The CROSSTABS Program for American Government:

CROSSTABS 3.0: A Computer Program for American Government
IBM and Macintosh programs

CROSSTABS: Student Workbook for American Government, Fourth Edition

INSTRUCTOR'S ANSWER BOOK

The CROSSTABS program accompanies Houghton Mifflin American Government texts, including:

THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY: Government in America, Fourth Edition by Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry, and Jerry Goldman

THE CHALLENGE OF DEMOCRACY: Government in America, Brief Edition, Second Edition by Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry, Jerry Goldman, and Earl Huff

THE DEMOCRATIC DEBATE: An Introduction to American Politics by Bruce Miroff, Raymond Seidelman, and Todd Swanstrom

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, Third Edition by Alan R. Gitelson, Robert L. Dudley, and Melvin J. Dubnick

AMERICAN GOVERNMENT: People, Institutions, and Policies, Third Edition by Paul E. Johnson, Gary J. Miller, John H. Aldrich, David W. Rohde, and Charles W. Ostrom, Jr.

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Fourth Edition

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Student Workbook for American Government

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Kenneth Janda and David Wrobel

This workbook accompanies

Crosstabs: A Computer Program for American Government
Version 3.0

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Preface

This *Workbook* helps students learn about American government and politics by teaching them how to use a computer to analyze data on the attitudes and behavior of citizens and members of Congress. It was designed for use with *Crosstabs: A Computer Program for American Government, Version 3.0*, a computer package that runs on IBM® PC-compatible computers and the Macintosh®. The package consists of a program and 97 variables from two predefined data sets, one on voters in the 1992 presidential election and the other on members of Congress in 1993–1994. This book is keyed to that computer package.

The *Crosstabs* program was originally developed for use with *The Challenge of Democracy: Government in America* (both long and brief versions), by Kenneth Janda, Jeffrey M. Berry, and Jerry Goldman. Houghton Mifflin is pleased to offer *Crosstabs* now with its entire list of American government textbooks, including Bruce Miroff, Raymond Seidelman, and Todd Swanstrom's *The Democratic Debate: An Introduction to American Politics;* Alan Gitelson, Robert Dudley, and Melvin Dubnick's *American Government*, Third Edition; and Paul Johnson, Gary Miller, John Aldrich, David Rohde, and Charles Ostrom's *American Government: People, Institutions, and Policies*, Third Edition. The correlation charts that follow are provided to facilitate your use of *Crosstabs* with those books.

Students do not need any knowledge of computer programming or statistics to use this *Workbook*. Those who have used microcomputers for word processing will find it easier at the beginning to use *Crosstabs*, but others are likely to catch on quickly if given some instruction in using microcomputers. Once they know how to insert the diskette, load the program, and manipulate the cursor on the screen, students should be able to operate the program by reading the *Workbook*.

The *Crosstabs* program enables students to construct tables that crosstabulate the values on one variable in a data set with values on another. For example, a student might crosstabulate citizens' racial characteristics (one variable in the *Crosstabs* data) with citizens' candidate preferences in the 1992 presidential election. Or, using the other data set, students might crosstabulate the party affiliation of members of Congress with their voting on the 1994 crime bill. The specific variables available for analysis are set forth in the appendixes. Appendix A describes 56 variables on 2,313 respondents in the VOTERS data; Appendix B describes 41 variables in the CONGRESS data.

Crosstabs aids in analyzing the tables produced from these data by computing percentages for comparison. Comparing percentages across columns or rows of a table is a simple yet effective method of analysis. *Crosstabs* also provides for including a third variable in a table to control for the influence of another explanatory factor. The basic features of the *Crosstabs* program are described in Chapter 2.

Students in introductory American government courses may not have done such research before, so they may have some difficulty in visualizing how the program can be used with the data sets to analyze politics. In Chapter 3, I help them visualize the process by posing 50 elementary yet important research questions on American government that were drawn from the pages of *The Challenge of Democracy* (refer to the topic correlation charts to see how these questions correspond to the chapters in other American government textbooks published by Houghton Mifflin). They are then guided through the computer operations needed to answer the questions with the available data. For example, students are invited to use *Crosstabs* to explain who votes in elections; to understand what factors (like party identification, income, or ideology) explain attitudes about various political issues; and to answer many other significant questions.

Some instructors may want their students to move beyond the 50 structured research questions in Chapter 3 to more open-ended topics. Chapter 4 suggests some lines of analysis that students might want to explore on their own with *Crosstabs*. Because the program is so easy to use and because the two data sets contain so many interesting variables, imaginative students should be able to come up with insightful investigations.

Instructors who ask students to use *Crosstabs* for creative research will probably want them to report their findings in short papers. Chapter 5 provides advice on how to write a research paper. It can be used by instructors who insist that students formulate hypotheses for testing, as well as by those who have more relaxed requirements.

I would like to thank Jean Woy, Fran Gay, Colleen Shanley, and Amy McCorkle at Houghton Mifflin for their ongoing support and enthusiam for *Crosstabs*. My thanks also go to Ken Janda, for originally inviting me to participate in updating *Crosstabs* in 1991. Finally, I would like to thank Dominique Whelan for tolerating the seemingly endless clicking of the keyboard while I prepared Version 3.0 of the program.

D.W.

Topic Correlation Charts

Use these charts to correlate the questions in Chapter 3, which were originally derived from Janda/Berry/Goldman, *The Challenge of Democracy,* to chapters in Houghton Mifflin's other American government texts.

If you are using Miroff/Seidelmann/Swanstrom, *The Democratic Debate: An Introduction to American Politics:*

Table of Contents	use "Questions on . . ."
Part I: Foundations	
1. Introduction: The Democratic Debate	
2. The Revolution and the Constitution: Origins of the Democratic Debate	
3. The Dilemma of American Federalism	
4. The American Political Economy	"Economic Policy"
Part II: Participation	
5. Where Have All the Voters Gone?	"Participation and Voting"
6. Public Opinion: Does It Matter?	"Public Opinion and Political Socialization"
7. The Media: Setting the Political Agenda	"The Mass Media"
8. Where's the Party?	"Political Parties"
9. The Best Campaigning Money Can Buy	"Nominations, Elections, and Campaigns"
10. Interest Group Politics	"Interest Groups"
11. Mass Movements	
Part III: Institutions	
12. Congress: Between Elite and Popular Democracy	"Congress"
13. Presidential Leadership and the Democratic Debate	"The Presidency"
14. Bureaucracy: Myth and Reality	
15. The Judiciary and the Democratic Paradox	
Part IV: Policy	
16. Civil Liberties and Civil Rights	"Order and Civil Liberties"; "Equality and Civil Rights"
17. Economic Policy: Growth Versus Equality?	"Economic Policy"
18. Social Policy: The Reluctant Welfare State	"Domestic Policy"
19. Foreign Policy in the National Security State	"Global Policy"
Afterword: The Prospects for Popular Democracy	

If you are using Gitelson/Dudley/Dubnick, *American Government*, Third Edition:

Table of Contents	use "Questions on . . ."
1. Myth and Reality in American Politics	
2. Constitutional Foundations	
3. Federalism and Intergovernmental Relations	
4. The Heritage of Rights and Liberties	"Order/Civil Liberties"; "Equality/Civil Rights"
5. Public Opinion and Political Participation	"Participation and Voting"
6. Political Parties	"Political Parties"
7. Campaigns and Elections	"Nominations, Elections, and Campaigns"
8. Interest Groups	"Interest Groups"
9. Media and Politics	"The Mass Media"
10. Congress	"Congress"
11. The Presidency	"The Presidency"
12. Courts, Judges, and the Law	
13. Bureaucracy	
14. Domestic Policy and Policymaking	"Domestic Policy"
15. Foreign and Defense Policy	"Global Policy"

If you are using Johnson/Miller/Aldrich/Rohde/Ostrom, *American Government: People, Institutions, and Policies*, Third Edition:

Table of Contents	use "Questions on . . ."
Part I: Foundations	
1. The Leading Questions of Politics and Government	
2. The Constitution	
3. Federalism	
4. Civil Liberties	"Order and Civil Liberties"
5. Civil Rights	"Equality and Civil Rights"
Part II: Politics and the People	
6. Public Opinion and Political Culture	"Public Opinion and Political Socialization"
7. Participation and Voting	"Participation and Voting"
8. Political Parties	"Political Parties"
9. Campaigns and Elections	"Nominations, Elections, and Campaigns"
10. The Mass Media	"The Mass Media"
11. Interest Groups	"Interest Groups"
Part III: Politics and Institutions	
12. Congress	"Congress"
13. The Presidency	"The Presidency"
14. The Bureaucracy	
15. The Courts	
Part IV: Economics and Public Policy	"Economic Policy"
16. Government and Marketplace	
17. Managing the Economy	
Part V: Domestic Social Policy and Global Policy	
18. Social Policy	"Domestic Policy"
19. Global Policy	"Global Policy"

1

Introduction

What is this world coming to? Now you have to use a computer to study American government! For some of you, this may seem like fun. For many others, however, it is close to cruel and unusual punishment. This introduction is intended mainly for you in the latter group—students who are inclined to say, "Computers and I don't get along."

The first thing for you to know is that you do not have to fear a double whammy: You will not need to deal with statistics. Although you will be expected to construct tables and compute percentages on the data in those tables, the *Crosstabs* computer program will not require you to engage in statistical analysis. Although the program can calculate some statistical tests, those tests are included for use with research-oriented courses, not the basic course in American government. (Your instructor will determine whether you will need to use the program's statistical capabilities.)

The next thing for you to know is that a computer will construct all your tables and compute all your percentages automatically. In fact, the computer will do all the drudgery of data analysis. All you have to do is supply the imagination and the thinking—and they have nothing to do with your competence with computers.

There is no denying that at first you would find it easier to use *Crosstabs* if you had some experience with computers—for example, doing word processing. With that experience, you might already know how to turn on the machine and insert the disk containing the program. If you lack such knowledge, you can easily acquire it from someone knowledgeable sitting next to you for a few moments. In a short time, you can quickly learn all you need to know to begin using

Crosstabs effectively. Given a little experience with the program, you will soon be able to put it to work for you.

Now we get to what *Crosstabs* actually does. Its name comes from the term *crosstabulate.* A tabulation is a table of information (or data) for a single factor (or variable). A crosstabulation is a tabulation of data for two variables taken together—one across the other. The *Crosstabs* program compares values of cases on one variable with matching values of cases on another variable. For example, *Crosstabs* can crosstabulate citizens' racial characteristics (one variable) with their candidate preferences before the 1992 presidential election (another variable).

This capability becomes useful in political research if you have access to appropriate data. Built into the *Crosstabs* program are two important data sets involving 97 different variables. One data set consists of 56 variables collected on 2,313 respondents interviewed before and after the 1992 presidential election. The other data set consists of 41 variables on 435 members of the House of Representatives serving in the 103rd Congress—elected in 1992 and in session during 1993 and 1994. Exactly what variables are available? See Appendix A and Appendix B for descriptions of the VOTERS and the CONGRESS data sets.

When you enter the *Crosstabs* program, you will be asked to choose which of the two data sets you wish to use. Once you select one of them, you have complete command of which variables you want to crosstabulate. Once you choose the variables, *Crosstabs* immediately displays the table. Do you want to compute percentages? Just make the choice from a menu and *Crosstabs* dutifully obeys. How do you direct the computer to do these wondrous things? Read Chapter 2. You will also find that the program contains many "help" screens that will soon free you from reading the instructions in Chapter 2.

In fact, learning how to operate the computer may be the easiest part of using *Crosstabs* to study American government. You may find it difficult to think of which variables you want to analyze and why. You will get some help on this in Chapter 3, which poses 50 basic questions about American politics—questions that are keyed to specific pages in *The Challenge of Democracy.* By using *Crosstabs* to answer those questions, you will get in the swing of thinking about political research.

The real fun of using *Crosstabs* lies in taking off on your own to think up your own research questions. Beginning students may need some help in getting started, but that is the purpose of Chapter 4: to suggest some lines of analysis to pick up and explore on your own.

You always run the risk that your instructor will want you to report your research findings in a paper. You have written papers before, but probably not this type of paper. However, we will not

abandon you at this critical stage. In Chapter 5 we advise you how to write a research paper.

Right now, you may be uncertain about your ability to do this type of research. Many of our own students have expressed such worries when they first tried to use a computer to crosstabulate data. However, most of them found that the computer was much easier to use than they expected, and almost all of them said that the analysis was more interesting than they ever imagined. We think (and certainly hope) that you will have the same experience.

2

The Program

Crosstabs operates nearly identically on IBM® PC and compatible computers or on the Macintosh®, and this chapter applies to both types. However, there are minor differences in fonts or spacing on the screen, depending on which computer you are using. All figures are taken from the Macintosh version.

This chapter explains what you will see on the screen as you run the program. To start *Crosstabs*, do the following (all commands you must type are in boldface, capital letters):

IBM PC-compatible computers

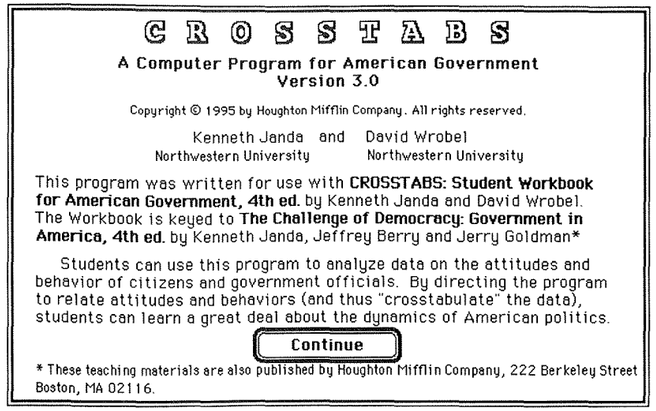
1. If you are using an IBM PC-compatible computer, start your computer in the usual way.
2. Insert the *Crosstabs* disk in Drive A. If you are not at the A prompt, type **A:** and press the **<Enter>** key.
3. To start the program, type **CROSSTAB** and press the **<Enter>** key.

Macintosh computers

1. If you are using a Macintosh computer, start your computer in the usual way.
2. Insert the *Crosstabs* disk in a disk drive. Double-click on the disk icon to open the desktop on the *Crosstabs* disk.
3. Open the *Crosstabs* application by double-clicking on the *Crosstabs* icon. (If you require assistance with "double-clicking," see your *Macintosh System Software User's Guide*.)

The first thing you will see after starting *Crosstabs* is the screen on the next page (Figure 1). The initial screen serves as the title page of the program. It also explains *Crosstabs*'s purpose: to help students learn about American government and politics through a hands-on research experience.

Figure 1
Title Screen for Crosstabs 3.0



Crosstabs is not a general-purpose program for statistical analysis that allows you to enter your own data. Instead, *Crosstabs* is designed to analyze two important data sets that are contained on the disk with the *Crosstabs* program. One data set is called VOTERS, and the other is CONGRESS. After viewing the title screen, press any key to call up another screen that briefly describes the data sets (see Figure 2). Though the PC and Macintosh versions look a little different, they contain the same information.

VOTERS data

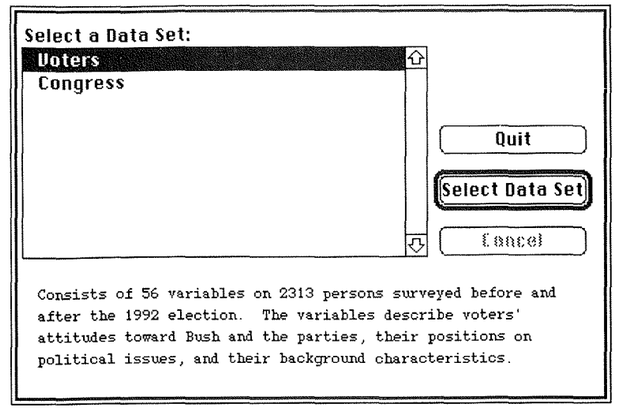
The VOTERS data set consists of responses to questions asked of a national sample of 2,313 persons interviewed both before and after the 1992 presidential election. Their responses to the questions in the interview and their personal characteristics constitute the *variables* available for analysis in that data set.

The 56 different variables in the VOTERS data have been grouped into eight categories: Personal Traits; Media Usage; Political Orientations; Voting Behavior; Views on Bush; Views on Government; Views on Issues; and Views on Spending. For example, the respondents' race is a variable in the "Personal Traits" category, and the respondents' voting intentions before the election is a variable in the "Voting Behavior" category. Appendix A describes the variables in VOTERS in detail.

CONGRESS data

The CONGRESS data set consists of 41 variables assembled on the 435 members of the House of Representatives in the 103rd Congress, which was elected in 1992 and was in session during 1993 and 1994. The variables in the CONGRESS data are grouped into seven categories: District Traits; Member Traits; Job Ratings; "Order" Votes; "Equality" Votes; "Foreign Policy" Votes; and Political Outcomes.

Figure 2
Data Selection Screen



The individual variables in the CONGRESS data are described in Appendix B.

To show what *Crosstabs* does, we will assume that you have chosen the VOTERS data. (If you had chosen the CONGRESS data, the tables that appear would be different, but the principles of operating the program would be the same.)

Crosstabulation

Basically, *Crosstabs* produces tables of data that classify the values of a variable in *rows* by the values of another variable in *columns*. (Rows are read horizontally, from left to right; columns are read vertically, from top to bottom.) A common name for a table that classifies one variable against another is a *crosstabulation*. The entries in the simplest crosstabulation are merely counts of the cases that fall in each *cell* of the table (a cell is the "box" created by the intersection of a row with a column).

Crosstabulation can best be explained through an example from the *Crosstabs* program itself. Let's assume that you are looking at the data selection screen (Figure 2 shows the Macintosh version) and are ready to select the VOTERS data set to analyze. If you are using a Macintosh computer, you should click once on "Voters," and click on the **OK** button. If you are using an IBM PC- compatible computer, you should press the **<V>** key. The *Crosstabs* program will automatically display a sample table showing VOTERS data.

Each time you enter the VOTERS data set, by default *Crosstabs* displays a crosstabulation of the respondents' **Race** with their **Voting**

Intention before the 1992 presidential election. (There is no special reason to begin with this table. It simply provides a good example of a crosstabulation. You will be shown how to construct other tables shortly.) The initial crosstabulation for the VOTERS data appears in Figure 3.

Frequency table

This table is known as a *frequency table,* because the cells report the frequency, or number of respondents who share the values on both variables. Refer to the cell in the upper left-hand corner, which corresponds to the intersection of the row "Bill Clinton" and the column "White." It contains the entry **729**, which means that 729 whites preferred Clinton. Compare this value with those in the cells below, which show that **597** whites favored George Bush and **130** whites favored Ross Perot prior to the election.

Unfortunately, frequency tables that count only respondents are hard to analyze because of differences in the totals for the categories of the variables. Look at the bottom row of the table in Figure 3. Notice that there are **1,636** whites but only **222** blacks in the table. (The total number of cases—given at the lower right—is **1,895** rather than the 2,313 in the sample because 411 respondents did not reply to the questions and were not classified in the table.)

To compare the voting intentions of whites and blacks more meaningfully, we should compute percentages. By expressing the cell entries in *percentages* of the column totals rather than in *frequencies,* we adjust for differences in the number of whites, blacks, and others.

Using the menu on IBM-compatibles

We will discuss each menu option later in this chapter, but in order to follow this example, you need to learn how to access the menus. On the IBM, use the left and right arrow keys (<← →>) or

Figure 3
1992 Voting Intention by Race, in Frequencies

File Data Display Options Help

Voters

Row: Voting Behavior — Voting Intention

Column: Personal Traits — Race

	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER	
BILL CLINTON	729	183	15	927
GEORGE BUSH	597	19	15	631
ROSS PEROT	130	3	1	134
OTHER	12	2	0	14
UNDECIDED	168	15	6	189
	1636	222	37	1895 total

Cell entries = frequency of occurrence

the **<Space Bar>** to move the cursor, or "highlight," to the menu item you want. To pull down the menu and reveal its options, press the **<Enter>** key. Move the cursor to the desired option, and press **<Enter>** again to select it. Please note: You can leave any menu without making a selection by pressing the **<Esc>** key.

