



**ANES 2018 Pilot Study**  
**Questionnaire Specifications**  
Version 20181205

---

Fielding & Sample specifications

- Dates: data collection should begin on or after December 5 and be completed by December 21, 2018.
- Eligibility: respondents should meet two eligibility criteria:
  - U.S. citizen
  - Age 18 or older
- **n = 2,500** completions

Programming & Design specifications

- Paging design: display one question per page unless otherwise specified.
- Nonresponse prompting: Unless otherwise noted for a specific item, for every item to which the R fails to respond, please re-display the item once with the following text above it: We noticed that you did not answer the question below. We would be very grateful if you would be willing to provide your best answer, even if you're not completely sure. But if you'd prefer to skip this question, you can click "Next."
  - Nonresponse prompt records: record whether or not the nonresponse prompt is shown.
- Types: items are "single-punch" radio button responses unless otherwise specified.
- No backup option: no "back" button on the page.
- No progress bar: no progress bar is displayed on the page.
- Missing data and nonresponse codes: Please assign a numeric code to all variables rather than using system missing. Please use the following nonresponse codes:
  - -1: inapplicable, legitimate skip. Use this code when the specified flow through the questionnaire makes a question inapplicable. For example, a "how strongly do you favor that" follow-up question would be coded -1 when the preceding answer was "oppose."
  - -4: other/error: data are missing due to a technical problem.
  - -7: no answer; the question was displayed to the respondent, but the R clicked "Next" without answering the question.
- Variable names: Names for item variables are in brackets in lower case to the left of each item, such as "[follow]" for the first item in the survey.
- Codes for response options are indicated in brackets. These are not displayed to the respondent.
- Randomization: record all random assignments. Randomize independently.
- Timing: Record all item timings in seconds
- Profile and administrative variables to deliver merged with the data:
  - number of previous panel surveys completed
  - date of panel enrollment
  - date and time of interview completion
  - duration of interview in seconds or minutes (or start and end times)
  - gender ("Are you male or female?")
  - race ("What racial or ethnic group describes you?")
  - birthyr ("In what year were you born?")
  - educ ("What is the highest level of education you have completed?")
  - marstat ("What is your marital status?")
  - votereg ("Are you registered to vote?")
  - pid7 (7-point party ID)

- ideo5 (5-point political viewpoint liberal-conservative)
- pew\_churatd (church attendance)
- religpew ("What is your present religion, if any?" 12 categories)
- bornagain ("Do you consider yourself to be 'born again'?")
- income ("Thinking back over the last year, what was your family's annual income?")
- inputstate ("What is your state of residence?")
- newsint ("...Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs?")

**[START SCREEN (CONSENT)]**

[DISPLAY ONLY]

**SURVEY INTRODUCTION**

We would like to include you as a participant in a research study. If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you your views on certain social and political issues. Participation is voluntary, and you may decline to answer any questions you do not want to answer. The survey will take about 30 minutes to finish.

You will be awarded 2000 points as a thank you for your time.

This survey is sponsored by Stanford University. If you have any questions or comments about the survey you may contact Dr. Matthew DeBell at 650-725-2239, or by email at debell@stanford.edu.

If you are not satisfied with how this study is being conducted, or if you have any concerns, complaints, or general questions about the research or your rights as a participant, please contact the Stanford Institutional Review Board (IRB) to speak to someone independent of the research team at 650-723-2480 or toll free at 1-866-680-2906. You can also write to the Stanford IRB, Stanford University, 3000 El Camino Real, Five Palo Alto Square, 4<sup>th</sup> Floor, Palo Alto, CA 94306.

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE FORM=1 OR 2]

**[FOLLOW POLITICS]**

[follow]      Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election going on or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all?

- Most of the time      [1]
- Some of the time      [2]
- Only now and then      [3]
- Hardly at all      [4]

**[VOTER REGISTRATION]**

[addtime]      How long have you lived at your current address?

- Less than one year      [1]
- 1-5 years      [2]
- More than 5 years      [3]

[reg]      Are you registered to vote, or not?

- Yes, registered to vote at my current address      [1]
- Yes, registered to vote at a different address      [2]

No, not registered [3]

[IF reg=1 OR 2]

[whenreg] When did you register to vote for the first time?

- In the past twelve months [1]
- 1-2 years ago [2]
- 3-4 years ago [3]
- 5 or more years ago [4]

[IF whenreg=1 OR 2]

[howreg] How did you register to vote, the first time?

- I registered online [1]
- I registered by mail [2]
- I registered to vote in person as part of a voter registration drive [3]
- I registered to vote in person at the department of motor vehicles [4]
- I registered to vote in person at another location [5]

[howreg\_os]  Other (please specify) [TEXT BOX] [6]

[IF whenreg=1 OR 2]

[regdiff] How difficult was it for you to register to vote?

- Not difficult at all [1]
- A little difficult [2]
- Moderately difficult [3]
- Very difficult [4]
- Extremely difficult [5]

### [2018 TURNOUT AND CHOICE]

[turnout18] In the election held on November 6, did you definitely vote in person on election day, vote in person before Nov 6, vote by mail, did you definitely not vote, or are you not completely sure whether you voted in that election?

- Definitely voted in person on Nov 6 [1]
- Definitely voted in person, before Nov 6 [2]
- Definitely voted by mail [3]
- Definitely did not vote [4]
- Not completely sure [5]

[IF turnout18 = 5]

[turnout18ns] If you had to guess, would you say that you probably did vote in the election held on November 6, or probably did not vote in that election?

- Probably did vote [1]
- Probably did not vote [2]

[IF turnout18 IN(2,3) OR turnout18ns = 1]

[turnout18w] When did you vote?

- On election day, November 6 [1]
- One week before election day or less [2]
- 2-3 weeks before election day [3]
- More than 3 weeks before election day [4]

[IF turnout18 IN(1,2,3) OR turnout18ns = 1]

[votehard] How difficult was it for you to vote in this last election?

- Not difficult at all [1]
- A little difficult [2]
- Moderately difficult [3]

- Very difficult [4]
- Extremely difficult [5]

[MULTIPUNCH]

Here is a list of things some people might say make it harder for U.S. citizens to vote. Whether or not you were able to vote, please indicate if any of the following made it harder **for you** to vote in the 2018 general election.

*Mark all that apply.*

- [vharder1]  Long wait time at my polling place
- [vharder2]  Concerns about my identification card
- [vharder3]  The voting machine was too complicated to operate
- [vharder4]  Hard to figure out where my polling place was located
- [vharder5]  Takes too long to get to the polling place from where I live
- [vharder6]  Costs too much for transportation to my polling place
- [vharder7]  My work schedule
- [vharder8]  Bad weather
- [vharder9]  Difficult to obtain an absentee ballot
- [vharder10]  Did not have postage to mail back my ballot
- [vharder11]  Other problem [TEXT BOX 60 CHARACTERS]
- [vharder12]  None of these [ALLOW ONLY IF NO OTHER RESPONSE IS MARKED]

[IF vharder1 IS MARKED]

[waittime] You indicated there was a long wait time at your polling place. About how long was the wait time at your polling place?

- 0-15 minutes [1]
- 16-30 minutes [2]
- 31-59 minutes [3]
- 1-2 hours [4]
- More than 2 hours [5]

[IF vharder5 IS MARKED]

[triptime] You indicated it takes too long to get to the polling place from where you live. About how long does it take you to get to your polling place?

