This codebook includes the variable number (q_) for each variable and the numerical codes for certain variables.

caseid = unique ID for each respondent

party = 1 for Republicans, 2 for Democrats

mail = 1 for all respondents completing mail survey, otherwise took online

This is a survey of the political views of delegates to the 2012 national party conventions. Your input is very important to us.

We take great care to preserve the confidentiality of our study participants. The information from completed questionnaires is reported only in summary statistical form, thereby ensuring confidentiality of responses. Your responses will NEVER be linked to your name. In fact, we will never ask you for your name or to provide any information that would identify you.

By clicking on the button below, you are acknowledging that you were a delegate to the 2012 Republican/Democratic National Convention, and that you agree to participate in this study. Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

□ I agree to participate in the 2012 Convention Delegate Study. Take me to the survey.

q1 = 1 for all respondents (clicked on agree or mailed in survey)

q2: First, what was your official classification as a delegate in 2012? (Select only one)

Democrats:	Republicans:
□ Congressional district (1)	□ Congressional district (1)
\Box At-large (2)	\Box At-large (2)
\Box Super delegate (3)	

Please indicate in **which years** you were a delegate to a national convention. (*Separate variable for each year, equals 1 if respondent chose*)

(Please check all that apply)

Before 1996 (q3_3)	2000 (q3_5)	2008 (q3_7)	
1996 (q3_4)	2004 (q3_6)	2012 (q3_8)	

q4: How old were you when you first became active in politics? _____ years old

q5: Please choose the number that best describes how strongly you **support your political party** (*Sliding scale between 1 and 7, mail survey just whole numbers*)

Not Very Strong						Very Strong
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

1

How would you compare the importance of your party activity with your involvement in these other kinds of activity? Would you say your party work is: 1) More Important, 2) About as Important, or 3) Less Important:

Rate:

- **q6_1**: Activity on behalf of a demographic group (e.g. gender, race, ethnicity, etc.)
- q6_2: Activity on behalf of a geographic place (e.g. your state, community, neighborhood, etc.)
- q6_3: Activity on behalf of a religious group (e.g. Evangelical Christian, Catholic, Jewish, Muslims, etc.)
- **q6_4**: Activity on behalf of my occupation (e.g. Labor Union, Business Group, Teacher's Union, Professional Association, etc.)
- **q6_5:** Activity on behalf of an issue or broad ideological group (e.g. conservative groups, liberal groups, Environmental Rights, Gun Rights, etc.)

We are interested in people's **reasons for being involved in politics**. How important is each of the following reasons for your own participation in politics? (*Choose one in each row*)

	(4) I	Extremel	y important			
(3) Qui	(3) Quite important					
(2) Not very impor	tant					
(1) Not at all importan	t					
+	♦	+	★			
q7_1: Personal friends or members of my family are active in the party						
q7_2: I want to see particular candidates elected						
q7_3: Party work helps me make business or professional contacts						
q7_5: I am strongly attached to the party and I want to give it my support						
q7_6: I enjoy the friendships and social contacts I have in the party						
q7_7: I like the fun and excitement of conventions and campaigns						
q7_8: I want to have a personal career in politics						
q7_9: I want to get the party and its candidates to support the policies I believe in \dots						
q7_12: I want to advance the goals of groups/associations I belong to						

All of you have attended at least one national presidential nominating convention. In thinking about decisions made at conventions, how do feel about the following statements?

	Disagree Strongly (1)	Disagree (2)	Agree (3)	Agree Strongly (4)
It is best to minimize disagreement within the party (q8_1)				
One should stand firm for a position even if it means resigning from the party (q8_2)				
The party should play down some issues if it will improve the chances of winning. (q8_3)				
The party should select a nominee who is strongly committed on the issues. (q8_4)				
Choosing a candidate with broad electoral appeal is more important than a consistent ideology. (q8_5)				

Next, we would like to know how you feel about the decisions made by your party's elected officials. Please place yourself on the scale between the two opposing positions. (sliders on 1-7 scales, mail responses whole numbers)

q9 = 1 for all respondents who clicked "next" here.

q10:

Elected officials should stand up for their principles no matter what. Elected officials should compromise with their opponents in order to get things done for the country..

q11:

When making decisions on
important issues, elected
officials should represent the
core principles of and the
core groups in their party.

