



**ANES 2020 Exploratory Testing Survey  
Questionnaire Specifications**

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[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.

This survey is sponsored by the University of Michigan. If you have any questions or comments about the survey you may contact Lauren Guggenheim at [PHONE], or by email at [EMAIL].

If you have questions about your rights as a research participant, or wish to obtain information, ask questions or discuss any concerns about this study with someone other than the researcher(s), please contact the following:

University of Michigan  
Health Sciences and Behavioral Sciences Institutional Review Board (IRB-HSBS)  
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[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]**

[reg1] 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]

**[ELECTORAL INTEGRITY]**

[IF FORM = 1]

[votemail1a] Do you favor or oppose conducting all elections by mail?

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

[IF FORM =2]

[votemail1b] Do you favor or oppose conducting all elections by mail, instead of people voting in-person?

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

[votecount] In the November 2020 general election, how accurately do you think the votes will be counted?

- Not at all accurately [1]
- Not very accurately [2]
- Moderately accurately [3]
- Very accurately [4]
- Completely accurately [5]

[votemail2] How much do you trust that votes are counted accurately when people mail in their ballots?

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

[voterid1] In your state, are people usually asked to show an ID when voting, or not asked to show an ID?

- Asked to show an ID [1]
- Not asked to show an ID [2]
- Unsure [3]

[IF VOTERID1 = 1; appears on same screen as prior question]

[voterid2] Is that required to be a photo ID, or are forms of ID without photos (such as, bank statements or utility bills) accepted?

- Must be a photo ID [1]
- Other forms of ID are acceptable [2]
- Unsure [3]

#### **[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]

[turnout16b] 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 that election?

- Voted [1]
- Did not vote [2]

[IF turnout16a=1 OR turnout16a1=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]

**[EMOTIONS]**

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF THE GRID ITEMS]

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]
[hopeful]	How hopeful do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>				
[afraid]	How afraid do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>				
[outraged]	How outraged do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>				
[angry]	How angry do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>				
[happy]	How happy do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>				
[worried]	How worried do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>				
[proud]	How proud do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>				
[irritated]	How irritated do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>				
[nervous]	How nervous do you feel?	<input type="radio"/>				

**[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]

**[POLITICAL DISCUSSION]**

[talk1] How many days in the past week did you talk about politics with family or friends?

- 0
- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7

[talk2] Over the past four years, has it become easier or harder for you to talk about politics with your **family**?

- 1. A great deal easier
- 2. Somewhat easier
- 3. Slightly easier
- 4. Neither easier nor harder
- 5. Slightly harder
- 6. Somewhat harder
- 7. A great deal harder

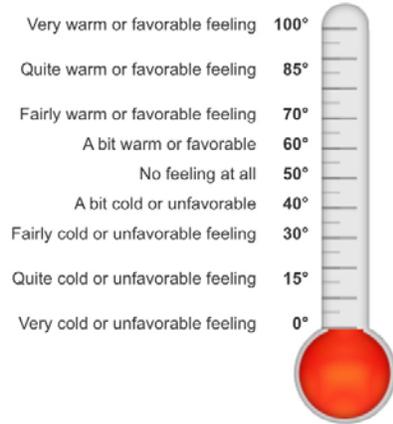
[talk3] How about your friends? Over the past four years, has it become easier or harder for you to talk about politics with your **friends**?

- 1. A great deal easier
- 2. Somewhat easier
- 3. Slightly easier
- 4. Neither easier nor harder
- 5. Slightly harder
- 6. Somewhat harder
- 7. A great deal harder

**[FEELING THERMOMETERS]**

[DISPLAY]  
[ftintro]

Please look at the graphic below.



We'd like to get your feelings toward some people and groups 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 or group. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable and warm toward the person or group. You would rate them at the 50 degree mark if you don't feel particularly warm or cold toward them.

If you come to a person or group that you don't recognize at all, you don't need to rate them. Just leave the box empty and go on to the next person or group.

