Issues in Analyzing Data from the Dual-Mode 2000 American National Election Study

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For scholars interested in methodological issues concerning survey response and the analysis of incomplete survey data, the 2000 American National Election Study (ANES) is a gold mine of research opportunities. However, unless researchers proceed with caution, the riches of the 2000 ANES may turn into fool's gold. The 2000 study differs from previous ANES studies by interviewing respondents in three different ways: individuals were contacted and interviewed over the telephone, in person, or a combination of the two. In addition, the questionnaire contained numerous experimental manipulations. The combination of the dual-mode design and the experimental manipulations creates several potential pitfalls for the researcher using the 2000 ANES that he or she may not typically encounter.

Before proceeding to discuss the issues surrounding the 2000 ANES, it may be useful to offer the following suggestions with regards to the dual-mode design. If the researcher seeks to maintain continuity and consistency with research that has utilized studies from previous years, the best solution is to use only the face-to-face respondents. If the researcher seeks to analyze the impact of congressional district level variables on individual behavior and attitudes, it may be better to analyze the respondents that were interviewed over the telephone in the pre and post-wave of the survey. If there are concerns that necessitate using all of the observations, such as having enough respondents in particular categories (e.g. black, female, age 25-35), the researcher should proceed with caution and check the robustness of any results using the different sets of respondents. In other words, we suggest running the analysis on the face-to-face respondents and the telephone respondents separately, as well as on all of the respondents, in order to assess if there are any significant differences in the results. If this is not possible, the researcher should at least compare the sample statistics (e.g. mean, variance, etc.) of the relevant variables for each mode to detect any significant differences between the modes.

An Example

The "liberal-conservative" ideology item is one of the variables most often used by analysts of the NES surveys. In the 2000 ANES, an experiment was conducted with this item which allows researchers to compare a branching version of the question to the 7-point scale version. The random assignment to the branching versus scale item occurred for all respondents across both interview modes, however the question wording and visual aid available to FTF respondents who were assigned the 7-point scale version of the question were not the same as those used with the RDD respondents. In addition, after both the scale and branching versions of the questions, if

respondents said "moderate" or "don't know" or "haven't thought much" they were asked: "If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?" This "forced-choice" item was also a new addition to the NES 2000. Putting all of this detail together means that any given analyst has a choice of scaled versus branching, RDD versus FTF, and forced-choice versus non-forced choice versions of the self-placement ideology question: 8 different questions in all. For example, if an analyst wished to do an analysis of this variable in 2000 which was exactly comparable with analyses of this variable in previous years, she would have to choose the 7-point scale version, without using the forced-choice follow-up, for the in-person sample only.

Table 1 summarizes the different ways that the liberal-conservative self-placement question was asked. From this table, one can see that 1) the response options are different between the branching and scale versions ["extremely" versus "strong"], 2) that the branching version relies on the forced-choice item in order to create a 7-point [rather than a 5-point] scale; and 3) that the question wording for the scale version differs between the modes [since a visual aid was available in the FTF mode and not in the RDD mode].

The summary variables that are included in the NES dataset ignore these differences [e.g., matching "strong liberal" with "extremely liberal"] and therefore should be used with caution. The forced-choice option can especially complicate analyses for researchers interested in making comparisons over time. Without the forced choice option, the distributions of this variable are unimodal with "moderate" being the predominant response. The forced choice option sorts respondents out of the middle category, creating a decidedly bi-modal variable. Figure 1 shows the percentage of respondents choosing each of the available categories using the forced choice option. Figure 2 shows the same information, only excluding the forced choice option — in this figure, the branching option only includes 5 response categories which are shown by the blank spaces around the "moderate" bars. These figures also show that the distribution of the eight different versions of this variable are not identical. For example, respondents in the branching condition were more likely to choose "strong" liberal/conservative options than were respondents in the scale condition likely to choose the "extremely" liberal/conservative options. It should be clear from this example that the practical data analyst must be cautious in dealing with this variable — and with the other, equally complicated, variables that exist in the NES 2000 dataset.

Table 1: Liberal-Conservative Self-Placement Question Versions

Version	Mode	Forced Choice	Wording	Response Options
Branch	FTF	No	When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or haven't you thought much about this? Would you call yourself a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal?	Strong liberal Not very strong liberal Moderate Not very strong conservative Strong conservative
	RDD	No	[same]	[same]
	FTF	Yes	When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as a liberal, a conservative, a moderate, or haven't you thought much about this? Would you call yourself a strong liberal or a not very strong liberal? If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?	Strong liberal Not very strong liberal Had to choose liberal Had to choose moderate Had to choose conservative Not very strong conservative Strong conservative
	RDD	Yes	[same]	[same]
Scale	FTF	No	[SHOW CARD] Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?	Extremely Liberal Liberal Slightly Liberal Moderate;Middle of the Road Slightly Conservative Conservative Extremely Conservative
	RDD	No	When it comes to politics, do you usually think of yourself as extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal; moderate or middle of the road, slightly conservative, conservative, extremely conservative, or haven't you thought much about this?	[same]
	FTF	Yes	[same as FTF above] If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?	[same]
	RDD	Yes	[same as RDD above] If you had to choose, would you consider yourself a liberal or a conservative?	[same]

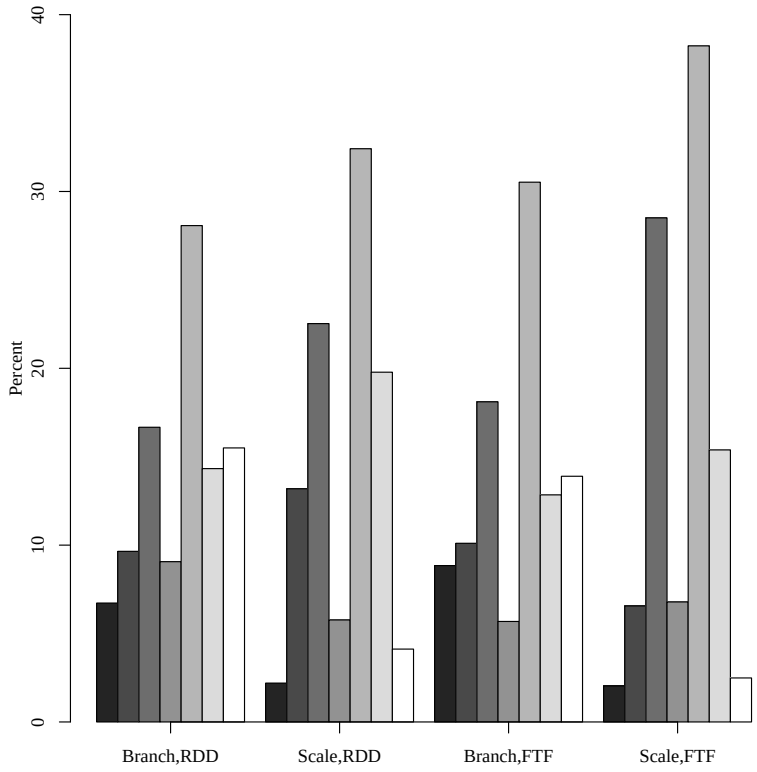

Figure 1: Distribution of Ideology(Forced Choice)

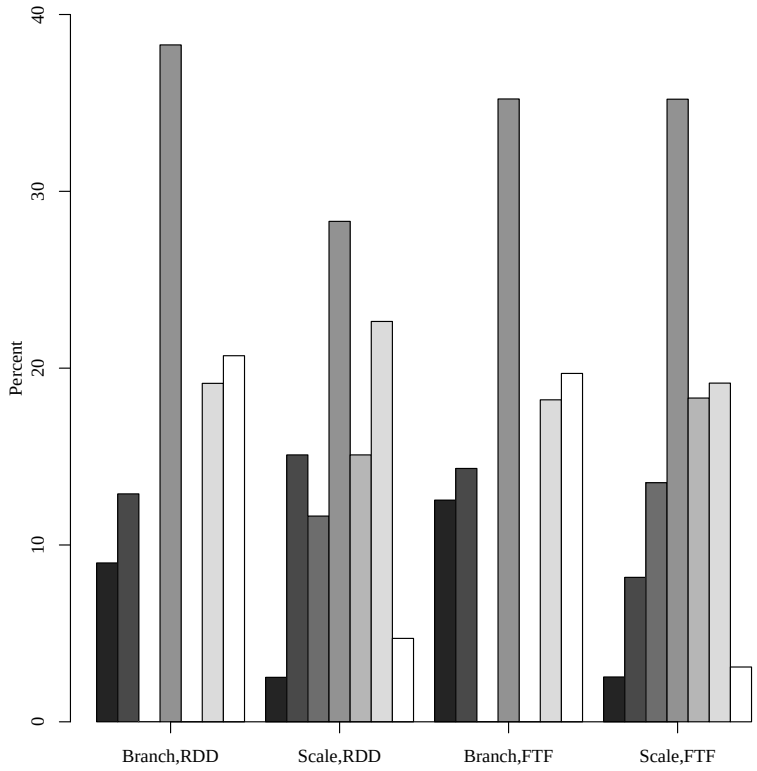

Figure 2: Distribution of Ideology(No Forced Choice). *Note:* For both figures, bars range from Strong/Extremely Liberal on left to Strong/Extremely Conservative on right.