Please indicate whether you were involved in each of the following presidential campaigns (separate variable for each year, equals 1 if respondent chose)

2000 (q12_1)	🗆
2004 (q12_2)	🗆
2008 (q12_3)	
2012 (q12_4)	🗆

What types of activities did you engage in during the **2012 presidential campaign**? Please check all of the activities in which you were involved. (Separate variable for each activity, equals 1 if respondent chose)

Voter registration/get out the vote drives \Box	q13_1
Telephoning	q13_2
Distributing literature/putting up signs	q13_3
Fund raising \Box	q13_4
Mass mailing	q13_5
Media or internet production/publicity \Box	q13_6
Social media	q13_7
Poll watching	q13_8
Campaign organization/campaign office	q13_9
Rallies/campaign events	q13_10
Small meetings/teas/coffees	q13_11
Blogging (not an option on mail survey)	q13_12

Please indicate how much of your activity in the 2012 presidential campaign was **motivated by commitments** to the party, to a candidate, or to an issue position or specific group. (*Please choose one box in each row*.

	None (1)	Some (2)	A lot (3)
I was committed to party work (q14_1)			
I wanted to help a particular candidate (q14_2)			
I wanted to work for an issue position or specific group (q14_3)			

We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative.

q15=1 for all respondents reaching this point in the survey

First, where would you place yourself on this scale? Then, we're interested in where you would place other persons and groups on this scale. (*Sliding scale between 1 and 7, only whole numbers for mail respondents*)

		Extr Libe	emely eral		Modera	ate	Co	Extremely onservative
q16_1	Yourself	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
q16_2	Barack Obama	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
q16_3	Mitt Romney	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
q16_4	The national Democratic party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
q16_5	The national Republican party	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
q16_15	The national electorate	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Now, I have some questions about different groups in our society. Where would you rate whites, blacks, and Hispanic Americans on the following scales? (*Sliding scales between 1 and 7, only whole numbers for mail respondents*)

(q17_1) Whites: Hard working 1	2	3	4	5	6	Lazy 7
(q17_2) Blacks: Hard working 1	2	3	4	5	6	Lazy 7
(q17_3) Hispanic Hard working 1	Americans: 2	3	4	5	6	Lazy 7

Here is a different scale. Where would you rate whites, blacks, and Hispanic Americans on the following scale? (Sliding scales between 1 and 7, only whole numbers for mail respondents. Note that some mail respondents were presented with "hard working vs. lazy" a second time. These variables are coded to missing for those respondents.)

(q18_1) Whites: Intelligent 1	2	3	4	5	6	U nintelligent 7
(q18_2) Blacks: Intelligent 1	2	3	4	5	6	U nintelligent 7
(q18_3) Hispanic Intelligent 1	Americans: 2	3	4	5	6	U nintelligent 7

q19: Which one of the opinions expressed below best agrees with your view on the abortion issue?

- (1) By law, abortion should never be permitted.
- (2) The law should permit abortion only in cases of rape, incest or when the woman's life is in danger.
- (3) The law should permit abortion for reasons other than rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for the abortion has been clearly established.
- (4) By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.

q20: Recently, there has been a good deal of discussion about marriages and other legal relationships between same-sex couples. Which of the following statements comes closest to your view of the **proper legal status of marriage**?

- (1) The law should define marriage only as a union between one man and one woman.
- (2) The law should define marriage as a union between one man and one woman, but recognize legal agreements between same-sex couples.
- (3) The law should define marriage as a union between two people regardless of their gender.

q21: Some people believe that we should spend much more money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly decreased. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (*Sliding scales between 1 and 7, only whole numbers for mail respondents.*)

Greatly increase defense spending						Greatly decrease defense spending
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

q22: Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to **improve the social and economic position of Blacks**. Others feel that the government should **not make any special effort to help Blacks** because they should help themselves. (*Sliding scales between 1 and 7, only whole numbers for mail respondents.*)

Government should						
help blacks						Blacks should help
						themselves
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

q23: Some people think the government should **provide fewer services**, even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending. Other people feel it is important for the government to **provide many more services** even if it means an increase in spending. Where would you place yourself on this scale? (*Sliding scales between 1 and 7, only whole numbers for mail respondents.*)

Government provide						Government provide
many fewer services,						many more services,
reduce spending a lot						increase spending a lot
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

q24; Some people think the government should provide a public health insurance plan for all Americans. Other people think Americans should be responsible for their own health insurance plans. (*Sliding scales between 1 and 7, only whole numbers for mail respondents.*)

The government should provide a public health insurance plan for all Americans.	,	All Americans should be responsible for their own health insurance plans.
	//	

q25=1 for all respondents reaching this point of survey

We're interested in understanding how you think about achieving your goals on issues of public policy. Think about the last time you worked on a project involving a policy issue. It may have been part of a broader party policy initiative, a ballot initiative or referendum, a part of a candidate campaign, or a policy issue of personal interest. Please tell us how much you disagree or agree with the following statements (1=Disagree strongly, 2=Disagree, 3=Neither disagree nor agree, 4=Agree, 5=Agree strongly)

