A Not So Divided America

- Appendix -

A total of 388 questions were analyzed, comparing responses in red and blue districts, and in a smaller number of cases, red and blue states, as part of the study. Among these questions, 14 (4%) had opposing preferences, 18 (5%) had one expressing a preference and the other divided, 90 (23%) had the same dominant preferences though with different magnitudes, and 266 (69%) did not have statistically significant differences between them. The average difference was 4.5 percentage points, with a standard deviation of 3.7 percentage points.

Note: In order to assemble the greatest possible number of recent questions on politically sensitive topics, data was used that could be broken down by states, but not by Congressional districts. For these 49 questions (marked [STATES] in the table) the states were first divided into three groups: "red" (two Republican senators), "blue" (two Democratic senators), and "purple" (one senator from each party).

For states with one Republican and one Democratic senator, the results from the most proximate presidential election were consulted. For state-based questions dated 2008, 2009, 2010 or 2011, state results from the 2008 election were used. For state-based questions dated 2012 or 2013, the 2012 election was used. If a state's presidential vote showed a margin of 2 percent or more, then it was designated red or blue accordingly. If the margin was below 2 percent, the state was left out of the analysis.

DOMESTIC TOPICS

ABORTION AND REPRODUCTIVE RIGHTS (14 questions: 10 by districts, 4 by states)

Eight out of 14 questions showed no significant differences between red and blue districts/states. In 3 out of 14 questions, red districts and blue districts/states showed the same dominant preferences, but with differing magnitudes. In one of the 14 questions, blue districts had a dominant attitude while red districts were divided. In two of the 14 questions, blue and red states had opposing majorities.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES] Abortion should be legal in at least some cases ¹	73.9	77.8	3.9
Oppose having the government end funding of Planned Parenthood ²	62.5	63.9	1.4
Oppose prohibiting tax deduction for private insurance plans that cover			
abortions ³	60.8	64.0	3.2
Abortion should be legal if pregnancy would result in death of the			
woman ⁴	74.1	75.3	1.2
Abortion should be legal if woman was raped ⁵	69.8	70.9	1.1

Abortion should be legal if fetus would be born with serious birth			
defects ⁶	53.6	55.2	1.6
Abortion should be legal if pregnancy would hurt health of woman at all ⁷	47.9	50.2	2.3
(Should not be legal)	(34)	(28)	
Government should not be involved in trying to discourage abortions ⁸	66.4	71.7	5.3
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES] A woman should have the Constitutional right to decide to	56.0	68.2	12.2
terminate a pregnancy in the first few months of her pregnancy ⁹			
Abortion should not be legal for the purpose of sex selection ¹⁰	80.4	73.4	7
Abortion should not be legal for the purpose of avoiding financial			
burden ¹¹	57.2	48	9.2
(Should be legal)	(25.7)	(34.2)	
			_
One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Abortion should be legal if pregnancy was result of incest ¹²	37.1	43.2	6.1
(Should be illegal)	(40)	(34)	
Opposing positions	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES] Abortion should be legal ¹³	42.6	60.1	17.5
(Should be illegal)	(55.0)	(38.3)	
[STATES] Abortion should be legal ¹⁴	45.3	58.6	13.3
(Should not be legal)	(50.8)	(37.8)	

SECOND AMENDMENT ISSUES (10 questions: 2 by districts, 8 by states)

In 5 of 10 cases there were no statistical differences between red and blue states. In 3 of 6 cases the dominant positions were the same, but magnitudes differed. In one of 6 cases, blue states had a dominant attitude, while red states were divided. In one of 6 cases, there were opposing majorities.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES] Favor background checks for all gun purchases ¹⁵	79.7	80.7	1
[STATES] Favor national database for all gun purchases ¹⁶	61.3	68.2	6.9
[STATES] Federal government should be allowed to ban the sale of semi-	62.7	61	1.7
automatic assault weapons, even if it violates the rights of gun owners ¹⁷			
[STATES] Oppose more teachers and school officials carrying guns at	58	65.2	7.1
school ¹⁸			
[STATES] Gun laws should be more restrictive than they are now ¹⁹	47.5	51.5	4
(Should be same or less restrictive)	(50.5)	(45.6)	
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.

Oppose making handguns illegal to own at home ²⁰	67.6	58.7	8.9
[STATES] To protect the Constitutional rights of gun owners, state and			
local governments shouldn't be allowed to ban handguns and concealed			
weapons, even in high crime areas.21	65.0	57.8	7.2
Favor giving permits to carry concealed handguns to applicants with no	50.4	43.1	7.3
criminal record who pass a gun safety test ²²			
(Oppose permits)	(34)	(39)	
One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
One with dominant position, the other divided [STATES] Favor assault weapon ban ²³	RED 48	BLUE 58	DIFF. 10
	48		
[STATES] Favor assault weapon ban ²³	48	58	
[STATES] Favor assault weapon ban ²³	48	58	
[STATES] Favor assault weapon ban ²³ (Oppose ban)	48 <i>(47.7)</i>	58 (38.1)	10

GAY AND LESBIAN ISSUES (29 questions: 2 by districts, 27 by states)

In 5 out of 29 questions, there were no statistical differences between red and blue states or districts. In 16 out of 29 questions, the populations had the same dominant position but with different magnitudes. In 8 out of 29 questions, preferences in red and blue states or states were opposed.

Changes over Time in Attitudes on Gay and Lesbian Issues

During the period under study—2008-2013—there were marked shifts in attitudes in both red districts/states and blue districts/states. The three specific issues on which there is sufficient data to note these shifts are: open military service, civil unions, and laws that would permit or forbid gays or lesbians to marry. On each issue, support for the position affirming gay and lesbian rights rose in both red and blue districts/states, while the difference in support level between the two groups remained fairly stable.

On open military service, there are three questions, one in 2008 and two in 2010. In blue states, support for open military service rose from 69% to 82%; in red states it rose from 60% to 75%.

On civil unions, there are five questions: two in 2008, two in 2010 and one in 2013. In blue states, support for civil unions rose from 60% in 2008 to 71% by 2013. (A more vaguely worded 2008 question, referring to "some kind of recognition" rather than civil unions, garnered 67% support.) In red states, support for civil unions rose from 44% in 2008 to 59% in 2013 ("some kind of recognition" in 2008 got 55%).

On laws regarding same-sex marriage, there are seven questions: one each in 2008, 2009, and 2010; two in 2011; and one each in 2012 and 2013. In blue states/districts, support for single-sex marriage rose from 42% in 2008 to 58% in 2013. In red states/districts, support for this rose from 32% in 2008 to 40% in 2013.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES 2008] Gays and lesbians should be able to be hired as high	66.8	70.1	3.3
school teachers ²⁵			
[STATES 2008] Gays and lesbians should be able to be hired as	58.7	64.0	5.3
elementary school teachers ²⁶			
[STATES 2008] Support hospital visitation rights for gay and lesbian	83.5	87.5	4.0
partners ²⁷			
[STATES 2008] Oppose US constitutional amendment banning same-sex	48.6	53.3	4.7
marriage ²⁸		()	
(Support US Constitutional Amendment banning gay marriage)	(45.5)	(41.1)	
[districts 2008] Pluralities of both red and blue districts oppose	40.5	43.4	2.9
Constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage ²⁹		,	
(Support Constitutional amendment to ban same-sex marriage)	(34.4)	(28.7)	
	DED	l BLUE	DIFF
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES 2011] Homosexuality should be accepted by society ³⁰	49.0	63.0	14.0
(Should be discouraged)	(41.7)	(29.0)	
[STATES 2010] Gays and lesbians should be allowed to serve openly in	75.3	81.6	6.3
military ³¹			
[STATES 2008] Support allowing gays to serve openly in the military ³²	60.1	69.1	9.0
[STATES 2010] Oppose "Don't ask, don't tell" ³³	68.9	80.3	11.4
[STATES 2013] Gays and lesbians should be able to obtain same legal	58.6	70.8	12.2
rights as heterosexual married couples ³⁴			
[STATES 2008] Support gays and lesbians having inheritance rights from	67.7	75.8	8.1
domestic partners ³⁵			
[STATES 2008] Support gay and lesbian domestic partners getting social	58.2	69.3	11.1
security benefits ³⁶			
[STATES 2008] Support gay and lesbian domestic partners receiving	66.5	76.1	9.6
health benefits ³⁷			
[STATES 2008] Support equal access to housing for gay and lesbian	74.7	84.7	10.0
couples ³⁸			
[STATES 2008] Support equal rights for gay and lesbians in job	82.4	88.7	6.3
opportunities ³⁹	50.0	67.0	42.0
[STATES 2008] Support giving non-biological gay and lesbian parents	53.2	67.0	13.8
parental rights if couple divorces ⁴⁰	F4.0	67.4	12 5
[STATES 2008] Support some kind of legal recognition of gay and lesbian	54.9	67.4	12.5
relationships (either marriage or civil unions) ⁴¹ [STATES 2010] Gays and lesbians should be allowed to form civil unions,	52.7	70.7	18.0
with same legal rights as married couples, such as the right to	32.7	/0./	10.0
inheritance, health insurance and pensions ⁴²			
milentance, health insurance and pensions		1	

[STATES 2010] Favor some kind of legal recognition of same-sex unions ⁴³	51.8	64.6	12.8
[districts 2009] Oppose laws that allow gays and lesbians to marry ⁴⁴	52.2	45.1	7.1
(Favor laws that allow gays and lesbians to marry)	(27.3)	(31.1)	
[STATES 2008] Oppose gay marriage laws ⁴⁵	61.0	52.3	8.7
			•
Opposing dominant positions	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES 2008] Support gays having the right to legally adopt children ⁴⁶	43.3	56.8	13.5
(Should not have the right)	(49.3)	(35.6)	
[STATES 2013] Favor allowing gays and lesbians to legally marry ⁴⁷	39.7	58.0	18.3
(Oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry)	(53.0)	(34.5)	
[STATES 2012] Favor allowing gays and lesbians to legally marry 48	38.5	53.6	15.1
(Oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry)	(53.5)	(37.1)	
[STATES Sep 2011] Favor allowing gays and lesbians to legally marry 49	39.8	50.0	10.2
(Oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry)	(50.0)	(41.3)	
[STATES 2011] It should be LEGAL for gays and lesbians to marry ⁵⁰	41.4	57.1	15.7
(Should be illegal for gays to marry)	(55.3)	(38.7)	
[STATES 2010] It should be ILLEGAL for gays and lesbians to marry ⁵¹	66.2	45.4	20.8

(Should be LEGAL for gays to marry)

(32.4)

41.9

(54.0)

43.7

(48.1)

(51.1)

50.4

(43.4)

60.0

(31.7)

8.5

16.3

RACE AND GENDER DISCRIMINATION (6 questions by district)

[STATES] Support legally sanctioned unions or partnerships⁵³

sex marriage⁵²

[STATES 2008] Oppose state constitutional amendments banning same-

(Support state constitutional amendments banning gay marriage)

Three of the 6 questions in this topic showed no statistical difference between red and blue districts. In the other 3 out of 6 questions, red and blue districts shared the same dominant position, but the magnitude differed. In no cases did majorities or pluralities in red districts differ from blue districts on discrimination questions.

(Oppose legally sanctioned unions or partnerships)

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Government does have a responsibility to stop employers from discriminating by race or ethnicity ⁵⁴	67.3	70.8	3.5
Favor government seeing to it that blacks get fair treatment in jobs ⁵⁵	50.3	52.8	2.5
(Oppose)	(18.9)	(15.3)	
Government should make an effort to prevent discrimination against women ⁵⁶	80.7	83.5	2.8
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
The government should make an effort to prevent discrimination based on a person's race or ethnicity ⁵⁷	80.1	85.3	5.2

Oppose allowing companies to consider "race along with other factors"			
when hiring ⁵⁸	62.4	58.3	4.1
Oppose allowing universities to consider "race along with other factors" when choosing students ⁵⁹	58.9	54.8	4.1

HEALTHCARE (22 questions: 21 by districts, 1 by states)

In 15 out of 22 questions, there were no statistical differences between red and blue districts. In 4 out of 22 cases, both red and blue districts showed the same dominant position but to varying degrees. In the remaining three cases, one set showed a dominant position while the other was divided.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Healthcare is a right, not a privilege ⁶⁰	62.3	62.9	0.6
The government needs to take major steps to reform the American health care system 61	66.8	68.6	1.8
Oppose having the government provide health care services directly to all Americans who want it ⁶²	52.6	48.6	4
(Favor having the government provide health care)	(43.4)	(50.1)	
Waste, fraud and abuse can be cut from the healthcare system while still giving people the treatment they need ⁶³	77.7	75.9	1.8
Favor a government-provided public option that would compete with private insurance plans ⁶⁴	54.7	59.2	4.5
Favor public option if limited to only those who cannot get insurance through their employers ⁶⁵	72.4	77.3	4.9
Favor requiring all but smallest businesses to provide health insurance [the employer mandate] ⁶⁶	51.6	55.8	4.2
Favor tort reform to regulate malpractice suits against doctors and hospitals ⁶⁷	55	55.2	0.2
Favor changing rules to allow people to purchase insurance across state lines ⁶⁸	65.4	64.4	1
Favor preventing health insurance companies from discriminating against people who have pre-existing conditions ⁶⁹	81.5	82.1	0.6
Favor government paying for drugs for low income seniors ⁷⁰	70.6	67.9	2.7
Favor preventing health insurance companies from rescinding sick people's healthcare for minor errors they made in filling out their applications ⁷¹	86	85.4	0.6
Oppose increasing cost of insurance premiums for young military retirees (<65) ⁷²	53.4	53	0.4
Favor changing medical insurance so that military families pay a typical copay ⁷³	60	58	2
[STATES] Believed the individual Health care mandate was not constitutional [asked before Supreme Court 2012 decision] ⁷⁴	60.7	54.2	6.5

Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Government should be responsible for ensuring health care needs of its citizens ⁷⁵	55.6	64.1	8.5
Government should increase spending on Health care ⁷⁶	52.8	61.9	9.1
Providing universal health care is an important factor for US competitiveness in global economy ⁷⁷	60.6	68.5	7.9
Favor government paying for all necessary medical care for everyone ⁷⁸	47.8	54.9	7.1
(Oppose government paying for all necessary medical care for everyone)	(44.7)	(36.6)	
One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
We need to make major changes to the healthcare system now ⁷⁹	41.9	51.7	9.8
We need to make major changes to the healthcare system now ⁷⁹ (Major changes needed, but wait a few years)	41.9 (41.9)	51.7 (31.1)	
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(Major changes needed, but wait a few years)	(41.9)	(31.1)	
(Major changes needed, but wait a few years) (No need for major changes) Favor the government paying for all necessary medical care for everyone	(41.9) (14.0)	(31.1) (14.1)	9.8
(Major changes needed, but wait a few years) (No need for major changes) Favor the government paying for all necessary medical care for everyone [with this sample, "neither" was not offered as a response option] ⁸⁰	(41.9) (14.0) 50.1	(31.1) (14.1) 55.8	9.8
(Major changes needed, but wait a few years) (No need for major changes) Favor the government paying for all necessary medical care for everyone [with this sample, "neither" was not offered as a response option] ⁸⁰ (Government should not pay for all necessary medical care)	(41.9) (14.0) 50.1	(31.1) (14.1) 55.8	9.8

SOCIAL SECURITY (10 questions, all by districts)

In eight of ten questions, there were no statistical differences between red and blue districts. In two of the ten questions, districts had the same dominant position with differing magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Government should increase spending on social security ⁸²	53.7	55.1	1.4
Oppose raising the social security income tax rate ⁸³	43.4	40.5	2.9
(Favor raising social security income tax rate)	(32.3)	(34.6)	
Favor increasing the amount of income subject to social security taxes ⁸⁴	57.6	59.7	2.1
Oppose allowing individuals to invest some of their social security taxes ⁸⁵	35	38.7	3.7
(Favor allowing)	(36.7)	(32.9)	
Increased the retirement age to at least 68 ⁸⁶	78.5	77	1.5
Increased the payroll tax to at least 6.6%87	74.9	75.1	0.2
At least raised the cap on earnings ⁸⁸	84.4	83.5	0.9
Eliminated the cap on earnings ⁸⁹	53.2	51.4	1.8
(Did not choose eliminating the income cap)	(46.8)	(48.6)	
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Oppose raising the retirement age to become eligible for receiving social security ⁹⁰	62.7	58.9	3.8
Reduced benefits to at least those earning in the top 25% of earners ⁹¹	81.2	75.1	6.1

TAXATION (24 questions, all by districts)

In 18 out of 24 questions, there were no statistical differences between red and blue districts. In 5 of 24 questions, preferences ran in the same direction, but with differing magnitudes. In the remaining one of the 24 questions, one district had a dominant position while the other was divided.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor raising taxes on Individual incomes \$75,000 to \$100,000 ⁹²	49.1	45.5	3.6
(Oppose raising taxes)	(36.3)	(34.5)	
Favor raising taxes on Individual incomes \$100,000 to \$200,000 ⁹³	61.7	56.6	5.1
Favor raising taxes on Individual incomes \$200,000 to \$500,000 ⁹⁴	66.7	63.7	3
Favor raising taxes on Individual incomes \$500,000 to \$1,000,000 ⁹⁵	70.5	64.6	5.9
Favor increasing taxes on sugary drinks ⁹⁶	54.2	51.7	2.5
Favor increasing taxes on Alcohol ⁹⁷	63.9	60.5	3.4
Favor a carbon tax ⁹⁸	51.1	46.6	4.5
(Oppose Carbon tax)	(42.9)	(40.4)	4.3
Favor charging a bank crisis fee ⁹⁹	65.2	59.4	5.8
Oppose a national sales or VAT-style tax ¹⁰⁰	61.3	54.5	6.8
Favor raising taxes on people with incomes of more than	01.5	31.3	0.0
\$200,000 101	57	56.7	0.3
Let Bush tax cuts expire for at least those making more than			
\$250,000 ¹⁰²	75	70.1	4.9
Favor extending payroll tax holiday for another year ¹⁰³	67.7	67.1	0.6
Oppose cutting top corporate tax rate ¹⁰⁴	61	56.3	4.7
Favor either maintaining the estate tax at 2009 rates or increasing rates 105	79.1	75.1	4
Favor slowing the growth of tax-exempt allowances for food and housing for military families ¹⁰⁶	62	60.4	1.6
Favor payroll tax cut for employers ¹⁰⁷	52.5	49.5	3
(Oppose Payroll tax cut for employers)	(44.4)	(47.5)	
Oppose renewing extension of unemployment insurance benefits ¹⁰⁸	53	46.9	6.1
(Favor renewing extension)	(44.5)	(47.3)	2.0
To pay for payroll tax holiday, raise personal income taxes on those making more than \$1 Million ¹⁰⁹	54.5	57.3	2.8
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Oppose raising taxes on Individual incomes \$30,000 to \$40,000 ¹¹⁰	62	52.3	9.7
Oppose raising taxes for individual incomes \$40,000 to \$50,000 ¹¹¹	53.8	45.1	8.7
(Favor raising taxes)	(32.1)	(34.6)	

Favor raising taxes on Individual incomes over \$1 million ¹¹²	71.8	64.9	6.9
Favor raising the average tax rate on corporate profits ¹¹³	68.8	58.7	10.1
Favor taxing 'carried interest' income as ordinary income ¹¹⁴	64.5	54	10.5
	•	•	•
One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
One with dominant position, the other divided Oppose raising taxes for individual incomes \$50,000 to \$75,000 ¹¹⁵	RED 44.9	BLUE 37.5	DIFF. 7.4

