Guide to the

Candidate Emergence and

Public Financing of Elections Dataset

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Referencing the Study

In papers or publications utilizing this dataset, we kindly ask users to refer to it as the CEPF dataset and to cite as follows:

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Introduction

The Candidate Emergence and Public Financing of Elections Dataset was created to test if Connecticut's "Clean Elections" system of campaign finance affects the decision to run for office. This study uses a panel design of two survey waves of potential candidates for state legislature before and after the implementation of the Citizens' Election Program. It includes a similar sample of local political elites from the commonwealth of Massachusetts as a control group. Panel studies typically have greater power to explain causality than cross-sectional analysis because the former provide observations of the same respondents over time. This allows the researcher to eliminate the unobserved time-invariant differences across individuals that are associated with cross-sectional designs. By interviewing individuals before and after the implementation of public funding, the panel design supports stronger inferences about the temporal order of change in behaviors produced by a treatment.

This guide describes the methodology that was used in constructing the sample for the various waves of the surveys and offers a full description of the dataset. There are two principal parts to the data: 1) pre-implementation questions taken in 2007; 2) post-implementation questions taken in 2009. Variables with the prefix, "post_" indicate that these questions are from the 2009 wave of the survey. The survey instruments from each wave are included in this document. The surveys include demographic information from each respondent, their backgrounds in politics, motivations or discouragements in running for office, and their assessments of their home districts. The vast majority of questions remain exactly the same between waves, though a few questions were added or omitted between the two points in time.

Sampling Methodology

The sample population is potential candidates for the state legislature in two New England states. Connecticut is chosen because the legislature passed public financing reform in 2005 for implementation in 2008. Massachusetts is included because it provides reasonable comparison with the "experimental" state. The legislatures in these states are of a similar size, with the Massachusetts lower chamber having 160 seats and the Connecticut lower chamber having 151. In both states, members of the lower chamber also serve two-year terms with no term limits. Both legislatures also rank among the top-half of states in terms of legislative professionalism, though the Massachusetts legislature, which ranks fourth in professionalism, is clearly more professional than Connecticut's, which ranks 19th (Squire 2007). Legislators in Massachusetts are paid approximately twice as much as those in Connecticut ($60,000 to $30,000) and the Massachusetts legislature employs almost twice as many permanent staff as Connecticut's.[1]

Culturally the states are similar. They embody a New England political tradition, dominated by the Democratic Party, and rooted in ethnic Irish and Italian urban machines of the early 20th century. While a study of New England states might decrease the external validity of the study, the design allows for control of political culture, which is a notoriously difficult variable to conceptualize and measure (Jackman and Miller 1996).

A key challenge of the research is to identify the non-candidates, meaning those who "don't show up" during elections but who are nonetheless, plausible candidates. Since the goal of the analysis is to observe whether the treatment affects behavior of potential candidates, it is necessary to create a sample of individuals who might conceivably run for office. The study relies on two methods to identify these individuals. First, it uses a

[1] According to data acquired from the National Conference of State legislatures.

reputational approach that asks political notables in local communities to identify people who would make good candidates for the state legislature (whether or not they expressed an interest in running).[2] These "informants" were selected based on the expectation that they are knowledgeable about politics in the district, but not necessarily inclined to run as candidates themselves. They included delegates to state party conventions, county and town party chairs, as well as business, labor, and other civic leaders. The second method is a positional approach that taps individuals at organizations where candidates for the state legislature tend to emerge, such as leaders of town and school boards, labor unions, bar associations, business groups, religious congregations and civic organizations.[3] Names were first collected using the reputational approach and subsequent surveys were sent to a larger population using the positional approach. In the end, 12% of the sample list comes through the reputational method and 88% through the positional method.

The first wave of the panel was sent in April 2007 to the list of potential candidates asking them a range of questions about their personal and political background, their interest in running for different offices, deterrents to and motivations for running, and their assessment of their chances of winning the party nomination and general election in upcoming elections for the state legislature. In total, 3,326 surveys were sent out and 628 were returned (283 from Connecticut and 345 from Massachusetts), resulting in a response

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[2] The survey was based on the instruments developed by Maisel, L. Sandy, and Walter J. Stone. 1997. "Determinants of Candidate Emergence in U. S. House Elections: An Exploratory Study." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 22(1):79-96.

[3] The informant list included names and addresses of partisan and community leaders (informants) in the three states. Local party leaders and committee members were identified by calling the state headquarters and saving committee lists from party websites. Names of local elected officials (mayors, select board) were collected through state government websites. The names and addresses of leaders of civic organizations were gathered from the websites of religious, education, business and civic action groups throughout each state.

rate of 19%.[4] Women and minority respondents were over-sampled by sending surveys to all civic organizations that could be identified with women and minorities in leadership positions. The second wave of the panel was sent in April 2009 to all 628 respondents that returned surveys in the first wave. Of these, 359 returned the second round of surveys (163 from Connecticut and 196 from Massachusetts) for a response rate of 57%. The characteristics of respondents in wave 2 are virtually identical to those in wave 1.

The sampling approach requires some caveats. In creating lists of potential candidates by looking at leadership in established civic organizations and asking other political elites, the sample is plausibly biased toward traditional types of candidates who tend to be strategic about running rather than those who might be qualified but have not considered running for office. The research design, however, tries to offset this bias by sending more than 30% of the surveys to individuals who did not hold local elective or appointive office, but were leaders of community organizations, and by oversampling groups under-represented in the legislature (women and minorities). Despite these efforts, almost 90% of returns came from came from individuals who have had some experience in local elective office. About 50% serve or have served as members of the Town Select Board; 23% have experience on New England-style Town Committee[5]; 16% have School Board experience; and 5% have been mayors (and many have served in multiple positions). These aggregate data suggest that the vast majority of the respondents have already made the first step on the career ladder in politics, either by running for a local position or serving in local

[4] Informants in this study provided the names of 357 potential candidates, which in turn, generated surveys from 83 individuals for a 23% response rate.

[5] Being elected to Town Committee in most New England towns is not an arduous task. It usually just requires getting a short list of signatures to put your name on the ballot and frequently the seats for each local ward are not filled. A few New England towns keep the tradition of allowing any resident who shows up for the town meeting to vote on public issues.

government as an appointee. They therefore reflect a group of citizens who participate in politics more than the average citizen. Since these respondents are already highly engaged in politics, we would expect them to pay close attention to changes in electoral rules, including changes to the campaign finance system.

Variable List

The *candidate_emergence_public_financing.dta* Stata file contains the following variables from the two waves of the survey. Searchable PDFs of the survey instruments and letters to respondents are below.

Time_Stamp	
BatchNo	
plink	
surveycode	
Residence	State of Residence
q1	1. Campaigns active
pres	1. Campaigns active: presidency
senate	1. Campaigns active: senate
house	1. Campaigns active: house
gov	1. Campaigns active: governor
stlegcamp	1. Campaigns active: state leg
oth1	1. Campaigns active: other state
local	1. Campaigns active: local
none	1. Campaigns active: none
q2	2. Held elected or appointed office
q3	3. Family held elected or appointed office
q4	4. Worked staff to elected or appointed official
q5	5. Appointed office held
none5	5. Appointed office held: none
town	5. Appointed office held: town/school commission
state5	5. Appointed office held: statewide commission
oth5	5. Appointed office held: other
q6	6. Elected office held
non	6. Elected office held: none
schl	6. Elected office held: school board
twnbrd	6. Elected office held: town select board
twncom	6. Elected office held: town committee
may	6. Elected office held: mayor
oth6	6. Elected office held: other
q7	7. Time spent conducting business: elected office
q8	8. Term end 2008
q9	9. Year required to leave term limits
q10	10. Seek re-election when term ends
q11	11. Time held this elected office
q12	12. Additional terms expect to serve
q13	13. Plans once leaving elected office
q14	14. How many constituents in your district
q15	15. What proportion of State Rep constituents you represent
q16	16. Difficult for average candidate elected to your office
q17	17. Elected office partisan or non-partisan

