Appendix A: Methodology

This project was sponsored jointly by Vermont Public Radio (VPR) and Vermont PBS, Colchester, VT. The sponsors suggested the topics and the overall study goals, while Rich Clark, professor of political science and former director of the Castleton Polling Institute developed the questionnaire.

Data were collected between July 6 and July 16, 2018 by Braun Research, Inc., a market research, data collection, and data processing company headquartered in Princeton, New Jersey, with call centers in four locations. Interviews were conducted by phone with live interviewers.

A dual frame landline and cell phone random digit dialing design was used; the sampling procedures for both frames are described below. Of the 603 completed interviews, 301 were conducted over landline phones, and 302 with cell phones.

For the cell phone sample, interviewers selected whomever answered the phone, assuming a one-to-one relationship between phone number and individuals. Anyone who did not live in the prescribed geographic area (the state of Vermont) was screened out as ineligible. For the landline sample, interviewers requested to speak with the youngest male member of the household who is at least 18 years of age; if there was no male in the household, interviewers requested the youngest female.

The margin-of-error is (+/-) 4 percentage points at the 95% confidence level for data representing the entire sample. Data were weighted by utilizing a raking method to reflect census figures for gender, age, education, and geographic distribution (county-level population) across the state. The weights are based on the U.S. Census American Community Survey 5-year estimates from 2016 for the state of Vermont. Neither sampling errors nor statistical tests were adjusted to account for sample design effects due to weighting. An average design effect from the dual-frame sample for this study was not calculated. Table 1 shows the margins of error for the sample and sub-sample groups.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>95% Confidence level</th>
<th>Sampling Error</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Population</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total sample</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>603</td>
<td>504131</td>
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<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>5.8%</td>
<td>289</td>
<td>308711</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>317538</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democrat (with leaners)</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>262148</td>
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<tr>
<td>Republican (with leaners)</td>
<td>8.1%</td>
<td>146</td>
<td>138636</td>
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<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>106</td>
<td>103347</td>
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<tr>
<td>Chittenden County</td>
<td>7.8%</td>
<td>157</td>
<td>128102</td>
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<tr>
<td>Northern Vermont</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>115360</td>
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<tr>
<td>Central Vermont</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>120</td>
<td>100282</td>
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<tr>
<td>Southern Vermont</td>
<td>7.1%</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>158756</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered to vote</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>508</td>
<td>471848</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not registered</td>
<td>10.7%</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>30652</td>
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<tr>
<td>18 - 44 years of age</td>
<td>6.9%</td>
<td>204</td>
<td>210420</td>
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<tr>
<td>45 - 64 years of age</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>219</td>
<td>187875</td>
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<tr>
<td>65 years of age and older</td>
<td>7.6%</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>105836</td>
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<tr>
<td>High School Diploma or less</td>
<td>8.0%</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>191874</td>
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<tr>
<td>Beyond HS but no 4-yr degree</td>
<td>7.3%</td>
<td>181</td>
<td>146229</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 yr college degree and beyond</td>
<td>6.0%</td>
<td>269</td>
<td>166455</td>
</tr>
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</table>
### Table 2. Representativeness of weighted data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Vermont State Figures</th>
<th>VPR / VT PBS Poll figures (weighted)</th>
<th>Difference</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Male</strong></td>
<td>48.7%</td>
<td>48.9%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18 - 34 years old</td>
<td>27.2%</td>
<td>26.8%</td>
<td>-0.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&gt; 64 years old</td>
<td>20.4%</td>
<td>21.4%</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pct with HS Diploma or more</td>
<td>91.6%</td>
<td>93.8%</td>
<td>2.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pct with (Bachelor's degree / College degree) or more</td>
<td>35.2%</td>
<td>35.0%</td>
<td>-0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pct registered to vote (VAP)</strong></td>
<td>93.9%</td>
<td>80.3%</td>
<td>-13.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Pct home owners</strong></td>
<td>71.0%</td>
<td>68.4%</td>
<td>-2.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pct Cell phone only</td>
<td>34.4%</td>
<td>34.9%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pct LL only</td>
<td>15.3%</td>
<td>15.4%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Median HH Income</strong></td>
<td>$54,447</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HH Income &lt; $40K</td>
<td>36.9%</td>
<td>39.3%</td>
<td>2.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>HH Income &gt; $100K</td>
<td>20.8%</td>
<td>19.3%</td>
<td>-1.5%</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Counties</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Addison</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>5.5%</td>
<td>-0.4%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bennington</td>
<td>5.9%</td>
<td>6.1%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Caledonia</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>5.0%</td>
<td>0.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chittenden</td>
<td>25.5%</td>
<td>25.3%</td>
<td>-0.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Essex</td>
<td>1.0%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>0.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Franklin</td>
<td>7.7%</td>
<td>8.3%</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grand Isle</td>
<td>1.1%</td>
<td>1.2%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamoille</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>4.1%</td>
<td>0.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Orange</td>
<td>4.6%</td>
<td>4.9%</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orleans</td>
<td>4.3%</td>
<td>4.0%</td>
<td>-0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rutland</td>
<td>9.7%</td>
<td>10.2%</td>
<td>0.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Washington</td>
<td>9.5%</td>
<td>9.4%</td>
<td>-0.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Windham</td>
<td>7.0%</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
<td>-0.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Windsor</td>
<td>8.9%</td>
<td>8.7%</td>
<td>-0.3%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Appendix B: Survey Instrument

