



**ANES 2019 Pilot Study
Questionnaire Specifications**

[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 for 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 the University of Texas at Austin. If you have any questions or comments about the survey you may contact Lindsay Dun at [PHONE], or by email at [EMAIL].

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 University of Texas Institutional Review Board (IRB) to speak with someone independent of the research team by phone at (512) 471-8871 or email at orsc@uts.cc.utexas.edu.

[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]

[IF FORM=1]

- [reg1a] 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 FORM=2]

- [reg1b] 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]
 - Don't know/I do not recall [4]

[URBANICITY]

- [liveurban] Do you currently live in a rural area, small town, suburb, or a city?
- I currently live in a rural area [1]
 - I currently live in a small town [2]
 - I currently live in a suburb [3]
 - I currently live in a city [4]

- [youthurban] Growing up, did you mostly live in a rural area, small town, suburb, or a city?
- I grew up in a rural area [1]
 - I grew up in a small town [2]
 - I grew up in a suburb [3]
 - I grew up in a city [4]

[IF FORM=1]

- [placeid1a] Regardless of where you currently live, do you usually think of yourself as a city person, a suburb person, a small-town person, a country (or rural) person, or something else?
- city person [1]
 - suburb person [2]
 - small-town person [3]
 - country (or rural) person [4]
 - something else: (please specify) [TEXT BOX] [5]

[IF FORM=2]

- [placeid1b] Regardless of where you currently live, where do you feel you belong or fit in the best: cities, suburbs, small towns, or the countryside (rural areas)?
- cities [1]
 - suburbs [2]
 - small towns [3]
 - countryside (rural areas) [4]

[IF placeid1a/b<=4]
 [if placeid1a=1 or placeid1b=1 fill="city person";
 if placeid1a=2 or placeid1b=2 fill = "suburb person";
 if placeid1a=3 or placeid1b=3 fill = "small town person";
 if placeid1a=4 or placeid1b=4 fill = "country (or rural) person"]
 [placeidimport] How important is being a '[fill]' to your identity?
 __ Not at all important [1]
 __ A little important [2]
 __ Moderately important [3]
 __ Very important [4]
 __ Extremely important [5]

[RETROSPECTIVE TURNOUT AND CANDIDATE CHOICE 2016]

[IF FORM=1]
 [turnout16a] 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 turnout16a=3]
 [SAME PAGE AS turnout16a, DISPLAY AS POP-UP]
 [turnout16a1] Do you think you probably voted or probably did not vote?
 __ Probably voted [1]
 __ Probably did not vote [2]

[IF FORM=2, RANDOMLY ASSIGN EITHER turnout16b OR turnout16c]
 [turnout16b] In every state, the government keeps a record of who votes in an election. In the 2016 presidential election, would the record show that you voted or that you did not vote?
 __ Voted [1]
 __ Did not vote [2]

[turnout16c] We talk to many people who tell us they did not vote. And we talk to a few people who tell us they did vote, who really did not. We can tell they did not vote by checking with official government records. What about you? If we check the official government voter records, will they show that you voted in the 2016 presidential election, or that you did not vote in this election?
 __ Voted [1]
 __ Did not vote [2]

[IF turnout16a=1 OR turnout16a1=1 OR turnout16b=1 OR turnout16c=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]

[RETROSPECTIVE TURNOUT 2018]

[turnout18a] In last year's election held on November 6, 2018, 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 turnout18a=3]

[SAME PAGE AS turnout18a]

[turnout18a1] Do you think you probably voted or probably did not vote?

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

[PARTICIPATION]

[MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

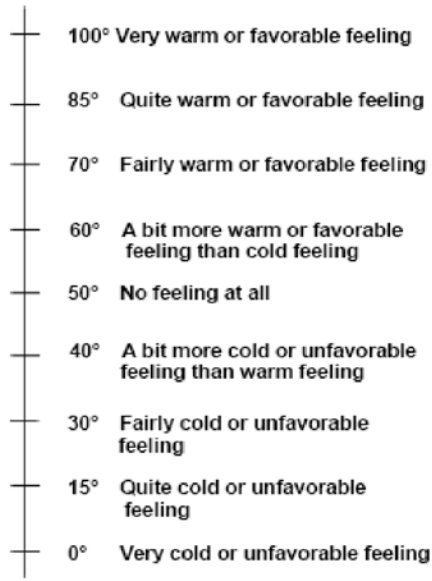
[particip] During the past 12 months, have you done any of the following?
Mark all that apply

- Attended a meeting to talk about political or social concerns [meeting]
- Given money to an organization concerned with a political or social issue [moneyorg]
- Joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration [protest]
- Posted a message or comment online about a political issue or campaign [online]
- Tried to persuade anyone to vote one way or another [persuade]
- Worn a campaign button, put a sticker on your car, or placed a sign in your window or in front of your house [button]
- Given money to any candidate running for public office, any political party, or any other group that supported or opposed candidates [moneycand]
- Gotten into a political argument with someone [argument]
- None of these [ALLOW ONLY IF NO OTHERS SELECTED] [particip_none]

[FEELING THERMOMETERS]

[DISPLAY]

[ftintro] Please look at the graphic below.



We'd like to get your feelings toward some people, groups, and countries who are in the news these days using something we call the feeling thermometer.

Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person, group, or country. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable and warm toward the person, group, or country. You would rate them at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward them.

