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**History, Commemoration, and Belief:  
Abraham Lincoln in American Memory, 1945–2001**

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## APPENDIX A

### SURVEY INFORMATION

This project is based on four different surveys administered by different organizations using different methods of data collection yielding different response rates.

*The Maryland Survey* reports an overall response rate of 57%, which is typical of good academic surveys at present, and recent studies by Curtin, Presser, & Singer (2000) and Keeter, *et al* (2000) have indicated almost no effects of variations in response rates near this level.

Each question (original and follow-up) allowed but did not require two codable responses, and the number of possible code categories was large. Using 110 random responses, we obtained 90% agreement, which breaks down into complete agreement on two codes in 66% of the cases and partial agreement in 10% of the cases. In 14% of the cases there was agreement on one of two codes, but disagreement on the other (sometimes one coder provided two codes and the other included only one). After discussion of coding differences, final decisions were made by one coder after taking full account of the two responses. Agreement was almost perfect for the major codes, including Savior of the Union and Great Emancipator, and very high for the codes involving Lincoln's character.

*Knowledge Networks* uses an internet survey based on respondents enlisted from a national telephone sample and then given an easy-to-use hardware device and free internet access through which surveys are administered. The Knowledge Networks response rate is reported to be 58%, but if one takes account of non-response to the original Random Digit Dial telephone sample, the final response rate is 28%. Post-stratification is used to match the general population and Knowledge Networks provides evidence that their final samples produces results comparable to those from a standard random digit dialing (RDD) telephone sample. The main issue about non-response is whether it is correlated with the key substantive variables in a study, and there is little reason to expect that to be the case for our questions about Lincoln once demographic variables are adjusted to fit the general population.

To assess coding reliability, two judges compared 142 responses and assessed agreement according to the same rules used in the Maryland survey. The agreement rate was 84.5%. On Savior of the Union and Great Emancipator the agreement rate was nearly perfect.

Since both the Maryland and Knowledge Network survey organizations provide a weight variable based on Current Population Survey data, we use those weights throughout our analysis.

Once weights are applied to each data set, there are no significant differences between them in terms of the social background variables on which we drew for our analysis: race, region, gender, and education. In terms of age/cohort, the Maryland sample averages two years older than the Knowledge Networks sample panel, which is appropriate given the dates for the two surveys. Prior to applying weights, there were small differences in race and region (more blacks and more Southerners in the Maryland data) and somewhat larger differences in gender and education (more women and a higher educational level in the Maryland data); the same age/cohort difference occurs without weights as with weights. Using STATA we determined that no serious problem occurs in our statistical analysis by employing weight variables.

*Gallup Poll and National Employee Survey.* Original open responses obtained by Gallup (Poll No. 340, January 31, 1945; Roper Center, Storrs, CT) are no longer available, but we applied to the 2001 National Employee Survey (NES) the Gallup code categories reported in Appendix C. The NES response rate was 60.5%. Agreement on open response coding, based on 71 responses and following the Maryland and Knowledge Network procedure, was 85.6%. Agreement rates were almost perfect for Savior of the Union and Great Emancipator. Approximately half the disagreements in this sample, as in the previous ones, were about whether to code an ambiguous response as "vague positive," "uninterpretable," or too ambiguous to code as a response.

The removal of unemployed Gallup respondents reduced the relevant sample (1,174) by 168 cases, or 14 percent. This had little effect

on the differences in reasons offered for choosing Lincoln over Washington. The percentage differences for mention of Emancipator/Savior of the Union (2.8%), Common Man, People's President (2.2%) Self-Made Man (0.3%) and Greater Statesman (0.3%) are insignificant. The larger sample, however, had a significantly larger percentage of miscellaneous responses: 15% as opposed to 10%.

Gallup interviewers recorded one response only. Maryland interviewers explicitly asked respondents to enlarge on their first response,

Knowledge Network respondents answered questions at their leisure on an internet apparatus, providing longer responses than Maryland respondents. Since NES interviewers did not probe respondents for additional comments on Lincoln, their responses were shortest of all and yielded the smallest proportion of second responses. For Maryland and Knowledge Network samples, the number of first responses as a percentage of all response is 61.6% and 65% respectively; for the NES sample, the comparable percentage is 80.7%.