Using the menu on Macintoshes

On the Macintosh, use the mouse to move the pointer to the menu bar. Click on the menu item, and drag the mouse while holding down the button until you reach the menu option you want. Release the mouse button to select the highlighted option. (If you require assistance with the "click and drag" technique, see your *Macintosh System Software User's Guide.*)

Following the instructions for using menus on your computer, select the option in the **Display** menu that computes the counts in the cells as a percentage of the *column* totals. *Crosstabs* instantaneously displays the table in Figure 4.

Percentages by columns

Our comparison of voting intentions by racial groups is helped by referring to a table (Figure 4) that reports percentages instead of just frequencies. We see that only **44.6%** of the whites in our survey preferred Clinton compared with **82.4%** of the black respondents. The intentions of those in the "other" racial grouping were also more evenly split between Clinton and Bush.

Study the cell percentages in the table to interpret the voting intentions by racial groups. When you interpret a percentage table, be sure to pay attention to the number of cases on which the percentages are based. Consider those in the "other" racial category (which includes Asians and Indians). There are only 37 respondents in this category. Therefore, each person in that column counts for almost 3%

Figure 4
1992 Voting Intention by Race, Percentages by Columns (Correct)

File Data Display Options Help

Voters

Row: Voting Behavior — Voting Intention

Column: Personal Traits — Race

	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER	
BILL CLINTON	44.6	82.4	40.5	927
GEORGE BUSH	36.5	8.6	40.5	631
ROSS PEROT	7.9	1.4	2.7	134
OTHER	0.7	0.9	0.0	14
UNDECIDED	10.3	6.8	16.2	189
	100% of 1636	100% of 222	100% of 37	1895 total

Cell entries = % of cases in each column

of the total; if more people of other racial groups had been in the sample, the percentages might be changed significantly.

Dependent and independent variables

In a crosstabulation, the variable to be explained is called the *dependent* variable—because it "depends" on another explanatory factor (or factors). The factors that explain a dependent variable are known as *independent* variables.

It is important for you to understand the distinction between dependent and independent variables. The independent variable is a factor that influences the dependent variable. In our example from the VOTERS data, **Voting Intention** is the *dependent* variable, and **Race** is the *independent* variable. We expect that voters' intentions for candidates may be caused by their race; we know that race cannot be caused by voters' intentions.

Percentages by the independent variable

Misleading percentages

By convention, the *dependent* variable is placed in the *rows* of a table, and the *independent* variable is placed in the *columns*. To assess the effect of an independent variable on a dependent variable, *always compute percentages according to the totals of the independent variable.* To understand why, consider the table in Figure 5, which computes percentages by row totals instead of column totals. The table tempts one to say that 19.7% of the blacks preferred Clinton. But look closely. What it really says is that 19.7% of *all of Clinton's support* came from blacks. When you interpret a table, be careful to state what the percentages really mean.

Although *Crosstabs* allows you to compute percentages by rows, you should avoid doing so unless you have set up your tables with the independent variable in the rows—which is opposite to usual practice. We advise routinely setting up your tables so that the independent variables are at the top and the dependent variables are

Figure 5
1992 Voting Intention by Race, Percentages by Rows (Incorrect)

File Data Display Options Help

Voters

Row: Voting Behavior — Voting Intention

Column: Personal Traits — Race

	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER	
BILL CLINTON	78.6	19.7	1.6	100% of 927
GEORGE BUSH	94.6	3.0	2.4	100% of 631
ROSS PEROT	97.0	2.2	0.7	100% of 134
OTHER	85.7	14.3	0.0	100% of 14
UNDECIDED	88.9	7.9	3.2	100% of 189
	1636	222	37	1895 total

Cell entries = % of cases in each row

along the side. Then by always computing percentages by columns, you will be properly computing the percentages by the independent variables. However, *Crosstabs* does allow you to compute percentages by rows if you have a good reason for doing so. (For instance, if you really wished to study the *composition* of a candidate's voting coalition, it would be appropriate to compute percentages by rows. As Figure 5 shows, about 95% of Bush's votes came from whites, and 97% of Perot's votes came from whites.)

Percentages by totals

Crosstabs also provides the option of calculating percentages by the *total* number of cases in the table. This method of computing percentages is useful when you do not consider two variables to be causally related as dependent and independent variables. For example, if you wanted to know only what percentage of the American electorate fell in categories combining racial traits and voting intentions, percentages by the total sample would be appropriate. Selecting percentages by total from the **Display** menu produces the table in Figure 6.

The table shows that whites who preferred Clinton were the largest bloc of respondents. They constituted **38.5%** of the total sample. The next largest bloc, whites who preferred Bush, accounted for **31.5%** of the sample. Although percentages by totals may be useful for some purposes, researchers are usually more interested in computing percentages by totals of the independent variable—which usually means percentages by columns in *Crosstabs*.

Percentages in the margins

However, the table that shows percentages by totals provides some useful information about the sample in the "margins" of the table on the right-hand side and at the bottom. Instead of printing the total frequencies in each row and column, this table computes

Figure 6
1992 Voting Intention by Race, Percentages by Total

File Data Display Options Help

Voters

Row: Voting Behavior — Voting Intention

Column: Personal Traits — Race

	WHITE	BLACK	OTHER	
BILL CLINTON	38.5	9.7	0.8	48.9
GEORGE BUSH	31.5	1.0	0.8	33.3
ROSS PEROT	6.9	0.2	0.1	7.1
OTHER	0.6	0.1	0.0	0.7
UNDECIDED	8.9	0.8	0.3	10.0
	86.3	11.7	2.0	1895 total

Cell entries = % of total cases in table

the row and column totals as a percentage of the total sample. The bottom margin shows that whites constitute **86.3%** of the 1,895 valid cases in the table compared with **11.7%** for blacks. The right-hand margin shows that a plurality of the sample **(48.9%)** preferred Clinton to Bush even prior to the election.

The Role of Theory in Data Analysis

Causal relationships

Beginning students often find it easier to learn how to use the computer to generate tables than to decide on which variables they want to crosstabulate. Deciding on which tables to produce requires you to *theorize* about politics—to think about causal relationships. Your main problem is determining what you want to *explain.* Are you interested in explaining who votes and who doesn't? Voting intentions? Attitudes toward former president George Bush? Attitudes toward abortion? Attitudes toward military spending? You must first decide what you want to explain before you can try to explain it.

Description

Under the **Help** menu, **Description** offers a brief outline of the types of variables available for analysis in each data set. The description of the data set will depend on whether you requested VOTERS or CONGRESS. The screen for the VOTERS data set appears in Figure 7. It shows that the 56 variables are arranged in eight categories. You must refer to these categories in choosing your own dependent and independent variables to be analyzed by *Crosstabs.* (Detailed information about the variables in the two data sets is presented in Appendix A and Appendix B.) You cannot crosstabulate

Figure 7
VOTERS Data Set Description

Description of VOTERS Data Set

These data came from a survey of 2,313 adults interviewed before and after the 1992 presidential election.* This data set contains only 56 of the many questions in the original survey. Individuals' responses to these questions are known as **variables** in the data set.

The variables available for your analysis are grouped under these headings:

CATEGORY	NO.	Description
Personal Traits	9	sociological and background variables
Media Usage	5	indicators of TV watching and newspaper reading
Political Orientations	6	measures of party affiliation, campaign activity
Voting Behavior	4	aspects of voting in the 1992 election
Views on Bush	3	attitudes toward Bush's presidency
Views on Government	5	attitudes toward politics and government
Views on Issues	12	attitudes toward abortion, school prayer, etc.
Views on Spending	12	attitudes toward more government spending
Total	56	

*The parent survey was the 1992 National Election Study, preliminary release, conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan under grants from the National Science Foundation. The data were made available by the Inter- University Consortium for Political and Social Research, which bears no responsibility for their use in this program.

<- Previous | Done | Next ->

a variable in the VOTERS data set with one in the CONGRESS data set. You must always work within one set or the other.

Once you have settled on an object of explanation, you can start thinking about likely explanatory factors. For example, if you want to explain voter's candidate preferences (the dependent variable), you must draw on your knowledge of people and politics to arrive at possible independent variables. Perhaps you think that blacks, people with low incomes, Democrats, and liberals were likely to prefer Clinton over Bush in 1992. If so, these thoughts guide your choice of independent variables. You can test your thinking by crosstabulating candidate preference with race, income, party preference, and ideology—each in a different table, placing voting choice in the rows and the independent variables in the columns, each in turn.

Changing your independent variables

We can illustrate the process by directing *Crosstabs* to prepare another table, this time with **Household Income** as the independent variable. This is done by using the **Data** menu. First, select **Column** from the **Data** menu. Choose the **Personal Traits** category; then select **Household Income** from the list of personal traits. If you used the **Display** menu to compute percentages by columns, you would generate the table in Figure 8.

Notice that there is indeed a strong relationship between income and candidate preference before the election. Of the respondents with incomes under $10,000, **55.6%** favored Clinton before the election and only **29.7%** favored Bush. Conversely, at the highest end of the income scale (income over $50,000), **37.7%** preferred Clinton, compared with **44.3%** for Bush. Indeed, the tendency for people with higher incomes to be more likely to prefer Bush holds nearly

Figure 8
1992 Voting Intention by Income

File Data Display Options Help

Voters

Row: Voting Behavior — Voting Intention

Column: Personal Traits — Household Income

	UNDER $9,999	$9,999-16,999	$17,000-24,999	$25,000-34,999	$35,000-49,999	OVER $50,000	
BILL CLINTON	55.6	52.1	48.6	49.2	43.1	37.7	876
GEORGE BUSH	29.7	29.6	32.9	32.1	38.4	44.3	582
ROSS PEROT	5.3	6.6	8.6	6.1	12.5	8.4	130
OTHER	1.0	0.3	1.1	0.4	0.0	1.2	12
UNDECIDED	8.3	11.4	8.9	12.2	6.0	8.4	164
	100% of 505	100% of 334	100% of 280	100% of 262	100% of 216	100% of 167	1764 total

Cell entries = % of cases in each column

consistently across income categories, moving from left to right. In addition, people with higher incomes also tend to be more likely to prefer Ross Perot, but the pattern is not quite so consistent (Perot does best among those in the second highest income category). Income, therefore, like race, seems to explain voting intentions before the election.

Comparing percentages

How can you determine which explanation is better? If you were to take a course in statistics, you would learn several ways of evaluating relationships of a dependent variable with two or more independent variables. In this book, however, we rely on only the simple method of comparing percentages.

In the crosstabulation of voting preference by race (Figure 4), you saw that only 44.6% of the white respondents preferred Clinton compared with 82.4% of the blacks—an absolute difference (ignoring the minus sign) of 37.8 percentage points. (It is not correct to say a difference of 37.8%, for you are not actually computing percentages; you are only subtracting one percentage value from another.) In the table of preference by income, the difference between 55.6% and 37.1% at the lowest and highest income levels is only 18.5 percentage points. Therefore, we can conclude that race was more strongly related to voting intention in 1992 than was income.

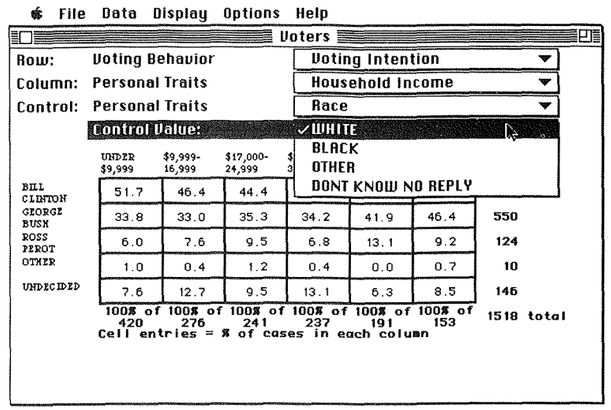
Control variables

Often, the relationship of one variable to another depends on a third variable. For example, the relationship between income and candidate preference in 1992 might vary with the voter's race. In fact, the relationship between income and candidate preference was somewhat different for blacks and whites—as you will see.

Crosstabs allows you to investigate the influence of a third variable on the relationship between any two others by treating the third variable as a *control variable.* The program will produce separate tables for each category of the control variable. Each table crosstabulates the dependent variable by the independent variable, but only for the cases that fall in a given category of the control variable. For example, if race were used as a control variable to analyze the relationship between income and voting intention, *Crosstabs* could produce one table showing the relationship for whites, another showing the relationship for blacks, and yet another for "other" races. To simplify usage, *Crosstabs* allows only one control variable in any crosstabulation.

The **Data** menu is also used to select specific control variables from the categories of variables. It then asks you to "set the value" of the variable you choose. For example, if you select **Control** from the **Data** menu and then choose **Race** from the category **Personal Traits,** the program will ask you to choose among **White, Black,** and **Other** (see Figure 9). If you set the value of **Race** to **White** from this menu, *Crosstabs* will produce a table that relates income and candidate preference for only the white respondents.

Figure 9
A Sample Control Variable Screen Choosing "White" Within Race



The crosstabulation of **Voting Intention** by income for **White** respondents (see Figure 10) confirms the strong relationship between income and candidate preference that we saw for the entire sample. Of the whites with the lowest income, **51.7%** preferred Clinton, while **46.4%** with the highest income preferred Bush.

If we return to the **Data** menu, select **Control,** and set the value for **Black** instead of white, *Crosstabs* will generate another table (Figure 11) relating voting intention and income—this time containing only the black respondents. In contrast to the table for whites, this one shows that income has relatively little effect on blacks' preferences for Clinton. Although some of the upper-income categories had very

Figure 10
1992 Voting Intention by Income, Whites Only

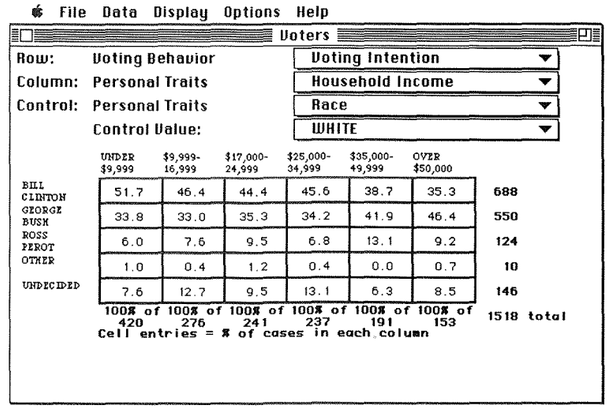


Figure 11
1992 Voting Intention by Income, Blacks Only

File Data Display Options Help

Voters

Row: Voting Behavior — Voting Intention
Column: Personal Traits — Household Income
Control: Personal Traits — Race
Control Value: BLACK

	UNDER $9,999	$9,999-16,999	$17,000-24,999	$25,000-34,999	$35,000-49,999	OVER $50,000	
BILL CLINTON	77.2	81.6	84.8	94.7	94.4	75.0	170
GEORGE BUSH	10.1	12.2	9.1	0.0	0.0	12.5	18
ROSS PEROT	1.3	0.0	3.0	0.0	5.6	0.0	3
OTHER	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	12.5	2
UNDECIDED	10.1	6.1	3.0	5.3	0.0	0.0	13
	100% of 79	100% of 49	100% of 33	100% of 19	100% of 18	100% of 8	206 total

Cell entries = % of cases in each column

few cases, blacks in every income category strongly preferred Clinton. So we conclude that the relationship between voting intention and income depends on a third variable, race.

How do you know when to control for third variables in studying the relationship between any two variables? Because there are many possible causes for almost any human event, third (and fourth and fifth) variables may affect almost any relationship. You must try to think theoretically—try to think of different factors that might affect the dependent variable on which you are focusing. Partisanship is one factor that always needs to be considered in studies of political behavior and attitudes. Because Democrats, Republicans, and Independents tend to think differently about politics, you should always consider using party identification (which is a variable included in the **Political Orientations** category in the VOTERS data) as a control variable. Chapter 3 contains some examples of research using party identification as a control variable.

Additional tools for analysis

In our example, notice the total number of respondents is fewer than the 2,313 total cases on the VOTERS data (or would be fewer than the 435 total cases in the CONGRESS data). This is because there are respondents who either failed to answer the question or answered "don't know." Because relatively few respondents fall into this category, and because we really don't know their responses, they are usually treated as "missing data" in the analysis and excluded from computing percentages. Under the **Options** menu, **Show Missing** produces an extra row and an extra column for each table that shows the number of respondents in this category (see Figure 12).

Perhaps you would like to know more information about your chosen dependent and independent variables. Under the **Data**

Figure 12
1992 Voting Intention by Race, Includes "Missing Data"

File Data Display Options Help

Voters

Row: Voting Behavior — Voting Intention
Column: Personal Traits — Household Income
Control: Personal Traits — Race
Control Value: BLACK

	UNDER $9,999	$9,999-16,999	$17,000-24,999	$25,000-34,999	$35,000-49,999	OVER $50,000	DONT KNOW NO REPLY	
BILL CLINTON	49.6	70.2	68.3	85.7	81.0	66.7	52.0	183
GEORGE BUSH	6.5	10.5	7.3	0.0	0.0	11.1	4.0	19
ROSS PEROT	0.8	0.0	2.4	0.0	4.8	0.0	0.0	3
OTHER	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	11.1	0.0	2
UNDECIDED	6.5	5.3	2.4	4.8	0.0	0.0	8.0	15
DONT KNOW NO REPLY	35.8	14.0	19.5	9.5	14.3	11.1	36.0	75
	100% of 123	100% of 57	100% of 41	100% of 21	100% of 21	100% of 9	100% of 25	297 total

Cell entries = % of cases in each column

menu, **Explain Variable** does just that. (See Figure 13 for the questions underlying the voting intention variables that are shown in Figure 11.)

Crosstabs provides another tool for analysis that does not require the use of the Menu Bar. In order to use the **Show Cell** option, you must first position your cursor in a table cell. To select a cell on IBM-compatible computers, use the arrow keys (<← →>) to move the cursor to the desired cell, and press the **<Enter>** key. To select a cell on Macintosh computers, simply click the mouse on the desired cell.

Figure 13
Sample Screen from "Explain Variables" Option

File Data Display Options Help

Text of Row Variable Question

"Who do you think you will vote for in the election for President? (Probe: We all know the election is some time away and that people are not certain at this point who they will vote for. Still, who do you think you will vote for in the election for President?)"

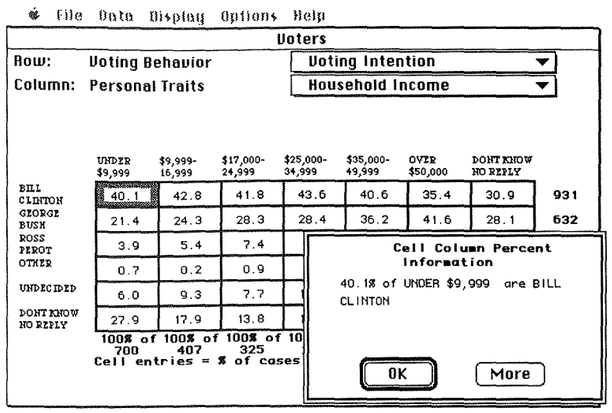
OK

Row: Vo
Column: Pe
Control: Pe
Co

	U $9							
BILL CLINTON	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	3
GEORGE BUSH	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	2
ROSS PEROT	8	3	1	1	0	0	2	15
OTHER	44	8	8	2	3	1	9	75
UNDECIDED	123	57	41	21	21	9	25	297 total
DONT KNOW NO REPLY								

Cell entries = frequency of occurrence

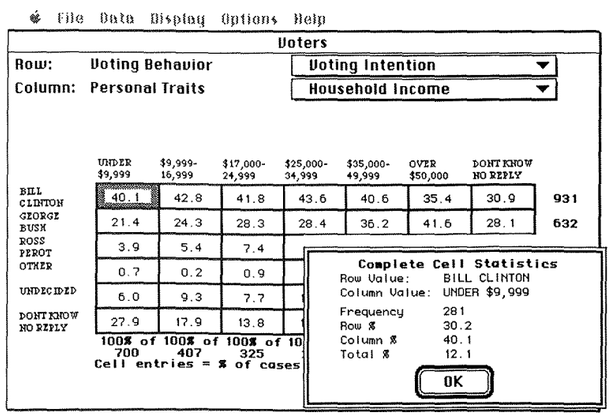
Figure 14
Frequency Counts from "Show Cell" Option



Once a cell has been selected, **Show Cell** gives a "verbal interpretation" of the number in the cell—as illustrated in the box in Figure 14. This information is useful for beginning users of *Crosstabs*. To get complete cell statistics, select **More** by pressing the **<M>** or **<Enter>** keys on the IBM or by clicking on the **More** button on the Macintosh.