Vermont VPR/VT PBS 2018 Pre-Primary Poll

[INTRO]: Hi, my name is ________ and I’m calling on behalf of Vermont Public Radio and Vermont PBS. I am not selling anything or asking for money. We are conducting a study concerning the future of our state, and we’d really appreciate your help.

Have we reached you on a landline or cell phone?
   Landline
   Cell phone
   REFUSED → “Thank you” and terminate

Do you live in Vermont?
   Yes, lives in Vermont
   No, does not live in Vermont → “Thank you” and terminate

[If calling cell phone]: Are you currently driving a car or doing any activity that requires your full attention?
   Yes, engaged in other activity → “Can I call back at a later time?”
   No, not doing anything to distract
   Not sure / Refused → “Can I call back at a later time?”

[IF LANDLINE] To correct for sampling errors, may I please speak to the youngest adult male in the household who is at least 18 years of age?
   SPEAKING
   GETTING PERSON [REPEAT INTRO]
   CALLBACK [GET NAME]
   NO MALE IN HOUSEHOLD [PROCEED WITH YOUNGEST FEMALE]
   REFUSED

[IF LANDLINE, Once target respondent is on the phone] Thank you very much for helping us with this important study. Your telephone number was randomly selected from among all households in Vermont. This call may be monitored for quality assurance.

Participation is voluntary. If you decide to participate, you may decline to answer any question or end the interview at any time.

[IF ASKED:] This survey should take {approximately/less than} 10 minutes to complete.
Intro: Let's begin...

Q1: MIPState
What do you think is the most important problem facing the state of Vermont today? [ASK AS OPEN-ENDED; USE PRE-CODED LIST IF APPLICABLE OR RECORD RESPONSE VERBATIM]

1. THE ECONOMY GENERALLY / JOBS / COST OF LIVING
2. PROPERTY TAXES
3. OVERALL COSTS OF EDUCATION / SCHOOL CONSOLIDATION
4. HEALTH CARE
5. WAGES / LEAVE / WORKPLACE ISSUES
6. GUNS / GUN CONTROL
7. DRUGS/OPIATE ADDICTION
8. MARIJUANA LEGALIZATION
9. TROUBLED POLITICS/ LEADERSHIP
10. ENVIRONMENTAL ISSUES / CLIMATE CHANGE / RENEWABLE ENERGY
11. DRINKING WATER ISSUES / CONTAMINATION
12. NATIONAL POLITICS
88. OTHER (PLEASE SPECIFY)
99. DK / Refused (vol.)

Q2: PresApp
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President?

1. APPROVE
2. DISAPPROVE
8. NOT SURE/NO OPINION
9. REFUSED

Q3: GovApp
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Phil Scott is handling his job as Governor of Vermont?

1. APPROVE
2. DISAPPROVE
8. NOT SURE/NO OPINION
9. REFUSED

Q4: SandersApp
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bernie Sanders is handling his job as one of Vermont’s US Senators?