Overview

Three general issues emerge from 2000 ANES for the practical data analyst. The first general issue is a familiar one with a slight twist. All surveys are plagued by unit nonresponse. Many individuals chosen to be in the survey cannot be contacted or refuse to be interviewed if they are contacted. If those who are contacted and choose to participate in the survey are very different from those who do not participate with regards to the purposes of the research study being conducted, then sample findings cannot contribute to an understanding of the population.[1] The sample of respondents generated through Random Digit Dialing (RDD) is different than the sample generated through Face-to-Face (FTF) interviewing. Therefore, the dual-mode design of the 2000 ANES may have produced two samples that differ from each other and differ from the target population of the study (in the case of the 2000 ANES, U.S. residents over the age of 18).

The second issue concerns the responses to particular survey items. Research has indicated that there are significant differences between the types of responses provided in-person versus on the telephone. These response differences present potential complications if not properly accounted for in analysis.

The third issue is the intentional creation of the survey designers. The dual-mode design, as well as other concerns, prompted the designers to embed numerous experimental question formats in the 2000 ANES. Failure to account for these experimental formats may cause analyses to produce misleading results.

Given these three issues, there are two general guidelines to observe when using the 2000 ANES. First, researchers should check the robustness of their findings by performing their analysis on all three sets of respondents: the FTF respondents, the RDD respondents, and all the respondents. Since our knowledge and understanding of the process of survey response is far from complete, the discussion we provide in the following sections is not an exhaustive catalog of all the possible ways that analyses will differ across the two modes. Rather, the list we provide can be thought of as the most common issues that may arise when analyzing data from the 2000 ANES. Checking your results on all three sets of respondents is a safeguard against unforeseen contingencies. In general, we recommend that researchers inspect their data both before regression-style analyses (comparing, for example, histograms, boxplots, and qq-plots of the variables between the two samples) and after such analyses (inspecting, for example, plots of residuals, predicted values, and influence statistics) (See Cleveland, 1993, for many excellent examples of such procedures).

The second general guideline for using the 2000 ANES concerns the nature of survey response. As described in detail below, there are several systematic differences in the responses provided by individuals between RDD and FTF interviews. These findings can be explained by theories of survey response. This suggests that the researcher using the 2000 ANES split-mode design (or any survey data for that matter) should carefully consider what factors influence whether and how individuals respond to the survey questions that the researcher is utilizing. For example, it is generally believed that respondents devote more effort/time to answering questions in FTF interviews compared to RDD interviews. Given this hypothesis and associated findings, researchers should proceed with caution when pooling respondents from the two modes if the researcher is using survey questions that are affected by the level of cognitive effort devoted to answering the questions.

[1] In the case of large differences between respondents and non-respondents in substantively meaningful attributes then the actual sample is not a sample from the original target population, but rather a sample from a different population that consists of the type of people who responded.

In short, researchers should bring to bear their own theory of survey response when considering how to handle the split-mode design of the 2000 ANES in their analysis.[2]

Experiments

We strongly encourage analysts of the NES 2000 to consult the *Introduction to the 2000 NES Codebook* and the main Codebook itself for detailed descriptions of the experiments conducted during the survey — including specific information about how experimental treatments interacted with the FTF versus RDD mode experiment.

We list these experiments in Table 2 in order to alert analysts who are interested in particular topics to read about these experiments in more detail.[3]

Table 2: Question Wording Experiments

Variable Number(s)	Item	Experiment
v000439(a),v000442-445	Liberal/Conservative Ideology-Self	Branching vs. scale format
v000448(a),v000450-452	Liberal/Conservative Ideology-Clinton	Branching vs. scale format
v000455(a),v000459-461	Liberal/Conservative Ideology-Gore	Branching vs. scale format
v000465(a),v000469-471	Liberal/Conservative Ideology-GW Bush	Branching vs. scale format
v000475(a),v000479-481	Liberal/Conservative Ideology-Buchanan	Branching vs. scale format
v000488a-b	Economy retrospective	Response order effects
v000492a-b	Employment retrospective	Response order effects
v000496a-b	Economy prospective	Response order effects
v000511a-b	Policy Positions on Imports	Don't know effects by mode
v000513a-b	Isolationism	Agree/Disagree format
v000608a-b,v000610a-b	Govt v. Private Health Care	Response order effects
v000671a-b	Affirmative Action	Balancing and mode effects
v000707a-b,v000709a-b	Tradeoff: Environment v. Jobs	Don't know effects by mode
v000741a-b	School vouchers	Don't know effects
v000754a-b,v000756a-b	Women's Role	Don't know effects by mode
v001446a-b,v001448	Knowledge of Political Office-Lott	Don't know effects by mode
v001449a-b,v001451	Knowledge of Political Office-Rehnquist	Don't know effects by mode
v001452a-b,v001454	Knowledge of Political Office-Blair	Don't know effects by mode
v001455a-b,v001457	Knowledge of Political Office-Reno	Don't know effects by mode

Note: The variable number v000005 series (a-q) indicate which experimental treatment was received by respondents for the variables listed above.

Branching versus Scales

One of the main experimental manipulations in the 2000 ANES is the use of branching or scale formats to construct the variables for such items as attitudes towards affirmative action, government spending, and liberal-conservative self-identification. The branching method presents options two at a time to produce a variable with 7 response categories. This is the method that has been

[2]For more information on theories of the survey response see Tourangeau, Rips and Rasinski (2000); Green, Krosnick and Holbrook (forthcoming); Alvarez and Brehm (in press)

[3]The tables in Appendix A present descriptive information about the question wording experiments displayed in Table 2.

typically employed to measure partisan identification in the NES. The scale format simultaneously presents all of the possible positions and asks the respondents to place themselves.

Aldrich et al. (1982) examine the differences between the two formats for a series of issues using data from the 1979 ANES Pilot Study. They note that the seven-point issue scales tend to produce an excessive proportion of responses in the middle category — which caused them to question the reliability of those scales. They argue that the branching format may provide more accurate measurement of public opinion on issues by lessening the tendency of individuals to place themselves in the middle of the scale.

The 1979 ANES Pilot Study had two waves. For questions about social security and defense spending, the branching format was applied in the first wave and the seven-point scale was used in the second wave. For the question about the tradeoff between Inflation and Unemployment, half of the respondents received the seven-point scale in both waves, whereas the other half received the branching format in both waves. The authors find that the branching format provides more variation in responses across the response options than the seven-point scale. Fewer individuals place themselves in the middle and more individuals locate themselves at the extreme positions when the branching format is employed. This indicates to the authors that the respondents may be devoting more cognitive effort to the placement questions when the branching format is used.

They assessed the reliability of the formats in two ways. First, they tested the predictability of respondents' issue preferences as a function of other political attitudes and background characteristics. Second, they tested the relationship between candidate preference and self and candidate placement on the issue scales for both formats, while controlling for other factors. In both cases, the authors conclude that the branching format is superior when differences exist in the predictive power of the two formats.

Recent analysis by Aldrich, Griffin and McKay (2002) of the branching and scale formats of liberal-conservative self-placement in the 2000 ANES, however, indicates that the scale format may be superior. Specifically, they find that the impact of ideological identification on the difference in thermometer scores between the presidential candidates was much weaker when using the branching format. Further, they discovered that the role of ideological identification in explaining vote choice for George W. Bush was weaker when the branching format was used. They also show that the scale format works better in explaining respondent attitudes towards government spending and the government involvement in crime.

Therefore, it remains an open question as to which format provides a better measure of respondents' political attitudes. The researcher should proceed with caution when pooling respondents from branching and scale formats. We suggest that the researcher perform the analysis separating out the respondents by the format, as well as performing the analysis on all of the respondents.