IMMIGRATION (10 questions: 8 by districts, 2 by states)

In 5 out of 10 questions, there were no statistical differences between red and blue districts. In 4 out of 10 questions, red and blue districts had the same dominant position but with differing magnitudes. In one out of the 10 questions, one district had a dominant position and the other was divided.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Immigration at current levels is bad for the country ¹¹⁶	64.3	59.2	5.1
Continuing high levels of legal immigration is an important factor for US competitiveness in global economy ¹¹⁷	58	56.1	1.9
Favor package of immigration reforms: greater efforts to secure border; penalizing employers that hire undocumented workers; undocumented would have to either leave or enter rigorous program toward goal of citizenship ¹¹⁸	78.1	78.2	0.1
[STATES] Do NOT amend the Constitution to prohibit children born in the US to illegal immigrants from being US citizens based on their place of birth ¹¹⁹	61.6	62.5	0.9
Favor making it legal for illegal immigrants to become US citizens ¹²⁰	40.1	43.7	3.6
(Oppose making it legal)	(39.8)	(35)	
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES] Illegal immigration is a very serious problem ¹²¹	69.4	52	17.4
Controlling and reducing illegal immigration is a very important goal for US foreign policy ¹²²	54.5	49.2	5.3
(Somewhat important)	(37.2)	(39.3)	
(Not at all important)	(7.5)	(11.4)	
Legal immigration into the US should be increased or kept at the present level 123	57.9	65.6	7.7
present level			
Oppose allowing illegal immigrants to stay in US an additional 3 years when caught ¹²⁴	50.7	45.7	5

One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor maintaining or increasing funding for DHS, TSA immigration ¹²⁵	57.9	50.5	7.4
(Favor cutting funding for DHS, TSA immigration)	(41.9)	(49.2)	

LABOR ISSUES (4 questions, all by districts)

In 3 of 4 questions there was no significant statistical difference between red and blue districts. In one of 4 questions red and blue districts had the same dominant position, but at different magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Oppose government prohibiting public sector unions from engaging in collective bargaining ¹²⁶	54.5	56.4	1.9
Favor maintaining or increasing spending on job training and placement ¹²⁷	77.1	74.1	3.0
Favor the National Labor Relations Board continuing to operate as a government entity ¹²⁸	61	64.6	3.6
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor raising the federal minimum wage to at least \$7.50 ¹²⁹	71.7	86.6	14.9

CLIMATE CHANGE AND ENVIRONMENT (27 questions: all by districts)

In 19 out of 27 questions, the two sets of districts were statistically the same. In 6 out of 27 questions, red and blue districts expressed the same policy preferences but to differing degrees. In 2 out of 27 questions, one set of districts expressed a definitive preference, while the other was divided.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
If global warming were to happen, that would be a bad thing 130	69.4	71.9	2.5
Agree that problem of climate change should be given priority even if it causes slower economic growth and loss of jobs ¹³¹	51.5	54.7	3.2
Protection of the environment should be given priority even at the risk	55.2	57.2	2
of curbing economic growth, rather prioritizing economic growth even			
if the environment would suffer ¹³²			
The problem of climate change should be addressed and US should at	69.5	71.6	2.1
least take low-cost gradual steps to deal with it ¹³³			
US does have a responsibility to take steps to deal w/climate change 134	80.3	82.6	2.3
Government is not doing enough to deal with the problem of climate	55.1	60.2	5.1
change ¹³⁵			
US should be willing to limit GHGs, if other countries agree to	81.4	83	1.6
Copenhagen agreement ¹³⁶			

To deal with climate change, favor preserving and expanding forests even if there is less land for agriculture or construction ¹³⁷	75.5	73.9	1.6
Favor increasing fuel efficiency, even if the cost of cars and buses is higher 138	69.6	72.3	2.7
Favor federal government requiring automakers to build cars that use less gas ¹³⁹	82.7	83.4	0.7
Favor reducing government subsidies that favor private transportation, even if this increases its cost ¹⁴⁰	63.5	61	2.5
Favor federal government lowering the amount of greenhouse gases power plants are allowed to emit ¹⁴¹	73	75.6	2.6
It will be necessary for US to increase costs of energy to encourage individuals & businesses to conserve more or use alternative forms of energy ¹⁴²	49.4	50.2	0.8
(It will not be necessary)	(47.4)	(47)	
Respondent willing to pay \$19.50/month (0.5% of GDP per capita) in higher costs for energy and other products to deal with the problem of climate change ¹⁴³	59.4	62.8	3.4
Not willing to pay 1% (\$39/month) to deal with problem of climate change 144	53.5	48.4	5.1
(Willing to pay 1%)	(45.6)	(49.6)	
If less developed countries agree to limit their greenhouse gases, US and other developed countries should provide them with substantial aid to help them do so ¹⁴⁵	54.2	58	3.8
Favor maintaining or increasing funding for research and development into alternative fuels and energy efficiency ¹⁴⁶	76.1	72	4.1
Favor maintaining or increasing spending to EPA for pollution control ¹⁴⁷	62	63.4	1.4
Favor reducing funds for Department of Interior oversight of public lands (livestock grazing, mining, drilling, solar energy, wildlife protection, firefighting) ¹⁴⁸	52.4	53.4	1
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Limiting climate change is an important goal for US foreign policy ¹⁴⁹	75.7	82.7	7
US should participate in climate change treaty ¹⁵⁰	63.4	73	9.6
There should be an international institution that monitors whether countries are meeting their treaty obligations to limit their emissions ¹⁵¹	56	64.6	8.6
US would still have a responsibility to take steps to deal with climate change even if other countries don't agree to Copenhagen treaty ¹⁵²	69	75.8	6.8
Favor limiting the rate of constructing coal-fired power plants ¹⁵³	61.8	72.3	10.5
Oppose increasing gas taxes so people drive less or buy cars that use less gas ¹⁵⁴	74.8	62.1	12.7

One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US is doing either the right amount or too much in dealing with the problem of climate change ¹⁵⁵	56.4	48.9	7.5
(Not enough)	(42.3)	(49.6)	
Oppose the US ending its contribution to the UN's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) for research on climate change 156	50.6	57.6	7
(Favor the US ending its contribution)	(46.8)	(40.4)	

ENERGY (7 questions: all by districts)

All 7 questions on energy showed no significant statistical differences between the responses of red and blue districts.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Reducing US dependence on foreign oil is a very important goal for US Foreign Policy ¹⁵⁷	78.3	75.7	2.6
Investing in renewable energy is a very important factor for US competitiveness in global economy ¹⁵⁸	59.1	63.5	4.4
Favor creating tax incentives to develop alternative fuel sources to reduce US dependence on foreign energy ¹⁵⁹	77.8	78.8	1
Favor building new nuclear power plants to reduce US dependence on foreign energy ¹⁶⁰	62.4	60.4	2
Oppose raising gas taxes on oil and coal to encourage people to use less, in order to reduce US dependence on foreign energy ¹⁶¹	70	68.3	1.7
Favor requiring automakers to increase fuel efficiency, even if price of cars will go up, in order to reduce US dependence on foreign energy ¹⁶²	63.5	67.8	4.3
Support expanding offshore drilling for oil and natural gas off US coast ¹⁶³	59.5	57.7	1.8

SCIENCE (4 questions: 3 by districts, 1 by states)

Out of 4 questions, none showed significant statistical differences between red and blue districts/states.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor cutting spending for basic and applied science research ¹⁶⁴	54.4	52.8	1.6
Favor cutting spending on the space program ¹⁶⁵	67.2	64.2	3.0
Favor maintaining or increasing spending for medical research ¹⁶⁶	51.9	52	0.1
[STATES] Approve of medical research using embryonic stem cells ¹⁶⁷	59.5	59.7	0.2

DEFENSE AND SECURITY SPENDING (24 questions: all by districts)

In 18 out of 24 questions on defense and security spending, there were no statistical differences between red and blue districts. For 6 out of 24 questions, respondents in red and blue districts chose the same option but with statistically significant differences.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
To address federal budget deficit, the gov't should cut the defense	67.6	67.8	0.2
budget (combines 3 answers that offer how much relative to other			
programs - greater percent, same, or less) ¹⁶⁸	69.9	71.4	1.5
Favor cutting general defense spending 169 Favor cutting the everall defense budget 170	74.1		
Favor cutting the overall defense budget ¹⁷⁰	65.6	80.5 72.1	6.4
Favor cutting spending on nuclear capabilities ¹⁷¹	56.1	61	4.9
Favor cutting spending on Special Operations Forces ¹⁷²			
Favor cutting spending on new air force capabilities ¹⁷³	65	67.3	2.3
Favor cutting spending on new ground force capabilities ¹⁷⁴	55.9	59	3.1
Favor cancelling funding for the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter plane ¹⁷⁵	52.7	55.4	2.7
Favor cancelling development of new long range bomber ¹⁷⁶	51.8	53.4	1.6
Oppose cancelling the V-22 Osprey aircraft ¹⁷⁷	56.3	54.6	1.7
Oppose eliminating bombers as one of the three means of delivering nuclear weapons ¹⁷⁸	59	61	2
Oppose capping military wage increases to .5% below private sector ¹⁷⁹	55.1	61.1	6
Favor maintaining or increasing funding for Veterans' benefits ¹⁸⁰	67.7	64.3	3.4
Oppose reducing retirement benefits of veterans ¹⁸¹	60.5	66.8	6.3
Favor changing military pension plans so that new recruits wouldn't receive them until after age 60 ¹⁸²	50.5	54.8	4.3
(Oppose changing military pension plans)	(44.6)	(44.8)	
Government should increase spending on homeland security ¹⁸³	50.4	52.1	1.7
(Keep homeland security spending the same)	(36.5)	(36.4)	
(Cut back homeland security spending)	(12.1)	(10.4)	
Government should maintain or increase spending on gathering intelligence information on other countries ¹⁸⁴	86.3	82.7	3.6
Favor cutting spending for intelligence agencies, such as CIA, NSA [in budgeting exercise] ¹⁸⁵	57.1	58.8	1.7
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor cutting spending on existing air forces ¹⁸⁶	68.6	76.1	7.5
Favor cutting spending on existing naval forces ¹⁸⁷	69.9	78	8.1
Favor cutting spending on existing ground forces ¹⁸⁸	72.4	81.3	8.9
Favor cutting spending on new naval force capabilities ¹⁸⁹	65.6	77.7	12.1
Favor cutting spending on Missile Defense ¹⁹⁰	54.5	63.3	8.8
Oppose building another aircraft carrier to replace retiring USS Enterprise ¹⁹¹	53.8	66.5	12.7

INFRASTRUCTURE SPENDING (6 questions: all by districts)

For 4 out of 6 questions, there were no statistical differences between red and blue districts. For 1 out of 6 questions, the dominant position was the same between red and blue districts while the magnitude differed. For the last question, one set of districts had a dominant position while the other set was divided.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Increasing public spending on infrastructure is an important factor for US competitiveness in global economy ¹⁹²	75.3	75.4	0.1
Favor maintaining or increasing spending on housing programs ¹⁹³	63.1	62.7	0.4
Favor maintaining or increasing spending for interstate highways ¹⁹⁴	50	49.7	0.3
(Favor cutting spending)	(50)	(49.7)	
Favor cutting federal expenditures on air travel and railroads ¹⁹⁵	53.4	47.7	5.7
(Favor maintaining or increasing funding)	(46.2)	(52)	
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Government should increase spending to improving public infrastructure, such as highways, bridges, etc. 196	RED 46.2	BLUE 56	9.8
Government should increase spending to improving public		_	
Government should increase spending to improving public infrastructure, such as highways, bridges, etc. 196	46.2	56	
Government should increase spending to improving public infrastructure, such as highways, bridges, etc. (Keep funding the same)	46.2	56 (35.7)	
Government should increase spending to improving public infrastructure, such as highways, bridges, etc. (Keep funding the same)	46.2	56 (35.7)	
Government should increase spending to improving public infrastructure, such as highways, bridges, etc. (Keep funding the same) (Cut funding)	46.2 (42.8) (10.1)	56 (35.7) (7.4)	9.8

EDUCATION SPENDING (5 questions: all by districts)

Four out of 5 questions showed no significant differences between red and blue districts. One out of 5 questions showed red and blue districts with the same preference, but at differing magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Improving public education is a <i>very</i> important factor for US competitiveness in global economy ¹⁹⁸	62.9	66	3.1
Government should increase spending on education ¹⁹⁹	58.5	59.3	0.8
Favor maintaining or increasing federal funding for elementary and secondary school education ²⁰⁰	67.3	66.7	0.6
Favor maintaining or increasing spending for Special Education and students with disabilities ²⁰¹	67.2	67.2	0

Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor maintaining or increasing funding for higher education ²⁰²	83.1	71.5	11.6

JUSTICE DEPARTMENT SPENDING (2 questions: all by districts)

In one of two questions showed no statistical difference between red and blue districts. In one of two questions, there were opposing majorities between red and blue districts.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor maintaining or increasing spending to Dept. of Justice (DOJ) for building & running prisons, managing system of parole ²⁰³	61.3	63.3	2
		<u> </u>	1
Opposing dominant positions	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor maintaining or increasing spending to DOJ for enforcement of federal laws & federal court system ²⁰⁴	46.3	BLUE 54.4	8.1

HUMAN RIGHTS (11 questions: 9 by districts, 2 by states)

In all 11 questions there were no significant differences between red and blue districts.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Promote - defend HR's in other countries is an important goal for US Foreign Policy ²⁰⁵	85.3	87.6	2.3
Favor giving UN authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of Human rights ²⁰⁶	72	70.1	1.9
Americans should have the right to read publications from all other countries, even our enemies ²⁰⁷	93.4	90.8	2.6
Americans should have the right to read whatever is on Internet ²⁰⁸	77	73.6	3.4
In general, governments should have rules prohibiting the use of torture to get information ²⁰⁹	66.7	68.8	2.1
Rules regarding torture should be maintained even in the cases of suspected terrorists ²¹⁰	55.9	60.2	4.3
Favor, in cases of suspected terrorism, requiring the government get a court order to wiretap US citizens ²¹¹	55.6	57.5	1.9
[STATES] I do not approve of the government randomly intercepting emails of millions of Americans, including me, without a search warrant, to help protect against terrorism ²¹²	54.5	59.5	5

[STATES] Government should not be permitted to intercept emails and	49.5	54.7	5.2
phone calls without a warrant, even if it's necessary to protect against			
terrorism ²¹³			
(Government should be permitted)	(47.5)	(42.9)	
Oppose suspending habeas corpus (right to face your accusers in court) ²¹⁴	<i>57.7</i>	60.1	2.4
There should not be exceptions to rules regarding torture of prisoners ²¹⁵	50.9	55.6	4.7

MARIJUANA LAWS (3 questions: all by states)

In two of three recent questions on marijuana laws, there were no statistically significant differences. In one of three cases, red states had a definitive preference while blue states were divided.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES] Marijuana use should be legal (2013) ²¹⁶	50.5	53.2	2.7
(Should be illegal)	(47.2)	(43.4)	
[STATES] Federal government should not enforce marijuana laws in states that legalize marijuana (e.g. Colorado, Washington) (2013) ²¹⁷	58.1	60.9	2.8
One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
[STATES] Marijuana should be illegal (2011) ²¹⁸	55.3	47.9	7.4
(Should be legal)	(40.7)	(46.6)	

INTERNATIONAL TOPICS

US ROLE IN THE WORLD (14 questions: all by districts)

In 11 of 14 questions there were no statistical differences between red and blue districts. In 2 of 14 questions red and blue districts showed the same dominant position, but with different magnitudes. In 1 of 14 questions, one set of districts had a dominant position, while the other was divided.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should take an active part in world affairs ²¹⁹	61.8	59.7	2.1
US should exert strong leadership in world affairs ²²⁰	81.1	82.8	1.7
Fixing our problems at home is more important to the future of US than international issues ²²¹	92.1	89.6	2.5
US playing role of world policeman too much ²²²	77.3	79.7	2.4
Securing adequate supplies of energy is a very important US foreign policy goal ²²³	69.3	67.1	2.2
Improving America's standing in the world is a very important foreign policy goal ²²⁴	53.3	53.4	0.1

Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression is an important US foreign policy goal ²²⁵	86.6	86.3	0.3
Combating world hunger is an important goal for US foreign policy ²²⁶	90.3	90.6	0.3
Bringing democracy to other nations is an important goal for US foreign policy ²²⁷	72.5	73.2	0.7
Favor cutting spending on the State Department ²²⁸	65.0	58.6	6.4
Oppose the US government selling military equipment to other nations ²²⁹	75.7	75.8	0.1
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should share with other countries efforts to solve international problems; should not be hegemonic or isolationist ²³⁰	67.3	74	6.7
Maintaining America's superior military power worldwide is a very important foreign policy goal ²³¹	55.5	50.2	5.3
(Somewhat important)	(37.1)	(39.4)	
(Not important at all)	(7)	(10.1)	
		Ī	1
One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
America's ability to achieve foreign policy goals has decreased over last few years ²³²	53.9	48.4	5.5
(Increased or stayed the same)	(45.4)	(50)	

TERRORISM (9 questions: all by districts)

Out of 9 questions, 6 showed no significant differences between red and blue districts. Three of the 9 questions showed the same preferences in red and blue districts, but with different magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Combating international terrorism is a very important goal for US foreign policy ²³³	64.6	63.2	1.4
Favor US using ground troops to attack terrorist training camps ²³⁴	55.6	52.3	3.3
Favor helping poor countries develop their economies as a way of combating terrorism ²³⁵	65.8	69.6	3.8
Favor trying suspected terrorists in the International Criminal Court as a way of combating terrorism ²³⁶	75.9	74.1	1.8
Oppose using torture to extract information from terrorist suspects in order to combat terrorism ²³⁷	51.9	54.9	3.0
Oppose torture of suspected terrorists ²³⁸	38	41.6	3.6
(Favor allowing torture of suspected terrorists)	(27.6)	(23.9)	

Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor US air strikes against terrorist training camps ²³⁹	72.9	67.6	5.3
Favor US assassinating individual terrorist leaders ²⁴⁰	72.8	64.5	8.3
Favor making a major effort to resolve Israel-Palestinian conflict in order to combat terrorism ²⁴¹	51.8	59.6	7.8

IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN (10 questions: all by districts)

Eight out of 10 questions showed no statistical differences between red and blue districts. The remaining 2 out of 10 question showed the same dominant position, but at different magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor cutting spending on military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq ²⁴²	62	67.1	5.1
Favor cutting spending on the military operation in Afghanistan ²⁴³	80.2	84.4	4.2
US War in Afghanistan has made no difference on safety in regards to the problem of terrorism ²⁴⁴	50.8	51.1	0.3
(War in Afghanistan made US more safe)	(30.4)	(29.4)	
(War in Afghanistan made US less safe)	(17.6)	(18.4)	
US war in Afghanistan has not been worth it ²⁴⁵	66.7	66	0.7
US should withdraw all troops from Afghanistan by at least 2014 ²⁴⁶	81.2	83.1	1.9
US should not be willing to meet w/leaders of the Taliban ²⁴⁷	49.9	48.1	1.8
(US should be willing)	(46.6)	(49.3)	
US should reduce the number of troops in Iraq ²⁴⁸	63.6	64.4	0.8
Favor setting a deadline for the removal of troops from Iraq ²⁴⁹	56	59.4	3.4
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should not have sent troops to fight the war in Iraq in 2003 ²⁵⁰	53.5	61.7	8.2
Iraq war was not worth it ²⁵¹	64.5	70.3	5.8