- 0-15 minutes [1]
- 16-30 minutes [2]
- 31-59 minutes [3]
- 1-2 hours [4]
- More than 2 hours [5]

[IF turnout18 IN(1,2,3) OR turnout18ns = 1]

[house18t] How about the election for House of Representatives in Washington? Did you vote for a candidate for the U.S. House of Representatives, or did you not vote for that office?

- Voted for a U.S. House candidate [1]
- Did not vote for that office [2]

[IF house18t = 1]

[house18p] Was that U.S. House candidate a Democrat, a Republican, or something else?

- Democrat [1]
- Republican [2]
- something else [3]

[IF (turnout18 IN(1,2,3) OR turnout18ns = 1) AND inputstate IN(HI, WA, CA, NV, UT, AZ, NM, TX, MT, WY, ND, NE, MN, MO, WI, MI, IN, OH, TN, MS, FL, WV, VA, MD, DE, PA, NJ, NY, CT, RI, MA, ME, VT)]

[senate18t] How about the election for U.S. Senate? Did you vote for a candidate for the United States Senate, or did you not vote for that office?  
\_ Voted for a U.S. Senate candidate [1]  
\_ Did not vote for that office [2]

[IF senate18t = 1]

[INCLUDE RESPONSE OPTION 4 AND PARENTHETICAL TEXT IF inputstate = MN or inputstate = MS, ELSE OMIT OPTION 4 AND OMIT PARENTHETICAL TEXT]

[senate18p] For the U.S. Senate, did you vote Democrat, Republican, or another party(, or did you vote for Senate candidates from two different parties in your state's two U.S. Senate races)?  
\_ Democrat [1]  
\_ Republican [2]  
\_ another party [3]  
\_ two different parties [4]

[IF inputstate IN (AL, AK, AZ, AR, CA, CO, CT, FL, GA, HI, ID, IL, IA, KS, ME, MD, MA, MI, MN, NV, NH, NM, NY, OH, OK, OR, PA, RI, SC, SD, TN, TX, VT, WI, WY)]

[gov18t] How about the election for governor? Did you vote for a candidate for governor of [INPUTSTATE], or did you not vote for that office?  
\_ Voted for a governor candidate [1]  
\_ Did not vote for that office [2]

[IF gov18t=1]

[gov18p] For governor of [INPUTSTATE], did you vote for a Democrat, Republican, or another party?  
\_ Democrat [1]  
\_ Republican [2]  
\_ another party [3]

## **[ELECTORAL INTEGRITY]**

[GENERATE RANDOM VARIABLE rand\_votestop= 1 OR 2]

[IF rand\_votestop=1]

[votestop1] How often are people who are legally allowed to vote stopped from voting?  
\_ Never [1]  
\_ Rarely [2]  
\_ Occasionally [3]  
\_ Fairly often [4]  
\_ Very often [5]

[IF rand\_votestop=2]

[votestop2] How often are people who are eligible to vote denied the right to vote?  
\_ Never [1]  
\_ Rarely [2]  
\_ Occasionally [3]  
\_ Fairly often [4]  
\_ Very often [5]

[SAME PAGE AS votestop1 OR votestop2]

[votestop\_imp] How concerned are you about this?  
\_ Not at all [1]  
\_ A little [2]  
\_ Moderately [3]

- \_ Very [4]
- \_ Extremely [5]

[votecount] In the elections this November, how accurately do you think the votes were counted?

- \_ Not at all accurately [1]
- \_ A little accurately [2]
- \_ Moderately accurately [3]
- \_ Very accurately [4]
- \_ Completely accurately [5]

[votetrust] How much do you trust the officials who oversee elections where you live?

- \_ Not at all [1]
- \_ A little [2]
- \_ A moderate amount [3]
- \_ A lot [4]
- \_ A great deal [5]

**[ELECTORAL INTEGRITY, FORM 1 ONLY]**

[IF FORM=1]

[integrity1] How secure are ballots from tampering in this country's elections?

- \_ Extremely secure [1]
- \_ Very secure [2]
- \_ Moderately secure [3]
- \_ Not too secure [4]
- \_ Not at all secure [5]

[IF FORM=1]

[integrity2] How often are voting machines accurate in counting the votes?

- \_ Extremely often [1]
- \_ Very often [2]
- \_ Moderately often [3]
- \_ Not too often [4]
- \_ Not at all often [5]

[IF FORM=1]

[integrity3] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose requiring all people to show a government issued photo ID when they vote?

- \_ Favor a great deal [1]
- \_ Favor moderately [2]
- \_ Favor a little [3]
- \_ Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- \_ Oppose a little [5]
- \_ Oppose moderately [6]
- \_ Oppose a great deal [7]

[IF FORM=1]

[integrity4] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing convicted felons to vote once they complete their sentence?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor moderately [2]
- Favor a little [3]
- Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- Oppose a little [5]
- Oppose moderately [6]
- Oppose a great deal [7]

[IF FORM=1]

[integrity5] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing people to register to vote on Election Day at the polls?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor moderately [2]
- Favor a little [3]
- Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- Oppose a little [5]
- Oppose moderately [6]
- Oppose a great deal [7]

#### **[RETROSPECTIVE TURNOUT AND CANDIDATE CHOICE 2016]**

[turnout16] In 2016, the major candidates for president were Donald Trump for the Republicans and Hillary Clinton for the Democrats. In that election, did you definitely vote, definitely not vote, or are you not completely sure whether you voted?

- Definitely voted [1]
- Definitely did not vote [2]
- Not completely sure [3]

[IF turnout16=3]

[SAME PAGE AS turnout16]

[turnout16b] Do you think you probably voted or probably did not vote?

- Probably voted [1]
- Probably did not vote [2]

[IF turnout16=1 OR turnout16b=1]

[vote16] In the 2016 presidential election, who did you vote for? Donald Trump, Hillary Clinton, or someone else?

- Donald Trump [1]
- Hillary Clinton [2]
- someone else [3]

**[PROSPECTIVE TURNOUT]**

**[NUMERIC INPUT]**

[percent20] What is the percent chance that you will vote in the election for President of the United States in 2020?

Please enter a number from 0 to 100.  
[NUMERIC ENTRY BOX, HARD RANGE 0-100]

**[PARTICIPATION]**

[meet] During the past 12 months, have you attended a meeting to talk about political or social concerns, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?  
\_ Have done this in past 12 months [1]  
\_ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[givefut] During the past 12 months, have you given money to an organization concerned with a political or social issue, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?  
\_ Have done this in past 12 months [1]  
\_ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND\_MARCH = 1 OR 2]

[IF RAND\_MARCH=1]  
[march1] During the past 12 months, have you joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?  
\_ Have done this in past 12 months [1]  
\_ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[IF RAND\_MARCH=2]  
[march2] During the past 12 months, have you joined in a political march, rally, or demonstration, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?  
\_ Have done this in past 12 months [1]  
\_ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[online] During the past 12 months, have you posted a message or comment online about a political issue or campaign, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?  
\_ Have done this in past 12 months [1]  
\_ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[persuade] During the past 12 months, have you tried to persuade anyone to vote one way or another, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?  
\_ Have done this in past 12 months [1]  
\_ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[sign] During the past 12 months, have you worn a campaign button, put a campaign sticker on your car, or placed a sign in your window or in front of your house, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?  
\_ Have done this in the past 12 months [1]  
\_ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[give] During the past 12 months, have you given money to any candidate running for public office, any political party, or any other group that supported or opposed candidates, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?  
\_ Have done this in the past 12 months [1]



\_ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

**[GLOBAL EMOTION BATTERY]**

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ITEMS gehope THROUGH gesad IN GRID]

Generally speaking, how do you feel **about the way things are going in the country these days?**

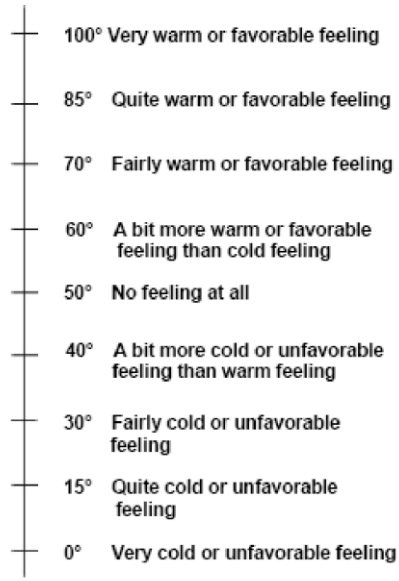
Mark one answer in each row.