Wording Changes

In addition to the experiments, about 25% of the questions on the NES 2000 had to be modified slightly for use on the phone. These items are denoted with a "T" in the codebook. For example, v000330, Attention to National News, is labeled A6a/A6a.T because, in the FTF interview respondents were asked:

> Please look at page 1 of the booklet. How much attention do you pay to news on

national news shows about the campaign for President — a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?

In the RDD sample, no booklet was available, and so the first sentence, "Please look at page 1 of the booklet." was omitted.

Most (but not all) of the differences in wording occur because a booklet containing visual cues and response options was available to the respondents in the FTF condition but not in the RDD condition. Table B1 lists those items in which wording changed between the modes. Again, we strongly encourage analysts to carefully examine the codebook before (and during) analysis.

Sample Differences

As indicated in the introduction, the sample of respondents generated though FTF interviews may differ from the sample of respondents generated through RDD telephone interviews. There are two main reasons why the samples would be different between the two modes. First, the populations from which the samples were drawn were different. Specifically, the population of individuals that have telephones may be systematically different than the population chosen for the FTF interviews. While the percentage of U.S. households without a telephone is small, households without telephones tend to be disproportionately poor, black, rural, and southern (Brehm, 1993). Therefore, we expect the sample of respondents generated by RDD to be disproportionately wealthy, white, urban, and non-southern.

After controlling for the differences in the sample populations, the sample of respondents from the two modes may be different because of the nature of survey response. Typically, the process of survey response is divided into two stages: contact and compliance. The process of survey response may differ between both modes for both stages of survey response. It may be easier to contact individuals or certain groups of individuals in one mode compared to the other. For example, it may be more difficult to contact individuals who live in gated communities if interviews are conducted face-to-face, whereas gated communities do not pose problems for contact over telephones. However, individuals may be able to screen their phone calls through caller identification features or by not answering their telephones, which could make contact more difficult over the telephone. Thus, it seems clear that rates of contact could vary between modes. In addition, refusal rates may differ between modes. It may be easier for individuals to refuse an interview over the telephone. Further, individuals may be more likely to refuse the interview over the telephone because of the uncertainty surrounding the identity of the interviewer.

Obviously, a researcher using this data set would desire to use all of the available cases for statistical efficiency purposes. Given this desire, what is the implication of these different contact and refusal rates across modes if the researcher were to pool the data across modes? If respondents from the telephone interviews are treated the same as individuals from the FTF interviews in statistical analysis, this could lead the researcher to make invalid inferences — even in the case of fairly robust analytic methods such as Ordinary Least Squares (OLS).[4] For instance, if the researcher assumes that all of the respondents are drawn from the same population, this amounts to assuming that there is constant variance with respect to the error component of the model. In other words, the

[4]We focus on OLS here because it seems to be the most common technique used for analyzing NES data. Other analytic techniques, are equally, if not more, effected by the issues we list here.

errors of the model may be heteroskedastic, which can lead to biased standard errors. Further, the effect of covariates may vary depending on mode (for example, an independent variable may have a positive relationship with the dependent variable for one mode, but a negative relationship for the other mode!). This specification error would lead to biased coefficient estimates — since the researcher would only have one estimate when, in fact, she ought to have two. Finally, if either sample of respondents is unrepresentative of the target population, this indicates that selection bias may be present in any statistical analysis performed on the data. If selection bias is present, this can lead to biased estimates of the coefficients.

Research by Green, Krosnick and Holbrook (forthcoming, page 27) indicates that the respondents interviewed face-to-face in the 2000 ANES were more representative of the target population than the telephone respondents — particularly with regards to age, sex, and education. However, the telephone respondents were more representative with regards to race and income. This implies that issues of selection bias due to unit nonresponse may more serious in the 2000 ANES compared to previous studies because these studies only interviewed subjects in person. In other words, previous ANES studies are probably more representative of the target population than the 2000 ANES.

The traditional method of dealing with unit nonresponse is weighting. However, weighting is appropriate only if respondents within a weighting class are a random sample from that weighting class, which is unlikely to be the case (Brehm, 1993). For more information on unit nonresponse in surveys and methods for dealing with it, see Little and Rubin. (1987); Brehm (1993); Groves et al. (2001).

On a more positive note, the 2000 ANES does offer particular advantages to researchers interested in using survey data to measure characteristics of units other than individuals. For example, it is common to take means of individual characteristics within a state or congressional district to characterize the unit [using respondents as "informants" about their context]. In such situations, the RDD Sample may be better than the FTF sample due to the non-random clustering of the FTF sample within congressional districts and states (See Stoker and Bowers, 2002, for more discussion about using the NES data to study congressional, and other subnational, elections).

Item Response Differences

The final concern arising from the dual-mode design of the 2000 ANES concerns the quality of responses to individual survey items. Research by Green, Krosnick and Holbrook (forthcoming) shows that are several significant differences with regards to the quality and the type of responses generated by the telephone interviews compared to the FTF interviews — even after controlling for the demographic differences between the samples. The source of these differences are not well understood and further research should focus on how and why the process of survey response differs across modes. However, there are at least three potential causes of the differences across modes with regards to the process of survey response. First, there is greater uncertainty about the identity of the interviewer over the telephone, which makes the respondents more suspicious of the interview process. Second, individuals may be more easily distracted and exert less cognitive effort in providing responses, as evidenced by the shorter average interview length in the telephone interviews. Finally, telephone respondents express less satisfaction with the interview process than the FTF respondents. With these potential causes in mind, we will discuss four specific ways in which the responses are qualitatively different between telephone and FTF surveys.

Item Nonresponse: No opinion answers In an analysis of several different surveys involving split-mode (RDD vs. FTF) designs, Green, Krosnick and Holbrook (forthcoming) found that the number of no opinion responses was higher in the telephone surveys. They showed that after controlling for the effects of age, education, income, race, and gender, telephone respondents provided "no opinion" about 7 percent more often than FTF respondents. Similarly, telephone respondents were also more likely to refuse to answer specific questions, in particular with regards to questions about income.

Individuals may say "don't know" for many reasons. Survey administrators and researchers hope that the individual will provide a "don't know" response when they legitimately do not possess an opinion. However, if an individual feels undue pressure to provide an opinion when she does not possess one, this could lead misleading results from analysis (Berinsky, 1999). It is possible that individuals in FTF interviews experience more pressure to provide an answer even if they do not have a legitimate opinion. Therefore, the researcher should include any information they do have about the process by which respondents would provide "no opinion" or "refuse" responses. Researchers should also be aware that the process of refusal may differ across modes because of differences in cognitive effort or suspicion about the interview across modes.

Acquiescence In telephone surveys, respondents are more likely to reply "yes" or "agree" than respondents in FTF surveys after controlling for the demographic characteristics of the respondents. One common "fix" for acquiescence response bias is to replace individual "Agree/Disagree" items with scores indicating the extent to which a respondent deviated from their mean score across a battery of such items. This is a rough way to subtract "individual propensity to agree" from such responses.[5]

Non-Differentiation Green, Krosnick and Holbrook (forthcoming) also found that respondents in the RDD Sample in the 2000 NES were *not* more likely to choose a single response option and continue with it throughout a whole battery of items, at least in general across the NES 2000 survey as a whole. However, they did find that non-differentiation has been an issue with other telephone samples in other surveys. If it seems to be present within a particular battery of questions, then the kind of within respondent mean-deviation scores described above might be an easy way to identify which respondents are giving the same answer to all the items of a single battery of questions. Of course, one downside of this method is that it doesn't distinguish between "real" and "lazy" non-differentiation.

Social desirability In the 2000 ANES, respondents in telephone interviews were more likely to provide socially desirable answers. After controlling for respondent demographic characteristics, Green, Krosnick and Holbrook (forthcoming) show that telephone respondents reported greater levels of political interest, more frequent voting behavior, and greater church attendance. Brehm (1993) notes that "the absence of visual cues [in telephone interviews] might induce some respondents to exaggerate their educational or social achievements" (p.25). Again, "propensity to give socially desirable answers" can be seen as an attribute of individuals that is constant across particular batteries of items, and in principle, could be "controlled for" via techniques such within-person mean-deviation.

[5]For example, if the original variables for a given respondent i were, say, $x_{i1} \ldots x_{i5}$ for 5 items, one could first take the mean of these variables *within respondent*, setting $\bar{x}_{i\cdot} = \left(\sum_{k=1}^{5} x_{ki}\right)/5$, and then make new variables representing the distance of each of the original variables from the within respondent mean, $\bar{x}_{i\cdot}$, resulting in a new variable: $(x_{i1} - \bar{x}_{i\cdot}), \ldots, (x_{i5} - \bar{x}_{i\cdot})$.

