

Cooperative Congressional Election Study

COMMON CONTENT

August 2, 2006

Pre-Election

[Fielded in three stages – late September, mid October, late October]

{Query: Place vote intention questions at the end of all surveys?}

Dialogue Box.

What would you like to tell us about the way things are today?

1. What is the Most Important Problem facing the country/you today?

Closed ended list of 15 items.

2. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?

- Approve
- Disapprove
- Not Sure

If Approve/Disapprove, Do you:

- Approve/Disapprove strongly
- Approve/Disapprove somewhat

3. In general, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican or Independent?

4. [Party Leaning] If Democrat or Republican, how strongly do you feel about your party?

Strong D/R, Weak D/R.

If Independent, do you lean toward one of the parties?

If so which one? D or R.

5. Thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that OVER THE PAST YEAR the nation's economy has gotten worse, stayed about the same, or gotten better?

Much better

Better

About Same

Worse

Much Worse

Not Sure

6. Now thinking about your state's economy, would you say that over the past year, your state's economy has gotten worse, stayed about the same, or gotten better?

Much better

Better

About Same

Worse

Much Worse

Not Sure

7. Do you approve or disapprove of the way [name] is handling his/her job as Governor of [state]?

Approve

Disapprove

Not Sure

If Approve/Disapprove, Do you:

Approve/Disapprove strongly

Approve/Disapprove somewhat

8. Do you happen to remember the party affiliation of the Governor of your state?

Democrat
Republican
Independent
Don't Know

Your state has two United States Senators -- [Name1] and [name2].

9. Do you approve or disapprove of the way [name1] is handling his/her job as U. S. Senator for [state]?

Approve
Disapprove
Not Sure

If Approve/Disapprove, ask Do you:
Approve/Disapprove strongly
Approve/Disapprove somewhat

10. Do you happen to remember the party affiliation of Senator [name1]?

Democrat
Republican
Independent
Don't Know

11. Do you approve or disapprove of the way [name2] is handling his/her job as U. S. Senator for [state]?

Approve
Disapprove
Not Sure

If Approve/Disapprove, ask Do you:

Approve/Disapprove strongly
Approve/Disapprove somewhat

12. Do you happen to remember the party affiliation of Senator [name2]?

Democrat

Republican
Independent
Don't Know

Your area is also represented in the U. S. House of Representatives by [name].

13. Do you approve or disapprove of the way [name] handles his/her job as a member of Congress?

Approve
Disapprove
Not Sure

(If Approve/Disapprove, Do you:
Approve/Disapprove strongly
Approve/Disapprove somewhat

14. Do you happen to remember the party affiliation of your Representative in the House of Representatives?

Democrat
Republican
Independent
Don't Know

[CUT: this should go to individual surveys on representation] 15. What ethnicity or race is your member of Congress?

White, Hispanic, Black, Asian, American Indian, Other [Specify]

Now we'd like to ask you about several issues.

15. Abortion (ANES version)

There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view?

BY LAW, ABORTION SHOULD NEVER BE PERMITTED.

THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION ONLY IN CASE OF RAPE, INCEST,
OR WHEN THE WOMAN'S LIFE IS IN DANGER.

THE LAW SHOULD PERMIT ABORTION FOR REASONS OTHER THAN RAPE, INCEST, OR DANGER TO THE WOMAN'S LIFE, BUT ONLY AFTER THE NEED FOR THE ABORTION HAS BEEN CLEARLY ESTABLISHED.

BY LAW, A WOMAN SHOULD ALWAYS BE ABLE TO OBTAIN AN ABORTION AS A MATTER OF PERSONAL CHOICE.

OTHER (SPECIFY) [VOL]

15a. How important is this issue to you? Very Important, Important, Somewhat Important, Not Important.

17. Some people think it is important to protect the environment even if it costs some jobs or otherwise reduces our standard of living. Other people think that protecting the environment is not as important as maintaining jobs and our standard of living.

Which is closer to the way you feel, or haven't you thought much about this?

Much more Important to Protect Environment Even if Lose Jobs and Lower Standard of Living

Environment Somewhat more Important

About the Same

Economy Somewhat More Important

Much More Important to Protect Jobs Even if Environment Worse

How important is this issue to you?

18. Social Security (ANES question on privatization)

A proposal has been made that would allow people to put a portion of their Social Security payroll taxes into personal retirement accounts that would be invested in private stocks and bonds.

