Appendix to Chapter 9, entitled “Period Four: The McCain Surge (October 15—28)” from *The Obama Victory: How Media, Money, and Message Shaped the 2008 Election*

By Kate Kenski, Bruce W. Hardy, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson

**Appendix 9.1 (see page 219 of *The Obama Victory*)**
Predicting McCain Favorability from Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not

**Appendix 9.2 (see page 219 of *The Obama Victory*)**
Predicting Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not from October 15 Debate Viewing

**Appendix 9.3 (see page 220 of *The Obama Victory*)**
Predicting Belief that Obama Tax Plan Would Give Check to People Who Pay No Federal Income Tax from October 15 Debate Viewing

**Appendix 9.4 (see page 230 of *The Obama Victory*)**
Relationships of Beliefs that Obama Will Raise Taxes/McCain Will Not and Obama Tax Plan Would Give Check to People Who Pay No Federal Income Tax to Other Beliefs

**Appendix 9.5 (see page 230 of *The Obama Victory*)**
Predicting Belief that McCain Will Be Better at Handling Economy
Appendix 9.1 (see page 219 of *The Obama Victory*)
Predicting McCain Favorability from Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not

NAES analyses showed that the belief that Obama will raise taxes and McCain won’t was significantly related to higher favorability scores for McCain,* and the strength of this relationship increases directly after the third and final debate (figure 9.5). (p. 219)

Table A9.1. OLS Regression Predicting McCain Favorability from Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>3.013***</td>
<td>.339</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.080</td>
<td>.076</td>
<td>-.014</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (in years)</td>
<td>.007*</td>
<td>.003</td>
<td>.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.702***</td>
<td>.151</td>
<td>-.062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.036</td>
<td>.155</td>
<td>-.003</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (in years)</td>
<td>.029</td>
<td>.018</td>
<td>.024</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income (in thousands)</td>
<td>.000</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>1.100***</td>
<td>.102</td>
<td>.171</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-1.126***</td>
<td>.095</td>
<td>-.183</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)</td>
<td>.331***</td>
<td>.039</td>
<td>.130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week</td>
<td>.032 #</td>
<td>.020</td>
<td>.022</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week</td>
<td>-.014</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>-.013</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week</td>
<td>-.022 #</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>-.023</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week</td>
<td>-.044 ***</td>
<td>.013</td>
<td>-.048</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believed that Obama will raise taxes and McCain will not (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>1.990***</td>
<td>.094</td>
<td>.327</td>
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<td>N</td>
<td>3,583</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

R-square .419

# p < .10  * p < .05  ** p < .01  *** p < .001

Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/16/08 to 11/3/08.

*Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not* was measured with two items: “If Barack Obama is elected president, do you think your federal taxes will go up, go down, or stay the same?” and “If John McCain is elected president, do you think your federal taxes will go up, go down, or stay the same?” Respondents who said that *under Obama, federal taxes will go up* and said that *under McCain, federal taxes will stay the same or go down* were assigned a value of 1. Respondents who gave other combinations of substantive responses were assigned a 0. People
who said *don’t know* to either of the two items or *refused* to give responses were treated as missing.
Appendix 9.2 (see page 219 of The Obama Victory)
Predicting Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not from October 15 Debate Viewing

In the presence of controls, watching the October 15 debate significantly predicted the belief that Obama would raise taxes and McCain would not.* (p. 219)

Table A9.2. Logistic Regression Predicting the Belief that Obama Will Raise Taxes and McCain Will Not from Third Presidential Debate Viewing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Variable</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>-4.630</td>
<td>.673</td>
<td>.010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.148</td>
<td>.153</td>
<td>.862</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (in years)</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>1.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-1.238</td>
<td>.540</td>
<td>.290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.324</td>
<td>.328</td>
<td>.724</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (in years)</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>1.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income (in thousands)</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>1.004</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>1.364</td>
<td>.173</td>
<td>3.910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.785</td>
<td>.213</td>
<td>.456</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)</td>
<td>.663</td>
<td>.083</td>
<td>1.941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Watched third presidential debate (0=none to 3=all)</td>
<td>.148</td>
<td>.062</td>
<td>1.160</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| N                               | 1,171   |
| Cox & Snell R-square            | .296    |
| Nagelkerke R-square             | .411    |
| Percent Correct                 | 78.0    |

# p < .10  * p < .05 ** p < .01 *** p < .001

Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/16/08 to 10/21/08.