Interview Length RDD Sample interviews tend to be shorter than FTF interviews. For example, Green, Krosnick and Holbrook (forthcoming) in their Table 3 show that RDD respondents' interviews on the 2000 NES were, on average, about 6 minutes shorter than those of FTF respondents — independent of the effects of education, income, race, gender, and age. See the *Introduction to the 2000 NES Codebook* for more details about the differences in interview length between modes in the specific case of the 2000 NES.

Over time We suspect that panel analyses may have mode based differences due to the differences in panel attrition rates in the RDD and FTF samples. We expect that panel attrition would exacerbate demographic differences that already tend to exist between RDD and FTF samples in cross-sections. Although one might expect mode based differences in panel attrition, the response rates for both FTF and RDD samples was the same (86%) across the two waves of the study. However, this does not indicate that the same types of respondents are dropping out of the survey. Further research should assess whether the causes of attrition differ between modes.

Open ended questions The NES survey uses open-ended questions for a few different items, such as listing the likes/dislikes of certain candidates. The number of responses to such questions will probably be lower in the RDD sample than in the FTF sample (See, e.g, Wong, 1998). This difference suggests that researchers using open-ended responses ought to take the number of responses across a particular battery into account when investigating the effects of any one open-ended item.

In addition to the mode differences outlined above, the following issues arise specifically within the context of the 2000 NES:

Marginal Distributions of Core Items Green, Krosnick and Holbrook (forthcoming) showed that bivariate tests for independence of the distribution of 16 different items on the 2000 NES such as Party ID, Abortion Opinion, Economic Evaluations, allowed for rejection of the null hypothesis of no difference in 7 out of the 16 variables. This finding should alert analysts to the possibility that, not only will pooled analysis have heteroskedasticity, but it may also be inappropriate to assume that intercepts and/or slopes would be the same across the RDD and the FTF samples.

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Appendix A Descriptive Statistics for the Question Wording Experiments

The following tables show how the frequency distributions and the summary statistics for the question wording experiments different by survey mode and by experimental treatment. Often, the results from such experiments are not directly comparable since question wording, visual aids, response labels, and response options may differ. In order to create the tables, we often used summary variables which collapse 7-point scales to match 5-point scales.[6] We do not recommend that analysts use the summary, or combined, version of these scales due to the differences in response options. Instead, we suggest that people see the the different scales as a great opportunity to engage in sensitivity analyses — if the same results hold over two different samples (FTF and RDD) and two different variables (Scale and Branch), then researchers can have more confidence in their findings than if the results differ.

Table A1: Candidate Ideology

	Scale							Branch						
	1	2	3	4	5	mean	sd	1	2	3	4	5	mean	sd
Clinton														
FTF	17.8	27.3	46.9	7.1	0.9	2.5	0.9	32.6	18.5	37.0	4.9	7.0	2.4	1.2
RDD	21.1	29.4	41.7	6.7	1.1	2.4	0.9	38.8	20.5	33.9	3.1	3.7	2.1	1.1
Gore														
FTF	9.2	30.0	53.2	5.7	1.8	2.6	0.8	27.9	17.1	34.6	7.8	12.6	2.6	1.3
RDD	10.2	28.6	50.4	9.3	1.5	2.6	0.8	36.9	17.4	28.7	7.6	9.4	2.4	1.3
Bush														
FTF	1.9	5.3	46.4	38.0	8.4	3.5	0.8	9.2	5.0	28.1	21.3	36.3	3.7	1.3
RDD	1.7	9.2	36.9	42.1	10.1	3.5	0.9	8.5	6.0	24.5	24.2	36.9	3.8	1.2
Buchanan														
FTF	4.4	4.7	37.8	17.2	35.9	3.8	1.1	6.1	4.6	20.6	13.2	55.5	4.1	1.2
RDD	1.2	7.0	21.9	25.2	44.6	4.0	1.0	7.7	5.1	17.0	8.9	61.3	4.1	1.3

Note: This table was created using a summary variable (v000454), which collapses the 7 categories of the "scale" manipulation to match the 5 which result from the "branch" manipulation. The "scale" manipulation had 7 response options with the following labels: 1.Extremely Liberal, 2.Liberal, 3.Slightly Liberal, 4.Moderate;Middle of the Road, 5.Slightly Conservative, 6.Conservative, 7.Extremely Conservative. The "branch" manipulation used a branching format, which, when combined yielded a 5-point scale with the following labels: 1.Strong liberal, 2.Not very strong liberal, 3.Moderate, 4.Not very strong conservative, 5.Strong conservative.

[6]The table in Appendix C compares the means and standard deviations for all of the "summary" or "constructed" variables in the 2000 ANES.

Table A2: Economic Evaluations

		Standard Wording					Experimental Wording				
		1	3	5	mean	sd	1	3	5	mean	sd
Economy Retrospective	FTF	44.2	43.6	12.2	2.4	1.4	38.6	45.9	15.5	2.5	1.4
	RDD	37.4	40.9	21.7	2.7	1.5	35.3	44.9	19.8	2.7	1.4
Employment Retrospective	FTF	14.6	32.3	53.1	3.8	1.5	16.9	33.4	49.7	3.7	1.5
	RDD	13.4	39.7	46.8	3.7	1.4	12.0	34.6	53.4	3.8	1.4
Economy Prospective	FTF	20.7	60.1	19.2	3.0	1.3	25.4	56.6	18.0	2.8	1.3
	RDD	20.5	61.8	17.8	2.9	1.2	19.1	59.8	21.0	3.0	1.3

Note: "Standard" means offered "better" option first for Economic Retrospective and Economic Prospective, but the "harder" option first for Employment Retrospective. The "Experimental" options switches the order in which the response options are offered to the respondent.

Table A3: Policy Positions on Imports

	Opt Out Offered				Opt Out Not Offered			
	1	5	mean	sd	1	5	mean	sd
FTF	51.06	48.94	2.96	2.00	50.00	50.00	3.00	2.00
RDD	44.64	55.36	3.21	1.99	47.31	52.69	3.11	2.00

Note: The "Standard" version offers a response option for "Haven't thought much about this." The experimental version does not offer this option.

Table A4: Isolationism

	Agree/Disagree				What R "Thinks"			
	1	5	mean	sd	1	5	mean	sd
FTF	27.20	72.80	3.91	1.78	31.71	68.29	3.73	1.86
RDD	26.35	73.65	3.95	1.76	29.74	70.26	3.81	1.83

Note: The standard version introduces the question with "Do you agree or disagree with this statement." while the experimental version asks what the respondent "thinks" rather than asking them to agree or disagree.

Table A5: Health Policy

	Standard							Endpoints Reversed						
	1	2	3	4	5	mean	sd	1	2	3	4	5	mean	sd
FTF	15.4	8.7	54.0	9.6	12.3	3.0	1.1	18.3	12.6	49.6	10.6	9.0	2.8	1.1
RDD	38.5	7.8	6.2	12.7	34.8	3.0	1.8	43.6	8.0	8.3	8.8	31.2	2.8	1.8

Note: The FTF versions of this item are 7-point scales while the RDD versions of this item are branching, leading to 5-point scales. This table was created using the combined, summary variable (v000614) split by the mode indicator (v000004) and by the manipulation indicator (v000005k). Since the manipulation involved switching the endpoints of the scales, the experimental versions were flipped in order to create the combination variable used above.

Table A6: Affirmative Action

	Standard				Experimental			
	1	5	mean	sd	1	5	mean	sd
FTF	54.69	45.31	2.81	1.99	46.07	53.93	3.16	2.00
RDD	57.94	42.06	2.68	1.98	50.70	49.30	2.97	2.00

Note: The standard version asks "What do you think? Should companies that have discriminated against blacks have to have an affirmative action program?" The experimental version adds a final clause to the last sentence reading: "or should companies not have to have an affirmative action program?"

Table A7: Tradeoff: Jobs vs. Environment

	Opt Out Offered							Opt Out Not Offered						
	1	2	3	4	5	mean	sd	1	2	3	4	5	mean	sd
FTF	15.2	15.2	60.0	6.0	3.7	2.7	0.9	9.0	12.7	66.1	8.4	3.7	2.8	0.8
RDD	50.0	18.6	11.2	12.8	7.4	2.1	1.3	35.9	26.5	11.7	14.0	12.0	2.4	1.4

Note: This table was constructed using v000713, the combined, summary item, which collapses the 7-point scale used in the FTF interviews to match the 5-point scale that resulted from the branching format used in the RDD mode. The "standard" version allows the respondent to answer that they "haven't thought much about this", the experimental condition does not offer a way to opt out of providing a substantive response.