		Not at all [1]	A little [2]	Somewhat [3]	Very [4]	Extremely [5]
[gehope]	How hopeful do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[geangry]	How angry do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[geafraid]	How afraid do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[geproud]	How proud do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[gebitter]	How bitter do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[gehappy]	How happy do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[geworry]	How worried do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[gerelieve]	How relieved do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[gedep]	How depressed do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[gesad]	How sad do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[FEELING THERMOMETERS]**

[DISPLAY]

[ftintro] Please look at the graphic below.



We'd like to get your feelings toward some of our political leaders and other people who are in the news these days. We'll show the name of a person or group and we'd like you to rate that person or group using something we call the feeling thermometer.

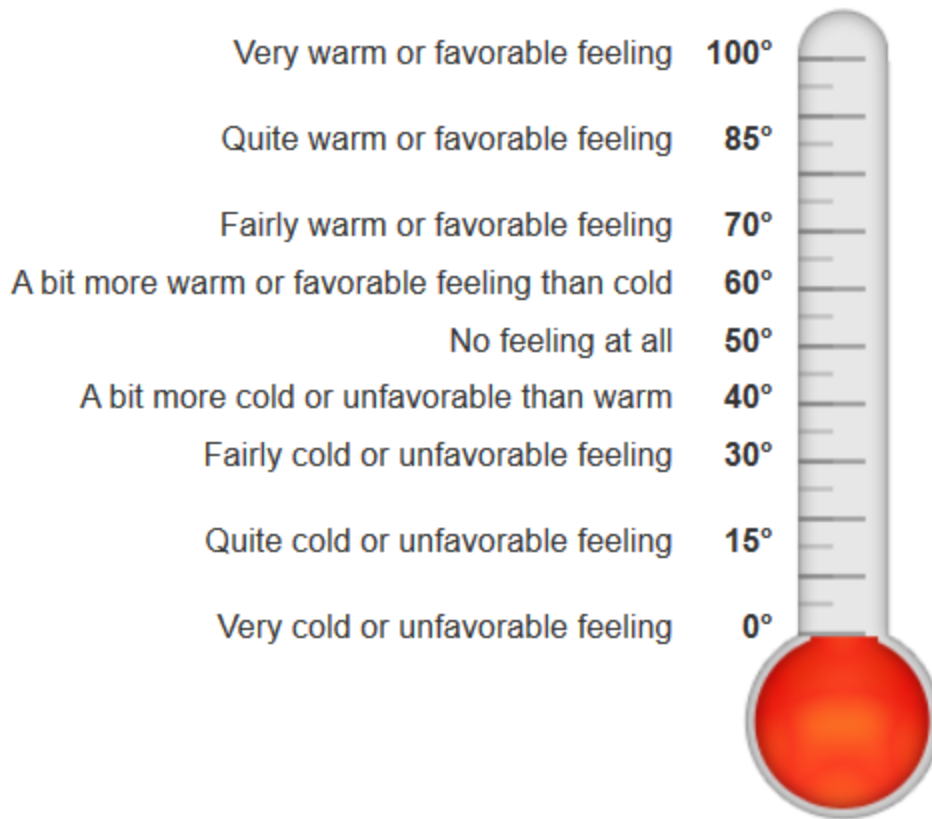
Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward the person.

If we come to a person whose name you don't recognize, you don't need to rate that person. Just click Next and we'll move on to the next one.

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE FT\_RAND=1 OR 2]  
 [IF FT\_RAND=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]  
 [fttrump] How would you rate Donald Trump?  
 [INTERFACE: FEELING THERMOMETER WIDGET.]  
 (\_ I don't recognize this person)

FT WIDGET LIKE THIS:

**Click on thermometer to give your rating.**



[PROGRAMMING: RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ft ITEMS BELOW.]

- [ftblack]      How would you rate **blacks**?  
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
- [ftwhite]     How would you rate **whites**?  
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
- [fthisp]      How would you rate **Hispanics**?  
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
- [ftasian]     How would you rate **Asians**?  
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
- [ftgay]        How would you rate **gays and lesbians**?  
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
- [ftobama]     How would you rate **Barack Obama**?  
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
- [fthrc]        How would you rate **Hillary Clinton**?  
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[IF FT\_RAND=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]  
 [ftmetoo] How would you rate **the #MeToo movement**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]  
 (\_\_ I don't recognize this group)

[IF FT\_RAND=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]  
 [ftrural] How would you rate **rural Americans**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]  
 (\_\_ I don't recognize this group)

[IF FT\_RAND=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]  
 [ftsocialists] How would you rate **socialists**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]  
 (\_\_ I don't recognize this group)

[ftcapitalists] How would you rate **capitalists**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftimmig] How would you rate **immigrants**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftpolice] How would you rate **the police**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftjournal] How would you rate **journalists**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[fttrans] How would you rate **transgender people**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftmuslim] How would you rate **Muslims**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[IF FT\_RAND=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]  
 [ftmueller] How would you rate **Special Counsel Robert Mueller**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]  
 (\_\_ I don't recognize this person)

[ftfbi] How would you rate **the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftscotus] How would you rate **the U.S. Supreme Court**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[IF FT\_RAND=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]  
 [ftkavanaugh] How would you rate **Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]  
 (\_\_ I don't recognize this person)

[IF FT\_RAND=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]  
 [ftaltright] How would you rate **the "alt right"**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]  
 (\_\_ I don't recognize this group)

[IF FT\_RAND=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]  
 [ftantifa] How would you rate **Antifa**?  
 [INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]  
 (\_ I don't recognize this group)

**[VOTING]**

[vote20dem] Will you vote in a Democratic presidential primary in 2020, or not?  
 \_ Will vote in a Democratic primary [1]  
 \_ Will not vote in a Democratic primary [2]

[IF vote20dem=1]  
 [RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS]  
 [vote20cand] In the 2020 Democratic primary for president, who will you vote for? Your best guess is fine.  
 \_ Elizabeth Warren [1]  
 \_ Joe Biden [2]  
 \_ Kamala Harris [3]  
 \_ Cory Booker [4]  
 \_ Bernie Sanders [5]  
 \_ Kirsten Gillibrand [6]  
 \_ Deval Patrick [7]  
 \_ Eric Holder [8]  
 \_ Chris Murphy [9]  
 \_ Amy Klobuchar [10]  
 \_ Beto O'Rourke [11]

[vote20jb] If the 2020 presidential election were between Donald Trump for the Republicans and Joe Biden for the Democrats, would you vote for Donald Trump, Joe Biden, someone else, or probably not vote?  
 \_ Donald Trump [1]  
 \_ Joe Biden [2]  
 \_ someone else [3]  
 \_ probably not vote [4]

[vote20ew] If the 2020 presidential election were between Donald Trump for the Republicans and Elizabeth Warren for the Democrats, would you vote for Donald Trump, Elizabeth Warren, someone else, or probably not vote?  
 \_ Donald Trump [1]  
 \_ Elizabeth Warren [2]  
 \_ someone else [3]  
 \_ probably not vote [4]

**[ISSUE OWNERSHIP/PARTY HANDLING]**

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]  
 Which party, the Democrats or the Republicans, would better handle each of the following issues, or is there no difference?  
 Mark one answer in each row.