The complete cell statistics include the frequency of cases in any cell and its percentage of the row total, of the column total, and of the total number of the cases in the table—as illustrated in Figure 15. This option is useful when you are studying a frequency table, for it provides all ways of calculating percentages for the cell without reverting to the **Display** menu to calculate them.

Figure 15
Percentages from "Show Cell" Option



The Menu Bar

As you have seen, *Crosstabs* lets you compute percentages automatically through a computer "menu," which is simply a list of operations that you can choose to direct the program. Several menus are listed in the *menu bar,* which appears at the top of the screen in the *Crosstabs* program:

File Data Display Options Help

File menu

The **File** menu allows you to select the data set you want to work with. The **Data** menu allows you to manipulate variables within those data sets and offers brief explanations of those variables. The **Display** menu allows you to choose what information you want to appear in the cells of a crosstabulation. The **Options** menu gives you some additional options for use in examining your data. If you forget these distinctions, you can get help from the **Help** menu. When you need to execute an item under a main menu heading, commands will be separated by "|." For example, to select **Open** under the **File** menu, you will be asked to select **File | Open**.

The **File** menu enables you to open the data sets, as well as print them. The **Open** selection under **File** allows you to choose from one of the two available data sets, VOTERS or CONGRESS. The way this is done is slightly different on the IBM and the Macintosh. On the IBM, when you **File | Open**, you will see the same screen you saw when you first came into the program, and you will select VOTERS or CONGRESS the same way you did at that time. On the Macintosh, you will see a standard **Open** dialog box, where you can highlight the desired data set and click on the **OK** button, or you can simply double-click on the desired data set.

The **Close** option allows you to close a data file without opening another one. This feature is disabled on the IBM version.

Print describes how to print a copy of the table currently displayed on the screen—if a printer is connected to the computer. This option is very useful when you are writing papers based on the crosstabulations. Even dedicated computer users often find it easier to write from printed output.

Finally, the **Quit** menu allows you to exit gracefully from the program when you are finished.

Data Menu

The **Data** menu in *Crosstabs* has several options to assist you in actually crosstabulating the data sets VOTERS and CONGRESS.

Use the **Row** and **Column** submenus to select variables to enter in the rows and columns of a table. When you select either submenu, you will see the categories of variables. After you choose a category, you will be presented with a list of all the variables in that category. Any variable that you choose while you are in the **Row** menu will

automatically appear in the rows of the *Crosstabs* table. Any variable that you select while you are in the **Column** menu will appear in the columns of the table. Remember to select a variable that you want to explain as the *row* variable. That will be your *dependent* variable. Then select for the *columns* a likely explanatory variable. That will be your *independent* variable. Most researchers try out several independent variables in their search for the best available explanation of the dependent variable.

Use the **Control** submenu to investigate the influence of a third variable on the relationship between any two others. This submenu functions the same as **Row** and **Column**, except you can also choose "None" as a category.

Explain Variable tells more about the variables in the table. For the VOTERS data, it displays the full text of the questions asked in the 1992 election survey for the row and column variables in the table. (See Figure 13 for the questions underlying the voting intention variables that are shown in Figure 11.) For the CONGRESS data, **Explain Variables** describes the data sources and the nature of the roll-call votes.

Display Menu

The **Display** menu enables you to display tables in four different ways:

1. The **Frequency** submenu enables you to display tables by *frequencies*, with cell entries as *raw counts*.
2. The **Column %** submenu enables you to display tables by *column percentages*, with entries as *percentages of the column*. You will spend much of your time analyzing this mode of display.
3. The **Row %** submenu enables you to display tables by *row percentages*, with entries as *percentages of the row totals*. Remember, you should avoid computing percentages by rows unless you have set up your tables with the independent variable in the rows—which is opposite to usual practice. When you interpret a table, be careful to state what the percentages really mean.
4. The **Total %** submenu enables you to display tables by *total percentages*, with entries as *percentages of the total cases in the table.*

Options Menu

The **Options** menu offers two choices that are designed to help you analyze the tables generated by *Crosstabs*.

Show Missing produces an extra row and an extra column for each table (see Figure 12). These extra cells classify those respondents who failed to answer one or the other question or who answered "don't know." Because relatively few respondents fall into these cells and because we really don't know their responses, they are usually treated as "missing data" in the analysis and excluded from computing percentages. Their omission accounts for most tables reporting fewer than 2,313 total cases in the VOTERS data (and fewer than 435

total cases in the CONGRESS data). If you want to see how these "missing" cases are distributed across the coding categories, however, simply choose **Show Missing** from the **Options** menu. That option will then apply for all subsequent tables. You can delete the missing cases from your tables once again by returning to the **Options** menu and selecting **Hide Missing.**

Statistics is intended for those who know something about statistical analysis and who want to compute standard measures of association between the variables in the table on the screen. Choosing this option produces a window that shows eleven different measures of association: chi-square; phi; three computations of lambda; two computations of tau; gamma; and three computations of Somers D. If you do not know about these measures, you will need to consult a statistics book. (Ordinarily, students in an introductory course in American government are not expected to know about these measures.)

Help Menu

The **Help** option in the **Control** menu offers information to assist you in the use of control variables. **Help | General** gives you an overview of the features of *Crosstabs*. **Help | Data** gives you more information targeted at specific areas of the program that fall under the **Data** menu. **Help | Display** focuses specifically on items that fall under the **Display** menu, encompassing the various ways of displaying crosstabulated data. **Help | Options** gives a brief description of the additional tools for analysis found in the **Options** menu.

Show Cell

Crosstabs also contains one option that does *not* employ the menu bar. **Show Cell** provides some additional information for any cell on which the cursor is positioned. To select a cell on IBM-compatible computers, use the arrow keys (<← → ↑ ↓>) to move the cursor to the desired cell, and press the **<Enter>** key. To select a cell on Macintosh computers, simply click the mouse on the desired cell. Once a cell has been selected, **Show Cell** provides two types of information:

1. A "verbal interpretation" of the number in the cell—as illustrated in the box in Figure 14. This information is useful for beginning users of *Crosstabs*. If this is the only information you require, select **OK** by pressing the **<0>** key on the IBM or by clicking on the **OK** button on the Macintosh. To produce the second type of information, select **More** by pressing the **<M>** or **<Enter>** keys on the IBM or by clicking on the **More** button on the Macintosh.
2. The complete cell statistics include the frequency of cases in any cell and its percentage of the row total, of the column total, and of the total number of the cases in the table—as illustrated in Figure 15. This option is useful when you are studying a frequency table, for it provides all ways of calculating percentages

for the cell without reverting to the **Display** menu to calculate them.

After you are accustomed to using *Crosstabs,* you probably will want to skip over the verbal interpretation of the cell's contents. If *Crosstabs* determines that you are skipping over the verbal interpretation too rapidly to really read it, the program will automatically reverse the order of presentation. The next time you ask to **Show Cell,** *Crosstabs* will show the cell statistics first, assuming that you really want to see those rather than the verbal interpretation. However, if you select **More,** *Crosstabs* will then provide the verbal interpretation.

Now that you have seen how the program operates, you can begin to use it to study American government. The next two chapters show how.

3

Sample Questions for Research

This chapter gets you started in using *Crosstabs* to develop your understanding of American government and politics. It contains 50 questions that you can answer by using the instructions about the program in Chapter 2 and the information about the VOTERS and CONGRESS data sets in Appendix A and Appendix B.

Until you become comfortable using *Crosstabs,* you may need to refer to those portions of the *Workbook* (particularly to Chapter 2) when you answer the questions. Once you understand how the program operates and are familiar with the variables in the two data sets, you will be prepared to do research on your own. Chapter 4 suggests how to undertake original research using the VOTERS and CONGRESS data sets.

The sample questions are keyed to the text of *The Challenge of Democracy.* They were selected to help extend and consolidate your knowledge of government in America. Questions for each chapter begin on right-hand pages so that you can tear out each chapter's questions and submit them for grading.

Most questions simply require a short answer, to be written in the space provided after you have consulted or constructed the appropriate *Crosstabs* tables. For some questions, you will be writing a sentence or more of explanation. Most of the questions use the VOTERS data. The CONGRESS data are therefore relatively untouched for your own research projects, as suggested in Chapter 4.

The 50 research questions cover thirteen of the chapters in *The Challenge of Democracy.* The questions begin with Chapter 5 on public opinion and political socialization; all subsequent chapters except 13

(bureaucracy), 14 (courts), and 17 (policymaking) have a set of questions. As you research these questions, you will learn a good deal about politics in the United States.

Questions on Public Opinion and Political Socialization

The chapter on public opinion and political socialization relies on data from a national survey conducted by the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) in 1990. The VOTERS data on the *Crosstabs* disk come from a different survey taken just before and just after the 1992 presidential election. Because Chapter 5 in *The Challenge of Democracy* in part used the earlier NORC survey, its findings about public opinion differ somewhat from findings you will produce with *Crosstabs*. That should make your research more interesting, for you will not be simply reproducing tables reported in your textbook.

Our first question deals with the ideological orientation of the American electorate. Figure 5.2 on page 147 of your textbook shows that ideological orientations in the United States tend to be normally distributed (that is, in a bell-shaped curve) along a liberal-conservative scale. (See Figure 5.2 on page 147 for a discussion of different distributions of opinion.) In fact, a survey taken in 1964 shows a distribution very similar to the 1990 NORC survey findings. We expect the ideological orientations of respondents in the VOTERS survey to be similar to those in the NORC survey. This expectation produces the first question (write your answer in the space provided).

Question 1: *Were the ideological orientations of the public also normally distributed in the 1992 election survey?*

To answer Question 1, you will not need to use *Crosstabs*. Instead, consult the general headings of variables in Appendix A of the *Workbook* to familiarize yourself with the variables in the VOTERS data set. Look at the **Political Orientations** category to find the variable pertaining to the respondents' ideological scale choice. You will find a variable named **Ideological Orientation.** The survey question that produced this variable is given on page 86, along with the categories used to classify respondents for their ideological orientation. The distribution of respondents among the ideological categories in the NORC survey is listed in the left column of the following table. In the spaces in the right column, enter the percentages for the categories in the VOTERS survey.

NORC 1990 Survey		VOTERS 1992 Survey	
		Haven't thought much	____ %
Very liberal	3%	.....	
Liberal	11%	Liberal	____ %
Slightly liberal	14%	Slightly liberal	____ %
Moderate	36%	Moderate, middle road	____ %
Slightly conservative	18%	Slightly conservative	____ %
Conservative	15%	Conservative	____ %
Very conservative	4%	.....	

As you can see, the patterns of responses for ideological orientation were similar in the two surveys, but the different categories complicate the comparisons. The NORC survey used seven ideological categories, whereas the VOTERS data used only six. Although the categories were not the same, the *distribution* of responses was similar. Both surveys revealed a normal distribution for ideological attitudes, with many more people at the center of the distribution than at the extremes.

The most frequent category (called the *mode*) was "moderate" in both surveys, but the percentage of moderates in the NORC survey in the summer of 1990 was over 12 percentage points more than the percentage of moderates reported in the VOTERS survey two years later.

Some differences between the surveys might be due simply to sampling error (see Feature 5.1, page 143 in *The Challenge of Democracy,* for a discussion of sampling theory). However, a difference of 12 percentage points falls beyond the usual range of error of plus or minus 3 percentage points with samples of almost 1,500 cases. Thus, something else is probably at work.

The two sets of response categories differ in another way. The NORC survey did not ask respondents whether they "thought much" about political ideology before having them classify themselves. Because about one quarter of the VOTERS sample admitted that they did not think much about ideology, they were siphoned off into this category without choosing *any* ideological classification. The NORC survey also includes categories for "very liberal" and "very conservative," which were not options for those answering the VOTERS survey.

These differences in survey questions and response categories do not invalidate a comparison of the NORC and the VOTERS data. (Seldom will researchers encounter exactly the same questions and exactly the same response categories in different sample surveys.) However, the differences must be taken into account in interpreting the results from the two surveys.

Let's consider again the major differences between the surveys. (1) The NORC survey found that there were over 12 percentage points more moderates in the public in 1990 than we found in the

1992 VOTERS survey. (2) However, the VOTERS survey excused about one quarter of the people in the sample from classifying themselves because they "hadn't thought much" about ideology. (3) The VOTERS survey lacked categories for "very liberal" and "very conservative," so those who might have chosen these responses had to make another choice instead. Read the discussion about "The Degree of Ideological Thinking in Public Opinion" in *The Challenge of Democracy* (page 163). Relying on that discussion, answer Question 2.

Question 2: *Why may there have been relatively fewer responses of "moderate" and more responses of "liberal" and "conservative" in the VOTERS survey?*

Chapter 5 discusses the effects of social groups on political values. Figure 5.4 (page 158) shows major differences on the NORC questions about order and equality across social groups. Grouping respondents by their level of education produced some of the sharpest differences. Questions 3, 4, and 5 require you to use *Crosstabs* to explore further the effect of education on ideological thinking.

In this research, treat political ideology as a *dependent* variable to be explained by education, the *independent* variable. Use the **Row** menu in *Crosstabs* to select **Ideological Orientation** as the dependent variable. Then use the **Column** menu to select **Education** as the independent variable. From the **Display** menu, choose **Column %.** Referring to the crosstabulation of these variables produced by *Crosstabs,* fill in the cells in the table in Figure 16.

Answer Questions 3 and 4 with reference to the values that you entered in the cells of the table in Figure 16.

Question 3: *What percentage of those who did not graduate from high school "haven't thought much" about political ideology?*

Question 4: *What percentage of those who graduated from college "haven't thought much" about political ideology?*

Chapter 5 (page 149) states that the public *as a whole* tended to be more conservative than liberal in both 1964 and 1992. According to the VOTERS data:

Figure 16
Table for Questions 3 and 4

File Data Display Options Help

Voters

Row: Political Orientations — Ideological Orientation

Column: Personal Traits — Education

	NOT H.S. GRADUATE	HIGH SCH GRADUATE	SOME COLLEGE	COLLEGE GRADUATE	
HAVEN'T THOUGHT	50.0	30.7	18.9	3.4	546
LIBERAL	5.7	7.5	12.3	18.5	240
SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	6.4	7.8	10.6	15.1	218
MODERATE MIDDLE RD	18.5	27.8	25.7	20.0	520
SLIGHTLY CONSERV	7.4	12.0	17.7	21.6	325
CONSER-VATIVE	12.1	14.2	14.9	21.4	344
	100% of 406	100% of 733	100% of 530	100% of 524	2193 total

Cell entries = % of cases in each column

Question 5: *Did the tendency for respondents to classify themselves as conservative rather than liberal hold across every educational level? (Answer yes or no.)*

Compare the percentages of those who classified themselves as liberal across every educational group with those who classified themselves as conservative. Then answer Question 6.

Question 6: *What evidence is there that the more highly educated respondents tended to be more conservative than respondents of other educational levels?*

Questions on The Mass Media

The importance of television as the source of news for most Americans is demonstrated in Figures 6.1 and 6.4 (pages 181 and 197) of *The Challenge of Democracy.* Pages 194–198 discuss the effect of different news sources on what people remember from following the news and what they know about politics and suggest that television is a poor source of news. *Crosstabs* and the VOTERS data can help develop your understanding of media usage and its effects on political behavior.

Question 7: *What educational group is most likely to watch TV network news daily? (This question can be answered by using the variable* **TV News Watchers** *as your dependent variable and* **Education** *as your independent variable.)*

To answer Question 8, substitute **Watch Campaign on TV?** as the dependent variable.

Question 8: *Members of what educational group are* **most** *likely to pay attention to the news that they watch on television?*

Although network news contains proportionately more news about government and politics than newspapers contain (see Figure 6.2, page 185), newspapers treat the news in much greater depth. Consequently, one might expect to find a relationship between education and reading newspapers. This expectation leads to Question 9. (You must change your dependent variable to **Newspaper Readers** to answer this question.)

Question 9: *Compute the difference between the percentages of respondents who* **didn't** *read a newspaper the previous week for (1) respondents who did not graduate from high school and (2) those with a college degree.*

The Challenge of Democracy begins by noting that about two-thirds of respondents surveyed in 1992 agreed that "Politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't understand what's going on." Their responses to this statement are in the variable **Understanding Politics,** which is in the **Views of Government** category. Does the respondents' source of news have any effect on their sense of understanding about politics? Using **Understanding Politics** as the dependent variable, prepare two tables—one using

TV News Watchers and the other using **Newspaper Readers** as independent variables. Then answer Question 10.

Question 10: *Describe the effects of watching television and reading a newspaper on respondents' sense of political understanding.*

Questions on Participation and Voting

Chapter 7 frequently generalizes about the nature and extent of political participation in the United States. You can use *Crosstabs* with the VOTERS data to investigate the accuracy of these statements and to expand your knowledge of political behavior.

Chapter 7 argues that, contrary to popular perception, Americans are *not* politically apathetic when compared with citizens in other democratic nations. Based on a survey done in the 1970s, the graph on page 228 shows that—except for voting—Americans were more likely to engage in various forms of conventional political participation than were the West Germans, Austrians, Dutch, and British.

But that survey was conducted over a decade ago. What about the 1990s? Do the findings still hold up? For example, how often do Americans say they sometimes discuss politics with friends?

Question 11: *How often did respondents in 1992 say that they discussed politics?*

You do not need to use *Crosstabs* to answer Question 11. Instead, refer to the variable **Discuss Politics** in the **Political Orientation** category in Appendix A. What percentage of the sample said that they "never" discussed politics with family or friends? Subtract that percentage from 100% to obtain the percentage that discussed politics in 1992, and write the answer in the blank.

The same survey that produced the graph on page 241 of the textbook found that 64% of Americans said that they sometimes discussed politics with friends. Use your answer for Question 11 to answer Question 12.

Question 12: *Were respondents more likely, equally likely, or less likely to discuss politics in 1992?*

Chapter 7 (page 241) in *The Challenge of Democracy* discusses the importance of education as a factor in several forms of political participation: having interest in the campaign, voting, persuading others how to vote, attending meetings, and working in campaigns. For every form of participation, the greater the level of education, the greater is the tendency to participate in politics.

Question 13: *What is the effect of education on "discussing politics" as a form of political participation?*

Use *Crosstabs* to produce a table that treats **Discuss Politics** as the dependent variable and **Education** as the independent variable. Referring to the discussion of "comparing percentages" on page 14 of this *Workbook,* compute the effect of education on discussing politics. Subtract the percentage of those who are not high school graduates who "never" discuss politics from the percentage of college graduates in the same category. Ignoring signs, enter the result on the line for Question 13. This difference in percentage points is one measure of the effect of education on discussing politics.

Chapter 7 explains how hard both women and blacks had to fight for the right to vote. Nevertheless, both groups had low voting rates prior to the 1960s. Sex and race differences in voting turnout have eroded over time, however. Use *Crosstabs* to analyze the variable **Final Voting Choice** for both **Sex** and **Race,** and answer Questions 14 and 15.

Question 14: *Who voted at a higher rate in 1992, men or women?*

Question 15: *Who voted at a higher rate in 1992, whites or blacks?*

The discussion on pages 240–241 of *The Challenge of Democracy* stresses the importance of socioeconomic status in explaining political participation in what has become known as the *standard economic model* of explanation. Of the various measures of socioeconomic status, education is the most important for explaining political participation. Because blacks and whites differ greatly in level of education, their educational differences must be taken into account, or *controlled,* in assessing the true effect of race on voting.