Table A8: School Vouchers

	Offered DK				Not Offered DK			
	1	5	mean	sd	1	5	mean	sd
FTF	50.64	49.36	2.97	2	57.32	42.68	2.71	1.98
RDD	53.43	46.57	2.86	2	54.87	45.13	2.81	1.99

Note: This table was constructed using variables v000741a and v000741b. The "standard" version allows the respondent to answer that they "haven't thought much about this." The experimental condition does not offer a way to opt out of providing a substantive response.

Table A9: Women's Role

	Standard							Experimental						
	1	2	3	4	5	mean	sd	1	2	3	4	5	mean	sd
FTF	59.1	16.0	19.0	2.8	3.2	1.8	1.1	57.9	13.0	24.5	1.9	2.7	1.8	1.0
RDD	85.3	5.8	3.9	0.8	4.2	1.3	0.9	83.5	5.1	5.8	2.4	3.2	1.4	0.9

Note: This table was constructed using v000760, the combined, summary variable which collapses the 7-point scales used in the FTF mode to match the 5-point scales which result from the branching format used in the RDD mode. The "standard" version allows the respondent to answer that they "haven't thought much about this." The experimental condition does not offer a way to opt out of providing a substantive response.

Table A10: Knowledge of Political Offices

		No Probe				Probe			
		1	5	mean	sd	1	5	mean	sd
Lott	FTF	28.28	71.72	3.87	1.81	24.47	75.53	4.02	1.73
	RDD	22.00	78.00	4.12	1.66	21.31	78.69	4.15	1.64
Rehnquist	FTF	24.14	75.86	4.03	1.72	27.83	72.17	3.89	1.80
	RDD	25.34	74.66	3.99	1.74	23.74	76.26	4.05	1.71
Blair	FTF	80.73	19.27	1.77	1.58	77.39	22.61	1.90	1.68
	RDD	84.21	15.79	1.63	1.46	69.72	30.28	2.21	1.84
Reno	FTF	78.68	21.32	1.85	1.64	75.14	24.86	1.99	1.73
	RDD	76.35	23.65	1.95	1.70	71.56	28.44	2.14	1.81

Note: This table was constructed from the summary variables, v001447, v001450, v001453, and v001456 for Knowledge of Lott, Rehnquist, Blair and Reno respectively. The standard version does not include a probe if the respondent answers DK, the experimental version does include a probe of "Well, what's your best guess?". The mode variable for these items from the post-survey is v000126 (excluding respondents who were interviewed in the wrong mode in the post-survey), and the variable indicating experimental condition is v000127b.

Appendix B List of Mode-based Wording Differences

The following table lists the questions for which wording differences occurred based only on mode. The blank entries occur for those variables which ask about Independent Congressional candidates — districts in which the NES only interviewed 4 respondents.

Table B1: Wording Differences Between Modes Not Due to Question Wording Experiments

		FTF		RDD	
Variable	Label	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
v000330	A6a/A6a.T. Attention to national news	2.52	0.95	2.57	1.04
v000333	A8a/A8a.T. Attention to local news	2.86	1.03	2.84	1.10
v000337	A10b/A10b.T. Attention to newspaper articles	2.57	0.94	2.62	0.94
v000359	C1a/C1a.T. Thermometer Bill Clinton	57.70	29.43	52.67	29.81
v000360	C1b/C1b.T. Thermometer Gore	60.00	24.97	54.48	26.18
v000361	C1c/C1c.T. Thermometer George W Bush	56.01	24.59	56.32	25.22
v000362	C1d/C1d.T. Thermometer Buchanan	40.78	22.39	37.70	23.31
v000363	C1e/C1e.T. Thermometer Nader	53.04	22.84	52.12	23.74
v000364	C1f/C1f.T. Thermometer Mccain	60.16	19.08	58.12	21.01
v000365	C1g/C1g.T. Thermometer Bradley	56.70	18.30	53.67	20.27
v000366	C1h/C1h.T. Thermometer Lieberman	59.28	20.54	55.08	22.54
v000367	C1j/C1j.T. Thermometer Cheney	56.86	21.47	55.82	23.18
v000368	C1k/C1k.T. Thermometer Hillary Clinton	53.50	31.08	49.13	30.17
v000398	E1/E1.T. Better/worse off in last year	3.35	1.82	3.38	1.82
v000402	E2/E2.T. Did R delay med/dent treatment	3.89	1.79	3.70	1.88
v000403	E3/E3.T. Expect better/worse in next year	3.22	1.93	3.27	1.92
v000694	M1/M1.T. Abortion self-placement	2.92	1.23	2.98	1.16
v000696	M1b/M1b.T. Gore-abortion scale	3.25	1.08	3.45	1.02
v000698	M1c/M1c.T. Bush-abortion scale	2.21	1.04	2.24	1.11
v000855	Q15a/Q15a.T. Clinton trait-moral	3.32	0.82	3.30	0.84
v000856	Q15b/Q15b.T. Clinton trait-really cares	2.54	0.94	2.55	0.97
v000857	Q15c/Q15c.T. Clinton trait-knowledgeable	1.81	0.72	1.73	0.69
v000858	Q15d/Q15d.T. Clinton trait-strong leader	2.26	0.93	2.23	0.94
v000859	Q15e/Q15e.T. Clinton trait-dishonest	2.06	0.95	2.15	0.96
v000860	Q15f/Q15f.T. Clinton trait-intelligent	1.75	0.76	1.74	0.76
v000861	Q15g/Q15g.T. Clinton trait-out of touch	2.66	0.91	2.73	0.96
v000874	S3/S3.T. How often does R pray	2.59	1.45	2.56	1.49
v000875	S4/S4.T. How often does R read the bible	4.04	1.25	3.98	1.20
v000876	S5/S5.T. Bible is word of God or men	1.82	0.82	1.90	0.92
v000993	Y27/Y27.T. HH income - others in HH 14+	7.52	3.71	7.59	3.73
v000995	Y27a/Y27a.T. R income - others in HH 14+	4.80	3.07	5.25	3.28
v000996	Y28/Y28.T. R income - only HH member 14+	4.73	3.04	4.91	3.09
v001013	Y31a/Y31a.T. Category of Hispanic descent	2.96	2.13	3.60	2.33
v001021a	Z4(1)/Z4(1).T. Mos.-length resid in home	1.19	2.97	1.23	3.02
v001021b	Z4(2)/Z4(1).T. Yrs.-length resid in home	10.60	12.27	10.27	11.78
v001254	C9a/C11a.T. In-county: vote for House?	1.34	1.11	1.73	1.55
v001255	C9b(1)/C11bx1.T. In-county House vote	2.97	2.10	3.26	2.13
v001256	C9b/(2)/C11bx2.T. In-Hse vote-cand code	35.56	10.84	36.87	13.48
v001257	C9b(3)/C11bx.T. In-House vote - party	1.62	1.06	1.77	1.27
v001258	C10a/C12a.T. Out-county: vote for House?	2.68	2.03	2.10	1.82
v001259	C10b1/C12b1.T. Out- House vote - cand code	74.75	25.98	74.33	26.13
v001260	C10b2/C12b2.T. Out- House vote - party	1.50	0.53	2.33	1.75

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Table B1: Wording Differences Between Modes Not Due to Question Wording Experiments (continued)