- q26_1: I planned out *specific* expenditures and individual time commitments *before* I began the policy project.
- q26_3: My policy project came from long term planning rather than a target of opportunity
- **q26_4:** Initially, I was careful not to commit more resources (money, people, or time) than I could afford to lose.
- q26_6: I built coalitions with other groups before embarking on the policy project
- q26_7: I use input from other groups or individuals when determining strategy
- q26_8: I looked for a target of opportunity that fit into my overall policy goals.
- q26_9: I adapted the strategies I pursued to fit the resources I had on hand
- **q26_12**:I made sure to gain the support of legislative and regulatory decision makers before we went public with the policy project.

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.

	(1) Disagree strongly	(2) Disagree slightly	(3) Neither disagree nor agree	(4) Agree slightly	(5) Agree strongly
(q27_1) The federal government should make it more difficult for people to buy a gun than it is now.					
(q27_2) Because of past discrimination, racial minorities should be given preference in hiring and promotion.					
(q27_4) One of the major threats to the future of the United States is illegal immigration					
(q27_7) Government monitoring of electronic communications by private U.S. citizens is necessary to gain information about terrorist plans and to protect American lives.					
(q27_9) Religiously-affiliated institutions should be required to offer contraceptive coverage in their insurance plans.					
(q27_10) In order for the U.S. to fund government obligations, it is important that Congress periodically raise the federal debt ceiling.					

Please tell us how you feel about the following statements (1=Disagree strongly, 2=Disagree slightly, 3=Neither disagree nor agree, 4=Agree slightly, 5=Agree strongly)

(q28_1) Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.

(q28_2) Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.

(q28_3) Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.

(q28_4) It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as whites.

We are interested in whether you are a member of any of the following organizations or associations. Please check the box for each type of group that you are a member of (Each variable = 1 if chosen)

		Member
q29_1	Conservative religious groups (e.g. Family Research Council, Concerned Women for America, Christian Coalition)	
q29_2	Liberal Religious Groups (e.g. Interfaith Alliance, Call to Renewal)	
q29_3	Teacher's Associations or Unions (e.g. NEA, AFT)	
q29_4	Pro-Life groups	
q29_5	Pro-Choice groups	
q29_6	Ethnic or racial associations or groups (e.g. LULAC, NAACP)	
q29_7	Environmental groups (e.g. The Sierra Club, Greenpeace)	
q29_8	Civil Liberties groups (e.g. ACLU)	
q29_9	Liberal Political Advocacy or Candidate Support groups (e.g. NOW, People for the American Way, Move-On.org, EMILY's List) Conservative Political Advocacy or Candidate Support groups	
q29_11	(e.g. American Conservative Union, Concerned Women for America, Club for Growth, Tea Party)	
q29_13	Gun owner's associations (e.g. NRA)	
q29_14	LGBT groups (e.g. Human Rights Campaign)	
q29_15	Professional or Occupational groups (e.g. Business group, Chamber of Commerce, Professional Associations, etc.)	

q30: Of the groups that you are a member of, which of the following is most important to you when you make political decisions? All groups that R selected for q29 (Membership) would appear on screen with a checkbox next to them. Respondents who skip q29 would not get this question asked of them.

1	Conservative religious groups (e.g. Family Research Council, Concerned Women for America, Christian
•	Coalition)
2	Liberal Religious Groups (e.g. Interfaith Alliance, Call to Renewal)
3	Teacher's Associations or Unions (e.g. NEA, AFT)
4	Pro-Life groups
5	Pro-Choice groups
6	Ethnic or racial associations or groups (e.g. LULAC, NAACP)
7	Environmental groups (e.g. The Sierra Club, Greenpeace)
8	Civil Liberties groups (e.g. ACLU)
9	Liberal Political Advocacy or Candidate Support groups (e.g. NOW, People for the American Way, Move-On.org, EMILY's List)
10	Conservative Political Advocacy or Candidate Support groups (e.g. American Conservative Union, Concerned Women for America, Club for Growth, Tea Party)
11	Gun owner's associations (e.g. NRA)
12	LGBT groups (e.g. Human Rights Campaign)
13	Professional or Occupational groups (e.g. Business group, Chamber of Commerce, Professional Associations, etc.)

q31-q46: Greg's experiment

Respondents will randomly receive <u>one</u> of the following four treatments or be assigned to the control group. The name of the group that R just indicated as most important and the name of their political party will appear on the screen.

