ5, PJ8, PJ11, PJ14, PJ17, PJ20, PJ23, PJ26, PJ28, PJ30, PJ32	--	--	--	--
59		**Political knowledge**										
59.01		Next are some questions to help us see how much information about politics gets out to the public. Please answer these questions on your own, without asking anyone or looking up the answers. Many people don't know the answers to these questions, but we'd be grateful if you would please answer every question, even if you're not sure what the right answer is. You will have 1 minute to answer each question after it appears on the screen. After 1 minute, the screen will automatically go on to the next question. If you finish answering a question before 1 minute is up, you can go to the next question by clicking on the "Next" button.	--	U1	--	V0	--	WV0	--	--	--	--
59.02		Do you happen to know how many times an individual can be elected President of the United States under current laws? Type the number.	--	U2	--	--	--	WV7	--	--	--	--
59.03		For how many years is a United States Senator elected – that is, how many years are there in one **full** term of office for a U.S. Senator? Type the number.	--	U3	--	--	--	WV8	--	--	--	--
59.04		How many U.S. Senators are there from each state? Type the number.	--	U4	--	--	--	WV9	--	--	--	--
59.05		For how many years is a member of the United States House of Representatives elected – that is, how many years are there in one **full** term of office for a U.S. House member? Type the number.	--	U5	--	--	--	WV10	--	--	--	--
59.06		According to federal law, if the President of the United States dies, is no longer willing or able to serve, or is removed from office by Congress, the Vice President would become the President. If the Vice President were unable or unwilling to serve, who would be eligible to become president next? (The Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, the Secretary of State, or the Speaker of the House of Representatives / The Speaker of the House of Representatives, the Secretary of States, or the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court)?	--	U6	--	--	--	WV11	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
59.07		What percentage vote of the House and the Senate is needed to override a Presidential veto? (A bare majority, two-thirds, three-fourths, or ninety percent / Ninety percent, three-fourths, two-thirds, or a bare majority)?	--	U7	--	--	--	WV12	--	--	--	--
59.08		Thank you. When you answer the [few more questions we have for you / next questions], you can take as much time as you like. Please click "Next" to continue.	--	U8	--	--	--	WV13	--	--	--	--
59.09		What state does U.S. Senator John McCain represent in Congress? __ Arizona __ Colorado __ New Hampshire __ New Mexico	--	--	--	V1	--	WV1	--	--	--	--
59.10		What state does U.S. Senator Barack Obama represent in Congress? __ Illinois __ Michigan __ Indiana __ New Jersey	--	--	--	V2	--	WV2	--	--	--	--
59.11		What is Barack Obama's religion? Is he Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, or not religious? __ Christian __ Jewish __ Muslim __ Buddhist __ not religious	--	--	--	V3	--	WV3	--	--	--	--
59.12		What is John McCain's religion? Is he Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, or not religious? __ Christian __ Jewish __ Muslim __ Buddhist __ not religious	--	--	--	V4	--	WV4	--	--	--	--
59.13		Before he was elected to the U.S. Congress, where did **Barack Obama** work? __ A state legislature __ The U.S. military __ An oil company __ A television station	--	--	--	V5	--	WV5	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
59.14		Before he was elected to the U.S. Congress, where did **John McCain** work? __ A state legislature __ The U.S. military __ An oil company __ A television station	--	--	--	V6	--	WV6	--	--	--	--
60		**Primary turnout**										
60.01		Are you registered to vote, or not?	B1	B1	B1	B1	--	--	--	--	--	--
60.02		Is your residence located in [COUNTY/Washington DC] [County / Parish / Borough], or not?	B2A	B2A	B2A	B2A	--	--	--	--	--	--
60.03		In what county and state do you live?	B2B	B2B	B2B	B2B	--	--	--	--	--	--
		Your residence is located in **[COUNTY/Washington DC]** [County / Parish / Borough]. Are you registered to vote in [**COUNTY/Washington DC]** [County / Parish / Borough] or somewhere else?	B2	B2	B3A	B3A	--	--	--	--	--	--
		In what county and state are you registered [to vote]?	B3	B3	B3B	B3B	--	--	--	--	--	--
		What state do you live in?	--	B3A	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
60.04		The next few questions are about the presidential [caucuses / primary elections / caucus and primary election] that [were held recently/was held] in [[STATE]/[STATE] on [DATE]]. In asking people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, they didn't have time, or something else happened to prevent them from voting. And sometimes, people who usually vote or who planned to vote forget that something unusual happened on Election Day one year that prevented them from voting that time. So please think carefully for a minute about the recent [caucus / primary elections / caucus and primary election], and other past elections in which you may have voted, and answer the following questions about your voting behavior.	B4,B8	B4, B8, B11A, B13A	B4, B8, B11A, B13A	B4, B8, B11A, B13A	--	--	--	--	--	--
60.05		During the past 6 years, did you usually vote in national, state, and local elections, or did you usually not vote?	B5, B9	B5, B9	B5, B9	B5, B9	--	--	--	--	--	--
60.06		[STATE] [recently] held [caucuses / primary elections / a caucus and primary election] [on DATE] — citizens voted to help decide which candidate from each political party will run in next November's election for President of the United States. During the months leading up to the [caucuses / primary elections / caucus and primary election], did you ever plan to vote in a [caucus / primary / caucus or primary], or didn't you plan to do that?	B6, B10, B12, B14	B6, B10, B12, B14	B6, B10, B12, B14	B6, B10, B12, B14	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
60.07		Which one of the following best describes what you did in the [caucuses / primary elections / caucus or primary election]? Definitely did not vote in a [caucus / primary / caucus or primary] __ Definitely voted in person at a polling place on election day __ Definitely voted in person at a polling place before election day __ Definitely voted by mailing a ballot to elections officials before election day __ Definitely voted in some other way __ Not completely sure whether you voted or not	B7, B11, B13, B15	B7, B11, B13, B15	B7, B11, B13, B15	B7, B11, B13, B15	--	--	--	--	--	--
60.08		If you had to guess, would you say that you probably did vote in the [caucus / primary / caucus or primary], or probably did not vote in that election?	B16	B16	B16	B16	--	--	--	--	--	--
60.09		How did you vote? Please tell us exactly when, where, and how you voted.	B17	B17	B17	B17	--	--	--	--	--	--
61		**Primary Vote Choice**										
61.01		Which political party's [caucus / primary / caucus or primary] did you vote in?	C1	C1	C1	C1	--	--	--	--	--	--
61.02		What is the name of the party whose [caucus / primary / caucus or primary] you voted in?	C2	C2	C2	C2	--	--	--	--	--	--
61.03		Which presidential candidate did you vote for? [LISTED; REPUBLICANS]	C3	C3	C3	C3	--	--	--	--	--	--
61.04		What is the name of the presidential candidate you voted for?	C4	C4	C4	C4	--	--	--	--	--	--
61.05		Which presidential candidate did you vote for? [LISTED; DEMOCRATS]	C5	C5	C5	C5	--	--	--	--	--	--
61.06		What is the name of the presidential candidate you voted for?	C6	C6	C6	C6	--	--	--	--	--	--
62		**Race**										
62.01		Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government in Washington seeing to it that blacks get fair treatment in jobs?	--	--	--	ZB1	--	ZB1	--	X1	--	--
	/	Do you [favor/oppose] that (a great deal, moderately, or a little? / a little, moderately, or a great deal?)	--	--	--	ZB2	--	ZB2	--	X2	--	--
The following two questions are asked differently depending on whether Barack Obama won/lost the election.												
62.02		(Thinking not about Barack Obama but instead thinking / Thinking) about all of the (/ other) black people who could be president in the future, does the idea of a black person being president make you feel (extremely uncomfortable, very uncomfortable, moderately uncomfortable, slightly uncomfortable, or not uncomfortable at all / not uncomfortable at all, slightly uncomfortable, moderately uncomfortable, very uncomfortable, or extremely uncomfortable)?	--	--	--	ZB3	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
62.03		Does a black person having been elected President make you feel (extremely uncomfortable, very uncomfortable, moderately uncomfortable, slightly uncomfortable, or not uncomfortable at all / not uncomfortable at all, slightly uncomfortable, moderately uncomfortable, very uncomfortable, or extremely uncomfortable)?	--	--	--	--	--	ZB3B	--	--	--	--
62.04		(Thinking not about Barack Obama but instead thinking / Thinking) about all of the (/ other) black people who could be president in the future, does the idea of a black person being president make you feel (extremely pleased, very pleased, moderately pleased, slightly pleased, or not pleased at all / not pleased at all, slightly pleased, moderately pleased, very pleased, or extremely pleased)?	--	--	--	ZB4	--	--	--	--	--	--
62.05		Does a black person having been elected President make you feel (extremely pleased, very pleased, moderately pleased, slightly pleased, or not pleased at all / not pleased at all, slightly pleased, moderately pleased, very pleased, or extremely pleased)?	--	--	--	--	--	ZB4B	--	--	--	--
62.06		Do you personally hope that the United States has a black president in your lifetime, do you hope the United States does not have a black president in your lifetime, or do you not hope either way?	--	--	--	ZB5	--	--	--	--	--	--
62.07		Do you think America is ready for a black president, or not?	--	--	--	ZB6	--	ZB6	--	--	--	--
62.08		Do you think that most white candidates who run for political office are better suited to be an elected official than are most black candidates, that most black candidates are better suited to be an elected official than are most white candidates, or do you think white and black candidates are equally suited to be an elected official?	--	--	--	ZB7	--	ZB7	--	X7	--	--
	/	A great deal better suited, moderately better suited, or slightly better suited?	--	--	--	ZB8	--	ZB8	--	X8	--	--
62.09		Do you think that most white candidates who run for political office are better suited in terms of their intelligence to serve as an elected official than are most black candidates, that most black candidates are better suited in terms of their intelligence to serve as an elected official than are most white candidates, or do you think white and black candidates are equally suited in terms of their intelligence to serve as an elected official?	--	--	--	ZB9	--	ZB9	--	X9	--	--
	/	A great deal better suited, moderately better suited, or slightly better suited?	--	--	--	ZB10	--	ZB10	--	X10	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
62.10		Now we have some questions about how blacks and whites who are Democrats and Republicans are likely to handle issues in the U.S. Congress. Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling foreign affairs? A Democrat who is black, a Democrat who is white, or would they do an equally good or bad job?	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZB11	--	--	--
62.11		Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling education? A Democrat who is black, a Democrat who is white, or would they do an equally good or bad job?	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZB13	--	--	--
62.12		Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling civil rights? A Democrat who is black, a Democrat who is white, or would they do an equally good or bad job?	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZB15	--	--	--
62.13		Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling foreign affairs? A Republican who is black, a Republican who is white, or would they do an equally good or bad job?	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZB17	--	--	--
62.14		Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling education? A Republican who is black, a Republican who is white, or would they do an equally good or bad job?	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZB19	--	--	--
62.15		Who would do a better job in the U.S. Congress handling civil rights? A Republican who is black, a Republican who is white, or would they do an equally good or bad job?	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZB21	--	--	--
		A great deal better, moderately better, or slightly better?	--	--	--	--	--	--	ZB12, ZB14, ZB16, ZB18, ZB20, ZB22	--	--	--
62.16		Would you say that blacks have too much influence in American politics, just about the right amount of influence in American politics, or too little influence in American politics?	--	--	--	ZB23	--	ZB23	--	X23	--	--
		A great deal (too much / too little) influence, moderately (too much / too little), or slightly (too much / too little)?	--	--	--		--	ZB23A	--	X23A	--	--
62.17		How often have you felt sympathy for blacks? (Always, most of the time, about half the time, once in a while, or never / Never, once in a while, about half the time, most of the time, or always)?	--	--	--	ZB24	--	ZB24	--	X24	--	--
62.18		How often have you felt admiration for blacks? (Always, most of the time, about half the time, once in a while, or never / Never, once in a while, about half the time, most of the time, or always)?	--	--	--	ZB25	--	ZB25	--	X25	--	--
62.19		Would you say that whites have too much influence in American politics, just about the right amount of influence in American politics, or too little influence in American politics?	--	--	--	--	--	ZB26	--	X26	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
62.20		A great deal (too much / too little) influence, moderately (too much / too little), or slightly (too much / too little)?	--	--	--	--	--	ZB26A	--	X26A	--	--
63		**Race Stereotypes**										
63.01		Next we'll ask how well some words describe blacks and whites. Which group you will be asked about first was chosen randomly by the computer.	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M1
63.02		How well do the words "determined to succeed" describe most blacks? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M2
63.03		How well do the words "hard working" describe most blacks? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M3
63.04		How well do the words "intelligent at school" describe most blacks? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M4
63.05		How well does the word "boastful" describe most blacks? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M5
63.06		How well does the word "complaining" describe most blacks? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M6
63.07		How well does the word "lazy" describe most blacks? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M7
63.08		How well does the word "violent" describe most blacks? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M8
63.09		How well do the words "determined to succeed" describe most whites? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M9
63.10		How well do the words "hard working" describe most whites? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M10

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
63.11		How well do the words "intelligent at school" describe most whites? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M11
63.12		How well does the word "boastful" describe most whites? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M12
63.13		How well does the word "complaining" describe most whites? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M13
63.14		How well does the word "lazy" describe most whites? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M14
63.15		How well does the word "violent" describe most whites? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not at all well? / Not at all well, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	M15
64		**Racial Equality**										
64.01		Fifty years ago, did the U.S. federal government treat blacks better than whites, treat whites better than blacks, or treat them both about the same?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E1
64.02		Does the U.S. federal government now treat blacks better than whites, treat whites better than blacks, or treat them both about the same?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E3
64.03		Should the U.S. federal government treat blacks better than whites, treat whites better than blacks, or treat them both about the same?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E5
	/	How much better? [A great deal, a moderate amount, or a little? / A little, a moderate amount, or a great deal?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E2, E4, E6
64.04		Fifty years ago, were blacks in better health, worse health, or about the same health as whites, on average?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E7
64.05		On average, do blacks now have better health, worse health, or about the same health as whites?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E9
64.06		On average, should blacks have better health than whites, worse health, or about the same health?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E11
	/	How much [better/worse]?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E8, E10, E12
64.07		This question is about how much money blacks and whites made 50 years ago, on average. 50 years ago, do you think blacks made more money, less money, or about the same amount of money as whites?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E13

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
64.08		What about now? On average, do you think blacks make more money, less money, or about the same amount of money as whites?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E15
64.09		On average, should blacks make more money than whites, less money, or about the same amount of money?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E17
	/	How much [more/less]?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E14, E16, E18
64.10		Fifty years ago, how much racial discrimination was there in the United States? [A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all? / None at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E19
64.11		How much racial discrimination is there in the United States today? [A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all? / None at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E20
64.12		How much racial discrimination should there be in the United States, ideally? [A great deal, a lot, a moderate amount, a little, or none at all? / None at all, a little, a moderate amount, a lot, or a great deal?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E21
64.13		How well did blacks and whites get along in the United States 50 years ago? [Extremely well, very well, moderately well, slightly well, or not well at all? / Not well at all, slightly well, moderately well, very well, or extremely well?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E22
64.14		How well do blacks and whites get along in the United States now?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E23
64.15		Ideally, how well should blacks and whites get along in the United States?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	E24
65		**Racial resentment scale**										
65.01		Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement? **Irish, Italians, Jewish and many minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	L1
65.02		Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement? **Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	L2
65.03		Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement? **Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	L3

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
65.04		Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement? **It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.**	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	L4
66		**Recession**										
66.01		What do you think caused the serious economic problems that began in the United States during the last months of 2008?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WX1	--
66.02		For about what percent of Americans do you think recent economic problems have been each of the following? Extremely difficult, very difficult, moderately difficult, slightly difficult, not difficult at all?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WX2	--
66.03		During the last three months, how difficult has your personal economic situation been? [Extremely difficult, very difficult, moderate difficult, slightly difficult, or not at all difficult? / Not at all difficult, slightly difficult, moderately difficult, very difficult, or extremely difficult?]	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	WX3	--
67		**Religion**										
67.01		Next we'd like to know how often you went to religious services during the past 12 months, not including weddings or funerals. You can answer in any of the three different ways below; whichever one would be most accurate for you.You can tell us how many times per week you went to services on average during the past 12 months, or how many times per month you went on average, or the total number of times you went. Please type one number below to tell us how many times you went to religious services during the past 12 months. ___ times per week on average [HARD RANGE 0-14] ___ times per month on average [HARD RANGE 0-62] ___ times, total during the past 12 months [HARD RANGE 0-730]	J1A	--	--	ZG1A	--	--	--	--	--	--
		Just to confirm, you went to religious services [NUMBER/UNITS] during the last 12 months? __ I went [NUMBER/UNITS] __ I went a different number of times	J1B	--	--	ZG1B	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
67.02		We'd like to know how often you went to religious services during the past 12 months, not including weddings or funerals. You can answer in any of the three different ways below; whichever one would be most accurate for you. You can tell us how many times per week you went to services on average during the past 12 months, or how many times per month you went on average, or the total number of times you went. Please type one number below to tell us how many times you went to religious services during the past 12 months. ___ times per week on average [HARD RANGE 0-14] ___ times per month on average [HARD RANGE 0-62] ___ times, total during the past 12 months [HARD RANGE 0-730]	J1C	--	--	ZG1C	--	--	--	--	--	--
67.03		What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?	J2	--	--	ZG2	--	--	--	--	--	--
67.04		What is your religious preference? Please type the name of the religion.	J3	--	--	ZG3	--	--	--	--	--	--
68		**Sexual orientation**										
68.01		Do you consider yourself to be heterosexual or straight, homosexual or gay (or lesbian), or bisexual?	--	X1	--	--	ZX1	--	--	--	--	--
69		**Size of government**										
69.01		Do you think that the government should provide more services than it does now, fewer services than it does now, or about the same number of services as it does now?	--	--	--	--	--	X1	ZA1	--	--	--
		Do you think that the government should provide a lot more services, somewhat more services, or slightly more services than it does now?	--	--	--	--	--	X2	ZA2	--	--	--
		Do you think that the government should provide a lot fewer services, somewhat fewer services, or slightly fewer services than it does now?	--	--	--	--	--	X3	ZA3	--	--	--
69.02		How important is this issue to you personally? (Extremely important, very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not at all important? / Not at all important, slightly important, moderately important, very important, or extremely important?)	--	--	--	--	--	X4	ZA4	--	--	--
69.03		Do you think the U.S. federal government should have more effect on Americans' lives than it does now, less effect, or about the same amount of effect that it has now on Americans' lives?	--	--	--	--	--	X5	ZA5	--	--	--
		A lot [more/less], a moderate amount [more/less], or a little [more/less]?	--	--	--	--	--	X6, X8	ZA6, ZA8	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
69.04		Do you think the U.S. federal government should do more to influence how businesses operate in this country, should the federal government do less to influence businesses, or should the government do about what it's doing now to influence businesses?	--	--	--	--	--	X7	ZA7	--	--	--
70		**Social networks**										
70.01		During the last six months, did you talk with anyone face-to-face, on the phone, by email, or in any other way about **government or elections**, or did you not do this with anyone during the last six months?	--	--	--	ZD1	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.02		What are the first names of the people who you talked with about government or elections during the past six months? Please be sure not to type the same name for two different people. If two people have the same name, please be sure to type two different names below, like "John" and "John Junior" or "older John" and "younger John."	--	--	--	ZD2	--	--	--	--	--	--
		It looks like you have typed the same name more than once. If you typed the same person's name twice by mistake, please delete the extra name. If you are naming different people who have the same name, it would really help to use names or initials that let us tell each person apart. Please type something like a middle initial or a last name so that each person has a different name below.	--	--	--	ZD3	--	--	--	--	--	--
When referring to (NAME), a different name appears in each question from the list of acquaintances provided by the respondent.												
70.03		How close do you feel to (NAME)? (Extremely close, very close, moderately close, slightly close, or not close at all / Not close at all, slightly close, moderately close, very close, or extremely close)?	--	--	--	ZD4	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.04		Does (NAME) live with you?	--	--	--	ZD5	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.05		Is (NAME) a relative of yours?	--	--	--	ZD6	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.06		Is (NAME) male or female?	--	--	--	ZD7	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.07		How close do (NAME) and (NAME) feel to each other, or do they not know each other? (Are they extremely close, very close, moderately close, slightly close, not close at all even though they know each other, or do they not know each other / Do they not know each other, are they not close at all even though they know each other, or are they slightly close, moderately close, very close, or extremely close)?	--	--	--	ZD8	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.08		In general, how different are (NAME)'s opinions about government and elections from your own views? (Extremely different, very different, moderately different, slightly different, or not different at all / Not different at all, slightly different, moderately different, very different, or extremely different)?	--	--	--	ZD9	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
70.09		How likely do you think it is that (NAME) will vote in the 2008 presidential election? (Extremely likely, very likely, moderately likely, slightly likely, or not likely at all / Not likely at all, slightly likely, moderately likely, very likely, or extremely likely)?	--	--	--	ZD10	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.10		Generally speaking, does (NAME) probably think of (himself/herself) as a [Democrat/Republican], [Republican/Democrat], Independent, or something else?	--	--	--	ZD12, ZD13,	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	Would (he/she/he or she) call (himself/herself/himself or herself) a strong [Democrat/Republican] or a not very strong [Democrat/Republican]?	--	--	--	ZD14, ZD15	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.11		Does (he/she/he or she) think of (himself/herself/himself or herself) as closer to the Democratic Party, the Republican Party, or neither of these?	--	--	--	ZD16	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.12		How interested is (NAME) in information about what's going on in government and politics? Extremely interested, very interested, moderately interested, slightly interested, or not interested at all?	--	--	--	ZD17	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.13		Does (NAME) consider (himself/herself) Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, another religion, or not religious? Please give your best estimate, even if you don't know for sure.	--	--	--	ZD18	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.14		Does (NAME) belong to the same church or denomination that you belong to?	--	--	--	ZD19	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.15		How old is (NAME)?	--	--	--	ZD20	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.16		Does (NAME) think of (himself/herself/himself or herself) as Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino?	--	--	--	ZD21	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.17		Please check one or more categories below to indicate what race(s) (NAME) considers (himself/herself/himself or herself) to be.	--	--	--	ZD22	--	--	--	--	--	--
70.18		What is the highest degree or level of school that (NAME) has completed?	--	--	--	ZD23	--	--	--	--	--	--
71		**Trust in government**										
71.01		How often does the federal government do what most Americans want it to do? (Always, most of the time, about half the time, once in a while, or never / Never, once in a while, about half the time, most of the time, or always)?	--	J1	--	K1	K1	K1	--	K1	K1	--
72		**Typicality of politicians**										
72.01		How typical is Barack Obama of most politicians?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	J1
72.02		How typical is Hillary Clinton of most politicians?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	J2
72.03		How typical is George W. Bush of most politicians?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	J3
72.04		How typical is Michelle Obama of most politicians?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	J4
73		**Typicality of race**										
73.01		How typical is Barack Obama of most blacks?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	F1
73.02		How typical is Hillary Clinton of most whites?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	F2
73.03		How typical is George W. Bush of most whites?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	F3
73.04		How typical is Michelle Obama of most blacks?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	F4