		FTF		RDD	
Variable	Label	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
v001261	C10c/C12c.T. Out- party ment of Hse vote	3.00	2.11	3.67	1.93
v001262	C10x1/C12x1.T. Summ- Hose vote cand code	36.27	12.37	38.21	15.71
v001263	C10x2/C12x2.T. Summary- House vote party	1.62	1.06	1.79	1.29
v001266	C13a/C15a.T. In-county: vote for Senate?	1.09	0.61	1.59	1.42
v001267	C13b1/C15bx1.T. In county - Senate vote	2.82	2.04	2.98	2.06
v001268	C13b2/C15bx2.T. In county -Sen vote - cand code	15.30	11.43	15.46	12.69
v001269	C13b3/C15bx3.T. In county- Sen vote - party	1.55	0.91	1.62	0.98
v001270	C14a/C16a.T. Out-county:vote for Senate?	1.80	1.66	2.19	2.09
v001271	C14b1/C16b1.T. Out of county - Sen vote -cand code	53.30	42.33	50.38	42.40
v001272	C14b2/C16b2.T. Out of county - Senate vote party	2.50	2.42	2.85	2.41
v001273	C14c/C16c.T. Out of county- party of Sen vote	3.33	2.53	3.32	2.03
v001274	C14x1/C16x1.T. Summ- Sen vote - cand code	16.29	14.37	16.59	15.76
v001275	C14x2/C16x2.T. Summary- Sen vote - party	1.68	1.29	1.94	1.70
v001279	C18/C18.T. Nonvoter-prefer Hse cand?	3.84	1.82	4.56	1.26
v001280	C18a/C18a.T. Nonvoter-Hse cand pref	2.81	2.18	3.32	2.33
v001281	C18a1/C18a1.T. Nonvotr-Hse cand pref code	33.51	1.10	33.47	1.12
v001282	C18a2/C18a2.T. Nonvoter-Hse cand pref pty	1.71	1.40	2.05	1.81
v001283	C19a/C19.T. Nonvoter-pref Senate cand?	3.16	2.00	4.33	1.50
v001284	C19b/C19a.T. Nonvoter-Sen cand pref	2.92	2.00	3.09	2.18
v001285	C19b1/C19a1.T. Nonvotr-Sen cand pref code	13.21	1.51	13.19	1.50
v001286	C19b2/C19a2.T. Nonvoter-Sen cand pref pty	1.50	0.53	1.73	1.28
v001292	D1a/D1a.T. Thermometer Clinton	55.46	29.99	52.22	29.65
v001293	D1b/D1b.T. Thermometer Gore	56.06	27.43	53.11	28.46
v001294	D1c/D1c.T. Thermometer GW Bush	55.39	27.38	56.74	26.81
v001295	D1d/D1d.T. Thermometer Nader	48.43	20.96	47.31	22.15
v001296	D1e/D1e.T. Thermometer Jesse Jackson	43.16	26.94	41.89	26.83
v001297	D1f/D1f.T. Thermometer former Pres Bush	61.66	23.67	60.29	23.90
v001298	D1g/D1g.T. Thermometer Dem House cand	60.02	18.79	57.73	22.08
v001299	D1h/D1h.T. Thermometer Rep House cand	58.46	19.88	58.06	21.91
v001300	D1j/D1j.T. Thermometer retiring Hse rep	58.57	25.78	58.11	21.91
v001301	D1k/D1k.T. Thermometer Dem Senate cand	59.14	22.00	58.11	23.21
v001302	D1m/D1m.T. Thermometer Rep Senate cand	56.10	20.95	56.53	23.27
v001303	D1n/D1n.T. Thermometer Ind House cand			85.00	15.00
v001368	G1a/G1a.T. R placement lib-con scale	4.18	1.41	4.29	1.55
v001371	G2/G2.T. Clinton placement lib-con scale	2.92	1.45	2.84	1.42
v001372	G3/G3.T. Gore placement lib-con scale	3.07	1.45	2.90	1.51
v001373	G3a/G3a.T. Gore-certain lib-con placemnt	3.02	1.46	2.79	1.38
v001374	G4/G4.T. Bush placement lib-con scale	5.09	1.37	5.18	1.39
v001375	G4a/G4a.T. Bush-certain lib-con placemnt	3.12	1.38	2.88	1.35
v001376	G5/G5.T. Buchanan placemnt lib-con scale	5.47	1.69	5.62	1.79
v001377	G5a/G5a.T. Buchanan-certain lib-con	3.09	1.60	2.62	1.51
v001378a	G6.(1)/G6(1).T. Dem Hse cand placemt-lib	3.43	1.18	3.35	1.50
v001378b	G6.(2)/G6(2).T. #1 incum Ind cand place			3.00	
v001379a	G6a1/G6a1.T. Dem Hse cand-crtn lib-con	3.53	1.34	2.99	1.48
v001379b	G6a2/G6a2.T. #1 incum Ind cand-crtn lib			3.00	
v001380a	G7.(1)/G7(1).T. Rep Hse cand placmnt-lib	4.81	1.16	4.86	1.46
v001380b	G7.(2)/G7(2).T. #2 incum Ind cand-lib			6.00	
v001381a	G7a1/G7a1.T. Rep Hse cand-certn lib-con	3.48	1.36	3.06	1.45
v001381b	G7a2/G7a2.T. #2 incum Ind cand lib-con			3.00	

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Table B1: Wording Differences Between Modes Not Due to Question Wording Experiments (continued)

		FTF		RDD	
Variable	Label	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
v001382	G8/G8.T. Dem Party placemnt lib-con scale	3.02	1.37	2.89	1.42
v001383	G9/G9.T. Repub Party placement lib-con	5.13	1.28	5.21	1.34
v001384	G10/G10.T. Reform Party placemnt lib-con	4.37	1.62	4.28	1.74
v001403	G12/G12.T. R placement- abortion scale	2.95	1.19	2.93	1.16
v001405a	G12b(1)/G12b(1).T. Dem Hse cand placmt on abortion	3.19	0.90	3.34	0.96
v001405b	G12b(2)/G12b(2).T. #1 Ind inc cand plac on abort			1.00	
v001406a	G12b1(1)/G12b1(1).T. Dem Hse cand-cetainty of plcmt	3.73	1.42	3.14	1.50
v001406b	G12b1(2)/G12b1(2).T. #1 Ind inc cnd-certainty of plc			1.00	
v001407a	G12c(1)/G12c(1).T. Rep Hse cand placmt on abortion	2.31	0.84	2.20	1.00
v001407b	G12c(2)/G12c(2).T. #2 Ind inc cand placmt on abort			2.50	0.71
v001408a	G12c1(1)/G12c1(1).T. Rep Hse cand-certainty of plct	3.86	1.30	3.25	1.50
v001408b	G12c1(2)/G12c1(2).T. #2 Ind inc cnd-certainty of plc			2.00	1.41
v001508	M3a/M3a.T. Blks should overcome prejudice w/o favors	2.12	1.18	2.27	1.26
v001509	M3b/M3b.T. Blacks have gotten less than they deserve	3.31	1.25	3.43	1.26
v001510	M3c/M3c.T. If blks wld try harder they cld be welloff	2.67	1.25	2.73	1.39
v001511	M3d/M3d.T. Past discrim impacts blks today	3.16	1.35	3.26	1.40
v001516	N2a/N2a.T. Does R have good undrstdg of pol issues	2.40	1.05	2.47	1.22
v001517	N2b/N2b.T. R well-qulfd to participate in politics	3.10	1.32	3.26	1.41
v001518	N2c/N2c.T. Could do good job in public office	3.20	1.33	3.46	1.41
v001519	N2d/N2d.T. Better informed about govt than most	3.11	1.22	3.30	1.30
v001521	P1a/P1a.T. Society needs to give everyone equal oppr	1.72	1.03	1.70	1.07
v001522	P1b/P1b.T. We've pushed equal rights too far	3.09	1.31	3.22	1.40
v001523	P1c/P1c.T. We don't give everyone equal chance	2.84	1.28	2.97	1.39
v001524	P1d/P1d.T. Better if we worried less about equality	2.95	1.27	2.99	1.41
v001525	P1e/P1e.T. OK if some people have more chances than	3.31	1.20	3.42	1.30
v001526	P1f/P1f.T. We'd have fewr probs if people treated eq	2.40	1.19	2.44	1.32
v001527	Q1a/Q1a.T. Public officials don't care	2.66	1.17	2.70	1.29
v001528	Q1b/Q1b.T. People dont have say in govt	3.05	1.28	3.19	1.36
v001529	Q1c/Q1c.T. Politics too complicated	2.80	1.32	2.64	1.40
v001530	Q2a/Q2a.T. New morals are causing society breakdown	2.38	1.22	2.36	1.30
v001531	Q2b/Q2b.T. Should adjust views to chgd moral behav	3.27	1.38	3.23	1.49
v001532	Q2c/Q2c.T. Less prblms if emphasize trad family ties	1.76	0.97	1.63	0.99
v001533	Q2d/Q2d.T. Should tolerate other's morality	2.56	1.22	2.39	1.25
v001540/41	R1a/R1a.T. Close to whites	2.33	1.89	1.46	1.28
v001542/43	R1b/R1b.T. Close to poor people	3.80	1.83	2.48	1.93
v001544/45	R1c/R1c.T. Close to Asian americans	4.61	1.18	3.70	1.87
v001546/47	R1d/R1d.T. Close to liberals	4.32	1.51	3.42	1.96
v001548/49	R1e/R1e.T. Close to elderly	3.21	1.99	1.82	1.62
v001550/51	R1f/R1f.T. Close to blacks	4.20	1.60	2.99	2.00
v001552/53	R1g/R1g.T. Close to labor unions	4.49	1.34	3.95	1.76
v001554/55	R1h/R1h.T. Close to feminists	4.51	1.31	2.21	2.49
v001556/57	R1j/R1j.T. Close to southerners	4.35	1.48	2.90	2.00
v001558/59	R1k/R1k.T. Close to business people	3.87	1.80	2.53	1.95
v001560/61	R1m/R1m.T. Close to young people	3.16	1.99	1.70	1.52
v001562/63	R1n/R1n.T. Close to conservatives	3.92	1.78	2.62	1.97
v001564/65	R1p/R1p.T. Close to Hispanic-Americans	4.32	1.50	3.29	1.98
v001566/67	R1q/R1q.T. Close to women	2.84	1.99	1.45	1.27
v001568/69	R1r/R1r.T. Close to working-class	2.47	1.93	1.23	0.93
v001570/71	R1s/R1s.T. Close to middle-class	2.38	1.90	1.30	1.05