USE OF TROOPS (12 questions: all by districts)

In 11 out of 12 cases, there were no significant differences between red and blue districts. In the remaining case, majorities in both red and blue districts were opposed.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
When US military acts internationally, it is best to act as part of an	73.4	76.3	2.9
international force, rather than on its own [international combines two options: NATO and UN] ²⁵²			
US should keep its military commitment to NATO the same ²⁵³	68.1	67.9	0.2
Favor taking steps to create standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained and commanded by UN ²⁵⁴	64.5	60.9	3.6
The UN Security Council has responsibility to use military force to protect people in other countries from human rights violations ²⁵⁵	66.3	65.3	1
Favor using US troops abroad to ensure the oil supply ²⁵⁶	52.8	53.3	0.5
Oppose using US troops abroad if N. Korea were to invade S. Korea ²⁵⁷	56	57.4	1.4
Oppose using US troops abroad if China were to invade Taiwan ²⁵⁸	68.7	70.5	1.8
Favor using US troops abroad in a peacekeeping force to enforce a hypothetical Israeli-Palestinian peace agreement ²⁵⁹	50.6	49.7	0.9
(Oppose using US troops in this case)	(47.4)	(49.6)	
Favor using US troops abroad to stop a government from committing genocide ²⁶⁰	71.7	67.8	3.9
Favor using US troops abroad to deal with humanitarian crises ²⁶¹	64	68.3	4.3
Favor using troops to be a part of an international peacekeeping force to stop the killing in Darfur ²⁶²	54.4	57.7	3.3
Opposing dominant positions	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Oppose using US troops abroad if Israel were attacked by its neighbors ²⁶³	46.7	54	7.3
(Favor the use of troops)	(51.6)	(44.9)	

U.S. MILITARY BASES ABROAD (9 questions: all by districts)

Out of 9 questions, 8 showed no significant differences between red and blue districts. One out of 9 questions showed the same dominant position, but to differing magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should have about the same number of bases overseas ²⁶⁴	51.8	52.5	0.7
US should have bases in S Korea ²⁶⁵	61.3	58.4	2.9
US should not have bases in Pakistan ²⁶⁶	60.6	59.5	1.1
US should not have bases in Australia ²⁶⁷	57.8	55.6	2.2
US should not have bases in Iraq ²⁶⁸	51.5	56	4.5
US should not have bases in Afghanistan ²⁶⁹	55.8	55.3	0.5

US should have bases in Germany ²⁷⁰	52	49.3	2.7
(US should not have bases in Germany)	(45)	(49.2)	
US should have bases in Japan ²⁷¹	53.1	49.1	4
(US should not have bases in Japan)	(43.9)	(49.3)	
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should not have bases in Turkey ²⁷²	54.8	59.7	4.9

NUCLEAR AND BIOLOGICAL WEAPONS ISSUES (6 questions: all by districts)

In 5 of 6 questions, there were no significant differences between red and blue districts. In 1 of 6 questions, red and blue districts showed the same preference but to different magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Preventing spread of nuclear weapons is a very important goal for US Foreign Policy ²⁷³	72.9	71.6	1.3
The US should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack ²⁷⁴	55.6	58	2.4
Favor cutting spending for nuclear weapons ²⁷⁵	55	56.3	1.3
Favor creating a UN agency that controls nuclear fuel to ensure none is used to produce weapons of mass destruction ²⁷⁶	63.3	61.6	1.7
US should participate in the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty ²⁷⁷	83.3	85.3	2
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Should participate in a treaty banning biological weapons that would allow international inspectors to examine labs for compliance ²⁷⁸	87.5	83.2	4.3

MIDDLE EAST: General (5 questions: all by districts)

Three of the 5 questions yielded no significant statistical difference between red and blue districts. Of 5 questions, 2 showed red and blue districts as having the same dominant position, but to different degrees.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should make at least similar if not greater efforts than they do now to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict ²⁷⁹	54.0	57.1	3.1
US should not put greater pressure on countries in Middle East to be more democratic ²⁸⁰	61.1	57.1	4
US shouldn't take a position on democracy, if a Muslim country elects fundamentalist Islamic leader ²⁸¹	65.1	63.2	1.9

Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should not take either side in Israel-Palestinian conflict ²⁸²	63.5	68.3	4.8
We can find common ground with Muslims ²⁸³	50.8	57.1	6.3
(Religious, social and political traditions are incompatible)	(45.1)	(41.1)	

MIDDLE EAST: HEZBOLLAH AND HAMAS (2 questions: all by districts)

Of 2 questions, neither showed a statistical difference between red and blue districts.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should be willing to meet with the leaders of Hamas ²⁸⁴	50.5	53.6	3.1
(US should not be willing)	(45.6)	(43.3)	
The US should not be willing to meet with the leaders of Hezbollah ²⁸⁵	49.5	45.7	3.8
(US should be willing)	(45.7)	(47.3)	

MIDDLE EAST: IRAN (11 questions: all by districts)

Of the 11 questions on Iran, 7 showed no significant differences between red and blue districts. Out of 11 questions, 3 showed red and blue as having the same dominant position but to different magnitudes. One question out of 11 showed one set of districts with a dominant position and the other set divided.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should be willing to meet w/Iranian leaders ²⁸⁶	65.4	69	3.6
Oppose engaging in trade with Iran ²⁸⁷	76.6	77.1	0.5
Oppose having diplomatic relations with Iran ²⁸⁸	56.3	51.9	4.4
Support imposing tighter sanctions on Iran, in response to Iran's	80.7	77.9	2.8
refusal to end its nuclear enrichment program ²⁸⁹			
Oppose military strike against Iran's nuclear program ²⁹⁰	47.9	49	1.1
(Favor a military strike)	(46.2)	(46.8)	
US should allow Iran to use nuke power for electricity, if Iran allows	52.8	51.3	1.5
UN inspectors to make sure they aren't producing nukes ²⁹¹			
The US would not be able to contain Iran like it did the USSR, if it were	48.0	49.1	1.1
to obtain a nuclear weapon ²⁹²			
(US would be able to contain)	(45.7)	(44.3)	
	i	-	ī
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should not proceed with military strike against Iran, if UN opposes	67.4	74	6.6
it ²⁹³			
US shouldn't bring US forces into conflict between Iran and Israel if	56.7	62.5	5.8
Israel strikes Iranian facilities and it leads to a war ²⁹⁴			
Support continuing diplomatic efforts with Iran, in response to Iran's	81.2	76.5	4.7
refusal to end its nuclear enrichment program ²⁹⁵			

One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Oppose authorizing military strikes in response to Iran's refusal to end	48.5	54.3	5.8
its nuclear enrichment program ²⁹⁶			
(Favor authorizing military strikes)	(47.7)	(42.2)	

MIDDLE EAST/NORTH AFRICA: SYRIA AND LIBYA (7 questions: 6 by districts, 1 by states)

There were 6 out of 7 questions with no significant statistical difference between red and blue districts/states. The remaining question showed red and blue districts with the same preference but to different magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Support enforcing a no-fly zone over Syria ²⁹⁷	57.7	57.1	0.6
Oppose sending arms and supplies to anti-government groups in	65.9	68.8	2.9
Syria ²⁹⁸			
Oppose Bombing Syrian air defenses ²⁹⁹	72.1	71.8	0.3
Oppose sending US troops into Syria ³⁰⁰	80	81.1	1.1
On Libyan campaign, US was right to participate but not have taken	71.4	74.6	3.2
a lead role (Respondents divided on major or minor role) ³⁰¹			
[STATES] The president does not have the constitutional authority to	48.5	51.1	2.6
use troops to support the NATO mission in Libya without			
Congressional approval ³⁰²			
(The President does have the authority)	(44.2)	(43.1)	
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Support US increasing economic sanctions on Syria ³⁰³	65.2	58.8	6.4

FOREIGN AID (19 questions: all by districts)

In 7 out of 19 questions, the positions of red and blue districts showed no significant differences. In another 8 out of 19 questions, red and blue districts showed the dominant position but with differing magnitudes. In three out of 19 questions, one set of districts expressed a clear preference while the other was divided. In the last question, the dominant positions in each set of districts were opposed.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor foreign aid to countries that are important to US interests ³⁰⁴	56.8	59.2	2.4
Favor foreign aid to needy countries for food & medical assistance ³⁰⁵	74.9	74.1	0.8
Favor foreign aid to needy countries to help farmers there become more productive ³⁰⁶	71.6	75	3.4

Favor maintaining or increasing funding for humanitarian assistance, such	56.6	62.7	6.1
as food aid, assistance in event of disasters, or aid to refugees ³⁰⁷			
US should increase or keep military aid to Israel the same ³⁰⁸	60.5	60.5	0
US should maintain or increase economic aid to Israel ³⁰⁹	57	55.4	1.6
US should decrease or stop economic aid to Afghanistan ³¹⁰	61.2	57.7	3.5
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Government should cut spending on military aid to other nations ³¹¹	63.2	56.6	6.6
Government should cut spending on economic aid to other nations ³¹²	66.1	54.8	11.3
Favor foreign aid to needy countries to help develop their economies ³¹³	58.7	65.2	6.5
US should increase or keep economic aid to African countries the same ³¹⁴	59.3	67	7.7
US should increase or keep military aid to Taiwan the same ³¹⁵	54.7	59.6	4.9
US should decrease or stop economic aid to Pakistan ³¹⁶	69.2	64.2	5
Favor cutting military aid to countries of strategic interest to US ³¹⁷	66	58.5	7.5
Favor cutting development aid to countries of strategic concern to the	66.7	58.6	8.1
US ³¹⁸			
	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US ³¹⁸			1
US ³¹⁸ One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
One with dominant position, the other divided The US should decrease or stop military aid to Egypt ³¹⁹	RED 55.2	BLUE 50.3	DIFF.
One with dominant position, the other divided The US should decrease or stop military aid to Egypt ³¹⁹ (Keep Same)	RED 55.2 39	BLUE 50.3 43.3	DIFF.
One with dominant position, the other divided The US should decrease or stop military aid to Egypt ³¹⁹ (Keep Same) (Increase)	RED 55.2 39 3.7	BLUE 50.3 43.3 4.8	DIFF. 4.9
One with dominant position, the other divided The US should decrease or stop military aid to Egypt ³¹⁹ (Keep Same) (Increase) The US should decrease or stop economic aid to Egypt ³²⁰	RED 55.2 39 3.7 54.8	BLUE 50.3 43.3 4.8 47.8	DIFF. 4.9
One with dominant position, the other divided The US should decrease or stop military aid to Egypt ³¹⁹ (Keep Same) (Increase) The US should decrease or stop economic aid to Egypt ³²⁰ (Keep Same) (Increase) Favor cutting spending for development assistance to less developed	RED 55.2 39 3.7 54.8 36.5	50.3 43.3 4.8 47.8 45.1	DIFF. 4.9
One with dominant position, the other divided The US should decrease or stop military aid to Egypt ³¹⁹ (Keep Same) (Increase) The US should decrease or stop economic aid to Egypt ³²⁰ (Keep Same) (Increase)	RED 55.2 39 3.7 54.8 36.5 5.7	50.3 43.3 4.8 47.8 45.1 5.2	DIFF. 4.9
One with dominant position, the other divided The US should decrease or stop military aid to Egypt ³¹⁹ (Keep Same) (Increase) The US should decrease or stop economic aid to Egypt ³²⁰ (Keep Same) (Increase) Favor cutting spending for development assistance to less developed countries ³²¹ (Favor maintaining or increasing)	S5.2 39 3.7 54.8 36.5 5.7 64.1 (35.1)	50.3 43.3 4.8 47.8 45.1 5.2 50.8 (48.6)	7 13.3
One with dominant position, the other divided The US should decrease or stop military aid to Egypt ³¹⁹ (Keep Same) (Increase) The US should decrease or stop economic aid to Egypt ³²⁰ (Keep Same) (Increase) Favor cutting spending for development assistance to less developed countries ³²¹	RED 55.2 39 3.7 54.8 36.5 5.7 64.1	50.3 43.3 4.8 47.8 45.1 5.2 50.8	DIFF. 4.9
One with dominant position, the other divided The US should decrease or stop military aid to Egypt ³¹⁹ (Keep Same) (Increase) The US should decrease or stop economic aid to Egypt ³²⁰ (Keep Same) (Increase) Favor cutting spending for development assistance to less developed countries ³²¹ (Favor maintaining or increasing)	S5.2 39 3.7 54.8 36.5 5.7 64.1 (35.1)	50.3 43.3 4.8 47.8 45.1 5.2 50.8 (48.6)	7 13.3

GLOBALIZATION, TRADE, AND AGRICULTURE (17 questions: all by districts)

In 14 out of 17 questions, responses in red and blue districts were statistically the same. In 3 out of 17 questions, red and blue districts shared the same dominant position but to varying degrees.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Globalization is mostly good ³²³	58.6	58.6	0
The US should stop or slow globalization ³²⁴	51	48.1	2.9
(Actively promote or allow to continue)	(45.8)	(47.3)	
Foreign trade means an opportunity for economic growth for the US ³²⁵	55.8	55	0.8
Reducing federal budget deficit is a <i>very</i> important factor for US competitiveness in global economy ³²⁶	65.1	67.2	2.1
Encouraging foreign investors to invest in US companies & projects is an important factor for US competitiveness in the global economy ³²⁷	80.6	79.5	1.1
Encouraging US businesses to invest overseas is NOT a very	49.8	48.3	1.5
important factor for US competitiveness in global economy ³²⁸	(46.5)	(40.0)	
(Somewhat or very important)	(46.5)	(49.3)	
Protecting the jobs of American workers is a very important goal for US foreign policy ³²⁹	84.1	81.9	2.2
Favor cutting subsidies to agricultural corporations and large farms ³³⁰	65.8	68.3	2.5
US should not have free trade agreement that lowers tariffs with China ³³¹	56.5	56	0.5
US should not have free trade agreement that lowers tariffs with Colombia ³³²	58.9	57.3	1.6
The US should have free trade agreement that lowers tariffs with Japan ³³³	49.7	53.6	3.9
(Should not)	(42.6)	(39.6)	
The US should not have a free trade agreement that lowers tariffs with South Korea ³³⁴	52	50	2
(Should)	(40.9)	(43.3)	
The US should not approve free trade agreement with South Korea ³³⁵	49.6	44.5	5.1
(Should)	(42.8)	(45.6)	
The US should not have free trade agreement that lowers tariffs with India 336	50.5	45.9	4.6
(Should)	(40.7)	(47.5)	
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Supporting open world trade is an important factor for US competitiveness in global economy ³³⁷	74.5	79.3	4.8

Reducing the US' trade deficit with foreign countries is a very important foreign policy goal ³³⁸	59	52.5	6.5
Favor maintaining or increasing agricultural subsidies to small farmers ³³⁹	76.1	66.7	9.4

THE UNITED NATIONS AND INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS (22 questions: all by districts)

In 16 out of 22 questions there were no significant differences between red and blue districts. In 4 out of 22 questions, the dominant position was the same in both red and blue districts, but the magnitudes differed. In 2 out of 22 questions, one set of districts had a dominant position while the other set was undecided.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Strengthening UN is an important goal for US foreign policy ³⁴⁰	77.9	80.9	3
Favor maintaining or increasing funding for UN, UN peacekeeping and IAEA ³⁴¹	53.6	55.4	1.8
Favor taking steps to strengthen UN to regulate international arms trade ³⁴²	53.5	53.9	0.4
Favor giving UN authority to create international marshals service, which could arrest leaders responsible for genocide ³⁴³	73.1	70.7	2.4
Oppose giving UN power to fund its activities with a small tax on international sales of arms or oil ³⁴⁴	52.5	53.3	0.8
Favor changing the veto power of five permanent members of UN Security Council, so that that two, not one, members would be required ³⁴⁵	58.2	59.8	1.6
US should participate in the International Criminal Court ³⁴⁶	70.7	69.9	0.8
ICC should be strengthened ³⁴⁷	47.6	51.9	4.3
(Should not be strengthened)	(43)	(40.4)	
If World Trade Organization rules against US on trade dispute, US should comply with that decision ³⁴⁸	70.8	72	1.2
The World Trade Organization does not need to be strengthened ³⁴⁹	49.1	47.2	1.9
(WTO does need to be strengthened)	(41.3)	(45.8)	
International Monetary Fund should not be strengthened ³⁵⁰	58.3	55.1	3.2
World Bank should not be strengthened 351	52.3	53.8	1.5
Should be international institution that monitors financial markets worldwide and reports on potential crises ³⁵²	63.9	65.8	1.9
Should be international institution that monitors the worldwide energy market and predicts potential shortages ³⁵³	62.1	63.6	1.5
Favor funding an institution to oversee regulation of large banks and financial institutions ³⁵⁴	51.7	54.6	2.9
Should be international institution that provides information and assistance to countries with problems resulting from large migrations ³⁵⁵	50.9	52.6	1.7

Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
The UN should be strengthened ³⁵⁶	50.2	56.9	6.7
(Does not need to be strengthened)	(42.2)	(36.2)	
US should be more willing to make decisions within the UN even if the decision made is not the US's first choice ³⁵⁷	54	59.6	5.6
Favor US working through UN to strengthen laws against terrorism ³⁵⁸	77.6	82.3	4.7
World Health Organization should be strengthened ³⁵⁹	52.8	61.4	8.6
			•
One with dominant position, the other divided	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
International Atomic Energy Agency should be strengthened 360	46.4	55.1	8.7
(Should not be strengthened)	(44)	(37.6)	
A global body that would regulate big financial institutions is a bad	57.2	48.9	8.3
idea because it would interfere with the US economy ³⁶¹			
(Good idea)	(40.7)	(47.1)	

CHINA AND ASIA-RELATED ISSUES: 12 questions

In nine out of 12 questions, there were no significant differences between red and blue districts. In 3 out of 12 questions, the dominant position was the same between red and blue districts but the magnitudes differed.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US military presence in Asia increases stability there ³⁶²	59	59.8	0.8
US should divert military resources to Asia and away from Middle East ³⁶³	52.6	55.3	2.7
Building a regional security alliance with East Asia is a high priority ³⁶⁴	69.6	72.7	3.1
Protecting sea lanes in East Asia is a high priority ³⁶⁵	72.5	74.5	2
Limiting rise of China's power is a high priority for US-South Korean relations ³⁶⁶	52.9	52.6	0.3
US should work with South Korea to limit the rise of China's power ³⁶⁷	53.7	55.8	2.1
China is more important to US vital interests than Japan ³⁶⁸	70	68.8	1.2
Build stronger relations with Japan and South Korea, even if it would diminish relations with China ³⁶⁹	54.4	51.4	3
US should be willing to meet with the leaders of Burma ³⁷⁰	58.5	57.2	1.3
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Europe is more important to the US than Asia ³⁷¹	54.7	47.9	
(Asia is more important)	(40.4)	(43.6)	
Building a regional free trade agreement with East Asia is a high priority for US-South Korean relations ³⁷²	61.1	68	6.9
US should undertake cooperation and engagement with China ³⁷³	66.9	72.9	6

NORTH KOREA (12 questions)

For 11 out of 12 questions, there were no statistical differences. For one out of 12 questions, red and blue districts showed the same dominant position, but with different magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should be willing to meet with North Korean leaders ³⁷⁴	68.2	70.1	1.9
Oppose engaging in trade with North Korea ³⁷⁵	74.6	74.4	0.2
If North Korea were to attack South Korea, would favor contributing troops to an international effort to end the aggression ³⁷⁶	63.2	64.9	1.7
[2010] US should work to maintain stability on the Korean peninsula by accepting current North Korean regime ³⁷⁷	65.7	70.5	4.8
[2012] Trying to bring about regime change in North Korea is a high priority ³⁷⁸	52.7	56.9	4.2
If North Korea and South Korea were to unify, the US should maintain an alliance with the newly formed country ³⁷⁹	78.5	81.1	2.6
Preventing North Korea from building its nuclear capability is a high priority for US-South Korean relations ³⁸⁰	75.5	75.9	0.4
To end N Korea's nuclear program: US should continue diplomatic efforts ³⁸¹	81.2	83.9	2.7
To end N Korea's nuclear program: US should stop and search their ships ³⁸²	60.3	58.8	1.5
To end N Korea's nuclear program: US should not authorize air strikes ³⁸³	56.9	60.3	3.4
To end N Korea's nuclear program: US should not use US ground troops ³⁸⁴	79.1	80.9	1.8
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should join South Korea to punish North Korea over 2010 attacks against South Korean ships ³⁸⁵	69.7	64.6	5.1

CUBA (3 questions)

In two out of the three questions on Cuba, there were no statistical differences between the responses of red and blue districts. In one of the three questions, majorities in red and blue districts agreed on the same dominant position but at different magnitudes.