Watched Third Presidential Debate was measured with the question: “Did you happen to watch the presidential debate on Wednesday, October 15 between (ROTATE) John McCain and Barack Obama focusing on domestic issues? (IF YES:) Did you watch all, most or just some of it?” Those who did not watch the debate were assigned a value of 0, those who watched just some if it were assigned a value of 1, those who watched most of it were assigned a value of 2, and those who watched all of it were assigned a value of 3.
Appendix 9.3 (see page 220 of The Obama Victory)
Predicting Belief that Obama Tax Plan Would Give Check to People Who Pay No Federal Income Tax from October 15 Debate Viewing

The allegation apparently resonated with debate watchers, who were significantly more likely than nonviewers to believe that Obama’s proposed tax plan would provide a government check to millions of people who pay no federal income taxes. *(p. 220)*

Table A9.3. Logistic Regression Predicting the Belief that Obama’s Tax Plan Would Provide a Government Check to People Who Pay No Federal Income Tax from Third Presidential Debate Viewing

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>-2.939</td>
<td>.847</td>
<td>.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.405</td>
<td>.202</td>
<td>.667</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (in years)</td>
<td>.005</td>
<td>.007</td>
<td>1.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.395</td>
<td>.446</td>
<td>.674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.466</td>
<td>.424</td>
<td>.627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (in years)</td>
<td>.109</td>
<td>.041</td>
<td>1.115</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.538</td>
<td>.256</td>
<td>1.713</td>
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<tr>
<td>Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.163</td>
<td>.255</td>
<td>.850</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)</td>
<td>.307</td>
<td>.105</td>
<td>1.359</td>
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<tr>
<td>Watched third presidential debate (0=none to 3=all)</td>
<td>.154</td>
<td>.079</td>
<td>1.166</td>
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</table>

N 463

Cox & Snell R-square .103
Nagelkerke R-square .138

Percent Correct 61.8

# p < .10  * p < .05  ** p < .01  *** p < .001

Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/20/08 to 10/21/08.

Obama’s Tax Plan Would Provide Check To Those Who Do Not Pay Taxes was measured with the item: “Which candidate or candidates running for president proposes a tax cut plan that would provide a government check to millions of people who pay no federal income taxes? (ROTATE CHOICES) Barack Obama, John McCain, both or neither?” Those who said Obama were assigned a value of 1. Those who said McCain, both, neither, or don’t know were assigned a value of 0. Our goal was to isolate the idea that Obama was the candidate who would be taking this action, not McCain, which is why both was assigned a value of 0.
NOTE: For this model, we did not include income as we had with previous models. The reason is because people sometimes do not want to answer personal income questions, so when income is included in models, the sample size is lower than it otherwise would be. In the case of predicting perceptions about Obama’s tax plan, income was not a significant predictor of the dependent variable when it was included in the model. It did, however, change the sample size from 463 to 418, making the watched third presidential debate variable insignificant ($p=.134$). When the sample size was increased with the exclusion of income, the $p$ value was .051. We decided that the analysis with the slightly larger sample size was appropriate. Unfortunately, the watched third presidential debate and perceptions about Obama’s tax plan variables were only on the survey together for two days, making sample size limited.
Appendix 9.4 (see page 230 of The Obama Victory)
Relationships of Beliefs that Obama Will Raise Taxes/McCain Will Not and Obama Tax Plan Would Give Check to People Who Pay No Federal Income Tax to Other Beliefs