## REFERENCES

- Curtin, Richard, Stanley Presser, and Eleanor Singer. 2000. "The Effects of Response Rate Changes on the Index of Consumer Sentiments." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 64:413–28.
- Keeter, Scott, Carolyn Miller, Andrew Kohut, Robert M. Groves, and Stanley Presser. 2000. "Consequences of Reducing Nonresponse in a National Telephone Survey" *Public Opinion Quarterly* 64:125–48.

## APPENDIX B

Differences in beliefs about the past is a common question posed in collective memory scholarship, but it is difficult to address through traditional indicators-- texts and commemorative symbolism--alone. To explore this question, we regressed three of the Table 1 categories (Great Emancipator, Savior of the Union, and Folk Themes) against age/cohort, education, gender(men/women), race (white/black), and region (South/non-South). In the Maryland data we included the variable "question form," which controls for the somewhat different follow-up questions to the two groups.

The clearest and most consistent relations are for Savior of the Union: educated and older respondents are more likely than those younger and less educated to mention Union. The association with education probably reflects greater knowledge of American history. If age

reflects contrasts and similarities in cohort experience, we can infer that older Americans were exposed to Lincoln when more Americans considered his saving the Union to be his key achievement. The one other clearly significant relation for Savior of the Union involves gender in the Maryland survey, with men giving Union more than do women; the trend is in the same direction in the Knowledge survey but does not reach significance.

In the case of Emancipation responses, one relation shows some consistency: Non-Southerners are more likely than Southerners to credit Lincoln with ending slavery--clearly so in the Maryland survey ( $p = .002$ ), and with a trend approaching significance ( $p = .107$ ) in the Knowledge survey. Women are more likely to mention Emancipation, significantly so in the Knowledge survey, less so in the Maryland

survey. No significant age or race differences appear.

Folk themes are mentioned by older respondents significantly more often in the Maryland survey ( $p = .047$ ) and there is a supportive trend in the Knowledge survey. In contrast, the direction of relations for education differ across the two surveys and therefore we do not attempt to interpret them.

In addition to the regression results for Savior of the Union, Great Emancipator, and Folk Hero, as shown below in Table 1, we found correlates of the small number of *negative* responses noted earlier. These are named more often by Southerners in the Maryland survey (.001) and a similar trend exists in the

Knowledge survey ( $p = .102$ ), with the results holding when race is controlled.

When the regressions are repeated separately for white and black respondents, the regional difference is limited to white respondents, with no trend found for blacks in either survey. There is evidence for a second interaction involving race: among blacks, education is positively and significantly associated ( $p < .03$  in both surveys) with mentions of Emancipation, whereas for whites there are small, non-significant associations in the opposite direction. An additional term tapping this interaction directly (race times education) is also significant ( $p < .03$  in both surveys).

**Table 1.** Logistic Regression Results For Union, Emancipator, and Folk Themes

Theme	Predictor	Maryland Survey			Knowledge Survey		
		Odds Ratio	95% CI	<i>p</i>	Odds Ratio	95% CI	<i>p</i>
Union	Birth cohort	.975	.956, .993	.008	.985	.973, .997	.013
	Education	1.783	1.352, 2.353	.000	1.455	1.220, 1.735	.000
	Gender (male/female)	.195	.089, .423	.000	.794	.529, 1.192	.266
	Race (white/black)	.244	.047, 1.277	.095	.692	.325, 1.472	.338
	Region (south/north)	.628	.328, 1.202	.160	1.500	.964, 2.334	.072
Emancipation	Birth cohort	.995	.987, 1.004	.295	1.002	.993, 1.011	.615
	Education	1.026	.903, 1.167	.691	.984	.860, 1.124	.808
	Gender (male/female)	1.025	.767, 1.372	.865	1.391	1.026, 1.885	.033
	Race (white/black)	1.424	.924, 2.196	.109	.754	.466, 1.219	.249
	Region (south/north)	1.610	1.183, 2.192	.002	1.293	.946, 1.767	.107
Folk	Birth cohort	.980	.962, 1.000	.047	.989	.965, 1.013	.351
	Education	.866	.638, 1.174	.353	1.936	1.382, 2.711	.000
	Gender (male/female)	1.149	.573, 2.301	.696	1.276	.592, 2.750	.535
	Race (white/black)	.215	.030, 1.540	.126	.468	.098, 2.226	.340
	Region (south/north)	1.435	.652, 3.156	.370	.561	.262, 1.199	.136

*Note:* Based on logistic regression. The confidence intervals (CI) apply to the odds ratios, having been computed initially for the beta values and then exponentiated.