To control for education, refer to the discussion of the **Control** menu in *Crosstabs* on pages 14–16. Using the same table that allowed you to answer Question 15 (with **Final Voting Choice** in the row and **Race** in the columns), move to the **Control** menu and choose **Education** for your control variable. Then set the value of the control variable to **Not H.S. Graduate,** and create another table. Tabulate the relationship between race and vote for only those whites, blacks, and others who did not graduate from high school.

Then return to the **Control** menu and select **Change Value** so that you can change the value of the control variable to **High School Graduate** for another table. Study the results of these two tables, and

answer Question 16. (There are not enough blacks in the sample with college experience to pursue further comparisons.)

Question 16: *Controlling for education, what is the effect of race on voter turnout?*

Questions Political Parties, and on Nominations, Elections, and Campaigns

Chapter 8 stresses the importance of party identification—the voter's sense of psychological attachment to a party—to the study of party politics and voting behavior. As discussed on pages 271–273, national surveys taken from 1952 to 1992 consistently found that more respondents regarded themselves as Democrats than as Republicans.

Throughout that period, surveys sought to measure party identification by asking respondents this question, "Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?" Answer Question 17 by referring to the distribution of responses to this question in the **Party Identification** variable in the **Political Orientations** category in Appendix A.

Question 17: *What was the difference in percentage points between Democratic and Republican respondents in 1992?*

As explained in Chapter 8 of *The Challenge of Democracy* (page 265), in the 1930s Franklin D. Roosevelt creating a voting coalition of southerners, northern urban workers, Catholics, Jews, and white ethnic minorities that transformed the Democrats into the majority party. Figure 8.4 (page 273) analyzes the distribution of party identification by various social groups. Evidence of the old Roosevelt coalition still remains, but there have also been major changes.

The Democratic party is particularly concerned about the party identification of young people, as changes have weakened the New Deal coalition. Crosstabulate **Party Identification** with **Age,** and answer Question 18.

Question 18: *What age groups are more likely to describe themselves as Republicans than as Democrats?*

Although the importance of party identification in determining voting choice has declined in the past three decades, it is still important. Page 310 in Chapter 9 cites an exit poll taken during after the 1992 election that found 77% of Democrats voted for Clinton, while 73% of Republicans voted for Bush. You can validate the accuracy of that poll against the responses in the VOTERS data by crosstabulating **Final Voting Choice** with **Party Identification.** Because the resulting table includes those who did not vote in the election, you will need to exclude them from the analysis and recompute (by

hand) the percentages of Democrats who voted for Clinton and of Republicans who voted for Bush. Then answer Question 19.

Question 19: *How closely do the VOTERS data on 1992 presidential voting choice conform to the exit poll?*

The relationship between party identification and ideology is graphed in Figure 8.6 (page 276). However, that graph uses data from two newspaper sources. Using **Ideological Orientation** as the dependent variable and **Party Identification** as the independent variable, produce the table needed to answer Question 20 from the VOTERS data. (Hint: Compute percentages by rows in answering this question.)

Question 20: *What percentage of "liberals" are Democrats in the VOTERS survey, and what percentage of "conservatives" are Republicans?*

The effect of party identification on voting choice in the 1992 presidential election is discussed on pages 308–311. You can see the effect of party identification on both voting *choice* and voting *turnout* by crosstabulating **Final Voting Choice** (the dependent variable) with **Party Identification.** Then answer Question 21.

Question 21: *Which category of identifiers—Democrats, Republicans, or Independents—was least likely to vote in the 1992 presidential election?*

In Chapter 2 of the *Workbook,* we used the variable **Voting Intention**—the respondent's candidate preference *before* the election—to illustrate the use of *Crosstabs.* Now it is time to see how likely respondents are to change their candidate preference and vote differently in the actual election. Because **Voting Intention** came prior to the election, it should be treated as the causal variable, and **Final Voting Choice** should be the dependent variable. Construct the proper table using these two variables, and answer Question 22.

Question 22: *Approximately what percentage of the voters who expressed a candidate preference before the election actually voted for that candidate in the election?*

Only a small percentage of those respondents who expressed a

candidate preference actually voted for *another* candidate. You can learn which partisans—Democrat or Republican—were more likely to defect from their voting choice if you run **Final Voting Choice** against **Voting Intention** and use **Party Identification** as a control variable through the **Control** menu. Produce two tables. In the first, set the control value to **Democrat,** and in the second, set the value to **Republican.** Then answer Question 23.

Question 23: *Which categories of respondents were* **most** *and* **least** *likely to deviate from their preferences for Clinton or Bush before the election and to vote for the other candidate? What about partisan deviations to Perot? Can you explain why they changed?*

Questions on Interest Groups

Interest groups are very influential in a pluralist democracy like the United States. Chapter 10 (pages 324–325) presents different views on whether interest groups are forces for good or for evil in American government. The VOTERS data contain a variable that discloses the public's view of "who benefits" from government. Refer to **Who Benefits from Govt?** in the "Evaluations" category in Appendix A to answer Question 24.

Question 24: *Do most people think that government is run for the benefit of a* **few** *big interests or for the benefit of* **all?**

As shown in Figure 10.3 (page 332), many interest groups represent corporations or trade associations. Because people in business tend to have the highest income in the United States, you might expect a strong relationship between income and attitudes toward who is running government. You can check out the strength of the relationship by using *Crosstabs* to analyze **Who Benefits from Govt?** by **Household Income.** Then answer Question 25.

Question 25: *Explain the relationship between income and attitudes toward who benefits from government.*

Of course, people earn their income in ways other than by engaging in business. Perhaps another variable would provide a better explanation of attitudes about who benefits most from government. Strong links between the Republican party and business were forged around the turn of the century. If you assume that respondents who identified themselves as Republicans thought that what was good for business groups was also good for the country, you might expect to find a strong relationship between **Who Benefits from Govt?** and **Party Identification.**

Question 26: *Compare the effects of party identification and income on attitudes about who benefits from the running of government.*

Questions on Congress

According to democratic theory, the public controls the behavior of their representatives in Congress by threatening them with electoral defeat. However, as discussed in Chapter 11 of *The Challenge of Democracy,* voters are far more likely to reelect incumbent representatives than they are to defeat them. Figure 11.1 (page 365) shows that usually more than 90% of House members who sought reelection were successful in general elections from 1950 through 1994. Although Figure 11.1 includes results for 1994, you can study in detail these 1994 congressional elections with the CONGRESS data set, described in Appendix B.

The CONGRESS data set pertains to all 435 members in the House of Representatives in the 103rd Congress, which was elected in November 1992 to serve from 1993 through 1994. Consult the variable **Incumbent's Fate in 1994** (see Appendix B). The frequencies reported for this variable show that only 52 members (12%) did not stand for reelection in the November general election. To answer Question 27, use the frequencies reported in the table to compute the success rate of incumbents who stood for reelection.

Question 27: *What percentage of the incumbents in the 103rd Congress who ran in the 1994 congressional elections were reelected to serve in the 104th Congress in 1995–1996?*

As shown in frequencies for the variable **Party** in Appendix B, there were 258 Democrats, 175 Republicans, and 1 Independent in the 103rd Congress (one seat was vacant for much of the period). How was this balance affected by the 1994 elections? Choose the CONGRESS data set in *Crosstabs,* and construct a table that crosstabulates **Incumbent's Fate in 1994** (located in the **Political Outcomes** category) with **Party** (located in the **Member Traits** category). Then answer Question 28.

Question 28: *Which party had more incumbent representatives reelected in 1994, the Democrats or the Republicans?*

The Challenge of Democracy (pages 385–386) discusses the importance of political parties in voting on issues in Congress. Although very few votes find all members of one party voting together against all the members of the opposing party, many votes qualify as party-unity votes—a vote that pits a majority of Democrats against a majority of Republicans. Located in the **Job Ratings** category, the

Party Unity variable in the CONGRESS data indicates the percentage of time that each member supports his or her party on such votes. After reading the description of that variable in Appendix B, crosstabulate **Party Unity** with **Party** to answer Question 29.

Question 29: *Which party in the House of Representatives, the Democrats or the Republicans, showed more party unity in Congressional voting?*

As discussed in Chapter 8 on political parties, activists in the Democratic party are far more likely to describe themselves as "liberal" than are Republican party activists. Consequently, you might expect Republican members to oppose government attempts at gun control more than Democratic members do. One such example that might fit this characterization is legislation banning the manufacture or sale of certain kinds of firearms.

A proposal to ban the manufacture or sale of "assault rifles"—semi-automatic weapons—and high-capacity ammuntion clips was introduced in the 103rd Congress as H.R. 4296. The vote is included in the CONGRESS data set as **Assault Weapons Ban**. The CONGRESS data contain thirteen votes for 1993 under three categories: equality, order, and foreign policy. Most of them were classified as "key" votes by *Congressional Quarterly* (a private but authoritative source of information about politics in Washington, D.C.), because of the votes' significance for policy or for partisan politics.

Although Democrats controlled the House of Representatives, their party was somewhat divided over H.R. 4296 (as was the Republican party). This division made the vote on the ban quite close (although the House ultimately passed the bill, voting 216 to 214). You can examine the voting patterns of Democrats and Republicans by crosstabulating **Assault Weapons Ban** with **Party.** A coalition of Democrats and Republicans passed the bill. Which members were most likely to vote for the amendment?

The Challenge of Democracy cites several sources of influence—interest groups, colleagues, staff, the president, and constituents—that are relevant to how a member votes (see pages 384–389). Because H.R. 4296 was targeted against guns, you might expect that the characteristics of a member's constituency would affect that member's vote. In general, people living in rural areas of the United States, because of tradition, hunting, and the like, tend to be against gun control. People living in urban areas, exposed more and more often to violent crime, tend to be more in favor. Appendix B describes several variables that characterize the districts that the members represent. If you crosstabulate **Assault Weapons Ban** with **% Urban** (in the category "Characteristics of the District"), you will see that those representatives in the least urbanized areas were opponents of

the bill (about 75% against), while those from heavily urbanized areas supported it (about 79% in favor).

From what you know about politics generally, however, you might expect the effect of heavy urbanization to be confounded with the effect of party, for Democrats would be more likely than Republicans to represent urban districts. You can use the **Control** menu to separate the influence of party and district in members' votes on H.R. 4296. After you have crosstabulated **Assault Weapons Ban** with **% Urban**, prepare two other tables with **Party** as the control variable. This procedure holds party "constant" in each table, allowing you to assess the effect of heavy urbanization separately from the effect of party. For the first table, use Democrat as the control value; for the second, use Republican. Then answer Question 30.

Question 30: *Did the percentage of urban population in the district have a greater effect on voting to ban assault weapons for Democrats or for Republicans? Explain.*

Questions on The Presidency

As discussed in Chapter 12 of *The Challenge of Democracy*, presidential power has expanded beyond that envisioned by the framers of the Constitution. For example, the Constitution primarily limits the president's role in making laws to approving or vetoing legislation, but today the president is expected to submit a legislative program to Congress and try to persuade legislators to vote for his proposals (page 421). Although Congress has come to rely on presidential leadership in proposing legislation, Congress can be fiercely independent when it comes to deciding how to deal with the president's proposals.

One way to evaluate congressional reaction to presidential initiatives is to measure the percentage of time that members of the House and Senate vote to support the president's public position on issues that are before Congress. Such a "presidential support score" is conveniently calculated by *Congressional Quarterly* and published annually in its *Weekly Report*. According to this measure of support for presidents from 1953 through 1993, most presidents won only slightly more than half of the time in congressional voting.

The CONGRESS data set contains data on presidential support scores during the Clinton administration. The variable **Presidential Support** (in the category **Job Ratings**) reports presidential support scores for the House in 1993. However, the discussion of **Presidential Support** in Appendix B indicates that President Clinton won on 86.4% of the votes on which he announced a position. Construct a table that analyzes **Presidential Support** by **Party.** Then answer Question 31.

Question 31: *What percentage of the Republicans supported President Clinton more than 60% of the time, and what percentage of the Democrats supported him less than 40% of the time?*

Presidents usually get more cooperation from Congress on matters of foreign relations than on domestic policy. However, even in the foreign policy area, presidents have faced a reluctant Congress. President Clinton supported aid for Russia despite objections about certain Russian policies and arguments that the money was needed more at home. An amendment to H.R. 2295, the foreign aid bill for 1994, sought to cut aid by $1.6 billion. This was one of *Congressional Quarterly*'s key votes for 1993, and it is reported in Appendix B as **Aid to Russia**, in the "Foreign Policy" category. Analyze the vote on **Aid to Russia** by **Party.** Then answer Question 32.

Question 32: *Describe the pattern of party voting on the amendment reducing aid to Russia in 1993.*

Questions on Civil Liberties and Civil Rights

Chapter 15 reviews important Supreme Court cases that have defined limits to the infringement of religion, expression, and personal autonomy by government. The Supreme Court's decisions in these areas may be supported or opposed by groups of citizens. You can use the VOTERS data to analyze public opinion concerning two important topics in civil liberties—school prayer and abortion.

The Supreme Court has consistently opposed permitting prayer in public schools as government encouragement of religion and therefore an infringement of civil liberties. Responses to a question about school prayer are captured in the **School Prayer** variable in the **Views on Issues** category in Appendix A. Consult the question and the distribution of responses, and then answer Question 33.

Question 33: *Is the Supreme Court's position on school prayer supported or opposed by a majority of the public?*

School prayer is often regarded as a major issue that divided liberals and conservatives. It is also an issue that divided Protestants—who constitute a majority of the population—from religious minorities. Using **School Prayer** as the dependent variable and **Ideological Orientation** and **Biblical Views** as the independent variables, construct tables to answer Question 34.

Question 34: *Discuss the effect of ideology and religiosity on respondents' attitudes toward prayer in the schools.*

Like school prayer, the issue of abortion involves the principle of civil liberties in defining the state's role in constraining personal choice. Chapter 15 (pages 543–546) discusses the abortion controversy. In the case of *Roe* v. *Wade* (1973), the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional a law that made it a crime to obtain an abortion except to save the mother's life. Recent trends have shifted toward limited restrictions on individuals' right to personal choice about abortion; however, the Court has in the main upheld these rights.

The **Abortion** variable (in the political attitudes category in Appendix A) reports the distribution of opinion on a range of choices concerning abortion. Study that distribution, and answer Question 35.

Question 35: *Discuss the relationship between public opinion and the Supreme Court's decisions on abortion and on school prayer. On which issue is the Court more in accord with public opinion?*

Abortion is another issue that is said to divide liberals from conservatives. It is an issue that is also supposed to be especially important to Catholics. Using **Abortion** as the dependent variable and **Ideological Orientation** and **Religion** as the independent variables, construct tables to answer Question 36.

Question 36: *Discuss the effect of* **Ideology** *and* **Religion** *on respondents' attitudes toward abortion.*

Questions on Equality and Civil Rights

As implied by the title of Chapter 16, civil rights—the government's guarantee of powers and privileges to all citizens—serve to promote social and economic equality. The history of civil rights in the United States is strongly linked to providing equality to blacks in voting and education. But equality has been a concern of other disadvantaged groups as well.

Has the U.S. government gone too far in guaranteeing equal rights? Consult the distribution of responses to the **Equal Rights** variable (in the **Views on Issues** category in Appendix A), and then answer Question 37.

Question 37: *What percentage of Americans "disagree" (either strongly or somewhat) and what percentage "agree" that we have "gone too far" in pushing equal rights?*

As discussed in Chapter 1 of *The Challenge of Democracy,* conservatives and liberals are supposed to differ substantially in their attitudes toward using government power to promote equality. Using **Equal Rights** as the dependent variable, construct a table that assesses the effect of ideology on attitudes toward promoting equality. Then answer Question 38.

Question 38: *Explain the differences between the responses of liberals and conservatives to the view that we have "gone too far" in pushing for equal rights.*

Of course, "equal rights" is a broad concept. How do you think liberals and conservatives would react if the issue of government assistance were tied to improving the condition of disadvantaged groups? Use the **Minority Aid** variable to investigate Question 39.

Question 39: *Explain whether the differences between ideological groups increased or decreased when the question of government action was defined in terms of minority groups.*

You would expect members of disadvantaged groups to favor government action to improve their condition. However, the Equal Rights Amendment (see *The Challenge of Democracy,* pages 579–580) was vigorously opposed by some women's groups. Construct sepa-

rate tables for **Equal Rights** by **Race** and by **Sex,** and then answer Question 40.

Question 40: *Which group, blacks or women, is most united in its support for government action to promote equal rights? What consequence might this support have for making government policy?*

Questions on Economic Policy

In discussing government spending, Chapter 18 (pages 647–650) noted that social security was the largest item in President Clinton's budget for fiscal year 1995—accounting for about 22% of the total budget. Because the social security program is one of several entitlement programs that guarantee benefits to individuals under law, these payments are uncontrollable.

Neither the president nor the U.S. Congress is keen to cut spending for social security, which is a politically popular program. You can see how popular it is by checking the responses for the **Money for Social Security** variable in the **Views on Spending** category in Appendix A.

Question 41: *What is the percentage difference between those who favor increased spending for social security and those who favor a decreased level of spending?*

Quite often, proposals for government spending reflect partisanship in patterns of support and opposition. Crosstabulate **Money for Social Security** with **Party Identification** to answer Question 42.

Question 42: *Which partisan grouping* **most** *favors* **decreased** *spending for social security?*

The second largest single budgetary category in Clinton's 1995 budget is national defense (see Figure 18.5, page 650). The distribution of responses for defense spending in the VOTERS data is shown in the variable **Money for Defense.** Referring to that distribution, answer Question 43.

Question 43: *What is the difference in percentage points between those who want to increase defense spending and those who want to decrease it?*

To investigate the effect of partisanship on this more controversial spending target, crosstabulate **Money for Defense** with **Party Identification.** Then answer Questions 44, 45, and 46.

Question 44: *Which partisan grouping is* **most** *in favor of* **decreased** *defense spending?*

Question 45: *Which partisan grouping is* **most** *in favor of* **increased** *defense spending?*

Question 46: *Which party is* **most** *divided in its attitudes toward defense spending?*

Questions on Domestic Policy

Chapter 19 (pages 670–677) discusses the growth of the "welfare state" in America in terms of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal policies in response to the Great Depression of the 1930s and President Lyndon Johnson's Great Society programs of the 1960s. It describes three government programs that provide government benefits: social insurance, public assistance, and agricultural subsidies.

People differ in their support of government spending for domestic programs, especially for social welfare programs under the category of public assistance (pages 692–693). Responses to the question of whether government has the responsibility to see that every person has a job and a good standard of living are captured in the **Give Everyone a Job** variable in the **Views on Issues** category in the VOTERS data. Using **Give Everyone a Job** as the dependent variable, construct two tables with *Crosstabs* to answer Question 47.

Question 47: *Explain which factor,* **Party Identification** *or* **Ideological Orientation,** *offers a better explanation of respondents' attitudes toward the government's responsibility for guaranteeing people a job and a good standard of living.*

Questions on Global Policy

As explained in your textbook (page 709), since the end of the Cold War, American leaders have been struggling to find a defining goal to shape U.S. foreign policy to replace the long-standing opposition to communism. At issue is the role the United States should play in today's world—continue international leadership or focus on domestic problems?

President Bush's skillful handling of the Gulf crisis was the source for some of the most impressive presidential popularity ratings ever recorded. After the crisis, however, his popularity fell dramatically in response to popular perception of American problems at home, chief among them the economy. This neglect of domestic problems contributed to Bush's defeat and therefore to Bill Clinton's victory in the election of 1992.

However, some people contend that attitudes toward U.S. involvement in global affairs is less a matter of party politics than of ideology. The **U.S. Role in World** question in the **Views on Issues** category in the VOTERS data—asking respondents to agree or disagree that the country would be better off if "we just stayed home" and were not involved in problems in other parts of the world—allows you to uncover patterns of support and opposition toward the issue of U.S. involvement in international politics. Construct one table that relates **U.S. Role in World** with **Party Identification** and another that relates **U.S. Role in World** with **Ideological Orientation.** Then answer Question 48.