NAES data show that believing that Obama will raise your taxes and McCain won’t and thinking that Obama proposed a tax-cut plan that would provide a government check to millions of people who pay no federal income taxes were positively related to beliefs that 1) the Obama plan is socialist, 2) black elected officials will favor blacks, and 3) Obama is liberal.* (p. 230)

Table A9.4.1. OLS Regression Predicting Belief that Obama Plan Is Socialist

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>Beta</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
<td>4.937***</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.011</td>
<td>.178</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (in years)</td>
<td>-.013 #</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>-.054</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.493</td>
<td>.346</td>
<td>.038</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>1.001 **</td>
<td>.365</td>
<td>.071</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (in years)</td>
<td>-.076 #</td>
<td>.043</td>
<td>-.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income (in thousands)</td>
<td>-.002</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>-.035</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.618 *</td>
<td>.240</td>
<td>.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.597 **</td>
<td>.221</td>
<td>-.083</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)</td>
<td>.541 ***</td>
<td>.090</td>
<td>.186</td>
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<tr>
<td>Number of days saw presidential campaign</td>
<td>-.027</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>-.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>information on TV news in past week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days heard about presidential</td>
<td>.077 *</td>
<td>.031</td>
<td>.064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>campaign on talk radio in past week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days read presidential campaign</td>
<td>-.105 ***</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>-.095</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>information in newspapers in past week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days saw presidential campaign</td>
<td>.017</td>
<td>.030</td>
<td>.016</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>information on Internet in past week</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama will raise taxes and McCain will not</td>
<td>1.398 ***</td>
<td>.217</td>
<td>.197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama plan will give government checks (1=yes,</td>
<td>.776 ***</td>
<td>.185</td>
<td>.113</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0=no)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N 1,181
R-square .253

* p < .10  * p < .05  ** p < .01  *** p <.001

Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/22/08 to 11/3/08.
Obama Plan Socialist was measured with the question: “Now I’m going to read you a word that some use to describe Barack Obama’s economic plans. Please tell me how well that word describes Barack Obama’s economic plans. Again, please use a scale from 0 to 10, where ‘zero’ means it does not apply at all and 10 means it applies extremely well. Of course you can use any number in between. Socialism.” For the analysis, the 0 to 10 scale was used. Don’t know and refused responses were treated as missing.
### Table A9.4.2. OLS Regression Predicting Belief that Black Officials Favor Blacks

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>Beta</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
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<td>.163</td>
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<td>Female (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.146***</td>
<td>.037</td>
<td>-.074</td>
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<tr>
<td>Age (in years)</td>
<td>.008***</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td>.119</td>
</tr>
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<td>Black (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.452***</td>
<td>.071</td>
<td>-.123</td>
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<td>Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.123#</td>
<td>.075</td>
<td>.031</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (in years)</td>
<td>-.020*</td>
<td>.009</td>
<td>-.049</td>
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<td>Household income (in thousands)</td>
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<td>.000</td>
<td>-.027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.036</td>
<td>.050</td>
<td>.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.096*</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>-.047</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)</td>
<td>.067***</td>
<td>.019</td>
<td>.079</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days saw presidential campaign information on TV news in past week</td>
<td>-.026**</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>-.050</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days heard about presidential campaign on talk radio in past week</td>
<td>-.007</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>-.020</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days read presidential campaign information in newspapers in past week</td>
<td>-.017**</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>-.053</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days saw presidential campaign information on Internet in past week</td>
<td>-.001</td>
<td>.006</td>
<td>-.005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama will raise taxes and McCain will not (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.294***</td>
<td>.046</td>
<td>.144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama plan will give government checks (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.077*</td>
<td>.038</td>
<td>.039</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| N                          | 2,647         |
| R-square                   | .121          |

# p < .10  * p < .05  ** p <.01  *** p <.001

Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/20/08 to 11/3/08.