- [fttrump1] How would you rate **Donald Trump**?
- [ftobama1] How would you rate **Barack Obama**?
- [ftbiden1] How would you rate **Joe Biden**?
- [ftwarren1] How would you rate **Elizabeth Warren**?
- [ftsanders1] How would you rate **Bernie Sanders**?
- [ftbuttigieg1] How would you rate **Pete Buttigieg**?
- [ftharris1] How would you rate **Kamala Harris**?
- [ftklobuchar1] How would you rate **Amy Klobuchar**?

[PAGE BREAK; SHOW GRAPHIC]

[DISPLAY] Still using the thermometer, please rate the following people.

- [ftpence1] How would you rate **Mike Pence**?

- [ftyang1] How would you rate **Andrew Yang**?
- [ftpelosi1] How would you rate **Nancy Pelosi**?
- [ftrubio1] How would you rate **Marco Rubio**?
- [ftocasio1] How would you rate **Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez**?
- [fthaley] How would you rate **Nikki Haley**?
- [ftthomas1] How would you rate **Clarence Thomas**?
- [ftfauci1] How would you rate **Dr. Anthony Fauci**?

[PAGE BREAK; SHOW GRAPHIC]

[DISPLAY]: Still using the thermometer, how would you rate the following groups:

- [ftblack] How would you rate **blacks**?
- [ftwhite] How would you rate **whites**?
- [fthisp] How would you rate **Hispanics**?
- [ftasian] How would you rate **Asians**?
- [ftillegal] How would you rate **illegal immigrants**?
- [ftfeminists] How would you rate **feminists**?
- [ftmetoo] How would you rate **the #MeToo movement**?
- [fttransppl] How would you rate **transgender people**?

[PAGE BREAK; SHOW GRAPHIC]

[DISPLAY]: Finally, how would you rate these groups:

- [ftsocialists] How would you rate **socialists**?
- [ftcapitalists] [How would you rate **capitalists**?
- [ftbigbusiness] How would you rate **big business**?
- [ftlaborunions] How would you rate **labor unions**?
- [ftrepublicanparty] How would you rate the **Republican Party**?
- [ftdemocraticparty] How would you rate the **Democratic Party**?

[VOTING]

[primaryvote] Thinking about the presidential primary election or caucus in your state, did you vote in the primary/caucus, plan to vote in the primary/caucus, or are you not voting in the primary/caucus this year?

- Already voted in the primary/caucus [1]
- Plan to vote in the primary/caucus [2]
- Not voting in the primary/caucus this year [3]

[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]

[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]

[TRUMP JOB APPROVAL]

[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]

[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]

[immpres7] 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]

[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]

[IF FORM = 1]  
[covidpres7] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling the **coronavirus (COVID-19) outbreak**?

- 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 FORM = 2]  
[healthcarepres7] Do you approve, disapprove, or neither approve nor disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling **health care**?

- 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]

**[CHECK]**

[check] To help us be sure your device is working properly with ours, please select “slightly disagree” below.

1. Strongly agree
2. Moderately agree
3. Slightly agree
4. Neither agree nor disagree
5. Slightly disagree
6. Moderately disagree
7. Strongly disagree

**[CANDIDATE TRAITS]**

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

How well do each of the following traits describe **Donald Trump**?  
Mark one answer in each row

		Extremely well	Very well	Moderately well	Slightly well	Not well at all
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[dtleader1] [dtleader2]	[FORM=1]Strong leader [FORM=2]Effective leader	<input type="radio"/>				
[dtcares]	Really cares about people like you	<input type="radio"/>				
[dtdignif]	Dignified	<input type="radio"/>				
[dthonest]	Honest	<input type="radio"/>				
[dtauth]	Authentic	<input type="radio"/>				
[dtdiv]	Divisive	<input type="radio"/>				
[dtknow]	Knowledgeable	<input type="radio"/>				

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

How well do each of the following traits describe **Joe Biden**?  
Mark one answer in each row