Question 48: *Explain which factor*—**Party Identification** *or* **Ideological Orientations**—*offers a better explanation of attitudes toward U.S. concern with the rest of the world.*

Although President Bush rated very high in overall popularity during his presidency, especially after the Gulf War, he was criticized often for his unwillingness to lead in other international policy areas, especially global environmental concerns. He also was criticized by some for his role in shaping NAFTA. Although practically all economists agreed that free trade would be beneficial overall, many individuals stood to lose from increased foreign competition.

Given President Bush's strong policy stands, one might expect that voters' approval of the way he handled foreign relations would be related to their attitudes toward U.S. involvement in the global politics. Check this out by crosstabulating **Bush's Foreign Policy** (the dependent variable, located in the category **Views on Bush**) against **U.S. Role in World.** Then answer Question 49.

Question 49: *Is there a close or weak relationship between voters' attitudes toward U.S. concern with the rest of the world and their judgments of Bush's foreign policy?*

Finally, crosstabulate **Bush's Foreign Policy** by **Party Identification.** Then consult the discussion of the public's views on foreign policy on pages 721–723, and answer Question 50.

Question 50: *Does party affiliation seem* **more** *or* **less** *important than foreign policy attitudes in explaining voters' evaluations of Bush's handling of foreign affairs? Explain your reasoning.*

4

Sample Topics for Research Papers

Chapter 3 contains 50 questions about American government and politics to be answered by analyzing the VOTERS or the CONGRESS data sets. Because those questions are closely tied to *The Challenge of Democracy,* they are narrowly defined and do not give you room to explore the capabilities of *Crosstabs* for studying other topics. However, the 97 variables in the data sets—56 in VOTERS and 41 in CONGRESS—can be used creatively to investigate many additional topics in American government and politics. The program and data can support research in public opinion, voting behavior, political participation, political parties, the mass media, interest groups, congressional politics, the presidency, and public policy. In this chapter we invite you to use *Crosstabs* on your own, formulating your own research questions on topics that especially interest you.

In this chapter we suggest several likely paths of investigation to guide your research. We identify some promising topics that you can analyze with variables in either of the data sets, we propose lines of analysis, and we warn you about certain pitfalls. You can take it from there. You will be expected to generate the appropriate tables with *Crosstabs,* to interpret the results, and to present your findings in a short paper. (Chapter 5 of the *Workbook* provides guidelines for writing up your research.)

Our suggestions assume about each field the level of understanding that comes from reading the relevant chapter or chapters in *The Challenge of Democracy.* For example, if you have read Chapter 5 of *The Challenge of Democracy,* you should have no trouble assessing

the discussion of possible topics under the heading "Public Opinion and Political Socialization." Students who are more familiar with American government and politics may be able to work directly from this chapter of the *Workbook.* Others may need to refresh their knowledge with additional reading.

Public Opinion and Political Socialization

Most of the variables in the VOTERS data set can be used in research on public opinion and political socialization. Of special interest are the variables in the category **Views on Issues,** which contains respondents' attitudes toward these twelve issues:

Government Services	Government should give fewer services
Minority Aid	Government should help minorities
Affirmative Action	Do you favor or oppose affirmative action?
Women's Role	Should women have an equal role or stay at home?
U.S. Role in World	Should U.S. be concerned with rest of the world?
Give Everyone a Job	Government should give everyone job, living
Abortion	How do you feel about abortion?
School Prayer	Should schools be able to have prayers?
Equal Rights	Gone too far in pushing equal rights in U.S.
Death Penalty	Do you favor or oppose the death penalty?
Health Insurance	Government insurance or private insurance
Job Discrimination	Protect homosexuals against discrimination by law

One promising path of analysis is to choose one or more of these issues as a dependent variable (the subject to explain) and to explain differences in respondents' attitudes on these issues, using social factors as independent variables (explanatory factors). The VOTERS data contain nine social factors in the **Personal Traits** category:

Region of USA	Region of USA where interview occurred
Age	Respondent's age group
Education	Respondent's education
Household Income	Total household income in 1991
Sex	Sex
Race	Race
Hispanic Origin	Hispanic origin
Religion	Respondent's religious preference
Biblical Views	Which statement applies to the Bible?

How do you decide which of the personal variables are likely to be helpful in explaining differences in attitudes toward political

issues? In thinking about possible relationships, you must draw on your knowledge of society and politics. In some cases, you will think of possible relationships on your own. For example, you might use your knowledge of life in the four regions of the United States to speculate about attitudes toward prayer in schools by respondents who live in the Northeast, North Central, South and Border states, and Mountain and Western states.

Perhaps you might think that people who live in the South tend to be more religious and therefore are more likely to favor prayer in school than are people who live in the other regions. Such a speculation is called a *hypothesis*—an assertion of a relationship between two variables. You can test your hypothesis by crosstabulating prayer in school by region to see whether southerners really are more likely to support prayer in school—as your hypothesis predicts—or whether their attitudes do not differ substantially from those of people in other regions.

(What constitutes a "significant" difference in your findings is more properly a subject for a course in statistics, but there are various ways to approach the subject using *Crosstabs.* Your instructor may choose to go into the subject in some depth and to interpret *significance* differently. Unless your teacher instructs you otherwise, you can—as a rule of thumb—regard any differences greater than 3 percentage points between columns in *Crosstabs* as significant, given the size of the sample in the VOTERS data.)

You may also draw on existing theory to formulate your hypotheses. For example, class theory suggests that differences in respondents' income levels will be related to differences in their attitudes on economic issues. Or you may recall that older people are said to be more conservative than younger people. That might lead you to hypothesize about the relationship of age to attitudes on one or more issues. In the process, you might ask whether older people are more likely to be conservative on domestic issues than on issues of foreign policy.

When you test for the effects of social factors on political attitudes, keep in mind the possible effects of ideology and party identification. For example, higher-income people are more likely to be Republicans, and Republicans may be more likely to back President Bush's opposition to more government services. Therefore, if you hypothesize that wealthy people are more likely to oppose government programs, you will want to use *Crosstabs*'s ability to control for a third variable (in this case, **Party Identification**) when you test the relationship between **Household Income** and **Government Services.**

Another promising line of research is to explore how closely related attitudes are with one another. You can begin to examine for yourself how *consistent*—or not—the American public is in its politi-

cal attitudes. Choose several variables for which you would expect to find a strong relationship if Americans were consistent in their attitudes. You might, for instance, expect that those who answered that the government should ensure that people have a job (**Give Everyone a Job**) would also be in favor of government-sponsored health insurance (**Health Insurance**). You can crosstabulate these variables to check this. You can then think of other variables that should also be strongly related—perhaps those on attitudes toward government spending—and crosstabulate each of these with each of the other variables you have chosen.

You can then check—by *controlling* for other variables—the extent to which these relationships hold up for different kinds of respondents. Are the attitudes you've chosen consistently related across income levels (**Household Income**), racial groups (**Race, Hispanic Origin**), men and women (**Sex**), or different education levels (**Education**)? Variables such as the nine **Personal Traits** and the six **Political Orientations** variables would be particularly good control variables here; use *Crosstab*'s ability to control for third variables to investigate how consistent attitudes are related for different groups. You may find that some groups of Americans hold very consistent beliefs (perhaps, as in the example sketched here, about the government's role in promoting equality), but that others do not.

Political Participation and Political Parties

One set of variables in the VOTERS data bears directly on research on political participation and parties. This set consists of the four variables in the **Voting Behavior** category and six in the **Political Orientations** category:

Voting Behavior Variables	**Voting Intention**	Presidential voting intention, before the election
	Final Voting Choice	For whom did you vote for president?
	Time of Vote Decision	When did you decide how to vote?
	Split Ticket Voting	Voting choices for president and Congress
Political Orientations Variables	**Party Identification**	Respondent's party identification
	Ideological Orientation	Respondent's ideological scale choice
	Discuss Politics	How often do you discuss politics?
	Persuade Others to Vote	Try to persuade someone how to vote?
	Campaign Contributors	Did you contribute to any campaign?
	Interest in Campaign	Interest in campaign, after the election

Whether you treat these as dependent or independent variables depends on your research interests. If you are interested in explaining differences in levels of participation, you should regard **Discuss Politics; Persuade Others to Vote; Campaign Contributors;** and **Final Voting Choice** (focusing on the decision to vote) as dependent variables. You might also regard **Party Identification** and **Ideological Orientation** as independent variables predicting differences in levels of participation, as measured by each of the indicators of participation.

Alternatively, you may want to study the effects of social factors on political participation. In that case, you will want to treat the personal variables in the VOTERS data as possible causes of participation. You might crosstabulate any or all of the measures of participation by whatever social factors are involved in your theory. For example, you might hypothesize that there are no significant differences between the sexes (or races) in political participation. In that case, your main independent variable would be sex (or race), and you would crosstabulate your participation measures with your chosen independent variable.

Remember, however, that political behavior—like all social behavior—is caused by many factors. As you look at the effect of one factor, other factors that also affect the level of participation may be operating. Suppose that you planned to study the effects of sex or race on political participation. You should also think about other factors, such as socioeconomic status, that might affect participation. People of high socioeconomic status—as measured by prestigious occupations, high education, and high income—tend to be better informed about politics. Because they know how to operate in the political world, they are more likely to do so, and therefore they score higher on measures of political participation.

Sometimes the effects of socioeconomic status on political participation are confused with other effects. Consider first the effects of race. Because blacks tend to have less education and lower income than whites, any differences observed between the races in participation may be due to socioeconomic status. To isolate the effects of race, you should hold socioeconomic status constant by designating either **Education** or **Household Income** as a control variable in *Crosstabs.* By looking at tables that involve only respondents of low education or low income, you will get a better view of any racial effects on political participation.

Consider next the effects of sex on participation. Although it is true that employed women tend to earn less than men, the income variable in VOTERS is *total* household income, so income differences are not likely to be great between men and women. On the other hand, men tend to have more formal education than women, and education is an individual variable, not a household variable. So

when you want to examine differences between the sexes in political participation with the VOTERS data, it is more important to control for education than for income.

This may seem complex, and it is challenging. But that's what makes social research so interesting. If research did not require you to think, it would be dull and not worth doing.

Political Parties and Voting

Data on political parties exist in both the VOTERS and the CONGRESS data sets. First we will concentrate on research possibilities using the VOTERS data. The main variables of interest to research on political parties and voting behavior are in the **Political Orientations** and **Voting Behavior** categories:

Party Identification	Respondent's party identification
Ideological Orientation	Respondent's ideological scale choice
Voting Intention	Presidential voting intention, before the election
Final Voting Choice	For whom did you vote for president?
Time of Vote Decision	When did you decide how to vote?
Split Ticket Voting	Voting choice for president and Congress

The key variable in much research on political parties and voting behavior is party identification—the respondent's sense of attachment to one or the other of the two major parties in American politics. This is captured in the VOTERS data in the variable **Party Identification,** which classifies ordinary citizens according to their party identification.

Party Identification can be regarded as either a dependent or an independent variable. If you treat it as a dependent variable, you may wish to use social factors in the **Personal Traits** category to account for respondents being Democrats, Republicans, or Independents. For example, is there any systematic relationship between religion and party identification? How about religiosity as measured by belief in the Bible?

On the other hand, you can view party identification as an independent variable and use it to explain for whom the respondent voted, as expressed in either **Final Voting Choice** or **Split Ticket Voting.** You may also wish to explain voting choice as a function of social factors. However, party is so strongly related to voting choice in American politics that you should always control for **Party Identification** when you study the effects of social factors on voting. For example, let's assume that you hypothesize that Protestants were more likely to vote for George Bush than for Bill Clinton in the 1992 presidential election. Because Protestants may be more Republican

than Democrat, you should control for party by crosstabulating **Final Voting Choice** with **Religion** separately for Democrats and for Republicans. That way, you can isolate the effect of religion on voting choice while holding constant the effects of party.

You might also consider other variables in the VOTERS data set—perhaps opinions on political issues—as independent variables affecting voting choice. For example, you might hypothesize that respondents who felt that government should provide fewer services were more likely to vote for Bush than for Clinton. Once again, you should consider controlling for party identification because of its pervasive influence on voting choice. If you find that, even among Democrats, those who favored fewer services were more likely to vote for Bush, you would be on firmer ground in arguing for the influence of attitudes on voting choice.

The CONGRESS data can also be used to study the role of political parties in American politics. The **Party** variable in the CONGRESS data is somewhat different from **Party Identification** in the VOTERS data. **Party** in the CONGRESS data discloses the party affiliation of representatives who were elected to the House by running as candidates of one of the two major parties. Thus, it is a measure of party membership rather than simply party identification.

Party membership is not so important in explaining the voting behavior of representatives in Congress as it is in explaining voting behavior in legislative bodies in other countries—for example, in Britain, France, Germany, or virtually any other democracy. Nevertheless, party identification is, overall, the single most important variable in predicting congressional roll-call voting. One promising line of analysis is to study the effects of party affiliation on each of the thirteen votes for 1993 in the CONGRESS data set. On which type of issue does party affiliation seem most and least important?

The CONGRESS data can also be used to investigate the sources of the two parties' support. You could use the eleven variables in the **District Traits** category to examine what kinds of districts elect Republicans and what kinds of districts elect Democrats. Are heavily urbanized districts still predominantly Democratic? Are the least urbanized—that is, the most rural—still predominantly Republican? Do districts with a strong minority presence produce Democratic representatives?

The Mass Media

The VOTERS data contain respondents' answers to several questions, asked before the 1992 election, about their use of the mass media. Responses are recorded in five variables:

TV News Watchers	How often do you watch TV network news?
Watch Campaign on TV?	Do you pay much attention to TV news?
Newspaper Readers	Did you read a newspaper last week?
Campaign Readers	Did you read much about the campaign?
News Magazine Readers	Did you read about the campaign in a magazine?

Any of those variables might serve as either dependent or independent variables in your hypotheses. They will be dependent variables if you wish to study the effects of social factors on media use. For example, you may choose to study the effects of education or age on media use. On the other hand, the media variables become independent variables if you wish to determine their effects on political behavior. For example, you may wish to study the effects of **Newspaper Readers** on **Interest in Campaign**—the respondents' interest in the campaign after the election.

If you choose to investigate the effects of media use on political participation, you should consider controlling for education, which tends to be closely related to the use of certain types of media. For instance, respondents with less than a high school education are not so likely to read newspapers or magazines as those with a college education.

Congress and the Legislative Process

All 41 variables in the CONGRESS data set are relevant to studying politics in the U.S. House of Representatives, and a few variables in the VOTERS data also are pertinent to congressional politics. Let's first consider research possibilities using the CONGRESS data.

One promising line of research is to explain differences in overall ratings of the 435 members' voting records as recorded in the **Job Ratings** category:

Party Unity	Percent of time voting with the party majority in 1993
Presidential Support	Percent of presidential support in 1993
AFL-CIO	1993 AFL-CIO ratings of House members
Chamber of Commerce	1993 Chamber of Commerce ratings of members
Conservative Coalition	Percent in North-South Conservative Coalition in 1993
Economic Conservatism	Economic conservatism—1993 session
Social Conservatism	Social conservatism—1993 session
Foreign Policy Conservatism	Foreign policy conservatism—1993 session

You can learn a good deal about American politics by analyzing some or all of these ratings using **Party** as the independent variable. For example, do Democrats systematically vote for issues backed by the AFL-CIO, whereas Republicans vote for issues backed by the U.S. Chamber of Commerce? Another approach is to study interrelationships among these ratings. For example, do members who are conservative on economic issues also vote conservatively on social and foreign policy issues?

If you choose to crosstabulate any of the conservatism ratings—**Economic Conservatism, Social Conservatism,** or **Foreign Policy Conservatism**—you will confront the question of which one is dependent and which independent. In this instance, it is hard to justify one variable as causing another, so it does not matter which variable you place in the rows or columns of the table. That means that you do not ordinarily want to compute percentages by columns, which assumes that the column variable is the independent variable. Instead, use the option in the **Display** menu of *Crosstabs* to compute percentages by the total number of cases in the table. The cell entries will then tell you the percentage of representatives who are conservative on different types of issues, the percentage who are liberal, and the percentage who deviate from the pattern—being conservative on some issues and liberal on others.

You might also use the conservatism ratings to explain the thirteen key votes. Social conservatives, with high scores on the **Social Conservatism** rating, might be inclined to vote against funding for abortion (the **Abortion** vote) or allowing gays in the military. You might use controls for district traits to explain *deviations* from this expected pattern of conservative voting. If you think, for example, that urban districts might tend to be more pro-choice, control for **% Urban,** and check to see if conservatives from urban areas voted differently from those from less urban areas. Keep in mind, however, when using the CONGRESS data set, that there might be very few cases in your tables when you use control variables. You may find that what seems like a really good idea can't be researched because there simply aren't enough congressional members in the chosen categories.

Another promising line of research with the CONGRESS data is to analyze constituency effects on congressional behavior by using traits of the representatives' districts as independent variables. Most of these district traits are based on 1990 U.S. Census data. The CONGRESS data contain eleven variables on traits of the 435 congressional districts:

Region	U.S. Census definitions
% Urban	Percent urban population
% Whites	Percent white population

% Blacks	Percent black population
% Spanish	Percent Hispanic population
% White Collar	Percent white-collar workers
% Blue Collar	Percent blue-collar workers
% Service	Percent service workers
% Farmers	Percent engaged in farming, forestry, fishing
Median Income	Median family income
% vote for Clinton	Percent of district vote for Clinton in 1992

Perhaps you hypothesize that representatives from districts that are highly urban, heavily black, and mostly blue collar will vote differently from representatives from rural, white, and farm districts. To test your hypothesis, choose the vote ratings or the key votes on which you think these differences will show more clearly, and then crosstabulate the voting variables by district characteristics, using the characteristics as the independent variables.

Once again, use **Party** as a control variable to hold constant the influence of party. Alternatively, you may decide to control for a second district characteristic. You may choose to crosstabulate vote for **Median Income** by **% Blue Collar** using **Median Income** as the control variable. This will allow you to distinguish between wealthy and poor districts, which presumably harbor different attitudes toward raising top income tax rates. (Remember that to simplify usage, *Crosstabs* allows only one control variable in any crosstabulation.)

A few variables in the VOTERS data can also be used to study congressional politics. In the **Views on Government** category are these five items:

Representative's Contact	How well did the representative keep in touch?
Rep's Job Approval	Approve of how representative is doing job?
Understanding Politics	Sometimes politics seems so complicated
Trust in Government	How much can you trust Washington government?
Who Benefits from Govt?	For whose benefit is government run?

By analyzing these questions according to variables in the **Personal Traits** or **Political Orientations** categories, you can study the public's experiences with their representatives and their attitudes toward representative government in general. Be aware, however, that you *cannot* crosstabulate any variable from the VOTERS data with any from the CONGRESS data. They are two different data sets. The VOTERS data contain the responses of individuals drawn in a national sample. There is no way to tie those responses to any particular congressional district and thus to any representative. Although you *cannot* mix these variables through *Crosstabs*, you can

combine your findings from separate analyses with each data set to bolster your understanding of congressional politics.

The Presidency

You can use several variables in VOTERS and the CONGRESS data sets to study the presidency during the Bush administration. You can study the public's reactions to the Bush administration by analyzing the three variables in the **Views on Bush** category in the VOTERS data:

Bush's Job Approval	Approve of Bush's job as president
Bush's Economic Program	Approve of Bush's handling the economy
Bush's Foreign Policy	Approve of Bush's foreign relations

One approach is to regard all three variables as dependent variables and to analyze them with reference to the social factors in the personal category. You might study the effects of region, age, income, race, or religion on attitudes toward the Bush presidency. Look for differences in the respondents' views of Bush's performance in economic and foreign affairs as well as their overall assessment of his performance as president. If you try this line of analysis, there are two things that you should consider. First, remember to control for party, for you will find that partisan preference strongly affects views of the president. Second, remember that these evaluations of President Bush occurred shortly before the 1992 election, and they did not necessarily apply throughout his administration. (Be sure to note this qualification in your research report.)