No significant differences	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
Favor having diplomatic relations with Cuba ³⁸⁶	55	58.7	3.7
Oppose engaging in trade with Cuba ³⁸⁷	53.2	55	1.8
Same dominant position, different magnitudes	RED	BLUE	DIFF.
US should be willing to meet with Cuban leaders ³⁸⁸	71.3	75.9	4.6

¹ CBS Dec 2010

Q19. Which of these comes closest to your view? Abortion should be generally available to those who want it, or abortion should be available but under stricter limits than it is now, or abortion should not be permitted?

² **PPC Aug 2011**

Q33. As you may know, Planned Parenthood is a nonprofit membership organization that offers family planning services. The federal government provides about a third of its funding--none of which can be used for abortions. Two thirds comes from its members and foundations.

Some members of Congress have proposed that the government stop its funding for Planned Parenthood. They say that though federal funds do not go to abortions, they do make it easier for Planned Parenthood to manage its budget, some of which is related to abortions. Others say Planned Parenthood spends most of its money on essential family planning services for women and children that have nothing to do with abortions, and many of those services would have to be stopped if the government ended its funding.

Would you favor or oppose the government stopping its funding for Planned Parenthood?

- 1 Favor stopping funding
- 2 Oppose stopping funding

³ PPC Aug 2011

Q28. As you may know, most health care plans include some degree of coverage for abortions under some circumstances. Coverage varies widely, depending on the plan.

There is a proposal to end people's ability to deduct the cost of health insurance premiums from their income tax, if their insurance plan includes any abortion-related coverage. Some people say this change would be good, because the government should not make insurance coverage of abortions tax deductible and changing this would help to discourage abortions. Other people say this change would require millions of people to pay more taxes and gets the government involved in trying to influence what should be a private decision for a woman and her doctor.

Would you favor or oppose prohibiting the tax deduction for private insurance plans that include any abortion-related coverage?

- 1 Favor prohibiting the tax deduction
- 2 Oppose prohibiting the tax deduction

⁴ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

Statement: Next, we'd like to ask you about some situations in which a woman might want to have an abortion. For each one, please say whether you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose it being legal for the woman to have an abortion in that situation.

R4. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being legal if staying pregnant could cause the woman to die?

⁵ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

R8. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being legal if the pregnancy was caused by the woman being raped?

⁶ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

R10. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being legal if the fetus will be born with a serious birth defect?

⁷ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

R2. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being legal if staying pregnant would hurt the woman's health but is very unlikely to cause her to die?

8 WPO II Questionnaire – Winter 2008

Q29-A1: Do you think the government should be involved in trying to discourage abortions or do you think the government should leave these matters to the individual?

⁹ Time Jun 2011

Q10b. Here are some Constitutional issues that US Supreme Court has issued rulings on in the past few years. Please tell me if you personally agree or disagree with each position. [Women should have the right to decide to terminate a pregnancy in the first few months of her pregnancy]

¹⁰ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

R12. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being legal if the child will not be the sex the woman wants it to be?

¹¹ NES Ouestions (Oct 2008)

R14. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being legal if having the child would be extremely difficult for the woman financially?

¹² NES Questions (Oct 2008)

R6. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose abortion being legal if the pregnancy was caused by sex the woman chose to have with a blood relative?

13 ABC Jul 2011

Q35. Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases or illegal in all cases?

¹⁴ Pew Research Feb – Apr 2011

Q.A62. Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, or illegal in all cases?

¹⁵ Pew Research May 2013

Please tell me if you favor or oppose the following proposals about gun policy. Q46a. Making private gun sales and sales at gun shows subject to background checks

¹⁶ Pew Research May 2013

Please tell me if you favor or oppose the following proposals about gun policy. Q46d.F2. Creating a federal government database to track all gun sales

¹⁷ Time Jun 2011

Q15. Should the federal government be allowed to ban the sale of semi-automatic assault weapons, except for use by the military or police...or is it more important to protect the rights of gun owners to purchase any guns they wish to purchase?

¹⁸ Pew Research May 2013

Please tell me if you favor or oppose the following proposals about gun policy. Q46c.F1. More teachers and school officials having guns in schools

¹⁹ Time Jun 2011

Q16. Overall, do you think that gun control laws in this country should be more strict than they are now, less strict, or are gun control laws about right now?

²⁰ NES Questions (Jan 2009) Wave 13

N9. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose making it illegal for anyone to keep a handgun at home?

²¹ Time Jun 2011

Q10a. Here are some Constitutional issues that US Supreme Court has issued rulings on in the past few years. Please tell me if you personally agree or disagree with each position. [To protect the Constitutional rights of gun owners, state and local governments are NOT allowed to ban handguns and concealed weapons, even in high crime areas]

²² NES Questions (Jan 2009) Wave 13

N11. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose giving permits to allow any adult to carry a concealed handgun if they have never been convicted of committing a crime and they have passed a test showing that they know how to use the gun safely?

²³ Pew Research May 2013

Please tell me if you favor or oppose the following proposals about gun policy. O46b. A ban on assault style weapons

²⁴ Pew Research Feb – Apr 2011

Q.A60. What do you think is more important—to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

²⁵ Newsweek Dec 2008

- Q10. Do you think gays and lesbians should or should NOT be hired as HIGH SCHOOL teachers?
 - 1) Should be
 - 2) Should not be

²⁶ Newsweek Dec 2008

- Q9. Do you think gays and lesbians should or should NOT be hired as ELEMENTARY SCHOOL teachers?
 - 1) Should be
 - 2) Should not be

²⁷ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

Q8g. Hospital visitation rights for gay and lesbian domestic partners

²⁸ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q12a. Would you favor or oppose an amendment to the U.S. constitution that would BAN gay marriage IN ALL STATES?

- 1) Favor amendment to ban gay marriage
- 2) Oppose amendment to ban gay marriage

²⁹ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

W10.P1. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose an amendment to the U.S. Constitution banning marriage between two people who are the same sex?

³⁰ Pew Research Feb – Apr 2011

[Respondents were asked in a battery to choose the statement they supported most.]

Q37u. Homosexuality should be accepted by society [OR] Homosexuality should be discouraged by society

31 CBS Dec 2010

Q43. Do you have any objections to gay men and lesbians serving openly in the military?

32 Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

Q8h. Gays and lesbians serving openly in the military

33 ABC Feb 2010

Q28. Do you think homosexuals who DO publicly disclose their sexual orientation should be allowed to serve in the military or not?

³⁴ Pew Research May 2013

Q.36b Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to enter into legal agreements with each other that would give them many of the same rights as married couples

35 Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

Q8d. Inheritance rights for gay and lesbian domestic partners

³⁶ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

O8e. Social Security benefits for gay and lesbian domestic partners

³⁷ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

Q8f. Health insurance and other employee benefits for gay and lesbian domestic partners

³⁸ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

Q8j. Equal rights for gays and lesbians in terms of housing

³⁹ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

Q8i. Equal rights for gays and lesbians in terms of job opportunities

⁴⁰ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q16. Suppose a gay or lesbian couple are legally married and have a child through assisted reproductive technology. If the couple gets divorced, how do you think the law should deal with disputes over child custody? Should the gay partner who is NOT the child's biological parent have custody rights, such as visitation and a role in making decisions about the child's upbringing, or not?

- 1) Yes, non-biological parent should have rights
- 2) No, should not have rights

⁴¹ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q11. Thinking again about legal rights for gay and lesbian couples, which of the following comes CLOSEST to your position on this issue? Do you

- 1) Support FULL marriage rights for same-sex couples, OR
- 2) Support civil unions or partnerships for same-sex couples, BUT NOT full marriage rights, OR do you
- 3) Oppose ANY legal recognition for same-sex couples?

42 ABC Feb 2010

Q30. Do you think gay and lesbian couples should or should not be allowed to form legally recognized civil unions, giving them the legal rights of married couples in areas such as health insurance, inheritance and pension coverage?

43 CBS Dec 2010

Q17. Which comes closest to your view?

- 1 Gay couples should be allowed to legally marry, or gay couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry
- 2 There should be no legal recognition of a gay couple's relationship?

⁴⁴ NES Questions (Jan 2009)

N13. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing homosexuals to marry members of their own sex and have regular marriage laws apply to them? [Wave 13]

⁴⁵ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

Q8b. Legally-sanctioned gay and lesbian marriages

⁴⁶ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

Q8c. Adoption rights for gays and lesbians so they can legally adopt children

⁴⁷ Pew Research May 2013

Q36a. Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

⁴⁸ Pew Research Jun 2012

Q66. Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

⁴⁹ Pew Research Sep 2011

Q.A61. Do you favor or oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

⁵⁰ **ABC Jul 2011**

Q33. Do you think it should be LEGAL or ILLEGAL for gay and lesbian couples to get married?

⁵¹ ABC Feb 2010

Q29. Do you think it should be LEGAL or ILLEGAL for gay and lesbian couples to get married?

⁵² Newsweek Dec 2008

Q13. Gay marriage can also be an issue at the state level. Suppose YOUR STATE held an election where you could vote for or against an amendment to the state constitution that would ban gay marriage. Would you be more likely to vote "yes" in favor of OR "no" against a ban on gay marriage in your state?

- 1) Yes, in favor of a ban on gay marriage
- 2) No, against a ban on gay marriage

⁵³ Newsweek Dec 2008

Q8. Now I have a few questions about the situation for gay men and women in this country and the issue of gay rights... Do you think there should or should NOT be:

Q8a. Legally-sanctioned gay and lesbian unions or partnerships

⁵⁴ WPO II Questionnaire – Winter 2008

Q23a-R3a: Do you think the government has the responsibility to try to prevent employers from refusing to hire someone because of a person's race or ethnicity or do you think the government should not be involved in this kind of thing?

⁵⁵ NES Questions (Nov 2008) Wave 11

ZB1. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government in Washington seeing to it that blacks get fair treatment in jobs?

⁵⁶ WPO II Questionnaire – Winter 2008

Q18-W2: Do you think the government should make an effort to prevent discrimination against women, or do you think the government should not be involved in this kind of thing?

⁵⁷ WPO II Questionnaire – Winter 2008

Q22-R2: Do you think the government should make an effort to prevent discrimination based on a person's race or ethnicity, or do you think the government should not be involved in this kind of thing?

⁵⁸ NES Questions (Jan 2009) Wave 13

N17. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing companies to increase the number of black workers by considering race along with other factors when choosing employees?

⁵⁹ NES Questions (Jan 2009) Wave 13

N15. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing universities to increase the number of black students studying at their schools by considering race along with other factors when choosing students?

⁶⁰ WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

Q22-HC4: Do you mostly think of health care as a right or as a privilege?

⁶¹ WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

Q24-HC6: Which position is closer to yours:

- 1. The American health care system is basically sound, because it is part of a competitive free market that can adapt to future challenges. If the government interferes by imposing changes, it will only make things worse.
- 2. The cost of health care is increasing faster than inflation, and as the population ages, the government has to cover more and more people under Medicare. Clearly, the government needs to take major steps to reform the American health care system.

62 WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

Q33-HC15: One option is for the government to provide health care directly. In this case the government actually runs the hospitals and clinics. Currently the US government provides health care to veterans through the Veterans Administration. Would you favor or oppose the idea of having the government provide health care services directly to all Americans who want it?

63 WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

Q31-HC13: In regard to waste, fraud, and abuse in the health care system, do you think:

- 1. it can be cut while still giving people the treatment people need
- 2. efforts to cut it will lead to denying people the treatment they need

⁶⁴ WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

[After pro and con arguments were offered and assessed, they were then asked]

Q36-HC18: Do you favor or oppose creating a government-administered health insurance option that anyone can purchase to compete with private insurance plans?

65 WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

[This was a follow-up question to Q36, which is detailed in Endnote 64. Those who favored public option in all cases were combined with those that favored the more specific instance asked about in Q36a.]

Q36a-HC18a. What if the government-administered health insurance plan were offered as an option only to people who cannot get insurance through their employers?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

⁶⁶ WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

[After pro and con arguments were offered and assessed, they were then asked]

Do you favor or oppose requiring all but the smallest businesses to provide health insurance for their workers, or else to contribute to a public fund to cover the uninsured?

⁶⁷ WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

[After pro and con arguments were offered and assessed, they were then asked]

Q45-HC27: Do you favor or oppose tort reform?

68 WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

[After pro and con arguments were offered and assessed, they were then asked]

Q48-HC30: So now, do you think the rules against purchasing insurance across states lines should be:

- 1. Changed
- 2. Kept the same as they are

69 WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

STATEMENT: Some people have proposed having more government regulation of health insurance companies. Please select whether you favor or oppose the following.

Q49a-HC31a. Insurance companies would be required to accept every applicant for coverage, including people with pre-existing medical conditions.

⁷⁰ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

P10. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all of the cost of prescription drugs for senior citizens who are living on very little income? [Wave 10]

⁷¹ WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

STATEMENT: Some people have proposed having more government regulation of health insurance companies. Please select whether you favor or oppose the following.

Q49b-HC31b. Insurance companies would not be permitted to drop a sick insured person because they can identify a minor mistake in their original application form.

72 PPC Defense Budget Exercise--Apr 2012

[Respondents were presented pro and con arguments—though they were not asked to assess them—prior to being asked this question. Their answer to this question affected the aggregate amount they were told they were spending on the national defense budget, as detailed in Endnote 170. If they favored the proposal, the national defense budget was cut by the amount indicated in the question.]

Q44. Military retirees younger than 65 would have their family's annual premium rise from \$520 per year to \$1100. This would save \$3 billion a year.

What is your position on this proposal?

1 Favor

2 Oppose

⁷³ PPC Defense Budget Exercise--Apr 2012

[Respondents were presented pro and con arguments—though they were not asked to assess them—prior to being asked this question. Their answer to this question affected the aggregate amount they were told they were spending on the national defense budget, as detailed in Endnote 170. If they favored the proposal, the national defense budget was cut by the amount indicated in the question.]

Q43. Members of military families and retirees would pay a typical co-pay for drug prescriptions. For instance, the co-pay for a 30-day prescription for a generic drug would cost \$15, instead of the current \$3. This would not apply to active-duty personnel. This would save about \$3 billion a year.

What is your position on this proposal?

1 Favor

2 Oppose

⁷⁴ Time Jun 2011

Q14. The Affordable Health Care Act passed last year requires most individuals who do not have health care insurance to purchase it beginning in 2014. The government would provide low and moderate income persons who don't get health care coverage through their jobs to purchase coverage. Based upon your understanding of the health care law, would you say that it is Constitutional or unconstitutional for the federal government to require most individuals to have health care insurance?

⁷⁵ WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

Q20-SER1b: Do you think the US government should be responsible for ensuring that its citizens can meet their basic need for health care, OR do you think that is NOT the government's responsibility?

⁷⁶ CCGA Jun 2010

Q25 (1-9): Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

- 1. Expanded
- 2. Cut back

3. Kept about the same

25/6. Health care

⁷⁷ CCGA Jun 2010

Q85 (1-9): Please indicate how important the following factors are to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy:

- 1 Very important
- 2 Somewhat important
- 3 Not very important
- 4 Not important at all

85/3. Providing universal health care

⁷⁸ NES Questions (Jan 2009) [Wave 13]

W13.Z6. Do you favor, oppose or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Neither favor nor oppose
- 3 Oppose

⁷⁹ WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

Q27-HC9: Would you say that the American health care system:

- 1. Needs major changes, and the government should make them now
- 2. Needs major changes, but right now the government is overextended and should wait a few years before making them
- 3. Does not need major changes

⁸⁰ NES Questions (Jan 2009) [Wave 13]

W13.Z2. Do you favor or oppose the U.S. government paying for all necessary medical care for all Americans?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

81 WPO-PIPA Healthcare Oct 2009

[After pro and con arguments were offered and assessed, they were then asked]

Q42-HC24: Do you favor or oppose requiring all people to have health insurance for themselves and their children?

82 CCGA Jun 2010

Q25 (1-9): Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

- 1. Expanded
- 2. Cut back
- 3. Kept about the same

25/3. Social security

83 NES Questions (Jan 2009) Wave 13

N5. If it were necessary to keep the Social Security program paying benefits as it does now, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increasing the Social Security tax rate?

84 NES Questions (Jan 2009) Wave 13

N3a. Currently, people pay Social Security taxes only on the first \$102,000 of their annual income. If it were necessary to keep the Social Security program paying benefits as it does now, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increasing the amount of income that is subject to Social Security taxes, so that people who make more than \$102,000 would pay more tax?

85 NES Questions (Jan 2009) Wave 13

N1. Some people have suggested allowing individuals to invest portions of their Social Security taxes on their own, which might allow them to make more money for their retirement, but would involve greater risk. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing individuals to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes on their own?

⁸⁶ PPC Social Security Jul 2013

Statement: Congratulations, you have completed evaluating the series of proposals for reforming Social Security. You're almost done.

Having considered these various proposals, we would now like you to complete the most important part of this exercise. On the next screen you will see all of the proposals you just evaluated, including the impact each proposal has on the Social Security shortfall. You will then select your own preferred package of proposals.

As you will see, some proposals are mutually exclusive. Thus, you will only be able to choose one of them.

In the box at the bottom of the next screen you will see the amount of the Social Security shortfall you have eliminated. When you make selections that increase the amount of the shortfall, this amount will increase.

Ideally, at the end, your package of selections will eliminate the Social Security shortfall, as well as covering the cost of any changes that increase the shortfall.