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

[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]

[fttrump]

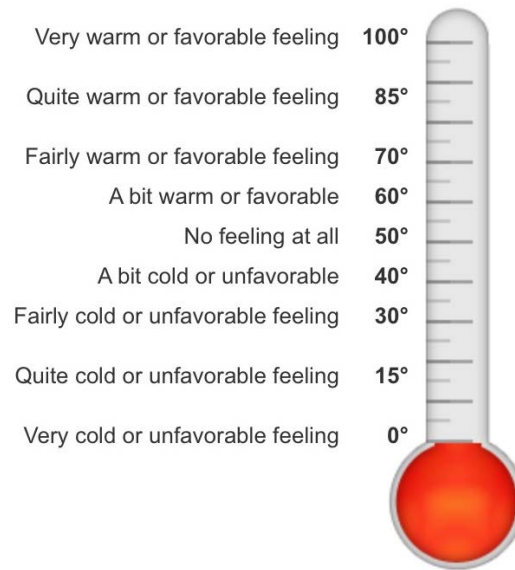
How would you rate **Donald Trump**?

[INTERFACE: FEELING THERMOMETER WIDGET.]

(I don't recognize this person)

FT WIDGET LIKE THIS:

Click on thermometer to give your rating.



[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]
[ftobama] How would you rate **Barack Obama**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this person)

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ftbiden through ftharris].
[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]
[ftbiden] How would you rate **Joe Biden**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this person)

[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]
[ftwarren] How would you rate **Elizabeth Warren**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this person)

[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]
[ftsanders] How would you rate **Bernie Sanders**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this person)

[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]
[ftbuttigieg] How would you rate **Pete Buttigieg**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this person)

[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]
[ftharris] How would you rate **Kamala Harris**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this person)

[DO NOT USE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION OR ATTENDANT RANDOMIZATION PROTOCOL FOR ftblack through ftjournal.]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ftblack through ftmuslim.]

[ftblack] How would you rate **blacks**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftwhite] How would you rate **whites**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftthisp] How would you rate **Hispanics**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftasian] How would you rate **Asians**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

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

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

[IF FORM=1]
[ftimmig1] How would you rate **immigrants**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[IF FORM=2]
[ftimmig2] How would you rate **legal immigrants**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

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

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ftnato through ftnra.]

[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]

[ftnato] How would you rate **NATO**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(_ I don't recognize this institution)

[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]

[ftun] How would you rate **the United Nations (UN)**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(_ I don't recognize this institution)

[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]

[ftice] How would you rate the **Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)** agency?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(_ I don't recognize this institution)

[IF FORM=1, INCLUDE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION; OTHERWISE EXCLUDE THIS OPTION]

[ftnra] How would you rate **the National Rifle Association (NRA)**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(_ I don't recognize this group)

[ftchina through ftpales IF FORM=1]
[DO NOT USE "I don't recognize" RESPONSE OPTION OR ATTENDANT RANDOMIZATION PROTOCOL FOR
ftchina through ftpales.]
[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ftchina through ftpales.]

[ftchina] How would you rate **China?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftnkorea] How would you rate **North Korea?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftmexico] How would you rate **Mexico?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftsaudi] How would you rate **Saudi Arabia?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]c

[ftukraine] How would you rate **Ukraine?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftiran] How would you rate **Iran?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftbritain] How would you rate **Great Britain?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftgermany] How would you rate **Germany?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftjapan] How would you rate **Japan?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftisrael] How would you rate **Israel?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[france] How would you rate **France?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftcanada] How would you rate **Canada?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftturkey] How would you rate **Turkey?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftrussia] How would you rate **Russia?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[ftpales] How would you rate **Palestine?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]

[VOTING]

[vote20dem] In the presidential primary election or caucus in your state next year, are you more likely to vote in the Democratic or Republican primary/caucus for president, or are you unlikely to participate in either?

- _Democratic primary/caucus [1]
- _Republican primary/caucus [2]
- _Neither [3]

[IF vote20dem=1]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-8]

[vote20cand] In the 2020 Democratic primary/caucus for president, who will you vote for? Your best guess is fine.

- _ Joe Biden [1]
- _ Michael Bloomberg [2]
- _ Cory Booker [3]
- _ Pete Buttigieg [4]
- _ Amy Klobuchar [5]
- _ Bernie Sanders [6]
- _ Elizabeth Warren [7]
- _ Andrew Yang [8]
- _ someone else [9]

[IF vote20dem=2]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS]

[vote20cand2] In the 2020 Republican primary/caucus for president, who will you vote for? Your best guess is fine.

- _Mark Sanford [1]
- _Donald Trump [2]
- _Joe Walsh [3]
- _William Weld [4]

[IF vote20dem=1]

[electable] Which of the following is more important to your primary/caucus vote choice: [ROTATE OPTIONS] that the candidate shares your positions on the issues or that the candidate has the best chance of defeating Donald Trump?

- _Shares my positions [1]
- _Can defeat Trump [2]
- _Neither [3]
- _Don't know [4]

[ASK OF ALL]

[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]
- [vote20bs] If the 2020 presidential election were between Donald Trump for the Republicans and Bernie Sanders for the Democrats, would you vote for Donald Trump, Bernie Sanders, someone else, or probably not vote?
 _ Donald Trump [1]
 _ Bernie Sanders [2]
 _ someone else [3]
 _ probably not vote [4]
- [cvote2020] If the election for the U.S. House of Representatives were being held today, and you had to make a choice, would you be voting for the Republican candidate or the Democrat candidate in your district?
 _ Democrat [1]
 _ Republican [2]
 _ Other [3]
 _ Won't vote [4]
 _ Don't know [5]
- [tsplit1] Thinking about the 2020 general election, if your ballot has an option to vote for a straight-party ticket (that is, a single mark would allow you to vote for all of the candidates from a single party) would you most likely:
 _ Vote straight Republican [1]
 _ Vote straight Democratic [2]
 _ Split my ballot between Democrats and Republicans, depending on the office and the candidates [3]
 _ something else [4]