Continued on next page

Table B1: Wording Differences Between Modes Not Due to Question Wording Experiments (continued)

		FTF		RDD	
Variable	Label	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
v001572/73	R1t/R1t.T. Close to men	3.37	1.97	1.68	1.51
v001574	R2a/R2a.T. Hardworking- whites	2.99	1.14	3.11	1.32
v001575	R2b/R2b.T. Hardworking- blacks	4.06	1.23	3.99	1.28
v001576	R2c/R2c.T. Hardworking- Hispanic-America	3.39	1.22	3.64	1.43
v001577	R2d/R2d.T. Hardworking- Asian-American	2.74	1.22	2.97	1.51
v001578	R3a/R3a.T. Intelligence- whites	2.86	1.11	3.04	1.26
v001579	R3b/R3b.T. Intelligence- blacks	3.74	1.20	3.76	1.26
v001580	R3c/R3c.T. Intelligence- Hispanic-Americ	3.68	1.12	3.80	1.23
v001581	R3d/R3d.T. Intelligence- Asian-American	2.96	1.22	3.04	1.35
v001582	R4a/R4a.T. Trustworthy- whites	3.15	1.11	3.30	1.23
v001583	R4b/R4b.T. Trustworthy- blacks	3.92	1.16	3.90	1.26
v001584	R4c/R4c.T. Trustworthy- Hispanic-America	3.77	1.11	3.86	1.27
v001585	R4d/R4d.T. Trustworthy- Asian-American	3.52	1.12	3.47	1.22
v001648	T3/T3.T. How much attention to Pres campaign news	2.51	1.04	2.58	1.05
v001649	T4/T4.T. How much attention to Cong campaign news	3.59	0.98	3.54	1.00
v001650	T5/T5.T. [Opinions about Party System]	1.95	0.83	1.97	0.86

Appendix C Descriptive Statistics for Constructed Variables by Mode

Table C1: Means and Standard Deviations by Mode for Constructed Variables

		FTF		RDD	
Variable	Label	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
v000341	A12x. Summary app/disapp Clinton job	2.35	1.61	2.58	1.67
v000358	B3x. Summary R approval of US Congress	2.84	1.47	2.79	1.45
v000446	G6x1. Summary self plcmnt lib-con scale/	4.31	1.62	4.38	1.66
v000447	G6x2. Self-Comb.7pt & branching summ	3.68	2.07	3.81	2.09
v000454	G7x2. Comb.7pt/br summ Clinton lib-con	2.40	1.06	2.25	1.01
v000463	G8x2. Comb.7pt/br summ Gore lib-con	2.60	1.09	2.50	1.10
v000464a	G8cx 7pt/branching summary Gore crtn l-c	3.04	1.45	2.87	1.38
v000473	G9x2. Comb.7pt/br summ Bush lib-con	3.58	1.07	3.62	1.07
v000474a	G9cx 7pt/branching summary Bush crtn l-c	3.12	1.44	2.86	1.40
v000483	G10x2. Comb.7pt/br summ Buchan lib-con	3.92	1.18	4.08	1.17
v000484a	G10cx. 7pt/branching summ Buchan l-c crt	2.88	1.64	2.74	1.58
v000491	H1x. Summary US econ btr/worse last year	2.68	1.10	2.88	1.20
v000495	H2x. Summary employ opps in last year	3.57	1.19	3.58	1.14
v000499	H4x. Summary US econ in next year	2.91	0.85	2.99	0.84
v000503	H5x. Summary Clinton w/economy	2.10	1.42	2.19	1.46
v000510	H10x. Summary immigration level	3.60	1.09	3.63	1.10
v000512	H11x. Combined versions import limits	2.98	2.00	3.15	2.00
v000514	H12x. Combined versions isolationism	3.83	1.82	3.87	1.80
v000518	H13x. Summary Clinton foreign relations	2.42	1.53	2.52	1.56
v000523	K1x. Party ID summary	2.62	2.02	2.90	2.14
v000550	L1ax2. Comb.7pt/br summ of self on serv/	3.19	0.92	3.41	1.30
v000556	L1bx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Clinton srv/spnd	3.53	0.87	3.91	1.14
v000562	L1cx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Gore serv/spend	3.52	0.81	4.01	1.11
v000568	L1dx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Bush serv/spend	2.84	0.77	2.51	1.40
v000574	L1ex2. Comb.7pt/br summ Dem Party srv/sp	3.56	0.83	4.07	1.10
v000580	L1fx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Rep Party srv/sp	2.70	0.81	2.35	1.34
v000587	L2ax2. Comb.7pt/br summ defense spending	3.25	0.85	3.60	1.28
v000592	L2bx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Gore def spend	3.02	0.70	2.99	1.11
v000597	L2cx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Bush def spend	3.44	0.79	4.07	1.09
v000602	L2dx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Dem Party def sp	3.00	0.73	2.91	1.15
v000607	L2ex2. Comb.7pt/br summ Rep Party def sp	3.42	0.77	3.96	1.15
v000614	L3x2. Comb.7pt/br summ of R on pri/govt	2.87	1.14	2.86	1.77
v000620	L4x2. Comb.7pt/br summ guaranteed jobs	3.30	1.05	3.64	1.64
v000625	L4bx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Gore guar job	2.83	0.86	2.22	1.58
v000630	L4cx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Bush guar job	3.43	0.84	4.08	1.43
v000635	L4dx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Dem Party gua jb	2.77	0.89	2.14	1.52
v000640	L4ex2. Comb.7pt/br summ Rep Party guar job	3.53	0.85	4.13	1.33
v000645	L5ax2. Comb.7pt/br summ R aid to blacks	3.44	1.04	3.49	1.49
v000650	L5bx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Clinton aid to	2.69	0.90	2.08	1.29
v000655	L5cx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Gore aid to blks	2.73	0.89	2.12	1.30
v000660	L5dx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Bush aid to blks	3.36	0.83	3.67	1.37
v000665	L5ex2. Comb.7pt/br summ Dem Party aid blks	2.67	0.89	2.06	1.29
v000670	L5fx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Rep Party aid blks	3.46	0.83	3.71	1.37
v000674a	L6x1. Full Summary - affirmative action	2.98	1.79	2.87	1.79
v000690	L8x. Summary tax cuts from surplus	2.49	1.66	2.51	1.71
v000693	L9x. Summary surplus for Soc Sec medcare	1.77	1.30	1.81	1.37

Table C1: Means and Standard Deviations by Mode for Constructed Variables (continued)