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
74		**Typicality of race and sex**										
74.01		How typical is Barack Obama of most black men?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	H1
74.02		How typical is Hillary Clinton of most white women?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	H2
74.03		How typical is George W. Bush of most white men?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	H3
74.04		How typical is Michelle Obama of most black women?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	H4
75		**Typicality of sex**										
75.01		How typical is Barack Obama of most men?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	G1
75.02		How typical is Hillary Clinton of most women?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	G2
75.03		How typical is George W. Bush of most men?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	G3
75.04		How typical is Michelle Obama of most women?	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	G4
76		**Validation**										
76.01		To verify our records, what month were you born?	--	--	--	--	--	ZX1	--	--	--	--
77		**Vote: 04 turnout and vote choice**										
77.01		The next few questions are about the presidential election that was held in 2004. In asking people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, they didn't have time, or something else happened to prevent them from voting. And sometimes, people who usually vote or who planned to vote forget that something unusual happened on Election Day one year that prevented them from voting that time. So please think carefully for a minute about the election held in November 2004, and other past elections in which you may have voted, and answer the following questions about your voting behavior.	A1	AB1	AB1	AB1	--	--	--	--	--	--
77.02		During the past 6 years, did you usually vote in national, state, and local elections, or did you usually not vote?	A2	AB2	AB2	AB2	--	--	--	--	--	--
77.03		In the election held in November 2004, John Kerry ran on the Democratic ticket against George W. Bush the Republican. During the months leading up to the election for President in 2004, did you ever plan to vote in that election, or didn't you plan to do that?	A3	AB3	AB3	AB3	--	--	--	--	--	--
77.04		Which one of the following best describes what you did in that election in 2004? __ Definitely did not vote __ Definitely voted in person at a polling place on election day __ Definitely voted in person at a polling place before election day __ Definitely voted by mailing a ballot to elections officials before election day __ Definitely voted in some other way __ Not completely sure whether you voted or not	A4	AB4	AB4	AB4	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
77.05		How did you vote? Please tell us exactly when, where, and how you voted.	A4A	AB4A	AB4A	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
77.06		If you had to guess, would you say that you probably did vote in the election held in November 2004, or probably did not vote in that election?	A5	AB5	AB5	AB5	--	--	--	--	--	--
77.07		In 2004, for whom did you vote for President of the United States? __ George W. Bush __ John Kerry __ Ralph Nader __ Michael Badnarik __ Michael Peroutka __ David Cobb __ Leonard Peltier __ Walt Brown __ James Harris __ Róger Calero __ Thomas Harens __ Gene Amondson __ Bill Van Auken __ John Thompson Parker __ Charles Jay __ Stanford Andress __ Earl Dodge __ someone else	A6	AB6	AB6	AB6	--	--	--	--	--	--
77.08		Who did you vote for? Please type the name:	A7	AB7	AB7	AB7	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	How sure are you that you voted for [NAME]?	A8	AB8	AB8	AB8	--	--	--	--	--	--
78		**Vote: 08 turnout intention, choice, and expected turnout**										
78.01		Needless to say, the next election for President of the United States is a long time away, in November. What is your best guess — will you vote or will you not vote in the election for President?	D1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
78.02		So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national elections this coming November, or not?	--	--	--	D1	--	--	--	--	--	--
78.03		Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President? / Assuming you do vote, who do you think you will vote for in the election for President? __ John McCain __ Barack Obama __ someone else	--	--	--	D2	--	--	--	--	--	--
	/	How sure are you of that? (Extremely sure, very sure, moderately sure, slightly sure, not sure at all) ?	--	--	--	D3	--	--	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
78.04		This question is not about the primary elections and caucuses that were held a few months ago. Instead, we'd like to ask you about the election for President to be held on November 4, in which **[Barack Obama / John McCain]** is running against **[John McCain / Barack Obama]**. Have you already voted in that election, or not?	--	--	--	--	A1	--	--	--	--	--
78.05		Which one of the following best describes how you voted?	--	--	--	--	A2	--	--	--	--	--
78.06		How did you vote? Please tell us exactly when, where, and how you voted.	--	--	--	--	A3	--	--	--	--	--
78.07		Who did you vote for in the election for President?	--	--	--	--	A4	--	--	--	--	--
78.08		So far as you know now, do you expect to vote in the national elections this coming November, or not?	--	--	--	--	A5	--	--	--	--	--
78.09		Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President? / Assuming you do vote, who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?	--	--	--	--	A6	--	--	--	--	--
	/	How sure are you of that?	--	--	--	--	A7	--	--	--	--	--
78.10		In the 2008 election for President of the United States, about what percent of eligible Americans will vote? Enter a number from 0 to 100.	--	--	--	--	A8	--	--	--	--	--
78.11		The next few questions are about the presidential election that was held on November 4. In asking people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, they didn't have time, or something else happened to prevent them from voting. And sometimes, people who usually vote or who planned to vote forget that something unusual happened on Election Day one year that prevented them from voting that time. So please think carefully for a minute about the election held on November 4, and other past elections in which you may have voted, and answer the following questions about your voting behavior.	--	--	--	--	--	A1	--	--	--	--
78.12		During the past 6 years, did you usually vote in national, state, and local elections, or did you usually not vote?	--	--	--	--	--	A2	--	--	--	--
78.13		In the election held on November 4, Barack Obama ran on the Democratic ticket and John McCain ran on the Republican ticket. During the months leading up to the election for President, did you ever plan to vote in that election, or didn't you plan to do that?	--	--	--	--	--	A3	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
78.14		Which one of the following best describes what you did in this election? __ Definitely did not vote __ Definitely voted in person at a polling place on election day __ Definitely voted in person at a polling place before election day __ Definitely voted by mailing a ballot to elections officials before election day __ Definitely voted in some other way __ Not completely sure whether you voted or not	--	--	--	--	--	A4	--	--	--	--
78.15		How did you vote? Please tell us exactly when, where, and how you voted.	--	--	--	--	--	A4A	--	--	--	--
78.16		If you had to guess, would you say that you probably did vote in the election, or probably did not vote in the election?	--	--	--	--	--	A5	--	--	--	--
	/	Did you vote in [STATE] or in another state?	--	--	--	--	--	A5A	--	--	--	--
	/	What state did you vote in?	--	--	--	--	--	A5B	--	--	--	--
78.17		For whom did you vote for President and Vice President of the United States?	--	--	--	--	--	A6	--	--	--	--
78.18		Who did you vote for? Please type the name: _____	--	--	--	--	--	A7	--	--	--	--
	/	How sure are you that you voted for **[NAME]**?	--	--	--	--	--	A8	--	--	--	--
78.19		Did you prefer one of the candidates for President, or not?	--	--	--	--	--	A9	--	--	--	--
78.20		Who did you prefer?	--	--	--	--	--	A10	--	--	--	--
78.21		Did you vote on election day – that is, November 4 – or did you vote before this?	--	--	--	--	--	A11	--	--	--	--
78.22		The election was on November 4. How many days before Election Day did you (vote/mail your ballot to elections officials)? Please give your best estimate, even if you're not exactly sure. Please type the number.	--	--	--	--	--	A12	--	--	--	--
78.23		How about the election for the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington DC? Did you vote for a candidate for U.S. House of Representatives, or not?	--	--	--	--	--	A13	--	--	--	--
78.24		Here is a list of the candidates for U.S. House of Representatives that our records show were running in your district. Who did you vote for?	--	--	--	--	--	A14	--	--	--	--
78.25		Who did you vote for? Please type the name and political party:	--	--	--	--	--	A15	--	--	--	--
78.26		How about the election for the United States Senate? Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. Senate, or not?	--	--	--	--	--	A16	--	--	--	--
78.27		[Mississippi/Wyoming] had elections for two U.S. Senators this year. We'll ask you separately about each one.	--	--	--	--	--	A17	--	--	--	--
78.28		Here is a list of candidates for U.S. Senate in [STATE]. Who did you vote for?	--	--	--	--	--	A18	--	--	--	--

ITEM	FOLLOW-UP	Topic/wording	Jan W1	Feb W2	June W6	Sept W9	Oct W10	Nov W11	Jan W13	May W17	July W19	Aug W20
78.29		Who did you vote for? Please type the name and political party:	--	--	--	--	--	A19	--	--	--	--
78.30		Here is the list of candidates for the second U.S. Senate seat in [Mississippi/Wyoming]. Who did you vote for?	--	--	--	--	--	A20	--	--	--	--
78.31		Who did you vote for? Please type the name and political party	--	--	--	--	--	A21	--	--	--	--
79		**Watched presidential debate**										
79.01		As you may know, on September 26, October 7, and October 15, Barack Obama and John McCain debated each other on television. Both men answered the same questions asked of them by news reporters or citizens. How many of these three debates did you watch part or all of?	--	--	--	--	--	B1	--	--	--	--
79.02		About how many minutes or hours did you spend watching (that debate / those two debates, altogether / those three debates, altogether)? You can answer in either of two different ways below; whichever one would be most accurate for you. You can tell us how many minutes you watched, or how many hours you watched.	--	--	--	--	--	B2	--	--	--	--
79.03		__ minutes, total	--	--	--	--	--	B2A	--	--	--	--
79.04		__ hours, total	--	--	--	--	--	B2B	--	--	--	--

Appendix B. Respondent Communications

This appendix contains communications sent to respondents or prospective respondents. The study name has been redacted from all materials. See the main body of the report for more information about how these materials were used.

The materials in this appendix are as follows:

B1. Advance letter
B2. Advance letter – reverse side
B3. Welcome letter – PC panelists
B4. Welcome letter – MSNTV2 panelists
B5. Consent information sheet – adults
B6. Parent information sheet – teens
B7. Teen assent information sheet
B8. Privacy terms
B9. MSNTV2 information
B10. Login information card
B11. Letter accompanying Certificate of Appreciation
B12. Certificate of Appreciation
B13. Internet recruitment letter
B14. Refusal conversion letter, non-Internet users
B15. Refusal conversion letter for uninterested people
B16. Off-panel invitation letter
B17. Off-panel letter – reverse side
B18. Off-panel telephone message
B19. Welcome email
B20. Profile survey notification email
B21. Initial invitation email (January through July 2008)
B22. Breakoff prompting email
B23. Email: survey pre-announcement (day D-3)
B24. Email: invitation (day 1)
B25. Email: first reminder (day 4)
B26. Email: second and third reminders (days 7 and 12)
B27. Email: fourth and subsequent reminders (day 20 and +10)
B28. Email: final nonresponse prompt for the November survey
B29. Dropout recovery letter
B30. Study FAQ web page

Versions of the recruitment materials used for the second cohort were changed as necessary to reflect participation beginning in September 2009.

B1. *Advance Letter*

The image below shows the advance letter sent to all addresses for which an address match was obtained for the sampled telephone number, as well as to respondents who requested a letter. The original letter was larger to fill a normal letter-size page.

«Name» <Date>
«Address»
«City», «State» «PostalCode»

Dear «Name»:

Television, newspapers, and magazines report on trends and issues facing Americans today, such as health, employment, politics, and education. However, the only way to know how Americans really feel is to hear from people like you.

Stanford University and the **University of Michigan** are creating a special new way to find out how Americans really think and feel about these things. With funding from the U.S. **National Science Foundation**, the two universities are asking about two thousand people to participate in the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. By taking part, your household can help provide an accurate picture of what Americans think and believe. Your household has been scientifically selected from households across the nation to take part in this important study.

An interviewer from Knowledge Networks, the national research firm conducting the study for Stanford University, will soon contact you to explain the study and to answer any of your questions.

To thank you for completing a short interview on the phone, we will send you $10. And we will provide you $10 to thank you for each monthly Internet survey. If you can't use the Internet from your home now, we will pay all the cost so that you can use the Internet from home, so long as you do our surveys.

Your participation is voluntary. All information that you or anyone in your household provides will be kept in strict confidence. It is important to us to protect your privacy. You or your household will never be identified in any analysis, reports, or publications based on your responses, and no one will try to sell you anything. The back of this letter answers questions you might have about the study.

If you have any questions or to take the first survey now, please call our toll-free number (888) 530-8474 or visit us at www.knowledgenetworks.com/[REDACTED STUDY NAME].

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important national study.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B2. *Advance letter – reverse side*
This text was also included as the reverse side of the refusal conversion letters.

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE [REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Who is sponsoring the study?

The study is being done for Stanford University in collaboration with the University of Michigan. The National Science Foundation is funding the study. Researchers from other organizations might also sponsor some of the surveys done as part of the study.

How was I selected for the study?

You were selected at random through a scientific process that is designed to accurately reflect the national population.

What is the purpose of the study?

The study is being done to capture accurately Americans' opinions, attitudes, and beliefs about a wide range of topics. The study is about some very important topics, and your participation is crucial in helping researchers to better understand these issues.

Will I get anything for my time?

Yes. You will be sent $10 for each survey that you do. After you begin, you may stop at any time and keep any money we have already given you.

What if I do not have Internet access at home?

If you do not have Internet access, you will be given an Internet device called an MSN^{R} TV 2 Internet and Media Player ($195.95 MSRP) and free internet access. See http://msntv.com/pc/ for more information.

How often will I be asked to participate? How long will this take?

There will be just one survey a month. You can answer the survey questions when convenient for you at your computer or using the Internet device we supply you. Your participation is for 21 months (through September 2009). Each survey will take about 20 to 30 minutes of your time.

Are my answers confidential and private?

Your answers are ***completely*** confidential and private. Your answers will be combined with many others so that your participation will be effectively anonymous. The researchers who administer the study have signed a pledge of confidentiality. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Stanford University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 1-866-680-2906, or you may write the Stanford IRB, Administrative Panels Office, Stanford, CA 94305-5401.

How will this research be used?

Researchers from Stanford University, University of Michigan, and others will publish the study results in magazines, professional journals, and possibly books. Your participation is very important to make sure that all viewpoints and people of all backgrounds are represented in the publications.

Which company is conducting the study for Stanford?

Knowledge Networks, a nationally known survey research firm based in Menlo Park, CA, is conducting the survey on behalf of Stanford University in collaboration with the University of Michigan. Visit their website to learn more (www.knowledgenetworks.com.)

B3. *Welcome letter – PC panelists*

The following letter was sent to PC-using respondents after they completed recruitment.

Welcome to the **[REDACTED STUDY NAME]**!

Please see enclosed our Welcome Kit for you. Please keep this for your records.

The Welcome Kit includes important information about how your privacy will be protected and information on how to take your first survey.

The first survey is easy to take. It will be sent to you be email in the next week or two. Please complete your first survey as soon as you can so that we can confirm that you are able to use the log-in information to see the survey.

You will be asked to take only one survey each month. An email will be sent to you to let you know when a survey is available. You will receive $10 for each survey you complete.

For any help, **please email [REDACTED]@knowledgenetworks.com or call us at 1-800-[NUMBER].**

Finally, you can always check our member website - **http://members.knowledgenetworks.com** – to see your survey history, find the answers to frequently asked questions, and get information about Knowledge Networks.

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important national study.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B4. *Welcome letter – MSNTV2 panelists*

The following letter was sent to panelists receiving a free MSNTV2 device.

DATE

Dear FIRSTNAME LASTNAME,

Welcome to the **[REDACTED STUDY NAME]**!

Please see enclosed our Welcome Kit for you. Please keep this for your records.

The Welcome Kit includes important information about how your privacy will be protected and information on how to take your first survey.

This MSN TV 2 and the service to connect you to the Internet are being provided to you at no cost. We have set up an e-mail account for you and have arranged to have the billing sent to us. Once your MSN TV 2 is installed, the Microsoft® MSN Network™ will be available for your personal use to send and receive e-mail, to browse the World Wide Web, and to respond to our monthly surveys. As well as sending and receiving messages, you can share and store pictures through your personalized e-mail account. With MSN TV2, you can enjoy video clips or music from the Internet, including the ability to access movie trailers, news clips, and satellite radio.

This letter is for you, with your own unique e-mail and password. This password allows you to maintain the privacy of your own email account and web favorites. The password also provides you access to our member website- **http://members.knowledgenetworks.com** -where you can see your survey history, find the answers to frequently asked questions, and get information about Knowledge Networks.

Simply follow the instructions enclosed with your equipment to connect the MSN TV 2 system and use the e-mail address and password below:

Your e-mail address is: **knemail**

Your password is: **pswd**

You will be asked to take only one survey each month. An email will be sent to you to let you know when a survey is available. You will receive $10 for each survey you complete.

If you have any problems setting up your MSN TV 2 or need any help, **please call us at 1-800-[REDACTED #].** Once you are set up for email, you can contact us by **emailing us at [REDACTED]@knowledgenetworks.com**

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important national study.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B5. *Consent information sheet – adults*

CONSENT INFORMATION FOR MEMBERS OF THE [REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Welcome to the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. On behalf of Stanford University and in collaboration with the University of Michigan and with funding from the National Science Foundation, Knowledge Networks is conducting the study to collect information on a number of topics in American society. Your household has been scientifically selected to participate in this study.

We sent you by mail a Welcome Kit and the Knowledge Networks Privacy Statement. The Privacy Statement can be viewed on the Internet at http://members.knowledgenetworks.com by using the log-in information we provided you in the Welcome Kit. Please keep these materials for your records. For questions or for technical or other support, please email **[REDACTED]**@knowledgenetworks.com or call us at 1-800-**[REDACTED #]**. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Stanford University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 1-866-680-2906, or you may write the Stanford IRB, Administrative Panels Office, Stanford, CA 94305-5401. You may also contact the Knowledge Networks' Principal Investigator for the study, Dr. Michael Dennis, at 1-800-**[REDACTED #]**, or you may write Dr. Dennis at Knowledge Networks, 1350 Willow Road, Suite 102, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Knowledge Networks will be sending you by email one survey a month between now and September 2009. Each survey will take about 20 to 30 minutes of your time. The first internet surveys will ask you about your background, your household, and your opinions.

You will benefit from this study since Knowledge Networks will pay you $10 for each survey completed. Moreover, if you do not have an Internet connection, Knowledge Networks will provide your household with Internet access through a MSN TV 2 setup for participating in the study. Society will also benefit as the result of the advancement of knowledge about what the public thinks and believes about a number of topics.

Your participation is voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw your consent or discontinue participation without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. The potential risk to respondents from study participation is minimal. Your individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study. Your personal identifying information will be kept secure and will never be released to anyone.

Protocol Approval Date: 6/12/2007
Protocol Expiration Date: 6/28/2008

B6. *Parent information sheet – teens*

PERMISSION INFORMATION FOR PARENTS OR GUARDIANS OF MEMBERS OF THE [REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Welcome to the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. On behalf of Stanford University and in collaboration with the University of Michigan and with funding from the National Science Foundation, Knowledge Networks is conducting the study to collect information on a number of topics in American society. Your household has been scientifically selected to participate in this study.

We sent you by mail a Welcome Kit and the Knowledge Networks Privacy Statement. The Privacy Statement can be viewed on the Internet at http://members.knowledgenetworks.com by using the log-in information we provided you in the Welcome Kit. Please keep these materials for your records. For questions or for technical or other support, please email **[REDACTED]**@knowledgenetworks.com or call us at 1-800-**[REDACTED #]**. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Stanford University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 1-866-680-2906, or you may write the Stanford IRB, Administrative Panels Office, Stanford, CA 94305-5401. You may also contact the Knowledge Networks' Principal Investigator for the study, Dr. Michael Dennis, at 1-800-**[REDACTED #]**, or you may write Dr. Dennis at Knowledge Networks, 1350 Willow Road, Suite 102, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Knowledge Networks will be sending your son or daughter, by email, one survey a month between now and September 2009. Each survey will take about 20 to 30 minutes to complete. Your son or daughter will benefit from the study since Knowledge Networks will pay him or her $10 for each survey completed. Moreover, if you do not have an Internet connection, Knowledge Networks will provide your household with Internet access through a MSN TV 2 setup for your teen's participating in the study. The first internet surveys will ask basic questions about your son's or daughter's background (such as age, education, and race/ethnicity), your household (such as the number of people living in the household), and opinions.

Participation is voluntary, and you have the right to withdraw your permission or discontinue participation. Your son or daughter may also choose to withdraw at any time without penalty or loss of benefits to which he or she is otherwise entitled. The potential risk to respondents from study participation is minimal. Individual privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study. All personal identifying information will be kept secure and will never be released to anyone.

Protocol Approval Date: 6/12/2007
Protocol Expiration Date: 6/28/2008

B7. *Teen assent information sheet*

INFORMATION FOR TEEN MEMBERS OF THE [REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Welcome to the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. On behalf of Stanford University and in collaboration with the University of Michigan and with funding from the National Science Foundation, Knowledge Networks is conducting the study to collect information on a number of topics in American society. Your household has been scientifically selected to participate in this study.

We sent you by mail a Welcome Kit and the Knowledge Networks Privacy Statement. The Privacy Statement can be viewed on the Internet at http://members.knowledgenetworks.com by using the log-in information we provided you in the Welcome Kit. Please keep these materials for your records. For questions or for technical or other support, please email **[REDACTED]**@knowledgenetworks.com or call us at 1-800-**[REDACTED #]**. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Stanford University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 1-866-680-2906, or you may write the Stanford IRB, Administrative Panels Office, Stanford, CA 94305-5401. You may also contact the Knowledge Networks' Principal Investigator for the study, Dr. Michael Dennis, at 1-800-**[REDACTED #]**, or you may write Dr. Dennis at Knowledge Networks, 1350 Willow Road, Suite 102, Menlo Park, CA 94025.

Knowledge Networks will be sending you by email one survey a month between now and September 2009. Each survey will take about 20 to 30 minutes of your time. You will benefit from the study since Knowledge Networks will pay you $10 for each survey completed. Moreover, if you do not have an Internet connection, Knowledge Networks will provide your household with Internet access through a MSN TV 2 setup for participating in the study. The first internet surveys will ask you about your background, your household, and your opinions.

Your participation is voluntary, and you have the right to refuse to answer any question or to discontinue participation at any time, without penalty or loss of benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. Your parent or guardian may also choose to withdraw you from the study. The potential risk to respondents from study participation is minimal. Your privacy will be maintained in all published and written data resulting from the study. All personal identifying information will be kept secure and will never be released to anyone.

Protocol Approval Date: 6/12/2007
Protocol Expiration Date: 6/28/2008

B8. Privacy terms

The following text (7 pages) was sent to all respondents.

KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS PRIVACY STATEMENT

Last updated: 11/7/2005

Knowledge Networks™ Panel Members have been invited to take part in a major national research effort. Members may complete surveys to provide feedback and opinions on a range of political, lifestyle, advertising and other questions, and may contribute other types of data along with other Panel Members. Active Panel Members receive certain benefits from Knowledge Networks in exchange for participating in surveys.

OUR PRIVACY COMMITMENTS

Knowledge Networks respects the privacy of every Panel Member. This Privacy Statement outlines the information Knowledge Networks will collect and how we will use that information. This Statement will also tell you how you can verify the accuracy of your Personal Information (defined below) submitted to Knowledge Networks and how you can request that we delete or update your Personal Information.

We've developed our privacy policy from industry guidelines and standards, and local, national, and international laws and requirements. All privacy practices and methods described in this policy apply only insofar as permitted by the applicable standards, laws and requirements. In addition, as a member of the Council of American Survey Research Organizations ("CASRO"), the professional trade association of survey research companies, Knowledge Networks adheres to the mandated CASRO Code of Standards and Ethics for Survey Research. You may visit CASRO, and view the CASRO Code, at www.casro.org.

Thanks again for placing your trust in Knowledge Networks.

Knowledge Networks is a licensee of the TRUSTe Privacy Program. TRUSTe is an independent, non-profit organization whose mission is to build user's trust and confidence in the Internet by promoting the use of fair information practices. This privacy statement covers the site www.knowledgenetworks.com . Because this Web site wants to demonstrate its commitment to your privacy, it has agreed to disclose its information practices and have its privacy practices reviewed for compliance by TRUSTe.

If you have questions or concerns regarding this statement, you should first contact Privacy Compliance Coordinator at privacy@knowledgenetworks.com. If you do not receive acknowledgement of your inquiry or your inquiry has not been satisfactorily addressed, you should contact TRUSTe at http://www.truste.org/consumers/watchdog_complaint.php TRUSTe will then serve as a liaison with us to resolve your concerns.

The TRUSTe program covers only information that is collected through this Web site, and does not cover information that may be collected through software downloaded from this site.

INFORMATION COLLECTED AND HOW WE USE IT

WHAT WE COLLECT:

A) PERSONAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

During the Knowledge Networks recruitment process, Knowledge Networks collects personal information such as your name, address, email address and the names and ages of members of your household ("Personal Information") via telephone. In addition, Knowledge Networks frequently asks Panel Members for characteristics (such as health problems or consumer habits), attributes, and demographic information (such as age, income, gender) (collectively, "Demographic Information") via online surveys.

You are in control of the Personal Information and Demographic Information that you provide to Knowledge Networks. We rely on you to provide updates to your Personal Information and Demographic Information. You can:

- Ask for a copy of your Personal Information or Demographic Information.
- Ask for your Personal Information or Demographic Information to be corrected or updated.
- Ask us to remove your Personal Information or Demographic Information from your records.

To do this, please contact us using the links provided later in this statement. Knowledge Networks will use reasonable efforts to provide the requested information to you.

B) OPERATING INFORMATION

Knowledge Networks may, in the course of interacting with Panel Members, gather other types of information from Panel Members ("Operating Information"). For example, as a Knowledge Networks Panel Member, you will receive surveys from Knowledge Networks on a regular basis. These surveys will ask questions about your interests, needs, and attitudes. We will receive your responses to these surveys. If you have agreed to provide us with information regarding the television channels that you select for viewing through the MSN® TV Network service, then Knowledge Networks will receive this information from MSN® TV. Similarly, if we offer other features, services, or programs in which you explicitly agree to participate, then Knowledge Networks will receive information from those features, services, or programs.

C) LOG FILES

As is true of most Web sites, we gather certain information automatically and store it in log files. This information includes internet protocol (IP) addresses, browser type, internet service provider (ISP), referring/exit pages, operating system, date/time stamp, and clickstream data.

We use this information, which does not identify individual users, to analyze trends, to administer the site, to track users' movements around the site and to gather demographic information about our user base as a whole.

We do not link this automatically-collected data to personally identifiable information.

D) COOKIES

A cookie is a small text file that is stored on a user's computer for record-keeping purposes. We use cookies on this site. We do not link the information we store in cookies to any personally identifiable information you submit while on our site.

We use persistent cookies. A persistent cookie remains on your hard drive for an extended period of time. You can remove persistent cookies by following directions provided in your Internet browser's "help" file. Link to Cookie Information.

If you reject cookies, you may still use our site, but your ability to use some areas of our site, such as contests or surveys, will be limited.

HOW WE USE YOUR INFORMATION:

A) PERSONAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

Personal Information may is used to set up e-mail accounts for each household member who is 13 years of age or older (if you do not have Internet access at the time of recruitment), to communicate with you and your household members, and to assist you with questions that you may have about the *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel. It may also be used for panel recruitment, contest entry processing or delivery of free gifts to members of the *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel, and delivery of our quarterly newsletter, which you are automatically enrolled to receive via email. (To opt out of the newsletter, please click click here: http://members.knowledgenetworks.com/Profile.aspx.) Personal Information concerning location or address is also used to ensure that our panel accurately represents the country's population as a whole.

Panel Members are asked for Demographic Information in order to pre-qualify members or households for surveys that target specific groups. We also use this information to ensure that our panel accurately represents the country's population as a whole.

Knowledge Networks uses Personal Information and Demographic Information solely in the conduct of its research business. Personal Information or Demographic Information may be combined with information collected about you by Knowledge Networks or third parties with your express permission, with information that is collected about you from public records, or with information that Knowledge Networks may acquire from third parties that have a legal right to provide such information to Knowledge Networks.

B) OPERATING INFORMATION

Knowledge Networks uses Operating Information solely in the conduct of its research business. As is the case with Personal Information and Demographic Information, Operating Information may be combined with information collected about you by third parties with your express permission, with information that is collected about you from public records, or with information that Knowledge Networks may acquire from third parties that have a legal right to provide such information to Knowledge Networks.

DATA SHARING AND TRANSFER

A) HOW WE MAY SHARE INFORMATION:

Personal Information regarding Panel Members will never be shared with any third parties without your express permission. We reserve the right, however, to disclose your personally

identifiable information as required by law and when we believe that disclosure is necessary to protect our rights and/or comply with a judicial proceeding, court order, or legal process served on our Web site.

In addition, occasionally Knowledge Networks will share contact information, such as name and address, with third parties with whom we have partnered to provide specific services to Knowledge Networks, or services on behalf of Knowledge Networks, such as panel recruitment, contest entry processing or delivery of free gifts to *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel Members. These partners have agreed not to share or resell this data and they are contractually obligated not to use any personally identifiable information except for the purpose of providing these services, unless you enter into a relationship with them that would directly allow them to do so.

Knowledge Networks collects and shares Demographic Information and Operating Information with its research clients in an anonymous form. Our research clients will never receive Personal Information of Panel Members, nor will they be able to identify Panel Members, without your express permission.

Knowledge Networks is an expanding business, and like other companies, we sometimes acquire or divest business units. As part of such transfers, we may convey the business assets of the particular business unit, including Personal Information, Demographic Information, or Operating Information of Panel Members. In that eventuality, you would be notified via email.