[CAMPAIGN CONTACT]

- [IF FORM=1]
 [contact1a] As you know, the political parties try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for their candidate. Has anyone from one of the political parties called you up or come around and talked to you about the 2020 campaign?
 _ Yes [1]
 _ No [2]
- [IF FORM=2]
 [contact1b] As you know, the campaigns, parties, and organizations try to talk to as many people as they can to get them to vote for their candidate. Has anyone like that called you up or come around and talked to you about the 2020 campaign, or has no one like that talked to you?
 _ Someone like that did talk to me [1]
 _ No one like that talked to me [2]

[IF contact1a = 1]

[contact2a] Which party was that?
_ Democrats [1]
_ Republicans [2]
_ Both [3]
_ Other [4]

[IF contact1b = 1]

[contact2b] Was that for a Democratic candidate, a Republican candidate, both, or neither?
_ Democratic [1]
_ Republican [2]
_ Both [3]
_ Neither [4]

[IF FORM=1]

[contact3] Other than someone from the two major parties, has anyone (else) called you up or come around and talked to you about supporting specific candidates in the 2020 election?
_ Yes [1]
_ No [2]
_ Don't know [3]

[IF contact3 EQ 1]

[MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

[contact4] Was that person...
Mark all that apply.
_ Someone from a national or community organization [org]
_ Someone you know personally [personal]
_ None of these [ALLOW ONLY IF NO OTHER RESPONSES MARKED] [contact4none]

[TRUMP JOB APPROVAL]

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE BIPOLAR WITH VALUES 5 OR 7]

[IF BIPOLAR=5, display apppres5 thru econpres5]

[IF BIPOLAR=7, display apppres7 thru econpres7]

[IF BIPOLAR=5]

[apppres5] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling **his job as president**?
_ Approve very strongly [1]
_ Approve somewhat strongly [2]
_ Neither approve nor disapprove [3]
_ Disapprove somewhat strongly [4]
_ Disapprove very strongly [5]

[IF BIPOLAR=5]

[frnpres5] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling **relations with foreign countries**?
_ Approve very strongly [1]
_ Approve somewhat strongly [2]
_ Neither approve nor disapprove [3]
_ Disapprove somewhat strongly [4]
_ Disapprove very strongly [5]

[IF BIPOLAR=5]

[impres5] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling **immigration**?

- Approve very strongly [1]
- Approve somewhat strongly [2]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [3]
- Disapprove somewhat strongly [4]
- Disapprove very strongly [5]

[IF BIPOLAR=5]

[econpres5] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling **the economy**?

- Approve very strongly [1]
- Approve somewhat strongly [2]
- Neither approve nor disapprove [3]
- Disapprove somewhat strongly [4]
- Disapprove very strongly [5]

[IF BIPOLAR=7]

[appres7] 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]

[IF BIPOLAR=7]

[frnpres7] 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]

[IF BIPOLAR=7]

[impres7] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling **immigration**?

- 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]

[IF BIPOLAR=7]

[econpres7] 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]

[MOST IMPORTANT PROBLEM]

[mip] What do you think is the most important problem facing this country?
[TEXT BOX; limit 256 characters]

[ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE]

[econnow] Now thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that as compared to one year ago, the nation's economy is now better, about the same, or worse?

- Much better [1]
- Somewhat better [2]
- About the same [3]
- Somewhat worse [4]
- Much worse [5]

[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]

[confecon] Overall, how worried are you about the national economy?

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

[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]

[NATIONALISM]

[national1] Generally speaking, is the United States better, worse, or about the same as most other countries?

- A lot better [1]
- Somewhat better [2]
- The same [3]
- Somewhat worse [4]
- A lot worse [5]

[national2] Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement:

“The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Americans”?

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

[CONSPIRACY MENTALITY]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF conspire1 to conspire3]

[conspire1] “Most business and politics in this country are secretly controlled by the same few powerful people.”

How well does the statement above describe your view?

- Not at all [1]
- Not very well [2]
- Somewhat well [3]
- Very well [4]
- Extremely well [5]

[conspire2] “It is usually difficult to keep a secret for long about what happens in government.”

How well does the statement above describe your view?

- Not at all [1]
- Not very well [2]
- Somewhat well [3]
- Very well [4]
- Extremely well [5]

[conspire3] “Much of what people hear in schools and the media are lies designed to keep people from learning the real truth about those in power.”

How well does the statement above describe your view?

- Not at all [1]
- Not very well [2]
- Somewhat well [3]
- Very well [4]
- Extremely well [5]

[TAXES]

[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]

[billtax] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose taxing those making \$10 million a year or more at a 70% rate?

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

[TRADE]

[trade1] Is increasing the amount of international trade good, bad, or neither good nor bad for our relationships with other countries?

- Very good [1]
- Somewhat good [2]
- Neither good nor bad [3]
- Somewhat bad [4]
- Very bad [5]

[trade2] Has international trade increased, decreased, or neither increased nor decreased the number of jobs available in the United States?

- Increased a lot [1]
- Increased somewhat [2]
- Neither increased nor decreased [3]
- Decreased somewhat [4]
- Decreased a lot [5]

[trade3] Has international trade increased, decreased, or neither increased nor decreased the number of jobs available in other countries?