		FTF		RDD	
Variable	Label	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
v000702	M2x. Summary abortion parental consent	1.85	1.47	1.81	1.45
v000705	M3x. Summary partial-birth abortion ban	2.04	1.60	2.05	1.61
v000713	M4a1x2. Comb.7pt/br summ jobs/envir	2.77	0.89	2.27	1.38
v000718	M4bx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Gore jobs/envir	2.57	0.93	1.91	1.21
v000723	M4cx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Bush jobs/envir	3.31	0.78	3.39	1.45
v000727	M5x. Summary homosexuals in military	2.17	1.56	2.15	1.55
v000731	M6ax. Summary gun control	2.02	1.05	1.96	1.07
v000735	M6bx. Summary Gore gun control	1.84	0.87	1.73	0.85
v000739	M6cx. Summary Bush gun control	2.93	0.98	2.92	1.12
v000744	N1ax. Summary school vouchers	2.72	1.79	2.87	1.78
v000752	N5x. Summary R position on death penalty	2.16	1.57	2.16	1.55
v000760	P1a1x2. Comb.7pt/br summ R equal role	1.77	1.05	1.35	0.93
v000765	P1bx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Gore equal role	2.17	1.01	1.41	0.98
v000770	P1cx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Bush equal role	2.63	1.01	1.96	1.42
v000776	P2ax2. Comb.7pt/br summ R envir regul	2.54	1.03	2.33	1.39
v000783	P2bx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Gore envir regul	2.37	0.87	1.72	1.04
v000790	P2cx2. Comb.7pt/br summ Bush envir regul	3.24	0.81	3.47	1.34
v000802	P6x. Summary blacks equal treatment jobs	2.81	1.88	2.84	1.84
v000806	P7x. Summary preference for blacks jobs	4.19	1.35	4.22	1.30
v000866	R1x. Summary degree R opinionated	3.32	0.93	3.25	0.97
v000870	R2x. Summary like/dislike thinking	2.25	1.17	2.11	1.17
v000904	X9x. Religion summary	262.09	146.28	266.22	148.56
v000913	Y3x. R educ summary	4.22	1.62	4.38	1.61
v000917	Y4x. Sp educ. Summary	4.28	1.64	4.52	1.65
v000979	Y17(1). Stacked - 2 digit occup	26.37	20.50	23.92	19.55
v000979a	Y17(1a). Stacked - 3 dig occup (blanked)				
v000980	Y17(2). Stacked - 1 digit occup	5.39	3.71	4.94	3.56
v000981	Y17(3). Stacked - occ prestige (blanked)				
v000982	Y17(4). Stacked - industry	591.88	273.38	614.39	265.51
v000983	Y17(5). Stacked - work for self	1.56	1.35	1.52	1.31
v000984	Y17(6). Stacked - employed by govt	4.15	1.63	4.11	1.67
v000985	Y17(7). Stacked - hours per week	42.22	14.66	42.26	13.78
v000986	Y17(8). Stacked - worr abt los/find job	4.46	1.16	4.46	1.17
v000987	Y17(9). Stacked - job in past 6 mos.	4.34	1.49	4.26	1.56
v000988	Y17(10). Stacked - looking for work	4.47	1.36	4.63	1.16
v000989	Y17(11). Stacked - ever work for pay	1.16	0.79	1.28	1.02
v000994	Y27x. HH income -all HHs	6.71	3.74	6.83	3.76
v000997	Y28x. R income -all HHs	4.78	3.06	5.16	3.23
v001005	Y29x. Soc.class summary	3.16	1.90	3.33	1.89
v001019	Z2x. Comb. Summary where R grew up	3.67	1.74	3.80	2.03
v001020c	Z3x. Summ. - how long lived in community	19.35	17.46	18.33	16.70
v001021c	Z4x. Summ. - length residence in home	10.63	12.25	10.30	11.77
v001262	C10x1/C12x1.T. Summ- Hose vote cand code	36.27	12.37	38.21	15.71
v001263	C10x2/C12x2.T. Summary- House vote party	1.62	1.06	1.79	1.29
v001274	C14x1/C16x1.T. Summ- Sen vote - cand code	16.29	14.37	16.59	15.76
v001275	C14x2/C16x2.T. Summary- Sen vote - party	1.68	1.29	1.94	1.70
v001361	F1x. Summary- approve/disapp Hse incumb	2.01	1.23	1.90	1.21
v001370	G1x. 3-category lib-con summary	3.37	1.73	3.54	1.87
v001390a	G11ax2. Summary R serv/spend scale- branch	4.15	1.41	4.40	1.88
v001396a	G11bx2. Summary Dem cand serv/spend -	4.71	1.13	5.27	1.68

Table C1: Means and Standard Deviations by Mode for Constructed Variables (continued)

		FTF		RDD	
Variable	Label	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
v001402a	G11cx2. Summary Rep cand serv/spend -	3.67	1.15	3.18	1.81
v001412a	H1x2. Pre & Post Summary of R's financial	2.71	0.88	2.74	0.92
v001417a	H3x. Pre & post Summary: R financial	2.56	0.80	2.56	0.83
v001447	K2ax. Summary identify Trent Lott	3.93	1.77	4.13	1.65
v001450	K2bx. Summary identify William Rehnquist	3.98	1.75	4.01	1.73
v001453	K2cx. Summary identify Tony Blair	1.82	1.62	1.85	1.64
v001456	K2dx. Summary identify Janet Reno	1.90	1.68	2.01	1.74
v001481	K11x. Summary protctng homosxls against	2.52	1.60	2.36	1.55
v001486a	K12ax. Summary brh & scale- R plcmt on	4.25	1.98	3.50	2.13
v001502	L8x1. Summary hours per week spent for org	4.49	9.05	4.19	6.83
v001503	L8x2. Summary org influence schools	3.00	2.00	2.98	2.00
v001504	L8x3. Summary org influence government	3.52	1.94	3.27	1.98
v001592a	S1x1. Summary pre & post - budget deficit	2.30	1.12	2.21	1.13
v001595a	S2x1. Summary pre & post - spending on	2.76	1.00	2.78	1.04
v001599a	S3x1. Summary pre & post - econ since 92	1.95	0.99	1.94	0.96
v001603a	S4x1. Summary pre & post - Clinton made	2.22	0.91	2.24	0.92
v001604a	S5. Summary pre & post Clinton admin hurt/	3.99	1.64	3.97	1.65
v001608a	S6x1. Summary pre & post - U.S. security	3.16	1.10	3.04	1.06
v001612a	S7x1. Summ pre & post- Clinton impact on	3.12	1.04	3.03	1.04
v001616a	S8x1. Summary pre & post - U.S. crime rate	2.98	1.19	2.94	1.15
v001620a	S9x1.Summ pre & post - Clinton impact on	2.82	0.78	2.78	0.79
v001624a	S10x1. Summ pre & post - moral climate	3.82	1.15	3.80	1.19
v001628a	S11x1.Summ pre & post- Clinton impact on	3.60	0.92	3.59	0.98
v001629a	S14ax. Summ pre & post Clinton - angry	2.47	1.93	2.31	1.88
v001630a	S14a1x. Summ pre & post - how often angry	2.55	0.96	2.49	0.96
v001631a	S14bx. Summ pre & post Clinton -hopeful	3.02	2.00	3.08	2.00
v001632a	S14b1x. Summ pre & post - how often	2.42	0.85	2.49	0.89
v001633a	S14cx. Summ pre & post Clinton - afraid	4.09	1.68	4.08	1.68
v001634a	S14c1x. Summ pre & post - how often afraid	2.65	0.94	2.44	1.04
v001635a	S14dx. Summ pre & post Clinton - proud	3.43	1.95	3.36	1.97
v001636a	S14d1x. Summ pre & post - how often proud	2.46	0.85	2.50	0.89
v001637a	S15ax. Summ pre & post-Clinton trait -	3.27	0.82	3.35	0.80
v001638a	S15bx. Summ pre & post-Clinton trait-cares	2.54	0.94	2.57	0.93
v001639a	S15cx. Summ pre & post-Clinton	1.76	0.68	1.74	0.68
v001640a	S15dx. Summ pre & post-Clinton leadership	2.26	0.94	2.25	0.91
v001641a	S15ex. Summ pre & post-Clinton dishonest	2.20	0.94	2.19	0.96
v001642a	S15fx. Summ pre & post-Clinton-intelligent	1.70	0.72	1.73	0.74
v001643a	S15gx. Summ pre & post-Clinton out of	2.71	0.87	2.69	0.91
v001655	V1x. Summary: Bush effect on economy	2.80	0.94	2.84	0.98
v001659	V2x. Summary: Bush effect on security	2.34	0.96	2.26	0.96
v001663	V3x. Summary: Bush effect on crime	2.92	0.60	2.92	0.75
v001667	V4x. Summary: Bush effect on moral climate	2.71	0.69	2.66	0.78
v001694	Y17x. Summary: R work with others	1.52	1.35	1.51	1.34
v001695	Y18x. Summary: co-workers look out for	3.10	1.11	3.14	1.22
v001696	Y18ax. Summary: co-workers try to take	3.69	0.91	3.73	0.84
v001697	Y18bx. Summary: co-workers treat others w/	2.09	0.74	2.09	0.75
v001698	Y18cx. Summary: co-workers honest	1.88	0.66	1.87	0.66