Control Group(Party & Group Agree) - Now, I'd like you to imagine that there is a contested ______ (your party) Party primary for state legislature with two qualified candidates, Michael Garnett and Richard Pierce. Leaders of the _____ (your party pops up here) Party and leaders of the group you identified as being most important above (______) (category pops up here) have endorsed Richard Pierce.

Treatment A (Party & Group Differ on Candidates) - Now, I'd like you to imagine that there is a contested ______ (your party) Party primary for state legislature with two qualified candidates, Michael Garnett and Richard Pierce. Leaders of the ______ (your party pops up here) Party have endorsed Richard Pierce, while leaders of the group you identified as being most important above (______) (category pops up here) have endorsed Michael Garnett.

Treatment B (Party Endorses, Group Stays Out) - Now, I'd like you to imagine that there is a contested _____ (your party) Party primary for state legislature with two qualified candidates, Michael Garnett and Richard Pierce. Leaders of the _____ (your party pops up here) Party have endorsed Richard Pierce, while leaders of the group you identified as being most important above (_____) (category pops up here) have not made an endorsement in the race.

Treatment C (Party Stays Out, Group Endorses) - Now, I'd like you to imagine that there is a contested _____ (your party) Party primary for state legislature with two qualified candidates, Michael Garnett and Richard Pierce. . Leaders of the _____ (your party pops up here) Party have decided not to make an endorsement in the race, while leaders of the group you identified as being most important above (_____) (category pops up here) have endorsed Richard Pierce.

c. Follow-Up Questions

i. Are you more likely to vote for Michael Garnett or Richard Pierce? (with sliding scale)

Much more likely to vote for Garnett______Much more likely to vote for Pierce

ii. Are you more likely to contribute money to or volunteer for Michael Garnett or Richard Pierce? (*with sliding scale*)

Much more likely to contribute to/volunteer for Garnett_____Much more likely to contribute to/volunteer for Pierce

Please indicate your **feelings toward** each of the following **groups** and **political figures** on what we call a "feeling thermometer." Here's how it works. If you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward a group or person, then you should place them in the middle, at the 50 degree mark. If you have a warm feeling, or feel favorable toward them, you would give them a score somewhere between 50 and 100 degrees, depending on how warm your feeling is toward that person or group. On the other hand, if you don't feel very favorable toward a person or group – that is, if you don't care much for them – then you would place them somewhere between 0 and 50 degrees. Remember, 50 degrees means you feel neutral. (*Sliding scale between 0 and 100 for online respondents, mail respondents were asked to choose one of the ten-degree marks below*)

		Cold					Neutral					Warm
q47_1	Feminists	0°	10 °	20 °	30°	40°	50°	60 °	70°	80°	90°	100 °
q47_3	Christian fundamentalists	0°	10 °	20 °	30°	40°	50°	60 °	70°	80 °	90°	100 °
q47_4	Gay men and lesbians	0°	10°	20 °	30°	40°	50°	60 °	70°	80°	90°	100 °
q47_6	Labor unions	0°	10 °	20 °	30°	40 °	50°	60 °	70°	80°	90°	100 °
q47_9	Big business	0°	10 °	20 °	30°	40°	50 °	60 °	70°	80 °	90°	100 °
q47_13	Tea Party	0°	10°	20 °	30°	40°	50°	60 °	70°	80°	90°	100 °
q47_14	Occupy Wall Street	0°	10 °	20 °	30 °	40 °	50 °	60°	70°	80 °	90°	100 °
q47_15	Mormons	0°	10 °	20 °	30°	40 °	50°	60 °	70°	80 °	90°	100 °
q47_16	Atheists	0°	10 °	20 °	30°	40 °	50 °	60 °	70°	80 °	90°	100 °
q47_17	Muslims	0°	10 °	20 °	30 °	40 °	50 °	60 °	70°	80 °	90°	100 °

Please tell us how much you agree with each of the following statements concerning women and men in politics (*Choose one in each row*).

		(1) Disagree strongly	(2) Disagree moderately	(3) Disagree slightly	(4) Agree slightly	(5) Agree moderately	(6) Agree strongly
q48_1	Women are taught not to want political careers.	0	0	0	0	0	0
q48_2	Women are underrepresented among political leaders because they have fewer opportunities than men to prepare for leadership positions.	0	O	O	O	0	0
q48_3	It is almost impossible to be a good wife and mother and hold public office too.	0	0	Ο	0	0	o
q48_4	Most men in the party organization try to keep women out of leadership roles.	0	0	0	0	0	0
q48_5	Many people will not vote for women candidates.	0	0	0	0	0	0
q48_6	Women who seek political career often find they are not taken seriously.	0	0	O	0	0	o
q48_7	Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than are most women.	0	0	Ο	0	0	0
q48_8	Women don't support other women who run for political office.	0	0	O	0	O	o

q49: Who did you most prefer as your party's nominee for president in 2012?