- Increased a lot [1]
- Increased somewhat [2]
- Neither increased nor decreased [3]
- Decreased somewhat [4]
- Decreased a lot [5]

- [trade4] Does increasing trade with other countries make the U.S. economy better, worse, or does it make no difference?
- _ Much better [1]
 - _ Somewhat better [2]
 - _ No difference [3]
 - _ Somewhat worse [4]
 - _ Much worse [5]

[INCOME INEQUALITY]

- [richpoor2] How important is it that our elected officials pass laws and regulations that reduce the income differences between rich people and poor people?
- _ Extremely important [1]
 - _ Very important [2]
 - _ Moderately important [3]
 - _ A little important [4]
 - _ Not at all important [5]

- [guarinc] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose establishing a federal program that gives all citizens \$12,000 per year, provided they meet certain conditions? The estimated \$3 trillion a year cost would be paid for with higher taxes.
- _ Favor a great deal [1]
 - _ Favor a moderate amount [2]
 - _ Favor a little [3]
 - _ Neither favor nor oppose [4]
 - _ Oppose a little [5]
 - _ Oppose a moderate amount [6]
 - _ Oppose a great deal [7]

[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"/>

[POPULISM]

[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 nor disagree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
	[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[pop1] The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[pop2] Most politicians do not care about the people.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[pop3] Most politicians are trustworthy.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[CORRUPTION/CAMPAIGN FINANCE]

[corrupt] How often do Members of Congress change their votes on legislation because someone donates money to their campaign?

- Never [1]
- Not very often [2]
- A moderate amount of time [3]
- Quite often [4]
- All the time [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]

[refugees] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing refugees who are fleeing war, persecution, or natural disasters in other countries to come to live in the U.S.?

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

[dreamer] What should happen to immigrants who were brought to the U.S. illegally as children and have lived here for at least 10 years and graduated from high school? Should they be sent back where they came from, or should they be allowed to live and work in the United States?

- Should be sent back to where they came from [1]
- Should be allowed to live and work in the U.S. [2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS PREVIOUS ITEM AFTER PREVIOUS ITEM IS ANSWERED]

[dreamstr] Do you favor that a great deal, a moderate amount, or a little?

- Favor a great deal [1]
- Favor a moderate amount [2]
- Favor a little [3]

[IF BIPOLAR=5]

[wall5] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose building a wall on the U.S. border with Mexico?

- Favor a lot [1]
- Favor a little [2]
- Neither favor nor oppose [3]
- Oppose a little [4]
- Oppose a lot [5]

[IF BIPOLAR=7]

[wall7] 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]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE pathway to open; KEEP ORDER OF release1, release2, famsep CONSTANT]

Please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following proposals for addressing illegal immigration.

Mark one answer in each row

		Favor strongly	Favor somewhat	Neither favor nor oppose	Oppose somewhat	Oppose strongly
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[pathway]	Providing a path to citizenship for unauthorized immigrants who obey the law, pay a fine, and pass security checks.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[return]	Returning all unauthorized immigrants to their native countries.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[open]	Ending criminal penalties for people crossing the border illegally.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[release1]	Holding all unauthorized immigrants in detention centers even if it causes overcrowding and bad conditions.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[release2]	Allowing some unauthorized immigrants to be released under supervision if there is not sufficient room in detention centers, even if it means some of them will not return for their court dates.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[famsep]	Separating the children of detained immigrants, rather than keeping them with their parents in adult detention centers.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[FOREIGN THREATS]

[IF FORM=1]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE order]

Next, we'll show you a list of countries. For each one, how much is this country a threat to the security of the United States?

Mark one answer in each row

		Not at all [1]	A little [2]	A moderate amount [3]	A lot [4]	A great deal [5]
[tchina]	China	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[trussia]	Russia	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[tiran]	Iran	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[tmexico]	Mexico	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[tjapan]	Japan	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[HEALTH CARE]

[IF FORM=2]

[hlthcare1]

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a health care system in which a single payer, most likely the national government, is responsible for paying for the health care of all Americans?

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

[IF FORM=2]

[hlthcare2]

How concerned are you about being able to pay health care expenses for you and your family in the next year?

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

[ABORTION]

[IF FORM=1]

[abortion1] How likely is it that the U.S. Supreme Court will substantially reduce abortion rights in the near future?

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

[IF FORM=1]

[abortion2] How pleased or upset would you be if the Supreme Court reduced abortion rights?

- Extremely pleased [1]
- Moderately pleased [2]
- Slightly pleased [3]
- Neither pleased nor upset [4]
- Slightly upset [5]
- Moderately upset [6]
- Extremely upset [7]

[HIGHER EDUCATION]

[freecol] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose guaranteeing free tuition at public colleges or universities for anyone admitted? The \$79 billion per year cost would be paid for with higher taxes.

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

[loans] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose cancelling all of the nearly \$1.6 trillion of existing student loan debt, and paying for it with higher taxes?

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

[MULTICULTURALISM]

[IF BIPOLAR=5]

[diversity5] Does the increasing number of people of many different races and ethnic groups in the United States make this country a better place to live, a worse place to live, or does it make no difference?

- A lot better [1]
- A little better [2]
- No difference [3]
- A little worse [4]
- A lot worse [5]

[IF BIPOLAR=7]

[diversity7] Does the increasing number of people of many different races and ethnic groups in the United States make 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]

[language] How much, if at all, would it bother you to hear people speak a language other than English in a public place?

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

[GUN POLICY]

[IF FORM=2]

[buyback] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose a mandatory program where the government would buy back semi-automatic assault-style rifles from citizens who currently own them?

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

[ENVIRONMENT: CLIMATE CHANGE]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF gw1 to gw2]

Policymakers have considered many proposals to reduce the effects of global climate change. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the following proposals:
Mark one answer in each row.

		Favor Strongly	Favor somewhat	Neither favor nor oppose	Oppose somewhat	Oppose strongly
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[gw1]	Increased government regulation on businesses that produce a great deal of greenhouse emissions linked to climate change.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[gw2]	Higher fuel efficiency standards for cars and trucks.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[DRUGS/OPIOID EPIDEMIC]

[knowopioid1] 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]

[IF knowopioid EQ 1]

[knowopioid2] Thinking about the closest person you know who has been affected by this addiction, how would you characterize your relationship to this individual?