q18	18. Partisan positions: how nominated
q19a	19. Characteristics of office: good stepping-stone
q19b	19. Characteristics of office: satisfy policy goals
q19c	19. Characteristics of office: serve public with time for private life
q20	20. Run for State Rep in 2006
q21	21. Consider running for State Rep in 2006
q22	22. Interest in holding elected office in future
q23a	23. Factors for participation: influencing public policy
q23b	23. Factors for participation: advancing political career
q23c	23. Factors for participation: advancing career outside politics
q23d	23. Factors for participation: increasing business contacts
q23e	23. Factors for participation: increasing social contacts
q23f	23. Factors for participation: serving the public
q23g	23. Factors for participation: dedication to a particular candidate
q23h	23. Factors for participation: excitement of politics
q23i	23. Factors for participation: concern about a particular issue
q23j	23. Factors for participation: supporting political party
q23k	23. Factors for participation: improving local community
q23l	23. Factors for participation: other
q24a	24. Personal attraction political career: local office
q24b	24. Personal attraction political career: state legislature
q24c	24. Personal attraction political career: U.S. House
q24d	24. Personal attraction political career: U.S. Senate
q24e	24. Personal attraction political career: Governor
q25	25. Difficulty to get on primary ballot for State Rep
q26	26. Easier on primary ballot increase running for State Rep
q27	27. Difficulty to win the primary for State Rep
q28	28. Easier to win the primary increase running for State Rep
q29	29. Estimate cost to run in primary for State Rep
q30	30. Estimate cost to run in general election for State Rep
q31	31. Availability of public funds increase chance running for State Rep
q32	32. What kind public funding system prefer
q33a	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: lost privacy
q33b	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: negative political career
q33c	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: negative home/family life
q33d	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: loss of leisure time
q33e	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: negative advertising
q33f	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: raising money
q33g	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: lost income
q33h	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: serving in minority party
q33i	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: give up career
q33j	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: difficulty of running campaign
q33k	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: length of campaign
q33l	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: time spent as state leg
q33m	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: redistricting
q33n	33. Factors discourage running State Rep: little power
q34	34. Give up current career to campaign
q35a	35. Prestige: state legislature

q35b	35. Prestige: Governor
q35c	35. Prestige: U.S. House
q35d	35. Prestige: U.S. Senate
q35e	35. Prestige: Democratic Party
q35f	35. Prestige: Republican Party
q36a	36. 2006 likelihood won: party nomination State Rep
q36b	36. 2006 likelihood won: general election State Rep
q37a	37. Seek nomination State Rep: 2008 election
q37b	37. Seek nomination State Rep: foreseeable future
q37c	37. Seek nomination State Rep: if seat opens
q38a	38. Win party nomination for State Rep: 2008 election
q38b	38. Win party nomination for State Rep: foreseeable future
q38c	38. Win party nomination for State Rep: if seat opens
q39a	39. Win general election for State Rep: 2008 election
q39b	39. Win general election for State Rep: foreseeable future
q39c	39. Win general election for State Rep: if seat opens
q40a	40. Run in primary start of race: no chance, send message
q40b	40. Run in primary start of race: another candidate favored
q40c	40. Run in primary start of race: toss-up
q40d	40. Run in primary start of race: slightly favored
q40e	40. Run in primary start of race: certain to win primary
q41a	41. Run in general election start of race: no chance, party on ballot
q41b	41. Run in general election start of race: opponent slightly favored
q41c	41. Run in general election start of race: toss-up
q41d	41. Run in general election start of race: slightly favored
q41e	41. Run in general election start of race: certain to win
q42	42. Information used assess chances win nom and general
q42pastresu	42. Information used: past election results
q42pastlevl	42. Information used: past levels of fundraising and spending
q42statepol	42. Information used: state political party organization
q42localpol	42. Information used: local political party organization
q42campcons	42. Information used: campaign consultants
q42newspap	42. Information used: newspaper or other media
q42groups	42. Information used: interest groups
q42offhold	42. Information used: current office holder
q42friends	42. Information used: circle of friends
q42busilead	42. Information used: business leaders
q42union	42. Information used: union leaders
q42loccomm	42. Information used: local community leaders
q42other	42. Information used: other
q43a	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: name recognition
q43b	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: raise money to fund campaign
q43c	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: ability to fund own campaign
q43d	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: interest group support
q43e	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: strength as a campaigner
q43f	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: state party/leg. com. support
q43g	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: find solutions to problems
q43h	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: work with other potential leaders

q43i	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: public speaking abilities
q43j	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: dedication to public service
q43k	43. Qualities as a potential candidate: strength as a public servant
q44a	44. Groups contacted running: state political party
q44b	44. Groups contacted running: political party in district/town
q44c	44. Groups contacted running: state legislative caucus/campaign comm.
q44d	44. Groups contacted running: local community leaders
q44e	44. Groups contacted running: statehouse leaders
q44f	44. Groups contacted running: family members
q44g	44. Groups contacted running: neighbors
q44h	44. Groups contacted running: co-workers/business partners
q44i	44. Groups contacted running: acquaintances in a service organization
q44j	44. Groups contacted running: acquaintances from church
q44k	44. Groups contacted running: members of non-service organization
q44l	44. Groups contacted running: national interest groups
q44m	44. Groups contacted running: media members
q44n	44. Groups contacted running: others
q45	45. Mentioned by local media state rep candidate
q46a	46. Influences in district on voters: party affiliation
q46b	46. Influences in district on voters: visibility of campaign
q46c	46. Influences in district on voters: issue positions of candidate
q46d	46. Influences in district on voters: candidate integrity
q46e	46. Influences in district on voters: loyalty to incumbent
q46f	46. Influences in district on voters: incumbent performance
q46g	46. Influences in district on voters: contact by campaigns
q46h	46. Influences in district on voters: media/news opinions
q46i	46. Influences in district on voters: mass media advertising
q46j	46. Influences in district on voters: political party endorsement
q46k	46. Influences in district on voters: local elected officials endorsement
q47a	47. Political philosophy in State Rep district: voters
q47b	47. Political philosophy in State Rep district: incumbent
q47c	47. Political philosophy in State Rep district: Republican voters
q47d	47. Political philosophy in State Rep district: Democratic voters
q48a	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: local political
q48b	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: state political
q48c	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: national political
q48d	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: State House feelings
q48e	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: Governor feelings
q48f	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: state economic
q48g	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: local economic
q48h	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: redistricting
q48i	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: public funds
q48j	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: ballot initiatives
q48k	48. Political conditions affecting campaigns: choices for president
q49a	49. 2008 election outcomes: incumbent run for re-election
q49b	49. 2008 election outcomes: incumbent win primary
q49c	49. 2008 election outcomes: incumbent win general
q49d	49. 2008 election outcomes: strong non-incumbent Republican