		Democrats	Republicans	No difference
--	--	-----------	-------------	---------------

[phecon]	The economy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[phhealth]	Health care	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[phtax]	Taxes	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[phimmig]	Immigration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[phborder]	Border security	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[phforeign]	Foreign policy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[phtrade]	International trade and tariffs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[phopioid]	Opioid drugs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[phenviron]	Environment	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[phnatdis]	Natural disasters	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[TRUMP JOB APPROVAL]**

[appres] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling **his job as president?**

- Approve extremely strongly [1]
- Approve moderately strongly [2]
- Approve slightly [3]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- Disapprove slightly [5]
- Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
- Disapprove extremely strongly [7]

[frnpres] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling **relations with foreign countries?**

- Approve extremely strongly [1]
- Approve moderately strongly [2]
- Approve slightly [3]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- Disapprove slightly [5]
- Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
- Disapprove extremely strongly [7]

- [econpres] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling **the economy**?
- \_ Approve extremely strongly [1]
  - \_ Approve moderately strongly [2]
  - \_ Approve slightly [3]
  - \_ Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
  - \_ Disapprove slightly [5]
  - \_ Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
  - \_ Disapprove extremely strongly [7]

**[TRUMP EMOTION BATTERY, FORM 1 ONLY]**

[IF FORM=1]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ITEMS IN GRID]

Think about Donald Trump. How often would you say you've felt each of the following ways because of the kind of person Donald Trump is or because of something he has done?

Mark one answer in each row.

		Never [1]	Some of the time [2]	About half the time [3]	Most of the time [4]	Always [5]
[dthope]	Hopeful?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dtangry]	Angry?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dtafraid]	Afraid?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dtproud]	Proud?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dtbitter]	Bitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dtcont]	Contempt?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dtworry]	Worried?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dtemb]	Embarrassed?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dtshame]	Ashamed?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dthappy]	Happy?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dtrelieve]	Relieved?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[POLICY-SPECIFIC EMOTION BATTERY, FORM 2 ONLY]**

[IF FORM=2]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ITEMS IN GRID]

Think about immigrants coming from other countries to live in the United States. How often would you say you've felt each of the following ways because of immigrants coming from other countries to live in the United States?

Mark one answer in each row.

		Never [1]	Some of the time [2]	About half the time [3]	Most of the time [4]	Always [5]
[imhope]	Hopeful?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[imangry]	Angry?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[imafraid]	Afraid?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[improud]	Proud?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[imbitter]	Bitter?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[imcont]	Contempt?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[imworry]	Worried?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[imdisgust]	Disgusted?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[imsick]	Sickened?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[imhappy]	Happy?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[imrelieve]	Relieved?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[RUSSIA/TRUMP CAMPAIGN INVESTIGATION]**

[russia16] Do you think the Russian government probably interfered in the 2016 presidential election to try to help Donald Trump win, or do you think this probably did not happen?

- Russia probably interfered [1]
- This probably did not happen [2]

[muellerinv] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of Robert Mueller's investigation of Russian interference in the 2016 election?

- Approve extremely strongly [1]
- Approve moderately strongly [2]
- Approve slightly [3]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- Disapprove slightly [5]
- Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
- Disapprove extremely strongly [7]



[coord16] Do you think Donald Trump's 2016 campaign probably coordinated with the Russians, or do you think his campaign probably did not do this?  
 \_ Probably coordinated with the Russians [1]  
 \_ Probably did not [2]

**[ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE]**

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole...

		Much better	Somewhat better	About the same	Somewhat worse	Much worse
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[econnow]	Would you say that as compared to one year ago, the nation's economy is <b>now</b> better, about the same, or worse?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[econ12mo]	What about <b>12 months from now</b> ? Compared to now, do you think the nation's economy will be better, about the same, or worse in 12 months?	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[GENERATE AND SAVE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND\_IMPROVE=1 OR 2]

[IF RAND\_IMPROVE=1]

[improve1] When it comes to people trying to improve their financial well-being, do you think it is now easier, harder, or the same as it was 20 years ago?  
 \_ Much easier [1]  
 \_ Moderately easier [2]  
 \_ Slightly easier [3]  
 \_ The same [4]  
 \_ Slightly harder [5]  
 \_ Moderately harder [6]  
 \_ Much harder [7]

[IF FORM=1]

[finpar1]

When it comes to getting ahead financially, do you think you've had it easier, harder, or the same as your parents?

- Much easier [1]
- Moderately easier [2]
- Slightly easier [3]
- The same [4]
- Slightly harder [5]
- Moderately harder [6]
- Much harder [7]

[IF FORM=2]

[finpar2]

When it comes to getting ahead financially, do you think it has been easier, harder, or the same for your generation as it was for your parents' generation?

- Much easier [1]
- Moderately easier [2]
- Slightly easier [3]
- The same [4]
- Slightly harder [5]
- Moderately harder [6]
- Much harder [7]

[IF RAND\_IMPROVE=2]

[DESIGN NOTE: Question is identical to improve1, only the order/position differs.]

[improve2]

When it comes to people trying to improve their financial well-being, do you think it is now easier, harder, or the same as it was 20 years ago?

- Much easier [1]
- Moderately easier [2]
- Slightly easier [3]
- The same [4]
- Slightly harder [5]
- Moderately harder [6]
- Much harder [7]

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

[finworry]

So far as you and your family are concerned, how worried are you about your current financial situation?

- Not at all worried [1]
- A little worried [2]
- Moderately worried [3]
- Very worried [4]
- Extremely worried [5]

### [IDEOLOGICAL PLACEMENTS]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF lcd AND lcr IN rand\_lc]

When it comes to politics, would you describe yourself, and these groups, as liberal, conservative, or neither liberal nor conservative?

Mark one answer in each row

	Very liberal	Somewhat liberal	Closer to liberals	Neither liberal nor conservative	Closer to conservatives	Somewhat conservative	Very conservative
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]	[6]	[7]
[lcsel] You	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[lcd] Democrats	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[lcr] Republicans	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[CORRUPTION/CAMPAIGN FINANCE]**

[GENERATE AND SAVE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND\_DIRECT = 1 OR 2. SEPARATELY GENERATE AND SAVE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND\_IND = 1 OR 2.]

[IF RAND\_DIRECT = 1]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD "AMOUNT\_DIR" WITH VALUES OF 25 or 2,500]

[direct1] When people give \$[AMOUNT\_DIR] each to the election campaigns of Members of Congress, how much does Congress respond by passing laws to benefit the people who gave them money?

- \_ A great deal [1]
- \_ A lot [2]
- \_ A moderate amount [3]
- \_ A little [4]
- \_ Not at all [5]

[IF RAND\_DIRECT = 2]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD "AMOUNT\_DIR" WITH VALUES OF 25 or 2,500]

[direct2] When a person gives \$[AMOUNT\_DIR] to the election campaign of a Member of Congress, how much does that Member of Congress respond by supporting laws to benefit the person who gave them money?

- \_ A great deal [1]
- \_ A lot [2]
- \_ A moderate amount [3]
- \_ A little [4]
- \_ Not at all [5]

[IF RAND\_IND = 1]

[indirect1] When organizations spend money on advertising to support a candidate for Congress, how much does Congress respond by passing laws to benefit those organizations?