- Acquaintance [1]
- Not so close friend [2]
- Close friend [3]
- Not so close family member [4]
- Close family member [5]

[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]

[SENTENCING REFORM]

[IF FORM=2]
[sentence]

People who are convicted of one or more serious drug offenses are currently subject to mandatory minimum sentences starting at 10 years in prison. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose giving judges the discretion to decrease those sentences by as much as 5 years?

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

[PRESCHOOL]

[prek]

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose expanding funding for pre-kindergarten programs so that it is available for all children nationwide? The \$24 billion a year cost would be paid for by higher taxes.

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

[DEMOCRATIC NORMS]

[demo4]

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose elected officials restricting journalists' access to information about the policymaking process?

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

[FAITH IN EXPERTS]

[experts]

When it comes to public policy decisions, whom do you tend to trust more, ordinary people or experts?

- Trust ordinary people much more [1]
- Trust ordinary people somewhat more [2]
- Trust both the same [3]
- Trust experts somewhat more [4]
- Trust experts much more [5]

[science] In general, how important should science be for making government decisions?

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

[exphelp] How much do ordinary people need the help of experts to understand complicated things like science and health?

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

[ANTI-ELITISM]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF elite1 TO elite4]

[elite1] "The system is stacked against people like me."
How well does the statement above describe your view?

- Not at all well [1]
- Not very well [2]
- Somewhat well [3]
- Very well [4]
- Extremely well [5]

[elite2] "Our political system only works for the insiders with money and power."
How well does the statement above describe your view?

- Not at all well [1]
- Not very well [2]
- Somewhat well [3]
- Very well [4]
- Extremely well [5]

[elite3] "The people with power in this country have my best interests at heart."
How well does the statement above describe your view?

- Not at all well [1]
- Not very well [2]
- Somewhat well [3]
- Very well [4]
- Extremely well [5]

[elite4] "Because of the rich and powerful, it becomes difficult for the rest of us to get ahead."
How well does the statement above describe your view?

- Not at all well [1]
- Not very well [2]
- Somewhat well [3]
- Very well [4]
- Extremely well [5]

[UKRAINE]

[ukraine1] In general, is it appropriate or inappropriate for the president of the United States to ask leaders of foreign countries to investigate political rivals?

- Very appropriate [1]
- Somewhat appropriate [2]
- Neither appropriate nor inappropriate [3]
- Somewhat inappropriate [4]
- Very inappropriate [5]

[ukraine2] As far as you know, did President Trump ask the Ukrainian president to investigate President Trump's political rivals, or did he not ask for an investigation?

- Asked for an investigation [1]
- Did not ask for an investigation [2]

[POLICE]

[IF FORM=2]

[excessive] How often do you think police officers use more force than is necessary?

- Never [1]
- Rarely [2]
- About half the time [3]
- Most of the time [4]
- All the time [5]

[RURAL RESENTMENT]

[IF FORM=1]

[rural1alt1] Do people living in small towns and rural areas have a harder time or an easier time getting ahead than others?

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

[IF FORM=2]

[rural1alt2] Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas have a harder time or an easier time getting ahead?

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

[IF FORM=1]
[rural2alt1]

Do people living in small towns and rural areas get more, the same, or less than they deserve from the government?

- 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]

[IF FORM=2]
[rural2alt2]

Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas get more, the same, or less than they deserve from the government?

- 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]

[IF FORM=1]
[rural3alt1]

Do people living in small towns and rural areas have too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount of influence on government?

- Much too much [1]
- Somewhat too much [2]
- A bit too much [3]
- About the right amount [4]
- A bit too little [5]
- Somewhat too little [6]
- Much too little [7]

[IF FORM=2]
[rural3alt2]

Compared to people living in cities, do people living in small towns and rural areas have too much influence, too little influence, or about the right amount of influence on government?

- Much too much [1]
- Somewhat too much [2]
- A bit too much [3]
- About the right amount [4]
- A bit too little [5]
- Somewhat too little [6]
- Much too little [7]

[IF FORM=1]
[rural4alt1]

Do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much respect, too little respect, or about the right amount of respect from others?

- Much too much [1]
- Somewhat too much [2]
- A bit too much [3]
- About the right amount [4]
- A bit too little [5]
- Somewhat too little [6]
- Much too little [7]

[IF FORM=2]

[rural4alt2]

Do people living in small towns and rural areas get too much respect, too little respect, or about the right amount of respect from people living in cities?

- Much too much [1]
- Somewhat too much [2]
- A bit too much [3]
- About the right amount [4]
- A bit too little [5]
- Somewhat too little [6]
- Much too little [7]

[(MIS)INFORMATION]

[unemp]

Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?

- Unemployment is now higher than when Donald Trump took office [1]
- Unemployment is now lower than when Donald Trump took office [2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS PREVIOUS ITEM AFTER PREVIOUS ITEM IS ANSWERED]

[conf_unemp]

How confident are you about that?

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

[interfere]

Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?

- Russia tried to interfere in the 2016 presidential election [1]
- Russia did not try to interfere in the 2016 presidential election [2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS PREVIOUS ITEM AFTER PREVIOUS ITEM IS ANSWERED]

[conf_interfere]

How confident are you about that?

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

[IF FORM=1]

[autism1]

Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?

- Childhood vaccines cause autism [1]
- Childhood vaccines do not cause autism [2]

[IF FORM=2]

[autism2]

Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?

- Most scientific evidence shows childhood vaccines cause autism [1]
- Most scientific evidence shows childhood vaccines do not cause autism [2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS PREVIOUS ITEM AFTER PREVIOUS ITEM IS ANSWERED]

[conf_autism]

How confident are you about that?