q49e	49. 2008 election outcomes: strong non-incumbent Democrat
q50a	50. 2006 Republican State Rep Candidate: name recognition
q50b	50. 2006 Republican State Rep Candidate: ability to raise money
q50c	50. 2006 Republican State Rep Candidate: personal integrity
q50d	50. 2006 Republican State Rep Candidate: dedication to serving public
q50e	50. 2006 Republican State Rep Candidate: overall strength
q50f	50. 2006 Republican State Rep Candidate: address voter concerns
q50g	50. 2006 Republican State Rep Candidate: incumbent
q51a	51. 2006 Democratic State Rep Candidate: name recognition
q51b	51. 2006 Democratic State Rep Candidate: ability to raise money
q51c	51. 2006 Democratic State Rep Candidate: personal integrity
q51d	51. 2006 Democratic State Rep Candidate: dedication to serving public
q51e	51. 2006 Democratic State Rep Candidate: address voter concerns
q51f	51. 2006 Democratic State Rep Candidate: overall strength
q51g	51. 2006 Democratic State Rep Candidate: incumbent
q52a	52. 2006 Strength of local party: Democratic
q52b	52. 2006 Strength of local party: Republican
q52c	52. 2006 Strength of local party: Other party
q53	53. Incumbents taking contributions interfere with public interest
q54	54. Sex
q55	55. Race
hisp	55. Race: Latino or Hispanic
blk	55. Race: Black
blkhisp	55. Race: Black and/or Hispanic
asia	55. Race: Asian
natam	55. Race: Native American
wht	55. Race: White
whtinc50	White or Nonwhite interaction with faminc50
oth55	55. Race: Other
nonwhite	R is mixed race or nonwhite (q55)
q56	56. Age
q57	57. Marital Status
q58	58. Commute to state capitol
q59a	59. Children under age of 6
q59b	59. Children under age of 6: how many
q60	60. Time lived in community
q61	61. Present employment status
nojob	61. Present employment status: unemployed
retire	61. Present employment status: retired
disable	61. Present employment status: disabled
home	61. Present employment status: homemaker
stud	61. Present employment status: student
employ	61. Present employment status: employed
oth61	61. Present employment status: other
tempoff	61. Present employment status: temporarily laid-off
q62	62. Employed: kind of organization
q63	63. Current occupation
q64	64. Party affiliation

q65	65. Party to run for office
q66	66. Own political philosophy
q67	67. Approximate family income
q68	68. Date completing survey
zipcode	Zip Code
staterep	State Rep
district	District
v21	legislative districts
time_sta	Time_Stamp
batchno	BatchNo
post_q1	1. Campaigns active
post_q2	2. Held elected office
post_q3	3. Held appointed office
post_q4	4. Family held elected or appointed office
post_q5	5. Worked staff to elected or appointed official
post_q6	6. Appointed office held
post_none6	none6
post_town6	town6
post_state6	state6
post_q7	7. Elected office held
post_q8	8. Time spent conducting business: elected office
post_q9	9. Term end 2010
post_q10	10. Year required to leave term limits
post_q11	11. Seek re-election when term ends
post_q12	12. Time held this elected office
post_q13	13. Additional terms expect to serve
post_q14	14. Plans once leaving elected office
post_q15	15. How many constituents in your district
post_q16	16. What proportion of State Rep constituents you represent
post_q17	17. Difficult for average candidate elected to your office
post_q18	18. Elected office partisan or non-partisan
post_q19	19. Partisan positions: how nominated
post_q20a	20. Characteristics of office: good stepping-stone
post_q20b	20. Characteristics of office: satisfy policy goals
post_q20c	20. Characteristics of office: serve public with time for private life
post_q21	21. Run for State Rep in 2008
post_q22	22. Consider running for State Rep in 2008
post_q23	23. Interest in holding elected office in future
post_q24a	24. Personal attraction political career: local office
post_q24b	24. Personal attraction political career: state legislature
post_q24c	24. Personal attraction political career: U.S. House
post_q24d	24. Personal attraction political career: U.S. Senate
post_q24e	24. Personal attraction political career: Governor
post_q25	25. Difficulty to win the primary for State Rep
post_q26	26. Easier to win the primary increase running for State Rep
post_q27	27. Estimate cost to run in primary for State Rep
post_q28	28. Estimate cost to run in general election for State Rep
post_q29	29. Availability of public funds increase chance running for State Rep

post_q30	30. Knows public funding exists in CT (CT only)
post_q31a	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: lost privacy
post_q31b	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: negative political career
post_q31c	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: negative home/family life
post_q31d	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: loss of leisure time
post_q31e	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: negative advertising
post_q31f	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: raising money
post_q31g	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: lost income
post_q31h	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: serving in minority party
post_q31i	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: give up career
post_q31j	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: difficulty of running campaign
post_q31k	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: length of campaign
post_q31l	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: time spent as state leg
post_q31m	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: redistricting
post_q31n	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: little power
post_q31o	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: incumbent running
post_q31p	31. Factors discourage running State Rep: lack of prestige in serving
post_q32	32. Incumbent designation on ballot discourages run
post_q33	33. Give up current career to campaign
post_q34a	34. 2008 likelihood won: party nomination State Rep
post_q34b	34. 2008 likelihood won: general election State Rep
post_q35a	35. Seek nomination State Rep: 2010 election
post_q35b	35. Seek nomination State Rep: foreseeable future
post_q35c	35. Seek nomination State Rep: if seat opens
post_q36a	36. Win party nomination for State Rep: 2010 election
post_q36b	36. Win party nomination for State Rep: foreseeable future
post_q36c	36. Win party nomination for State Rep: if seat opens
post_q37a	37. Win general election for State Rep: 2010 election
post_q37b	37. Win general election for State Rep: foreseeable future
post_q37c	37. Win general election for State Rep: if seat opens
post_q38	38. Information used assess chances win nom and general
post_q39a	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: name recognition
post_q39b	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: raise money to fund campaign
post_q39c	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: ability to fund own campaign
post_q39d	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: interest group support
post_q39e	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: strength as a campaigner
post_q39f	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: state party/leg. com. support
post_q39g	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: find solutions to problems
post_q39h	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: work with other potential leaders
post_q39i	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: public speaking abilities
post_q39j	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: dedication to public service
post_q39k	39. Qualities as a potential candidate: strength as a public servant
post_q40a	40. Groups contacted running: state political party
post_q40b	40. Groups contacted running: political party in district/town
post_q40c	40. Groups contacted running: state legislative caucus/campaign comm.
post_q40d	40. Groups contacted running: local community leaders
post_q40e	40. Groups contacted running: statehouse leaders
post_q40f	40. Groups contacted running: family members

post_q40g	40. Groups contacted running: neighbors
post_q40h	40. Groups contacted running: co-workers/business partners
post_q40i	40. Groups contacted running: acquaintances in a service organization
post_q40j	40. Groups contacted running: acquaintances from church
post_q40k	40. Groups contacted running: acquaintances from church
post_q40l	40. Groups contacted running: national interest groups
post_q40m	40. Groups contacted running: media members
post_q40n	40. Groups contacted running: others
post_q41	41. Mentioned by local media state rep candidate
post_q42a	42. Influences in district on voters: party affiliation
post_q42b	42. Influences in district on voters: visibility of campaign
post_q42c	42. Influences in district on voters: issue positions of candidate
post_q42d	42. Influences in district on voters: candidate integrity
post_q42e	42. Influences in district on voters: loyalty to incumbent
post_q42f	42. Influences in district on voters: incumbent performance
post_q42g	42. Influences in district on voters: contact by campaigns
post_q42h	42. Influences in district on voters: media/news opinions
post_q42i	42. Influences in district on voters: mass media advertising
post_q42j	42. Influences in district on voters: political party endorsement
post_q42k	42. Influences in district on voters: local elected officials endorsement
post_q43a	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: local political
post_q43b	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: state political
post_q43c	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: national political
post_q43d	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: State House feelings
post_q43e	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: Governor feelings
post_q43f	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: President feelings
post_q43g	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: state economic
post_q43h	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: local economic
post_q43i	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: redistricting
post_q43j	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: public funds
post_q43k	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: ballot initiatives
post_q43l	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: choices for president
post_q43m	43. Political conditions affecting campaigns: feelings national party
post_q44a	44. 2010 election outcomes: incumbent run for re-election
post_q44b	44. 2010 election outcomes: incumbent win primary
post_q44c	44. 2010 election outcomes: incumbent win general
post_q44d	44. 2010 election outcomes: strong non-incumbent Republican
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post_q45a	45. 2008 Republican State Rep Candidate: name recognition
post_q45b	45. 2008 Republican State Rep Candidate: ability to raise money
post_q45c	45. 2008 Republican State Rep Candidate: personal integrity
post_q45d	45. 2008 Republican State Rep Candidate: dedication to serving public
post_q45e	45. 2008 Republican State Rep Candidate: overall strength
post_q45f	45. 2008 Republican State Rep Candidate: address voter concerns
post_q45g	45. 2008 Republican State Rep Candidate: incumbent
post_q46a	46. 2010 Democratic State Rep Candidate: name recognition
post_q46b	46. 2010 Democratic State Rep Candidate: ability to raise money
post_q46c	46. 2010 Democratic State Rep Candidate: personal integrity