[Respondents were then presented 3 proposals for reducing monthly benefits, 3 for raising the retirement age, 2 to increase revenues by raising or eliminating the cap on taxable earnings, 3 to increase revenues by increasing the payroll tax rate, 2 to increase benefits, and 3 to either change the annual cost of living increase in some way or to keep it the same]

[These were the proposals presented for raising the retirement age; percentage of those in red and blue districts includes those that chose options A, B or C]

Q36_1. You many select only one (or none) of the following three proposals:

	Option	% Reduction in Social
		Security Shortfall
a)	Gradually raise to age 68 by 2034, and stop there	16%
b)	Gradually raise to age 69 by 2041, and stop there	22%
c)	Gradually raise to age 70 by 2064, and stop there	31%

⁸⁷ PPC Social Security Jul 2013

[This question was part of the social security exercise detailed in in Endnote 86; percentage of those in red and blue districts includes those that chose options A, B or C]

These proposals raise the Social Security payroll tax rate from 6.2% for both employees and employers.

Q38_1. You may select only one (or none) of the following three proposals:

Option	% Reduction in Social		
	Security Shortfall		
a) Increase by 0.05 per year for 8 years up to 6.6%	18%		
b) Increase by 0.05 per year for 14 years up to 6.9%	35%		
c) Increase by 0.05 per year for 20 years up to 7.2%	53%		

88 PPC Social Security Jul 2013

[This question was part of the social security exercise detailed in in Endnote 86; percentage of those in red and blue districts includes those that chose options A or B]

Raising the maximum amount of salary and wages (the cap) subject to the Social Security payroll tax Q37_1. You may select only one (or none) of the following two proposals:

	Option	% Reduction in Social Security Shortfall
a)	Raising the cap from the current \$113,700 to \$215,000 gradually over 10 years	30%
b)	Eliminating the cap so that all salary and wages are subject to the payroll tax	72%

89 PPC Social Security Jul 2013

[This question was part of the social security exercise detailed in in Endnote 86; this particular endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose only option A]

Raising the maximum amount of salary and wages (the cap) subject to the Social Security payroll tax

Q37 1. You may select only one (or none) of the following two proposals:

Option	% Reduction in Social Security Shortfall
a) Raising the cap from the current \$113,700 to \$215,000 gradually over 10 years	30%
b) Eliminating the cap so that all salary and wages are subject to the payroll tax	72%

⁹⁰ NES Ouestions (Jan 2009) Wave 13

N7. If it were necessary to keep the Social Security program paying benefits as it does now, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising the age at which a person can retire and receive full Social Security benefits?

⁹¹ PPC Social Security Jul 2013

[This question was part of the social security exercise detailed in in Endnote 86; percentage of those in red and blue districts includes those that chose options A, B or C]

Lowering the monthly benefits of those with higher lifetime earnings

Q35_1. You may select only one (or none) of the following three proposals:

	Option	% Reduction in Social
		Security Shortfall
a)	Reducing benefits for the upper 25 percent of earners	7%
b)	Reducing benefits for the upper 40 percent of earners	24%
c)	Reducing benefits for the upper 50 percent of earners	35%

92 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

STATEMENT: You will now participate in an exercise in which you will have the opportunity to express your preferences for how the US federal budget should be designed. The exercise has two parts:

First, you will work with the main budget. Most items in this budget are set by the Congress, year by year.

Second, you will work with the various revenues that the government takes in.

As you may know, every year the White House proposes a budget to Congress and projects future budgets as well.

Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget.

You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

Tax revenues will be addressed later.

For each area of government spending, please enter your preferred amounts for the year 2015.

At the bottom you will see the estimated deficits for 2015, and also your own deficit or surplus which will change as you enter amounts. (A positive number is a deficit; a negative number is a surplus.)

Currently, the deficit for the main budget shown below for 2015 is estimated to be \$625 billion

[Respondent were then presented 31 individual spending categories where they were expected to indicate their preferred amounts for each item]

STATEMENT: Now let us turn to taxes starting with personal income tax rates.

The next screen shows the average *effective income tax rates* for people with different levels of income. These are lower than a person's marginal tax bracket, which you may have heard about. The effective tax rate is the percentage of income people actually pay after exemptions, credits and deductions.

This only deals with income tax, not payroll taxes for Social Security and Medicare.

The lowest income level shown is \$30,000. While those with less income pay payroll taxes, they typically pay little or no income tax.

As you may know, there is much discussion about whether the temporary income tax cuts that were put in place in 2001 and 2003 should be made permanent. The table will give you the opportunity to extend all these tax cuts in 2015 and keep the rates currently in place, or to increase the effective rates for one or more income category. Each selection shows how much revenue it would generate, if any.

For example, if you want to increase the 2015 effective tax rate for people with incomes from \$100,000 to \$200,000 income by 5%, you would select the option indicated in the example below, increasing government revenues by \$14 billion.

Fiscal Year 2015					
			New T	ax Rate	
Individual	Rate if tax cuts are	<u>5%</u>	10%	20%	30%
Earnings	extended		incr	ease	
\$100,000 - \$200,000	11.5%	12.1%	12.7%	13.8%	15%
Deficit reduction		\$20.6 B	\$41.3 B	\$82.6 B	\$123.8 B

OR

If you chose not to increase taxes on this income group, you would need to select "rate if tax cuts are extended" (11.5%), generating no increase in revenues.

Individual Earnings	Rate if tax cuts are extended	5%	10% incr	20% ease	30%
\$100,000 - \$200,000	11.5%	12.1%	12.7%	13.8%	15%
Deficit reduction		\$20.6 B	\$41.3 B	\$82.6 B	\$123.8 B

[This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 5% increase in taxes for the individual earnings category listed.]

Q18. Please click on a box with a tax rate for each level of earnings.

Fiscal Year 2015

			New Rate	2	
	Rate if tax				
Individual	cuts are	5%	10%	20%	30%
Earnings	extended		incre	ease	
Q18d. \$75,000 - \$100,000	8.3%	8.7%	9.1%	10%	10.8%
Deficit reduction		\$6.6 B	\$13.2 B	\$26.3 B	\$39.5 B

93 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 5% increase in taxes for the individual earnings category listed.]

Q18. Please click on a box with a tax rate for each level of earnings.

Fiscal Year 2015

	New Rate				
	Rate if tax				
Individual	cuts are	5%	10%	20%	30%
Earnings	extended		incı	ease	
Q18e. \$100,000 - \$200,000	11.5%	12.1%	12.7%	13.8%	15%
Deficit reduction		\$20.6 B	\$41.3 B	\$82.6 B	\$123.8 B

⁹⁴ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 5% increase in taxes for the individual earnings category listed.]

Q18. Please click on a box with a tax rate for each level of earnings.

Fiscal Year 2015

	New Rate				
	Rate if tax				
Individual	cuts are	5%	10%	20%	30%
Earnings	extended		inc	rease	
Q18f. \$200,000 - \$500,000	16.6%	17.4%	18.3%	19.9%	21.6%
Deficit reduction		\$18.1 B	\$36.2 B	\$72.5 B	\$108.7 B

95 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 5% increase in taxes for the individual earnings category listed.]

Q18. Please click on a box with a tax rate for each level of earnings.

Fiscal Year 2015

New Rate

			THE WITCH		
	Rate if tax				
Individual	cuts are	5%	10%	20%	30%
Earnings	extended		inc	rease	
Q18g. \$500,000 - \$1,0	000,000 17.8%	18.7%	19.6%	21.4%	23.1%
Deficit reduction		\$8 B	\$16.1 B	\$32.2 B	\$48.2 B

96 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a ½ cent increase in taxes on sugary drinks.]

Q26. Another idea is to tax sugary drinks, such as some soft drinks. This would also have the benefit of discouraging excessive consumption of such drinks, which have been linked to obesity. Here are some options, with the extra revenue they would raise.

What is your position?

	Do not tax sugary	drinks	\$0
	OR		
Ta	x sugary drinks at:		
2	½ cent per ounce	(6 cents for a typical 12 oz. can)	\$9 B
3	1 cent per ounce	(12 cents for a typical 12 oz. can)	\$18 B

97 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

4 2 cents per ounce (24 cents for a typical 12 oz. can)

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 25 cent increase in taxes on alcohol.]

Q25. Currently alcoholic drinks carry a federal tax of 8 cents per ounce of alcohol in wine, 10 cents per ounce in beer, and 21 cents per ounce in spirits, such as whisky or vodka. Here are some options for raising this tax, with the extra revenue they would raise.

What is your position?

	• •	
1	Do not raise taxes on alcohol	\$0
2	Tax all alcoholic drinks at 25 cents per ounce of alcohol	\$6 B
3	Tax all alcoholic drinks at 50 cents per ounce of alcohol	\$12 B

98 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a \$6/month tax on carbon emissions.]

Both plans shown assume that half the cost would be borne by corporations and half by consumers. What is your position?

\$36 B

1	Do not have a carbon tax	\$0
2	Have a carbon tax that will increase energy costs about \$6 per month per person	\$57 B
	and also lower carbon dioxide emissions by about 12.5%	
3	Have a carbon tax that will increase energy costs about \$12 per month per	\$114 B
	person and also lower carbon dioxide emissions by about 25%	

99 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose to charge a crisis fee to large banks.]

Q23. A possible source of revenue is to impose what is called a "financial crisis responsibility fee" on large banks and financial institutions (with assets over \$50 billion) to help compensate for the costs generated by the recent banking crisis. The way this would work is that, for every million dollars that a large bank loans, it would pay \$150 to the US Treasury. What is your position?

1	Do not charge a crisis fee to large banks	\$0
2	Charge a crisis fee to large banks	\$9 B

¹⁰⁰ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 2.5% style VAT tax.]

Q27. Another idea is to raise revenue with a national sales tax or Value-Added Tax [VAT] on many purchases. Food, housing, health care and education would not be subject to the tax. Here are some options, with the extra revenue they would raise.

What is your position?

1	Do not have a national sales tax	\$0
2	Have a national sales tax or VAT of 2.5%	\$89 B
3	Have a national sales tax or VAT of 5%	\$175 B
4	Have a national sales tax or VAT of 10%	\$332 B

¹⁰¹ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

W10.P4. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make more than \$200,000 per year?

ravor [.1]
Oppose	[2]
Neither	favor nor oppose [3]

102 Economic Restart - Dec 2011

[After pro arguments were offered and assessed for each proposal, they were then asked to choose one of the three proposals]

Q14. Now having considered these arguments, which approach do you favor for dealing with the tax cuts passed by Congress in 2001 and 2003 and extended in 2010:

- 1 Having the tax cuts expire, as currently mandated by law
- 2 Making the tax cuts permanent for both those with high incomes and those making less.
- 3 Having the tax cuts expire for those with high incomes (households that make more than \$250,000 a year), but keeping the tax cuts for those making less.

Let Bush tax cuts expire for at least those making more than \$250,000

*note: not very specific to the original question's wording

¹⁰³ Economic Restart – Dec 2011

[After pro and con arguments were offered and assessed, they were then asked]

Q3. Now having considered arguments about the proposal, would you say that you favor or oppose temporarily reducing the payroll tax by half for employees?

- 1 Strongly favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Somewhat oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose

¹⁰⁴ Economic Restart – Dec 2011

[After pro and con arguments were offered and assessed, they were then asked]

Q19. Now, having considered these arguments, do you favor or oppose lowering the top corporate tax rate from 35% to 25%:

- 1 Strongly favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Somewhat oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose

¹⁰⁵ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

Q28. As you may know, the estate tax is paid by heirs when they inherit an estate valued above a certain amount. In 2001 this tax was temporarily reduced. There is now a discussion about what the estate tax should be. Three key options are shown below, with the revenue effect on the projected deficit.

What is your position?

1	A return to the tax that was in place in 2001: A tax only on estates valued over	\$21 B
	\$1 million, ranging from 18% to 55%	
2	A continuation of the tax that was in place in 2009: A tax only on estates valued	\$0
	over \$3.5 million, ranging from 18% to 45%	
3	A reduction of the estate tax: A tax only on estates valued over \$5 million,	-\$9 B
	ranging from 18% to 35%	

¹⁰⁶ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[Respondents were presented pro and con arguments—though they were not asked to assess them—prior to being asked this question. Their answer to this question affected the aggregate amount they were told they were spending on the national defense budget, as detailed in Endnote 170. If they favored the proposal, the national defense budget was cut by the amount indicated in the question.]

Q47. Right now the military receives tax-exempt allowances for housing and food and these have been growing at a faster rate than basic military wages. One proposal is to slow the rate of growth of these tax-exempt allowances (though not to reduce them). This would save \$6 billion a year.

What is your position on this proposal?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

¹⁰⁷ Economic Restart – Dec 2011

[After pro and con arguments were offered and assessed, they were then asked]

- Q7. Now, having considered these arguments, do you favor or oppose temporarily reducing the payroll tax by half for employers on the first \$5 million of payroll?
- 1 Strongly favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Somewhat oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose

¹⁰⁸ Economic Restart – Dec 2011

[After pro and con arguments were offered and assessed, they were then asked]

- Q24. So now having considered these arguments, do you favor or oppose legislation that would renew the extension of unemployment benefits—up to 99 weeks—for another year, through the end of 2012?
- 1 Strongly favor
- 2 Somewhat favor
- 3 Somewhat oppose
- 4 Strongly oppose

¹⁰⁹ Economic Restart – Dec 2011

[This question was a follow-up to question 3, as detailed in Endnote 103.]

Q4. A key question is how this tax cut will be funded. Here are three options. Please select which option is your first choice and which is your second choice.

	Q4a. First Choice	Q4b. Second choice
Increase personal income on income over \$1 million a	1	1
year.	1	1

Do not give Federal employees their cost of living adjustments for the next three years, and gradually reduce the Federal workforce by 10%.	2	2
Borrow the money, thus adding to the deficit.	3	3

¹¹⁰ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 5% increase in taxes for the individual earnings category listed.]

Q18. Please click on a box with a tax rate for each level of earnings.

		Fiscal Year	2015		
			New Rate		
Individual Earnings	Rate if tax cuts are extended	5%	10% inci	20% rease	30%
Q18a. \$30,000 - \$40,000	1.6%	1.7%	1.8%	1.9%	2.1%
Deficit reduction		\$0.6 B	\$1.1 B	\$2.3 B	\$3.4 B

111 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 5% increase in taxes for the individual earnings category listed.]

		Fiscal Year	2015		
			New Rat	e	
Individual	Rate if tax cuts are	5%	10%	20%	30%
Earnings	extended	increase			
Q18b. \$40,000 - \$50,000	4.3%	4.5%	4.7%	5.2%	5.6%
Deficit reduction		\$1.5 B	\$2.9 B	\$5.9 B	\$8.8 B

¹¹² PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 5% increase in taxes for the individual earnings category listed.]

		Fiscal Year	2015			
	New Rate					
Individual Earnings	Rate if tax cuts are extended	5% 10% 20%increase			30%	
Q18h. Over 1 Million	18.4%	19.3%	20.2%	22.1%	23.9%	
Deficit reduction		\$20.2 B	\$40.5 B	\$80.9 B	\$121.4 B	

¹¹³ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 5% increase in taxes on income from corporate earnings.]

Q22. As you may know, corporations or businesses, also pay a tax on their profits. This screen shows the *average tax rate* for corporations. Just like individuals, corporations have exemptions, credits and other deductions that are applied to their profits before calculating their income tax. The percentage of their profits that they actually pay is on average 14.7%. You will now have an opportunity to adjust this rate.

Fiscal Year 2015 New Rate Current average 5% 10% 20% 30% corporate Income from corporate Tax rate **Earnings** -----increase-----Average tax rate on 14.7% 15.4% 16.2% 17.6% 19.1% corporate profits Deficit reduction \$16.5 B \$33 B \$66 B \$99 B

¹¹⁴ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose to treat "carried interest" income like ordinary income.]

Q21. As you may know, managers of private investment funds, such as hedge funds, are paid in part by giving them a percentage of the profits of the firm though they have not invested money that is at risk. Currently this income is taxed at the same level as dividends or capital gains—that is, with a top rate of 15%. One proposal is to tax this compensation (called "carried interest") like ordinary income, such as wages. To do this would raise \$1.5 billion in extra revenue in 2015. What is your position?

1 Keep the tax rate for "carried interest" income at a top rate of 15%

\$0

2 Tax "carried interest" income like ordinary income, such as wage

\$1.5 B

\$33.2 B

¹¹⁵ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

Deficit reduction

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in in Endnote 92. This endnote focuses on those in red and blue districts that chose at least a 5% increase in taxes for the individual earnings category listed.]

Q18. Please click on a box with a tax rate for each level of earnings.

	Fiscal Year 2015					
	New Rate					
	Rate if tax					
Individual	cuts are	5%	10%	20%	30%	
Earnings	extended		inc	crease		
Q18c. \$50,000 - \$75,000	6.5%	6.8%	7.2%	7.8%	8.5%	

\$5.5 B

\$11.1 B

\$22.1 B

116 CCGA Jun 2010

Q395 (1-7): Overall, do you think immigration at current levels is good or bad for:

- 1. Good
- 2. Bad

395/1. The country

117 CCGA Jun 2010

Q85 (1-9): Please indicate how important the following factors are to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy: (Part of Battery with multiple other question responses asked)

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Not very important
- 4. Not important at all

85/5. Continuing high levels of legal immigration

118 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 400: One version of immigration reform that people have discussed would do the following: Greater efforts would be made to secure the border, to identify illegal immigrants, and to penalize employers who hire them. Illegal immigrants would be required either to leave the country or to enter a program toward citizenship that would require them to pay back taxes and to learn English. Do you favor or oppose this version of immigration reform?

¹¹⁹ Time Jun 2011

Q11. The 14th amendment says that any person born in the United States or its territories is automatically considered a US citizen. Some people say that the 14th amendment encourages foreigners to come to the United States solely to enable their future children to be U.S. citizens. Other people say that this is a minor problem and that the Constitution should not be amended for this reason. Which view is closest to your own – revise the Constitution's 14th Amendment, or not?

120 NES Ouestions (Oct 2008)

P25. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government making it possible for illegal immigrants to become U.S. citizens? [Wave 10]

¹²¹ CBS Dec 2010

Q18. How serious a problem do you think the issue of illegal immigration is for the country right now-very serious, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not at all serious?

¹²² CCGA Jun 2012

Q7/8. Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all?

Controlling and reducing illegal immigration.

¹²³ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 390: Should legal immigration into the United States be kept at its present level, increased or decreased?

¹²⁴ NES Questions (Jan 2009)

Z18. Citizens of other countries who have come to live in the United States without the permission of the U.S. government are called "illegal immigrants." Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose allowing illegal immigrants to work in the United States for up to three years, after which they would have to go back to their home country? [Wave 13]

¹²⁵ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. In each case, respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015. This format was repeated for all spending items as indicated in Endnote 92.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q11. Homeland Security: Border protection, TSA, immigration, and	\$47	\$
responding to disasters		

¹²⁶ **PPC Aug 2011**

Q30. As you may know, in some states, there is currently an effort to change the laws in order to prohibit public employees from collectively bargaining as a union.

Some say that when unions collectively bargain this makes it harder to get rid of bad employees and cut labor costs in a tight economy. Others say that in the United States it is a basic human right for workers to organize and bargain for better wages and working conditions.

Do you favor or oppose prohibiting public employees from collectively bargaining as a union?

- 1 Favor prohibiting
- 2 Oppose prohibiting

127 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q13. Job training: retraining workers, helping them find jobs	\$4	\$

¹²⁸ **PPC Aug 2011**

Q33. As you may know, since the 1930s there has been a government agency called the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), which has the job of overseeing relations between unions and companies and making sure labor laws are followed.

Some members of Congress have called for eliminating the NLRB, saying that it is not really necessary and tends to favor unions. Other members of Congress say that the NLRB remains important to ensure workers' rights are protected and to facilitate good relations between unions and companies.