- \_ A great deal [1]
- \_ A lot [2]
- \_ A moderate amount [3]
- \_ A little [4]
- \_ Not at all [5]

[IF RAND\_IND = 2]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD "AMOUNT\_IND" WITH VALUES OF 2,500 OR 250,000]

[indirect2] When an organization spends \$[AMOUNT\_IND] on advertising to support a candidate for Congress, how much does that candidate respond by supporting laws to benefit that organization?

- \_ A great deal [1]

- A lot [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A little [4]
- Not at all [5]

[corrupt] How many of the people running the government are corrupt?

- None [1]
- A few [2]
- About half [3]
- Most [4]
- All [5]

[corrupt\_dt] Has corruption in government increased, decreased, or stayed the same since Donald Trump became president?

- Increased a great deal [1]
- Increased a moderate amount [2]
- Increased a little [3]
- Stayed the same [4]
- Decreased a little [5]
- Decreased a moderate amount [6]
- Decreased a great deal [7]

**[HARASSMENT AND DISCRIMINATION]**

[harass] Now, thinking about the increasing attention to sexual harassment in the workplace, which statement best describes what you think?

“It has gone too far and is calling into question all interactions between men and women in the workplace, which will hurt people's ability to do their jobs.” Or:  
 “It is an appropriate response to a problem that has been ignored for too long and addressing it will help women in the workplace.”

- It has gone too far [1]
- It is an appropriate response [2]

[harasstr] How strongly do you feel about that?

- Not at all strongly [1]
- A little strongly [2]
- Moderately strongly [3]
- Very strongly [4]
- Extremely strongly [5]

[disc\_selfsex] How much discrimination have you personally experienced because of your **sex or gender**?

- None [1]
- A little [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A lot [4]
- A great deal [5]

[sexadvance] How often have you personally experienced unwanted sexual advances?

- Never [1]
- Rarely [2]
- Occasionally [3]
- Fairly often [4]

Very often [5]

[sexharass] Have you ever personally experienced sexual harassment at work, or not?

Have [1]

Have not [2]

[disc\_selfrace] How much discrimination have you personally experienced because of your race or ethnicity?

None [1]

A little [2]

A moderate amount [3]

A lot [4]

A great deal [5]

### [WHITE RESENTMENT AND IDENTITY]

[IF R IS WHITE AND NON-HISPANIC]

[whiteid] How important is being White to your identity?

Not at all important [1]

A little important [2]

Moderately important [3]

Very important [4]

Extremely important [5]

[IF R IS WHITE AND NON-HISPANIC]

[whitework] How important is it that whites work together to change laws that are unfair to whites?

Not at all important [1]

A little important [2]

Moderately important [3]

Very important [4]

Extremely important [5]

[whitejob] How likely is it that many whites are unable to find a job because employers are hiring minorities instead?

Not at all likely [1]

A little likely [2]

Somewhat likely [3]

Very likely [4]

Extremely likely [5]

### [IMMIGRATION]

[immignum] Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased, decreased, or kept the same as it is now?

Increased a lot [1]

Increased a moderate amount [2]

Increased a little [3]

Kept the same as now [4]

Decreased a little [5]

Decreased a moderate amount [6]

Decreased a lot [7]

- [immigpol] Which comes closest to your view about what government policy should be toward unauthorized immigrants now living in the United States?
- Make all unauthorized immigrants felons and send them back to their home country. [1]
  - Have a guest worker program so they can work. [2]
  - Allow them to remain and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, if they pay back taxes and meet certain requirements. [3]
  - Allow them to remain and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship without penalties. [4]
- [birthright] Some people have proposed that the U.S. Constitution should be changed so that the children of unauthorized immigrants do not automatically get citizenship if they are born in this country.
- Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose this proposal?
- Favor a great deal [1]
  - Favor moderately [2]
  - Favor a little [3]
  - Neither favor nor oppose [4]
  - Oppose a little [5]
  - Oppose moderately [6]
  - Oppose a great deal [7]
- [wall] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose building a wall on the U.S. border with Mexico?
- Favor a great deal [1]
  - Favor moderately [2]
  - Favor a little [3]
  - Neither favor nor oppose [4]
  - Oppose a little [5]
  - Oppose moderately [6]
  - Oppose a great deal [7]
- [diversity] On balance, do you think having an increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities in the United States makes this country a better place to live, a worse place to live, or does it make no difference?
- A lot better [1]
  - Moderately better [2]
  - A little better [3]
  - No difference [4]
  - A little worse [5]
  - Moderately worse [6]
  - A lot worse [7]
- [illimcrime] Does illegal immigration increase, decrease, or have no effect on the crime rate in the U.S.?
- Increase a lot [1]
  - Increase a moderate amount [2]
  - Increase a little [3]
  - No effect [4]
  - Decrease a little [5]
  - Decrease a moderate amount [6]
  - Decrease a lot [7]
- [illimschool] Is illegal immigration good, bad, or neither good nor bad for the quality of local public education?
- Very good [1]

- Moderately good [2]
- A little good [3]
- Neither good nor bad [4]
- A little bad [5]
- Moderately bad [6]
- Very bad [7]

[illimecon] Is illegal immigration good, bad, or neither good nor bad for the national economy?

- Very good [1]
- Moderately good [2]
- A little good [3]
- Neither good nor bad [4]
- A little bad [5]
- Moderately bad [6]
- Very bad [7]

[imigcit] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing unauthorized immigrants currently living in the United States to remain in the country and eventually qualify for citizenship?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor moderately [2]
- Favor a little [3]
- Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- Oppose a little [5]
- Oppose moderately [6]
- Oppose a great deal [7]

[ice] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way the Immigration and Customs Enforcement Agency (“ICE”) officials are doing their job?

- Approve extremely strongly [1]
- Approve moderately strongly [2]
- Approve slightly [3]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- Disapprove slightly [5]
- Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
- Disapprove extremely strongly [7]

[famsep] Do you approve or disapprove of the practice of separating the children from those parents caught crossing the border illegally?

- Approve extremely strongly [1]
- Approve moderately strongly [2]
- Approve slightly [3]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- Disapprove slightly [5]
- Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
- Disapprove extremely strongly [7]

**[HEALTH CARE]**

[acaapprove] Do you approve or disapprove of the Affordable Care Act of 2010, sometimes called Obamacare?

- Approve extremely strongly [1]

- Approve moderately strongly [2]
- Approve slightly [3]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- Disapprove slightly [5]
- Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
- Disapprove extremely strongly [7]

[acarepeal] Do you approve or disapprove of **repealing** the Affordable Care Act?

- Approve extremely strongly [1]
- Approve moderately strongly [2]
- Approve slightly [3]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- Disapprove slightly [5]
- Disapprove moderately strongly [6]
- Disapprove extremely strongly [7]

[acains] Has the Affordable Care Act made it easier, harder, or had no effect on your ability to get health insurance?

- Much easier [1]
- Moderately easier [2]
- Slightly easier [3]
- No effect [4]
- Slightly harder [5]
- Moderately harder [6]
- Much harder [7]

[loseins] How concerned are you about losing your health insurance in the next year?

- Not at all concerned [1]
- A little concerned [2]
- Moderately concerned [3]
- Very concerned [4]
- Extremely concerned [5]

[costins] How concerned are you about the cost of health insurance?

- Not at all concerned [1]
- A little concerned [2]
- Moderately concerned [3]
- Very concerned [4]
- Extremely concerned [5]

## [INCOME INEQUALITY]

[richpoor] Do you think the difference in incomes between rich people and poor people in the United States today is larger, smaller, or the same as it was 20 years ago?