post_q46d	46. 2010 Democratic State Rep Candidate: dedication to serving public
post_q46e	46. 2010 Democratic State Rep Candidate: overall strength
post_q46f	46. 2010 Democratic State Rep Candidate: address voter concerns
post_q46g	46. 2010 Democratic State Rep Candidate: incumbent
post_q47a	47. 2010 Strength of local party: Democratic
post_q47b	47. 2010 Strength of local party: Republican
post_q47c	47. 2010 Strength of local party: Other party
post_q48	48. Incumbents taking contributions interfere with public interest
post_q49	49. Highest level of education
post_q50	50. Born in the USA
post_q51	51. Race
post_q52	52. Age
post_q53	53. Marital Status
post_q54	54. Commute to state capitol
post_q55a	55. How many children living with you
post_q55b	55. Ages of all children living with you
post_q56	56. Time lived in community
post_q57	57. Present employment status
post_q58	58. Employed: kind of organization
post_q59	59. Party affiliation
post_q60	60. Party to run for office
post_q61	61. Own political philosophy
post_q62	62. Approximate family income
post_q63	63. Date completing survey

Draft

Professor Raymond J. La Raja
Department of Political Science
Professor Michael Hannahan
UMass Donahue Institute
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Amherst, MA 01003

Dear Community Leader:

A recent survey of local opinion leaders suggested your name in relation to elections for your state's House of Representatives. We are turning to you because of your recognized position as a leader in the community and your connection to local politics. We are academic researchers investigating the process of fair and participatory elections in the United States.

All information is strictly confidential. Our research project funded by the JEHT Foundaton, is for academic purposes only, with no political agenda or bias. We maintain complete privacy of all data and respondent information. No names or individuals are ever identified because our data will only be shown as statistics about groups. For any questions about the project, please contact Professor Raymond La Raja at (413) 545-6182 or see http://www.civic initiative.com/

Completing a survey will give you a chance to have $200.00 donated to your favorite charity. Because you are a community leader, we are optimistic that you will participate in this survey even though it is completely voluntary. We thank you in advance for your effort to improve our understanding of American elections.

Sincerely,
Dr. Raymond J. La Raja and Dr. Michael Hannahan

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JEHT Candidate Research

Please use a black or blue pen or pencil to fill out the survey. Please fill in each bubble completely. If you incorrectly mark an answer, simply cross it out and fill in the correct one.

Please describe your background and experiences in political campaigns and elective offices.

1. Which campaigns below have you been active in during the past five years? (Choose all that apply.)

O Presidency O U.S. Senate O U.S. House O Governor

O State legislative races O Other statewide offices O Local offices O None

2. Do you now or have you ever held an *elected or appointed* political office?

O Yes, I currently hold office O Yes, but only in the past O No, I have never held a political office

3. Has anyone in your *family* held an elected or appointed political office?

O Yes, a family member currently holds office O Yes, but only in the past

O No, my family members have never held a political office

4. Have you ever worked as *staff* to an elected or appointed official, either now or in the past?

O Yes O No

5. What *appointed* office did you hold, either now or in the past? (Choose all that apply.)

O None O Town/school commission or advisory board O Statewide commission

O Other:_____

6. What *elected* office did you hold, either now or in the past? (Choose all that apply.)

O None O School Board O Town Select Board O Town Committee O Mayor

O Other:_____

For currently elected officials only, please describe your elected office. For all others, please skip to question 20.

7. How much time do you spend conducting the business of your current, elected office?

O Full time, all year O Part time, all year O Full time, part year O Part time, part year

8. Will your current elected office term finish at the end of 2008?

O Yes O No

9. Which year are you required to leave your current elected office due to term limits?

O Never, my office has no term limit O 2007 O 2008 or later

10. When your term ends, will you seek re-election to your current elected office?

O Yes O No O Do not know

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11. How long have you held this elected office?

O Less than 1 term O 1 term O 2 terms O 3 terms O 4 terms O 5 or more terms

12. How many additional terms do you expect to serve in your current elected office?

O None O 1-2 terms O 3-4 terms O 5 or more terms

13. At this time, what are your plans once you leave your current elected office?

O Return to private life O Seek an appointed political office O Seek another elected office O Do not know

After leaving your current elected office, what office will you seek? _____

14. Approximately how many constituents live in your current elected office district?

O Under 20,000 O 20,001 to 50,000 O 50,001 to 100,000 O 100,001 to 150,000

O 150,001 to 200,000 O Over 200,000 O Do not know

15. For the State Representative district in which you live, approximately what portion of constituents do you currently represent?

O Almost none O About 1/3 O About 1/2 O About 2/3 O Almost all O More than my whole district

O Do not know

16. How difficult is it for the average potential candidate to get elected to the office you currently hold?

O Very difficult O Somewhat difficult O Neither difficult nor easy O Somewhat easy O Very easy

O Do not know

17. Is the elected office you currently hold non-partisan or partisan?

O Non-partisan O Partisan O Do not know

18. For holders of partisan positions, how were you nominated? (Non-partisan positions, please skip to next question)

O Through a primary election O By a party committee O Other_____

19. Please rate the following characteristics of the elected office that you currently hold.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree	Do not know
This office is a good stepping-stone for higher levels of office	O	O	O	O	O	O
This office allows me to satisfy my policy goals	O	O	O	O	O	O
This office allows me to serve the public while having time for a private life	O	O	O	O	O	O

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20. Did you run for state representative in 2006?

O Yes (please skip to Q22) O No

21. If you did not run for state representative in 2006, did you at least consider running in that election?

O Yes O No

22. What is your interest in holding elected office in the future?

O I have absolutely no interest in holding elective office at any time in the future.

O I am open to the possibility of holding elective office in the future, though I have no immediate plans.

O I have a strong interest in holding elective office soon.

Next, we'd like to know what discourages or motivates you to participate in politics and run for office.

23. Including your past, present and future involvement, how important are the factors below for your participation in public service?

	Very unimportant	Somewhat unimportant	Neither unimportant nor important	Somewhat important	Very important	Do not know
Influencing public policy generally	O	O	O	O	O	O
Advancing my political career	O	O	O	O	O	O
Advancing my career outside of politics	O	O	O	O	O	O
Increasing business contacts	O	O	O	O	O	O
Increasing social contacts	O	O	O	O	O	O
Serving the public	O	O	O	O	O	O
Dedication to a particular candidate	O	O	O	O	O	O
Excitement of politics	O	O	O	O	O	O
My concern about a particular issue	O	O	O	O	O	O
Supporting my political party	O	O	O	O	O	O
Improving my local community	O	O	O	O	O	O
Other:_____	O	O	O	O	O	O

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24. Please rate your personal attraction to a political career in:

	Very low	Low	Neither low nor high	High	Very high	Do not know
Local elected office	O	O	O	O	O	O
Your state legislature	O	O	O	O	O	O
The U.S. House	O	O	O	O	O	O
The U.S. Senate	O	O	O	O	O	O
The Office of Governor	O	O	O	O	O	O

25. Regardless of whether you have considered running or not, how difficult do you think it is to get on the *primary* ballot for State Representative?