Certain variables in the CONGRESS data also support a line of research on the presidency. The main variable is **Presidential Support,** which discloses the percentage of time in 1993 that the representative backed President Clinton's publicly announced position on all such votes before the House. (The source of these votes is noted in the description of **Presidential Support** in the **Job Ratings** category in Appendix B.) You might hypothesize that House members who represented districts that voted heavily for Clinton in 1992 would have supported Clinton as president in congressional voting more than would members from districts that voted for Bush. You can test this hypothesis by crosstabulating **Presidential Support** by **% Vote for Clinton,** using **% Vote for Clinton** as the independent variable. As usual, consider using **Party** as a control variable for this analysis.

Presidential Support measures the average level of support for the President over 102 congressional votes in 1993. You can probe more deeply into the nature of presidential support by analyzing

support patterns in votes on which the president took a position in 1993. Select these votes by consulting the descriptions of the thirteen key votes in Appendix B. You may be tempted to try analyzing these votes by the voters' attitudes toward Bush's handling of the economy or foreign affairs as reported in the VOTERS data (thinking that those who opposed Bush would likely support Clinton). Remember, however, that you cannot crosstabulate any variable from the VOTERS data with any from the CONGRESS data, for they are two different data sets. The VOTERS data contains the responses of individuals drawn in a national sample. *To reiterate:* There is no way to tie those responses to any particular congressional district and thus to any representative. Although you cannot mix VOTERS and CONGRESS variables, you can combine your findings from separate analyses with each data set to bolster your understanding of presidential politics.

Public Policy

Both the VOTERS and the CONGRESS data can be used to conduct research on public policy. We will consider the VOTERS data set first. It contains two sets of variables that bear directly on the public's attitude toward government policies. Respondents' attitudes toward broad political concerns are reported in the twelve issue variables already discussed on page 58. Most of those variables can be analyzed to study the public's readiness to support specific government policies. For example, you could estimate the political support for prohibiting abortion, for allowing prayer in school, and for promoting women's rights by analyzing **Abortion, School Prayer,** and **Women's Role** by various measures of political participation, such as **Discuss Politics,** and **Persuade Others to Vote.** By analyzing those issues by **Party Identification** and **Ideological Orientation,** you could estimate their partisan and ideological support.

Another set of variables in the VOTERS data supports a different line of public policy analysis. Support for the expenditure of government funds is indicated in the twelve spending variables:

Money for Environment	Should spending for environment be raised?
Money for Fighting Crime	Should spending for dealing with crime be raised?
Money for Public Schools	Should spending for public schools be raised?
Money for Social Security	Should spending for social security be raised?
Money for Food Stamps	Should spending for food stamps be raised?
Money for College Study	Should spending for financial aid be raised?
Money for the Unemployed	Should spending for aid to the unemployed be raised?

Money for Science, Tech	Should spending for science and technology be raised?
Money for Defense	Should spending for defense be raised?
Money for Aid to Blacks	Should spending for aid to blacks be raised?
Money for Former USSR	Should spending for aid to former USSR be raised?
Money for AIDS	Should spending to fight AIDS be raised?

One approach would be to use those variables as a measure of respondents' willingness to support government activity in alternative areas. If you used the spending variables as dependent variables, you could use the **Personal Traits** or **Political Orientations** variables as independent variables, seeking to explain the patterns of support for government spending. Another approach would be to see how attitudes toward issues conformed with readiness to spend government funds. For example, do the respondents who say that government should help minorities also favor increased spending for blacks? Do those who oppose cooperation with the former USSR also favor increased defense spending? When you crosstabulate readiness to spend government funds with attitudes toward political issues, you should treat the spending variables as the dependent variables and the underlying attitudes toward political issues as the independent variables. Also consider using **Party Identification** and **Ideological Orientation** as control variables.

Finally, the thirteen key votes in the CONGRESS data set can be used to study public policy from the congressional perspective.

5

How To Write Your Research Paper

Perhaps you like the paper-writing phase of research; maybe you dread it. The difference usually hinges on whether you regard yourself as a "good writer"—as determined by grades earned on countless other writing assignments. Our experience with student research papers suggests that reporting the results of quantitative research is very different from other types of writing. Students who do well in creative writing may find this form of exposition more challenging; others rarely applauded for clever turns of phrase may receive compliments on their clarity of expression. Writing a research report can be a challenge for students who excel at writing essays and an opportunity to shine for those who do not ordinarily "write well." You can improve your writing performance by paying close attention to our suggestions for reporting your research.

The watchword for this type of writing is *structure.* The format of your paper should reveal the structure of your thinking. Devices such as paragraphing, headings, indentation, and enumeration actually show your reader the major points you wish to make. If you tend to string sentences together without organizing your thoughts into paragraphs, you are not helping the reader to make sense of your writing. As a rule of thumb, if you type a full page (double-spaced) without indenting for a new paragraph, you almost certainly have run one thought into another and have missed an opportunity to signal the different ideas to your reader.

Headings can convey the major topics discussed in your paper. A research report typically contains four basic components:

1. Statement of the problem that gave rise to the research
2. Discussion of how the research was designed to clarify the problem
3. Analysis of the data produced by the research
4. Summary and conclusion of the study

Although you could include those sections in your report without separate headings, the underlying logic of your paper will be readily apparent when you use headings to identify its basic components: (1) the problem, (2) research design, (3) data analysis, (4) summary and conclusion.

In the next section we explain what might go under each of those headings in a research report of from five to ten pages that uses *Crosstabs* to analyze either the VOTERS or the CONGRESS data. Try using the headings to structure your report.

The Problem

Begin by stating briefly the topic you have chosen and your reason for believing it is worthy of study. Suppose, for example, you analyzed the VOTERS data to uncover factors that are associated with voter turnout in elections. You should begin your report by discussing the relevance of voter turnout to American government. You need not write a dissertation on the implications of low or high turnout, but you should provide a setting in which you can place your research. Similarly, if you analyzed the CONGRESS data to see which representatives were more likely to support gun control in 1993, you should begin your report by discussing the politics of gun control. For instance, you could examine the recent history of congressional attempts to legislate gun control, and perhaps you could discuss the role of interest groups—especially the National Rifle Association—in opposing such legislation.

You can add to the scholarly quality of your report by citing one or more previous studies or publications relevant to your research. Any studies you mention should be scholarly: That necessity excludes such sources as *People* and *Reader's Digest*—and even *Time* or *Newsweek*. Most scholarly citations are to books, government documents, and articles in professional journals. The section entitled "Selected Readings" at the end of each chapter in *The Challenge of Democracy* is a good source of relevant books and documents; you must look elsewhere for scholarly articles.

Some professional journals (such as *The American Political Science Review*) are pretty dense for students (and often for faculty too!). Other journals, however, frequently contain articles of value to students doing research on American government. Examples of

such journals are *American Politics Quarterly, The Journal of Politics, Legislative Studies Quarterly, Presidential Studies Quarterly,* and *Public Opinion.*

One way to find journal articles relevant to your research is to pull recent issues from the shelves of your library and examine their tables of contents. This hit-or-miss strategy often results in surprising hits—and it may open your eyes to a world of political research that you never knew existed. A more methodical approach to library research is to consult an index to the periodical literature in political science. (Do not use the *Reader's Guide*, because it focuses on popular magazines rather than on professional journals.) Two especially useful sources for articles in professional journals are *ABC POL SCI* and *Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin. ABC POL SCI*, a monthly survey of journal articles in political science, has a detailed subject index. Consult the cumulative annual index for a listing of all the articles surveyed in the previous year. *Public Affairs Information Service Bulletin*, published every other week, has quarterly, semiannual, and annual indexes of its contents.

Two other valuable sources on American politics are *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Reports* and *The National Journal.* Scholars and newspaper reporters alike regard these weekly reviews of national politics as authoritative chronicles of activities in Congress, the White House, and the Supreme Court, and in the electoral process generally.

If you use any such sources in your research, remember to document them through proper citation in your paper. If you are unsure of the proper form, you may wish to consult a standard book on writing style. One such source is Turabian's *A Manual for Writers.** It describes the literary form for citing references in footnotes (as in the footnote at the bottom of this page) and the simpler "scientific" style of making short references to sources within parentheses in the text itself—like this: (Turabian, 1973: 181–182). When you use the scientific style, you must also include a bibliography to give your reader complete bibliographic information about the works you cite in the body of your paper. The works must be listed alphabetically by author. The year of publication should follow the name of the author to help the reader distinguish among multiple works by the same author. Here is an example of the basic format:

Turabian, Kate L. 1973. *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

*Kate L. Turabian, *A Manual for Writers of Term Papers, Theses, and Dissertations* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1973).

Whatever bibliographic style you use to cite your outside sources, your objective is to permit other readers to check your sources of information. Therefore, be thorough and precise when you document your sources. It is no crime to quote exactly what someone else has written—as long as you enclose the passage in quotation marks *or* set it off from your text by starting it on a new line and indenting it (never both) and attribute the quotation to the author, citing source and page.

After you have defined the research problem, you are ready to discuss the methodological aspects of your research.

Research Design

In this section of your paper, your aim is to describe how you designed your research to examine your problem. Indicate here the nature and source of your data. Write as if someone other than your instructor were reading the paper. Say whether you are using data from a national survey of citizens before and after the 1992 presidential election or from the study of representatives in the 103rd Congress. More specifically, mention that the data were made available as either the VOTERS or the CONGRESS data sets as part of the *Crosstabs* package. After all, you were limited in what you could research by the capabilities of the *Crosstabs* program and data, so you might as well establish the limits of your liability.

Also use this section to explain your choice of variables to study. In some cases, you will have found variables that fit perfectly with your topic. For example, if you were seeking to explain the relationship between the vote for President Bush in the 1992 election and attitudes toward the performance of the Bush administration, you found precisely the variables you needed in the VOTERS data. In other cases, the available variables may not have been exactly what you wanted, and you had to make do with less-than-perfect choices.

For instance, assume you wanted to study the relationship between the level of income in congressional districts and representatives' record of voting against tax increases. The CONGRESS data set does contain a variable for median family income in the district, but it does not contain a variable on a vote dealing directly with the tax issue. Therefore, you would have had to use other votes—most likely, the vote on the budget, which did include a tax aspect—as a substitute. You would have had no choice but to explain briefly the problem of fit and your choices of variables for analysis. You should also discuss in this section any variables for which you had to control while you studied the main relationship of interest to you.

Some instructors may ask you to prepare *hypotheses* to guide your research. A hypothesis is simply a bold assertion of an expected relationship. Here are two examples:

H. 1: *Democrats favor more spending for social welfare than Republicans do.*

H. 2: *The higher the district's income, the more conservative is the representative's voting record.*

Hypotheses should be stated as bluntly as possible. The ideal quality of a hypothesis is *falsifiability.* If the reader can quickly see what evidence is required to *disprove* the hypothesis, it has been properly stated.

The idea of falsifiability may be hard for you to accept if your usual practice has been to shape your writing to conform to whatever the facts turn out to be. Many students are cautious rather than bold and have cultivated the art of being "concretely vague," producing statements whose prize quality is being *un*falsifiable. If that description fits your writing, you need to shift your style and expose your assertions to *disproof!*

The reason for the shift is to improve understanding. Francis Bacon, a noted English philosopher, said that truth emerges more clearly from error than from confusion. If you boldly assert that Democrats favor more spending for social welfare than Republicans but your data show otherwise, the clarity of your assertion forces you to confront your misunderstanding. However, if you say, more vaguely, that Democrats and Republicans have "different" attitudes toward spending for social welfare, you can accept evidence that Republicans show more support for social spending without being forced to reexamine your thinking. So the premium is on falsifiability in formulating hypotheses.

Accordingly, there is also a premium on *explicitness* in stating hypotheses. One way to be explicit is to formalize your hypotheses by distinguishing them from the rest of the text. You can do this by underlining each hypothesis or by placing each hypothesis on a separate line. (We used both techniques to distinguish our two sample hypotheses.) A third technique, which is especially useful when you have several hypotheses, is to number your hypotheses (for example, H. 1, H. 2, etc.) and to refer to them by number in your section on data analysis.

Data Analysis

In this section of your report, you analyze the data produced by your research. Include in this section the tables reporting the data that bear

on your research question or on your hypotheses, if you have formal hypotheses. In most cases, you will construct many more tables with *Crosstabs* than you will choose to include in the paper. The reader does not need to peer into all the blind alleys that you investigated in the course of your research! In the data analysis section, perhaps more than in any other, you should develop a strategy of presentation. You should not present one table after another; you should give some thought to sparking the reader's interest in your research.

One way to begin is by presenting a broad overview of the relationship and then introduce each of your control variables in turn to see whether the overall relationship is altered by the controls. Let's consider an example. Suppose your hypothesis is that people who regularly read newspapers are more likely to try to persuade others how to vote. Using the VOTERS data, you might begin with a table that crosstabulates the variable **Persuade Others to Vote** with the variable **Newspaper Readers,** computing percentages by columns to show the effect of different readership patterns on the tendency to persuade others. After discussing this table, you could introduce the effect of control variables. One likely control variable is **Education;** another is **Sex.** By reporting separate tables for different levels of education and for each sex, you would be able to comment on the effect of newspaper reading on political persuasion for each category of control.

Exactly how do you report these tables? When your microcomputer is connected to a printer, *Crosstabs* allows you to print out each table on a separate page. Be sure to position the table in the center of the page, leaving room to number and label the table—for example, *Table 1: Persuasion of Voting Choice by Newspaper Readership.*

The simplest way to include tables in your paper is to group them all at the end, but the reader is more likely to look at the tables if you insert each one on the page that immediately follows the page on which it is mentioned. Numbering your tables is important, for it gives you a way to refer to them in your text. You can write, for example: "Table 1 shows the relationship between persuasion and newspaper readership." If your tables are not numbered, your reader will have trouble finding the table that you are discussing. If a table is important enough to include in the paper, it is important enough to be mentioned in the text. So, two useful rules are (1) number and give a formal title to every table accompanying your paper, and (2) refer to every table in your text.

When you refer to a table, let the percentages in the table speak for themselves. Do not bore the reader by restating in ponderous prose what is communicated efficiently in a tabulation. Your job as writer is to point out only the key findings. The data are in the table; the text should draw conclusions or summarize the findings. For example: "Table 1 shows that voting turnout increases for each level

of newspaper readership." There is no need to state in the text what the actual percentages are. Quote actual numbers only to emphasize special points: "Notice that only 16% of the daily readers said that they didn't vote compared with 43% of the nonreaders." If you cite numbers frequently, your readers will quickly forget them; but if you cite numbers sparingly, your readers will likely remember them.

Finally, avoid using in your paper the short names that *Crosstabs* uses to refer to variables. Those labels are convenient for the computer analysis, but they convey little meaning to the outside reader, who is your principal audience. Instead, use more literary terms for your variables: "percent black" instead of % **Black,** and "vote for Clinton in 1992" rather than % **vote for Clinton.** Using pleasing language in your text makes for more pleasant reading.

Summary and Conclusion

In the final section, you should return to the problem you described at the beginning of the paper. This section provides the link between your narrow data analysis and the broader concerns with which you began. You might start by summarizing the results of your crosstabulations and determining whether your research supported or contradicted your expectations.

If your expectations were supported, how strong were the observed relationships? Were they clear and consistent or only partially supportive? If your research failed to meet your expectations, what are the possible causes of failure? Do you now doubt the thinking with which you began? Were there too many confounding variables that proved too difficult to control? Were the data inadequate in themselves, or were there problems in the way the variables were measured? If you see weaknesses in your research, here is the place to comment and perhaps to make suggestions about future research.

By this time, you should realize that your study can be likened to a laboratory experiment in a chemistry course: Developing a way of thinking about research is more important than the actual findings. Each new study that you undertake should benefit from this model of learning through original research in American government and politics.

A

The VOTERS Data Set

In 1948, the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan began a series of voter surveys in presidential elections that became known as the American National Election Studies. Much of what is known today about public opinion and voting behavior is due to these surveys. The VOTERS data in the *Crosstabs* program were extracted from the 1992 NES study.*

The 1992 American National Election Survey Study surveyed a total of 2,487 respondents in person beginning a couple of months before the election. Second interviews were sought with all the respondents after the election to determine how they voted and why.

*The parent survey was the 1992 National Election Study conducted by the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan under grants from the National Science Foundation. The data were made available by the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research, which bears no responsibility for their use in this program.

The data prepared for your analysis consist of only 2,313 of the respondents who were interviewed both before and after the election.** Your data set also involves only 56 items selected from the hundreds of questions in the original study. We refer to responses to these questions as *variables* in the *Crosstabs* data set. The variables are grouped under several major headings.

Headings for Variables in the VOTERS Data

The variables that you will be analyzing are clustered under eight general headings that deal with the respondents' personal traits, their use of the media, their voting behavior, their attitudes toward former President Bush, toward the national government, toward current political issues, and toward government spending. The variables are organized under these headings in the **Row** and **Column** menus in the *Crosstabs* program, where they are identified by short names. The variables' short names are provided below along with a brief description of each variable. In the next section we describe each variable in greater detail.

Personal Variables	PERSONAL TRAITS	
	Region of USA	Region of USA where interview occurred
	Age	Respondent's age group
	Education	Respondent's education
	Household Income	Total household income in 1991
	Sex	Sex
	Race	Race
	Hispanic Origin	Hispanic origin
	Religion	Respondent's religious preference
	Biblical Views	Which statement applies to the Bible?

**The reduced sample size was selected to discourage using the *Crosstabs* data to generate findings for professional publication. These data were generated from the preliminary April 1993 release of the 1992 NES data. This early release may contain errors corrected in later releases. The NES sample design involved an equal probability sample of U.S. households. Adult respondents in each household were chosen at random. To minimize sampling error, the respondents should be weighted to compensate for unequal selection probabilities in households of varying size. Because applying these weights usually has little effect on the descriptive statistics generated from NES data, the cases were not weighted to simplify the sample for student use. Scholars who wish to conduct serious research into voting behavior in the 1992 election should turn to the full sample of 2,487 cases and the expanded set of variables available in later releases of the data from the Inter-University Consortium for Political and Social Research.

Media Variables	MEDIA USAGE	
	TV News Watchers	How often do you watch TV network news?
	Watch Campaign on TV?	Do you pay much attention to TV news?
	Newspaper Readers	Did you read a newspaper last week?
	Campaign Readers	Did you read much about the campaign?
	News Magazine Readers	Did you read about the campaign in a magazine?
Politics Variables	POLITICAL ORIENTATIONS	
	Party Identification	Respondent's party identification
	Ideological Orientation	Respondent's ideological scale choice
	Discuss Politics	How often do you discuss politics?
	Persuade Others to Vote	Try to persuade someone how to vote?
	Campaign Contributors	Did you contribute to any campaign?
	Interest in Campaign	Interest in campaign, after the election
Voting Variables	VOTING BEHAVIOR	
	Voting Intention	Presidential voting intention, before the election
	Final Voting Choice	For whom did you vote for president?
	Time of Vote Decision	When did you decide how to vote?
	Split Ticket Voting	Voting choice for president and Congress
Bush Variables	VIEWS ON BUSH	
	Bush's Job Approval	Approve of Bush's job as president
	Bush's Economic Program	Approve of Bush's handling the economy
	Bush's Foreign Policy	Approve of Bush's foreign relations
Government Variables	VIEWS ON GOVERNMENT	
	Representative's Contact	How well did your representative keep in touch?
	Rep's job approval	Approve of how representative is doing job
	Understanding Politics	Sometimes politics seems so complicated
	Trust in Government	How much can you trust Washington government?
	Who Benefits from Govt?	For whose benefit is government run?
Issues Variables	VIEWS ON ISSUES	
	Government Services	Government should give fewer services
	Minority Aid	Government should help minorities
	Affirmative Action	Do you favor or oppose affirmative action?
	Women's Role	Should women have an equal role or stay at home?
	U.S. Role in World	Should U.S. be concerned with rest of the world?
	Give Everyone a Job	Government should give everyone job, living
	Abortion	How do you feel about abortion?
	School Prayer	Should schools be able to have prayers?
	Equal Rights	Gone too far pushing equal rights in U.S.
	Death Penalty	Do you favor or oppose the death penalty?