- A lot larger [1]
- A moderate amount larger [2]
- A little larger [3]
- The same [4]
- A little smaller [5]
- A moderate amount smaller [6]
- A lot smaller [7]



**[POSTMATERIALIST VALUES, FORM 2 ONLY]**

[IF FORM=2]

- [post1] Which of these do you consider to be the most important?
- A high level of economic growth [1]
  - Making sure this country has strong defense forces [2]
  - Seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities [3]
  - Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful [4]

[IF FORM=2]

[OMIT THE RESPONSE OPTION SELECTED IN post1]

- [post2] And which would be the next most important?
- A high level of economic growth [1]
  - Making sure this country has strong defense forces [2]
  - Seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities [3]
  - Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful [4]

[IF FORM=2]

[post3] Here is another list. Which one of these do you consider most important?

- Maintaining order in the nation [1]
- Giving people more say in important government decisions [2]
- Fighting rising prices [3]
- Protecting freedom of speech [4]

[IF FORM=2]

[OMIT THE RESPONSE OPTION SELECTED IN post3]

- [post4] And which would be the next most important?
- Maintaining order in the nation [1]
  - Giving people more say in important government decisions [2]
  - Fighting rising prices [3]
  - Protecting freedom of speech [4]

**[TAXES]**

[work] In the past 12 months, did you do any work for pay, or did you not do any work for pay during this time?

- Worked for pay in the past 12 months [1]
- Did not work for pay in the past 12 months [2]

[taxecon] Do you think the 2017 law that reduced federal tax rates for individuals and businesses helped or hurt the nation's economy, or has it not made any difference either way?

- Helped a great deal [1]
- Helped a moderate amount [2]
- Helped a little [3]
- Neither helped nor hurt [4]
- Hurt a little [5]
- Hurt a moderate amount [6]
- Hurt a great deal [7]

[taxfam] Do you think the 2017 tax cuts helped or hurt your family's economic situation, or have they not made any difference either way?

- \_ Helped a great deal [1]
- \_ Helped a moderate amount [2]
- \_ Helped a little [3]
- \_ Neither helped nor hurt [4]
- \_ Hurt a little [5]
- \_ Hurt a moderate amount [6]
- \_ Hurt a great deal [7]

[taxapproval] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the 2017 tax cuts?

- \_ Approve a great deal [1]
- \_ Approve a moderate amount [2]
- \_ Approve a little [3]
- \_ Neither approve nor disapprove [4]
- \_ Disapprove a little [5]
- \_ Disapprove a moderate amount [6]
- \_ Disapprove a great deal [7]

**[RACIAL RESENTMENT]**

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with each of the following statements?

	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Neither agree or disagree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[rr1] Irish, Italians, Jewish and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[rr2] Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for blacks to work their way out of the lower class.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[rr3] Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[rr4] It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if blacks would only try harder	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

they could be just as well off as whites.					
---	--	--	--	--	--

**[GROUP EMPATHY]**

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND\_EMP=1 OR 2]

[IF RAND\_EMP = 1]

[emp\_concern1] How often would you say that you have tender, concerned feelings for people from another racial or ethnic group who are less fortunate than you?

- Extremely often [1]
- Very often [2]
- Somewhat often [3]
- Not too often [4]
- Not often at all [5]

[IF RAND\_EMP = 2]

[emp\_concern2] How often would you say that you feel concerned about people from another racial or ethnic group who are less fortunate than you?

- Extremely often [1]
- Very often [2]
- Somewhat often [3]
- Not too often [4]
- Not often at all [5]

[emp\_persp] How often would you say you try to better understand people of other racial or ethnic groups by imagining how things look from their perspective?

- Extremely often [1]
- Very often [2]
- Somewhat often [3]
- Not too often [4]
- Not often at all [5]

[emp\_place] Before criticizing somebody from another racial or ethnic group, how often do you try to imagine how you would feel if you were in their place?

- Extremely often [1]
- Very often [2]
- Somewhat often [3]
- Not too often [4]
- Not often at all [5]

[IF RAND\_EMP = 1]

[emp\_adv1] When you see someone being taken advantage of due to their race or ethnicity, how often do you feel protective towards them?

- Extremely often [1]
- Very often [2]
- Somewhat often [3]
- Not too often [4]
- Not often at all [5]

[IF RAND\_EMP = 2]

[emp\_adv2] When you see someone being treated poorly due to their race or ethnicity, how often do you feel protective towards them?

- \_ Extremely often [1]
- \_ Very often [2]
- \_ Somewhat often [3]
- \_ Not too often [4]
- \_ Not often at all [5]

**[FOREIGN POLICY, FORM 2 ONLY]**

[IF FORM=2]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

During the past 12 months, do you think U.S. policy has been too tough, about right, or not tough enough with these countries?

*Mark one answer in each row.*

		Too tough [1]	About right [2]	Not tough enough [3]
[russia]	Russia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[dprk]	North Korea	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[israel]	Israel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[mexico]	Mexico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[china]	China	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[canada]	Canada	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[germany]	Germany	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[saudi]	Saudi Arabia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[ENVIRONMENT: CLIMATE CHANGE]**

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND\_CLIMATE=1 OR 2]

[IF RAND\_CLIMATE=1]

[warm] You may have heard about the idea that the world's temperature may have been going up slowly over the past 100 years. What is your personal opinion on this? Do you think this has probably been happening, or do you think it probably hasn't been happening?

- \_ Has probably been happening [1]
- \_ Probably hasn't been happening [2]

[IF warm =1 or RAND\_CLIMATE=2, FILL QUESTION TEXT 'Do' ELSE FILL 'Assuming it's happening, do']

[warmcause] (Do / Assuming it's happening, do) you think a rise in the world's temperatures is caused mostly by human activity, mostly by natural causes, or about equally by human activity and by natural causes?

- \_ Mostly by human activity [1]
- \_ Mostly by natural causes [2]
- \_ About equally by human activity and natural causes [3]

[IF RAND\_CLIMATE=1, FILL "rising temperatures", ELSE IF RAND\_CLIMATE=2 FILL "climate change"]

[warmdo] Do you think the federal government should be doing more about (rising temperatures/climate change), should be doing less, or is it currently doing the right amount?  
\_ Should be doing more [1]  
\_ Should be doing less [2]  
\_ Is currently doing the right amount [3]

[warmus] How much, if at all, do you think climate change is currently affecting severe weather events or temperature patterns in the United States?  
\_ Not at all [1]  
\_ A little [2]  
\_ A moderate amount [3]  
\_ A lot [4]  
\_ A great deal [5]

[warmcom] How much, if at all, do you think climate change is currently affecting severe weather events or temperature patterns in your local community?  
\_ Not at all [1]  
\_ A little [2]  
\_ A moderate amount [3]  
\_ A lot [4]  
\_ A great deal [5]

[warmyou] How important is the issue of climate change to you personally?  
\_ Not at all important [1]  
\_ A little important [2]  
\_ Moderately important [3]  
\_ Very important [4]  
\_ Extremely important [5]

## **[POLITICAL VIOLENCE]**

[violence1] Compared to two years ago, do you think violence in the United States related to politics has increased, decreased, or stayed the same?  
\_ Increased a great deal [1]  
\_ Increased a moderate amount [2]  
\_ Increased a little [3]  
\_ Stayed the same [4]  
\_ Decreased a little [5]  
\_ Decreased a moderate amount [6]  
\_ Decreased a great deal [7]

[violence2] How much do you feel it is justified for people to use violence to pursue their political goals in this country?  
\_ Not at all [1]  
\_ A little [2]  
\_ A moderate amount [3]  
\_ A lot [4]  
\_ A great deal [5]

## **[FREE TRADE]**

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE TRADE\_ORDER WITH VALUES 1, 2, 3, 4, TO CONTROL THE SEQUENCE OF QUESTIONS IN THIS SECTION AS FOLLOWS:

IF TRADE\_ORDER=1: freetrade, tariff\_work, tariff\_con

IF TRADE\_ORDER=2: freetrade, tariff\_con, tariff\_work

IF TRADE\_ORDER=3: tariff\_work, tariff\_con, freetrade

IF TRADE\_ORDER=4: tariff\_con, tariff\_work, freetrade]

[freetrade] In general, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. making free trade agreements with other countries?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor moderately [2]
- Favor a little [3]
- Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- Oppose a little [5]
- Oppose moderately [6]
- Oppose a great deal [7]

[tariff\_work] Do you think raising tariffs and barriers to imports from other countries will mostly help protect **American workers**, mostly hurt American workers, or will it have no effect on workers?