B) DATA TRANSFERS:

Your Personal Information, Demographic Information, and Operating Information will generally be stored in our Knowledge Networks databases, which are located in the United States. For easier processing of e-mail communications, contests, sweepstakes, or other marketing purposes, however, your Personal Information, Demographic Information, or Operating Information may be sent, usually on a temporary basis, to countries outside the United States or the European Union. Knowledge Networks data protection standards are the same, regardless of where your information is stored.

Knowledge Networks adheres to United States/European Union Safe Harbor principles. If you feel that Safe Harbor privacy principles may have been violated by Knowledge Networks, you may contact Knowledge Networks or CASRO, 3 Upper Devon, Port Jefferson, NY 11777 (email: casro@casro.org) (telephone: 631-928-6954) with your complaint. Knowledge Networks is a member of CASRO.

CHILDREN'S PRIVACY

Knowledge Networks believes that it's especially important to protect children's privacy online and encourages parents and guardians to spend time online with their children to participate and monitor their Internet activity.

Knowledge Networks complies with all applicable national and international children's privacy regulations.

We do not permit children who are under 13 years of age to become *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel Members. We do not collect any Personal Information from children under 13 years of age. As part of the registration process for new Panel Members, we collect from the new Panel Member the names of each individual in the Panel Members' household, which may include the names of children who are under 13 years of age. Occasionally we may send a survey to a Panel

Member who is a parent or guardian of a child under the age of 13 that asks that Panel Member to have his or her child who is under 13 answer the survey. We take reasonable steps to ensure parental consent to such procedure by sending the survey to the parent or guardian's password-protected email address. The information collected in response to such surveys is not combined with identifying information about the child. In every case such survey does not collect Personal Information about the child. We comply with the Children's Online Privacy Protection Act of 1998.

If a Panel Member has provided us with Personal Information about a child in the Panel Member's household who is under the age of 13, a parent or guardian of that child may contact us at the email address or mailing address listed at the bottom of this Privacy Statement if he or she would like this information deleted from our records. We will use reasonable efforts to delete the child's information from our databases.

If you would like to contact us about your or your child's Personal Information, or to find out how you can have your child's Personal Information removed from our database, please see the "Access To Your Information and Complaints" section later in this document.

DATA SECURITY AND RESPONSIBILITY

Knowledge Networks is committed to keeping the data you provide us secure and will take reasonable precautions to protect your Personal Information from loss, misuse or alteration. Vendors, contractors, or partners of Knowledge Networks who have access to your Personal Information in connection with providing services for Knowledge Networks are contractually required to keep the information confidential and are not permitted to use this information for any other purpose than to carry out the services they are performing for Knowledge Networks.

Knowledge Networks also safeguards Personal Information, Demographic Information, and Operating Information from unauthorized access. Most Operating Information is maintained in databases that are separate from those containing Personal Information and Demographic Information. Only authorized Knowledge Networks employees or agents carrying out permitted business functions are allowed to access these databases. In addition, each employee of Knowledge Networks is required to sign a confidentiality agreement requiring him or her to keep confidential all Personal Information of Panel Members. Employees who violate the confidentiality agreement are subject to disciplinary actions, including termination when appropriate.

ACCESS TO YOUR INFORMATION AND COMPLAINTS

A) Accessing, Correcting, Updating and Preventing Use of Your Personal Information or Demographic Information

If you have submitted Personal or Demographic Information to Knowledge Networks through the *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel or otherwise, or if someone else has otherwise submitted your Personal or Demographic Information to Knowledge Networks, you can:

1) Access, Correct, Update Your Personal or Demographic Information, by clicking here, emailing your request to: privacy@knowledgenetworks.com, or by sending us a letter to the address listed below. Knowledge Networks will use reasonable efforts to supply you with the information you requested to access and to correct any factual inaccuracies in this information.

2) Prevent Further Use of Your Personal or Demographic Information, by emailing your request to: privacy@knowledgenetworks.com. Alternatively, you may call us at 1-800-[NUMBER] or send us a letter to the address listed below. In each case, we will then use reasonable efforts to prevent further use of your Personal Information or Demographic Information in our files.

B) Complaints

Knowledge Networks is committed to working with consumers to obtain a fair and rapid resolution of any complaints or disputes about privacy. Please send us your questions or comments regarding our privacy practices by emailing us at: privacy@knowledgenetworks.com, or send us a letter to:

Privacy Compliance Coordinator
Knowledge Networks, Inc.
570 South Ave.
Cranford, NJ 07016
USA

Knowledge Networks will be happy to respond to your questions and comments.

Complaints may also be addressed to CASRO by emailing it at casro@casro.org , by telephoning it at (631) 928-6954, or by writing to:

CASRO
3 Upper Devon
Port Jefferson, NY 11777

OPTING OUT

At any time, you may discontinue your participation in the *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel by sending us an email (privacy@knowledgenetworks.com) or by calling us at 1-800-[NUMBER]. Parents or legal guardians of any member of the *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel who is under the age of eighteen may discontinue the participation of such child in the same manner. Please note that opting-out of the *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel will not automatically cause us to delete Personal, Demographic, or Operating Information about you (or your child) that we have previously collected. We will do so, however, at your request, as set forth above.

OTHER SITES

Knowledge Networks is not responsible for the privacy practices or the content of other Websites. We recommend that you carefully read the privacy policies of each site you visit.

CONTACT US

You may contact us at:
Knowledge Networks, Inc.
P.O. Box 40

Cranford, NJ 07016
USA
1-800-[NUMBER]
privacy@knowledgenetworks.com

YOUR ACCEPTANCE OF OUR PRIVACY PRACTICES

By agreeing to become a *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel Member or participating in a Knowledge networks' service or program, you signify your acceptance of the terms and conditions of this Privacy Statement. Knowledge Networks may make changes to this Privacy Statement from time to time. We will post changes to our Privacy Statement on the *Knowledge Networks*™ Panel Member Web Site, so from time to time please check the Privacy Statement posted there. In addition, we will alert you to significant changes to this Privacy Statement by providing you with written, electronic, or other notice from Knowledge Networks.

B9. MSNTV2 information

The following information (3 pages) was sent to all panelists receiving MSN TV 2.

MSN TV 2 – Getting Started With Your Surveys
[REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Please read and keep this document for steps for getting connected to the Internet, accessing your first survey, and visiting our Members-Only Web site. Knowledge Networks has pre-registered you and has partnered with MSN to provide your service. You will not be billed. Simply follow the steps in this document to get started. Once you have installed the receiver, open your email to complete your first survey. Refer to the green Setup Guide located in the MSN TV 2 Kit for easy-to-follow steps to connect the MSN TV Internet Receiver to your TV and other home electronics, or call 1-800-**[REDACTED #]** for a Case Manager to walk you through the installation.

Logging On

Once the MSN TV 2 Internet Receiver is properly connected to your television, press the MSN Power button at the top center of the keyboard to power on the unit.

The first screen that will appear is a password prompt. Use your keyboard to type in the password we provided you in this packet (it will appear as little dots on the screen as you type it in), and then use the arrow keys on the bottom right-hand corner of your keyboard to move the yellow indicator around "**Sign In.**"

Next, click the Enter key on your keyboard to be taken to MSN Home.

Accessing Your Email from MSN Home

Once you have logged on successfully to the MSN TV network, you will be taken to the MSN Home page.

Once there, click the **Mail** button on your keyboard. The first time you access your email, you will be taken to a tutorial.

You can view the tutorial by following the on-screen instructions.

Click the **Mail** button at any time during the tutorial to be taken to your "**Inbox**" to access your survey. Your surveys will be sent to you from [REDACTED]@knowledgepanel.com. Use the arrow keys on your keyboard to move the yellow indicator around the email message you wish to open and click **Enter** on your keyboard to open your survey invitation.

Starting Your Survey

After you've opened and read your survey invitation, use the arrow keys on your keyboard to move the indicator around the "**Start**" button for the survey.

Next, press **Enter** on your keyboard to enter and begin the survey.

Your responses are collected as you move through the survey. If you ever disconnect from a survey, following the instructions above will enable you return to where you left off by going back to your email invitation and clicking on the link again. A survey is finished and you have been credited for completing it when you reach the "**Thank You**" screen.

Accessing the Members-Only Web Site

At the conclusion of each survey, you can visit the Members-Only Web site to access outstanding surveys, update your contact information, and more. Simply place the yellow indicator around the "Visit Members Site" link at the end of your survey and press **Enter**. To access the Members-Only Web site from **MSN Home**, press **Type www** on your keyboard. In the space, type in **knpanel.com** and press **Enter** to be taken to the login screen.

At the login screen prompt, enter your complete email address in the "**Email Address**" field, then move the yellow indicator to the "**Password**" field. Enter the password that we provided you, then move the indicator to

"**Submit**" and press **Enter** on your keyboard. (If you've forgotten your password, you can have it sent to you automatically.)

The next screen will list any incomplete surveys that you have.

Move the indicator around the name of the survey you wish to begin and click **Enter** to start the survey.

Need some assistance? No sweat!

Let's face it, we all need help sometimes, and Knowledge Networks is available to assist you. Just give our Panel Member Support Department a call at 1-800-[REDACTED] and a Case Manager will be happy to answer any questions that you have and help you get started.

B10. Login information card

All respondents were sent a card with instructions to connect to the survey website, including their PIN to log into the survey.

B11. Letter accompanying Certificate of Appreciation

The following letter accompanied certificates of appreciation. It was printed on the same letterhead as the advance letter.

«Name» <Date>
«Address»
«City», «State» «PostalCode»

Dear «Name»:

Thank you for recently joining the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. Your first survey is ready for you. As a small thank-you, we will send you $10 for completing this first survey and for each monthly survey that you complete in the future.

Participation is very easy. Just go to the following website and log in using the user name and PIN.

www.AAAAAA.com/AAAA

username:
PIN number: ####

Your participation is very important because your opinions will represent thousands of others in your area.

Please accept the enclosed Certificate of Appreciation for the time and effort you spend in completing the voluntary and confidential surveys. The study's sponsors—Stanford University and the University of Michigan—understand that your time is limited and value your opinions.

If you have any questions, please call our toll-free number (888) **[REDACTED #]**, or visit us at:

www.knowledgenetworks.com/[REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Thank you for your help with this important national study.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B12. Certificate of Appreciation

A reduced-size image of the certificate, with the study name redacted, is shown below. The respondent's name was printed on the blank line in the middle. The actual certificate was 8 by 10 inches.

Certificate of Appreciation

For the contribution of your time and support for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME].

_____

The [REDACTD STUDY NAME] is created by researchers at Stanford University in collaboration with the University of Michigan, with funding support from the National Science Foundation.

This 3rd Day of January 2008

_____

Signature

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator,
Knowledge Networks

B13. Internet recruitment letter

«Name» <Date>
«Address»
«City», «State» «PostalCode»

Dear «Name»:

We recently contacted you by telephone to request your participation in the [STUDY NAME REDACTED]. In case you would prefer to complete our brief enrollment survey on the Internet rather than over the telephone, we would like to offer you that option.

Participation is very easy. **By Monday, September 8**, just go to the following website and log in using the PIN provided.

$$$URL TO BE SUPPLIED$$$

PIN number: <<AAAA>>

As a small thank-you, we will send you $10 for completing this first survey and for each monthly survey that you complete in the future.

Your participation is very important because your opinions will represent thousands of others in your area.

If you have any questions, please call our toll-free number (888) 530-8474, or visit us at

[WEB ADDRESS]

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important national study.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B14. Refusal conversion letter, non-Internet users

This letter was formatted and printed on the same letterhead as the advance letter and provided the same information on the reverse side.

«Name» <Date>
«Address»
«City», «State» «PostalCode»

Dear «Name»:

We recently gave you the chance to join the [REDACTED STUDY NAME], and you told us you don't use the Internet. I wanted to reassure you that being a non-Internet user will not affect your ability to participate; in fact, it is important for us to know the opinions of people who do not have access to the Internet or who do not like the Internet.

As a participant in this study funded by the National Science Foundation and conducted on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan, you will:

- Receive $10 for each survey you take – only one a month;
- Take the surveys any time that is convenient to you – using your own computer.

If you do not have a computer at home, you will receive:

- Use of a MSN TV 2 Internet and Media Player;
- Free Internet access (including email);
- A professional installer will come to your home and install the MSN TV 2 equipment at your request.

You may use the MSN TV 2 as much or as little as you like, with no disruption to your existing telephone or television service. In return, we ask only that the selected member of your home complete one survey a month on an interesting topic.

We have enclosed a $5 bill to thank you in advance for your help.

Let me also assure you that we will never ask you to buy anything, and that we abide by the highest standards of privacy when it comes to our study members.

I hope you will reconsider. If you have any questions or to take the first survey now, please call our toll-free number (888) [REDACTED] or visit us at www.knowledgenetworks.com/[REDACTED].

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important national study.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B15. Refusal conversion letter for uninterested people

This letter was formatted and printed on the same letterhead as the advance letter and provided the same information on the reverse side.

«Name» <Date>
«Address»
«City», «State» «PostalCode»

Dear «Name»:

We recently gave you the chance to join the [REDACTED STUDY NAME], and you told us you were not interested. I wanted to reassure you that we have made it very easy for you to be part of this special study. It is very important for us to know your opinions so that people like you can be represented in the study.

As a participant in this study funded by the National Science Foundation and conducted on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan, you will:

- Receive $10 for each survey you take – only one a month;
- Take the surveys any time that is convenient to you – using your own computer.

If you do not have a computer at home, you will receive:

- Use of a MSN TV 2 Internet and Media Player;
- Free Internet access (including email);
- A professional installer will come to your home and install the MSN TV 2 equipment at your request.

In return, we ask only that the selected member of your home complete one survey a month on an interesting topic.

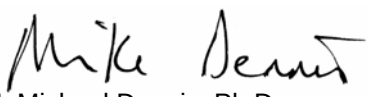
We have enclosed a $5 bill to thank you in advance for your help.

Let me also assure you that we will never ask you to buy anything, and that we abide by the highest standards of privacy when it comes to our study members.

I hope you will reconsider. If you have any questions or to take the first survey now, please call our toll-free number (888) [REDACTED] or visit us at www.knowledgenetworks.com/[REDACTED].

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important national study.

Sincerely,



J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B16. Off-panel invitation letter

The following letter was sent to prospective panelists who refused to join the panel, to request their participation in the ANES waves. It was presented in the same format, on the same letterhead, as the advance letter.

«Name» <<DATE>>
«Address»
«City», «State» «PostalCode»

Dear «Name»:

We understand that you are unable to join our [REDACTED STUDY NAME] conducted on behalf of Stanford University. However, we do ask for your help in completing only a few surveys over the next 16 months so that your opinions will be represented.

We will provide you $10 as a thank you for completing the first interview and $10 for each of the five to six surveys we send you. Participation is very easy.
WE WILL NOT SEND YOU A SURVEY EVERY MONTH.

Just go to the below website and log-in using the information you provide.

www.AAAAAA.com/AAAA
username:
PIN number: ####

Your participation is voluntary. However, all information that you or anyone in your household provides will be kept in strict confidence. It is important to us to protect your privacy. You or your household will never be identified in any analysis, reports, or publications based on your responses, and no one will try to sell you anything. The back of this letter answers questions you might have about the study, and we have attached the Privacy Terms so that you can see how your privacy rights are protected.

If you have any questions or to take the first survey now, please call our toll-free number (888) [REDACTED]. You can also contact us via e-mail at [REDACTED]@knowledgenetworks.org.

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important national study.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B17. Off-panel letter – reverse side

ANSWERS TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE [REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Who is sponsoring the study?

The study is being done for Stanford University in collaboration with the University of Michigan. The National Science Foundation is funding the study.

How was I selected for the study?

You were selected at random through a scientific process that is designed to accurately reflect the national population.

What is the purpose of the study?

The study is being done to capture accurately Americans' opinions, attitudes, and beliefs about a wide range of topics. The study is about some very important topics, and your participation is crucial in helping researchers to better understand these issues.

Will I get anything for my time?

Yes. You will be sent $10 for each survey that you do.

Are my answers confidential and private?

Your answers are ***completely*** confidential and private. Your participation will be anonymous. The few researchers who will see your answers and names will sign a pledge of confidentiality.

How will this research be used?

Researchers from Stanford University, University of Michigan, and others will publish the study results in magazines, professional journals, and possibly books. Your participation is very important to make sure that all viewpoints and people of all backgrounds are represented in the publications.

Which company is conducting the study for Stanford?

Knowledge Networks, a nationally known survey research firm based in Menlo Park, CA, is conducting the survey on behalf of Stanford University in collaboration with the University of Michigan. Visit their website to learn more (www.knowledgenetworks.com.)

B18. Off-panel telephone message

The following message was phoned to all prospective off-panel respondents.

Hello, this message is for <<RESPONDENT>>. We're calling about the [REDACTED STUDY NAME] sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan. We recently sent you a letter to ask for your help in completing just five to six important surveys on the Internet over the next few months. You will be paid $10 as a thank-you for each survey that you complete. Please log on to www dot knowledgenetworks dot com back-slash anes dash w1 using the following password: <<UNIQUE PASSWORD>>. This information is also contained in the letter that we sent you and I will repeat it again in a moment.

[PAUSE]

To take our interesting survey and receive $10 as a thank-you, please log on to www dot knowledgenetworks dot com back-slash anes dash w1 using the following password: <<UNIQUE PASSWORD>>.

Please give us a call at 1-800-<<NUMBER>> if you have any questions or need assistance. Thank you.

B19. Welcome email

This email was sent to panelists upon completion of their recruitment interview.

SUBJECT: Welcome to the Stanford University Monthly Study!

Dear «Name»:

Welcome to the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]! We are very pleased that you will be part of this very important study.

You will soon receive--or have received already--from us a Welcome Kit for you. Please keep this for your records. It has important information about your rights as a study member, and it has the information you need to start taking surveys.

In the next week or two, you will receive your first survey by email. It is a simple survey and easy to take. It collects basic information about you and your home. Please complete your first survey as soon as you can so that we can confirm that you are able to use the log-in information to see the survey. You will receive $10 for taking the first survey. We promise that the surveys we send you later will be really interesting!

Your logon name is: %%EmailAddr_%%
Your password is: %%pwd_%%

For any help, **please email [REDACTED]@knowledgenetworks.com or call us at 1-800-[NUMBER].**

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important national study.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B20. Profile survey notification email

The following email was sent to respondents after they completed recruitment and before they were invited to take the profile survey.

Dear «Name»:

We wanted to give you a brief update on the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]! We are very pleased that you will be part of this very important study.

You will soon receive your first survey from us. It will arrive in your email in the next one to two weeks.

It is a simple survey and easy to take. It collects basic information about you and your home. You will receive $10 for taking the first survey. We promise that the surveys we send you later will be really interesting! Just as a reminder, here is your information for taking the survey.

Your logon name is: %%EmailAddr_%%
Your password is: %%pwd_%%

For any help, **please email [REDACTED]@knowledgenetworks.com or call us at 1-800-[NUMBER].**

Thank you in advance for your assistance with this important national study.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B21. Initial invitation email (January through July 2008)

Each month for waves 1 through 7, respondents received this email to request their participation, with periodic prompts thereafter.

```
Dear %%firstname%%,

Thanks for being an integral part of the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]!
Your %%month%% survey can be accessed by clicking the following link:

"%%Link%%

(If it does not work automatically from email, please copy the below
link to your internet browser).

%%Link%%

Our Panel Member Support Center is available if you have questions or
comments.  You can contact us at our toll free 1-800-[NUMBER] number, or
simply reply to this email invitation.  In order to better serve you,
please be sure to include reference #(%%ANO%%) in the Subject of your
message.  We are always happy to hear from you!

Thanks,
[REDACTED STUDY NAME] Support Team
```

B22. Breakoff prompting email

In the event that a respondent began a survey but failed to complete the survey within 48 hours of having started, the following email was sent on applicable prompting days (day 4, 7, 12, 20, and each 10 days thereafter). Through day 12 of the field period, the DATE fill was day 14 of the field period. After day 12, the DATE fill was 7 days later than the prompt date, or the last day of the month, whichever was sooner. These emails were sent for waves 10 through 21.

```
Dear %%firstname%%,

Thank you for starting the %%month%% survey for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME] a
few days ago.

We noticed that you didn't finish answering all the questions in the survey.

We would be very grateful if you would be willing to return to the website to
finish answering the questions.

To make this as easy as possible for you, you can just click the link below to
re-start the survey where you left off.

%%Link%%

We would be very grateful if you would please complete the survey _today if
possible_, and definitely before [DATE].

We will send you our thank-you of [AMOUNT: $10/$30/$50] as soon as you
finish the survey.

If we can help you with anything, please reply to this email or call us at 1-
800-[NUMBER]. To help us serve you better, please be sure to include reference
#(%%ANO%%) in the Subject of your message.  We are always happy to hear from
you!

Thanks,
[REDACTED STUDY NAME] Support Team

P.S.
If clicking on the survey link doesn't open the survey, please contact us for
help or copy this link to your internet browser:

%%Link%%
```

B23. Email: survey pre-announcement (day D-3)

The email below was sent to notify panelists that the current month's survey would be available in about three days. This email notification and prompting approach, for this message and the messages that follow, was employed on waves 8 through 21.

```
SUBJECT:  Watch for your survey very soon

Dear %%firstname%%,

Your [MONTH] survey for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME] will be arriving in your
email [on DATE/in a few days].  When it arrives, please do the survey as soon
as you can.

Thank you very much for being an important part of the [REDACTED STUDY NAME].

Sincerely,
Mike Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President, Knowledge Networks
```

B24. Email: invitation (day 1)

SUBJECT: %%firsname$$, here is your %%month%% survey for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Dear %%firstname%%,

The %%month%% survey of the [REDACTED STUDY NAME] is ready for you. Please click below to start:

%%Link%%

We would be very grateful if you would please complete the survey right away, and definitely within two weeks, by [DATE].

For any help, please reply to this email or call us at 1-800-[NUMBER]. To help us serve you better, please be sure to include reference #(%%ANO%%) in the Subject of your message. We are always happy to hear from you!

Thanks,
[REDACTED STUDY NAME] Support Team

P.S.
If clicking on the survey link doesn't open the survey, please contact us for help or copy this link to your internet browser:

%%Link%%

B25. Email: first reminder (day 4)

SUBJECT: Reminder: we look forward to your response on the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Dear %%firstname%%,

This is a reminder email for you. Here is your %%month%% survey for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]:

%%link%%

We would be very grateful if you would please complete the survey today, and definitely before [DATE]. We will send you our thank-you of [AMOUNT: $10/$30/$50] as soon as you do the survey.

Thanks,
[REDACTED STUDY NAME] Support Team

P.S.
For any help, please reply to this email or call us at 1-800-[NUMBER]. To help us serve you better, please be sure to include reference #(%%ANO%%) in the Subject of your message. We are always happy to hear from you! If clicking on the survey link doesn't open the survey, please contact us for help or copy this link to your internet browser:

%%Link%%

B26. Email: second and third reminders (days 7 and 12)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED STUDY NAME] reminder
Dear %%firstname%%,

We recently sent you a survey for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. We'd really appreciate you taking the survey by [DATE] by using the web address below. To make this as easy as possible for you, you can just click the link below to start.

%%Link%%

If clicking on the link doesn't open the survey, you may need to copy and paste the link into your web browser.

We will send you our thank-you of [AMOUNT: $10/$30/$50] as soon as you finish the survey.

If you have any problems or need help, please reply to this email or call us at 1-800-[NUMBER]. To help us serve you better, please be sure to include reference #(%%ANO%%) in the Subject of your message. We are always happy to hear from you!

Thanks,
[REDACTED STUDY NAME] Support Team

B27. Email: fourth and subsequent reminders (day 20 and + 10)

SUBJECT: [REDACTED STUDY NAME]: we need to hear from you

Dear %%firstname%%,

Thank you very much for being a part of the [REDACTED STUDY NAME] that we are conducting on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan.

I am writing because we have not yet received your [MONTH] survey. This survey will be closing soon, so please take the survey as soon as you can. To do so, just go to www.members.knowledgenetworks.com and enter your e-mail address (which is [EMAIL]) and your password, which is [PASSWORD]. Or, you can click on the link below:

%%Link%%

You were scientifically selected to be a part of the survey, and we cannot replace you with anyone else, so we are hoping very much that you will be willing to do this survey for us.

We will send you our thank-you of [AMOUNT: $10/$30/$50] as soon as you finish the survey.

If you have any questions, please contact us at 1-800-[NUMBER], and we will be happy to help. To help us answer your questions or correct any problem, please refer to #(%%ANO%%) when you call.

Sincerely,

Mike Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President, Knowledge Networks

B28. Email: Final nonresponse prompt for the November survey

This email was sent on December 12 as the final prompt for the November 2008 wave.

SUBJECT: Last chance for the November [REDACTED STUDY NAME]

Dear %%firstname%%,

So that we can send you [AMOUNT: $10/$30/$50] as our thank-you for completing the November [REDACTED STUDY NAME], you need to complete it by noon on Monday, December 15.

To do so, just go to www.members.knowledgenetworks.com and enter your e-mail address (which is [EMAIL]) and your password, which is [PASSWORD]. Or, you can click on the link below:

%%Link%%

We would be very grateful if you would please complete the survey today, and definitely before Monday. Thanks from Stanford University, the University of Michigan, and Knowledge Networks.

Happy holidays from everyone on the [REDACTED STUDY NAME] team!

Sincerely,

Mike Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President, Knowledge Networks

P.S.
If you have any questions, please call 1-800-[NUMBER] or reply to this email. We're always happy to help. To help us answer your questions or correct any problem, please refer to #(%%ANO%%) when you call, or include the number in the Subject of your message. If clicking on the survey link doesn't open the survey, please contact us for help or copy this link to your internet browser:

%%Link%%

B29. Dropout recovery letter

This letter was sent to panel dropouts in the summer of 2008. After the dropout recovery experiment was complete, the amounts were adjusted to $50 for all dropouts. The letter used the same formatting and letterhead as the advance letter.

«Name» «Name»
«Address»
«City», «State» «PostalCode»

Dear «Name»:

Thank you very much for being a part of the survey study that we are conducting on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan.

We are very grateful to you for having completed [NUMBER] of our surveys.

I learned recently that although we invited you to complete surveys in [MONTH1] and [MONTH2], you have not done so.