Hispanic Origin

Hispanic Origin *Hispanic origin*

"Is the respondent of Hispanic origin?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NOT HISPANIC	2114	99.0
HISPANIC	22	1.0
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	177	MISSING

Religion

Religion *Respondent's religious preference*

"Is your religious preference Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
PROTESTANT	1374	69.1
ROMAN CATHOLIC	535	26.9
JEWISH	44	2.2
OTHER	35	1.8
NO REPLY	325	MISSING

Biblical Views

Biblical Views *Which statement applies to the Bible?*

"Here are three statements about the Bible, and I'd like you to tell me which is closest to your own view."

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
IT IS GOD'S WORD	893	39.7
GOD'S WORD, NOT LITERALLY	1071	47.6
WRITTEN BY MEN	286	12.7
NO REPLY	63	MISSING

TV News Watchers

TV News Watchers *How often do you watch TV network news?*

"How many days in the past week did you watch the news on TV?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
SELDOM OR NEVER	383	16.6
2–3 TIMES A WEEK	427	18.5
4–5 TIMES A WEEK	343	14.9
6–7 TIMES OR DAILY	1154	50.0
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	6	MISSING

Watch Campaign on TV?

Watch Campaign on TV? *Do you pay much attention to TV news?*

"How much attention did you pay to news on TV about the campaign for president—a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little or none?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
RARELY WATCH	418	18.1
LITTLE ATTENTION	203	8.8
SOME ATTENTION	601	26.0
QUITE A BIT	639	27.6
A GREAT DEAL	438	18.9
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	14	MISSING

Newspaper Readers

Newspaper Readers *Did you read a newspaper last week?*

"How many days in the past week did you read a daily newspaper?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
SELDOM OR NEVER	803	34.8
2–3 TIMES A WEEK	359	15.6
4–5 TIMES A WEEK	192	8.3
6–7 TIMES OR DAILY	954	41.3
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	5	MISSING

Campaign Readers

Campaign Readers *Did you read much about the campaign?*

"Did you read about the campaign in any newspaper?" (IF YES) "How much attention did you pay to newspaper articles about the campaign for president—a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DIDN'T READ	1172	50.8
LITTLE ATTENTION	147	6.4
SOME ATTENTION	450	19.5
QUITE A BIT	342	14.8
A GREAT DEAL	195	8.5
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	7	MISSING

News Magazine Readers

News Magazine Readers *Did you read about the campaign in a magazine?*

"How about magazines—did you read about the campaign in any magazines?" (IF YES) "How much attention did you pay to magazine articles about the campaign for president—a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DIDN'T READ	1784	77.4
LITTLE ATTENTION	60	2.6
SOME ATTENTION	217	9.4
QUITE A BIT	165	7.2
A GREAT DEAL	79	3.4
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	8	MISSING

Party Identification

Party Identification *Respondent's party identification*

"Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
REPUBLICAN	570	26.6
INDEPENDENT	750	35.0
DEMOCRAT	821	38.3
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	172	MISSING

Ideological Orientation

Ideological Orientation *Respondent's ideological scale choice*

"Where would you place yourself on this [liberal-conservative] scale, or haven't you thought much about this?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	557	24.7
LIBERAL	246	10.9
SLIGHTLY LIBERAL	223	9.9
MODERATE, MIDDLE ROAD	538	23.9
SLIGHTLY CONSERVATIVE	336	14.9
CONSERVATIVE	352	15.6
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	61	MISSING

Discuss Politics

Discuss Politics *How often do you discuss politics?*

"How many days in the past week did you talk about politics with your family or friends?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEVER	701	33.5
1–2 TIMES A WEEK	688	32.9
3–4 TIMES A WEEK	408	19.5
DAILY	293	14.0
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	223	MISSING

Persuade Others to Vote

Persuade Others to Vote *Try to persuade someone how to vote?*

"We would like to find out about some of the things people do to help a party or a candidate win an election. During the campaign, did you talk to any people and try to show them why they should vote for or against one of the parties or candidates?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
YES	787	37.4
NO	1316	62.6
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	210	MISSING

Campaign Contributors

Campaign Contributors *Did you contribute to any campaign?*

"During an election year, people are often asked to make a contribution to support campaigns. Did you give money to an individual candidate running for public office?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
YES	115	5.5
NO	1987	94.5
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	211	MISSING

Interest in Campaign

Interest in Campaign *Interest in campaign, after the election*

"Some people don't pay much attention to campaigns. How about you? Would you say that you were very much interested, somewhat interested, or not much interested in following the political campaigns this year?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NOT MUCH INTEREST	232	11.1
SOME INTEREST	824	39.3
GREAT INTEREST	1041	49.6
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	216	MISSING

Voting Intention

Voting Intention *Presidential voting intention, before the election*

"Who do you think you will vote for in the election for president? (Probe: We all know the election is some time away and that people are not certain at this point who they will vote for. Still, who do you think you will vote for in the election for president?)"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
BILL CLINTON	931	48.9
GEORGE BUSH	632	33.2
ROSS PEROT	136	7.2
OTHER	14	.7
UNDECIDED	189	9.9
NO REPLY	411	MISSING

Final Voting Choice

Final Voting Choice *For whom did you vote for president?*

"How about the election for president? Did you vote for a candidate for President?" (IF YES) "Who did you vote for?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DIDN'T VOTE	737	32.3
BUSH (REPUBLICAN)	523	22.9
CLINTON (DEMOCRAT)	745	32.6
PEROT (INDEPENDENT)	279	12.2
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	29	MISSING

Time of Vote Decision

Time of Vote Decision *When did you decide how to vote?*

"How long before the election did you decide that you were going to vote the way you did?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
KNEW ALL ALONG	281	18.2
BEFORE CONVENTIONS	322	20.8
AFTER CONVENTIONS	343	22.2
1–2 MONTHS AGO	219	14.2
1–2 WEEKS AGO	261	16.9
ELECTION DAY	120	7.8
DIDN'T VOTE—NO REPLY	767	MISSING

Split Ticket Voting

Split Ticket Voting *Voting choice for president and Congress*

This variable combines the respondent's answers to questions about voting choices between the parties' candidates, both for president and for Congress.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DIDN'T VOTE	737	36.2
STRAIGHT REPUBLICAN	315	15.5
GOP PRES. & DEM REP.	132	6.5
DEM PRES. & GOP REP.	110	5.4
STRAIGHT DEMOCRAT	516	25.3
OTHER—PEROT	226	11.1
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	277	MISSING

Bush's Job Approval

Bush's Job Approval *Approve of Bush's job as president*

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DISAPPROVE STRONGLY	821	36.7
DISAPPROVE SOMEWHAT	466	20.8
APPROVE SOMEWHAT	629	28.1
APPROVE STRONGLY	322	14.4
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	75	MISSING

Bush's Economic Program

Bush's Economic Program *Approve of Bush's handling the economy*

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the economy?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DISAPPROVE STRONGLY	1414	62.9
DISAPPROVE SOMEWHAT	379	16.9
APPROVE SOMEWHAT	297	13.2
APPROVE STRONGLY	157	7.0
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	66	MISSING

Bush's Foreign Policy

Bush's Foreign Policy *Approve of Bush's foreign relations*

"Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling our relations with foreign countries?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DISAPPROVE STRONGLY	540	24.2
DISAPPROVE SOMEWHAT	319	14.3
APPROVE SOMEWHAT	576	25.9
APPROVE STRONGLY	793	35.6
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	85	MISSING

Representative's Contact

Representative's Contact *How well did your representative keep in touch?*

"How good a job would you say U.S. Representative [NAME OF THE RESPONDENT'S REPRESENTATIVE] does of keeping in touch with the people in your district—does (he/she) do a very good job, fairly good, fairly poor, or a poor job of keeping in touch with the people in this district?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
POOR	120	8.9
FAIRLY POOR	210	15.6
FAIRLY GOOD	686	51.0
VERY GOOD	328	24.4
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	969	MISSING

Rep's Job Approval

Rep's Job Approval *Approve of how representative is doing job*

"In general, do you approve or disaprove of the way [NAME OF THE RESPONDENT'S REPRESENTATIVE] has been handling (his/her) job?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DISAPPROVE STRONGLY	86	7.6
DISAPPROVE SOMEWHAT	101	8.9
APPROVE SOMEWHAT	470	41.3
APPROVE STRONGLY	482	42.3
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	1174	MISSING

Understanding Politics

Understanding Politics *Sometimes politics seems so complicated*

"Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on."

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DISAGREE STRONGLY	212	10.2
DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	351	16.8
NEITHER	151	7.2
AGREE SOMEWHAT	901	43.2
AGREE STRONGLY	473	22.7
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	225	MISSING

Trust in Government

Trust in Government *How much can you trust Washington government?*

"How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right—just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
ALWAYS OR MOSTLY	63	3.0
ONLY SOMETIMES	1437	69.3
NONE OF THE TIME	575	27.7
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	238	MISSING

Who Benefits from Govt?

Who Benefits from Govt? *For whose benefit is government run?*

"Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
BENEFIT OF ALL	411	20.7
A FEW BIG INTERESTS	1579	79.3
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	323	MISSING

Government Services

Government Services *Government should give fewer services*

"Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Suppose that these people are at one end of the scale. . . . Other people feel it is important for the government to provide many more services even if it means an increase in spending. Suppose these people are at the other end. . . . Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	413	18.0
FEWER SERVICES	593	25.9
UNDECIDED	600	26.2
MORE SERVICES	688	30.0
DON'T KNOW—NO RFPLY	19	MISSING

Minority Aid

Minority Aid *Government should help minorities*

"Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of blacks and other minority groups. Suppose that these people are at one end of the scale. . . Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help minorities because they should help themselves. Suppose these people are at the other end. . . . Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	207	9.1
HELP MINORITIES	462	20.3
UNDECIDED	563	24.7
DON'T HELP THEM	1044	45.9
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	37	MISSING

Affirmative Action

Affirmative Action *Do you favor or oppose affirmative action?*

"Some people say that because of past discrimination, blacks should be given preference in hiring and promotion. [Suppose that these people are at one end of the scale. . . .] Others say that such preference in hiring and promotion of blacks is wrong because it discriminates against whites. [Suppose these people are at the other end. . . .] What about your opinion—are you for or against preferential hiring and promotion of blacks?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
OPPOSE STRONGLY	1250	62.3
OPPOSE SOMEWHAT	359	17.9
FAVOR SOMEWHAT	165	8.2
FAVOR STRONGLY	231	11.5
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	308	MISSING

Women's Role

Women's Role *Should women have an equal role or stay at home?*

"Recently there has been a lot of talk about women's rights. Some people feel that women should have an equal role with men in running business, industry, and government. [Suppose that these people are at one end of the scale. . . .] Others feel that women's place is in the home. [Suppose these people are at the other end. . . .] Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	94	4.1
EQUAL ROLE	1638	71.4
UNDECIDED	310	13.5
PLACE IS IN HOME	251	10.9
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	20	MISSING

U.S. Role in the World

U.S. Role in World *Should U.S. be concerned with rest of the world?*

"Tell me whether you agree or disagree: This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other parts of the world."

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
AGREE	590	26.2
DISAGREE	1660	73.8
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	63	MISSING

Give Everyone a Job

Give Everyone a Job *Government should give everyone job, living*

"Some people feel the government in Washington should see to it that every person has a job and a good standard of living. Suppose that these people are at one end of the scale. . . . Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his own. Suppose these people are at the other end. . . . Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	283	12.4
PROVIDE A LIVING	600	26.2
UNDECIDED	450	19.6
GET AHEAD ALONE	958	41.8
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	22	MISSING

Abortion

Abortion *How do you feel about abortion?*

"There has been some discussion about abortion during recent years. Which one of the opinions on this page best agrees with your view? You can just tell me the number of the opinion you choose."

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
ABORTION, NEVER	235	10.5
ONLY FOR RAPE, ETC.	638	28.5
FOR OTHER REASONS	319	14.2
PERSONAL CHOICE	1050	46.8
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	71	MISSING

School Prayer

School Prayer *Should schools be able to have prayers?*

"Which of the following views comes closest to your opinion on the issue of school prayer? Just give me the number of your choice."

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NO PRAYER ALLOWED	227	11.4
ALLOW VOLUNTARY SILENT	981	49.5
ALLOW NONDENOMINATIONAL	533	26.9
MANDATORY CHRISTIAN PRAYER	200	10.1
OTHER	42	2.1
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	330	MISSING

Equal Rights

Equal Rights *Gone too far pushing equal rights in U.S.*

"We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country."

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DISAGREE STRONGLY	391	18.9
DISAGREE SOMEWHAT	444	21.4
NEITHER	299	14.4
AGREE SOMEWHAT	634	30.6
AGREE STRONGLY	306	14.8
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	239	MISSING

Death Penalty

Death Penalty *Do you favor or oppose the death penalty?*

"Do you favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder strongly or not strongly?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
OPPOSE STRONGLY	241	12.6
OPPOSE SOMEWHAT	156	8.1
FAVOR SOMEWHAT	315	16.4
FAVOR STRONGLY	1208	62.9
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	393	MISSING

Health Insurance

Health Insurance *Government insurance or private insurance*

"There is much concern about the rapid rise in medical and hospital costs. Some people feel there should be a government insurance plan which would cover all medical and hospital expenses for everyone. [Suppose that these people are at one end of the scale. . . .] Others feel that all medical and hospital expenses should be paid by individuals, and through private insurance plans like Blue Cross or other company-paid plans. [Suppose these people are at the other end. . . .] Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	290	12.8
GOVERNMENT INSURANCE	1017	44.7
UNDECIDED	407	17.9
PRIVATE INSURANCE	560	24.6
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	39	MISSING

Job Discrimination

Job Discrimination *Protect homosexuals from discrimination by law?*

"Do you favor or oppose laws to protect homosexuals against job discrimination?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
OPPOSE STRONGLY	493	24.9
OPPOSE SOMEWHAT	295	14.9
FAVOR SOMEWHAT	547	27.6
FAVOR STRONGLY	647	32.6
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	331	MISSING

Money for Environment

Money for Environment *Should spending for environment be raised?*

"Should federal spending on improving and protecting the environment be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	1374	60.8
SAME	786	34.8
DECREASED	97	4.3
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	2	.1
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	54	MISSING

Money for Fighting Crime

Money for Fighting Crime *Should spending for dealing with crime be raised?*

"Should federal spending on dealing with crime be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	1590	70.4
SAME	590	26.1
DECREASED	78	3.5
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	1	.0
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	54	MISSING

Money for Public Schools

Money for Public Schools *Should spending for public schools be raised?*

"Should federal spending on public schools be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	1482	65.2
SAME	693	30.5
DECREASED	96	4.2
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	2	.1
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	40	MISSING

Money for Social Security

Money for Social Security *Should spending for social security be raised?*

"Should federal spending on social security be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	1108	48.8
SAME	1070	47.1
DECREASED	92	4.0
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	2	.1
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	41	MISSING

Money for Food Stamps

Money for Food Stamps *Should spending for food stamps be raised?*

"Should federal spending on food stamps be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	404	18.1
SAME	1164	52.2
DECREASED	656	29.4
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	5	.2
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	84	MISSING

Money for College Study

Money for College Study *Should spending for financial aid be raised?*

"Should spending on financial aid for college students be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	1338	59.5
SAME	721	32.1
DECREASED	183	8.1
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	6	.3
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	65	MISSING

Money for the Unemployed

Money for the Unemployed *Should spending for aid to the unemployed be raised?*

"Should federal spending on government assistance for the unemployed be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	906	40.0
SAME	1080	47.7
DECREASED	279	12.3
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	1	.0
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	47	MISSING

Money for Science and Technology

Money for Science, Tech *Should spending for science and technology be raised?*

"Should federal spending on science and technology be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	939	41.9
SAME	1009	45.0
DECREASED	290	12.9
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	2	.1
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	73	MISSING

Money for Defense

Money for Defense *Should spending for defense be raised?*

"Some people believe that we should spend much less money for defense. Others feel that defense spending should be greatly increased. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
HAVEN'T THOUGHT MUCH	303	13.2
DECREASE SPENDING	934	40.7
UNDECIDED	672	29.3
INCREASE SPENDING	385	16.8
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	19	MISSING

Money for Aid to Blacks

Money for Aid to Blacks *Should spending for aid to blacks be raised?*

"Should federal spending on programs that assist blacks be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	552	25.1
SAME	1110	50.5
DECREASED	509	23.2
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	27	1.2
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	115	MISSING

Money for Former USSR

Money for Former USSR *Should spending for aid to former USSR be raised?*

"Should federal spending on aid to countries of the former Soviet Union be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	361	16.4
SAME	904	41.0
DECREASED	868	39.3
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	73	3.3
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	107	MISSING

Money for AIDS

Money for AIDS *Should spending to fight AIDS be raised?*

"Should federal spending on fighting the disease AIDS be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?"

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
INCREASED	1375	61.4
SAME	675	30.1
DECREASED	177	7.9
CUT OUT ENTIRELY	12	.5
DON'T KNOW—NO REPLY	74	MISSING

B

The CONGRESS Data Set

The CONGRESS data set describes the districts, traits, and behavior of the 435 members of the U.S. House of Representatives who served in the 103rd Congress—elected in 1992 and in session during 1993 and 1994. The data consist of 41 different observations on the members and their districts. These observations constitute the variables available for analysis with *Crosstabs*. The data were collected from several sources: the U.S. Census, various publications issued by Congressional Quarterly, *The Almanac of American Politics*, *The National Journal*, the AFL-CIO, and the National Chamber of Commerce.

Headings for Variables in the CONGRESS Data

The variables are grouped in seven categories, which deal with characteristics of the congressional **district;** personal traits of the **member** of Congress; **ratings** of each member's voting record in Congress; and members' positions on key votes on issues of **order, equality,** and **foreign policy**; and outcomes of the 1994 congressional elections in the district.

The variables are organized under these headings in the **Row** and **Column** menus in the *Crosstabs* program, where they are identified by short names. The variables' short names are provided below, along with a brief description of each variable.

District Variables

DISTRICT TRAITS

Region	U.S. Census definitions
% Urban	Percent urban population

	% Whites	Percent white population
	% Blacks	Percent black population
	% Spanish	Percent Hispanic population
	% White Collar	Percent white-collar workers
	% Blue Collar	Percent blue-collar workers
	% Service	Percent service workers
	% Farmers	Percent engaged in farming, forestry, fishing
	Median Income	Median family income
	% vote for Clinton	Percent of district vote for Clinton in 1992
Member Variables	**MEMBER TRAITS**	
	Party	Party of member in 103rd Congress
	Seniority	Terms served by incumbent
	% vote won in 1992	Percent of vote won by winner in 1992
Ratings Variables	**JOB RATINGS**	
	Party Unity	Percent of time voting with the party majority in 1993
	Presidential Support	Percent of presidential support in 1993
	AFL-CIO	1993 AFL-CIO ratings of House Members
	Chamber of Commerce	1993 Chamber of Commerce ratings of members
	Conservative Coalition	Percent in North-South Conservative Coalition in 1993
	Economic Conservatism	Economic conservatism—1993 session
	Social Conservatism	Social conservatism—1993 session
	Foreign Policy Conservatism	Foreign policy conservatism—1993 session
Order Votes Variables	**"ORDER" VOTES**	
	Crime	HR4092: Omnibus crime bill
	Assault Weapons Ban	HR4296: Ban manufacture of assault weapons
	Abortion	HR2518: Ban use of funds for abortion
	Gays in the Military	HR2401: End the ban on gays in the military
	Brady Bill	HR1025: Waiting period for handgun purchases
Equality Votes Variables	**"EQUALITY" VOTES**	
	Motor-Voter	HR2: Voter registration at license renewal
	School Funding	HR6: Reauthorization of education act
	Family Leave	HR1: Family or medical leave
	Economic Stimulus	HR1335: Clinton economic stimulus package
	Budget	HR2264: 1993 Clinton budget plan

Foreign Policy Votes Variables	**"FOREIGN POLICY" VOTES**	
	Aid to Russia	HR2295: Cut aid to former soviet republics
	Somalia Troop Removal	HConRes170: Deadline for Somalia troop removal
	NAFTA	HR3450: North American Free Trade Agreement
Outcome Variables	**POLITICAL OUTCOMES**	
	Incumbent's Fate in 1994	Incumbents seeking re-election in 1994
	Candidates Who Ran, 1994	Status of Candidates in 1994 election
	% Democratic Vote, 1994	Percent vote for the Democratic candidate in 1994
	Winner's % of the Vote	Percent won by the winner in 1994 election
	Turnover in Membership	New Members in 104th Congress in 1995
	Seats Changing Parties	Change in party seat, 103rd to 104th Congress

Descriptions of Individual Variables

Region

Region *U.S. Census Definitions*

Each district was classified into the four major regions established by the U.S. Census for the American states. The South contains 16 states; Northeast 9; North Central 12; and West 13.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
SOUTH	149	34.3
NORTHEAST	88	20.2
NORTH CENTRAL	107	24.6
MOUNTAIN & WEST	91	20.9
TOTAL	435	100.0

Because the total is 435 in all the tables that follow, it is not repeated.