Which position is closer to yours? Do you think the National Labor Relations Board:

- 1 Should continue to operate
- 2 Should be eliminated

¹²⁹ **PPC Aug 2011**

Q22. As you may know, the federal hourly minimum wage went up to \$7.25 in 2009. In the nearly two years since then inflation has increased prices by about 3%. There is discussion about whether the minimum wage should be raised again.

Some say that, given the cost of living in the United States, it is only fair that people be paid more than \$7.25 an hour and this would also stimulate the economy. Others say that raising the minimum wage hurts businesses, especially small ones, and makes it harder for them to hire more workers, which is bad for the economy. Do you favor:

- 1 Keeping the minimum wage at \$7.25
- 2 Raising the minimum wage by the rate of inflation to \$7.50
- 3 Raising the minimum wage higher than \$7.50

130 NES Questions (Oct 2008)

W10.S6. Scientists use the term "global warming" to refer to the idea that the world's average temperature may be about five degrees Fahrenheit higher in 75 years than it is now. Overall, would you say that global warming would be good, bad, or neither good nor bad?

131 PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q3: Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, disagree somewhat or disagree strongly with the following statement: Dealing with the problem of climate change should be given priority, even if it causes slower economic growth and some loss of jobs.

¹³² CCGA Jun 2010

Q323. With which one of these statements about the environment and the economy do you most agree:

- --Protection of the environment should be given priority, even at the risk of curbing economic growth
- -- Economic growth should be given priority, even if the environment suffers to some extent

133 CCGA Jun 2010

Q295: There is a controversy over what the countries of the world, including the U.S., should do about the problem of climate change. Here are three statements. Please tell me which statement comes closest to your own point of view.

- 1. Until we are sure that climate change is really a problem, we should not take any steps that would have economic costs.
- 2. The problem of climate change should be addressed, but its effects will be gradual, so we can deal with the problem gradually by taking steps that are low in cost.
- 3. Climate change is a serious and pressing problem. We should begin taking steps now even if this involves significant costs.

134 PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q9: Do you think our country does or does not have a responsibility to take steps to deal with climate change?

¹³⁵ PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q8. To deal with the problem of climate change, do you think your government is doing:

- 1 Too much
- 2 Not enough
- 3 About the right amount

136 PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q11: As you may know, [country] and other countries from around the world will be meeting in December in Copenhagen to develop a new agreement to take steps against climate change by limiting greenhouse gas emissions. If the other countries come to an agreement, do you think [country] should or should not be willing to commit to limiting its greenhouse gas emissions as part of such an agreement?

137 PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q15: Would you favor or oppose the United States taking each of the following steps to help deal with climate change? [For each item, ask:] Would that be strongly or somewhat [favor/oppose]?

Q15a. Preserving or expanding forested areas, even if this means less land for agriculture or construction

¹³⁸ PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q15: Would you favor or oppose the United States taking each of the following steps to help deal with climate change? [For each item, ask:] Would that be strongly or somewhat [favor/oppose]?

Q15c. Gradually increasing the requirements for fuel efficiency in automobiles, even if this raises the cost of cars and bus fares

139 NES Questions (Oct 2008)

S11. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government requiring automakers to build cars that use less gasoline? [Wave 10]

¹⁴⁰ PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q15: Would you favor or oppose the United States taking each of the following steps to help deal with climate change? [For each item, ask:] Would that be strongly or somewhat [favor/oppose]?

Q15d. Gradually reducing government subsidies that favor private transportation, even if this raises its cost

¹⁴¹ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

S9. Power plants put gases into the air that could cause global warming. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the federal government lowering the amount of these gases that power plants are allowed to put into the air? [Wave 10]

¹⁴² PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q13. Do you think it will be necessary or will not be necessary to increase the cost of energy, to encourage individuals and businesses to conserve more or to use alternative forms of energy?

¹⁴³ PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q14: Imagine that taking steps against climate change would increase costs to the average person for energy and other products by [local currency amount – about \$19.50] per month? Would you be willing or not willing to pay this cost as part of taking steps against climate change?

¹⁴⁴ PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q14: Imagine that taking steps against climate change would increase costs to the average person for energy and other products by [local currency amount – about \$19.50] per month? Would you be willing or not willing to pay this cost as part of taking steps against climate change?

¹⁴⁵ CCGA Jun 2010

Q300: If the less-developed countries make a commitment to limit their greenhouse gas emissions, do you think the developed countries should provide substantial aid to help them?

- 1. Yes, should help less-developed countries
- 2. No, should not provide aid

¹⁴⁶ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

. . . Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q14. Energy Conservation/Renewable Energy: Research and	\$3	\$
development of solar, wind, geothermal etc; improving energy efficiency;		
weatherproofing		

¹⁴⁷ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

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	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q9. Environment and natural resources Q9b. Pollution control:	\$9	\$
monitoring pollution of air, water, and soil; enforcing regulations;		
cleaning up pollution and hazardous waste sites.		

¹⁴⁸ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

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	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q9. Environment and natural resources Q9a. Land management:	\$16	\$
oversight of livestock grazing, mining, drilling and solar energy on public		
lands; wildlife protection; firefighting; protection of wetlands, water		
conservation		

¹⁴⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Q7 (1-19): Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Not important at all

7/9. Limiting climate change

¹⁵⁰ CCGA Jun 2012

Q140 (1-4): Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

140/3. A new international treaty to address climate change by reducing greenhouse gas emissions

¹⁵¹ CCGA Jun 2010

Q142 (1-4): Some people say that the world is facing some new problems that require some new international institutions or agencies to deal with them. Do you think that there should or should not be new international institutions to:

142/1. Monitor whether countries are meeting their treaty obligations to limit their greenhouse gas emissions that contribute to climate change

¹⁵² PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q12: Imagine that at the meeting, the other countries do NOT come to a global agreement on taking steps against climate change. If this happens, do you think our country would have a responsibility to take steps against climate change, or would it not have a responsibility?

¹⁵³ PIPA-World Bank Climate Change poll Dec 2009

Q15: Would you favor or oppose the United States taking each of the following steps to help deal with climate change? [For each item, ask:] Would that be strongly or somewhat [favor/oppose]?

Q15b. Limiting the rate of constructing coal-fired power plants, even if this increases the cost of energy

154 NES Questions (Oct 2008)

W10.S13. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose increasing taxes on gasoline so people either drive less or buy cars that use less gas?

155 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 310: To deal with the problem of climate change, do you think your government is doing: Too much

Not enough About the right amount

¹⁵⁶ PPC Aug 2011

Q31. As you may know, the US government, as well as most developed countries, currently contributes funds to a UN-sponsored panel of scientists that studies the evidence of climate change and attempts to predict its effects on the global environment (known as the International Panel on Climate Change or IPCC).

Some members of Congress have called for the US to stop contributing to this Panel. They say the government needs to tighten its belt, and some question whether the concern about climate change is overblown. Others say that climate change poses a great risk and it would be short-sighted for the US not to do its part in international efforts to increase our understanding of the problem.

Do you favor or oppose the US stopping its contribution to the UN-sponsored panel of scientists studying the evidence of climate change?

- 1 Favor stopping the contribution
- 2 Oppose stopping the contribution

¹⁵⁷ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 7: Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all

7/18. Reducing U.S. dependence on foreign oil

¹⁵⁸ CCGA Jun 2010

Q85 (1-9): Please indicate how important the following factors are to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy:

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Not very important
- 4. Not important at all

85/9. Investing in renewable energy

¹⁵⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 320 (1-4): Thinking about how to address America's dependence on foreign energy sources, please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following:

320/1. Creating tax incentives to encourage the development and use of alternative energy sources, such as solar or wind power

¹⁶⁰ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 320 (1-4): Thinking about how to address America's dependence on foreign energy sources, please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following:

320/3. Building new nuclear power plants to reduce reliance on oil and coal

¹⁶¹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 320 (1-4): Thinking about how to address America's dependence on foreign energy sources, please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following:

320/4. Raising taxes on fuels such as coal and oil to encourage individuals and businesses to use less

¹⁶² CCGA Jun 2012

Question 320 (1-4): Thinking about how to address America's dependence on foreign energy sources, please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following

320/2. Requiring auto-makers to increase fuel efficiency, even if this means the price of cars would go up

¹⁶³ CCGA Jun 2010

Q325: How much do you support or oppose expanding offshore drilling for oil and natural gas off the U.S. coast?

- 1. Strongly support
- 2. Somewhat support
- 3. Somewhat oppose
- 4. Strongly oppose

¹⁶⁴ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q4. Science: Support for basic and applied research in biology,	\$17	\$
computers, engineering, earth sciences, economics, energy, etc.		

¹⁶⁵ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

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	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q3. Space Program (NASA): Space probes; the space shuttle,	\$19	\$
international space station; study of Earth from space		

¹⁶⁶ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

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	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q5. Medical research: Research on: various physical and mental diseases,	\$36	\$
child health, aging, mapping of human DNA		

¹⁶⁷ CBS Dec 2010

Q15. Do you approve or disapprove of medical research using embryonic stem cells?

¹⁶⁸ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 26: There has been some discussion about whether, in the effort to address the federal budget deficit the defense budget should be cut along with other programs. Do you think the defense budget:

- --should not be cut
- --should be cut, but less than other programs
- --should be cut about the same percentage as other programs
- --should be cut a greater percentage than other programs

¹⁶⁹ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

		•	•	Budget	Your
			Federal Budget 2015	e	preference

Q17a. Regular operations of military forces: purchasing weapons and	\$601	\$
equipment, developing new weapon systems, support for personnel,		
maintaining overseas bases		

¹⁷⁰ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[Respondents were first presented with the task of dealing with the budget deficit, provided information about defense spending in context to other countries capabilities, historical spending, and relative to other government spending, such as entitlements. They were presented and asked to assess how convincing they found arguments in favor of and opposed to cutting overall defense spending. Respondents were then asked what should be done about the budget deficit, told what the current level of defenses spending was that could be documented, and asked what their preference was for that portion of overall defense spending.

After overall spending was presented, respondents were then presented each area of the defense budget, presented and asked to assess arguments in favor of and opposed to cutting each area, provided the funding level for existing spending and spending on developing future capabilities in those areas (Where appropriate), and then asked their preference for that type of spending. This process was repeated for each area of defense. They were asked about existing spending and spending on developing new capabilities for air, naval, and ground forces. They were also asked about spending on the War in Afghanistan, special operations forces, nuclear weapons capabilities and missile defense.]

Statement: As you may know, the US government has been struggling with the question of how to deal with the federal budget deficit——i.e., the amount of money the government spends that exceeds the amount it takes in through taxes.

Congress and the President have agreed there should be substantial reductions in the deficit.

Today we are going to explore whether or not spending on national defense—that is, spending on the military and the development of weapons—-should be reduced as part of an effort to reduce the deficit, and if so, how much it should be reduced and which programs should be reduced.

Some people say the national defense budget should be reduced, while others say it should remain the same, or even be increased.

We are going to do our best to help you get a better understanding of the federal deficit and the national defense budget by giving you some information.

Statement: The deficit that Congress is struggling to deal with is projected to be \$672 billion for next year, 2013. This does not include deficit spending related to Medicare, as this is dealt with in a separate budget with a separate revenue source.

If Congress wants to reduce the \$672 billion deficit, it has two options: it can raise taxes, it can reduce spending or both.

We are going to focus on spending in the part of the budget that Congress has to approve every year, known as the discretionary budget.

A key question we will ask you to consider is: whether and how much the deficit should be dealt with by reducing defense spending, as opposed to increasing taxes or reducing non-defense spending.

But first, we want to show you five different ways of viewing the size of the national defense budget. In each case we would like to know if, from this perspective, defense spending is more or less than you expected, or about the same as you expected. [They were then presented and asked to assess arguments in favor of and opposed to cutting defense.] Now we would like you to set what you think the national defense budget should be for 2013. First we will focus on the base budget, and later we will focus on the operations in Afghanistan and Iraq. Q15. So, once again, the base national defense budget for 2012 is \$562 billion. At this point, how much would you say the base national defense budget should be for 2013? Please enter that amount below: billion 171 PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012 [This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being presented and asked to assess this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending category presented below.] Q36. So now how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining existing nuclear weapons and for developing new nuclear weapons? 2012 budget for the total US nuclear weapons program \$19 billion Your proposed amount for 2013 \$ billion ¹⁷² PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012 [This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending

presented and asked to assess this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose category presented below.]

Q39. So now how much do you think the US should spend on special operations forces.

2012 budget for special operations forces \$14 billion Q39. Your proposed amount for 2013 \$ billion

¹⁷³ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being presented and asked to assess this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending category presented below.]

Q22. So now, how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining existing air power and on developing new air power capabilities?

2012 budget for developing **new** air power capabilities \$30 billion Q22. Your proposed amount for 2013 \$___billion

¹⁷⁴ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being presented and asked to assess this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending category presented below.]

Q27. So now how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining existing ground forces and developing new capabilities for ground forces?

2012 budget for developing new capabilities for ground forces \$10 billion Q27. Your proposed amount for 2013 \$____ billion

¹⁷⁵ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

Q49. The F-35 Joint Strike Fighter program is designed to produce a jet fighter with more advanced features, especially high stealth capabilities, including the ability to evade detection by some radar. One proposal is to cancel the F-35 program and instead buy more of the current generation of fighters and upgrade them.

Some say the F-35 is a more sophisticated plane than we need, that it has many design problems, and is way over budget already, with more overruns likely. Others say that alternative aircraft, even after upgrading, will not be stealthy enough and will have less capability in combat as other countries develop better fighters of their own.

This proposal would save approximately \$5 billion a year in 2013, and \$382 billion over the remaining life of the program. Do you favor or oppose cancelling the F-35 Joint Strike Fighter?

1 Favor

2 Oppose

¹⁷⁶ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

Q51. The Air Force is beginning the development of a new long-range stealth bomber (called "Next Generation") that may carry nuclear weapons and operate either manned or unmanned. It is intended to go into service sometime in the 2020s. Some argue that the Air Force has B-2 stealth bombers only 10 years old—which the Air Force is now spending \$2 billion to upgrade—that are far more advanced than those of any other country and are more than adequate for the foreseeable future. Others argue that the B-2s' range is not enough and that we don't have enough of them, so we need a new bomber.

Work on this program will cost about \$6 billion over the next few years, and ultimately about \$55 billion to produce the planned fleet.

Do you favor or oppose cancelling development of a new long range bomber?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

¹⁷⁷ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

Q50. The V-22 Osprey is an aircraft that has the capability to take off like a helicopter and fly like a plane.

Some say the V-22 Osprey is too complicated, its costs have ballooned way beyond the original estimates and it has major safety and maintenance problems. Others say the aircraft provides the Marine Corps with the ability to move troops and materiel much further than a helicopter can, and that many of the safety and maintenance problems are being addressed.

Cancelling the V-22 Osprey would save about \$1 billion next year. Do you favor or oppose cancelling the V-22 Osprey aircraft?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

¹⁷⁸ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

Q52. Right now the US has three different ways to deliver nuclear weapons: land- based missiles, submarines, and bombers. The US could eliminate bombers as a means of delivering nuclear weapons.

Some people say that, given how powerful nuclear weapons are and the low likelihood that they will be used, having just two systems for delivering them is enough and we should save the money. Others say that it is better to have three ways of delivering nuclear weapons than two, and that bombers have a unique value because they can be recalled at the last minute. Submarine-launched or ground-launched missiles cannot be recalled once they are fired.

Eliminating bombers as one of the three means of delivering nuclear weapons, and relying on ground-launched and submarine-launched missiles, would save about \$4 billion a year. Do you favor or oppose eliminating bombers as one of the three means of delivering nuclear weapons?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

¹⁷⁹ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[Respondents were presented pro and con arguments—though they were not asked to assess them—prior to being asked this question. Their answer to this question affected the aggregate amount they were told they were spending on the national defense budget, as detailed in Endnote 170. If they favored the proposal, the national defense budget was cut by the amount indicated in the question.]

Q46. Since 1982 military pay has risen faster than private-sector pay. Military wage increases could be capped at half a percentage point below an average of private-sector wage increases. This would save \$2 billion a year. What is your position on this proposal?

1 Favor

2 Oppose

¹⁸⁰ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

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Q12. Veterans' Benefits: medical care, home loans, and education for veterans.

¹⁸¹ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[Respondents were presented pro and con arguments—though they were not asked to assess them—prior to being asked this question. Their answer to this question affected the aggregate amount they were told they were spending on the national defense budget, as detailed in Endnote 170. If they favored the proposal, the national defense budget was cut by the amount indicated in the question.]

Q45. Military retirees would be on a plan that would not be as generous as it is now. The cap on out-of-pocket costs for a family would rise from \$3,000 per year to \$7,500. This would save about \$11 billion a year. What is your position on this proposal?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

¹⁸² PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[Respondents were presented pro and con arguments—though they were not asked to assess them—prior to being asked this question. Their answer to this question affected the aggregate amount they were told they were spending on the national defense budget, as detailed in Endnote 170. If they favored the proposal, the national defense budget was cut by the amount indicated in the question.]

Q48. Currently military personnel can retire after 20 years and receive a pension for the rest of their lives, no matter their age when they retire. The pension is 50 percent of the average of their last 3 years of salary. This could be changed for new recruits so that they will receive a pension only beginning at age 60, and with the pension being 40 percent of the average of the last 5 years of salary. Because the military is always making payments into the pension fund, this change would immediately save \$9 billion a year. What is your position on this proposal?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

¹⁸³ CCGA Jun 2010

Q25 (1-9): Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

- 1. Expanded
- 2. Cut back
- 3. Kept about the same

25/8. Homeland security

¹⁸⁴ CCGA Jun 2010

Q25 (1-9): Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

- 1. Expanded
- 2. Cut back
- 3. Kept about the same
- 25/7. Gathering intelligence information about other countries

¹⁸⁵ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

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	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q17. Defense. Q17c. Intelligence agencies: gathering and analyzing	\$90	\$
information collected by spies and satellite systems; includes CIA, NSA.		

¹⁸⁶ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being presented and asked to assess this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending category presented below.]

So now, how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining existing air power and on developing new air power capabilities?

2012 budget for maintaining existing air power capabilities	\$113	billion
Q21. Your proposed amount for 2013	\$	billion

¹⁸⁷ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being presented and asked to assess this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending category presented below.]

So now how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining existing naval forces and for developing new capabilities for naval forces?			
2012 budget for maintaining existing air naval forces Q31. Your proposed amount for 2013	\$113 billion \$ billion		
188 PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012			
[This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being presented and asked to assess this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending category presented below.]			
So now how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining exideveloping new capabilities for ground forces?	isting ground forces and		
2012 budget for maintaining existing ground forces Q26. Your proposed amount for 2013	\$160 billion \$ billion		
¹⁸⁹ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012			
[This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being presented and asked to assess this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending category presented below.]			
So now how much do you think the US should spend on maintaining exideveloping new capabilities for naval forces?	isting naval forces and for		
2012 budget for developing new capabilities for naval forces Q32. Your proposed amount for 2013	\$24 billion \$billion		
190 PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012			
[This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being presented and asked to assess this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending category presented below.]			
Q42. So now how much do you think the US should spend on missile defense			
2012 budget for missile defense Q42. Your proposed amount for 2013	\$ 8 billion \$billion		
¹⁹¹ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012			

Q53. Currently the US Navy has 11 aircraft carriers. It is planning to retire one of them next year and to build a new one to replace it. Some say we don't need large aircraft carriers as much as we did during the Cold War, and our current force of 11 carriers is more than adequate—China and Russia have a total of two. Others say reducing America's force of aircraft carriers would limit our reach around the world, by cutting our ability to project air power into areas where we do not have bases. If the aircraft carrier was not replaced and its jets were retired, this would save about \$7 billion.