You were scientifically selected to be a part of our study, and we cannot replace you with anyone else, so we are hoping very much that you will be willing to do these surveys for us.

In order to thank you for your help: If you complete the [MONTH] survey before [DATE], we will give you a gift of [AMOUNT: $30/$50].

And we will send you [$30/$50 each additional month that you do our survey if you complete it within three weeks after you get our invitation. That's [$360/$600] total, if you do all of our 20-30 minute surveys between now and May, 2009.

To make this as easy as possible for you, you can just go to www.members.knowledgenetworks.com and enter your e-mail address and your password, which is [PASSWORD].

If you have any questions, please call our toll-free number, (800) [NUMBER]. You can also reach us by e-mail at [REDACTED]@knowledgenetworks.com.

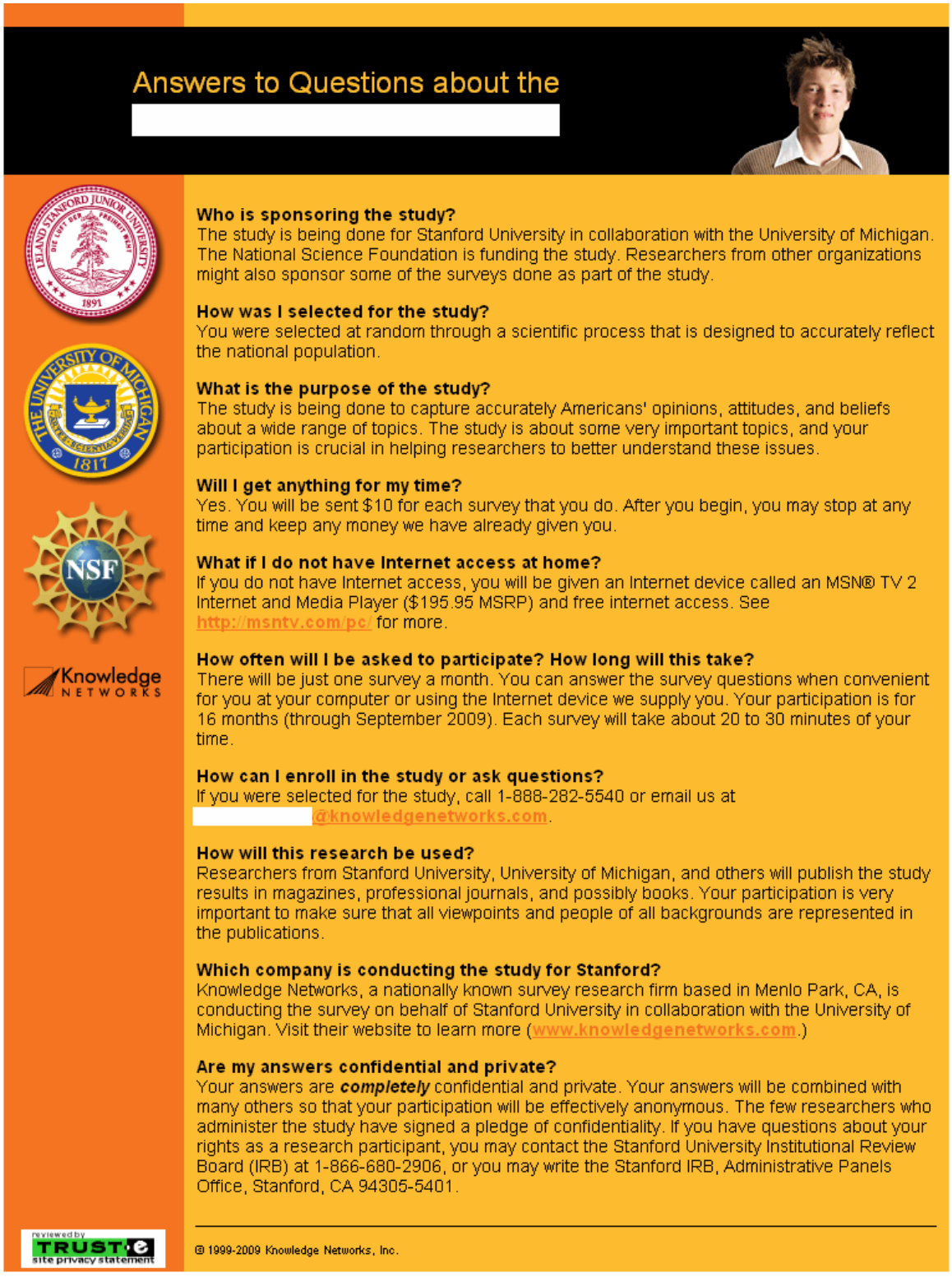
Thanks very much for considering our invitation.

Sincerely,

J. Michael Dennis, Ph.D.
Senior Vice President & Principal Investigator, Knowledge Networks

B30. Study FAQ Web Page

The white rectangles are redacted sections that revealed the study name. The portrait in the upper right corner changed every 5 seconds, cycling through five different pictures.



Answers to Questions about the [redacted]

Who is sponsoring the study?
The study is being done for Stanford University in collaboration with the University of Michigan. The National Science Foundation is funding the study. Researchers from other organizations might also sponsor some of the surveys done as part of the study.

How was I selected for the study?
You were selected at random through a scientific process that is designed to accurately reflect the national population.

What is the purpose of the study?
The study is being done to capture accurately Americans' opinions, attitudes, and beliefs about a wide range of topics. The study is about some very important topics, and your participation is crucial in helping researchers to better understand these issues.

Will I get anything for my time?
Yes. You will be sent $10 for each survey that you do. After you begin, you may stop at any time and keep any money we have already given you.

What if I do not have Internet access at home?
If you do not have Internet access, you will be given an Internet device called an MSN® TV 2 Internet and Media Player ($195.95 MSRP) and free internet access. See http://msntv.com/pc/ for more.

How often will I be asked to participate? How long will this take?
There will be just one survey a month. You can answer the survey questions when convenient for you at your computer or using the Internet device we supply you. Your participation is for 16 months (through September 2009). Each survey will take about 20 to 30 minutes of your time.

How can I enroll in the study or ask questions?
If you were selected for the study, call 1-888-282-5540 or email us at [redacted]@knowledgenetworks.com.

How will this research be used?
Researchers from Stanford University, University of Michigan, and others will publish the study results in magazines, professional journals, and possibly books. Your participation is very important to make sure that all viewpoints and people of all backgrounds are represented in the publications.

Which company is conducting the study for Stanford?
Knowledge Networks, a nationally known survey research firm based in Menlo Park, CA, is conducting the survey on behalf of Stanford University in collaboration with the University of Michigan. Visit their website to learn more (www.knowledgenetworks.com.)

Are my answers confidential and private?
Your answers are ***completely*** confidential and private. Your answers will be combined with many others so that your participation will be effectively anonymous. The few researchers who administer the study have signed a pledge of confidentiality. If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Stanford University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 1-866-680-2906, or you may write the Stanford IRB, Administrative Panels Office, Stanford, CA 94305-5401.

reviewed by TRUSTe site privacy statement

© 1999-2009 Knowledge Networks, Inc.

Appendix C. Recruitment Interviewer Training Materials

This appendix includes the training schedule, Training Manual, FAQs, and interviewer Reference Sheet.

Training Schedule

The 4-hour study-specific training for ANES recruitment was designed around this schedule.

Module	*Length*
1. Welcome/Introduction	5 minutes
2. Project Overview/Introduction	10 minutes
3. Discuss Respondent Selection and Eligibility	10 minutes
4. Discuss 2 Paths of Script: Email and Non-Internet	10 minutes
5. Demonstrate MSN TV2; connecting and using the device for e-mail and web	50 minutes
6. Break	10 minutes
7. Mock Interview : Non-Internet Path	25 minutes
8. Mock Interview: Internet Path	25 minutes
9. Mock Interview : Teen Interview	15 minutes
10. Gaining Cooperation: Review of FAQs and MSN TV 2 Features. Trainer randomly questions interviewers about FAQs and MSNTV2 features	30 minutes
11. Review of Answering Machine Messages and Process	10 minutes
12. Mock Interview with Partner. FAQs stressed.	30 minutes
13. Final Questions	10 minutes

Training Manual – Used to train recruitment interviewers

INTRODUCTION
You have been calling households, on other studies, and interviewing one member of the home for 10-20 minutes, then hanging up when the interview is completed. At that point, you are finished with that home and move on to the next home. This study works a little differently. You will be calling a home and asking the one randomly selected person to participate in surveys over a longer period of time. These surveys will be sent via e-mail and will be on current events.

WHAT ARE THE OBJECTIVES OF THIS PROJECT?
Recruiting for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME] by informing respondents of the study advantages and the opportunity to participate in surveys.
Accurately recording information about the home.
Responding knowledgeably to questions and concerns raised by respondents.

HOW ARE WE GOING TO RECRUIT HOMES INTO THE PANEL?
Prior to making any calls to a home, approximately 70% of the potential panel will get a letter informing them that their home has been specially selected for a new and important research

project. Each letter will contain $2. The logos of Stanford University, The University of Michigan, and The National Science Foundation, along with Knowledge Networks, are prominently displayed in the letter. This letter is sent to homes about a week prior to our call. In the letter, we mention that someone in the home can receive $10 for completing our recruitment call AND $10 for answering each monthly survey we send. We also offer the respondent the opportunity to call an inbound toll-free number if they don't want to wait for us to call them. The letter also explains that we want to do the surveys via e-mail and if the respondent doesn't have e-mail we will supply them with a device—an MSN TV2—at no cost.

(Show example of letter)

WHAT IS THE HISTORY OF THIS PROJECT?
This study began in 1948 and has been conducted regularly ever since. This will be the first time that this project is being conducted on the Internet. In the past, this study has been conducted by field and phone interviewers only. This is a breakthrough in high-quality, on-line research. A long-standing nationally recognized study has decided to test the use of Internet-based surveys to collect data. This is groundbreaking, and you are in on the ground floor. This is going to be exciting. Newspaper and magazine articles, research papers and even books will be written about the results of this study.

There are two basic questionnaire paths.

1) If someone HAS internet access and an e-mail address in the household

The randomly selected person in the home will get $10 for successfully completing the phone interview.

For each completed monthly survey each respondent will get $10.

2) If NO ONE in the home has internet access

The randomly selected HH member will be given $10 for successfully completing the phone interview.

The randomly selected HH member will be offered a device, called MSN TV2, to access the Internet, at no cost to them. Knowledge Networks will pay the monthly internet access fee. MSN TV2 will allow them to participate in our monthly surveys as well as send and receive email and go on the internet when they wish.

For each completed monthly survey each respondent will get $10

We will ask each home three initial questions that will determine whether the home has an e-mail address and Internet access. At this point, the script is like a fork in the road. Once we find out that someone has Internet access and an e-mail address, we take one route. If, at the fork, we find out that no one has Internet access, we take the other route.

HOW ARE WE GOING TO ADMINISTER THE QUESTIONNAIRE?
The telephone number of the potential study member has been generated via the usual random digit dialing (RDD) methods.

Although there is a script that you must read as worded, there are some portions of the interview in which you will answer respondents' questions using your knowledge of the study, the institutions and companies involved, and the MSN TV2. (Don't worry. Suggested answers will be provided, but we don't want these responses to sound scripted.)

We want to convince our respondents that accepting our invitation to participate in our study benefits them in 2 ways:
1. They can express their opinions on current to major institutions in complete confidentiality.
2. They can earn $10 for completing the monthly surveys that we send.

THE FIVE SECTIONS OF THE SCRIPT
As an example, let's concentrate on the route that we would take if the household indicates that no one has Internet access anywhere.

INTRODUCTION – This is the initial section of the script. You will find out if the household has Internet access and an e-mail address from any location. If anyone in the home has access, you will take the EMAIL ROUTE. If no one in the home has e-mail, you will take the MSN TV2 ROUTE.
RANDOM SELECTION AND RESPONDENT INFO – You will ask the person on the phone for the total number of people 17 or older in the home who are US citizens. We then will randomly pick a member of the home from those age 17 or older and US citizens. If that person is 17, we will need to get parental consent before proceeding with the teenager. You will go on to introduce the [REDACTED STUDY NAME] to the randomly selected person and tell them about the MSN TV2. You will gather the name, age, and gender of the randomly selected person as well as some other household information. This includes number of phone lines and how close the nearest phone jack is to their TV.
ADDRESS – We need to either confirm the respondent's mailing address if we have it or enter it if we don't have one. We can't ship a MSN TV2 to a PO Box. We can only ship to a street address. We then ask if someone is going to be available during the day, to accept delivery of the package. If not, we ask for an alternate delivery address and phone number. We inform them of when to expect their MSN TV2 and give the Panel Relations 800 number for future contacts.
FINAL QUESTIONS – After asking 2 demographic questions (Spanish/Hispanic and Race), we wrap up the survey with questions about the respondent. We want to know their feelings on sports, computers, authority, and politics.
CONCLUSION – We tell the respondent when to expect the MSN TV2 and that they will get their $10 check for the first survey after they complete it. We also supply them with our Panel Relations telephone number for future contact.

WHO DO WE INTERVIEW IN THE HOME?
For the first three questions (computer in home, Internet in home, work/school), we can interview whoever answers the phone as long as they understand the nature of the questions. After we find out whether the household has Internet access or not, we then need to speak to the randomly selected member of the home for the remainder of the interview. You cannot substitute for a randomly selected person. For example, if a woman says 'I'll do it but I know my husband won't' when he is the selected respondent, do your best to arrange a CB to explain the study to him. DO NOT continue with her.

Before we look at the script let's look at the MSN TV2.

Demonstration should last no longer than 45 minutes-one hour.

Show how it connects to the TV and phone line. Show keyboard.
Turn it on and let it connect to the Internet.
Show Email box.
Demonstrate how to bring up a web page (www.cnn.com).
Show favorites box.
Let interviewers try it.

Let's take a look at the script question by question.

1/QDNYL

GOOD (time of day), THIS IS (interviewer name), CALLING ON BEHALF OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT WE AREN'T SELLING OR ADVERTISING ANYTHING. RECENTLY, WE SENT YOU A (letter) INVITING YOUR HOME TO BE PART OF OUR RESEARCH FUNDED BY THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION.
DO YOU RECALL RECEIVING THIS (letter) FROM STANFORD UNIVERSITY?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DK

As you can see there are 3 responses that can occur at this point. If the person says that they got our letter, enter 1, If not, enter 2. If they can't recall if they got it or not, enter 3.

Let's proceed by entering a '1' to continue.

AS A MEMBER OF OUR NATIONAL RESEARCH STUDY, SOMEONE IN YOUR HOME WILL EARN 10 DOLLARS FOR EACH SURVEY THEY COMPLETE FOR EXPRESSING THEIR OPINIONS ON CURRENT EVENTS.

FIRST CAN YOU TELL ME PLEASE DO YOU HAVE A COMPUTER IN YOUR HOME?

2/QDM2

1 YES
2 NO

This informs the respondent about why we are calling and the benefits associated with being a member of our study. The first question is to determine if the household has a computer.

Proceed as if respondent does not have a computer in the home.

DOES ANYONE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD CURRENTLY HAVE AN EMAIL ADDRESS AND ACCESS TO THE INTERNET FROM HOME USING SOMETHING OTHER THAN A COMPUTER?

5/QDM2A

1 YES
2 NO

Because the respondent indicated NOT having a computer, we need to know if they have access to the Internet through any other type of device. Cell Phones need to be able to access web pages in addition to having an email address.

Proceed as if the respondent DOES NOT have any of these devices.

8/QDM3

HOW ABOUT AT WORK OR AT SCHOOL -- DOES ANYONE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD HAVE ACCESS TO THE INTERNET AND AN EMAIL ADDRESS FROM ONE OF THOSE PLACES?

1 YES
2 NO

This question asks the respondent about their access to the Internet outside of their home. If the respondent, or anyone else in the home, has Internet access and an e-mail address at work or school they will get this question:

CAN THIS EMAIL ADDRESS BE USED TO ANSWER OUR SURVEYS?

1 YES
2 NO

If they indicate they can use the email address they will follow the e-mail route. If not, they will follow the MSN TV2 route.

Proceed as if respondent DOES NOT have access at work or school.

QHHSIZE HOW MANY PEOPLE LIVE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD THAT ARE AGE 17 AND OLDER? PLEASE INCLUDE ONLY PEOPLE WHO ARE U.S. CITIZENS.

You may enter a response up to 9. You are to determine the number of people that are BOTH 17 and older AND a US Citizen. They must be both in order to be counted in the HH total. In addition, they must be BOTH a resident and 18 or older to proceed with them at this point, as we'll see.

Proceed as if the household has 4 people 17+ and US Citizens.

QADULT THE SECOND OLDEST PERSON IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD AGE 17 OR OLDER HAS BEEN SELECTED BY CHANCE FOR THIS STUDY IS THE SECOND OLDEST PERSON IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD AGE 18 OR OLDER AND A U.S. CITIZEN?

YES
NO
NOT A US CITIZEN

We have randomly picked someone, but we need to determine if this person is 18 or older or not. If they are 18 or older, we will ask to speak to that respondent. If the randomly selected person is 17, we need to get parental permission to continue with the teenager before proceeding.

Proceed by entering 1 for YES they are 18+ and a US Citizen.

QSELCT ARE YOU THE SECOND OLDEST PERSON?

1. YES
2. NO

We are trying to determine whether the person on the phone is the randomly selected person. If YES, we will continue with this person. If NO, we want to get the correct person on the phone. The script goes on to ask for the randomly selected person to be brought to the phone. We then reintroduce ourselves.

Proceed by entering 1 YES the person on the phone is the SECOND OLDEST PERSON.

QD3 I'D JUST LIKE TO VERIFY THAT YOU ARE A RESIDENT OF THIS HOUSEHOLD, AGE 18 OR OLDER AND A U.S. CITIZEN?

1 Yes
2 No

We will confirm one last time that the person we have on the phone is resident of the home, 18+, and a US Citizen. If this is not the case, enter 2 for NO and we will go back and re-select a new random person based on a lower number of eligible HH residents. If yes, we will continue with this respondent.

Proceed by entering 1 for YES the person on the phone is 18+ and a US Citizen.

QIWEB1 TYPICALLY WE SEND OUR SURVEYS VIA EMAIL SO YOU CAN ANSWER THEM AT YOUR CONVENIENCE. SINCE YOUR HOME ISN'T EQUIPPED WITH EMAIL, WE WOULD LIKE TO PROVIDE IT FOR YOU.

OUR COMPANY WILL SEND YOU A DEVICE, CALLED A MSN TV 2 INTERNET AND MEDIA PLAYER THAT WILL ALLOW YOU TO ANSWER OUR SURVEYS, SEND AND RECEIVE EMAIL AND ACCESS THE INTERNET THROUGH YOUR TELEVISION SET AND A PHONE. THERE WILL NEVER BE ANY CHARGE TO YOU FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION IN OUR STUDY.

In this paragraph we are telling the respondent what they will be getting from us—use of a MSN TV2 unit at no cost to them.

After you have read this paragraph please hit ENTER to advance to the next screen.

WEBROS2A BEFORE I PROCEED IS THERE ANYTHING I NEED TO EXPLAIN FURTHER?

1 YES- Ask "WHAT CAN I CLARIFY FOR YOU?"
2 NO

We want to clear up anything that may be unclear at this point. The respondent may ask you questions about the frequency of the surveys, the topics of the surveys, what is in it for them, what universities are involved, or anything about the MSN TV2. You will be provided answers to these questions. If you are ever unclear about how to answer a question, please ask the respondent to hold, and ask your supervisor. We don't want you providing the respondent with information that may be incorrect. Clear up any areas that are unclear, and then hit 2.

Enter 2 because everything was clear to this point.

QIWEB2 AS I MENTIONED, YOUR HOME WILL USE THE MSN TV 2 TO SHARE YOUR OPINIONS ON CURRENT EVENTS. YOU WILL BE ASKED TO PARTICIPTE IN ONE SURVEY EACH MONTH. THERE WILL NEVER BE ANY COST TO YOU FOR PARTICIPATING IN THE RESEARCH STUDY. AND, WE WILL NEVER TRY TO SELL YOU ANYTHING. ALL INFORMATION YOU PROVIDE IS KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL.

I JUST NEED TO ASK YOU A FEW QUESTIONS IN ORDER TO GET YOU STARTED ON THE STUDY.

We have already told the respondent what they are going to be getting from us—the MSN TV2 and free Internet access. Now, we are going to inform them of what we want in return. It's important that you read this clearly. The respondent must understand that we are sending one survey per month and that their responses are kept confidential.

Hit ENTER to proceed.

WROS3 HOW MANY RESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE LINES DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR HOME? PLEASE DO NOT INCLUDE TELEPHONE NUMBES THAT ARE ONLY USED FOR WORK, COMPUTERS, FAXES, MODEMS OR CELL PHONES.

ENTER 1 TO 10

The number you enter should represent regular residential phone lines that the home uses to make telephone calls.

Enter that the respondent has 2 phone lines.

WEBROS6 THE MSN TV2 UNIT IS ABOUT THE SIZE OF A SMALL VCR OR CABLE TV BOX AND SHOULD BE CONNECTED TO THE TV THAT YOUR HOUSE USES MOST OFTEN. IT ALSO NEEDS TO PLUG INTO A PHONE JACK SO YOU CAN ACCESS THE INTERNET AND PARTICIPATE IN OUR SURVEYS.

HOW CLOSE IS THE NEAREST PHONE JACK TO THIS TV? ** Don't read responses **

25 feet or less
26 to 50 feet
More than 50 feet

In this question, we are trying to determine the length of the phone cord to send to the respondent. If the respondent is unsure how long it is to the nearest phone jack, probe to find out if the phone is in the same room as the TV or a different room. Try to narrow down how far it is. Don't be over-insistent. If the respondent is unsure of the distance, enter what you feel is appropriate based on his/her comments. Let the respondent reply to this question. Don't read the answer classes. Explain about Wireless Jack.

Please enter that the respondent's phone is 25 feet or less from the television.

IWEB1HH WE WOULD LIKE TO RECORD YOUR FULL NAME SO WE CAN SET UP AN EMAIL ADDRESS FOR YOU.

Please hit ENTER to proceed to the next screen

WRSPFNM CAN YOU PLEASE SPELL YOUR FIRST NAME FOR ME?

At this point, we ONLY want the respondent's FIRST name recorded. You MUST use letter-word association for all names regardless of how simple you think they may be. Accuracy is very important. The person on the phone MUST give their name because we have to send the MSN TV2 to them.

Proceed as if the respondent's first name is John

WRSPLNM AND YOUR LAST NAME IS SPELLED?

On this screen, we ONLY want the respondent's LAST name recorded. You MUST use letter-word association for all names regardless of how simple you think they may be. Accuracy is very important.

Proceed as if the respondent's last name is Hamilton

WRSPAGE AND YOUR AGE IS...?
Proceed as if the respondent is age 38

Respondents can't give an age category or a range such as "I'm in my fifties." Please tell them that for the purpose of this study we need an exact age. If the respondent will not supply an exact age, it is a refusal.

WRSPGEN AND YOU ARE MALE/FEMALE, CORRECT?

I know this is an awkward question. It does need to be asked to be absolutely sure that we have a male or a female on the phone.

Proceed as if the respondent is a male

WIADD IN ORDER TO SEND YOU THE MSN TV2 UNIT, WE WILL NEED A VALID AND UP-TO-DATE ADDRESS FOR YOUR HOUSEHOLD.

At this point, after you hit any key, either the address where we have sent the initial letter will be displayed or you will be asked to key in the respondent's address if we didn't send them an initial letter.

What is your full street address?

Address1_____
Apt#, Unit, Suite_____
City_____
State_____
Zip_____

If we have a mailing address, the system will display the address we have. It is very important that you get the correct spelling and COMPLETE address. You must use letter-word association for every name and each part of the address. When you have completed entering the address, repeat the address to the respondent and ask if this is the respondent's complete address. We only want the first 5 digits of the respondent's zip code. If you have someone who gets fancy and wants to give you all 9 digits, only take the first 5. We need a mailing address in order to ship the respondent the MSN TV2. If the respondent becomes reluctant at giving his/her mailing address, remind them that this is what we need to ship them the MSN TV2.

Proceed as if respondents address is 127 North Washington Ave., Apt 12E, Columbus, Ohio, 21345

AD7WEB THE MSN TV2 IS A VALUABLE PIECE OF EQUIPMENT AND WE WANT TO BE SURE THAT SOMEONE WILL BE AVAILABLE TO ACCEPT DELIVERY. IS THERE TYPICALLY SOMEONE HOME DURING THE DAY TO ACCEPT DELIVERY?

1 Yes
2 No

Proceed as if respondent says there is no one available during the day to receive package.

AD7AWEB WE MUST HAVE A DAY TIME ADDRESS THAT IS NOT A PO BOX WHERE YOU, PERSONALLY, CAN RECEIVE THE PACKAGE. IS THERE ANOTHER ADDRESS WHERE WE CAN SEND YOU THE MSN TV2 UNIT?

1 Yes
2 No

Proceed by entering 'YES' there is another location.

WHAT IS THE FULL STREET ADDRESS AT THE SHIPPING LOCATION? _____
IS THERE A SUITE OR APARTMENT NUMBER?.... ** Record Suite or Apartment number **

IN WHAT CITY IS THE SHIPPING ADDRESS? _____
WHAT STATE IS THE SHIPPING ADDRESS? (Record number of proper state)
WHAT IS THE ZIP CODE AT THE SHIPPING LOCATION? _____
WHAT IS THE PHONE NUMBER AT THE SHIPPING LOCATION? (Enter phone number as ###-###-####

We do not want to ship the unit to a relative's home. We want to ship it to a daytime location where the respondent is available to get the package. In the past, respondents have shipped the package to a family member's address and the family member hooked up the MSN TV2 and never informed the respondent that they received the unit.
Once again, it is very important that we correctly enter the entire address. You must use letter-word association for each name and address. When you have finished entering the address repeat it back to the respondent and ask, "Is that the complete address?" If the respondent cannot supply a phone number, enter 000-000-0000

If the respondent says that there is no daytime address where he/she can receive the package enter '2'.

IN THAT CASE WE WILL SEND THE MSN TV2 TO YOUR MAILING ADDRESS. IF YOU ENCOUNTER ANY DELIVERY PROBLEMS CONTACT THE STUDY SUPPORT DEPARTMENT. I WILL GIVE YOU THEIR NUMBER IN JUST A MINUTE.