O Very difficult O Somewhat difficult O Neither difficult nor easy O Somewhat easy O Very easy
O Do not know

26. Would making it easier to get on the *primary* ballot increase the chance of *your* running for State Representative?

O Definitely yes O Probably yes O Makes no difference O Probably no O Definitely no
O Do not know

27. Regardless of whether you have considered running or not, how difficult do you think it is to *win the primary*, and thus nomination for State Representative?

O Very difficult O Somewhat difficult O Neither difficult nor easy O Somewhat easy O Very easy
O Do not know

28. Would making it easier to *win the primary* and nomination increase the chance of *your* running for State Representative?

O Definitely yes O Probably yes O Makes no difference O Probably no O Definitely no
O Do not know

29. Please estimate the cost to run in the *primary* for State Representative in your district:

Insert figure here $ ☐☐☐,☐☐☐

30. Please estimate the cost to run in the *general election* for State Representative in your district:

Insert figure here $ ☐☐☐,☐☐☐

☐☐☐☐
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31. Would the availability of public funds increase the chance of your running for State Representative?

O Yes O No (please skip to Q33) O Do not know

32. If you said "Yes" to the previous question, what kind of public funding system would you prefer -- assuming the opposition would use the same funding system:

O Public funding up to a specific limit (based on average cost of campaign) with no private funds

O Partial public funding (roughly 50%) up to a specific limit (based on average cost of campaign)

O Other_____

33. To what extent do the below factors discourage your running for State Representative? *Please answer this question even if you have no interest in running for the State House.*

	Strongly discourages	Discourages	Somewhat discourages	Makes no difference	Do not know
Lost personal and family privacy	O	O	O	O	O
Negative impact on my political career if I were to lose	O	O	O	O	O
Negative impact on my home or family life	O	O	O	O	O
Loss of leisure time	O	O	O	O	O
Having to face negative advertising	O	O	O	O	O
The need to raise money	O	O	O	O	O
Lost income	O	O	O	O	O
The possibility of serving in the minority party	O	O	O	O	O
Having to give up my current career	O	O	O	O	O
The difficulty of running a campaign	O	O	O	O	O
The length of the campaign process	O	O	O	O	O
Time spent being a state legislator	O	O	O	O	O
Uncertainty over redistricting	O	O	O	O	O
Serving in a position with little power	O	O	O	O	O

34. If you chose to run for State Representative, would you have to give up your current career to campaign?

O Yes O No O Do not know

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35. Please rate the prestige of...

	Very low	Low	Neither low nor high	High	Very high	Don't know
Your state legislature	O	O	O	O	O	O
The Office of Governor	O	O	O	O	O	O
The U.S. House	O	O	O	O	O	O
The U.S. Senate	O	O	O	O	O	O
The Democratic Party in your state	O	O	O	O	O	O
The Republican Party in your state	O	O	O	O	O	O

Next, please assess your chances of winning if you ran for State Representative. Please answer the following questions, regardless of whether you have ever considered running.

36. If you had run in 2006, how likely is it you would have won...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
...your party's **nomination** (the primary) for State Representative	O	O	O	O	O	O
...the **general election** for State Representative, assuming you won your party's nomination	O	O	O	O	O	O

37. How likely is it that you will seek your party's nomination, or run as an independent candidate, for State Representative...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
...in the 2008 election	O	O	O	O	O	O
...in the foreseeable future	O	O	O	O	O	O
...if the seat becomes open at any time	O	O	O	O	O	O

38. How likely is it that you would *win your party's nomination* (the primary) for State Representative if you seek it...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
...in the 2008 election	O	O	O	O	O	O
...in the foreseeable future	O	O	O	O	O	O
...if the seat becomes open at any time	O	O	O	O	O	O

39. How likely is it that you would *win the general election* for State Representative, assuming you won your party's nomination...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
...in the 2008 election	O	O	O	O	O	O
...in the foreseeable future	O	O	O	O	O	O
...if the seat becomes open at any time	O	O	O	O	O	O

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40. How likely is it that you would run in the *primary* for State Representative if at the start of the race...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
you had no chance of winning the party primary, but you wanted to "send a message" to the party.	O	O	O	O	O	O
another candidate was slightly favored to win the primary.	O	O	O	O	O	O
the primary race was a toss-up.	O	O	O	O	O	O
you were slightly favored to win the primary.	O	O	O	O	O	O
you were certain to win the primary (you had no opponent).	O	O	O	O	O	O

41. Assuming you got your party's nomination, how likely is it you would run in the *general election* for State Representative if, at the start of the race...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
you had no chance of winning the general election, but your party wanted to put a candidate on the ballot.	O	O	O	O	O	O
your opponent was slightly favored to win the general election.	O	O	O	O	O	O
the general election contest was a toss-up.	O	O	O	O	O	O
you were slightly favored to win the general election.	O	O	O	O	O	O
you were certain to win the general election (you had no opponent).	O	O	O	O	O	O

42. Imagine you were to run for State Representative, which sources of information would you use to help assess your chances of winning the nomination or general election? (choose all that apply)

- O Past electoral results
- O Past levels of campaign fundraising and spending
- O Your state political party organization and its officials
- O Your local political party organization and its officials
- O Campaign consultants
- O Newspaper or other media assessments
- O Interest groups
- O Current office holder
- O Circle of friends
- O Business leaders
- O Union leaders
- O Local community leaders
- O Other_____

43. Please rate your qualities as a potential candidate for State Representative *regardless of whether you have ever considered running*.

	Weak	Somewhat weak	Neither weak nor strong	Somewhat strong	Strong	Not sure
Name recognition in your House district	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to raise money to fund your own campaign	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to fund your own campaign personally	O	O	O	O	O	O

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Question 43 continued....

	Weak	Somewhat weak	Neither weak nor strong	Somewhat strong	Strong	Not sure
Potential support from interest groups outside the district	O	O	O	O	O	O
Your overall strength as a campaigner	O	O	O	O	O	O
Expected support from the state party or legislative campaign committee	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to find solutions to problems	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to work with other political leaders	O	O	O	O	O	O
Public speaking abilities	O	O	O	O	O	O
Dedication to public service	O	O	O	O	O	O
Your overall strength as a public servant	O	O	O	O	O	O

44. Which groups below have contacted you and encouraged or discouraged your running for State Representative?

	Contacted and discouraged	Contacted but neither discouraged nor encouraged	Contacted and encouraged	Not contacted
Members of the state political party	O	O	O	O
Members of the political party in the district or town	O	O	O	O
State legislative caucus/campaign committee	O	O	O	O
Local community leaders	O	O	O	O
Leaders in the statehouse	O	O	O	O
Members of my family	O	O	O	O
Neighbors	O	O	O	O
Co-workers/business partners	O	O	O	O
Acquaintances in a service organization (Rotary, League of Women Voters, etc.)	O	O	O	O
Acquaintances from church	O	O	O	O
Members of an association or organization other than a service organization (Associated General Contractors, etc.)	O	O	O	O
National interest groups	O	O	O	O
Members of the media	O	O	O	O
Others:_____	O	O	O	O

45. Have you been mentioned by the local media as a potential candidate for State Representative?

O Yes O No O Do not know

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Next, please assess your district and its voters.

46. How important are the following influences on voters in your district as they choose among State Representative candidates?