% Urban

% Urban *Percent Urban Population*

The Census Bureau classifies people as "urban" if they live in an urbanized area of at least 50,000 people or if they live in places of 2,500 or more outside urban areas. Districts are grouped in four categories according to their percent urban.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UNDER 50% URBAN	75	17.2
50–74% URBAN	125	28.7
75–89% URBAN	79	18.2
OVER 90% URBAN	156	35.9

% Whites

% White *Percent White Population*

People were classified as "white" if they responded so to the 1990 Census or wrote in answers such as "Scandinavian" or "Polish." Districts are grouped in four categories according to their percent white.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UNDER 70% WHITE	77	17.7
70–84% WHITE	125	28.7
85–94% WHITE	157	36.1
95% WHITE OR MORE	76	17.5

% Blacks

% Black *Percent Black Population*

People were classified as "black" if they responded so to the 1990 Census or if they wrote in answers such as "Nigerian" or "Jamaican." Districts are grouped in four categories according to their percent black.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UNDER 5% BLACK	202	46.4
5–14% BLACK	131	30.1
15–29% BLACK	57	13.1
30% BLACK OR MORE	45	10.3

% Spanish

% Spanish *Percent Population with Spanish Origins*

Persons were classified as of Spanish origin if they responded so to a specific question in the 1990 Census. Persons of Spanish origin can be of any race. Districts are grouped in four categories according to their percent Hispanic.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UNDER 2% HISPANIC	174	40.0
2–5% HISPANIC	106	24.4
6–14% HISPANIC	74	17.0
OVER 14% HISPANIC	81	18.6

% White-Collar

% White-Collar *Percent White-Collar Workers*

Congressional Quarterly formed the "white-collar" category from these Census Bureau occupational groups: managerial and professional; technical, sales, and administrative support; and sales and clerical. Districts are grouped in four categories according to the percent of the work force engaged in white-collar occupations.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UNDER 45%	41	9.4
46–50%	70	16.1
51–59%	151	34.7
OVER 60%	173	39.8

% Blue-Collar

% Blue-Collar *Percent Blue-Collar Workers*

Congressional Quarterly formed the "blue-collar" category from these Census Bureau occupational groups: precision production, craft, and repair occupations; equipment operators and fabricators; transportation and material-moving occupations; and handlers, equipment cleaners, helpers, and laborers. Districts are grouped in four categories according to the percent of the work force engaged in blue-collar occupations.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UNDER 25%	191	43.9
26–30%	118	27.1
31–39%	106	24.4
40–51%	20	4.6

% Service

% Service *Percent Service Workers*

Congressional Quarterly formed the "service" category from these Census Bureau occupational groups: service occupations including private household operations and protective service operations. Districts are grouped in four categories according to the percent of the work force engaged in service occupations.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
8–11%	107	24.6
12–12.9%	93	21.4
13–14.9%	138	31.7
MORE THAN 15%	97	22.3

% Farmers

% Farmers *Percent Engaged in Farming*

Congressional Quarterly formed the "farming" category from these occupational groups: farming, forestry, and fishing occupations. Districts are grouped in four categories according to the percent of the work force engaged in farming.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
LESS THAN 1%	110	25.3
1–2%	158	36.3
3–5%	130	29.9
MORE THAN 6%	37	8.5

Median Income

Median Income *Median Family Income*

Expressed in dollars, the median family income divides the families in a district in two equal groups. One half has income above the median, and the other half has income below the median. Districts are grouped in four categories according to their median family income.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UP TO $28,999	97	22.3
$29,000–$33,999	119	27.4
$34,000–$40,999	112	25.7
$41,000 OR MORE	107	24.6

% Vote for Clinton

% Vote for Clinton *% of Districts Voting for Clinton in 1992*

The vote for Governor Bill Clinton in 1992 was calculated as a percentage of the total vote cast for president in the district. Districts are grouped in four categories according to the percentage cast for Bill Clinton, running as the Democratic candidate for president. The percentages reflect the impact of Ross Perot's independent candidacy for president, taking 19% of the national popular vote. Usually the vote is split primarily between the Democratic and Republican candidates. Clinton's relatively low percentages in comparison to equivalent percentages for winning candidates in other years are due to Perot votes.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UNDER 35%	89	23.4
35–41% FOR CLINTON	131	25.7
41–49% FOR CLINTON	114	23.9
OVER 50% FOR CLINTON	101	26.9

Party

Party *Party of Member in 103rd Congress*

The House of Representatives has 435 members. Due to deaths or other circumstances, its membership may be slightly less at any given time—thus altering the balance of the parties. This breakdown by party applied for most of the period. The one Independent is Bernard Sanders of Vermont.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DEMOCRAT	258	59.3
REPUBLICAN	175	40.2
INDEPENDENT	1	0.2

Seniority

Seniority *Terms Served by Incumbent*

Representatives are elected for a term of two years. Those elected in 1992 are classified with those who already served one term.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
1 TERM OR LESS	160	36.8
2–3 TERMS	73	16.8
4–6 TERMS	101	23.2
7 TERMS OR MORE	101	23.2

% Vote Won in 1992

% Vote Won in 1992 *% of Vote Won by Winner in 1992*

In most congressional elections, the major contest is between a Democratic and a Republican candidate, and the election is won by the candidate who receives more than 50% of the vote. The larger the

percentage of vote won by a candidate, the larger the "margin of victory"—and the "safer" the seat for the winner in the next election. The districts are grouped into five categories according to the percentage of vote received by the winning candidate in the 1992 election.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UNDER 56% OF VOTE	121	27.8
56–65% OF VOTE	163	37.5
66–72% OF VOTE	85	19.5
73% OR MORE	57	13.1
UNOPPOSED	9	2.1

Party Unity

Party Unity *% of Time Voting with Majority of Party*

Of the 597 roll-call votes taken in the House of Representatives in 1993, 391 qualify as "party-unity votes," in which a majority of voting Democrats opposed a majority of voting Republicans. *Congressional Quarterly* computed a "party-unity" score for each representative as the percentage of times that the member voted with the majority of his or her party and against a majority of the opposition party on a party-unity vote. Under this version, absences were counted, so failures to vote lowered party-unity scores. House members were grouped into categories according to their party-unity scores. (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3482–3483. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
LESS THAN 75% OF TIME	67	15.4
75–89% OF TIME	170	39.1
90–94% OF TIME	139	32.0
95% OF TIME OR MORE	56	12.9
NOT REPORTED	1	0.2

Presidential Support

Presidential Support *Percent of Presidential Support in 1993*

In 1993, *Congressional Quarterly* identified 102 House votes on which President Clinton had publicly taken a position. *Congressional Quarterly* then computed a "presidential support" score as the percentage of times that a representative voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with President Clinton's position. (President Clinton prevailed on 86.4% of these votes.) House members were grouped into categories according to their presidential support scores. (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3476–3477. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
LESS THAN 40% SUPPORT	98	22.5
41–59% SUPPORT	77	17.7
60–79% SUPPORT	151	34.7
OVER 80% SUPPORT	107	24.6
NOT REPORTED	1	0.2

AFL-CIO

AFL-CIO *1993 AFL-CIO Ratings of House Members*

The AFL-CIO (American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations) is an umbrella group representing much of organized labor in the United States. It computed the percentage of time that each representative took a favorable position on twelve votes in 1993 judged to be in the interest of labor. House members were grouped into categories according to their AFL-CIO support scores. (Source: AFL-CIO Department of Legislation, *1993 Report on Congress*. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
LESS THAN 30% SUPPORT	131	30.1
30–75% SUPPORT	85	19.5
76–99% SUPPORT	104	23.9
100% SUPPORT	114	26.2
NOT REPORTED	1	0.2

Chamber of Commerce

Chamber of Commerce *1993 Chamber of Commerce Ratings of Members*

The United States Chamber of Commerce is a voluntary national organization that promotes business interests. It computed the percentage of time that a representative took a favorable position on eleven votes judged to be in the interest of business. House members were grouped into categories according to their Chamber of Commerce support scores. (Source: U.S. Chamber of Commerce, *How They Voted 1993: First Session of the 103rd Congress*. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
LESS THAN 25% SUPPORT	133	30.6
25–49% SUPPORT	96	22.1
50–79% SUPPORT	57	13.1
OVER 79% SUPPORT	147	33.8
NOT REPORTED	2	0.5

Conservative Coalition

Conservative Coalition *% in North-South Conservative Coalition*

In 1993, *Congressional Quarterly* classified forty-four recorded House votes as evidencing a "conservative coalition," in which a majority of Republicans voted with a majority of southern Democrats against a majority of northern Democrats. *Congressional Quarterly* then computed a "conservative coalition support" score as the percentage of time that the member voted "yea" or "nay" in agreement with the coalition. House members were grouped into categories according to their conservative coalition scores. (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3486–3487. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
LESS THAN 25% OF TIME	100	23.0
25–29% OF TIME	105	24.1
60–90% OF TIME	138	31.7
OVER 90% OF TIME	92	21.1

Economic Conservatism

Economic Conservatism *Economic Conservatism*—National Journal

The *National Journal* rated representatives for "conservatism" in their voting on House votes dealing with "economic issues" in 1993. Then the members were ranked from the most liberal to the most conservative in voting on these issues. Here, they are grouped into categories according to their rankings. (Source: *National Journal*, January 22, 1994, pages 180-189. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
MOST LIBERAL	106	24.4
LIBERAL	111	25.5
CONSERVATIVE	105	24.1
MOST CONSERVATIVE	108	24.8
NOT REPORTED	5	1.1

Social Conservatism

Social Conservatism *Social Conservatism*—National Journal

The *National Journal* rated representatives for "conservatism" in their voting on House votes dealing with "social issues" in 1993. Then the members were ranked from the most liberal to the most conservative in voting on these issues. Here, they are grouped into categories according to their rankings. (Source: *National Journal*, January 22, 1994, pages 180–189. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
MOST LIBERAL	116	26.7
LIBERAL	100	23.0
CONSERVATIVE	108	24.8
MOST CONSERVATIVE	109	25.1
NOT REPORTED	2	0.5

Foreign Policy Conservatism

Foreign Policy Conservatism *Foreign Policy Conservatism*—The National Journal

The *National Journal* rated representatives for "conservatism" in their voting on House votes dealing with "foreign issues" in 1993. Then the members were ranked from the most liberal to the most conservative in voting on these issues. Here, they are grouped into categories according to their rankings. (Source: *National Journal*, January 22, 1994, pages 180–189. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
MOST LIBERAL	112	25.7
LIBERAL	103	23.7
CONSERVATIVE	114	26.2
MOST CONSERVATIVE	103	23.7
NOT REPORTED	2	0.7

Crime

Crime *HR4092: Omnibus Crime Bill*

Vote on the House version of the 1993 crime bill "to authorize more than $27.5 billion over six years for various anti-crime initiatives, including $13.5 billion for new prisons and more than $7 billion for crime prevention programs. The bill would require life imprisonment for three-time violent offenders, expand the death penalty to apply to dozens of federal crimes and authorize grants to hire 50,000 new police officers." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, April 23, 1994, pages 1032–1033. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	285	65.5
VOTED AGAINST	141	32.4
NOT REPORTED	9	2.1

Assault Weapons Ban

Assault Weapons Ban *HR4296: Ban Manufacture of Assault Weapons*

Vote on bill to "ban the manufacture and possession of 19 types of semiautomatic weapons and high-capacity ammunition clips but exempt existing guns and about 670 guns that are deemed to have a legitimate sporting purpose." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, May 7, 1994, pages 1162–1163. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	216	49.7
VOTED AGAINST	214	49.2
NOT REPORTED	5	1.1

Abortion

Abortion *HR2518: Ban Use of Funds for Abortion*

Vote on amendment to Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education appropriations bill "to prohibit funds in the bill from being spent for an abortion except when it is made known that it is a case of rape, incest or necessity to save the woman's life." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3492-3493. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	254	58.4
VOTED AGAINST	174	40.0
NOT REPORTED	7	1.6

Gays in the Military

Gays in the Military *HR2401: End the Ban on Gays in the Military*

Vote on "amendment to strike the provisions codifying a ban on homosexuals in the military and express the sense of the Congress that the issue should be determined by the president and his advisers." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3492–3493. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	166	38.2
VOTED AGAINST	263	60.5
NOT REPORTED	6	1.4

Brady Bill

Brady Bill *HR1025: Waiting Period for Handgun Purchases*

Vote on the "bill to require a five-business-day waiting period before an individual could purchase a handgun, to allow local officials to conduct a background check." The bill is named after James Brady, press secretary for former president Reagan, who was severely wounded in the assassination attempt on President Reagan. (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3494–3495. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	238	54.7
VOTED AGAINST	189	43.4
NOT REPORTED	8	1.8

Motor-Voter

Motor-Voter *HR2: Voter Registration at License Renewal*

Vote to "require states to allow citizens to register to vote while applying for or renewing a driver's license or other public certificates." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, February 6, 1993, pages 284–285. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	259	59.5
VOTED AGAINST	160	36.8
NOT REPORTED	16	3.7

School Funding

School Funding *HR6: Reauthorization of Education Act*

Vote on bill "to reauthorize the 1965 Elementary and Secondary Education Act for six years through fiscal 1999, and to authorize $12.7 billion in fiscal 1995 spending for federal elementary and secondary school programs." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, March 26, 1994, pages 768–769. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	289	66.4
VOTED AGAINST	128	29.4
NOT REPORTED	18	4.1

Family Leave

Family Leave *HR1: Family or Medical Leave*

Vote on the bill "to require employers of more than 50 employees to provide 12 weeks of unpaid leave for an illness or to care for a new child or sick family member." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3492–3493. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	265	60.9
VOTED AGAINST	163	37.5
NOT REPORTED	7	1.6

Economic Stimulus

Economic Stimulus *HR1335: Clinton Economic Stimulus Package*

Vote to "provide for House floor consideration of the bill to provide $16.3 billion in new budget authority and approve $3.4 billion in trust fund spending to implement the administration's stimulus package to help the economy recover. The funds would be designated as emergency spending, making them exempt from discretionary spending caps." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3492–3493. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	240	55.2
VOTED AGAINST	185	42.5
NOT REPORTED	10	2.3

Budget

Budget *HR2264: 1993 Clinton Budget Plan*

Vote "to reduce the deficit by an estimated $496 billion over five years through almost $241 billion in additional taxes and $255 in spending cuts by closely tracking President Clinton's economic proposals. Of the cuts in the bill, $102 billion would come through a freeze of discretionary spending at fiscal 1993 levels through 1998." The bill also raised taxes on those with high incomes. (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3492–3493. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	218	50.1
VOTED AGAINST	216	49.7
NOT REPORTED	1	0.2

Aid to Russia

Aid to Russia *HR2295: Cut Aid to Former Soviet Republics*

Vote on "amendment to cut the $1.6 billion fiscal 1993 supplemental appropriation for aid to Russia." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3492–3493. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	140	32.2
VOTED AGAINST	285	65.5
NOT REPORTED	10	2.3

Somalia Troop Removal

Somalia Troop Removal *HConRes170: Deadline for Somalia Troop Removal*

Vote on "amendment to change the deadline for the removal of U.S. troops from Somalia back to March 31, 1994, from the Jan. 31, 1994, date substituted by the Gilman, R-N.Y. amendment." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3494–3495. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	226	52.0
VOTED AGAINST	201	46.2
NOT REPORTED	8	1.8

NAFTA

NAFTA *HR3450: North American Free Trade Agreement*

Vote "to approve the North American Free Trade Agreement and make the necessary changes to U.S. statutory law to implement it." (Source: *Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report*, December 18, 1993, pages 3494–3495. Used with permission.)

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
VOTED FOR	234	53.8
VOTED AGAINST	200	46.0
NOT REPORTED	1	0.2

Incumbent's Fate in 1994

Incumbent's Fate in 1994 *Incumbents Seeking Reelection in 1994*

For various reasons, 52 incumbent representatives in the 103rd Congress did not run for reelection in 1994. 33 incumbents who ran were defeated. The results for 4 incumbents were not yet available when these data were collected.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
RAN AND WON	345	79.2
RAN AND LOST	34	7.9
DIDN'T RUN IN 1994	52	12.0
NOT YET KNOWN	4	0.9

Candidates who ran, 1994

Candidates who ran, 1994 *Status of Candidates in the 1994 Election*

Incumbents enjoy a great advantage in running for reelection to the House. In fact, they can be so hard to beat that some incumbents win without opposition from the other major party. This variable classifies the status of candidates for the 435 House races in 1994.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
DEM INCUMBENT, NO OPPONENT	14	3.2
DEM INCUMBENT, REP OPPONENT	211	48.5
OPEN SEAT, NO INCUMBENT	52	12.0
REP INCUMBENT, DEM OPPONENT	122	28.0
REP INCUMBENT, NO OPPONENT	35	8.0
INDEPENDENT INCUMBENT	1	0.3

% Democratic Vote, 1994

% Democratic Vote, 1994 — *Percent Vote for the Democratic Candidate in 1994*

This variable collapses into 4 categories the percentage of vote won by the Democratic candidate in the 1994 Congressional election. In most cases, the Republican candidate received the vast majority of the other portion of the vote. One third-party candidate was re-elected, independent Bernard Sanders of Vermont.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
0–34% DEMOCRAT	92	21.2
35–49% DEMOCRAT	111	25.5
50–66% DEMOCRAT	123	28.3
OVER 66% DEMOCRAT	61	14.0
NOT REPORTED	48	11.0

Winners % of the vote

Winners % of the vote — *% Vote Won By the Winner in 1994 Election*

In most Congressional elections, the major contest is between a Democratic and a Republican candidate, and the election is won by the candidate who receives more than 50% of the vote. The larger the percentage of vote won by a candidate, the larger is the "margin of victory" and the "safer" is the seat for the winner in the next election. The districts are grouped into four categories according to the percentage of the vote received by the winning candidate in the 1994 election. One race was not classifiable at the time these data were gathered.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
UNDER 56%	102	23.4
56–65% OF VOTE	133	30.5
66–72% OF VOTE	82	18.9
73% OR MORE	79	18.2
UNOPPOSED	38	8.7
NOT YET KNOWN	1	0.3

Turnover in Membership

Turnover in Membership — *New Members in 104th Congress in 1995*

The 104th Congress convened in January 1995. Its members were elected in the 1994 Congressional elections. Because no incumbent Republican lost, and Republican candidates defeated 34 Democratic incumbents and picked up 21 open seats, the Republicans took control of the House for the first time in 40 years. The fates of 4 incumbents were not known at the time these data were gathered.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
NEW MEMBER IN 1995	83	19.1
SERVED IN 103RD CONGRESS	348	80.0
NOT YET KNOWN	4	0.9

Seats Changing Parties

Seats Changing Parties — *Change in Party Seat, 103rd to 104th Congress*

At least 83 new members were elected to the 104th Congress, which convened in 1995. However, over 80% of the new members were Republicans, and no incumbent Republicans were defeated. The Democrats managed to win 4 open seats that had been held by Republicans. Seven districts had not been decided at the time these data were gathered.

	FREQUENCY	PERCENT
REMAINED DEMOCRAT	195	44.8
BECAME DEMOCRAT	4	0.9
BECAME REPUBLICAN	55	12.6
REMAINED REPUBLICAN	173	39.8
REMAINED INDEPENDENT	1	0.3
NOT YET KNOWN	7	1.6