37/QAD7 FOR CLASSIFICATION PURPOSES, ARE YOU OF SPANISH OR HISPANIC ORIGIN?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

Please enter 1 for YES and 2 for NO. If the respondent is unsure key in 3.

Let's proceed by entering 1.

38/QAD7A PLEASE CHOOSE ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING TO DESCRIBE YOUR ETHNICITY. ARE YOU…MEXICAN, MEXICAN-AMERICAN, CENTRAL AMERICAN, SOUTH AMERICAN, CHICANO, PUERTO RICAN, CUBAN, OR OTHER SPANISH-CARIBBEAN?

1 YES, MEXICAN/MEXICANO
2 YES, MEXICAN-AMERICAN
3 YES, CENTRAL AMERICAN
4 YES, SOUTH AMERICAN
5 YES, CHICANO
6 YES, PUERTO RICAN
7 YES, CUBAN/CUBAN AMERICAN
8 YES, SPANISH-CARIBBEAN
9 YES, OTHER SPANISH/HISPANIC
10 DON'T KNOW
11 REFUSED

These are the categories used by the US Census. After you have read the categories the respondent can select more than one. If they say "I'm Mexican and Puerto Rican." You should enter 1 & 6.

39/QAD8 NOW, I AM GOING TO READ A LIST OF CATEGORIES. PLEASE CHOOSE ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES TO DESCRIBE YOUR RACE. ARE YOU…WHITE, BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN, AMERICAN INDIAN, ALASKA NATIVE, ASIAN, NATIVE HAWAIIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER?
** Check all that apply **

1 WHITE	6 NATIVE HAWAIIAN
2 BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN	7 PACIFIC ISLANDER
3 AMERICAN INDIAN	8 Other
4 ALASKA NATIVE	9 DON'T KNOW
5 ASIAN	10 REFUSED

Again these are categories used by the US census. The respondent, again, can select more than one of these categories. Let's proceed by entering that the respondent is American Indian and Asian.

These next few questions are so we can learn a little more about the respondent (as the screen says).

QOPINE.
NOW WE HAVE JUST A FEW QUESTIONS SO THAT WE CAN LEARN A LITTLE MORE ABOUT YOU.

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

1. Just about everything
2. Many things
3. Some things
4. Very few things
8. (VOL) Don't know
9. (VOL) Refused

QORDER.
How important is it that people do what authorities tell them to do? Not at all important, slightly important, moderately important, very important, or extremely important?

1. Not at all important
2. Slightly important
3. Moderately important
4. Very important
5. Extremely important
8. (VOL) Don't know
9. (VOL) Refused

QSPORT.
How interested are you in professional sports? Not interested at all, slightly interested, moderately interested, very interested, or extremely interested?

Not interested at all
Slightly interested
Moderately interested
Very interested

Extremely interested

QCOMPUT.
How interested are you in computers? Not interested at all, slightly interested, moderately interested, very interested, or extremely interested?

Not interested at all
Slightly interested
Moderately interested
Very interested
Extremely interested

QPOL.
How interested are you in politics? Not interested at all, slightly interested, moderately interested, very interested, or extremely interested?

Not interested at all
Slightly interested
Moderately interested
Very interested
Extremely interested

QAD9W THOSE ARE ALL THE QUESTIONS I HAVE. I'D LIKE TO WELCOME YOU TO THE [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. PLEASE EXPECT A WELCOME KIT IN THE MAIL INCLUDING A DESCRIPTION OF YOUR OPPORTUNITIES AS A STUDY MEMBER. WE APPRECIATE YOUR PARTICIPATION. YOU CAN EXPECT YOUR MSN TV 2 WITHIN THE NEXT TWO WEEKS. PLEASE HOOK UP THE UNIT WHEN YOU RECEIVE IT, SO WE CAN CONFIRM THAT IT'S CONFIGURED PROPERLY. WHEN YOU ANSWER YOUR FIRST SURVEY YOU WILL BE SENT A 10 DOLLAR CHECK. IF YOU EVER HAVE ANY QUESTIONS OR NEED SOMEONE TO COME OUT AND INSTALL THE MSN TV 2, PLEASE CALL US AT 1-800-[REDACTED #].

1 continue

Don't speed through this paragraph. We need the respondent to know how long it will be before their MSN TV2 will be delivered. We also want them to have our 800 number

We just finished reviewing the script if no one in the HH had e-mail. Now, we'll look at how the script works when someone in the HH has e-mail.

THE FIVE SECTIONS OF THE SCRIPT GOING DOWN EMAIL PATH

Let's take a look at the script question by question.

GOOD (time of day), THIS IS (interviewer name), CALLING ON BEHALF OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT WE AREN'T SELLING OR ADVERTISING ANYTHING. RECENTLY, WE SENT YOU A (letter) INVITING YOUR HOME TO BE PART OF OUR RESEARCH FUNDED BY THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION.
DO YOU RECALL RECEIVING THIS (letter) FROM STANFORD UNIVERSITY?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DK

As you can see there are 3 responses that can occur at this point. If the person says that they got our letter enter 1, if not enter 2. If they can't recall if they got it or not enter 3.

Let's proceed by entering a '2' to continue.

DMYL1B THE INFORMATION WE ATTEMPTED TO SEND YOU EXPLAINED THAT AS A MEMBER OF OUR NATIONAL RESEARCH STUDY, SOMEONE IN YOUR HOME WILL EARN 10 DOLLARS FOR EACH SURVEY THEY COMPLETE WHEN EXPRESSING THEIR OPINIONS ON CURRENT EVENTS.

FIRST, CAN YOU TELL ME PLEASE, DO YOU HAVE A COMPUTER IN YOUR HOME?

2/QDM2

1 YES
2 NO

This informs the respondent of who we are, why we are calling, and the benefits associated of being a member of our study. The first question is to determine if the household has a computer.

Proceed as if respondent has a computer in the home.

QDM2A1 DOES ANYONE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD HAVE INTERNET ACCESS AND AN EMAIL ADDRESS FROM HOME?

1 YES-
2 NO-

We want to determine if anyone in the home has Internet access and an email address FROM HOME. If they have access from somewhere else, we will gather that information in another question. The answer to this question should only reflect if the has Internet access and an email address from home.

If the respondent indicates that NO, they don't have email from home the following question appears:

HOW ABOUT AT WORK OR AT SCHOOL -- DOES ANYONE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD HAVE ACCESS TO THE INTERNET AND AN EMAIL ADDRESS FROM ONE OF THOSE PLACES?

1 YES
2 NO

If the respondent answers NO, they should follow the MSN TV2 path. If the respondent answers YES we go on to ask:

CAN THIS EMAIL ADDRESS BE USED TO ANSWER OUR SURVEYS?

1 YES
2 NO

If the respondent answers YES, they can use the e-mail address for our surveys we will follow the e-mail path. If the answer NO, they will be offered a MSN TV2 and continue down that path.

Let's proceed by answering YES I do have Internet access at home.

QHHSIZE HOW MANY PEOPLE LIVE IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD THAT ARE AGE 17 AND OLDER? PLEASE INCLUDE ONLY PEOPLE WHO ARE U.S. CITIZENS.

You may enter a response up to 9. You are to determine the number of people that are BOTH 17 and older AND a US Citizen. They must be both in order to be counted in the HH total. In addition the They must be BOTH a resident and 18 or older to proceed with them, as we've discussed.

Proceed as if the household has 4 people 17+ and US Citizens.

QADULT: THE SECOND OLDEST PERSON IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD AGE 17 OR OLDER HAS BEEN SELECTED BY
CHANCE FOR THIS STUDY
IS THE SECOND OLDEST PERSON IN YOUR HOUSEHOLD AGE 18 OR OLDER AND A U.S. CITIZEN?

YES
NO
NOT A US CITIZEN

We have randomly picked someone, but we need to determine if this person is 18 or older or not. If they are 18 or older, we will ask to speak to that respondent. If the randomly selected person is 17, we need to get parental permission to continue with the teenager before proceeding.

Proceed by entering 1 for YES they are 18+ and a US Citizen.

QSELCT ARE YOU THE SECOND OLDEST PERSON?

1. YES
2. NO

We are trying to determine if the person on the phone is the randomly selected person. If YES, we will continue with this person. If NO, we want to get eh correct person on the phone. The script goes on to ask for the randomly selected person to be brought to the phone. We then reintroduce ourselves.

Proceed by entering 2 NO I am not the SECOND OLDEST PERSON.

QSELECT2
MAY I SPEAK WITH SELECTED PERSON?
YES
NO

If the person is called to the phone, we will proceed with the randomly selected person. If they are not available we need to enter 2 for NO and arrange a CB for the randomly selected respondent.

Let's proceed by answering YES

QDM4B1
GOOD (time of day). THIS IS (your name) CALLING ON BEHALF OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY AND THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN. LET ME ASSURE YOU THAT WE AREN'T SELLING OR ADVERTISING ANYTHING. YOU ARE INVITED YOU TO BE PART OF OUR RESEARCH FUNDED BY THE NATIONAL SCIENCE FOUNDATION.

QCITZN ARE YOU A RESIDENT, AGE 18 OR OLDER AND CITIZEN OF THE UNITED STATES?

YES
NO

Answer YES the respondent is 18+ and a US Citizen.

QRDMYN

THE [REDACTED STUDY NAME] MAKES IT EASY FOR YOU TO EXPRESS YOUR OPINIONS ON A WIDE VARIETY OF SUBJECTS. YOU WILL EARN 10 DOLLARS FOR COMPLETING THIS PHONE CALL AND 10 DOLLARS FOR EACH MONTHLY SURVEY.LET ME ASSURE YOU AGAIN THAT WE ARE NOT SELLING OR ADVERTISING ANYTHING, AND YOUR RESPONSES WILL BE KEPT STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL. OUR SURVEYS ARE SENT VIA EMAIL BY KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS ON BEHALF OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY. YOU MAY COMPLETE THEM AT YOUR CONVENIENCE.

1 CONTINUE-
2 REFUSED
3 NO ONE IN HH HAS EMAIL

We have informed the respondent that they will get 10 dollars for this call and 10 dollars for each monthly survey. We also introduce Knowledge Networks to the respondent.

BEFORE I GO ON, IS THERE ANYTHING FURTHER I NEED TO EXPLAIN?

1 YES
2 NO

We want to clear up anything that may be unclear at this point. The respondent may ask you questions about the frequency of the surveys, the topics of the surveys, what is in it for them, what universities are involved, or anything else. You will be provided answers to these questions. If you are ever unclear about how to answer a question, please ask the respondent to hold, and ask your supervisor. We don't want you providing the respondent with information that may be incorrect. Clear up any areas that are unclear and then hit 2.

Proceed by entering 2 to indicate that everything is clear to this point.

FIRST, MAY I PLEASE HAVE YOUR EMAIL ADDRESS?

1 YES
2 NO

If the respondent will provide his/her e-mail address, enter a 1 for YES and record the email on the next screen. If he/she will not provide his/her e-mail address, enter a 2 for NO. The next screen will read as follows:

I CAN PROMISE YOU THAT KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS WILL NEVER DIVULGE YOUR EMAIL ADDRESS TO ANYONE. BEING A PANEL MEMBER IS EASY AND FUN, AND IT ALSO ALLOWS YOU TO EARN SPARE CASH. TO GET YOU STARTED ON OUR PANEL MAY I PLEASE HAVE YOUR EMAIL ADDRESS?

1 YES
2 NO

Because the respondent just told us that they don't want to give us their e-mail address, we want to remind them that our surveys can be done at their convenience and we never share their e-mail information with anyone. This question gives the respondent one last opportunity to give us their e-mail address. If the respondent answers YES, interviewers are taken to the question that will allow them to enter the e-mail address. If they answer NO, the interview will terminate.

Proceed by entering 1 YES I will provide my email address.

QROS2 FIRST, MAY I PLEASE HAVE YOUR EMAIL ADDRESS?

1 YES
2 NO
3 RESPONDENT DOESN'T HAVE EMAIL

We are now asking the respondent on the phone for their e-mail address. It is possible that the person on the phone doesn't have an e-mail address. If that is the case, enter 3.

Enter 1 for YES the respondent will give you the e-mail address.

WHAT IS THAT EMAIL ADDRESS?

Enter email address as bigbandfan@aol.com

When entering an email address, be extremely careful to enter exactly what the respondent has said. Use letter-word association to confirm all e-mail addresses. You will not be able to proceed if you enter an e-mail address without an @ symbol and a .com, .net, or .org, or something like that. Please be aware that e-mail addresses don't start off with www. The respondent may not be aware of this. If you are given an email address that you know is not in the correct format (Example: William.com), PLEASE don't proceed. Make a callback if needed to clarify the address. Typing in an e-mail address that is incorrect is a waste of time. The respondent will never get our surveys.

AND HOW MANY RESIDENTIAL TELEPHONE LINES DO YOU HAVE IN YOUR HOME? PLEASE DO NOT INCLUDE NUMBERS THAT ARE ONLY USED FOR WORK, COMPUTERS, FAXES, MODEMS OR CELL PHONES.

1 to 10

Interviewers are to read the entire question to make sure that the respondent gives an accurate account of the number of telephone lines in the household.

Proceed by entering 1 phone line.

CAN YOU PLEASE SPELL YOUR FIRST NAME FOR ME?

At this point we only want to record the respondent's first name. You must use letter-word association to verify even the most simple of names. If the respondent does not wish to give

his/her first name, you must enter REF. Be sure to ask the respondent if he/she will give us their initial prior to entering REF.

Enter Thomas as my first name.

AND YOUR LAST NAME IS SPELLED?

At this point, we only want only to record the respondent's last name. Again you must use letter-word association to verify even the most simple of last names. If the respondent does not wish to give his/her last name, you must enter REF. Again, ask the respondent if we can have their initial before entering REF.

Enter Hawkins as my last name.

AND YOUR AGE IS...?

The respondent MUST give their precise age and they MUST be 18 or older. If the respondent will not give their age OR a precise age ("I'm over 30"), we must terminate the interview and make it a refusal.

Enter my age as 32.

AND YOU ARE MALE/FEMALE, CORRECT?

You may confirm that the person that you are speaking with is either MALE or FEMALE only if it is evident. When you are unable to determine if you are speaking to a man or a woman, you must ask.

Enter that you are speaking with a MALE.

IADD IN ORDER TO SEND THE 10 DOLLARS FOR YOUR MONTHLY SURVEYS, WE WILL NEED A VALID AND UP-TO-DATE ADDRESS FOR YOUR HOUSEHOLD

After reading this, you will either confirm the address if we have their address, or gather their mailing address. When entering the address, you must use letter-word association to confirm the street name and town or city. The respondent might refuse to give his/her address. If they do enter the word REFUSED. If the respondent refuses a ZIPCODE please enter 99999.

FOR CLASSIFICATION PURPOSES, CAN YOU PLEASE TELL ME IF YOU ARE OF SPANISH OR HISPANIC ORIGIN?

1 YES
2 NO
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE

You want to know if the person you are speaking with is of Spanish or Hispanic origin. Answer 1 for YES, 2 for NO and 3 for DK.

Proceed by entering 1 for YES.

PLEASE CHOOSE ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING TO DESCRIBE YOUR ETHNICITY. ARE YOU...MEXICAN, MEXICAN-AMERICAN, CENTRAL AMERICAN, SOUTH AMERICAN, CHICANO, PUERTO RICAN, CUBAN, OR OTHER SPANISH-CARIBBEAN?

1 YES, MEXICAN/MEXICANO

2 YES, MEXICAN-AMERICAN
3 YES, CENTRAL AMERICAN
4 YES, SOUTH AMERICAN
5 YES, CHICANO
6 YES, PUERTO RICAN
7 YES, CUBAN/CUBAN AMERICAN
8 YES, SPANISH-CARIBBEAN
9 YES, OTHER SPANISH/HISPANIC
10 DON'T KNOW
11 REFUSED

This finds out the respondents area of origin. You may key in more than one response.

Proceed by entering 4 for South American.

NOW, I AM GOING TO READ A LIST OF CATEGORIES. PLEASE CHOOSE ONE OR MORE OF THE FOLLOWING CATEGORIES TO DESCRIBE YOUR RACE. ARE YOU…WHITE, BLACK OR AFRICAN AMERICAN, AMERICAN INDIAN, ALASKA NATIVE, ASIAN, NATIVE HAWAIIAN OR PACIFIC ISLANDER?** Check all that apply **

1 WHITE
2 BLACK/AFRICAN AMERICAN
3 AMERICAN INDIAN
4 ALASKA NATIVE
5 ASIAN
6 NATIVE HAWAIIAN
7 PACIFIC ISLANDER
8 OTHER
9 DON'T KNOW
10 REFUSED

Now we want to know the respondent's race. You may key in more than one response.

Enter 1 for WHITE and proceed.

QOPINE.
NOW WE HAVE JUST A FEW QUESTIONS SO THAT WE CAN LEARN A LITTLE MORE ABOUT YOU.

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

1. Just about everything
2. Many things
3. Some things
4. Very few things
8. (VOL) Don't know
9. (VOL) Refused

QORDER.
How important is it that people do what authorities tell them to do? Not at all important, slightly important, moderately important, very important, or extremely important?

1. Not at all important
2. Slightly important
3. Moderately important

4. Very important
5. Extremely important
8. (VOL) Don't know
9. (VOL) Refused

QSPORT.
How interested are you in professional sports? Not interested at all, slightly interested, moderately interested, very interested, or extremely interested?

Not interested at all
Slightly interested
Moderately interested
Very interested
Extremely interested
GO TO NEXT

QCOMPUT.
How interested are you in computers? Not interested at all, slightly interested, moderately interested, very interested, or extremely interested?
Not interested at all
Slightly interested
Moderately interested
Very interested
Extremely interested
GO TO NEXT

QPOL.
How interested are you in politics? Not interested at all, slightly interested, moderately interested, very interested, or extremely interested?

Not interested at all
Slightly interested
Moderately interested
Very interested
Extremely interested

THOSE ARE ALL THE QUESTIONS I HAVE. I'D LIKE TO WELCOME YOU TO THE [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. PLEASE EXPECT A WELCOME KIT IN THE MAIL, INCLUDING A DESCRIPTION OF YOUR OPPORTUNITIES AS A STUDY MEMBER. YOUR FIRST SURVEY WILL COME TO YOU IN THE NEXT 3 TO 4 DAYS. THE E-MAIL WITH THE SURVEY WILL COME FROM "KNOWLEDGENETWORKS DOT COM," AND WHEN YOU ANSWER YOUR FIRST SURVEY YOU WILL BE SENT A 10 DOLLAR CHECK. IF YOU HAVE A FILTER ON YOUR E-MAIL THAT PREVENTS UNWANTED E-MAIL FROM BEING DELIVERED, PLEASE ADJUST IT TO ALLOW MAIL FROM "KNOWLEDGENETWORKS.COM". IF YOU DO NOT RECEIVE E-MAIL FROM US IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS, OR IF YOU EVER HAVE ANY QUESTIONS, PLEASE CALL US AT 1-800-[NUMBER].

42/QAD9

1 continue

You are telling the new Panel Member to watch for our surveys, how to recognize them, and how they can begin to earn their cash. THIS IS VERY IMPORTANT. DON'T SPEAK QUICKLY. You

MUST give each and every respondent this 800 number before completing the call. Wait for them to get a pen or pencil to write the number down. Do not read this quickly either.

This is now a completed interview.

THINGS TO REMEMBER

- Let the phone ring only 6 times.
- Always leave a clear note about what occurred during your call. For example, if the person hung up when you requested their e-mail address, tell the next person where they hung up "when I asked for the e-mail."
- Any corrections that need to be made at the end of the interview (incorrectly spelled name, age entered wrong, left letters or numbers out of email address) should be done in the remarks section---NOT BY SNAPPING BACK TO ADJUST YOUR ANSWERS.
- The study is only done in English.
- Don't tell people they can drop out if they want to. We want to have people on our panel for a long time.
- Every completed interview needs to have at least one e-mail address. If the decision maker has e-mail, but can't remember it—you must make a callback. We can't continue the study without getting this e-mail address.
- If someone refuses to give their home address, you should enter "refused" for the street address and town. Enter 39 for the state and 99999 for the zip code.
- A HARD refusal is when someone uses foul language, threatens legal action or says they are contacting a government agency because of our calls.
- If someone indicates that they have Internet access at work/school, you will get a question asking if they can use this e-mail address to answer our surveys. If they answer YES, it will follow the email route. If NO, it will follow the MSN TV2 route.

DISCUSS DIFFERENT SCENERIOS

- Respondent has e-mail at work
- Respondent doesn't have e-mail of his own—has to share with someone else.
- Teenage respondent

ANSWERING MACHINE MESSAGES

The 1st Answering Machine message should be left the first time an interviewer reaches an answering machine.

The 2nd Answering Machine message should be left ONE WEEK after the first one has been left. You need to leave a note stating the date and AM, so the next person can see if a message was left. This is very important, so we don't leave back-to-back messages.

Only two messages in total should be left for this study.

CALLBACK AND REFUSAL SCRIPTS

Often times an interviewer will get part-way through an interviewer when they are told to callback at a better time. The next interviewer will pick up the interview mid-way into the script. This makes it quite awkward for the interviewer. We incorporate these scripts to aid the interviewer when the script does not start from the beginning because of either a Callback or a Refusal.

Refusal Script

Good Morning/Afternoon/Evening this is _____ calling on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan. I apologize if the time of our call was inconvenient. We would

like to offer a member of your home the opportunity to express their opinions monthly and get $10 for each survey they complete. We are not selling or advertising anything.

Callback script

Good Morning/Afternoon/Evening this is _____ calling on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan. We would like to offer a member of your home the opportunity to express their opinions monthly and get $10 for each survey they complete. We are not selling or advertising anything.

Frequently Asked Questions

Interviewers were trained using the list of frequently asked questions below.

FAQ	Interviewer Response
Who is participating?	Approximately 2,000 people across the country are being asked to participate in this study. It is very important that you respond because your answers will represent thousands of others.
Who is sponsoring the study?	The study is being sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan, with funding from the National Science Foundation.
Which company is conducting the study for Stanford University?	Knowledge Networks, a nationally known survey research firm based in Menlo Park, CA, is conducting the survey on behalf of Stanford University in collaboration with the University of Michigan. You may visit their website to learn more about the company if you like. (www.knowledgenetworks.com.)
How was I chosen for the study?	Telephone numbers are randomly selected for the study to be sure that we speak with a wide range of people across the country. By talking with randomly selected persons, we will make sure that all viewpoints and people of all backgrounds are represented.
Do I have to answer your questions?	Participation is voluntary. You can refuse to answer any question – however, your participation is very important to make sure that all viewpoints and people of all backgrounds are represented. This is an important opportunity for you to express your opinion on current events and you will be paid $10 for completing each survey.

FAQ	Interviewer Response
How do I know you'll keep my information confidential?	It is very important to us to protect your privacy. All researchers on this project signed a confidentiality agreement prior to the onset of this study. After surveys are completed, any identifying information, for example your phone number, is removed from the data. Data are reported in summary statistical format only.
How will the survey results be used?	The information from the survey will be used to help researchers better understand the opinions of people across the country on a variety of important current topics. The results of the study may be published in journals, newspapers, magazines, and books.
Why are you asking me these questions?	We're collecting information to get an accurate picture of the opinions of people across the nation on a variety of important current topics. You have been randomly selected to participate in this study. Your feedback is valuable as part of an effort to understand the opinions of people across the country. I have to ask a few questions now to arrange for your participation in the [STUDY NAME] going forward.
How do I know this survey is legitimate?	We are conducting this survey on behalf of Stanford University, the University of Michigan, and the National Science Foundation, in order to gather information about the opinions of people across the country. If you would like, I can also direct you to my supervisor. You can visit the study website at www.knowledgenetworks.com/[STUDY NAME] (If necessary) You may call our toll-free number at 1-888-530-8474 to verify the legitimacy of our survey or to find out more information.

FAQ	Interviewer Response
Will you sell my e-mail address or personal information? Am I going to get a lot of spam?	I assure you that we are not selling or advertising anything, and that your personal information, including your name, address, and e-mail address will never be released beyond the company conducting this research—Knowledge Networks. You may review our privacy policy at www.knowledgenetworks.com/[STUDY NAME].
How often will I be asked to participate? How long will this take?	There will be just one survey a month. You can answer the survey questions when convenient for you at your computer or using the Internet device we supply you. Your participation is for 21 months (through September 2009). Each survey will take about 20 to 30 minutes of your time.
Why do you need to interview my 17 year old?	Because this study will continue for several months, we are interested in including persons who will be turning 18 during the course of the study, to see how their opinions might change over time.
Can I view the contents of surveys before my 17 year old sees them?	Because of the nature of the survey process, we will be sending e-mail invitations for each monthly survey and the surveys can only be accessed by the person selected for the study using a unique username and password. However, I assure you that the content of all surveys will be age appropriate.
Where are you calling from? How did you get my unlisted number?	I am calling on behalf of Stanford University, the University of Michigan, and the National Science Foundation from a research center located in Utah. Your number was randomly generated and selected by a computer program to represent individuals in your area.

FAQ	Interviewer Response
Who are you? How long is this going to take?	I am [INTERVIEWER NAME]. I'm calling on behalf of Stanford University, the University of Michigan, and the National Science Foundation. his brief interview takes about 5 minutes to complete and you will be paid $10 for your time. I will try to get through the interview as quickly as possible.
Will my name be used if I participate?	We will need to know your name and address in order to send your survey payments. However, all actual data collected during the surveys will be kept completely separate from any identifying information and will be collapsed into categories, for example, the number of people of a certain age who have medical insurance. Again, no identifying information will be included.
Why can't you just mail the surveys to me?	We appreciate your request, however the design of the questionnaire and the nature of the questions require a professional interviewer to administer and record the information. I enter your answers directly into a computer.
I am in the Do not call me list/ National Do not Call Registry...why are you calling me?	I understand how the law may be confusing, but research calls are not included in the law. The law applies *only* to telemarketing calls. Most lawmakers recognize the value of legitimate research and the need for the public to participate. We will not sell you anything. Nor will we sell your personally identifiable information. Your privacy will be respected, and your cooperation is appreciated.
I have questions about my rights as a research subject. Whom can I contact?	If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, you may contact the Stanford University Institutional Review Board (IRB) at 1-866-680-2906, or you may write the Stanford IRB, Administrative Panels Office, Stanford, CA 94305-5401.