	Not important	Somewhat important	Very important	Do not know
Party affiliation	O	O	O	O
Visibility of campaign	O	O	O	O
Issue positions of candidate	O	O	O	O
Candidate integrity	O	O	O	O
Loyalty to the current incumbent	O	O	O	O
Incumbent performance in office	O	O	O	O
Contact by campaigns	O	O	O	O
Media/news opinions	O	O	O	O
Mass media advertising	O	O	O	O
Endorsement from political party	O	O	O	O
Endorsement from local elected officials	O	O	O	O

47. Please describe the political philosophy of each of the following, in your State Representative district.

	Liberal	Somewhat liberal	Middle-of-the-road	Somewhat conservative	Conservative	Do not know
Voters in your district	O	O	O	O	O	O
The incumbent in your district	O	O	O	O	O	O
Republican voters in your district	O	O	O	O	O	O
Democratic voters in your district	O	O	O	O	O	O

48. How do the following political conditions affect campaigns for State Representative in your district?

	Strongly favor Democrats	Somewhat favor Democrats	Favor Democrats and Republicans equally	Somewhat favor Republicans	Strongly favor Republicans	Do not know
Local political conditions	O	O	O	O	O	O
State political conditions	O	O	O	O	O	O
National political conditions	O	O	O	O	O	O
Popular feelings about the State House	O	O	O	O	O	O
Popular feelings about the Governor	O	O	O	O	O	O
State economic conditions	O	O	O	O	O	O
Local economic conditions	O	O	O	O	O	O
Changes in district boundaries due to redistricting	O	O	O	O	O	O
Public funds for candidates	O	O	O	O	O	O
The presence of ballot initiatives	O	O	O	O	O	O
The choices on the ballot for presidential candidates	O	O	O	O	O	O

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49. How likely are the following outcomes *for the 2008 election*?

	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat likely	Likely	Do not know
The incumbent in your district will run for re-election	O	O	O	O	O	O
The incumbent in your district will win the primary election if he/she runs	O	O	O	O	O	O
The incumbent will win the general election, if he/she wins the primary	O	O	O	O	O	O
A strong candidate who is not the incumbent will seek the Republican Party nomination	O	O	O	O	O	O
A strong candidate who is not the incumbent will seek the Democratic Party nomination	O	O	O	O	O	O

50. Please rate the Republican State Representative candidate who ran in 2006.

	Weak	Somewhat weak	Neither weak nor strong	Somewhat strong	Strong	Do not know
Name recognition	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to raise money to fund his/her own campaign	O	O	O	O	O	O
Personal integrity	O	O	O	O	O	O
Dedication to serving the public	O	O	O	O	O	O
Overall strength of this Republican candidate	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to stay in touch with voter concerns	O	O	O	O	O	O

Was this Republic candidate the incumbent?

O Yes O No O Do not know

51. Please rate the Democratic State Representative candidate who ran in 2006.

	Weak	Somewhat weak	Neither weak nor strong	Somewhat strong	Strong	Do not know
Name recognition	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to raise money to fund his/her own campaign	O	O	O	O	O	O
Personal integrity	O	O	O	O	O	O
Dedication to serving the public	O	O	O	O	O	O
Overall strength of this Democratic candidate	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to stay in touch with voter concerns	O	O	O	O	O	O

Was this Democratic candidate the incumbent?

O Yes O No O Do not know

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52. Please rate the strength of the local/district party organizations in 2006.

	Weak	Somewhat weak	Neither weak nor strong	Somewhat strong	Strong	Do not know
Democratic	O	O	O	O	O	O
Republican	O	O	O	O	O	O
Other party_____	O	O	O	O	O	O

53. Please tell us the degree to which you either agree or disagree with this statement:
Incumbents taking campaign contributions interfere with promotion of the public interest.

O Strongly disagree O Somewhat disagree O Neither disagree nor agree O Somewhat agree O Strongly agree
O Do not know

Finally, we'd like to ask you about yourself.

54. What is your sex?

O Male O Female

55. What racial or ethnic group or groups best describes you? (Choose all that apply.)

O Latino or Hispanic origin O Black O Asian O Native American O White O Other_____
_____

56. What is your age?

O Under 30 O 30-39 O 40-49 O 50-59 O 60-64 O 65 or older

57. What is your current marital status?

O Currently married O Widowed O Divorced O Separated O Never married

58. How much time does it take to drive to the state capitol from where you live? ☐☐☐ minutes

59. Do you have any children under the age of 6 living at home?

O No O Yes

If yes, how many? ☐☐

60. How long have you lived in your community?

O 2 years or less O 3-5 years O 6-10 years O 11-20 years O More than 20 years

☐☐☐☐
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61. What is your present employment status? (Choose all that apply.)

O Unemployed O Retired O Disabled O Homemaker O Student O Employed O Temporarily laid-off

O Other_____

62. If you are currently employed, what kind of organization do you work for?

O Government

O Private non-profit (foundation, service organization, church, etc.)

O Private for-profit (corporation, etc.)

O Self-employed

O Other_____

63. What is your current occupation?

64. What is your current party affiliation?

O Democrat

O Independent, leaning Democrat

O Strictly Independent

O Independent, leaning Republican

O Republican

O Other_____

65. If you were to run for office would it be as....

O a Democrat O an Independent O a Republican O Other_____

66. How would you describe your own political philosophy?

O Extremely liberal O Liberal O Slightly liberal O Middle-of-the-road O Slightly conservative

O Conservative O Extremely conservative O Other_____ O Do not know

67. What was your approximate family income last year - before taxes?

O Under $50,000 O $50,001-$100,000 O $100,001-$200,000 O over $200,000

68. Please indicate the date you are completing this survey.

/ /

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Thank you for helping our research into the process of fair and participatory elections in the United States! This research is funded through a grant provided by the JEHT Foundation in cooperation with the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and the Donahue Institute. Information about the study will be made available on our Web site: http://www.civicinitiative.com/research/links.htm . If you have any questions about the project, please contact Professor Ray La Raja at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst: (413) 545-6182.

To thank you for your help, you can enter an email address below (kept confidentially) at which we can contact you in the case of awarding a prize from our drawing, a $200 contribution - in your name - to a charity of your choice.

Your Email: _____

Our sincere thanks,
Dr. Raymond J. La Raja and Dr. Michael Hannahan

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Professor Raymond J. La Raja
Department of Political Science
Professor Michael Hannahan
UMass Donahue Institute
University of Massachusetts, Amherst
Amherst, MA 01003

Dear Community Leader:

A recent survey of local opinion leaders suggested your name in relation to elections for your state's House of Representatives. We are turning to you because of your recognized position as a leader in the community and your connection to local politics. We are academic researchers investigating the process of fair and participatory elections in the United States.

All information is strictly confidential. Our research project, funded by the JEHT Foundation, is for academic purposes only, with no political agenda or bias. We maintain complete privacy of all data and respondent information. No names or individuals are ever identified because our data will only be shown as statistics about groups. For any questions about the project, please contact Professor Raymond La Raja at (413) 545-6182 or see http://www.civic initiative.com/

Completing a survey will give you a chance to have $200.00 donated to your favorite charity. Because you are a community leader, we are optimistic that you will participate in this survey even though it is completely voluntary. We thank you in advance for your effort to improve our understanding of American elections.

Sincerely,
Dr. Raymond J. La Raja and Dr. Michael Hannahan

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We would like to begin by asking you about your background and experience in political campaigns and elective office.

1. Which campaigns, if any, were you active in during the previous election (2008)? (Choose all that apply.)
   - O Presidency
   - O U.S. Senate
   - O U.S. House
   - O Governor
   - O State legislative races
   - O Other statewide offices
   - O Local offices
   - O None

2. Do you now, or have you ever held an *elected* political office?
   - O Yes, I currently hold an elected office
   - O Yes, but only in the past
   - O No, I have never held an elected office

3. Do you now, or have you ever held an *appointed* political office?
   - O Yes, I currently hold an appointed office
   - O Yes, but only in the past
   - O No, I have never held an appointed office

4. Has anyone in your *family* held an elected or appointed political office?
   - O Yes, a family member currently holds office
   - O Yes, but only in the past
   - O No, my family members have never held a political office

5. Have you ever worked as *staff* to an elected or appointed official, either now or in the past?
   - O Yes
   - O No

6. What *appointed* office did you hold, either now or in the past? (Choose all that apply.)
   - O None
   - O Town/school commission or advisory board
   - O Statewide commission
   - O Other:_____

7. What *elected* office did you hold, either now or in the past? (Choose all that apply.)
   - O None
   - O School Board
   - O Town Select Board
   - O Town Committee
   - O Mayor
   - O Other:_____

For currently elected officials only, please describe your elected office. For all others, please skip to question 21.