Do you favor or oppose NOT building a new aircraft carrier and allowing the number of US aircraft carriers to decline from 11 to 10?

- 1 Favor
- 2 Oppose

¹⁹² CCGA Jun 2010

Q85 (1-9): Please indicate how important the following factors are to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy:

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Not very important
- 4. Not important at all

85/7. Increasing public spending on infrastructure such as bridges and airports

193 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Buaget	r our
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q10. Housing Programs: for the elderly and people with low	\$45	\$
incomes		

¹⁹⁴ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

...Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

Dudast Van

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q1a. Highways: building and maintaining interstate highways;	\$54	\$
implementing safety standards. Amount budgeted:		

¹⁹⁵ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q1b. Air travel and railroads: maintaining and administering airports and	\$27	\$
railways; air traffic control; implementing safety standards		

¹⁹⁶ CCGA Jun 2010

Q25 (1-9): Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

- 1. Expanded
- 2. Cut back
- 3. Kept about the same

25/9. Improving public infrastructure such as highways, bridges and airports

¹⁹⁷ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q1c. Mass transit: maintaining Amtrak, developing and maintaining	\$14	\$
intercity high-speed rail, implementing safety standards		

¹⁹⁸ CCGA Jun 2010

Q85 (1-9): Please indicate how important the following factors are to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy:

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important

- 3. Not very important
- 4. Not important at all

85/2. Improving public education

¹⁹⁹ CCGA Jun 2010

Q25 (1-9): Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

- 1. Expanded
- 2. Cut back
- 3. Kept about the same
- 25/1. Aid to education

²⁰⁰ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q15a. Elementary and secondary education: aiding rural and urban	\$30	\$
school districts in poor areas, national testing, teacher training		

²⁰¹ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

		Budget	Your	
	Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference	
•	Q15b. Special education for students with disabilities	\$14	\$	

²⁰² PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q15c. Higher education, primarily financial aid for college students	\$5	\$

²⁰³ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q2b. Federal prison system: building and running prisons, managing	\$9	\$
parole and re-entry supervision		

²⁰⁴ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q2a. Enforcement of federal laws (FBI, ATF); federal court system for	\$21	\$
crimes under federal law, primarily drug trafficking, plus fraud, and		
certain violent crimes		

²⁰⁵ CCGA Jun 2012

Q7. Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

Q7/11. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries

²⁰⁶ CCGA Jun 2010

Q150 (1-6): Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the UN (United Nations), here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step.

- 1. Favor
- 2. Oppose

150/4. Giving the UN the authority to go into countries in order to investigate violations of human rights

²⁰⁷ WPO II Ouestionnaire – Winter 2008

Q27-P4: Do you think people in [country] should or should not have the right to read publications from all other countries, including those that might be considered enemies?

²⁰⁸ WPO II Questionnaire – Winter 2008

Q28-P5: Do you think people in [country] should have the right to read whatever is on the Internet or do you think the government should have the right to prevent people from having access to some things on the internet?

²⁰⁹ WPO II Questionnaire – Winter 2008

[This question combined the results of the two questions to determine respondents support for torture in all cases; those who answered Q30=2 were not asked Q30a, since they had already indicated opposition to torture in all cases, and were therefore coded as opposing torture in general]

Q30-T1: Most countries have agreed to rules that prohibit torturing prisoners. Which position is closer to yours?

- 1. Terrorists pose such an extreme threat that governments should now be allowed to use some degree of torture if it may gain information that saves innocent lives
- 2. Clear rules against torture should be maintained because any use of torture is immoral and will weaken international human rights standards against torture [Skip to Q31]

[Ask only those who answer (1) or DK in Q30-T1]

Q30a-T1a: What about cases that have nothing to do with terrorism? Do you think that there should be rules prohibiting torture in all other cases or that in general governments should be allowed to use torture to try to get information?

- --Should be rules prohibiting torture in all other cases
- --Governments should be allowed to use torture

²¹⁰ CCGA Jun 2010

Q380: Most countries have agreed to rules that prohibit torturing prisoners to extract information. Which comes closer to your point of view?

- --Terrorists pose such an extreme threat that governments should now be allowed to use torture if it may gain information that saves innocent lives
- --Rules against torture should be maintained because torture is morally wrong and weakening these rules may lead to the torture of U.S. soldiers who are held prisoner abroad

²¹¹ NES Questions (Jan 2009)

Z14. Now we want to ask about your views about requiring the U.S. government to get a court order before it can listen in on phone calls made by American citizens who are suspected of being terrorists. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose such a requirement? [Wave 13]

²¹² Time Jun 2011

Q12a. What if a government agency was intercepting emails from millions of Americans, including your own, without a search warrant, to help protect against terrorist attacks. Would you approve or disapprove of the government intercepting your emails as part of a broad effort to combat terrorism?

²¹³ Time Jun 2011

Q12. The 4th Amendment of the Constitution protects people from un-warranted searches and seizures without a warrant for probable cause issued by a judge. Some people say that the government needs to intercept emails and phone calls to protect against terrorist attacks, even without a warrant. Should the government be allowed to intercept emails and phone calls without a warrant issued by a judge if it thinks it's needed to protect against terrorism, or not?

²¹⁴ NES Questions (Oct 2008)

P16. Imagine that the U.S. government suspects a person in the United States of being a terrorist. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the government being able to put this person in prison for months without ever bringing the person to court and charging him or her with a crime? [Wave 10]

²¹⁵ WPO II Questionnaire – Winter 2008

Q30-T1: Most countries have agreed to rules that prohibit torturing prisoners. Which position is closer to yours?

- --Terrorists pose such an extreme threat that governments should now be allowed to use some degree of torture if it may gain information that saves innocent lives
- --Clear rules against torture should be maintained because any use of torture is immoral and will weaken international human rights standards against torture

²¹⁶ Pew Research Mar 2013

Q85. Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal, or not?

²¹⁷ Pew Research Mar 2013

Q89. As you may know, some states have decided to allow marijuana use, but it is still prohibited under federal law. Do you think the federal government should or should not enforce federal marijuana laws in these states?

²¹⁸ Pew Research Feb – Apr 2011

Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal, or not?

²¹⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 3: Do you think it will be best for the future of the country if we take an active part in world affairs or if we stay out of world affairs?

²²⁰ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 20: From your point of view, how desirable is it that the U.S. exert strong leadership in world affairs? Very desirable, somewhat desirable, somewhat undesirable, or very undesirable?

²²¹ CCGA Jun 2010

Q60: At this time, what do you think is more important to the future of the United States?

- 1. Fixing pressing problems at home
- 2. Addressing challenges to the U.S. from abroad

²²² CCGA Jun 2012

Question 217: Please select if you agree or disagree with the following statement: The U.S. is playing the role of world policeman more than it should be.

²²³ CCGA Jun 2010

Q7 (1-19): Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

7/7. Securing adequate supplies of energy

²²⁴ CCGA Jun 2010

Q7 (1-19): Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

7/14. Improving America's standing in the world

²²⁵ CCGA Jun 2010

Q7 (1-19): Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

7/1. Protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression

²²⁶ CCGA Jun 2012

Q7 (1-19): Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

7/12. Combating world hunger

²²⁷ CCGA Jun 2012

Q7 (1-19): Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

7/6. Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations

²²⁸ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

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Federal Budget 2015	Buaget	r our
	2015	preference
Q7. State Department: To manage US diplomatic and economic relations	\$13	\$
with other countries, deal with international conflicts, maintain embassies.		• ———

²²⁹ CCGA Jun 2010

Q280: On the whole, do you favor or oppose our government selling military equipment to other nations?

- 1. Favor
- 2. Oppose

²³⁰ CCGA Jun 2010

Q180: Which statement comes closest to your position?

- 1. As the sole remaining superpower, the U.S. should continue to be the preeminent world leader in solving international problems.
- 2. The U.S. should do its share in efforts to solve international problems together with other countries
- 3. The U.S. should withdraw from most efforts to solve international problems.

²³¹ CCGA Jun 2012

Q7 (1-19): Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

7/4. Maintaining America's superior military power worldwide

²³² CCGA Jun 2010

Q135: Over the last few years do you think the ability of the U.S. to achieve its foreign policy goals has increased, decreased, or remained about the same?

- 1. Increased
- 2. Decreased
- 3. Remained about the same

²³³ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 7: Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all 7/3. Combating international terrorism

²³⁴ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 276: In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures:

Q276.2 Attacks by U.S. ground troops against terrorist training camps and other facilities

²³⁵ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 276: In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures:

276/5. Helping poor countries develop their economies

²³⁶ CCGA Jun 2010

Question 276: In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures:

276/4. Trial of suspected terrorists in the International Criminal Court

²³⁷ CCGA Jun 2010

Question 276: In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures:

276/8. Using torture to extract information from suspected terrorists

²³⁸ NES Ouestions (May 2009)

Z50. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. government torturing people, who are suspected of being terrorists, to try to get information? [Wave 17]

²³⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Q276/1. In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures:

--U.S. air strikes against terrorist training camps and other facilities

²⁴⁰ CCGA Jun 2012

276/3. In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures:

--Assassination of individual terrorist leaders

²⁴¹ CCGA Jun 2010

Q276 (1-8): In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures.

276/7. Making a major effort to resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict

²⁴² PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

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	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q17. Defense. Q17b. Military operations in Afghanistan and Iraq	\$50	\$

²⁴³ PPC Defense Budget exercise Mar 2012

[This question was part of the defense spending budget exercise detailed in Endnote 170; after being presented and asked to assess arguments on this area of defense, they were then asked for their personal preference on spending for the area. This endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the defense spending category presented below.]

Q18. So now, again, in 2013 the US is projected to spend \$88 billion on the operation in Afghanistan. How much would you say the US should spend on the operation in Afghanistan in 2013?

Please enter that amount below

\$ billion

²⁴⁴ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 272: As a result of the United States' military action in Afghanistan, do you think the United States is more safe from terrorism, less safe from terrorism, or hasn't it made any difference?

²⁴⁵ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 271_1_B: All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war in Afghanistan has been worth fighting, or not?

²⁴⁶ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 270: Currently the US is scheduled to withdraw combat forces from Afghanistan by 2014. Do you think that the US should:

Bring all of its combat troops home as scheduled by 2014

²⁴⁷ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 175 (1-5): As you may know there is currently a debate about whether U.S. government leaders should be ready to meet and talk with leaders of countries and groups with whom the U.S. has hostile or unfriendly relations. Do you think U.S. leaders should or should not be ready to meet and talk with leaders of:

Q175.1 The Taliban

²⁴⁸ NES Questions (Nov 2008)

Q1. Compared to the number of U.S. troops in Iraq now, should the number of troops in Iraq three months from now be more, less or about the same? [Wave 11]

²⁴⁹ NES Questions (Jan 2009)

Z10. Now we want to ask about your views about setting a deadline for withdrawing all U.S. troops from Iraq. Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, neither favor nor oppose, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose setting such a deadline?? [Wave 13]

²⁵⁰ NES Questions (May 2009)

Q1a. Do you think the United States should or should not have sent troops to fight the war in Iraq in 2003? [Wave 17]

²⁵¹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 227: All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war in Iraq was worth fighting, or not?

252 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 31: As a general rule, when it is necessary for the US to use military force, do you think it is best for the US to act: as part of a United Nations operation, as part of a NATO or other allied operation, on its own

²⁵³ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 200: Next, we have a question about NATO, the military organization of Europe and the United States. Do you feel we should increase our commitment to NATO, keep our commitment what it is now, decrease our commitment but still remain in NATO, or withdraw from NATO entirely?

²⁵⁴ CCGA Jun 2010

Q150 (1-6): Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the UN (United Nations), here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step. 150/2. Having a standing UN peacekeeping force selected, trained and commanded by the United Nations

²⁵⁵ CCGA JUN 2010

Q290. Some people say that the UN Security Council has the responsibility to authorize the use of military force to protect people from severe human rights violations such as genocide, even against the will of their own government. Others say that the UN Security Council does not have such a responsibility. Do you think that the UN Security Council does not have this responsibility?

²⁵⁶ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 30: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

Q30/5. To ensure the oil supply

²⁵⁷ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 30: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

O30/1. If North Korea invaded South Korea

²⁵⁸ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 30: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

Q30/2. If China invaded Taiwan

²⁵⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 30: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

Q30/3. Favor using US troops abroad to be part of an international peacekeeping force to enforce a peace agreement between Israel and the Palestinians

²⁶⁰ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 30: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

Q30/4. To stop a government from committing genocide and killing large numbers of its own people

²⁶¹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 30: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

Q30/7. To deal with humanitarian crimes

²⁶² CCGA Jun 2010

Question 30: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

Q30/6. To be a part of an international peacekeeping force to stop the killing in Darfur

²⁶³ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 30: There has been some discussion about the circumstances that might justify using U.S. troops in other parts of the world. Please give your opinion about some situations. Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops:

Q30/8. If Israel were attacked by its neighbors

²⁶⁴ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 35: Thinking about long-term military bases the U.S. has overseas, do you think the U.S. should have more bases overseas, fewer bases overseas, or about as many as we have now?

²⁶⁵ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 40 (1-8): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?
40/3. South Korea

²⁶⁶ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 40 (1-8): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?
40/5. Pakistan

²⁶⁷ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 40 (1-8): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?
40/8. Australia

²⁶⁸ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 40 (1-8): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?

40/2. Iraq

²⁶⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 40 (1-8): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places? 40/4. Afghanistan

²⁷⁰ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 40 (1-8): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?
40/6. Germany

²⁷¹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 40 (1-8): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places? 40/1. Japan

²⁷² CCGA Jun 2012

Question 40 (1-8): Do you think the United States should or should not have long-term military bases in the following places?
40/7. Turkey

²⁷³ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 7: Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all 7/10. Preventing the spread of nuclear weapons

²⁷⁴ CCGA Jun 2010

Q285: Here are some positions about the possible use of nuclear weapons by the United States. Which one comes closest to yours?

- 1. The U.S. should never use nuclear weapons under any circumstances.
- 2. The U.S. should only use nuclear weapons in response to a nuclear attack.
- 3. In certain circumstances, the U.S. should use nuclear weapons even if it has not suffered a nuclear attack.

²⁷⁵ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

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	Budget	Your
Federal Budget 2015	2015	preference
Q17. Defense. Q17d. Nuclear weapons development, maintenance, and	\$11	\$
safety by the Energy Department		

²⁷⁶ CCGA Jun 2010

Q150 (1-6): Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the UN (United Nations), here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step.

150/6. Having a UN agency control access to all nuclear fuel in the world to ensure that none is used for weapons production

²⁷⁷ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 140 (1-3): Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

140/1. The [Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty] treaty that would prohibit nuclear weapon test explosions worldwide

²⁷⁸ CCGA Jun 2010

Q140 (1-4): Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements?

140/4. An agreement under the treaty banning biological weapons that would allow international inspectors to examine biological research laboratories to ensure that countries are not producing biological weapons

²⁷⁹ CCGA Jun 2010

Q231: To resolve the Israeli-Palestinian conflict do you think the U.S.:

- 1. Should make greater efforts than it has been making
- 2. Has been doing more than it should be
- 3. Is doing about the right amount

²⁸⁰ CCGA Jun 2010

Q173: Do you think the U.S. should or should not put greater pressure on countries in the Middle East, like Saudi Arabia and Egypt, to become more democratic?

²⁸¹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 174: Suppose there is a Muslim country that is not democratic and if it were democratic, the people would probably elect an Islamic fundamentalist leader. Do you think the U.S. should:

Encourage democracy Discourage democracy Not take a position either way

²⁸² CCGA Jun 2012

Question 230: In the Middle East conflict, do you think the United States should: Take Israel's side
Take the Palestinian's side
Not take either side

²⁸³ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 225: Please tell me which of the following statements is closer to your own view:

- 1 Because Muslim religious, social and political traditions are incompatible with Western ways, violent conflict between the two civilizations is inevitable
- 2 Because most Muslims are like people everywhere, we can find common ground and violent conflict between the civilizations is not inevitable

²⁸⁴ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 175 (1-7): As you may know there is currently a debate about whether U.S. government leaders should be ready to meet and talk with leaders of countries and groups with whom the U.S. has hostile or unfriendly relations. Do you think U.S. leaders should or should not be ready to meet and talk with leaders of:

175/7. Hamas

²⁸⁵ CCGA Jun 2010

Question 175 (1-7): As you may know there is currently a debate about whether U.S. government leaders should be ready to meet and talk with leaders of countries and groups with whom the U.S. has hostile or unfriendly relations. Do you think U.S. leaders should or should not be ready to meet and talk with leaders of:

175/7. Hezbollah

²⁸⁶ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 175 (1-7): As you may know there is currently a debate about whether U.S. government leaders should be ready to meet and talk with leaders of countries and groups with whom the U.S. has hostile or unfriendly relations. Do you think U.S. leaders should or should not be ready to meet and talk with leaders of:

175/2. Iran

²⁸⁷ CCGA Jun 2010

Q165 (1-3): Do you favor or oppose engaging in trade with the following countries? Q165/2. Iran

²⁸⁸ CCGA Jun 2010

Q192 (1-2): Do you favor or oppose having diplomatic relations with the following countries?

²⁸⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Q240. The UN Security Council has demanded that Iran stop enriching uranium, but Iran has continued to do so. Please indicate whether you would strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the UN security council taking each of the following actions:

Q240.3 Impose tighter economic sanctions on Iran

²⁹⁰ CCGA Jun 2010

Q255. If diplomatic efforts and economic sanctions fail to stop or slow down Iran's nuclear program, would you favor or oppose a U.S. military strike against Iran's nuclear program, taking into account the possible benefits and costs.

²⁹¹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 245: If Iran were to allow UN inspectors permanent and full access throughout Iran, to make sure it is not developing nuclear weapons, do you think Iran should or should not be allowed to produce nuclear fuel for producing electricity?

²⁹² CCGA Jun 2010

Q260 (new): In your view, if Iran acquires a nuclear weapon can the United States contain it in much the same way that it contained the Soviet Union?

²⁹³ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 241: Suppose Iran continues to enrich uranium, but the UN Security Council does not authorize a military strike. Do you think the US should or should not proceed with a military strike on its own?

²⁹⁴ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 265: Suppose Israel were to bomb Iran's nuclear facilities, Iran were to retaliate against Israel and the two were to go to war. Do you think the U.S. should or should not bring its military forces into the war on the side of Israel and against Iran?

²⁹⁵ CCGA Jun 2012

Q240. The UN Security Council has demanded that Iran stop enriching uranium, but Iran has continued to do so. Please indicate whether you would strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the UN security council taking each of the following actions:

Q240.2 Continue diplomatic efforts to get Iran to stop enriching uranium

²⁹⁶ CCGA Jun 2012

Q240. The UN Security Council has demanded that Iran stop enriching uranium, but Iran has continued to do so. Please indicate whether you would strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose the UN security council taking each of the following actions:

Q240.4 Authorize a military strike against Iran's nuclear energy facilities

²⁹⁷ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 267: Would you support or oppose the United States and its allies doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

267/2. Enforcing a no-fly zone over Syria

²⁹⁸ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 267: Would you support or oppose the United States and its allies doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

267/3. Sending arms and supplies to anti-government groups in Syria

²⁹⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 267: Would you support or oppose the United States and its allies doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

267/4. Bomb Syrian air defense

³⁰⁰ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 267: Would you support or oppose the United States and its allies doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

267/5. Sending troops into Syria

301 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 32: As you may know, last year the United States participated in a NATO military campaign against forces loyal to Qadaffi in Libya which was led by Britain and France, not the U.S. Do you think the United States should have: taken the leading role in this campaign, taken a major but not leading role, taken a minor role, not participated at all.