Interviewer Reference Sheet

The actual reference sheets provided to interviewers were on one side of a piece of legal-sized stock. The sections marked "**[REDACTED STUDY NAME]**" included the actual study name, which is redacted from this documentation for reasons discussed in the section of this report that describes the study recruitment procedures.

LETTER WORD ASSOCIATION

A ADAM	E EDWARD	I IDA	M MARY	Q QUEEN	U UNIFORM	X X-RAY
B BAKER	F FRANK	J JOSEPH	N NELLIE	R ROBERT	V VICTOR	Y YELLOW
C CHARLIE	G GEORGE	K KING	O OSCAR	S SAM	W WILLIAM	Z ZEBRA
D DAVID	H HARRY	L LAWRENCE	P PETER	T TOMMY		

You are welcome to look at our website
www.knowledgenetworks.com/ [REDACTED STUDY NAME]

COMMON INTERNET SERVICE PROVIDERS

aol.com	comcast.net	hotmail.com	mindspring.net	sbcglobal.com
att.net	cox.com	juno.com	netzero.com	verizon.net
bellsouth.net	earthlink.net	msn.com	peoplepc.com	yahoo.com

FACTS ABOUT MSN TV2

- **MSN TV2 allows you to access the Internet and email through your television.**
- **We will supply you with everything needed to get you connected, at no cost to you.**
- **MSN TV2 allows you to send e-mail & surf the Internet from the seat you watch TV.**
- **Up to 11 members of your home can have their own e-mail accounts.**
- **You can spend as much time as you want on the Internet, at no cost to you.**
- **You can call us at any time, toll-free, if you have any problems. There will always be someone available to help you.**
- **This will not harm or interrupt the way you watch TV currently.**
- **You can use your existing phone line to connect to the Internet with MSN TV2.**
- **With MSN TV2 you can sit anywhere in the room while using the wireless keyboard.**
- **The MSN TV2 unit is easy to connect to your television. If you should have any trouble hooking it up we have a support staff ready to help you.**

1st Answering Machine Message

LETTER SENT

Hello, this is _____ calling on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. We are sorry we missed you. We hope you received our letter describing the study. We will pay someone in your home $10 for each survey they complete. Please call us toll-free at 1-888-530-8474 to participate in our important study. Thank you.

LETTER NOT SENT

Hello, this is _____calling on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. We are sorry we missed you. We will pay someone in your home $10 for each survey they complete. Please call us toll-free at 1-888-530-8474 to participate in our important study. Thank you.

2nd Answering Machine Message

Hello, this is _____calling on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan for the [REDACTED STUDY NAME]. We are sorry we missed you. Someone in your home can earn $10 for each survey they complete. Please call us toll-free at 1-888-530-8474 to participate in our important study. Thank you.

SUGGESTED ANSWERS

WHO IS DOING THIS STUDY?

- **This study is being done for Stanford University in collaboration with the University of Michigan. The National Science Foundation provides the funds for the study.**
- **The study is being done to capture accurately Americans' opinions, attitudes, and beliefs about a wide range of topics. The study is about some very important topics, and your participation is crucial in helping researchers to better understand these issues.**
- **Your participation is very important to make sure that all viewpoints and people of all backgrounds are represented**
- **Researchers from Stanford University, University of Michigan, and others will publish the study results in magazines, professional journals, and possibly books.**
- **Knowledge Networks, a nationally known survey research firm based in Menlo Park, CA, is conducing the survey for Stanford University. Visit their website to learn more (www.knowledgenetworks.com.)**

WHAT DO I GET?

- **You will be sent $10 for each survey that you complete and $10 for completing this brief phone call.**
- **We will send you only one survey a month. The survey will last between 20 and 30 minutes.**
- **Surveys are sent via email so that you can answer them at your convenience.**
- **If you don't have email we will supply you with a device called MSN TV2, free of charge, that will allow you to participate in our surveys, send and receive email and access the internet through your television set. All that we ask is that you answer our monthly surveys.**

WHY ARE YOU CALLING ME?

- **You were selected at random through a scientific process that is designed to accurately reflect the national population.**
- **Your answers are *completely* confidential and private. Your email address will only be used for this special topics survey. No one else will have access to it.**
- **We would like you to participate in this study for 21 months (through 9/2009).**

REFUSAL SCRIPT

Good Morning/Afternoon/Evening this is _____ calling on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan. I apologize if the time of our call was inconvenient. We would like to offer a member of your home the opportunity to express their opinions monthly and get $10 for each survey they complete. We are not selling or advertising anything.

CALLBACK SCRIPT

Good Morning/Afternoon/Evening this is _____ calling on behalf of Stanford University and the University of Michigan. We would like to offer a member of your home the opportunity to express their opinions monthly and get $10 for each survey they complete. We are not selling or advertising anything.

Appendix D. Differences Between ANES Estimates and Benchmarks After Raking

This appendix presents tables showing the differences between ANES estimates and their raking benchmarks after raking. For details on the weighting procedure and reasons why differences exist after raking, see the main body of the report.

Table D1. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: cross-sectional weights

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks															
		Recruitment		Profile		Wave 1		Wave 2		Wave 3		Wave 4		Wave 5		Wave 6	
	Benchmark	wgtcsr		wgtcsp		wgtcs01		wgtcs02		wgtcs03		wgtcs04		wgtcs05		wgtcs06	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex																	
Male	47.8	47.3	0.5	47.3	0.5	47.2	0.6	47.6	0.2	47.8	-0.1	47.2	0.6	47.1	0.7	47.5	0.3
Female	52.2	52.7	-0.5	52.7	-0.5	52.8	-0.6	52.4	-0.2	52.2	0.1	52.8	-0.6	52.9	-0.7	52.5	-0.3
Age																	
18-29	21.3	20.1	1.2	19.7	1.7	19.7	1.6	19.7	1.7	19.7	1.6	19.7	1.7	19.3	2.0	19.3	2.0
30-39	16.5	16.8	-0.3	16.9	-0.4	16.8	-0.3	16.8	-0.3	16.8	-0.3	16.6	-0.1	16.4	0.1	16.8	-0.3
40-49	19.5	19.7	-0.3	19.9	-0.4	19.9	-0.4	20.0	-0.5	19.9	-0.5	20.0	-0.5	20.1	-0.6	20.0	-0.5
50-59	18.3	18.7	-0.3	18.8	-0.4	18.8	-0.4	18.8	-0.4	18.8	-0.5	18.9	-0.6	19.2	-0.9	18.9	-0.6
60-69	12.1	12.3	-0.2	12.4	-0.3	12.4	-0.3	12.4	-0.3	12.4	-0.3	12.6	-0.4	12.7	-0.6	12.5	-0.4
70+	12.2	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.3	-0.1	12.3	-0.1	12.4	-0.1	12.5	-0.3
Race/ethnicity																	
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	75.7	-1.8	75.4	-1.5	76.6	-2.7	75.4	-1.5	75.7	-1.8	75.4	-1.5	75.9	-2.0	75.9	-2.0
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	12.0	-0.3	11.6	0.2	11.0	0.7	11.4	0.3	11.8	0.0	11.5	0.2	11.0	0.7	11.1	0.6
Hispanic	9.2	8.9	0.3	8.3	0.9	8.4	0.8	8.9	0.3	8.6	0.6	9.2	0.0	9.1	0.0	8.9	0.2
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	3.3	1.8	4.8	0.4	4.0	1.2	4.3	0.9	3.9	1.3	3.9	1.3	3.9	1.2	4.0	1.2
Region																	
Northeast	18.5	18.2	0.2	18.8	-0.4	18.7	-0.2	18.4	0.0	18.1	0.4	17.9	0.5	18.0	0.4	18.2	0.2
Midwest	23.1	24.8	-1.7	23.2	-0.1	23.7	-0.6	23.6	-0.5	23.6	-0.5	23.7	-0.6	23.7	-0.6	23.7	-0.6
South	36.7	34.1	2.6	36.1	0.6	36.1	0.5	36.4	0.3	36.7	0.0	36.2	0.4	35.7	1.0	36.3	0.4
West	21.8	22.9	-1.1	22.0	-0.2	21.5	0.3	21.6	0.2	21.7	0.1	22.1	-0.3	22.6	-0.8	21.8	0.0
Education																	
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	10.9	1.0	10.7	1.1	10.8	1.1	10.5	1.3	10.6	1.3	10.6	1.3	10.1	1.7	10.2	1.7
High school credential	31.4	30.8	0.6	31.3	0.1	31.1	0.3	31.3	0.1	31.3	0.1	30.5	0.9	30.3	1.1	31.3	0.1
Some college	29.2	29.7	-0.5	29.9	-0.8	29.9	-0.7	29.9	-0.7	30.0	-0.9	30.4	-1.2	30.8	-1.6	30.1	-0.9
Bachelor's degree	18.4	19.5	-1.1	18.8	-0.4	18.8	-0.4	18.8	-0.4	18.8	-0.4	18.9	-0.5	19.0	-0.7	18.9	-0.5
Graduate degree	9.2	9.2	0.0	9.3	-0.2	9.4	-0.2	9.4	-0.2	9.4	-0.2	9.5	-0.4	9.7	-0.5	9.5	-0.3

Table continues.

Table D1. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: cross-sectional weights—continued

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks															
		Wave 7		Wave 8		Wave 9		Wave 10		Wave 11		Wave 12		Wave 13		Wave 14	
	Benchmark	wgtcs07		wgtcs08		wgtcs09		wgtcs10		wgtcs11		wgtcs12		wgtcs13		wgtcs14	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex																	
Male	47.8	47.8	0.0	47.3	0.5	47.1	0.7	47.5	0.3	47.3	0.5	47.5	0.3	46.8	1.0	47.3	0.5
Female	52.2	52.2	0.0	52.7	-0.5	52.9	-0.7	52.5	-0.3	52.7	-0.5	52.5	-0.3	53.2	-1.0	52.7	-0.5
Age																	
18-29	21.3	17.9	3.5	18.8	2.6	18.6	2.7	19.0	2.4	18.5	2.8	18.6	2.8	18.2	3.1	18.5	2.9
30-39	16.5	16.6	-0.1	17.0	-0.5	17.1	-0.6	17.0	-0.5	17.1	-0.6	17.0	-0.5	17.1	-0.6	17.0	-0.5
40-49	19.5	20.3	-0.9	20.2	-0.8	20.2	-0.7	20.1	-0.6	20.3	-0.8	20.3	-0.8	20.3	-0.9	20.3	-0.8
50-59	18.3	19.6	-1.3	19.0	-0.7	19.0	-0.7	18.9	-0.6	19.0	-0.7	19.0	-0.7	19.1	-0.8	19.0	-0.7
60-69	12.1	12.8	-0.7	12.6	-0.5	12.6	-0.5	12.6	-0.4	12.7	-0.5	12.7	-0.6	12.7	-0.6	12.7	-0.5
70+	12.2	12.8	-0.6	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.5	-0.3	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.5	-0.3	12.5	-0.3
Race/ethnicity																	
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	76.7	-2.8	76.5	-2.6	76.6	-2.7	76.5	-2.6	76.8	-2.9	76.9	-3.0	77.2	-3.3	76.6	-2.7
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	11.1	0.6	11.1	0.6	11.7	0.0	11.7	0.1	11.4	0.3	11.8	-0.1	11.4	0.3	12.0	-0.2
Hispanic	9.2	8.3	0.9	8.5	0.7	7.9	1.3	8.0	1.1	7.9	1.3	7.8	1.4	7.7	1.5	7.9	1.3
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	3.9	1.3	3.9	1.3	3.7	1.5	3.8	1.4	3.9	1.3	3.5	1.7	3.6	1.5	3.6	1.6
Region																	
Northeast	18.5	17.8	0.7	18.4	0.1	18.5	-0.1	18.4	0.0	18.5	0.0	18.3	0.1	18.5	0.0	18.5	0.0
Midwest	23.1	25.0	-1.9	23.9	-0.8	23.5	-0.4	23.4	-0.3	23.5	-0.4	23.9	-0.8	23.4	-0.3	23.7	-0.6
South	36.7	35.8	0.9	36.2	0.5	36.3	0.4	36.4	0.3	36.4	0.3	36.3	0.4	36.2	0.5	36.3	0.4
West	21.8	21.4	0.3	21.5	0.2	21.7	0.1	21.8	0.0	21.6	0.1	21.5	0.2	21.9	-0.1	21.6	0.2
Education																	
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	9.2	2.7	10.2	1.7	9.8	2.0	10.1	1.8	9.8	2.1	9.6	2.2	9.8	2.1	9.7	2.2
High school credential	31.4	30.1	1.3	30.8	0.6	31.1	0.3	31.3	0.2	31.1	0.3	31.0	0.4	30.6	0.8	30.9	0.5
Some college	29.2	31.4	-2.3	30.4	-1.2	30.4	-1.3	30.2	-1.1	30.5	-1.3	30.6	-1.4	30.8	-1.7	30.9	-1.7
Bachelor's degree	18.4	19.4	-1.0	19.0	-0.6	19.1	-0.7	19.0	-0.6	19.0	-0.7	19.3	-0.9	19.2	-0.8	19.2	-0.8
Graduate degree	9.2	9.8	-0.7	9.4	-0.2	9.5	-0.4	9.5	-0.3	9.6	-0.4	9.5	-0.3	9.5	-0.4	9.3	-0.2

Table continues.

Table D1. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: cross-sectional weights—continued

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks													
		Wave 15		Wave 16		Wave 17		Wave 18		Wave 19		Wave 20		Wave 21	
	Benchmark	wgtcs15		wgtcs16		wgtcs17		wgtcs18		wgtcs19		wgtcs20		wgtcs21	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex															
Male	47.8	47.2	0.6	47.4	0.4	47.1	0.7	47.0	0.8	46.7	1.1	46.7	1.1	46.3	1.5
Female	52.2	52.8	-0.6	52.6	-0.4	52.9	-0.7	53.0	-0.8	53.3	-1.1	53.3	-1.1	53.7	-1.5
Age															
18-29	21.3	18.5	2.9	18.2	3.1	18.1	3.2	17.7	3.6	17.7	3.7	17.2	4.2	17.7	3.6
30-39	16.5	17.0	-0.5	17.2	-0.6	17.1	-0.5	17.1	-0.6	17.1	-0.6	17.3	-0.8	17.2	-0.7
40-49	19.5	20.3	-0.8	20.3	-0.8	20.4	-0.9	20.5	-1.0	20.5	-1.1	20.7	-1.2	20.5	-1.1
50-59	18.3	19.0	-0.7	19.1	-0.8	19.1	-0.8	19.2	-0.9	19.3	-0.9	19.4	-1.1	19.3	-1.0
60-69	12.1	12.7	-0.6	12.7	-0.6	12.7	-0.6	12.8	-0.7	12.9	-0.7	12.9	-0.8	12.9	-0.7
70+	12.2	12.5	-0.3	12.5	-0.2	12.6	-0.4	12.6	-0.4	12.5	-0.3	12.5	-0.3	12.4	-0.2
Race/ethnicity															
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	76.7	-2.8	77.0	-3.1	76.8	-2.9	76.9	-3.0	77.0	-3.1	77.2	-3.3	76.9	-3.0
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	12.0	-0.3	12.0	-0.2	11.9	-0.2	12.0	-0.3	12.2	-0.4	12.0	-0.3	11.9	-0.2
Hispanic	9.2	7.6	1.6	7.5	1.7	7.7	1.4	7.6	1.6	7.4	1.8	7.4	1.8	7.7	1.4
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	3.7	1.5	3.6	1.6	3.5	1.7	3.5	1.7	3.5	1.7	3.4	1.8	3.4	1.8
Region															
Northeast	18.5	18.7	-0.2	18.8	-0.3	18.6	-0.2	18.5	0.0	18.7	-0.2	18.6	-0.2	18.5	-0.1
Midwest	23.1	23.6	-0.5	23.8	-0.7	23.8	-0.7	23.9	-0.8	23.8	-0.7	24.1	-1.0	24.1	-1.1
South	36.7	36.2	0.5	36.3	0.4	36.0	0.6	35.9	0.7	36.0	0.7	36.0	0.7	35.7	1.0
West	21.8	21.5	0.3	21.1	0.6	21.5	0.3	21.7	0.1	21.5	0.2	21.3	0.5	21.7	0.1
Education															
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	9.6	2.3	9.4	2.5	9.7	2.2	9.5	2.4	9.2	2.7	8.9	3.0	9.4	2.5
High school credential	31.4	31.0	0.4	30.9	0.5	30.7	0.7	30.7	0.7	30.8	0.6	30.8	0.6	30.7	0.7
Some college	29.2	30.5	-1.4	31.0	-1.9	30.8	-1.6	30.8	-1.7	30.8	-1.7	31.0	-1.9	30.9	-1.7
Bachelor's degree	18.4	19.3	-0.9	19.2	-0.8	19.3	-0.9	19.4	-1.0	19.5	-1.1	19.5	-1.1	19.4	-1.0
Graduate degree	9.2	9.5	-0.3	9.5	-0.3	9.5	-0.3	9.6	-0.4	9.7	-0.5	9.8	-0.6	9.7	-0.5

Note: text below wave labels is the weight used for the estimates. "Diff." is difference between weighted estimate and benchmark.

Table D2. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: cumulative ANES panel weights

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks																	
		Wave 2		Wave 6		Wave 9		Wave 10		Wave 11		Wave 13		Wave 17		Wave 19		Wave 20	
	Benchmark	wgtc02		wgtc06		wgtc09		wgtc10		wgtc11		wgtc13		wgtc17		wgtc19		wgtc20	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex																			
Male	47.8	47.6	0.2	47.6	0.2	48.1	-0.3	48.5	-0.7	48.4	-0.6	47.4	0.4	47.5	0.3	47.3	0.5	47.4	0.4
Female	52.2	52.4	-0.2	52.4	-0.2	51.9	0.3	51.5	0.7	51.6	0.6	52.6	-0.4	52.5	-0.3	52.7	-0.5	52.6	-0.4
Age																			
18-29	21.3	19.4	2.0	18.8	2.5	18.4	2.9	18.0	3.3	18.0	3.4	18.2	3.2	18.0	3.3	17.1	4.2	16.9	4.4
30-39	16.5	16.8	-0.3	16.8	-0.3	16.7	-0.2	16.8	-0.3	16.8	-0.3	16.8	-0.3	16.9	-0.3	17.0	-0.5	17.0	-0.5
40-49	19.5	20.0	-0.5	20.2	-0.7	20.3	-0.9	20.4	-0.9	20.4	-0.9	20.4	-0.9	20.5	-1.0	20.6	-1.2	20.7	-1.2
50-59	18.3	18.9	-0.5	19.0	-0.7	19.3	-0.9	19.4	-1.1	19.4	-1.1	19.4	-1.1	19.4	-1.1	19.9	-1.6	19.9	-1.6
60-69	12.1	12.5	-0.4	12.6	-0.5	12.6	-0.5	12.7	-0.6	12.7	-0.6	12.8	-0.6	12.8	-0.6	13.0	-0.9	13.0	-0.9
70+	12.2	12.4	-0.2	12.6	-0.4	12.6	-0.4	12.7	-0.5	12.7	-0.5	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.5	-0.3
Race/ethnicity																			
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	75.6	-1.7	75.8	-1.9	75.8	-1.9	76.4	-2.5	76.5	-2.6	76.2	-2.3	76.8	-2.9	77.1	-3.2	77.0	-3.1
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	11.3	0.5	11.0	0.8	11.3	0.4	11.0	0.8	10.9	0.9	10.7	1.0	10.8	0.9	11.0	0.8	11.1	0.6
Hispanic	9.2	8.6	0.6	8.5	0.6	8.3	0.9	8.0	1.2	7.9	1.2	8.5	0.7	8.2	1.0	7.9	1.3	8.0	1.1
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	4.5	0.6	4.7	0.5	4.6	0.6	4.7	0.5	4.7	0.5	4.6	0.6	4.2	1.0	4.0	1.2	3.8	1.4
Region																			
Northeast	18.5	18.4	0.0	18.3	0.2	18.2	0.3	18.4	0.1	18.5	0.0	18.5	-0.1	18.5	-0.1	18.2	0.2	18.3	0.2
Midwest	23.1	23.6	-0.5	23.8	-0.7	23.6	-0.5	23.9	-0.8	23.9	-0.8	23.3	-0.3	23.5	-0.4	24.5	-1.4	24.6	-1.5
South	36.7	36.3	0.4	36.2	0.4	36.9	-0.2	36.6	0.1	36.4	0.3	36.1	0.6	36.4	0.3	35.9	0.7	36.0	0.6
West	21.8	21.7	0.1	21.7	0.0	21.4	0.4	21.2	0.6	21.2	0.6	22.0	-0.3	21.5	0.2	21.3	0.5	21.1	0.6
Education																			
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	10.3	1.5	9.8	2.0	9.6	2.3	9.4	2.5	9.4	2.5	9.8	2.1	9.8	2.1	9.1	2.7	9.2	2.7
High school credential	31.4	31.3	0.1	31.3	0.1	30.9	0.5	30.8	0.6	30.6	0.8	30.3	1.1	30.4	1.0	30.2	1.2	30.2	1.2
Some college	29.2	30.0	-0.9	30.3	-1.2	30.8	-1.6	31.0	-1.9	31.2	-2.0	31.0	-1.9	31.0	-1.8	31.5	-2.3	31.5	-2.3
Bachelor's degree	18.4	18.8	-0.4	19.0	-0.6	19.1	-0.7	19.1	-0.7	19.2	-0.8	19.1	-0.7	19.1	-0.7	19.2	-0.8	19.2	-0.8
Graduate degree	9.2	9.4	-0.3	9.5	-0.4	9.6	-0.5	9.7	-0.5	9.8	-0.6	9.7	-0.6	9.8	-0.6	10.0	-0.8	10.0	-0.8

Table D3. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: cumulative ANES extended weights

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks													
		Wave 2		Wave 3		Wave 4		Wave 5		Wave 6		Wave 7		Wave 8	
	Benchmark	wgte02		wgte03		wgte04		wgte05		wgte06		wgte07		wgte08	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex															
Male	47.8	47.6	0.2	47.9	-0.1	47.3	0.5	47.3	0.5	47.3	0.5	46.9	0.9	46.7	1.1
Female	52.2	52.4	-0.2	52.1	0.1	52.7	-0.5	52.7	-0.5	52.7	-0.5	53.1	-0.9	53.3	-1.1
Age															
18-29	21.3	19.4	2.0	19.6	1.8	19.5	1.9	18.8	2.5	18.8	2.5	18.2	3.2	16.9	4.4
30-39	16.5	16.8	-0.3	16.7	-0.2	16.7	-0.2	16.8	-0.3	16.6	-0.1	16.7	-0.2	16.8	-0.3
40-49	19.5	20.0	-0.5	20.0	-0.5	20.0	-0.5	20.1	-0.6	20.1	-0.6	20.2	-0.7	20.7	-1.2
50-59	18.3	18.9	-0.5	18.9	-0.5	19.0	-0.7	19.3	-1.0	19.4	-1.1	19.7	-1.3	20.1	-1.8
60-69	12.1	12.5	-0.4	12.5	-0.3	12.6	-0.5	12.7	-0.6	12.8	-0.7	12.9	-0.8	13.2	-1.1
70+	12.2	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.3	-0.1	12.3	-0.1	12.3	-0.1	12.3	-0.1	12.3	-0.1
Race/ethnicity															
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	75.6	-1.7	75.4	-1.6	75.4	-1.5	75.9	-2.0	75.7	-1.8	75.6	-1.7	76.0	-2.1
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	11.3	0.5	11.7	0.1	11.4	0.4	10.9	0.8	10.7	1.0	10.7	1.0	10.8	0.9
Hispanic	9.2	8.6	0.6	8.3	0.8	8.8	0.3	8.7	0.5	9.0	0.2	9.0	0.2	8.5	0.6
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	4.5	0.6	4.5	0.6	4.4	0.8	4.5	0.7	4.6	0.6	4.7	0.5	4.6	0.6
Region															
Northeast	18.5	18.4	0.0	18.1	0.4	17.8	0.6	17.8	0.6	17.8	0.6	17.3	1.2	17.5	1.0
Midwest	23.1	23.6	-0.5	23.6	-0.5	23.8	-0.7	23.6	-0.5	23.8	-0.7	24.4	-1.3	24.7	-1.6
South	36.7	36.3	0.4	36.7	0.0	36.3	0.3	36.1	0.6	36.1	0.6	35.5	1.2	35.1	1.6
West	21.8	21.7	0.1	21.6	0.1	22.1	-0.3	22.5	-0.8	22.2	-0.4	22.8	-1.1	22.7	-1.0
Education															
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	10.3	1.5	10.5	1.4	10.6	1.3	10.3	1.6	10.2	1.7	10.0	1.8	9.5	2.4
High school credential	31.4	31.3	0.1	31.2	0.2	30.5	0.9	30.1	1.3	29.9	1.5	29.3	2.1	28.8	2.6
Some college	29.2	30.0	-0.9	30.1	-0.9	30.5	-1.3	30.8	-1.7	31.0	-1.8	31.5	-2.3	32.1	-2.9
Bachelor's degree	18.4	18.8	-0.4	18.8	-0.4	18.9	-0.5	19.1	-0.7	19.2	-0.8	19.3	-0.9	19.5	-1.1
Graduate degree	9.2	9.4	-0.3	9.4	-0.3	9.6	-0.4	9.7	-0.5	9.7	-0.6	9.8	-0.7	10.1	-0.9

Table continues.