- Help a great deal [1]
- Help moderately [2]
- Help a little [3]
- No effect either way [4]
- Hurt a little [5]
- Hurt moderately [6]
- Hurt a great deal [7]

[tariff\_con] Do you think raising tariffs and barriers to imports from other countries will mostly help American **consumers**, mostly hurt American consumers, or will it have no effect on consumers?

- Help a great deal [1]
- Help moderately [2]
- Help a little [3]
- No effect either way [4]
- Hurt a little [5]
- Hurt moderately [6]
- Hurt a great deal [7]

### [DRUGS/OPIOID EPIDEMIC]

[knowopioid] Do you know anyone who has had an addiction to pain-killers or opioid drugs, or do you not know anyone who has had that kind of addiction?

- Know someone who has had a pain-killer or opioid drug addiction [1]
- Do not know anyone who has had that addiction [2]

[opioiddo] Do you think the federal government should be doing more about the opioid drug addiction issue, should be doing less, or is it currently doing the right amount?

- Should be doing a great deal more [1]
- Should be doing a moderate amount more [2]
- Should be doing a little more [3]

- Is doing the right amount [4]
- Should be doing a little less [5]
- Should be doing a moderate amount less [6]
- Should be doing a great deal less [7]

**[GUNS]**

[guncheck] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose requiring background checks for gun purchases at gun shows or other private sales?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor moderately [2]
- Favor a little [3]
- Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- Oppose a little [5]
- Oppose moderately [6]
- Oppose a great deal [7]

[gunsar] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose banning the sale of semi-automatic "assault-style" rifles?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor moderately [2]
- Favor a little [3]
- Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- Oppose a little [5]
- Oppose moderately [6]
- Oppose a great deal [7]

[gunteach] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing school teachers to carry guns at school?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor moderately [2]
- Favor a little [3]
- Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- Oppose a little [5]
- Oppose moderately [6]
- Oppose a great deal [7]

**[DEMOCRATIC NORMS]**

[IF FORM=1]

[strlead] "Having a strong leader in government is good for the United States even if the leader bends the rules to get things done."

How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

- Agree strongly [1]
- Agree somewhat [2]
- Neither agree nor disagree [3]
- Disagree somewhat [4]
- Disagree strongly [5]

[IF FORM=1]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

How important are each of the following to the United States maintaining a strong democracy?  
 Mark one answer in each row.

	Not important at all	A little important	Moderately important	Very important	Extremely important
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[sd1] News organizations are free to criticize political leaders	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[sd2] The government conducts its work openly and transparently	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[sd3] The executive, legislative, and judicial branches of government keep one another from having too much power	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[sd4] Elected officials face serious consequences if they engage in misconduct	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[sd5] People are free to peacefully protest	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[sd6] People agree on basic facts even if they disagree politically	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[IF FORM=2]

[strpres] How helpful or harmful would it be if U.S. presidents could work on the country's problems without worrying so much about opposition from Congress or the courts?

- Extremely helpful [1]
- Very helpful [2]
- Somewhat helpful [3]
- Neither helpful nor harmful [4]
- Somewhat harmful [5]
- Very harmful [6]
- Extremely harmful [7]

[IF FORM=2]

[dishonest] Do you think politicians today are more dishonest or less dishonest than politicians in the past?

- Much more dishonest [1]
- Moderately more dishonest [2]
- A little more dishonest [3]



- No difference [4]
- A little less dishonest [5]
- Moderately less dishonest [6]
- A great deal less dishonest [7]

**[EVALUATIONS OF NEWS MEDIA]**

[media1] The news media—such as newspapers, TV, and radio— have historically had a role in checking the powers of the U.S. government by covering what is happening so the public can be well-informed. How important is it to you that the media play this role?

- Not at all important [1]
- A little important [2]
- Moderately important [3]
- Very important [4]
- Extremely important [5]

[media2] How effective do you think the news media are today in this role?

- Not at all effective [1]
- Slightly effective [2]
- Moderately effective [3]
- Very effective [4]
- Extremely effective [5]

[media3] How concerned are you that some people in the government today might want to undermine the news media’s ability to serve as a check on governmental power?

- Not at all concerned [1]
- A little concerned [2]
- Moderately concerned [3]
- Very concerned [4]
- Extremely concerned [5]

[trustmedia] In general, how much trust and confidence do you have in the news media when it comes to reporting the news fully, accurately, and fairly?

- None [1]
- A little [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A lot [4]
- A great deal [5]

[media4] Compared to two years ago, do you think the news media overall have become more biased in their political reporting, have become less biased, or have stayed the same as always?

- A good deal more biased than before [1]
- A little more biased than before [2]
- Stayed the same [3]
- A little less biased than before [4]
- A good deal less biased than before [5]

[IF media4 = 1 or 2]

[media4a] Compared to two years ago, has there been an increase in the number of news media sources biased in favor of conservatives, an increase in the number of news media sources biased in

favor of liberals, or has there been an increase in both pro-conservative and pro-liberal media sources?

- Increase in media sources biased in favor of conservatives [1]
- Increase in media sources biased in favor of liberals [2]
- Increase in both pro-conservative and pro-liberal media sources [3]

[media5] How often can you find a news source that provides accurate information about what is happening in the country?

- Always [1]
- Most of the time [2]
- About half the time [3]
- Some of the time [4]
- Never [5]

[mediaviol] How concerned are you about violence against people who work in the news media?

- Not at all concerned [1]
- A little concerned [2]
- Moderately concerned [3]
- Very concerned [4]
- Extremely concerned [5]

### **[POLITICAL CORRECTNESS]**

[selfcensor] How often do you stop yourself from saying something because you think someone might call you a racist, a sexist, or otherwise a bad person?

- Never [1]
- Rarely [2]
- Occasionally [3]
- Fairly often [4]
- Very often [5]

### **[RURAL RESENTMENT]**

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND\_RURAL=1 OR 2.]

[IF RAND\_RURAL=1]

[rural1] How much do you think other people look down on those who live in small towns and rural areas?

- Not at all [1]
- A little [2]
- A moderate amount [3]
- A lot [4]
- A great deal [5]

[IF RAND\_RURAL=2]

[rural2] How many people who live in cities look down on those who live in small towns and rural areas?

- None [1]
- A few [2]
- About half [3]
- A lot [4]

All [5]

[rural3] Do people in small towns and rural areas get more, the same, or less than they deserve compared to those who live in cities?