1. APPROVE
Q5: LeahyApp
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Patrick Leahy is handling his job as one of Vermont’s US Senators?
   1 APPROVE
   2 DISAPPROVE
   8 NOT SURE/NO OPINION
   9 REFUSED

Q6: WelchApp
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Peter Welch is handling his job as Vermont’s Congressional Representative?
   1 APPROVE
   2 DISAPPROVE
   8 NOT SURE/NO OPINION
   9 REFUSED

Q7a-k: Favor(name)
I am going to read a list of potential candidates for governor or lieutenant governor in Vermont in 2018. For each name I read, please tell me if have a favorable opinion, unfavorable opinion, or if you have not heard of the person. [ROTATE ORDER OF LIST]

   a. James Ehlers
   b. Christine Hallquist
   c. Brenda Siegel
   d. Ethan Sonneborn
   e. John Rodgers
   f. Phil Scott
   g. Keith Stern
   h. Joseph Barney
   i. Stephen Marx
   j. David Zuckerman
   k. Donald Turner

[RESPONSE OPTIONS FOR EACH CANDIDATE NAME] [PROMPT AS NECESSARY]
   1 Favorable opinion
   2 Unfavorable opinion
   3 Never heard of
   8 No opinion (vol.)
   9 DK / Refused
Toward the end of June, Vermont state government passed a budget for the current fiscal year, just in time to avoid a state government shutdown. We are going to ask about how the Democrats, the Republicans and the Governor handled these negotiations. [RANDOMIZE ORDER OF 29a-c]

Q18a: budget1
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Democrats in the state legislature handled the budget negotiations?
- 1 APPROVE
- 2 DISAPPROVE
- 8 NOT SURE/NO OPINION
- 9 REFUSED

Q18b: budget2
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Republicans in the state legislature handled the budget negotiations?
- 1 APPROVE
- 2 DISAPPROVE
- 8 NOT SURE/NO OPINION
- 9 REFUSED

Q18c: budget3
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Governor Phil Scott handled the budget negotiations?
- 1 APPROVE
- 2 DISAPPROVE
- 8 NOT SURE/NO OPINION
- 9 REFUSED

Q21: SchoolGov (option 2)
When it comes to managing the cost per student in Vermont schools, who do you think can do a better job: the state government or local government?
- 1 State government
- 2 Local government
- 3 Neither (vol.)
- 4 Both (vol.)
- 5 It depends (vol.)
- 8 NOT SURE/NO OPINION
- 9 REFUSED

Q22: GunLaw
This past term, the Vermont legislature passed a law to require background checks for all gun sales, limit the size of ammunition magazines, ban bump stocks, and raise the legal age for gun purchases to 21 years old. Do you favor or oppose this legislation? [PROBE: “Completely or generally favor/oppose”]

1  Completely favor
2  Generally favor
3  Neither favor nor oppose (vol.)
4  Generally oppose
5  Completely oppose
9  DK/Refused

Q23: SchoolSafe
In general, do you think that students in Vermont schools are completely safe, mostly safe, or not safe at school from incidents like the Parkland, Florida school shooting?

1  Completely safe
2  Mostly safe
3  Not safe
9  DK / Refused

Q24: immigration
Do you think that immigration controls on the border between Vermont and Canada are too strict, too loose, or just about right?

1  Too strict
2  Just about right
3  Too loose
8  It depends (vol.)
9  DK / Refused

Q25: minwage
Would you favor raising the state minimum wage from the current $10.50 to eventually reach $15, favor raising the state minimum wage to reach something above $10.50 but less than $15, or oppose any increase in the minimum wage at all?

1  Favor raising to $15
2  Favor raising to value less than $15
3  Oppose raising minimum wage
4  Favor raising to value above $15 (vol.)
5  Oppose any minimum wage (vol.)
9  DK / Refused

Q26: PotUse
How likely are you to use marijuana for recreational purposes in the next year? Would you say very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely, or not likely at all?

1  Very likely
2  Somewhat likely
3  Not too likely
4 Not likely at all / Definitely will not
8 DK
9 Refused to answer (vol.)