8. How much time do you spend conducting the business of your current elected office?
   - O Full time, all year
   - O Part time, all year
   - O Full time, part year
   - O Part time, part year

9. Will your current term finish at the end of 2010?
   - O Yes
   - O No

10. Which year are you required to leave your current elected office due to term limits?
    - O Never, my office has no term limit
    - O 2009
    - O 2010 or later

11. When your term ends, will you seek re-election to your current elected office?
    - O Yes
    - O No
    - O Do not know

12. How long have you held this elected office?

O Less than 1 term O 1 term O 2 terms O 3 terms O 4 terms O 5 or more terms

13. How many additional terms do you expect to serve in your current elected office?

O None O 1-2 terms O 3-4 terms O 5 or more terms

14. At this time, what would you say your plans are once you leave your current elected office?

O Return to private life O Seek an appointed political office O Seek another elective office O Do not know

After leaving your current elected office, what office will you seek?(Please specify)_____

15. Approximately how many constituents live in your current elected office district?

O Under 20,000 O 20,001 to 50,000 O 50,001 to 100,000 O 100,001 to 150,000

O 150,001 to 200,000 O Over 200,000 O Do not know

16. For the State Representative district in which you live, approximately what portion of constituents do you currently represent?

O Almost none O About 1/3 O About 1/2 O About 2/3 O Almost all O More than my whole district

O Do not know

17. How difficult is it for the average potential candidate to get elected to the office you currently hold?

O Very difficult O Somewhat difficult O Neither difficult nor easy O Somewhat easy O Very easy

O Do not know

18. Is the elected office you currently hold non-partisan or partisan?

O Non-partisan O Partisan O Do not know

19. For holders of partisan positions, how were you nominated? (Non-partisan positions, please skip to question 20)

O Through a primary election O By a party committee O Other_____

20. Please rate the following characteristics of the elected office that you currently hold.

	Strongly disagree	Somewhat disagree	Neither disagree nor agree	Somewhat agree	Strongly agree	Do not know
This office is a good stepping-stone for higher levels of office	O	O	O	O	O	O
This office allows me to satisfy my policy goals	O	O	O	O	O	O
This office allows me to serve the public while having time for a private life	O	O	O	O	O	O

21. Did you run for state representative in 2008?

O Yes (please skip to Q23) O No

22. If you did not run for state representative in 2008, did you at least consider running in that election?

O Yes O No

23. What is your interest in holding elected office in the future?

O I have absolutely no interest in holding elective office at any time in the future.

O I am open to the possibility of holding elective office in the future, though I have no immediate plans.

O I have a strong interest in holding elective office soon.

Next, we'd like to know what discourages or motivates you to participate in politics and run for office.

24. Please rate your personal attraction to a political career in:

	Very low	Low	Neither low nor high	High	Very high	Do not know
Local elected office	O	O	O	O	O	O
Your state legislature	O	O	O	O	O	O
The U.S. House	O	O	O	O	O	O
The U.S. Senate	O	O	O	O	O	O
The Office of Governor	O	O	O	O	O	O

25. Regardless of whether you have considered running or not, do you think it is difficult to *win the primary*, and thus nomination for State Representative?

O Very difficult O Somewhat difficult O Neither difficult nor easy O Somewhat easy O Very easy

O Do not know

26. Would making it easier to *win the primary* increase the likelihood of *you* running for State Representative?

O Definitely yes O Probably yes O Makes no difference O Probably no O Definitely no

O Do not know

27. Please estimate the cost to run in the *primary* for State Representative in your district:

Insert figure here $ ☐☐☐,☐☐☐

28. Please estimate the cost to run in the *general election* for State Representative in your district:

Insert figure here $ ☐☐☐,☐☐☐

29. Would the availability of public funds increase the chance of you running for State Representative? (If you are from Connecticut: Did the availability of funds increase the chance of your running?)

O Yes O No O Do not know

30. (For Connecticut residents only): Did you know that public funding existed in Connecticut?

O Yes O No

31. To what extent do the below factors discourage your running for State Representative? *Please answer this question even if you have no interest in running for the State House.*

	Strongly discourages	Discourages	Somewhat discourages	Makes no difference	Do not know
Lost personal and family privacy	O	O	O	O	O
Negative impact on my political career if I were to lose	O	O	O	O	O
Negative impact on my home or family life	O	O	O	O	O
Loss of leisure time	O	O	O	O	O
Having to face negative advertising	O	O	O	O	O
The need to raise money	O	O	O	O	O
Lost income	O	O	O	O	O
The possibility of serving in the minority party	O	O	O	O	O
Having to give up my current career	O	O	O	O	O
The difficulty of running a campaign	O	O	O	O	O
The length of the campaign process	O	O	O	O	O
Time spent being a state legislator	O	O	O	O	O
Uncertainty over redistricting	O	O	O	O	O
Serving in a position with little power	O	O	O	O	O
Incumbent running for re-election	O	O	O	O	O
The lack of prestige in serving	O	O	O	O	O

32. (For Massachusetts residents only): To what extent does the designation of the incumbent on the ballot discourage your running for State Representative (i.e., the label "Candidate for Reelection" appears besides his or her name)?

O Strongly discourages O Discourages O Somewhat discourages O Makes no difference

O Do not know

33. If you chose to run for State Representative, would you have to give up your current career to campaign?

O Yes O No O Do not know

Next, please assess your chances of winning if you ran for State Representative. Please answer the following questions, regardless of whether you have ever considered running.

34. If you had run in 2008, how likely is it you would have won...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
...your party's **nomination** (the primary) for State Representative	O	O	O	O	O	O
...the **general election** for the seat assuming you were to win your party's nomination	O	O	O	O	O	O

35. How likely is it that you will seek your party's nomination, or run as an independent candidate for State Representative...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
...in the 2010 election	O	O	O	O	O	O
...in the foreseeable future	O	O	O	O	O	O
...if the seat becomes open at any time	O	O	O	O	O	O

36. How likely is it that you would *win your party's nomination* (the primary) for State Representative if you seek it...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
...in the 2010 election	O	O	O	O	O	O
...in the foreseeable future	O	O	O	O	O	O
...if the seat becomes open at any time	O	O	O	O	O	O

37. How likely is it that you would *win the general election* for State Representative, assuming you won your party's nomination...

	Unlikely	Somewhat Unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat Likely	Likely	Don't Know
...in the 2010 election	O	O	O	O	O	O
...in the foreseeable future	O	O	O	O	O	O
...if the seat becomes open at any time	O	O	O	O	O	O

38. Imagine you were to run for State Representative. Which sources of information would you use to help assess your chances of winning the nomination or general election? (Choose all that apply)

- O Past electoral results
- O Past levels of campaign fundraising and spending
- O Your state political party organization and its officials
- O Your local political party organization and its officials
- O Campaign consultants
- O Newspaper or other media assessments
- O Interest groups
- O Current office holder
- O Circle of friends
- O Business leaders
- O Union leaders
- O Local community leaders
- O Other (Please specify)_____

39. Please rate your qualities as a potential candidate for State Representative *regardless of whether you have ever considered running*.