- A great deal more [1]
- Moderately more [2]
- A little more [3]
- The same [4]
- A little less [5]
- Moderately less [6]
- A great deal less [7]

### [IMPEACHMENT]

[IF FORM=2]

[DISPLAY ONLY]

The Constitution permits the U.S. Congress to remove a president from office if he or she commits "treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors." For this to occur, there are two steps. The House of Representatives must vote to impeach -- that is, to bring charges against -- the president, and the Senate must then hold a trial on those charges and vote on whether to remove the president.

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

[impeach1] Based on what you know today, do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. House of Representatives voting to impeach President Trump?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor moderately [2]
- Favor a little [3]
- Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- Oppose a little [5]
- Oppose moderately [6]
- Oppose a great deal [7]

[impeach2] Again based on what you know today, if the U.S. House voted to impeach the President, would you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. Senate voting to remove Donald Trump from the office of president?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor moderately [2]
- Favor a little [3]
- Neither favor nor oppose [4]
- Oppose a little [5]
- Oppose moderately [6]
- Oppose a great deal [7]

### [POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE]

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND\_PK = 0 OR 1. THIS CONTROLS ONLY THE FOLLOWING DISPLAY SCREEN.]

[IF RAND\_PK=1]

[DISPLAY ONLY]

We are interested in how much information about certain subjects gets out to the public. No one knows all the answers to the next few questions. When you are not sure, please just give your best guess. Please do not look up the answers. We want to see what people already know or can guess.

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

[pk\_cjus] What job or political office is now held by John Roberts?  
[TEXT BOX 40 CHARACTERS]

[pk\_germ] What job or political office is now held by Angela Merkel?  
[TEXT BOX 40 CHARACTERS]

[pk\_sen] For how many years is a United States Senator elected – that is, how many years are there in one full term of office for a U.S. Senator?  
[NUMBER BOX, RANGE 1-99]

[pk\_spend] On which of the following does the U.S. federal government currently spend the least?  
\_ Foreign aid [1]  
\_ Medicare [2]  
\_ National defense [3]  
\_ Social Security [4]

[pk\_geer] In what year did the Supreme Court of the United States decide Geer v. Connecticut?  
[NUMBER BOX, HARD RANGE 1000-2018]

[pk\_alaska] In what year was the Alaska Purchase Treaty signed?  
[NUMBER BOX, HARD RANGE 1000-2018]

**[PARTY ID]**

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND\_PID = 1 OR 2]

[IF RAND\_PID =1]

[pid1d] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or what?  
\_ Democrat [1]  
\_ Republican [2]  
\_ independent [3]  
\_ something else [4]

[IF pid1d = 4]

[TEXT BOX]

[pid2d] [PROGRAMMING: if pid2d is displayed, display it on the same screen as pid1d.]

What is that? \_\_\_\_\_

[IF RAND\_PID =2]

[NOTE RESPONSE CODE VALUES MATCH pid1d BUT ORDER (2,1,3,4) DIFFERS]

[pid1r] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?  
\_ Republican [2]  
\_ Democrat [1]  
\_ independent [3]  
\_ something else [4]

[IF pid1r = 4]  
[TEXT BOX]  
[pid2r] [PROGRAMMING: if pid2r is displayed, display it on the same screen as pid1r.]  
What is that? \_\_\_\_\_

[IF pid1d = 1 OR 2 OR pid1r = 1 OR 2]  
[IF pid1d = 1 OR pid1r = 1 INSERT "Democrat" in (Democrat/Republican); IF pid1d = 2 or pid1r = 2 INSERT  
"Republican" in (Democrat/Republican)]  
[pidstr] Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or a not very strong  
(Democrat/Republican)?  
\_ Strong (Democrat/Republican) [1]  
\_ Not very strong (Democrat/Republican)[2]

[IF pid1d=3 OR 4 OR NO ANSWER OR pid1r = 3 OR 4 OR NO ANSWER]  
[pidlean] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?  
\_ Closer to the Republican Party [1]  
\_ Closer to the Democratic Party [2]  
\_ Neither [3]

#### [MILITARY SERVICE]

[dem\_activduty] Are you now serving on active duty in the U.S. armed forces -- the U.S. Air Force, Army, Coast  
Guard, Marine Corps, or Navy -- or have you previously served on active duty in the U.S.  
armed forces, or have you never served on active duty in the U.S. armed forces?  
\_ Now serving on active duty [1]  
\_ Previously served on active duty but not now on active duty [2]  
\_ Have never served on active duty [3]

[IF dem\_activduty=1]  
[milyears] How many years have you been on active duty so far?  
  
[NUMBER BOX SOFT RANGE 0-30, HARD RANGE 0-50]

[IF dem\_activduty=2]  
[MARK ALL THAT APPLY]  
When did you serve?  
*Mark all that apply.*

[milyr1] \_ before 1950 [1]  
[milyr2] \_ 1950-1959 [2]  
[milyr3] \_ 1960-1974 [3]  
[milyr4] \_ 1975-1989 [4]  
[milyr5] \_ 1990-2000 [5]  
[milyr6] \_ 2001-present [6]

[IF dem\_activduty=1 OR 2]  
[combat] Were you deployed to a combat zone during your service, or were you never deployed to a  
combat zone?  
\_ Was deployed to a combat zone [1]  
\_ Never deployed to a combat zone [2]

#### [RESPONDENT HEALTH]

[FILL "MONTH" WITH THE CURRENT MONTH SUCH AS "November"]  
 [hospital] Have you or a member of your immediate family spent the night in a hospital in the past 12 months—that is, since (MONTH) 2017?  
 \_ This has happened in the past year [1]  
 \_ This has not happened in the past year [2]

**[RACE AND GENDER OF SPOUSE, FORM 1 ONLY]**

[IF FORM=1]  
 [marital] Are you now married, widowed, divorced, separated, or never married?  
 \_ Married [1]  
 \_ Widowed [2]  
 \_ Divorced [3]  
 \_ Separated [4]  
 \_ Never married [5]

[IF FORM=1]  
 [IF MARITAL IN(1,2,3,4)]  
 [IF R MARITAL IN(2,3,4) DISPLAY "most recent former", ELSE OMIT "most recent former"]  
 [spouseeth] Is your (most recent former) spouse Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino?  
 \_ Yes [1]  
 \_ No [2]

[IF FORM=1]  
 [IF MARITAL IN(1,2,3,4)]  
 [IF R MARITAL IN(2,3,4) DISPLAY "most recent former", ELSE OMIT "most recent former"]  
 Please choose one or more races that describes your (most recent former) spouse.  
*Mark all that apply.*  
 [sp\_w] \_ White  
 [sp\_b] \_ Black or African-American  
 [sp\_ai] \_ American Indian or Alaska Native  
 [sp\_asian] \_ Asian  
 [sp\_pi] \_ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

[IF FORM=1]  
 [IF MARITAL IN(1,2,3,4)]  
 [IF R MARITAL IN(2,3,4) DISPLAY "most recent former", ELSE OMIT "most recent former"]  
 [sp\_gender] What is the gender of your (most recent former) spouse?  
 \_ Male [1]  
 \_ Female [2]  
 \_ Something else [3]

**[RESPONSE QUALITY]**

[nonserious] We sometimes find people don't always take surveys seriously, instead providing funny or insincere answers. How often would you say that you were not serious in answering questions on this survey?  
 \_ Never [1]  
 \_ Some of the time [2]  
 \_ About half the time [3]  
 \_ Most of the time [4]

Always [5]

[honest] How often would you say you answered the questions honestly on this survey?

Never [1]

Some of the time [2]

About half the time [3]

Most of the time [4]

Always [5]

[END SURVEY]