## APPENDIX C

### CODES FOR 1945 GALLUP POLL AND 2001 NATIONAL EMPLOYEE SURVEY (ITALICS)

1. More of a humanitarian, more humane, the people's president, did more for the people and the country, demonstrated the principals of true democracy, more down to earth, a real Christian spirit, more foresight in necessities.

*Democratic Creed. Faith in democracy, faith in the people, promoted freedom for all. (No implication about race, though possibly included implicitly as part of more general democratic concern.)*

*The Common Man. One of the people, poor, humble, down to earth, common sense (soundness as opposed to brilliance of mind); salt of the earth, plain fellow, joke-teller, stays in touch with the people.*

*Compassionate. Kindness, humanitarian. He sympathized with the underdog, regretted personally the deaths and injuries occurring under his command, commuted death sentences whenever he could.*

*Religious Man. Trusted in God, religious devotion and/or convictions.*

2. Freed the negroes, eliminated slavery, kept the country united.

*Savior of the Union. Kept the states together, healed the nation, preserved Union, kept Americans as one people, prevented secession.*

*Great Emancipator. Slavery, freed slaves, Emancipation Proclamation, gave freedom to all people, freedom.*

*Racial Equality. Favored equal rights, with race either explicit (e.g., racial equality, racial integration, racial justice, or against racism) or implicit (e.g., equal rights, equality).*

4. Came up the hard way, rose from a mere nobody, overcame poverty, self-made, from log cabin to White House.

*Self-Made Man. Rose from poverty with very little education, log cabin to White House, became successful lawyer despite hardship of early youth, rags to riches.*

*Work Ethic. Persistence, perseverance, hard worker, kept trying despite personal limitations.*

6. Lived at a time when need was greater, had more complicated problems to deal with, more trials and tribulations, only a handful in Washington's day.

*Overcoming Obstacles. Faced and/or overcame political crises and challenges. The times in which he served, the problems he faced, were the most difficult.*

3. Great orator, more eloquent, Gettysburg Address, Emancipation Proclamation.

*Exceptional Abilities or Characteristics. Oratorical and writing skills, eloquence; great communicator.*

*Gettysburg Address. (Mentioned without reference to other aspects of his policy, his eloquence, or the war.)*

5. Washington too much of an aristocrat, Washington great American myth.

*Washington's Shortcomings. Explicit comparison based on deficit in Washington's personal qualities, moral character, or actions.*

7. Greater statesman

*Leadership. Accomplished a lot during war; changed the course of the country; managed the country well; was president during Civil War. (Political leadership is explicit or implied.)*

8. Honest.

*Honest. Honesty, honest Abe, truthful. Integrity. Reliability, trustworthy, sincere.*

9. Miscellaneous.

*Bravery, commitment, moral characteristics, physical appearance, assassination victim, negative traits, visual images, monuments, school exposure, Civil War mention, greater knowledge of Lincoln, direct or indirect relation with Lincoln, vague positive, wrong but positive or neutral; wrong but negative, true but rarely mentioned.*

10. No reason given.

**APPENDIX D**

**Table 2.** Reasons for Designating Abraham Lincoln Greater than George Washington: National Employee Survey (2001)

Reasons	Any Mention (%)
1. Emancipation, Saving the Union <sup>a</sup>	50.4
2. Humane People's President	6.3
3. Self-made Man	3.5
4. Honesty	2.6
5. Greater Statesman	14.0
6. Greater Problems	9.7
7. Great Communicator	1.3
8. Washington's Shortcomings	2.2
9. Other	33.8

*Note:* N = 1,378 (104 nonresponses and 45 uninterpretable responses excluded). Percentages do not add to 100 percent because the survey allowed respondents to give more than one response (81 percent of the respondents gave 1 answer only; 19 percent gave 2 answers). See Appendix C for the codes included under "Other."

<sup>a</sup> This category consists of three separately coded components: Saving the Union = 6.8%; Emancipation = 35.8%; Equal Rights = 7.8%.

**APPENDIX E**

**HISTORY TEXTBOOK LIST**

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