Republicans

Democrats

- Michele Bachmann (1)
 Herman Cain (2)
 Newt Gingrich (3)
 Jon Huntsman (4)
 Ron Paul (5)
 Rick Perry (6)
 Mitt Romney (7)
 Rick Santorum (8)
 Someone else _____ (9)
- □ Barack Obama (11) □ Someone else___ (12)

Textbox responses for codes 9 and 12 are in q49_text

q50: Are you male or female?

 \square Male (1)

 \Box Female (2)

Which of the following best describes you? (Separate variables for each category, coded 1 if respondent chose)

q51_1: White, non-Hispanic	q51_4: American Indian/Native American
q51_2: Hispanic	q51_5: Asian
q51_3: African-American/Black	q51_6 : Other (<i>Textbox responses in q51_6_text</i>)

q52: In what year were you born? 19 _ _

q53: What is your current marital status? Are you:

- \Box Single, never married (1)
- \Box Married (2)
- \Box Separated (3)
- \Box Divorced (4)
- \Box Widowed (5)

q54: What is the highest level of education that you completed?

- \Box High school or less (1)
- □ Some college/Vocational training (2)
- \Box College graduate (3)
- \Box Some post graduate training (4)
- \Box Post-graduate degree (5)

q55: What is your present religion, if any? (*Please be as specific as possible. e.g. Southern Baptist, Presbyterian Church in the USA, Disciples of Christ, Reform Jew, None*):

In terms of religion, do any of the following terms describe you? (Check all that apply)

(Each label a separate variable, coded 1 if chosen by respondent)

q56_1	progressive	q56_8	humanist
q56_2	traditional	q56_9	secular
q56_3	ecumenical	q56_10	atheist
q56_4	mainline	q56_11	fundamentalist
q56_5	charismatic/Pentecostal	q56_12	born again/evangelical
q56_6	deist	q56_13	agnostic
q56_7	non-traditional believer	q56_14	spiritual, but not religious

q57: How often do you attend worship services?

- (1) Never
- (2) Seldom
- (3) A few times a year

(4) Once or twice a month

- (5) Once a week
- (6) More than once a week

q58: Which comes **closest** to your view of the Scriptures:

- (1) A good book, but not the word of God
- (2) The inspired word of God, but it contains human errors.
- (3) The inspired word of God, with no errors, but not to be taken literally.
- (4) The actual word of God, to bee taken literally word for word.

q59: How much guidance does your religious provide in your day-to-day living?

- (1) No guidance
- (2) Some guidance
- (3) Quite a bit of guidance
- (4) A great deal of guidance

q60=1 for all respondents making it this far in the survey

Now we would like to ask you some questions about the religion of the 2012 presidential candidates.

q61: Do you happen to know what Mitt Romney's religion is?

- (1) Protestant
- (2) Catholic
- (3) Jewish
- (4) Muslim
- (5) Mormon
- (6) Not religious
- (7) Something else [TEXTBOX, response in q61_text]

q62: Do you happen to know what Barack Obama's religion is?

- (1) Protestant
- (2) Catholic
- (3) Jewish
- (4) Muslim
- (5) Mormon
- (6) Not religious
- (7) Something else [TEXTBOX, response in q62_text]

Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with the following statements:

		Disagree strongly (1)	Disagree (2)	Neither Disagree nor Agree (3)	Agree (4)	Agree Strongly (5)
q63_1	Factual evidence from the natural world is the source of true beliefs.	0	0	0	0	0
q63_3	The great works of philosophy and science are the best source of truth, wisdom, and ethics.	0	0	0	0	0
q63_4	It is hard to live a good life based on reason and facts alone	О	Ο	0	0	0
q63_5	To understand the world, we must free our minds from old traditions and beliefs.	0	0	0	0	Ο
q63_6	Values are more important than factual evidence in making moral decisions	0	0	0	0	0

q64: Please indicate your approximate before tax annual family income in 2012.

(1) \$29,999 or less

(2) \$30,000 to \$52,499

(3) \$52,500 to \$74,999

(4) \$75,000 to \$124,999

(5) \$125,000 to \$250,000

(6) Over \$250,000

q65: In what state do you live? (state numerical codes)

q66: How would you describe the area in which you live?

1) large city,

- 2) suburbs of large city,
- 3) small/medium city,
- 4) suburbs of small/medium city
- 5) small town/rural