Do you FAVOR this idea, OPPOSE it, or NEITHER FAVOR NOR OPPOSE it?

IF R FAVORS INVESTING SOCIAL SECURITY FUNDS/
IF R OPPOSES INVESTING SOCIAL SECURITY FUNDS:
Do you [favor/oppose] it STRONGLY or NOT STRONGLY?

IF NEITHER, Do you lean toward FAVORING it, lean toward OPPOSING it, or don't you lean either way?

18a. How important is this issue to you?

19. Some people think that if a company has a history of discriminating against blacks when making hiring decisions, then they should be required to have an affirmative action program that gives blacks preference in hiring. What do you think?

Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program?

Strongly support
Affirmative Action

Strongly Oppose
Affirmative Action

19a. How important is this issue to you?

20. For each of the following reasons, would you approve of the use of U.S. military troops? Please check all that apply:

- To ensure the supply of oil
- To destroy a terrorist camp
- To intervene in a region where there is genocide or a civil war
- To assist the spread of democracy
- To protect American allies under attack by foreign nations
- To help the United Nations uphold international law
- None of the above

Now we'd like to ask you about the coming elections.

Ideology Placement of ...

21. House Candidate 1 [Widget, with "Don't Know" box]

22. House Candidate 2

23. Senate Candidate 1

24. Senate Candidate 2

25. Governor Candidate 1

26. Governor Candidate 2

27. Do you intend to vote in the November election?

Yes

No

Not Sure

I already voted, absentee or early

28. For which candidate do you intend to vote in the race for US House?

29. For which candidate do you intend to vote in the race for U. S. Senate?

30. For which candidate do you intend to vote in the race for Governor?

As you know, Senators and Representatives in Washington regularly have to decide how to vote on issues affecting the country. We'd like to ask you about how you would vote on some of these same issues as well as how you think your representative voted.

31. First, we'd like to ask about proposals to ban a type of late-term abortion sometimes called "partial-birth abortion". Some argue that late-term abortion is a barbaric procedure and should be banned. Others argue that late-term abortions are extremely uncommon and used only in exceptional circumstances best determined by a doctor, not the Congress. The proposed legislation could also be the opening to a broader ban on abortion.

31a. How about you? If you were faced with this decision, would you vote for or against banning late-term abortion?

For (that is, to ban late-term abortion)

Against (that is, not to ban late-term abortion)

Don't Know

31b. How about Senator [name1]? Do you think he/she voted for, or against banning late-term abortion?

For (that is, to ban late-term abortion)

Against (that is, not to ban late-term abortion)

Don't Know

31c. How about Senator [name2]? Do you think he/she voted for, or against banning late-term abortion?

For (that is, to ban late-term abortion)

Against (that is, not to ban late-term abortion)

Don't Know

32. Now we'd like to ask about whether the government should fund stem cell research.

Some politicians argue that this research may lead to cures for diseases and disabilities affecting large numbers of Americans, and should be funded. Others argue that a potential human life has to be destroyed in order to use these cells, and funding it would be unethical.

32. a. What do you think? If you were faced with this decision, would you vote for or against funding the research?

32. b. How about your Senator [name 1]? Do you think he/she voted for or against funding the research?

32. c. How about your Senator [name 2]? Do you think he/she voted for or against funding the research?

NOTE: H.R.810; Stem Cell Research Enhancement Act of 2005 This bill would permit federal funds to be used to support medical research into therapies derived from embryonic stem cells. Funds would be restricted to research on human embryos slated to be destroyed by fertility clinics.

Senate: 63-37; R 19-36; D 43-1; I 1-0. July 18 2006

House: 238-194; R: 50-180; D 187-14; I 1-0 May 24 2006

33. Now we'd like to ask about a new free trade agreement that reduces barriers to trade between the U.S. and countries in Central America.

Some politicians argue that the agreement allows America to better compete in the global economy and would create more stable democracies in Central America. Other politicians argue that it helps businesses to move jobs abroad where labor is cheaper and does not protect American producers.

33. a. What do you think? If you were faced with this decision, would you vote for or against funding the research?

33. b. How about your Senator [name 1]? Do you think he/she voted for or against funding the research?

33. c. How about your Senator [name 2]? Do you think he/she voted for or against funding the research?