[ASK ONLY IF PotUse = “Very likely” or “Somewhat likely”] Q27: PotLaw
Is the fact that you are {very/somewhat likely} to use marijuana in the coming year due to the fact that the Vermont legislature legalized the possession of small amounts of marijuana for personal use, or is that law irrelevant to your decision?

1 Because of law
2 Irrelevant
8 DK
9 Refused to answer

Q28: PotRevenue
While the current law allows Vermonters to possess marijuana, it does not allow the retail sale of pot. In your opinion, should the state of Vermont allow the retail sale of marijuana for personal use or not?

1 Yes, allow retail
2 No, do not allow
3 It depends
8 DK/Refused

Q29: CarCell
In general, how often do you use a hand-held phone while driving in Vermont? Would you say …

[READ FIRST 4 RESPONSE OPTIONS]
1 Often
2 Sometimes
3 Rarely
4 Never
8 It depends
9 DK / Refused

Q30: diversity
Thinking about racial and ethnic diversity, would you consider your community to be a place that is welcoming to diversity or not?

1 WELCOMING
2 NOT WELCOMING
3 IT DEPENDS
8 NOT SURE
9 REFUSED

Q31: opiate1
Have you or someone you know been personally affected by opiate addiction?
1 YES
2 NO
8 NOT SURE
9 REFUSED
DEMOGRAPHICS

Q35: Gender
Lastly, I would like to ask a few questions about you merely for the purposes of classification and to be sure our sample accurately reflects the population as a whole.

INTERVIEWER: MARK GENDER, DO NOT ASK
1 MALE
2 FEMALE

Q36: OwnHome
Do you or another member of your household own your own home, pay rent, or have another arrangement?
1 OWN HOME
2 PAY RENT
3 OTHER ARRANGEMENT (SPECIFY)
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Q37: YearsVT
How many years have you lived in Vermont?

INTERVIEWERS: IF LESS THAN ONE YEAR, ENTER 1
DON'T KNOW = 888
REFUSED = 999

Q38: YearBorn
In what year were you born?
DON'T KNOW = 8888
REFUSED = 9999

Q39: Education
What is the highest grade of school or year in college you have completed?
1 Less than High School
2 High School Diploma
3 Some college
4 College degree
5 Some post-graduate work
6 Post-graduate degree
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED
Q40: gunown
Do you, or does anyone in your household, own a gun, rifle or pistol?
[IF YES] Is that you or someone else in your household?
1 YES, RESPONDENT OWNS GUN
2 YES, SOMEONE IN HH OTHER THAN RESPONDENT OWNS GUN
3 NO, NO ONE IN HH OWNS A GUN
8 NOT SURE
9 REFUSED

Q41: Party
In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else?
1 REPUBLICAN
2 DEMOCRAT
3 INDEPENDENT
4 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

[ASK ONLY IF PARTY = “Independent” OR “Other”] Q42: IndLean
As of today, do you lean more to the Democratic Party or to the Republican Party?
1 LEAN DEMOCRAT
2 LEAN REPUBLICAN
3 LEAN TOWARD NEITHER PARTY
4 OTHER (SPECIFY)
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Q43: RegVote
Are you registered to vote in Vermont?
1 YES
2 NO
8 DON'T KNOW
9 REFUSED

Q44: County
In what county do you live?
1 ADDISON
2 BENNINGTON
3 CALEDONIA
4 CHITTENDEN
Q45a: Landline
Do you use a landline phone at home on which you can be reached?
   1 YES
   2 NO
   8 DON'T KNOW
   9 REFUSED

Q45b: Cell
Do you also use a cellphone for personal use on which you can be reached?
   1 Yes
   2 No
   8 DON'T KNOW
   9 REFUSED

Q46: Income1
Last year, that is in 2017, what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. [READ]
   1 Less than $20,000
   2 20 to under $40,000
   3 40 to under $60,000
   4 60 to under $80,000
   5 80 to under $100,000 [OR]
   6 $100,000 or more
   9 DK/Refused [VOL. DO NOT READ]
Q47: Followup
Finally, would you be willing to be interviewed by a reporter to discuss your reactions to some of the topics we’ve been talking about?
1 YES
2 NO

Q48: Completed
That completes our survey. Thank you for your time, and have a wonderful {day/evening}!