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

[IF FORM=1]

[gmo1]

Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?

- Genetically modified foods are safe to eat [1]
- Genetically modified foods are not safe to eat [2]

[IF FORM=2]

[gmo2]

Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?

- Most scientific evidence shows genetically modified foods are safe to eat [1]
- Most scientific evidence shows genetically modified foods are not safe to eat [2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS PREVIOUS ITEM AFTER PREVIOUS ITEM IS ANSWERED]

[conf_gmo]

How confident are you about that?

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

[warm]

Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?

- World temperatures have risen on average over the last 100 years. [1]
- World temperatures have not risen on average over the last 100 years. [2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS PREVIOUS ITEM AFTER PREVIOUS ITEM IS ANSWERED]

[conf_warm]

How confident are you about that?

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

[illegal]

Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?

- Millions of people voted illegally in the 2016 election [1]
- Very few people voted illegally in the 2016 election [2]

[DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE AS PREVIOUS ITEM AFTER PREVIOUS ITEM IS ANSWERED]

[conf_illegal]

How confident are you about that?

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

[IMPEACHMENT]

[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, 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]

[IF FORM=2]
[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]

[cheat] In answering the last few items, did you look up any of the questions online or ask someone for help?

- Yes [1]
- No [2]

[PARTY ID]

[CREATE 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]

[GUNS]

[IF FORM=2]

[ngun]

How many guns do you or anyone else living in your household own?

Type the number. If none, type 0.

[NUMBER BOX]

[IF FORM=2]

[shooting]

How worried are you that you or your family will become a victim of a mass shooting?

Not worried at all [1]

A little worried [2]

Moderately worried [3]

Very worried [4]

Extremely worried [5]

[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_activeduty=1]

In what year did you begin your service?

Type the year

[milyears]

[NUMBER BOX; DO NOT TAKE RESPONSES LE 1950]

[IF dem_activeduty=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_activeduty=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]

[HARASS]

[IF FORM=1]

[harass1a] How many men in positions of power sexually harass women?

- _ None [1]
- _ A few [2]
- _ About half [3]
- _ Most [4]
- _ Almost all [5]

[IF FORM=2]

[harass1b] How many men sexually harass women?

- _ None [1]
- _ A few [2]
- _ About half [3]
- _ Most [4]
- _ Almost all [5]

[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 nor 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 they could be just as well off as whites.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[RESPONDENT HEALTH]

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE HEALTH WITH VALUES 1 OR 2]

[IF HEALTH = 1]

[health1a] Would you say that in general your health is:

- Poor [1]
- Fair [2]
- Good [3]
- Very good [4]
- Excellent [5]

[IF HEALTH =2]

[health1b] Compared to others your age, would you say that in general your health is:

- Poor [1]
- Fair [2]
- Good [3]
- Very good [4]
- Excellent [5]

[IF FORM=2]

[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] 2018?

- This has happened in the past year [1]
- This has not happened in the past year [2]

How tall are you?

Please type feet and inches separately.

[feet] [NUMBER BOX, HARD RANGE 1-9] feet

[inches] [NUMBER BOX, HARD RANGE 0-11.5] inches

[weight] How much do you weigh?

Type the number of pounds

[NUMBER BOX, HARD RANGE 80-999] pounds

[IF FORM=2]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW ACCEPTED]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF disable1 to disable6]

Which of the following health conditions do you have?

Mark one answer in each row

		I have this	I do not have this
[disable1]	Deafness or difficulty hearing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[disable2]	Blindness or serious difficulty seeing even when wearing glasses.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[disable3]	Serious difficulty concentrating, remembering, or making decisions due to a physical, mental, or emotional condition.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[disable4]	Serious difficulty walking or climbing stairs.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[disable5]	Difficulty dressing or bathing.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
[disable6]	Difficulty doing errands alone such as visiting a doctor's office or shopping due to a physical, mental, or emotional condition.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[IF FORM=2]

[smoker1]

Have you smoked at least 100 cigarettes in your entire life?

Yes [1]

No [2]

[IF smoker1 = 1]

[smoker2]

Do you now smoke cigarettes every day, some days, or not at all?

Every day [1]

Some days [2]

Not at all [3]

[IF FORM=2]

[exercise]

How often do you work out or exercise?

Never [1]

A few times a year [2]

Once or twice a month [3]

Several times a week [4]

Every day [5]

[RELIGION]

[IF FORM=1]

- [relig1a] What is your present religion, if any? Are you...
- Protestant [1]
 - Roman Catholic [2]
 - Orthodox Christian (such as Greek or Russian Orthodox) [3]
 - Mormon [4]
 - Jewish [5]
 - Muslim [6]
 - Buddhist [7]
 - Hindu [8]
 - atheist [9]
 - agnostic [10]
- [relig1a_txt] something else: [TEXT BOX] [11]
 nothing in particular [12]

[IF relig1a = 12 (“nothing in particular”)]

- [relig2a] Would you say that is atheist, agnostic, or nothing in particular?
- Atheist [1]
 - Agnostic [2]
 - Nothing in particular [3]

- [att1] Lots of things come up that keep people from attending religious services even if they want to. Thinking about your life these days, do you ever attend religious services, apart from occasional weddings, baptisms or funerals?
- Yes [1]
 - No [2]

[IF att1=1]

- [att2] Do you go to religious services [every week, almost every week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, or never/ never, a few times a year, once or twice a month, almost every week, or every week]?
- Every week [1]
 - Almost every week [2]
 - Once or twice a month [3]
 - A few times a year [4]
 - Never [5]

[IF att2 = 1 (“every week”):]

- [att3] Would you say you go to religious services once a week or more often than once a week?
- Once a week [1]
 - More often than once a week [2]

[IF FORM=2 AND IF att1=1 AND IF att2<5]

- [relig1b] Do you mostly attend a place of worship that is Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?
- Protestant [1]
 - Catholic [2]
 - Jewish [3]
 - Something else: [text box] [4]

[IF FORM=2 AND IF (att1=2 OR att2=5)]

[relig2b] Regardless of whether you now attend any religious services, do you ever think of yourself as part of a particular religion?