Table D3. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: cumulative ANES extended weights—continued

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks													
		Wave 9		Wave 10		Wave 11		Wave 12		Wave 13		Wave 14		Wave 15	
	Benchmark	wgte09		wgte10		wgte11		wgte12		wgte13		wgte14		wgte15	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex															
Male	47.8	46.7	1.1	46.6	1.2	46.7	1.1	46.6	1.2	46.4	1.4	46.5	1.3	46.5	1.3
Female	52.2	53.3	-1.1	53.4	-1.2	53.3	-1.1	53.4	-1.2	53.6	-1.4	53.5	-1.3	53.5	-1.3
Age															
18-29	21.3	16.8	4.6	16.4	4.9	16.4	5.0	16.8	4.5	16.8	4.6	16.7	4.7	16.6	4.7
30-39	16.5	16.9	-0.4	16.9	-0.4	16.9	-0.4	16.9	-0.4	16.9	-0.4	16.8	-0.3	16.8	-0.3
40-49	19.5	20.7	-1.2	20.8	-1.3	20.8	-1.3	20.7	-1.2	20.7	-1.2	20.7	-1.2	20.8	-1.3
50-59	18.3	20.1	-1.8	20.3	-1.9	20.3	-2.0	20.1	-1.7	20.1	-1.8	20.2	-1.9	20.2	-1.9
60-69	12.1	13.2	-1.1	13.3	-1.1	13.3	-1.1	13.2	-1.1	13.2	-1.1	13.3	-1.2	13.3	-1.2
70+	12.2	12.3	-0.1	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.3	-0.1	12.3	-0.1	12.3	-0.1	12.2	0.0
Race/ethnicity															
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	76.1	-2.2	76.7	-2.8	76.8	-2.9	76.3	-2.4	76.5	-2.6	76.7	-2.8	76.7	-2.8
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	10.9	0.9	10.5	1.2	10.4	1.3	10.7	1.0	10.8	1.0	10.5	1.2	10.6	1.1
Hispanic	9.2	8.6	0.5	8.6	0.6	8.5	0.7	8.6	0.5	8.5	0.7	8.5	0.7	8.3	0.8
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	4.4	0.8	4.3	0.9	4.3	0.9	4.3	0.9	4.3	0.9	4.3	0.9	4.3	0.9
Region															
Northeast	18.5	17.9	0.5	18.3	0.2	18.3	0.1	18.4	0.1	18.4	0.0	18.4	0.1	18.5	0.0
Midwest	23.1	24.3	-1.2	24.8	-1.7	24.8	-1.7	24.5	-1.4	24.6	-1.5	24.6	-1.6	24.7	-1.6
South	36.7	35.4	1.3	34.6	2.1	34.5	2.2	34.7	2.0	34.5	2.1	34.5	2.2	34.4	2.3
West	21.8	22.4	-0.6	22.4	-0.6	22.4	-0.6	22.4	-0.6	22.4	-0.7	22.4	-0.7	22.4	-0.7
Education															
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	9.5	2.4	9.4	2.5	9.3	2.6	9.7	2.2	9.6	2.2	9.4	2.5	9.4	2.5
High school credential	31.4	28.7	2.7	28.7	2.7	28.7	2.7	28.9	2.5	28.8	2.6	28.7	2.7	28.7	2.7
Some college	29.2	32.1	-3.0	32.2	-3.1	32.3	-3.2	31.9	-2.8	32.0	-2.8	32.2	-3.1	32.2	-3.0
Bachelor's degree	18.4	19.7	-1.3	19.5	-1.1	19.6	-1.2	19.4	-1.0	19.5	-1.1	19.6	-1.2	19.6	-1.2
Graduate degree	9.2	10.1	-0.9	10.1	-1.0	10.2	-1.0	10.0	-0.9	10.1	-0.9	10.1	-1.0	10.1	-1.0

Table continues.

Table D3. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: cumulative ANES extended weights—continued

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks											
		Wave 16		Wave 17		Wave 18		Wave 19		Wave 20		Wave 21	
	Benchmark	wgte16		wgte17		wgte18		wgte19		wgte20		wgte21	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex													
Male	47.8	46.1	1.7	46.2	1.6	46.0	1.8	45.8	2.0	45.9	1.9	45.9	1.9
Female	52.2	53.9	-1.7	53.8	-1.6	54.0	-1.8	54.2	-2.0	54.1	-1.9	54.1	-1.9
Age													
18-29	21.3	16.9	4.5	17.1	4.2	16.4	4.9	16.7	4.6	16.8	4.5	17.1	4.2
30-39	16.5	17.4	-0.9	17.5	-1.0	17.7	-1.2	17.8	-1.3	17.8	-1.3	17.7	-1.2
40-49	19.5	20.4	-0.9	20.4	-0.9	20.4	-1.0	20.5	-1.0	20.5	-1.0	20.5	-1.0
50-59	18.3	20.0	-1.7	19.9	-1.6	20.2	-1.8	20.0	-1.6	19.9	-1.5	19.8	-1.5
60-69	12.1	13.1	-1.0	13.0	-0.9	13.2	-1.1	13.2	-1.1	13.2	-1.0	13.1	-1.0
70+	12.2	12.2	0.0	12.1	0.1	12.1	0.1	11.8	0.4	11.9	0.4	11.7	0.5
Race/ethnicity													
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	76.3	-2.4	77.0	-3.1	77.1	-3.2	77.1	-3.2	76.7	-2.8	76.6	-2.7
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	11.3	0.4	11.3	0.4	11.3	0.4	11.6	0.1	11.8	0.0	12.0	-0.2
Hispanic	9.2	8.3	0.9	7.8	1.4	7.8	1.4	7.8	1.4	8.0	1.2	7.8	1.3
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	4.1	1.1	3.8	1.4	3.8	1.4	3.5	1.7	3.5	1.7	3.6	1.6
Region													
Northeast	18.5	18.4	0.1	18.4	0.0	18.2	0.2	18.4	0.1	18.4	0.1	18.5	0.0
Midwest	23.1	24.4	-1.3	24.4	-1.3	24.2	-1.1	24.2	-1.1	24.2	-1.1	24.2	-1.1
South	36.7	35.0	1.7	35.5	1.2	35.6	1.1	35.5	1.2	35.5	1.2	35.5	1.2
West	21.8	22.2	-0.4	21.7	0.1	22.0	-0.2	21.9	-0.1	21.9	-0.1	21.9	-0.1
Education													
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	9.7	2.1	9.7	2.1	8.9	2.9	9.2	2.7	9.4	2.5	9.3	2.6
High school credential	31.4	28.9	2.5	29.3	2.1	29.5	1.9	29.6	1.8	29.6	1.8	29.8	1.6
Some college	29.2	31.9	-2.8	31.7	-2.6	32.0	-2.8	31.9	-2.8	31.8	-2.6	31.7	-2.5
Bachelor's degree	18.4	19.4	-1.0	19.2	-0.8	19.5	-1.1	19.3	-0.9	19.3	-0.9	19.3	-0.9
Graduate degree	9.2	10.0	-0.8	10.0	-0.8	10.1	-0.9	10.0	-0.8	9.9	-0.8	9.9	-0.7

Table D4. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: cumulative late panel weights

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks											
		Wave 9		Wave 10		Wave 11		Wave 12		Wave 13		Wave 14		Wave 15	
	Benchmark	wgtL09		wgtL10		wgtL11		wgtL12		wgtL13		wgtL14		wgtL15	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex															
Male	47.8	47.1	0.7	47.4	0.4	47.5	0.3	47.9	-0.1	47.3	0.5	47.3	0.5	47.0	0.8
Female	52.2	52.9	-0.7	52.6	-0.4	52.5	-0.3	52.1	0.1	52.7	-0.5	52.7	-0.5	53.0	-0.8
Age															
18-29	21.3	18.6	2.7	18.2	3.2	18.0	3.3	17.9	3.5	18.0	3.4	17.8	3.5	18.0	3.3
30-39	16.5	17.1	-0.6	17.1	-0.6	17.1	-0.6	17.1	-0.6	17.2	-0.7	17.2	-0.7	17.1	-0.6
40-49	19.5	20.2	-0.7	20.4	-0.9	20.4	-0.9	20.5	-1.0	20.5	-1.0	20.5	-1.0	20.5	-1.0
50-59	18.3	19.0	-0.7	19.1	-0.8	19.1	-0.8	19.2	-0.8	19.2	-0.9	19.2	-0.9	19.2	-0.9
60-69	12.1	12.6	-0.5	12.7	-0.6	12.7	-0.6	12.8	-0.7	12.9	-0.7	12.9	-0.8	12.9	-0.7
70+	12.2	12.4	-0.2	12.5	-0.3	12.6	-0.4	12.5	-0.3	12.3	-0.1	12.3	-0.1	12.3	-0.1
Race/ethnicity															
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	76.6	-2.7	77.1	-3.2	77.1	-3.2	77.3	-3.4	77.3	-3.5	77.4	-3.5	77.2	-3.3
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	11.7	0.0	11.5	0.3	11.3	0.4	11.5	0.3	11.4	0.3	11.4	0.4	11.6	0.1
Hispanic	9.2	7.9	1.3	7.6	1.6	7.5	1.7	7.4	1.8	7.6	1.5	7.6	1.6	7.6	1.6
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	3.7	1.5	3.9	1.3	4.1	1.1	3.8	1.4	3.6	1.6	3.6	1.6	3.6	1.6
Region															
Northeast	18.5	18.5	-0.1	18.4	0.0	18.4	0.1	18.2	0.2	18.2	0.3	18.2	0.2	18.7	-0.2
Midwest	23.1	23.5	-0.4	23.5	-0.4	23.5	-0.4	23.9	-0.8	23.8	-0.7	23.8	-0.7	23.8	-0.7
South	36.7	36.3	0.4	36.2	0.4	36.3	0.4	36.1	0.6	35.8	0.9	35.6	1.1	35.4	1.3
West	21.8	21.7	0.1	21.9	-0.1	21.8	-0.1	21.8	0.0	22.3	-0.5	22.3	-0.6	22.1	-0.4
Education															
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	9.8	2.0	9.6	2.3	9.6	2.3	9.4	2.5	9.7	2.2	9.6	2.3	9.6	2.3
High school credential	31.4	31.1	0.3	30.9	0.5	30.9	0.5	30.7	0.7	30.4	1.0	30.3	1.1	30.5	0.9
Some college	29.2	30.4	-1.3	30.6	-1.5	30.7	-1.5	30.9	-1.7	30.9	-1.8	31.0	-1.8	30.9	-1.7
Bachelor's degree	18.4	19.1	-0.7	19.2	-0.9	19.3	-0.9	19.4	-1.0	19.4	-1.0	19.4	-1.1	19.4	-1.0
Graduate degree	9.2	9.5	-0.4	9.6	-0.4	9.6	-0.4	9.7	-0.5	9.7	-0.5	9.7	-0.5	9.7	-0.5

Table continues.

Table D4. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: cumulative late panel weights—continued

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks											
		Wave 16		Wave 17		Wave 18		Wave 19		Wave 20		Wave 21	
	Benchmark	wgtL16		wgtL17		wgtL18		wgtL19		wgtL20		wgtL21	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex													
Male	47.8	47.0	0.8	46.9	0.8	46.9	0.9	46.5	1.3	46.4	1.4	46.2	1.6
Female	52.2	53.0	-0.8	53.1	-0.8	53.1	-0.9	53.5	-1.3	53.6	-1.4	53.8	-1.6
Age													
18-29	21.3	17.9	3.4	17.6	3.8	17.0	4.3	17.2	4.1	17.2	4.1	17.2	4.1
30-39	16.5	17.2	-0.7	17.2	-0.7	17.3	-0.8	17.1	-0.6	17.1	-0.6	17.0	-0.5
40-49	19.5	20.5	-1.0	20.7	-1.2	20.9	-1.4	20.8	-1.4	20.8	-1.3	20.9	-1.4
50-59	18.3	19.2	-0.8	19.2	-0.9	19.4	-1.0	19.4	-1.0	19.4	-1.0	19.4	-1.1
60-69	12.1	12.9	-0.7	12.9	-0.8	13.1	-0.9	13.1	-1.0	13.1	-1.0	13.1	-1.0
70+	12.2	12.3	-0.1	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.3	-0.1	12.4	-0.2	12.3	-0.1
Race/ethnicity													
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	77.2	-3.3	77.5	-3.6	77.8	-3.9	77.7	-3.8	77.6	-3.7	77.8	-3.9
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	11.6	0.2	11.7	0.1	11.6	0.2	11.7	0.0	11.9	-0.2	12.0	-0.3
Hispanic	9.2	7.6	1.6	7.3	1.8	7.2	1.9	7.1	2.0	7.2	2.0	7.0	2.2
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	3.6	1.6	3.5	1.7	3.4	1.8	3.4	1.8	3.2	2.0	3.2	2.0
Region													
Northeast	18.5	18.7	-0.2	18.6	-0.2	18.7	-0.3	18.6	-0.1	18.6	-0.2	18.8	-0.3
Midwest	23.1	23.7	-0.6	23.8	-0.7	24.0	-0.9	24.3	-1.2	24.3	-1.2	24.4	-1.3
South	36.7	35.4	1.3	35.4	1.3	35.2	1.5	35.1	1.6	35.1	1.6	34.8	1.8
West	21.8	22.2	-0.5	22.1	-0.4	22.1	-0.4	22.0	-0.2	22.0	-0.2	22.0	
Education													
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	9.5	2.4	9.5	2.4	9.0	2.9	9.1	2.8	9.1	2.8	8.9	3.0
High school credential	31.4	30.5	0.9	30.3	1.1	30.3	1.1	29.9	1.5	30.0	1.4	30.0	1.4
Some college	29.2	30.9	-1.7	30.9	-1.8	31.2	-2.0	31.4	-2.2	31.3	-2.1	31.4	-2.2
Bachelor's degree	18.4	19.4	-1.0	19.4	-1.0	19.7	-1.3	19.7	-1.3	19.6	-1.3	19.8	-1.4
Graduate degree	9.2	9.7	-0.5	9.8	-0.6	9.9	-0.7	10.0	-0.8	9.9	-0.7	10.0	-0.8

Table D5. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: post-election weights

		ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks									
		Wave 11		Wave 13		Wave 17		Wave 19		Wave 20	
	Benchmark	wgtpp11		wgtpp13		wgtpp17		wgtpp19		wgtpp20	
Characteristic	CPS estimate	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.	Percent	Diff.
Sex											
Male	47.8	47.5	0.3	47.0	0.8	47.1	0.7	46.7	1.1	46.5	1.3
Female	52.2	52.5	-0.3	53.0	-0.8	52.9	-0.7	53.3	-1.1	53.5	-1.3
Age											
18-29	21.3	18.0	3.3	17.9	3.5	17.9	3.5	17.1	4.2	17.1	4.3
30-39	16.5	17.1	-0.6	17.2	-0.7	17.1	-0.6	17.1	-0.6	17.1	-0.6
40-49	19.5	20.4	-1.0	20.5	-1.0	20.6	-1.1	20.9	-1.4	20.9	-1.4
50-59	18.3	19.1	-0.8	19.2	-0.9	19.2	-0.8	19.4	-1.1	19.5	-1.1
60-69	12.1	12.7	-0.6	12.8	-0.7	12.8	-0.7	13.1	-0.9	13.1	-1.0
70+	12.2	12.6	-0.3	12.4	-0.2	12.4	-0.2	12.3	-0.1	12.4	-0.2
Race/ethnicity											
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	77.1	-3.2	77.4	-3.5	77.1	-3.2	77.2	-3.3	77.2	-3.3
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	11.3	0.4	11.1	0.6	11.7	0.0	12.0	-0.3	12.1	-0.4
Hispanic	9.2	7.5	1.7	7.7	1.5	7.5	1.6	7.2	1.9	7.3	1.9
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	4.1	1.1	3.8	1.4	3.6	1.5	3.6	1.6	3.4	1.8
Region											
Northeast	18.5	18.4	0.1	18.3	0.1	18.6	-0.1	18.5	-0.1	18.6	-0.1
Midwest	23.1	23.5	-0.4	23.2	-0.1	23.7	-0.6	24.1	-1.0	24.2	-1.1
South	36.7	36.3	0.4	36.1	0.6	35.6	1.1	35.4	1.3	35.2	1.4
West	21.8	21.8	-0.1	22.4	-0.6	22.1	-0.4	21.9	-0.2	22.0	-0.2
Education											
Less than h.s. credential	11.9	9.6	2.3	9.7	2.2	9.7	2.2	9.3	2.6	9.1	2.8
High school credential	31.4	30.9	0.5	30.4	1.0	30.5	0.9	30.1	1.3	30.1	1.3
Some college	29.2	30.7	-1.5	30.8	-1.7	30.8	-1.6	31.2	-2.0	31.2	-2.1
Bachelor's degree	18.4	19.3	-0.9	19.4	-1.0	19.3	-0.9	19.6	-1.2	19.7	-1.3
Graduate degree	9.2	9.6	-0.5	9.7	-0.5	9.7	-0.6	9.9	-0.7	9.9	-0.7

Table D6. Differences between ANES estimates and raking benchmarks after raking: DHS weights

Characteristic	Benchmark CPS estimate	ANES estimates after raking to benchmarks: Wave 17 wgtdhs Percent	Difference
Sex			
Male	47.8	47.9	-0.1
Female	52.2	52.1	0.1
Age			
18-29	21.3	18.8	2.6
30-39	16.5	16.7	-0.1
40-49	19.5	20.2	-0.7
50-59	18.3	19.2	-0.9
60-69	12.1	12.6	-0.5
70+	12.2	12.5	-0.3
Race/ethnicity			
White, Non-Hispanic	73.9	76.5	-2.7
Black, Non-Hispanic	11.7	11.2	0.5
Hispanic	9.2	8.5	0.7
Other, Non-Hispanic	5.2	3.8	1.4
Region			
Northeast	18.5	18.4	0.1
Midwest	23.1	23.7	-0.6
South	36.7	36.5	0.2
West	21.8	21.4	0.4
Education			
Less than high school credential	11.9	9.7	2.2
High school credential	31.4	30.8	0.6
Some college	29.2	30.7	-1.5
Bachelor's degree	18.4	19.2	-0.8
Graduate degree	9.2	9.7	-0.5

Appendix E. Validation Survey Questionnaires

Note: data for the validation surveys are in the study's supplemental data file.

ANES W1 Validation Interview
February 26, 2008

Q1
Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks. May I please speak with [RESPONDENT NAME]?

1 YES, RESPONDENT IS ON LINE
2 YES, RESPONDENT COMING TO PHONE
3 NO/NOT AVAILABLE [SCHEDULE CALLBACK]

Q2
[IF Q1=2: Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks.] I'm calling about the [STUDY NAME], sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Am I correct that you are signed up as a participant in this study with us?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q8]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO Q8]

Q3
I'm calling today just to confirm a couple of things with you. First, our records indicate that we sent you an e-mail on [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE] inviting you to do the January survey for us. Have you done that survey yet for us?

1 YES [GO TO Q6]
2 NO [GO TO Q5]

Q4
How about if we send you another invitation so you can do the survey for us? What email address would you like me to send that to?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO END2]

Q5
Do you remember getting an invitation from us to do the survey on about [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE]?

1 YES [GO TO END3]

2 NO [GO TO Q4]

Q6
Thank you very much. Do you happen to remember what the questions in the survey you did were about?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q11]

Q7
(INTERVIEWER: ENTER RESPONDENT'S COMMENTS ON SURVEY. IF NEEDED: What were the questions in the survey about?)

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO Q11]

Q8
The [STUDY NAME] is a series of monthly surveys being conducted from January 2008 to September 2009. The surveys are conducted via the Internet. Each month, an e-mail notification is being sent to participants asking them to complete that month's survey, and participants are paid $10 for each survey they complete. Do you recall agreeing to participate in the study?

1 YES [GO TO Q3]
2 NO

Q9
By any chance, might someone else in your household have completed the January survey for us instead of you?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO END4]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO END4]

Q10
Who was that?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 50 characters]

[GO TO END4]

Q11

I just need to ask you seven more questions to double-check a few things in our records. I really appreciate your patience with this. First, in what year were you born?

(9999=REFUSED)

_____ (1900-1999, 9999)

Q12
(INTERVIEWER: ONLY ASK IF YOU CAN'T TELL FROM THE NAME AND SOUND OF THE VOICE)

I'm required to ask, are you male or female?

1 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY MALE
2 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY FEMALE
3 R ANSWERS MALE
4 R ANSWERS FEMALE

Q13
Are you a U.S. citizen or are you not a US citizen?

1 YES , U.S. CITIZEN
2 NO, NOT A CITIZEN
3 REFUSED

Q14
What is the highest degree or level of school you have **completed**?

IF "12TH GRADE," PROBE: Did you graduate with a high school diploma?

1 NO SCHOOLING COMPLETED
2 NURSERY SCHOOL TO 4TH GRADE
3 5TH OR 6TH GRADE
4 7TH OR 8TH GRADE
5 9TH GRADE
6 10TH GRADE
7 11TH GRADE
8 12TH GRADE NO DIPLOMA
9 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE WITH HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR THE EQUIVALENT (GED)
10 SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
11 ASSOCIATE DEGREE
12 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
13 MASTER'S DEGREE
14 PROFESSIONAL OR DOCTORATE DEGREE
15 REFUSED

Q15
Which one of the following best describes what you did in the election in 2004?

1 You did not vote
2 You voted in person at a polling place on election day
3 You voted in person at a polling place before election day
4 You voted by mailing a ballot to elections officials before election day, or
5 You voted in some other way
6 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE
7 REFUSED

Q16
[NOTE: THE ORDER OF THE TERMS "REPUBLICAN" AND "DEMOCRAT" IS DICTATED BY THE SAMPLE FLAG W1M1ORM3, AS SHOWN BELOW.]

[IF W1M1OR3 = 1] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

[IF W1M1OR3 = 2] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else?

1 REPUBLICAN
2 DEMOCRAT
3 INDEPENDENT [GO TO Q18]
4 SOMETHING ELSE [GO TO Q18]
5 REFUSED [GO TO Q19]

Q17
[IF Q16=1, INSERT "Republican" IN [Democrat/Republican] FILLS. IF Q16=2, INSERT "Democrat" IN [democrat/republican] FILLS.]

Would you call yourself a strong [Democrat/Republican] or a not very strong [Democrat/Republican]?
1 Strong [Democrat/Republican]
2 Not very strong [Democrat/Republican]
3 REFUSED

[GO TO Q19]

Q18
Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, or neither?
1 Closer to the Republican Party
2 Closer to the Democratic Party
3 Neither
4 REFUSED

Q19
[IF SAMPLE VARIABLE XERROR = 1, CONTINUE. ELSE, SKIP TO Q21.]
We had a technical problem with two of the questions on the January survey, so I'm hoping it will be OK with you if I ask you those two questions now so we can record your answers correctly.

Of the following Republicans running for President, who do you think is the most LIKELY to be nominated by the Republican Party?
[SHOW RESPONSES CATEGORIES 1-9 IN NUMERIC ORDER APPEARING IN SAMPLE VARIABLE W1X2ORDER. ALWAYS SHOW CATEGORY 10—REFUSED—AT END OF LIST.]

1 Rudy Giuliani
2 Mitt Romney
3 John McCain
4 Fred Thompson
5 Mike Huckabee
6 Ron Paul
7 Duncan Hunter
8 Alan Keyes
9 Tom Tancredo
10 REFUSED [GO TO Q21]

Q20
What do you think is the percent chance that [CANDIDATE SELECTED IN Q19] will win the 2008 election for president?

PROBE IF RESPONSE IS NOT A NUMBER FROM 0 to 100: What do you think is the percent chance, from 0 to 100, that [CANDIDATE SELECTED IN Q19] will win the 2008 election for president?

(999=REFUSED)

_____ (0-100, 999)

Q21
Do you have any comments about the survey or about your experience so far with the [STUDY NAME]?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 250 characters]

END
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. We really appreciate your help with our study and look forward to being in touch with you next month. Have a great day!
[DISP=COMPLETED INTERVIEW]

END2
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. We really appreciate your help with our study and I'll forward your request for another survey invitation. If by any chance you don't receive the e-mail or have any questions, please give us a call toll-free at 1-800-[NUMBER], and we'll be happy to assist you. Have a great day!
[DISP=NEEDS E-MAIL INVITE]

END3
Good. I'm glad you got it. We look forward to receiving your survey. If by any chance you find that you no longer have the e-mail or have any questions, please give us a call toll-free at 1-800-[NUMBER], and we'll be happy to assist you. Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Have a great day!
[DISP=HAS E-MAIL INVITE]

END4
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. Have a great day!
[DISP=NOT ANES RESPONDENT]

ANES W2 Validation Interview
April 10, 2008

Q1
Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks. May I please speak with [RESPONDENT NAME]?

1 YES, RESPONDENT IS ON LINE
2 YES, RESPONDENT COMING TO PHONE
3 NO/NOT AVAILABLE [SCHEDULE CALLBACK]

Q2
[IF Q1=2: Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks.] I'm calling about the [STUDY NAME], sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Am I correct that you are signed up as a participant in this study with us?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q8]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO Q8]

Q3
I'm calling today just to confirm a couple of things with you. First, our records indicate that we sent you an e-mail on [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE] inviting you to do the February survey for us. Have you done that survey yet for us?

1 YES [GO TO Q6]
2 NO [GO TO Q5]

Q4
How about if we send you another invitation so you can do the survey for us? What email address would you like me to send that to?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO END2]

Q5
Do you remember getting an invitation from us to do the survey on about [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE]?

1 YES [GO TO END3]
2 NO [GO TO Q4]

Q6

Thank you very much. Do you happen to remember what the questions in the survey you did were about?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q11]

Q7
(INTERVIEWER: ENTER RESPONDENT'S COMMENTS ON SURVEY. IF NEEDED: What were the questions in the survey about?)

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO Q11]

Q8
The [STUDY NAME] is a series of monthly surveys being conducted from January 2008 to September 2009. The surveys are conducted via the Internet. Each month, an e-mail notification is being sent to participants asking them to complete that month's survey, and participants are paid $10 for each survey they complete. Do you recall agreeing to participate in the study?

1 YES [GO TO Q3]
2 NO

Q9
By any chance, might someone else in your household have completed the February survey for us instead of you?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO END4]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO END4]

Q10
Who was that?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 50 characters]

[GO TO END4]

Q11
I just need to ask you about seven or eight more questions to double-check a few things in our records. I really appreciate your patience with this. First, in what year were you born?

(9999=REFUSED)

_____ (1900-1999, 9999)

Q12
(INTERVIEWER: ONLY ASK IF YOU CAN'T TELL FROM THE NAME AND SOUND OF THE VOICE)

I'm required to ask, are you male or female?