³⁰² Time Jun **2011**

Q13. The President, as the Constitution's commander-in-chief, recently committed the US to provide support to the NATO mission in Libya to protect Libyan citizens from attacks by government forces. However, the Constitution gives the power to declare war to Congress. Does the President have the constitutional authority to involve the military in Libya without Congressional approval, even if the troops are just supporting the NATO mission and are not on the ground in Libya?

303 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 267: Would you support or oppose the United States and its allies doing each of the following actions with respect to Syria?

267/1. Increasing economic and diplomatic sanctions on Syria

304 CCGA Jun 2010

Q205 (1-4): Here are some types of foreign aid. Please select whether you favor or oppose them: 205/4. Aid to increase U.S. influence over countries that are important to U.S. interests

305 CCGA Jun 2010

Q205 (1-4): Here are some types of foreign aid. Please select whether you favor or oppose them: 205/1. Food and medical assistance to people in needy countries

306 CCGA Jun 2010

Q205 (1-4): Here are some types of foreign aid. Please select whether you favor or oppose them: 205/3. Aid to help farmers in needy countries become more productive

³⁰⁷ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	2015	preference	
Q6. International Aid Programs Q6a. Humanitarian assistance: Food aid to malnourished people, assistance in the event of disasters, aid to refugees from political conflict	\$6	\$	

³⁰⁸ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 211 (1-3): Do you think military aid to the following countries should be increased, decreased, kept the same or stopped altogether? Q211.2 Israel

³⁰⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 210 (1-5): Do you think economic aid to the following people or nations should be increased, decreased, kept about the same, or stopped altogether? Q210.2 Israel

³¹⁰ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 210 (1-5): Do you think economic aid to the following people or nations should be increased, decreased, kept about the same, or stopped altogether?

Q210.4 Afghanistan

311 CCGA Jun 2010

Q25 (1-9): Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

- 1. Expanded
- 2. Cut back
- 3. Kept about the same

25/4. Military aid to other nations

312 CCGA Jun 2010

Q25 (1-9): Below is a list of present federal government programs. For each, please select whether you feel it should be expanded, cut back or kept about the same.

- 1. Expanded
- 2. Cut back
- 3. Kept about the same

25/5. Economic aid to other nations

313 CCGA Jun 2010

Q205 (1-4): Here are some types of foreign aid. Please select whether you favor or oppose them: 205/2. Aid that helps needy countries develop their economies

314 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 210 (1-5): Do you think economic aid to the following people or nations should be increased, decreased, kept about the same, or stopped altogether?
Q210.3 African Countries

315 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 211 (1-3): Do you think military aid to the following countries should be increased, decreased, kept the same or stopped altogether? Q211.3 Taiwan

316 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 210 (1-5): Do you think economic aid to the following people or nations should be increased, decreased, kept about the same, or stopped altogether? Q210.5 Pakistan

³¹⁷ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	2015	y our preference
Q6. International Aid Programs		
Q6e. Military Aid: For countries of strategic interest to the U.S, primarily	\$12	\$
military equipment and weapons, approximately one-third to Israel.		

³¹⁸ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget 2015	Your preference
Q6. International Aid Programs		_
Q6d. Economic Support Fund: Economic development aid to countries of	\$10	\$
strategic concern to the U.S. such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Egypt.		

³¹⁹ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 211 (1-3): Do you think military aid to the following countries should be increased, decreased, kept the same or stopped altogether? Q211.1 Egypt

320 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 210 (1-5): Do you think economic aid to the following people or nations should be increased, decreased, kept about the same, or stopped altogether?

Q210.1 Egypt

³²¹ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who

chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your	
	2015	preference	
Q6. International Aid Programs			
Q6b. Development assistance: Aid to people in poverty to help them	\$13	\$	
develop economically; providing loans, training, technology; the Peace			
Corps			

322 PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget 2015	Your preference	
Q6. International Aid Programs			
Q6c. Global Health: Medical aid to people in poor countries, AIDS	\$12	\$	
prevention, child survival, international efforts to prevent pandemics.			

³²³ CCGA Jun 2012

Q10. Turning To Something Else, Do You Believe That Globalization, Especially the Increasing Connections of our Economy With Others Around The World, Is Mostly Good Or Mostly Bad For The United States?

³²⁴ CCGA Jun 2010

Q115: Overall, with regard to further globalization, do you think that it should be a goal of the U.S. to try to actively promote it, simply allow it to continue, try to slow it down, or try to stop or reverse it?

- 1. Actively promote it
- 2. Allow it to continue
- 3. Try to slow it down
- 4. Try to stop or reverse it

325 CCGA Jun 2010

Q72: What do you think foreign trade means for America? Do you see foreign trade more as:

1. An opportunity for economic growth through increased U.S. exports

2. A threat to the economy from foreign imports

326 CCGA Jun 2010

Q85 (1-9): Please indicate how important the following factors are to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy:

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Not very important
- 4. Not important at all

85/4. Reducing federal budget deficits

327 CCGA Jun 2010

Q85 (1-9): Please indicate how important the following factors are to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy:

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Not very important
- 4. Not important at all

85/8. Encouraging foreign investors to invest in U.S. companies and projects

328 CCGA Jun 2010

Q85 (1-9): Please indicate how important the following factors are to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy:

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Not very important
- 4. Not important at all

85/6. Encouraging U.S. companies to invest overseas

329 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 7: Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all 7/5. Protecting the jobs of American workers

³³⁰ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

Federal Budget 2015	Budget 2015	Your preference
Q16. Agriculture Subsidies. Q16b. Subsidies to agricultural corporations	\$11	\$
with large farms, and manufacturers of farming equipment and fertilizers		

331 CCGA Jun 2010

Q105 (1-5): Do you think the U.S. should have a free trade agreement that would lower barriers such as tariffs with each of the following countries? 105/2. China

332 CCGA Jun 2010

Q105 (1-5): Do you think the U.S. should have a free trade agreement that would lower barriers such as tariffs with each of the following countries? 105/5. Colombia

333 CCGA Jun 2010

Q105 (1-5): Do you think the U.S. should have a free trade agreement that would lower barriers such as tariffs with each of the following countries? 105/1. Japan

334 CCGA Jun 2010

Q105 (1-5): Do you think the U.S. should have a free trade agreement that would lower barriers such as tariffs with each of the following countries? 105/4. South Korea

335 CCGA Jun 2010

Q377: In 2007 the United States and South Korea negotiated a free trade agreement.-Supporters of the agreement argue that the billions of dollars in bilateral trade will create new jobs in the United States, and strengthen our relationship with an important strategic and trading partner. Opponents argue that the agreement would not provide enough access to South Korean markets for American companies, would result in lost jobs for American workers, and unfairly benefits South Korea. When the free trade agreement comes up for approval before the U.S. Senate, do you think that:

- 1. The U.S. Senate should approve this free trade agreement
- 2. The U.S. Senate should not approve this free trade agreement

336 CCGA Jun 2010

Q105 (1-5): Do you think the U.S. should have a free trade agreement that would lower barriers such as tariffs with each of the following countries? 105/3. India

337 CCGA Jun 2010

Q85 (1-9): Please indicate how important the following factors are to the United States remaining competitive with other countries in the global economy:

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Not very important
- 4. Not important at all

85/1. Supporting open trade around the world

338 CCGA Jun 2010

Q7 (1-19): Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all:

- 1. Very important
- 2. Somewhat important
- 3. Not important at all

7/16. Reducing our trade deficit with foreign countries

³³⁹ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget. You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
	2015	preference
Q16. Agriculture Subsidies		
Q16a. Subsidies to small farmers (farms below 500 acres), provided on a	\$3	\$
regular annual basis		

340 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 7 (1-19): Below is a list of possible foreign policy goals that the United States might have. For each one please select whether you think that it should be a very important foreign policy goal of the United States, a somewhat important foreign policy goal, or not an important goal at all? Q7/2. Strengthening the United Nations

³⁴¹ PPC Federal Budget exercise Dec 2010

[This question was part of the budget exercise detailed in Endnote 92; this endnote focuses on the percentage of those in red and blue districts that chose to maintain or increase spending versus those who chose to cut spending in the category presented below. Respondents were expected to enter their preferred amount next to the spending amount indicated for 2015.]

... Presented below is the proposed main budget for the year 2015 for 31 major areas of the budget.

You can express your preferences about the budget by filling in each blank with your chosen spending level, adjusting it up or down or leaving it the same.

	Budget	Your
	2015	preference
er	\$4	\$

Q8. International Organizations: United Nations, UN peacekeeping and other international organizations to deal with health, nuclear proliferation etc.

342 CCGA JUN 2010

Q150/1. Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the UN (United Nations), here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step. --Giving the UN the power to regulate the international arms trade

343 CCGA JUN 2010

Q150/5. Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the UN (United Nations), here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step. --Creating an international marshals service that could arrest leaders responsible for genocide

344 CCGA JUN 2010

Q150/3. Thinking about specific steps that could be taken to strengthen the UN (United Nations), here are some options that have been proposed. For each one, select if you would favor or oppose this step. --Giving the UN the power to fund its activities by imposing a small tax on such things as the international sale of arms or oil

345 CCGA Jun 2010

Q197: As you may know, there are five permanent members of the UN Security Council, and any one of them can veto any resolution. Some people have proposed that this should be changed so that if a decision was supported by all the other members, no member, not even the United States, could veto the decision. Would you favor or oppose this change?

- 1. Strongly favor
- 2. Somewhat favor
- 3. Somewhat oppose
- 4. Strongly oppose

346 CCGA Jun 2012

Q140/2. Based on what you know, do you think the U.S. should or should not participate in the following treaties and agreements? The agreement on the International Criminal Court that can try individuals for war crimes, genocide, or crimes against humanity if their own country won't try them

347 CCGA JUN 2010

Q220/2. Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger,

unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

-- The International Criminal Court

348 CCGA Jun 2010

Q155. The World Trade Organization was established to rule on disputes over trade treaties. If another country files a complaint with the World Trade Organization and it rules against the U.S., as a general rule, should the U.S. comply with that decision or not?

- 1. Should comply
- 2. Should not comply

349 CCGA JUN 2010

Q220/1. Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

-- The World Trade Organization

350 CCGA JUN 2010

Q220/4. Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

--International Monetary Fund

³⁵¹ CCGA Jun 2010

Q220/5. Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

-- The World Bank

352 CCGA Jun 2010

Q142/2. Some people say that the world is facing some new problems that require some new international institutions or agencies to deal with them. Do you think that there should or should not be new international institutions to:

--Monitor financial markets worldwide and report on potential crises

353 CCGA Jun 2010

Q142/3. Some people say that the world is facing some new problems that require some new international institutions or agencies to deal with them. Do you think that there should or should not be new international institutions to:

--Monitor the worldwide energy market and predict potential shortages

354 **PPC Aug 2011**

Q32. As you may know, after the financial crisis, a new institution was created to oversee the regulation of large banks and financial institutions.

Some say this creates a bloated government bureaucracy that would increase spending at a time when we need to cut the budget deficit. Others say that lack of government oversight of the financial industry is what led to the financial crisis, and more oversight is essential to prevent it from happening again.

Would you favor or oppose funding an institution to oversee regulation of large banks and financial institutions?

- 1 Favor funding the institution
- 2 Oppose funding the institution

355 CCGA Jun 2010

Q142/4. Some people say that the world is facing some new problems that require some new international institutions or agencies to deal with them. Do you think that there should or should not be new international institutions to:

--Provide information and assistance to countries dealing with problems resulting from large scale migration of people across borders

356 CCGA JUN 2010

Q220/6. Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

-- The United Nations

357 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 145: Please select whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: When dealing with international problems, the U.S. should be more willing to make decisions within the United Nations even if this means that the United States will sometimes have to go along with a policy that is not its first choice.

Agree Disagree

358 CCGA Jun 2012

Q276/6. In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures.

--Working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism

359 CCGA JUN 2010

Q220/3. Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

-- The World Health Organization

³⁶⁰ CCGA JUN 2010

Q220/7. Some say that because of the increasing interaction between countries, we need to strengthen international institutions to deal with shared problems. Others say that this would only create bigger, unwieldy bureaucracies. Here are some international institutions. For each one, please tell me if it needs to be strengthened or not.

--International Atomic Energy Agency

361 CCGA Jun 2010

Q65: Which of these two positions is closer to yours?

- 1. To prevent international economic instability, there should be a global body that regulates big financial institutions to make sure they follow international standards.
- 2. A global financial regulating body is a bad idea because it would interfere in our economy and could make it less productive.

362 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 355_1: Do you think that the U.S. military presence in East Asia increases or decreases stability in the region?

³⁶³ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 356: How do you feel about the U.S. government's plans to pivot our diplomatic and military resources away from the Middle East and Europe and more toward Asia?

I strongly support it I somewhat support it I somewhat oppose it I strongly oppose it

364 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 358A: In America's relations with South Korea, how high a priority should the US place on each of the following:

358A 4. Building a regional security alliance between the U.S. and East Asian countries

[Similar results were obtained when asked about relations with Japan]

³⁶⁵ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 358A: In America's relations with South Korea, how high a priority should the US place on each of the following:

358A_3. Protecting freedom of navigation on the sea lanes between the U.S. and East Asia

[Similar results were obtained when asked about relations with Japan]

366 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 358A: In America's relations with South Korea, how high a priority should the US place on each of the following:

358A_1. Limiting the rise of China's power

[Similar results were obtained when asked about relations with Japan]

367 CCGA Jun 2010

Q366 Do you think the United States and South Korea should or should not work together to limit the rise of Chinese power in the years ahead?

- 1. Yes, they should
- 2. No, they shouldn't

³⁶⁸ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 357: In terms of American vital interests today, which country is more important to the United States–Japan or China?

369 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 376: Now thinking about U.S. foreign policy in Asia, do you think the U.S. should put a higher priority on:

- Building up our strong relations with traditional allies like South Korea and Japan, even if this might diminish our relations with China
- 2 Building a new partnership with China, even if this might diminish our relations with our traditional allies

³⁷⁰ CCGA Jun 2010

Q175 (1-7): As you may know there is currently a debate about whether U.S. government leaders should be ready to meet and talk with leaders of countries and groups with whom the U.S. has hostile or unfriendly relations. Do you think U.S. leaders should or should not be ready to meet and talk with leaders of:

- 1. Should be
- 2. Should not be

175/6. Burma

³⁷¹ CCGA Jun 2010

Q355: In your view, which continent is more important to the U.S. - Asia or Europe?

- 1. Asia
- 2. Europe

372 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 358A: In America's relations with South Korea, how high a priority should the US place on each of the following?..A very high priority, a somewhat high priority, a somewhat low priority, a very low priority

358A_5. Building a regional free trade area with the U.S. and East Asian countries

[Similar results were obtained when asked about relations with Japan]

373 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 350: In dealing with the rise of China's power, do you think the U.S. should:

- 1. Undertake friendly cooperation and engagement with China
- 2. Actively work to limit the growth of China's power

³⁷⁴ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 175 (1-5): As you may know there is currently a debate about whether U.S. government leaders should be ready to meet and talk with leaders of countries and groups with whom the U.S. has hostile or unfriendly relations. Do you think U.S. leaders should or should not be ready to meet and talk with leaders of:

O175.4 North Korea

³⁷⁵ CCGA Jun 2010

Q165 (1-3): Do you favor or oppose engaging in trade with the following countries?

- 1. Favor
- 2. Oppose

165/3. North Korea

³⁷⁶ CCGA Jun 2012

Q365: If North Korea were to attack South Korea, would you favor or oppose the U.S. contributing military forces, together with other countries, to a UN sponsored effort to reverse the aggression?

- 1. Favor
- 2. Oppose

³⁷⁷ CCGA Jun 2010

[This question combines Answers 1 and 3 versus Answer 2, since both 1 and 3 accept the North Korean regime and continuing division of the Peninsula]

Q371. US (United States) policy toward North Korea has to pursue a number of sometimes conflicting objectives. Which of the following approaches do you think would be best?

- 1. Work to maintain stability on the Korean Peninsula even if it means accepting North Korea's current regime and nuclear capability.
- **2.** Work to bring about regime change in North Korea, even if it may bring instability on the Korean Peninsula and further nuclear proliferation.
- **3.** Work to negotiate an end to North Korea's nuclear capability, even if it means accepting the North Korean regime and continuing division of the Peninsula.

378 CCGA Jun 2012

Q358. In America's relations with South Korea, how high a priority should the US (United States) place on each of the following?...A very high priority, a somewhat high priority, a somewhat low priority, a very low priority

Q358/6. Trying to bring about regime change in North Korea

[Similar results were obtained when asked about relations with Japan]

³⁷⁹ CCGA Jun 2010

O364: If North and South Korea were to reunify as a single nation, should the United States:

- 1. Maintain its alliance with Korea and keep its ground troops there, so as to counterbalance China
- 2. Maintain its alliance with Korea but remove its ground troops
- 3. End its alliance with Korea and remove its ground troops

380 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 358A: In America's relations with South Korea, how high a priority should the US place on each of the following?...A very high priority, a somewhat high priority, a somewhat low priority, a very low priority

358A_2. Preventing North Korea from building its nuclear capability

[Similar results were obtained when asked about relations with Japan]

381 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 374: Please tell me whether you would support or oppose each of the following kinds of US action to pressure North Korea to stop building its nuclear weapons program:

374/1. Continue diplomatic efforts to get North Korea to suspend its nuclear program

382 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 374: Please tell me whether you would support or oppose each of the following kinds of US action to pressure North Korea to stop building its nuclear weapons program: 374/2. Stop and search North Korean ships for nuclear materials or arms

383 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 374: Please tell me whether you would support or oppose each of the following kinds of US action to pressure North Korea to stop building its nuclear weapons program:

374/3. Air strikes against military targets and suspected nuclear sites in North Korea

384 CCGA Jun 2012

Question 374: Please tell me whether you would support or oppose each of the following kinds of US action to pressure North Korea to stop building its nuclear weapons program:

374/4. Send in U.S. ground troops to take control of the country

385 CCGA Jun 2010

Q369: As you may have heard, North Korea recently torpedoed a South Korean naval ship killing 46 sailors. Which view is closer to your own:

- 1. This was an act of unprovoked aggression and the U.S. should join South Korea in punishing North Korea
- 2. The U.S. should strongly criticize North Korea for its attack, but should view it as one in a series of incidents in the North Korea-South Korea conflict over disputed waters

386 CCGA Jun 2010

Q192 (1-2): Do you favor or oppose having diplomatic relations with the following countries?

- 1. Yes, favor relations
- 2. No, oppose relations

192/2. Cuba

³⁸⁷ CCGA Jun 2010

Q165 (1-3): Do you favor or oppose engaging in trade with the following countries?

- 1. Favor
- 2. Oppose

165/1. Cuba

³⁸⁸ CCGA Jun 2012

Question 175 (1-5): As you may know there is currently a debate about whether U.S. government leaders should be ready to meet and talk with leaders of countries and groups with whom the U.S. has hostile or unfriendly relations. Do you think U.S. leaders should or should not be ready to meet and talk with leaders of:

Q175.5 Cuba