- Yes [1]
- No [2]

[IF FORM=2 AND IF relig2b=1]

[relig3b] Do you consider yourself Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, or something else?

- Protestant [1]
- Catholic [2]
- Jewish [3]
- Something else: [text box] [4]

[IF FORM=1 AND IF att1=1 AND IF att2<5]

[attother] Sometimes people regularly attend services for a religion other than their own, because it is more convenient or because they attend with friends or family of a different religion. How about you? Do you usually attend services of your own religion (the one you indicated earlier), a different religion, or both?

- My own religion [1]
- A different religion [2]
- Both [3]

[LIFE EXPERIENCES]

[IF FORM=1]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW ACCEPTED]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF exptravel_ever to expshark]

Please indicate whether you have ever done or not done each of the following.

Mark one answer in each row

		Have done	Have not done
		[1]	[2]
exptravel_ever	traveled outside the United States	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exphomesch	homeschooled your children for a year or more after age six	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expfarm	worked on a farm	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expffood	worked in a fast food restaurant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expconvert	switched to a different religion	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expholiday	joined friends celebrating a religious holiday other than your own	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
explie	told a lie	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expshark	been bitten by a shark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[IF FORM=2]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW ACCEPTED]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF expdivorce to explightning]

Please indicate whether you have ever done or not done each of the following...

Mark one answer in each row

		Have done	Have not done
		[1]	[2]
expdivorce	gotten a divorce	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exparrest	been arrested and taken into police custody	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expoverdose	personally know someone who died of a drug overdose	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expdefault	defaulted on a loan	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exppubasst	received food stamps or other form of public assistance	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exphybrid	owned a hybrid or an electric car/truck	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expmistake	made a mistake	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
explightning	been struck by lightning	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[RECENT EXPERIENCES]

[IF FORM=1]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW ACCEPTED]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF exptravel_year to exppublib]

Please indicate whether you have done each of the following **in the past year**.

Mark one answer in each row

		Have done	Have not done
		[1]	[2]
exptravel_year	traveled outside the United States	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expindian	eaten food from an Indian restaurant	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exphunt	gone hunting or fishing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expflag	displayed an American flag on your house or in your yard	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exppublib	borrowed a book from the public library	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[IF FORM=2]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW ACCEPTED]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF explottery to expavoid]

Please indicate whether you have done each of the following **in the past year**.
Mark one answer in each row

		Have done	Have not done
		[1]	[2]
explottery	bought a lottery ticket	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expshoponline	purchased a product online to be delivered to your home	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exppubtrans	used public transportation	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expfight	got into a physical fight	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expavoid	hid your true political beliefs to avoid conflict	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[CURRENT EXPERIENCE OR STATUS]

[IF FORM=1]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW ACCEPTED]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF expknowimmig to expbuyusa]

Please indicate whether, as of right now, you...

Mark one answer in each row

		Do	Do not
		[1]	[2]
expknowimmig	Personally know someone who moved to the U.S. from another country	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expknowtrans	Personally know someone who is transgender	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expbuyusa	Regularly choose products because they are made in America	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[IF FORM=2]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW ACCEPTED]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF expretire to expknowpris]

Please indicate whether, as of right now, you...

Mark one answer in each row

		Do	Do not
		[1]	[2]
expretire	Have a pension or a retirement account (such as an IRA, 401k, or similar)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

expcolldebt	Have debt from college student loans	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expknowpris	Personally know someone who is in prison	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

[SOCIAL MEDIA]

[MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

[socmed] Which social media platforms have you visited in the past year?

Mark all that apply

- Facebook [1]
- Twitter [2]
- Instagram [3]
- Reddit [4]
- YouTube [5]
- SnapChat [6]
- TikTok [7]
- Other [text box] [8]
- None of these [9] [ALLOW ONLY IF NO OTHER RESPONSES MARKED]

[IF socmed eq 1]

[facebook1] How often do you use Facebook?

- Many times every day [1]
- A few times every day [2]
- About once a day [3]
- A few times each week [4]
- About once a week [5]
- Once or twice a month [6]
- Less than once a month [7]

[IF socmed eq 1]

[facebook2] When using Facebook, how often do you come across information about political issues or candidates?

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

[IF socmed eq 1]

[facebook3] When using Facebook, how often do you post information about political issues or candidates?

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

[IF socmed eq 2]

- [twitter1] How often do you use Twitter?
- Many times every day [1]
 - A few times every day [2]
 - About once a day [3]
 - A few times each week [4]
 - About once a week [5]
 - Once or twice a month [6]
 - Less than once a month [7]

[IF socmed eq 2]

- [twitter2] When using Twitter, how often do you come across information about political issues or candidates?
- Always [1]
 - Most of the time [2]
 - About half of the time [3]
 - Sometimes [4]
 - Never [5]

[IF socmed eq 2]

- [twitter3] When using Twitter, how often do you post information about political issues or candidates?
- Always [1]
 - Most of the time [2]
 - About half of the time [3]
 - Sometimes [4]
 - Never [5]

[IF socmed eq 3]

- [instagram1] How often do you use Instagram?
- Many times every day [1]
 - A few times every day [2]
 - About once a day [3]
 - A few times each week [4]
 - About once a week [5]
 - Once or twice a month [6]
 - Less than once a month [7]