**Black Officials Favor Blacks** was measured with the question: “Do you think black elected officials are more likely to favor blacks for government jobs over white applicants. Do you (ROTATE ORDER 1-2-3-4 or 4-3-2-1) strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree?” Responses were coded on a scale from 1 to 4: *strongly agree* (4), *somewhat agree* (3), *somewhat disagree* (2), and *strongly disagree* (1).
Table A9.4.3. OLS Regression Predicting Perception of Obama as Liberal

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>B Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>Beta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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<td>.159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.086</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>.036</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Age (in years)</td>
<td>.004</td>
<td>**</td>
<td>.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.301</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.315</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.074</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (in years)</td>
<td>.059</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income (in thousands)</td>
<td>.001</td>
<td></td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.216</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.048</td>
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<td>Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.153</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.045</td>
</tr>
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<td>Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)</td>
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<td>.018</td>
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<td>.009</td>
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<td>Number of days heard campaign</td>
<td>.012</td>
<td>#</td>
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<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of days saw campaign</td>
<td>.014</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama will raise taxes</td>
<td>.643</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McCain will not</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama plan will give government checks</td>
<td>.286</td>
<td>***</td>
<td>.037</td>
</tr>
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</table>

N: 2,735
R-square: .276

Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/20/08 to 11/3/08.

_Obama as Liberal_ was measured with the question: “Which of the following best describes the views of Barack Obama: very conservative, somewhat conservative, moderate, somewhat liberal, or very liberal?” The order to the ideology spectrum was rotated randomly. For the above analysis, _very conservative_ was coded as 1 and _very liberal_ was coded as 5.
Appendix 9.5 (see page 230 of The Obama Victory)
Predicting Belief that McCain Would Be Better at Handling Economy

Two of these three, the exception being the belief that black officials will favor blacks, predict a report that McCain will be better at handling the economy than Obama.* (p. 230)

Table A9.5. Logistic Regression Predicting Perception that McCain Would Better Handle the Economy

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>B Coefficient</th>
<th>Standard Error</th>
<th>Odds Ratio</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Intercept</td>
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<tr>
<td>Female (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
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<td>Age (in years)</td>
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<td>.006</td>
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<tr>
<td>Black (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-1.797 **</td>
<td>.594</td>
</tr>
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<td>-.629 #</td>
<td>.354</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education (in years)</td>
<td>-.076 #</td>
<td>.044</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Household income (in thousands)</td>
<td>.002</td>
<td>.002</td>
</tr>
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<td>Republican (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.872 ***</td>
<td>.218</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>-.475 #</td>
<td>.245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ideology (1=very liberal to 5=very conservative)</td>
<td>.610 ***</td>
<td>.096</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama will raise taxes and McCain will not (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>1.852 ***</td>
<td>.195</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama plan will give government checks (1=yes, 0=no)</td>
<td>.533 **</td>
<td>.194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama plan is socialism (0 to 10)</td>
<td>.135 ***</td>
<td>.032</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black officials favor blacks (1=strongly disagree to 4=strongly agree)</td>
<td>.106</td>
<td>.097</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Obama as liberal (1=very conservative to 5=very liberal)</td>
<td>.370 ***</td>
<td>.095</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

N 1,122
Cox & Snell R-square .487
Nagelkerke R-square .649
Percent Correct 85.0

# p < .10  * p < .05  ** p < .01  *** p < .001

Data: NAES08 telephone survey. Dates: 10/22/08 to 11/3/08.

McCain Would Better Handle the Economy was measured with the question: “Now I’m going to mention a few items and for each one, please tell me if you think (ROTATE) Barack Obama or John McCain would better handle that issue if they were elected president in 2008. Here’s the first. Who would better handle the economy (ISSUES ROTATED) if they were elected president in 2008, Barack Obama or John McCain?” For the analysis, those who said that
McCain would better handle the economy were coded as 1, while those who said Obama or neither were coded as 0. Don’t know responses were also assigned a value of 0.