1 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY MALE
2 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY FEMALE
3 R ANSWERS MALE
4 R ANSWERS FEMALE

Q13
Are you a U.S. citizen or are you not a US citizen?

1 YES , U.S. CITIZEN
2 NO, NOT A CITIZEN
3 REFUSED

Q14
What is the highest degree or level of school you have **completed**?

IF "12TH GRADE," PROBE: Did you graduate with a high school diploma?

1 NO SCHOOLING COMPLETED
2 NURSERY SCHOOL TO 4TH GRADE
3 5TH OR 6TH GRADE
4 7TH OR 8TH GRADE
5 9TH GRADE
6 10TH GRADE
7 11TH GRADE
8 12TH GRADE NO DIPLOMA
9 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE WITH HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR THE EQUIVALENT (GED)
10 SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
11 ASSOCIATE DEGREE
12 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
13 MASTER'S DEGREE
14 PROFESSIONAL OR DOCTORATE DEGREE
15 REFUSED

Q15
When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

1 LIBERAL

2 CONSERVATIVE [GO TO 17]
3 NEITHER LIBERAL NOR CONSERVATIVE [GO TO Q18]
4 REFUSED [GO TO Q19]

Q16
Would you call yourself very liberal or somewhat liberal?
1 VERY LIBERAL
2 SOMEWHAT LIBERAL
3 REFUSED

[GO TO Q19]

Q17
Would you call yourself very conservative or somewhat conservative?
1 VERY CONSERVATIVE
2 SOMEWHAT CONSERVATIVE
3 REFUSED

[GO TO Q19]

Q18
Do you think of yourself as closer to liberals, or conservatives, or neither of these?
1 CLOSER TO LIBERALS
2 CLOSER TO CONSERVATIVES
3 NEITHER OF THESE
4 REFUSED

Q19
Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq?
1 FAVOR
2 OPPOSE
3 NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE
4 REFUSED

Q20
Do you consider yourself Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, another religion, or not religious?
1 CHRISTIAN
2 JEWISH
3 MUSLIM
4 BUDDHIST
5 HINDU
6 ANOTHER RELIGION
7 NOT RELIGIOUS
8 REFUSED

[IF WASHINGTON = 1 IN SAMPLE FILE, ASK Q22-Q25. OTHERWISE, SKIP TO Q26]

Q22

The next few questions are about the presidential caucus and primary election that were held recently in Washington. Washington recently held **a** caucus and primary election— citizens voted to help decide which candidate from each political party will run in next November's election for President of the United States.

During the months leading up to the caucus and primary election, did you ever plan to vote **in a caucus or primary**, or didn't you plan to do that?

1 DID PLAN TO VOTE
2 DID NOT PLAN TO VOTE

Q23

Which one of the following best describes what you did in the caucus or primary?

1 Definitely did **not** vote in a caucus or primary
2 Definitely voted in person at a polling place **on** election day
3 Definitely voted in person at a polling place **before** election day
4 Definitely voted by **mailing** a ballot to elections officials before election day
5 Definitely voted in some other way
6 Not completely sure whether you voted or not

[IF Q23=6, THEN ASK Q24]

Q24

If you had to guess, would you say that you probably did vote in the **caucus or primary**, or probably did not vote in that election?

1 PROBABLY VOTED
2 PROBABLY DID NOT VOTE

[IF Q23=5, THEN ASK Q25]

Q25

How did you vote? Please tell us exactly when, where, and how you voted.

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

Q26

Do you have any comments about the survey or about your experience so far with the [STUDY NAME]?

PROBE FOR DETAILS, LIKES AND DISLIKES ABOUT THE SURVEY, ETC.

_____

[open-ended text box of at least 250 characters]

END
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. We really appreciate your help with our study and look forward to being in touch with you next month. Have a great day!
[DISP=COMPLETED INTERVIEW]

END2
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. We really appreciate your help with our study and I'll forward your request for another survey invitation. If by any chance you don't receive the e-mail or have any questions, please give us a call toll-free at 1-800-[NUMBER], and we'll be happy to assist you. Have a great day!
[DISP=NEEDS E-MAIL INVITE]

END3
Good. I'm glad you got it. We look forward to receiving your survey. If by any chance you find that you no longer have the e-mail or have any questions, please give us a call toll-free at 1-800-[NUMBER], and we'll be happy to assist you. Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Have a great day!
[DISP=HAS E-MAIL INVITE]

END4
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. Have a great day!
[DISP=NOT ANES RESPONDENT]

ANES W6 Validation Interview
August 4, 2008

Q1
Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks. May I please speak with [RESPONDENT NAME]?

1 YES, RESPONDENT IS ON LINE
2 YES, RESPONDENT COMING TO PHONE
3 NO/NOT AVAILABLE [SCHEDULE CALLBACK]

Q2
[IF Q1=2: Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks.] I'm calling about the [STUDY NAME], sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Am I correct that you are signed up as a participant in this study with us?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q8]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO Q8]

Q3
I'm calling today just to confirm a couple of things with you. First, our records indicate that we sent you an e-mail on [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE] inviting you to do the June survey for us. Have you done that survey yet for us?

1 YES [GO TO Q6]
2 NO [GO TO Q5]

Q4
How about if we send you another invitation so you can do the survey for us? What email address would you like me to send that to?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO END2]

Q5
Do you remember getting an invitation from us to do the survey on about [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE]?

1 YES [GO TO END3]
2 NO [GO TO Q4]

Q6
Thank you very much. Do you happen to remember what the questions in the survey you did were about?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q11]

Q7
(INTERVIEWER: ENTER RESPONDENT'S COMMENTS ON SURVEY. IF NEEDED: What were the questions in the survey about?)

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO Q11]

Q8
The [STUDY NAME] is a series of monthly surveys being conducted from January 2008 to September 2009. The surveys are conducted via the Internet. Each month, an e-mail notification is being sent to participants asking them to complete that month's survey, and participants are paid for each survey they complete. Do you recall agreeing to participate in the study?

1 YES [GO TO Q3]
2 NO

Q9
By any chance, might someone else in your household have completed the June survey for us instead of you?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO END4]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO END4]

Q10
Who was that?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 50 characters]

[GO TO END4]

Q11
I just need to ask you a few more questions to double-check a few things in our records. I really appreciate your patience with this. First, in what year were you born?

(9999=REFUSED)

_____ (1900-1999, 9999)

Q12
(INTERVIEWER: ONLY ASK IF YOU CAN'T TELL FROM THE NAME AND SOUND OF THE VOICE)

I'm required to ask, are you male or female?

1 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY MALE
2 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY FEMALE
3 R ANSWERS MALE
4 R ANSWERS FEMALE

Q13
Are you a U.S. citizen or are you not a US citizen?

1 YES , U.S. CITIZEN
2 NO, NOT A CITIZEN
3 REFUSED

Q14
What is the highest degree or level of school you have **completed**?

IF "12TH GRADE," PROBE: Did you graduate with a high school diploma?

1 NO SCHOOLING COMPLETED
2 NURSERY SCHOOL TO 4TH GRADE
3 5TH OR 6TH GRADE
4 7TH OR 8TH GRADE
5 9TH GRADE
6 10TH GRADE
7 11TH GRADE
8 12TH GRADE NO DIPLOMA
9 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE WITH HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR THE EQUIVALENT (GED)
10 SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
11 ASSOCIATE DEGREE
12 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
13 MASTER'S DEGREE
14 PROFESSIONAL OR DOCTORATE DEGREE
15 REFUSED

Q15
Do you think the United States should or should not have sent troops to fight the war in Iraq in 2003?

1 SHOULD HAVE
2 SHOULD NOT HAVE
3 DON'T KNOW/REFUSED

Q16
Have you ever attended a meeting of a town or city government or school board?

1 HAVE DONE THIS
2 NEVER HAVE DONE THIS

Q17
Do you have a radio that is **battery operated or hand-cranked** in your home?

1 YES
2 NO

Q18
Do you have any comments about the survey or about your experience so far with the [STUDY NAME]?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 250 characters]

END
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. We really appreciate your help with our study and look forward to being in touch with you next month. Have a great day!
[DISP=COMPLETED INTERVIEW]

END2
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. We really appreciate your help with our study and I'll forward your request for another survey invitation. If by any chance you don't receive the e-mail or have any questions, please give us a call toll-free at 1-800-[NUMBER], and we'll be happy to assist you. Have a great day!
[DISP=NEEDS E-MAIL INVITE]

END3
Good. I'm glad you got it. We look forward to receiving your survey. If by any chance you find that you no longer have the e-mail or have any questions, please give us a call toll-free at 1-800-[NUMBER], and we'll be happy to assist you. Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Have a great day!
[DISP=HAS E-MAIL INVITE]

END4
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. Have a great day!
[DISP=NOT ANES RESPONDENT]

ANES W9 Validation Interview
October 7, 2008

Q1
Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks. May I please speak with [RESPONDENT NAME]?

1 YES, RESPONDENT IS ON LINE
2 YES, RESPONDENT COMING TO PHONE
3 NO/NOT AVAILABLE [SCHEDULE CALLBACK]

Q2
[IF Q1=2: Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks.] I'm calling about the [STUDY NAME], sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Am I correct that you are signed up as a participant in this study with us?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q8]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO Q8]

Q3
I'm calling today just to confirm a couple of things with you. First, our records indicate that we sent you an e-mail on [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE] inviting you to do the ~~June~~ September survey for us.

[GO TO Q6]

Q6
Do you happen to remember what the questions in the survey you did were about?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q11]

Q7
(INTERVIEWER: ENTER RESPONDENT'S COMMENTS ON SURVEY. IF NEEDED: What were the questions in the survey about?)

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO Q11]

Q8
The [STUDY NAME] is a series of monthly surveys being conducted ~~from January 2008 to~~ through September 2009. The surveys are conducted via the Internet. Each month, an e-mail notification is being sent to participants asking them to complete that month's survey, and participants are paid for each survey they complete. Do you recall agreeing to participate in the study?

1 YES [GO TO Q3]

2 NO

Q9
By any chance, might someone else in your household have completed the ~~June~~ September survey for us instead of you?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO END4]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO END4]

Q10
Who was that?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 50 characters]

[GO TO END4]

Q11
I just need to ask you a few more questions to double-check a few things in our records. I really appreciate your patience with this. First, in what year were you born?

(9999=REFUSED)
_____ (1900-1999, 9999)

Q12
(INTERVIEWER: ONLY ASK IF YOU CAN'T TELL FROM THE NAME AND SOUND OF THE VOICE)

I'm required to ask, are you male or female?

1 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY MALE
2 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY FEMALE
3 R ANSWERS MALE
4 R ANSWERS FEMALE

Q13
Are you a U.S. citizen or are you not a US citizen?

1 YES , U.S. CITIZEN
2 NO, NOT A CITIZEN
3 REFUSED

Q14
What is the highest degree or level of school you have **completed**?

IF "12TH GRADE," PROBE: Did you graduate with a high school diploma?

1 NO SCHOOLING COMPLETED

2 NURSERY SCHOOL TO 4TH GRADE
3 5TH OR 6TH GRADE
4 7TH OR 8TH GRADE
5 9TH GRADE
6 10TH GRADE
7 11TH GRADE
8 12TH GRADE NO DIPLOMA
9 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE WITH HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR THE EQUIVALENT (GED)
10 SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
11 ASSOCIATE DEGREE
12 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
13 MASTER'S DEGREE
14 PROFESSIONAL OR DOCTORATE DEGREE
15 REFUSED

Q15
What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, some other religion, or no religion?

1 PROTESTANT
2 CATHOLIC
3 JEWISH
4 SOME OTHER RELIGION
5 NO RELIGION

Q16
Do you own your home, rent your home, or have some other arrangement?

1 OWN
2 RENT
3 SOME OTHER ARRANGEMENT

Q17
[NOTE: THE ORDER OF THE TERMS "REPUBLICAN" AND "DEMOCRAT" IS DICTATED BY THE SAMPLE FLAG W1M1ORM3, AS SHOWN BELOW.]

[IF W1M1OR3 = 1] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

[IF W1M1OR3 = 2] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else?

1 REPUBLICAN
2 DEMOCRAT
3 INDEPENDENT [GO TO Q19]
4 SOMETHING ELSE [GO TO Q19]
5 REFUSED [GO TO Q20]

Q18
[IF Q17=1, INSERT "Republican" IN [Democrat/Republican] FILLS. IF Q17=2, INSERT "Democrat" IN [democrat/republican] FILLS.]

Would you call yourself a strong [Democrat/Republican] or a not very strong [Democrat/Republican]?

1 STRONG [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN]
2 NOT VERY STRONG [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN]
3 REFUSED

[GO TO Q20]

Q19
Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, or neither?

1 CLOSER TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
2 CLOSER TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
3 Neither
4 REFUSED

Q20
Do you have any comments about the survey or about your experience so far with the [STUDY NAME]?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 250 characters]

END
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. We really appreciate your help with our study and look forward to your next survey. Have a great day!
[DISP=COMPLETED INTERVIEW]

END4
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. Have a great day!
[DISP=NOT ANES RESPONDENT]

ANES W10 Validation Interview
November 10, 2008

Q1
Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks. May I please speak with [RESPONDENT NAME]?

1 YES, RESPONDENT IS ON LINE
2 YES, RESPONDENT COMING TO PHONE
3 NO/NOT AVAILABLE [SCHEDULE CALLBACK]

Q2
[IF Q1=2: Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks.] I'm calling about the [STUDY NAME], sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Am I correct that you are signed up as a participant in this study with us?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q8]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO Q8]

Q3
I'm calling today just to confirm a couple of things with you. First, our records indicate that we sent you an e-mail on [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE] inviting you to do the October survey for us.

[GO TO Q6]

Q6
Do you happen to remember what the questions in the survey you did were about?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q11]

Q7
(INTERVIEWER: ENTER RESPONDENT'S COMMENTS ON SURVEY. IF NEEDED: What were the questions in the survey about?)

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO Q11]

Q8
The [STUDY NAME] is a series of monthly surveys being conducted through September 2009. The surveys are conducted via the Internet. Each month, an e-mail notification is being sent to participants asking them to complete that month's survey, and participants are paid for each survey they complete. Do you recall agreeing to participate in the study?

1 YES [GO TO Q3]
2 NO

Q9
By any chance, might someone else in your household have completed the October survey for us instead of you?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO END4]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO END4]

Q10
Who was that?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 50 characters]

[GO TO END4]

Q11
I just need to ask you a few more questions to double-check a few things in our records. I really appreciate your patience with this. First, in what year were you born?

(9999=REFUSED)
_____ (1900-1999, 9999)

Q12
(INTERVIEWER: ONLY ASK IF YOU CAN'T TELL FROM THE NAME AND SOUND OF THE VOICE)

I'm required to ask, are you male or female?

1 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY MALE
2 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY FEMALE
3 R ANSWERS MALE
4 R ANSWERS FEMALE

Q13
Are you a U.S. citizen or are you not a US citizen?

1 YES , U.S. CITIZEN
2 NO, NOT A CITIZEN
3 REFUSED

Q14
What is the highest degree or level of school you have **completed**?

IF "12TH GRADE," PROBE: Did you graduate with a high school diploma?

1 NO SCHOOLING COMPLETED
2 NURSERY SCHOOL TO 4TH GRADE

3 5TH OR 6TH GRADE
4 7TH OR 8TH GRADE
5 9TH GRADE
6 10TH GRADE
7 11TH GRADE
8 12TH GRADE NO DIPLOMA
9 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE WITH HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR THE EQUIVALENT (GED)
10 SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
11 ASSOCIATE DEGREE
12 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
13 MASTER'S DEGREE
14 PROFESSIONAL OR DOCTORATE DEGREE
15 REFUSED

Q15
During a typical week, how many days do you read news in a printed newspaper, not including sports?

__ days [PULLDOWN NUMBER RANGE: 0-7]

Q16
Scientists use the term "global warming" to refer to the idea that the world's average temperature may be about five degrees Fahrenheit higher in 75 years than it is now. Overall, would you say that global warming would be good, bad, or neither good nor bad?

1 Good
2 Bad
3 Neither good nor bad

Q17
[NOTE: THE ORDER OF THE TERMS "REPUBLICAN" AND "DEMOCRAT" IS DICTATED BY THE SAMPLE FLAG W1M1ORM3, AS SHOWN BELOW.]

[IF W1M1OR3 = 1] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

[IF W1M1OR3 = 2] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else?

1 REPUBLICAN
2 DEMOCRAT
3 INDEPENDENT [GO TO Q19]
4 SOMETHING ELSE [GO TO Q19]
5 REFUSED [GO TO Q20]

Q18
[IF Q17=1, INSERT "Republican" IN [Democrat/Republican] FILLS. IF Q17=2, INSERT "Democrat" IN [democrat/republican] FILLS.]

Would you call yourself a strong [Democrat/Republican] or a not very strong [Democrat/Republican]?

1 STRONG [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN]
2 NOT VERY STRONG [DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN]
3 REFUSED

[GO TO Q20]

Q19
Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, or neither?

1 CLOSER TO THE REPUBLICAN PARTY
2 CLOSER TO THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY
3 Neither
4 REFUSED

Q20
Do you have any comments about the survey or about your experience so far with the [STUDY NAME]?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 250 characters]

END
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. We really appreciate your help with our study and look forward to your next survey. Have a great day!
[DISP=COMPLETED INTERVIEW]

END4
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. Have a great day!
[DISP=NOT ANES RESPONDENT]

ANES W11 Validation Interview
December 15, 2008

Q1
Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks. May I please speak with [RESPONDENT NAME]?

1 YES, RESPONDENT IS ON LINE
2 YES, RESPONDENT COMING TO PHONE
3 NO/NOT AVAILABLE [SCHEDULE CALLBACK]

Q2
[IF Q1=2: Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks.] I'm calling about the [STUDY NAME], sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Am I correct that you are signed up as a participant in this study with us?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q8]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO Q8]

Q3
I'm calling today just to confirm a couple of things with you. First, our records indicate that we sent you an e-mail on [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE] inviting you to do the November survey for us.

[GO TO Q6]

Q6
Do you happen to remember what the questions in the survey you did were about?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q11]

Q7
(INTERVIEWER: ENTER RESPONDENT'S COMMENTS ON SURVEY. IF NEEDED: What were the questions in the survey about?)

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO Q11]

Q8
The [STUDY NAME] is a series of monthly surveys being conducted through September 2009. The surveys are conducted via the Internet. Each month, an e-mail notification is being sent to participants asking them to complete that month's survey, and participants are paid for each survey they complete. Do you recall agreeing to participate in the study?

1 YES [GO TO Q3]
2 NO

Q9
By any chance, might someone else in your household have completed the November survey for us instead of you?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO END4]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO END4]

Q10
Who was that?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 50 characters]

[GO TO END4]

Q11
I just need to ask you a few more questions to double-check a few things in our records. I really appreciate your patience with this. First, what year were you born?

(9999=REFUSED)
_____ (1900-1999, 9999)

Q12
(INTERVIEWER: ONLY ASK IF YOU CAN'T TELL FROM THE NAME AND SOUND OF THE VOICE)

I'm required to ask, are you male or female?

1 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY MALE
2 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY FEMALE
3 R ANSWERS MALE
4 R ANSWERS FEMALE

Q13
Are you a U.S. citizen or are you not a US citizen?

1 YES , U.S. CITIZEN
2 NO, NOT A CITIZEN
3 REFUSED

Q14
What is the highest degree or level of school you have **completed**?

IF "12TH GRADE," PROBE: Did you graduate with a high school diploma?

1 NO SCHOOLING COMPLETED
2 NURSERY SCHOOL TO 4TH GRADE

3 5TH OR 6TH GRADE
4 7TH OR 8TH GRADE
5 9TH GRADE
6 10TH GRADE
7 11TH GRADE
8 12TH GRADE NO DIPLOMA
9 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE WITH HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR THE EQUIVALENT (GED)
10 SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
11 ASSOCIATE DEGREE
12 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
13 MASTER'S DEGREE
14 PROFESSIONAL OR DOCTORATE DEGREE
15 REFUSED

Q15
Which one of the following best describes what you did in the election on November 4th?

1 You definitely did **not** vote
2 You definitely voted in person at a polling place **on** election day

3 You definitely voted in person at a polling place **before** election day
4 You definitely voted by **mailing** a ballot to elections officials before election day
5 You definitely voted in some other way, or

6 You're not completely sure whether you voted or not

Q16
Do you own your home, rent your home, or have some other arrangement?

1 OWN
2 RENT
3 SOME OTHER ARRANGEMENT

Q17
Which statement best describes your current employment status?

1 Working – as a paid employee
2 Working – self-employed
3 Not working – on temporary layoff from a job
4 Not working – looking for work
5 Not working – retired
6 Not working – disabled
7 Not working – other

Q18
Do you have any comments about the survey or about your experience so far with the [STUDY NAME]?

_____

[open-ended text box of at least 250 characters]

END

Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. We really appreciate your help with our study and look forward to your next survey. Have a great day!
[DISP=COMPLETED INTERVIEW]

END4

Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. Have a great day!
[DISP=NOT ANES RESPONDENT]

ANES W17 Validation Interview
May 27, 2009

Q1
Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks. May I please speak with [RESPONDENT NAME]?

1 YES, RESPONDENT IS ON LINE
2 YES, RESPONDENT COMING TO PHONE
3 NO/NOT AVAILABLE [SCHEDULE CALLBACK]

Q2
[IF Q1=2: Hello, this is (INTERVIEWER NAME) calling from Knowledge Networks.] I'm calling about the [STUDY NAME], sponsored by Stanford University and the University of Michigan. Am I correct that you are signed up as a participant in this study with us?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q8]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO Q8]

Q3
I'm calling today just to confirm a couple of things with you. First, our records indicate that we sent you an e-mail on [E-MAIL DATE FROM SAMPLE FILE] inviting you to do the May survey for us.

[GO TO Q6]

Q6
Do you happen to remember what the questions in the survey you did were about?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO Q11]

Q7
(INTERVIEWER: ENTER RESPONDENT'S COMMENTS ON SURVEY. IF NEEDED: What were the questions in the survey about?)

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 100 characters]

[GO TO Q11]

Q8
The [STUDY NAME] is a series of monthly surveys being conducted through September 2009. The surveys are conducted via the Internet. Each month, an e-mail notification is being sent to participants asking them to complete that month's survey, and participants are paid for each survey they complete. Do you recall agreeing to participate in the study?

1 YES [GO TO Q3]
2 NO

Q9
By any chance, might someone else in your household have completed the May survey for us instead of you?

1 YES
2 NO [GO TO END4]
3 DON'T KNOW/NOT SURE [GO TO END4]

Q10
Who was that?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 50 characters]

[GO TO END4]

Q11
I just need to ask you a few more questions to double-check a few things in our records. I really appreciate your patience with this. First, what year were you born?

(9999=REFUSED)
_____ (1900-1999, 9999)

Q12
(INTERVIEWER: ONLY ASK IF YOU CAN'T TELL FROM THE NAME AND SOUND OF THE VOICE)

I'm required to ask, are you male or female?

1 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY MALE
2 Q NOT ASKED, CAN TELL R OBVIOUSLY FEMALE
3 R ANSWERS MALE
4 R ANSWERS FEMALE

Q13
Are you a U.S. citizen or are you not a US citizen?

1 YES , U.S. CITIZEN
2 NO, NOT A CITIZEN
3 REFUSED

Q14
What is the highest degree or level of school you have **completed**?

IF "12TH GRADE," PROBE: Did you graduate with a high school diploma?

1 NO SCHOOLING COMPLETED
2 NURSERY SCHOOL TO 4TH GRADE

3 5TH OR 6TH GRADE
4 7TH OR 8TH GRADE
5 9TH GRADE
6 10TH GRADE
7 11TH GRADE
8 12TH GRADE NO DIPLOMA
9 HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE WITH HIGH SCHOOL DIPLOMA OR THE EQUIVALENT (GED)
10 SOME COLLEGE, NO DEGREE
11 ASSOCIATE DEGREE
12 BACHELOR'S DEGREE
13 MASTER'S DEGREE
14 PROFESSIONAL OR DOCTORATE DEGREE
15 REFUSED

Q15
[NOTE: THE ORDER OF THE TERMS "REPUBLICAN" AND "DEMOCRAT" IS DICTATED BY THE SAMPLE FLAGE L1ORL3, AS SHOWN BELOW.]

[IF L1ORL3 = 1:]Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or something else?

[IF L1ORL3 = 2:]Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else?

1 REPUBLICAN
2 DEMOCRAT
3 INDEPENDENT
4 SOMETHING ELSE

Q16
Do you have a radio that is battery operated or hand-cranked in your home?
1 YES
2 NO

Q17
Do you have a first aid kit in your home?
1 YES
2 NO

Q18
Do you have any comments about the survey or about your experience so far with the [STUDY NAME]?

_____
[open-ended text box of at least 250 characters]

END
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. We really appreciate your help with our study and look forward to your next survey. Have a great day!

[DISP=COMPLETED INTERVIEW]

END4
Thanks so much for taking time to talk with me today. Those are all my questions. Have a great day!
[DISP=NOT ANES RESPONDENT]

Addendum: Wave 22, October 2009

As the Panel Study was nearing its end, Knowledge Networks asked permission to run a 22nd wave of data collection with the panelists in October, 2009. ANES granted permission for this on the understanding that the data from this additional month of data collection would be made public on the same terms as the rest of the Panel Study's off-waves. Apart from this addendum, this methodology report does not discuss or document the 22nd wave because it was solely an initiative of Knowledge Networks. It was not part of the Panel Study design, was not requested or paid for by ANES, and was added to the panel at a late date, after much of the documentation and data processing for the Panel Study were complete.

This is a supplemental, free, bonus wave of extra off-wave (non-ANES) data available to the ANES user community. The data for "Wave 22" are included in the supplemental data file that contains the off-wave data, on the ANES web site. The survey contains questions about charitable donations, empathy, generosity, religion, authoritarianism, immigration, political knowledge, the Iraq war, preferences for government services, and other topics.

The investigators responsible for this wave were as follows:

Jane Junn, University of Southern California
Cindy Kam, Vanderbilt University
Jon Krosnick, Stanford University
Natalie Masuoka, Tufts University
Joanne Miller, University of Minnesota
Mark Ottoni Wilhelm, Indiana University
Ann Williams, Georgia State University