[Is this salient enough?] Central American Free Trade Agreement -- Passage. (in H.R.) HR3045

Passage of the bill that would implement a free trade agreement between the United States and Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua and a separate pact with the Dominican Republic. It also would eliminate customs duties on all Passed 217-215: R 202-27; D 15-187 (ND 7-144, SD 8-43); I 0-1. July 28, 2005 (in the session that began and the Congressional Record dated July 27, 2005.). July 27, 2005.

Central American Free Trade Agreement -- Passage (in Sen.) S1307

Passage of the bill that would implement a free trade agreement between the United States and Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua and the Dominican Republic. It also would eliminate customs duties on all originating goods traded among Passed 54-45: R 43-12; D 10-33 (ND 7-32, SD 3-1); I 1-0. June 30, 2005.

34. Another issue is illegal immigration. One plan considered by the Senate would offer illegal immigrants who already live in the U.S. more opportunities to become legal citizens.

Some politicians argue that people who have worked hard in jobs that the economy depends should be offered the chance to live here legally. Other politicians argue that the plan is an amnesty that rewards people who have broken the law.

34. a. What do you think? If you were faced with this decision, would you vote for or against this proposal?

34. b. How about your Senator [name 1]? Do you think he/she voted for or against this proposal?

34. c. How about your Senator [name 2]? Do you think he/she voted for or against this proposal?

Immigration Overhaul -- Passage. (in Sen.) S2611 Passage of the bill that would overhaul U.S. immigration policies and offer a path to citizenship for most illegal immigrants in the country. It would subdivide illegal immigrants into three groups based

on how long they had been in the United States. Illegal immigrants in the country more than five years would be able to stay and earn citizenship; those here between two and five years would have three years to file paperwork for a temporary work visa, after which they would be eligible for permanent legal residency; and those here less than two years would have to return to their native country and go through normal channels if they want to return. It would create a guest worker program that could accommodate an additional 200,000 immigrants a year. It also would authorize increased border security and enforcement provisions, including a requirement for businesses to verify documents of all prospective employees through an electronic system managed by the Department of Homeland Security. Passed 62-36: R 23-32; D 38-4 (ND 34-4, SD 4-0); I 1-0. May 25, 2006.

NOTE: The House considered a very different bill.

35. Now we'd like to ask about a proposal to increase the federal minimum wage from \$ 5.15 to \$6.25 within the next year and a half.

Some politicians argue that the wage should be increased because it hasn't changed since 1997 and many workers still live in poverty. Other politicians argue that raising the wage might force small businesses to cut jobs and would hurt the economy.

35. a. What do you think? If you were faced with this decision, would you vote for or against increasing the minimum wage?

35. b. How about your Senator [name 1]? Do you think he/she voted for or against increasing the minimum wage?

35. c. How about your Senator [name 2]? Do you think he/she voted for or against increasing the minimum wage?

Fiscal 2006 Transportation-Treasury-Housing Appropriations -- Minimum Wage Increase. (in Sen.) HR3058 Kennedy, D-Mass., motion to waive the Budget Act with respect to the Bond, R-Mo., point of order against the Kennedy amendment no. 2063. The Kennedy amendment would increase the minimum wage to \$5.70 six months after the bill's enactment and to \$6.25 one year Motion rejected 47-51: R 4-51; D 42-0 (ND 38-0, SD 4-0); I 1-0 . A three-fifths majority vote (60) of the total Senate is required to waive the Budget Act. (Subsequently, the chair upheld the point of order, and the amendment fell.) Oct. 19, 2005.

36. Last, we'd like to ask about cutting taxes on the money people make from selling investments, also referred to as capital gains. This past year the Senate considered a bill to extend capital gains tax cuts passed in 2001.

Some politicians argue that these tax reductions make the economy strong and encourage people to invest more. Others argue that the plan would mostly benefit people who are already rich and that any tax cuts should be shared more fairly among all taxpayers.

36. a. What do you think? If you were faced with this decision, would you vote for or against these tax cuts?

36. b. How about your Senator [name 1]? Do you think he/she voted for or against increasing these tax cuts??

36. c. How about your Senator [name 2]? Do you think he/she voted for or against increasing these tax cuts??

Tax Reconciliation -- Conference Report. (in Sen.and HR) HR4297 Adoption of the conference report on the bill that would extend about \$70 billion in tax cuts over a five-year period. Reduced tax rates on capital gains and dividends would be extended through 2010. It would extend through 2009 a tax provision that allows small businesses to write off up to \$100,000 in capital investments in the year they are made. It would extend for one year and set higher alternative minimum tax exemption amounts for 2006 of \$62,550 for a joint return, \$42,500 for individuals, and \$31,275 for married individuals who file separate returns.