	Weak	Somewhat weak	Neither weak nor strong	Somewhat strong	Strong	Not sure
Name recognition in your House district	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to raise money to fund your own campaign	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to fund your own campaign personally	O	O	O	O	O	O
Potential support from interest groups outside the district	O	O	O	O	O	O
Your overall strength as a campaigner	O	O	O	O	O	O
Expected support from the state party or legislative campaign committee	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to find solutions to problems	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to work with other political leaders	O	O	O	O	O	O
Public speaking abilities	O	O	O	O	O	O
Dedication to public service	O	O	O	O	O	O
Your overall strength as a public servant	O	O	O	O	O	O

40. Which groups below have contacted you and encouraged or discouraged your running for State Representative?

	Contacted and discouraged	Contacted but neither discouraged nor encouraged	Contacted and encouraged	Not contacted
Members of the state political party	O	O	O	O
Members of the political party in the district or town	O	O	O	O
State legislative caucus/campaign committee	O	O	O	O
Local community leaders	O	O	O	O
Leaders in the statehouse	O	O	O	O
Members of my family	O	O	O	O
Neighbors	O	O	O	O
Co-workers/business partners	O	O	O	O
Acquaintances in a service organization (Rotary, League of Women Voters, etc.)	O	O	O	O
Acquaintances from church	O	O	O	O
Members of an association or organization other than a service organization (Associated General Contractors, etc.)	O	O	O	O
National interest groups (AARP, EMILY's List, NRA, etc.)	O	O	O	O
Members of the media	O	O	O	O
Others:_____	O	O	O	O

41. Have you been mentioned by the local media as a potential candidate for State Representative?

○ Yes ○ No ○ Do not know

Next, please assess your district and its voters.

42. How important are the following influences on your voters as they choose among State Representative candidates?

	Not important	Somewhat important	Very important	Do not know
Party affiliation	○	○	○	○
Visibility of campaign	○	○	○	○
Issue positions of candidate	○	○	○	○
Candidate integrity	○	○	○	○
Loyalty to the current incumbent	○	○	○	○
Incumbent performance in office	○	○	○	○
Contact by campaigns	○	○	○	○
Media/news opinions	○	○	○	○
Mass media advertising	○	○	○	○
Endorsement from political party	○	○	○	○
Endorsement from local elected officials	○	○	○	○

43. How do the following political conditions affect campaigns for State Representative in your district?

	Strongly favor Democrats	Somewhat favor Democrats	Favor Democrats and Republicans equally	Somewhat favor Republicans	Strongly favor Republicans	Do not know
Local political conditions	○	○	○	○	○	○
State political conditions	○	○	○	○	○	○
National political conditions	○	○	○	○	○	○
Popular feelings about the State House	○	○	○	○	○	○
Popular feelings about the Governor	○	○	○	○	○	○
Popular feelings about the President	○	○	○	○	○	○
State economic conditions	○	○	○	○	○	○
Local economic conditions	○	○	○	○	○	○
Changes in district boundaries due to redistricting	○	○	○	○	○	○
Public funds for candidates	○	○	○	○	○	○
The presence of ballot initiatives	○	○	○	○	○	○
The choices on the ballot for presidential candidates	○	○	○	○	○	○
Popular feelings about the national party	○	○	○	○	○	○

44. How likely are the following outcomes *for the 2010 election*?

	Unlikely	Somewhat unlikely	Neither unlikely nor likely	Somewhat likely	Likely	Do not know
The incumbent in your district will run for re-election	O	O	O	O	O	O
The incumbent in your district will win the primary election if he/she runs	O	O	O	O	O	O
The incumbent will win the general election if he/she wins the primary	O	O	O	O	O	O
A strong candidate who is not the incumbent will seek the Republican party nomination	O	O	O	O	O	O
A strong candidate who is not the incumbent will seek the Democratic party nomination	O	O	O	O	O	O

45. Please rate the Republican State Representative candidate who ran in 2008. (If no Republican candidate, please skip to Q46)

	Weak	Somewhat weak	Neither weak nor strong	Somewhat strong	Strong	Do not know
Name recognition	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to raise money to fund his/her own campaign	O	O	O	O	O	O
Personal integrity	O	O	O	O	O	O
Dedication to serving the public	O	O	O	O	O	O
Overall strength of the Republican candidate	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to stay in touch with voter concerns	O	O	O	O	O	O

Was this Republican candidate the incumbent?

O Yes O No O Do not know

46. Please rate the Democratic State Representative candidate who ran in 2008. (If no Democrat candidate, please skip to Q47)

	Weak	Somewhat weak	Neither weak nor strong	Somewhat strong	Strong	Do not know
Name recognition	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to raise money to fund his/her own campaign	O	O	O	O	O	O
Personal integrity	O	O	O	O	O	O
Dedication to serving the public	O	O	O	O	O	O
Overall strength of this Democratic candidate	O	O	O	O	O	O
Ability to stay in touch with voter concerns	O	O	O	O	O	O

Was this Democratic candidate the incumbent?

O Yes O No O Do not know

47. Please rate the strength of the local/district party organizations in 2008.

	Weak	Somewhat weak	Neither weak nor strong	Somewhat strong	Strong	Do not know
Democratic	O	O	O	O	O	O
Republican	O	O	O	O	O	O
Other party_____	O	O	O	O	O	O

48. Please tell us the degree to which you either agree or disagree with the following statement:
Incumbents taking campaign contributions interfere with promotion of the public interest.

O Strongly disagree O Somewhat disagree O Neither disagree nor agree O Somewhat agree O Strongly agree
O Do not know

Finally, we'd like to ask you about yourself.

49. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

O Some high school or less O High school graduate/GED O Some college O College graduate
O Post-graduate degree

50. Were you born in the United States?

O Yes O No O Do not know

51. What racial or ethnic group or groups best describes you? (Choose all that apply.)

O Latino or Hispanic origin O Black O Asian O Native American O White O Other_____

52. What is your age? ☐☐

53. What is your current marital status?

O Currently married O Widowed O Divorced O Separated O Never married

54. How long does it take to travel to the state capitol from where you live? ☐☐☐ minutes

55. How many children do you have living with you? ☐☐

What are the ages of all children living with you? ☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐☐
(Leave a space between each age.)

Example: 1 0 1 4

56. How long have you lived in your community? ☐☐ years

☐☐☐☐
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57. What is your employment status? (Choose all that apply.)

O Unemployed O Retired O Disabled O Student O Employed Full-Time O Employed Part-Time
O Temporarily laid-off O Other_____

58. If you are currently employed, what kind of organization do you work for?

O Government
O Private non-profit (foundation, service organization, church, etc.)
O Private for-profit (corporation, etc.)
O Self-employed
O Other_____

59. What is your current party affiliation?

O Democrat
O Independent, leaning Democrat
O Strictly Independent
O Independent, leaning Republican
O Republican
O Other_____

60. If you were to run for office would it be as....

O a Democrat O an Independent O a Republican O Other_____

61. How would you describe your own political philosophy?

O Extremely liberal O Liberal O Slightly liberal O Middle-of-the-road O Slightly conservative
O Conservative O Extremely conservative O Other_____ O Do not know

62. Which of the following categories best describes your total annual household income before taxes, from all sources?

O Under $20,000 O $20,000-$40,000 O $40,001-$60,000 O $60,001-$80,000
O $80,001-$100,000 O $100,001-$200,000 O Over $200,000

63. Please indicate the date you are completing this survey.

☐☐ / ☐☐ / ☐☐

☐☐☐☐
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Thank you for helping our research into the process of fair and participatory elections in the United States! This research is funded through a grant provided by the National Science Foundation in cooperation with the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and the Donahue Institute. Information about the study will be made available on our Web site: http://www.civicinitiative.com/research/links.htm. If you have any questions about the project, please contact Professor Michael Hannahan at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst: (413) 545-4845.

To thank you for your help, you can enter an email address below (kept confidentially) at which we can contact you in the case of awarding a prize from our drawing, a $200 contribution - in your name - to a charity of your choice.

Your Email: _____

Our sincere thanks,
Dr. Raymond J. La Raja and Dr. Michael Hannahan

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