[IF socmed eq 3]

- [instagram2] When using Instagram, how often do you come across information about political issues or candidates?
- Always [1]
 - Most of the time [2]
 - About half of the time [3]
 - Sometimes [4]
 - Never [5]

[IF socmed eq 3]

- [instagram3] When using Instagram, how often do you post information about political issues or candidates?
- Always [1]
 - Most of the time [2]
 - About half of the time [3]
 - Sometimes [4]
 - Never [5]

[IF socmed eq 4]

- [reddit1] How often do you use Reddit?
- Many times every day [1]
 - A few times every day [2]
 - About once a day [3]
 - A few times each week [4]
 - About once a week [5]
 - Once or twice a month [6]
 - Less than once a month [7]

[IF socmed eq 4]

- [reddit2] When using Reddit, how often do you come across information about political issues or candidates?
- Always [1]
 - Most of the time [2]
 - About half of the time [3]
 - Sometimes [4]
 - Never [5]

[IF socmed eq 4]

- [reddit3] When using Reddit, how often do you post information about political issues or candidates?
- Always [1]
 - Most of the time [2]
 - About half of the time [3]
 - Sometimes [4]
 - Never [5]

[IF socmed eq 5]

- [youtube1] How often do you use YouTube?
- Many times every day [1]
 - A few times every day [2]
 - About once a day [3]
 - A few times each week [4]
 - About once a week [5]
 - Once or twice a month [6]
 - Less than once a month [7]

[IF socmed eq 5]

- [youtube2] When using YouTube, how often do you come across information about political issues or candidates?
- Always [1]
 - Most of the time [2]
 - About half of the time [3]
 - Sometimes [4]
 - Never [5]

[IF socmed eq 5]

[youtube3] When using YouTube, how often do you post information about political issues or candidates?

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

[IF socmed eq 6]

[snapchat1] How often do you use SnapChat?

- Many times every day [1]
- A few times every day [2]
- About once a day [3]
- A few times each week [4]
- About once a week [5]
- Once or twice a month [6]
- Less than once a month [7]

[IF socmed eq 6]

[snapchat2] When using SnapChat, how often do you come across information about political issues or candidates?

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

[IF socmed eq 6]

[snapchat3] When using SnapChat, how often do you post information about political issues or candidates?

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

[IF socmed eq 7]

[tiktok1] How often do you use TikTok?

- Many times every day [1]
- A few times every day [2]
- About once a day [3]
- A few times each week [4]
- About once a week [5]
- Once or twice a month [6]
- Less than once a month [7]

[IF socmed eq 7]

[tiktok2] When using TikTok, how often do you come across information about political issues or candidates?

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

[IF socmed eq 7]

[tiktok3]

When using TikTok, how often do you post information about political issues or candidates?

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

[RACIAL IDENTITY AND GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS]

[IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6, ASK raceid]

[IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 1, fill "RESPONDENT RACE" with "white"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 2, fill "RESPONDENT RACE" with "black"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 3, fill "RESPONDENT RACE" with "Hispanic"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 4, fill "RESPONDENT RACE" with "Asian"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 5, fill "RESPONDENT RACE" with "Native American"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 6, fill "RESPONDENT RACE" with "Middle Eastern"]

[raceid] How important is being [RESPONDENT RACE] to your identity?

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

[IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6, ASK racework]

[IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 1, fill "PLURAL RACE" with "whites"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 2, fill "PLURAL RACE" with "blacks"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 3, fill "PLURAL RACE" with "Hispanics"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 4, fill "PLURAL RACE" with "Asians"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 5, fill "PLURAL RACE" with "Native Americans"; IF R PROFILE VARIABLE "race" = 6, fill "PLURAL RACE" with "Middle Easterners"]

[racework] How important is it that [PLURAL RACE] work together to change laws that are unfair to [PLURAL RACE]?

- 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]

[VOTER ID LAW KNOWLEDGE]

[IF FORM = 1]

[voterid1]

Does your state require that voters show photo ID at the polls?

- Yes [1]
- No [2]

Don't Know [3]

[IF FORM = 2]
[voterid2]

Does your state require that voters show photo ID at the polls, not require that voters show photo ID, or are you unsure whether voters are required to show photo ID?

- Required to show photo ID when voting [1]
- Not required to show photo ID when voting [2]
- Unsure about whether photo ID is required for voting [3]

[RESPONSE QUALITY]

[serious]

We sometimes find people don't always take surveys seriously, instead providing funny or insincere answers. How often did you give a serious response to the questions on this survey?

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

[PLEASANT CONCLUSION]

[CREATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE END=0 OR 1]

[IF END=1]
[photo1]



How much do you like or dislike looking at this picture?

- Like a lot [1]
- Like a little [2]
- Neither like nor dislike [3]
- Dislike a little [4]
- Dislike a lot [5]

[IF END=1]
[photo2]



How much do you like or dislike looking at this picture?

- Like a lot [1]
- Like a little [2]
- Neither like nor dislike [3]
- Dislike a little [4]
- Dislike a lot [5]

[IF END=1]
[photo3]



How much do you like or dislike looking at this picture?

- Like a lot [1]
- Like a little [2]
- Neither like nor dislike [3]
- Dislike a little [4]
- Dislike a lot [5]

[IF END=1]
[photo4]



How much do you like or dislike looking at this picture?

- Like a lot [1]
- Like a little [2]
- Neither like nor dislike [3]
- Dislike a little [4]
- Dislike a lot [5]

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

[reinterivew] Are you willing to answer a follow-up survey similar to this one in a few weeks, or are you not willing to do that?

- Willing to answer a follow-up survey [1]
- Not willing [2]

[END SURVEY]