Adopted in House (thus sent to the Senate) 244-185: R 229-2; D 15-182 (ND 5-141, SD 10-41); I 0-1. May 10, 2006.

Adopted in Senate (thus cleared for the president) 54-44: R 51-3; D 3-40 (ND 1-38, SD 2-2); I 0-1. May 11, 2006.

Post-Election

[Fielded the week following the election]

1. A lot of people are unable to get out and vote for many reasons. Did you happen to vote in the November 2006 election?

No, I did not vote in 2006

Yes, I voted in 2006

[ANES version of vote question.]

In talking to people about elections, we often find that a lot of people were not able to vote because they weren't registered, they were sick, or they just didn't have time.

Which of the following statements best describes you:

One, I did not vote (in the election this November);

Two, I thought about voting this time - but didn't;

Three, I usually vote, but didn't this time; or

Four, I am sure I voted.

2. People cast their votes many different ways. Some people use absentee voting, others vote early at election offices, and others use the traditional means of voting at polling places. How did you vote?

At a polling place

Absentee

Early (at election office)

I did not vote

3. Did you encounter a difficulty trying to vote that discouraged you from voting, such as a problem with your registration or long lines at polling places?

I did not vote in 2006

I voted and I encountered no difficulties

Yes, I had difficulty, but I was able to vote.

Yes, I had difficulty. I tried to vote but was unable to vote in the November
2006 general election

3a. If yes, which of the following were difficulties:

I did not have time to vote during the day

There were long lines

It was hard to get to my polling place, or hard to find

There was a problem with my registration

I requested but did not receive an absentee ballot

Poll workers could not explain how to vote

Materials were not in my language

I have a disability (such as poor eyesight) and

At the midterm elections candidates for many offices were chosen. We'd like to ask you
about a few of the choices you faced.

[Randomize Order]

4. For whom did you vote for U.S. House of Representatives?

5. For whom did you vote for Governor?

6. For whom did you vote for U.S. Senator?

7. For whom did you vote for Attorney General [or highest state elective office on ballot]
in your state?

8. For who did you vote in the race for the state legislative House of Representatives/Assembly?

9. In politics, do you think of your self as a Democrat, a Republican or Independent?

9a. If Democrat or Republican, how strongly do you feel about your party? Strong D/R, Weak D/R.

9b. If Independent, do you lean toward one of the parties?

If so which one? D or R.

10. Where would you place your self on a spectrum from left to right, where left means liberal and right means conservative? [Widget]

11. Ideology Placement House Candidate 1 [Widget]

12. Ideology Placement House Candidate 2

13. Ideology Placement Senate Candidate 1 (or of both Senators if neither up)

14. Ideology Placement Senate Candidate 2

15. Ideology Placement Governor Candidate 1 (or of Governor if not up)

16. Ideology Placement Governor Candidate 2

17. If your state were to have a budget deficit this year it would have to raise taxes on income or sales or cut spending, such as on education, health care, welfare, and road construction. What would you prefer more raising taxes or cutting spending? [A scale from all from tax increases to all from spending cuts]

18. In your state, xxx percent of revenue comes from income taxes and xxx from sales taxes. If your state government had to raise taxes, what share of the tax increase should

come from increased income taxes and what share from increased sales taxes? [A scale from 100% from sales to 100% from income.]

19. The federal budget is currently running a \$400 billion deficit. If the Congress were to balance the budget it would have to consider cutting many programs and raising taxes.

What do you think should be Congress's highest priority? Rank order the following ways to balance the federal budget, cut domestic spending, cut defense spending, raise taxes, or increase government borrowing from most preferred (1) to least preferred (4).

Cut Defense Spending

Cut Social Spending

Raise Taxes

Borrow Money

20. Have you ever been called for jury duty?

20a. If yes, did you serve on a jury or were you excused?

21. During the past year did you donate money to any candidates for office or to political party committees?

22. During the past three months, did you try to persuade anyone else to vote or how to vote?

23. During the November election campaign, did a candidate, party organization, or other organization contact you to get you to vote?

24. Following election this November, which party controls the U. S. House of Representatives?

25. Following election this November, which party controls U.S. Senate?