		Extremely well	Very well	Moderately well	Slightly well	Not well at all
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[jbleader1] [jbleader2]	[FORM=1]Strong leader [FORM=2]Effective leader	<input type="radio"/>				
[jbcare]	Really cares about people like you	<input type="radio"/>				
[jbdignif]	Dignified	<input type="radio"/>				
[jbhonest]	Honest	<input type="radio"/>				
[jbauth]	Authentic	<input type="radio"/>				

[jbddiv]	Divisive	<input type="radio"/>				
[jbknow]	Knowledgeable	<input type="radio"/>				

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

How well do each of the following traits describe **Bernie Sanders**?

Mark one answer in each row

		Extremely well	Very well	Moderately well	Slightly well	Not well at all
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[bsleader1] [bsleader2]	[FORM=1]Strong leader [FORM=2]Effective leader	<input type="radio"/>				
[bscares]	Really cares about people like you	<input type="radio"/>				
[bsdignif]	Dignified	<input type="radio"/>				
[bshonest]	Honest	<input type="radio"/>				
[bsauth]	Authentic	<input type="radio"/>				
[bsdiv]	Divisive	<input type="radio"/>				
[bsknow]	Knowledgeable	<input type="radio"/>				

**[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]

**[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]

[IF FORM = 1]

- [billtax1] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose taxing people 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]

[IF FORM = 2]

- [billtax2] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose nearly doubling the tax rate for people making \$10 million a year or more?
- 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]

**[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]

[IF FORM = 1]  
[guarinc1]

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]

[IF FORM = 2]  
[guarinc2]

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? This program 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 lcplacement]

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]
[lcself]	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"/>

**[ECONOMIC VALUES/IDEOLOGY]**

[IF FORM = 1]

[freemkt1a] Which of the following statements comes closer to your view?

1. We need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems.
2. The free market can handle these problems without government being involved.

[freemkt1b] How strongly do you feel this way?

1. Very strongly
2. Somewhat strongly
3. Not strongly

[CREATE RANDOM ASSIGNMENT XGOVT = 1 OR 2]

[IF FORM = 2 AND XGOVT = 1]

[freemkt2] In your view, is the free market or the government better at handling today's complex economic problems?

1. Free market is much better
2. Free market is somewhat better
3. Free market is a little better
4. Free market and government can handle equally well
5. Government is a little better
6. Government is somewhat better
7. Government is much better

[IF FORM = 2 AND XGOVT = 2]

[freemkt3] In your view, should today's complex economic problems be handled by the free market, the government, or an equal mix of both?

1. Completely by the free market
2. Mostly by the free market
3. A little more by the free market
4. Equal mix of free market and the government
5. A little more by the government
6. Mostly by the government
7. Completely by the government

[IF FORM = 1]

[govsize1a] Which of the following statements comes closer to your view?

1. The less government, the better.
2. There are more things that government should be doing.

[govsize1b] How strongly do you feel this way?

1. Very strongly
2. Somewhat strongly
3. Not strongly

[IF FORM = 2 AND XGOVT = 1]

[govsize2] Thinking about the size of government in general, should the government be doing less, more, or about the same as it does today?

1. Much less
2. Somewhat less
3. A little less
4. About the same
5. A little more
6. Somewhat more
7. Much more

[IF FORM = 2 AND XGOVT = 2]

[govsize3] Generally speaking, would Americans be better off with a smaller government, larger government, or a government about the same size as today?

1. Much smaller
2. Moderately smaller
3. Slightly smaller
4. About the same size
5. Slightly larger
6. Moderately larger
7. Much larger

[IF FORM = 1]

[regulate1] How much government regulation of business is good for society?

1. A great deal
2. A lot
3. A moderate amount
4. A little
5. None at all

[IF FORM = 2]

[regulate2] Would it be good for society to have more government regulation, less government regulation, or about the same amount of regulation as there is now?

1. Much more
2. Somewhat more
3. A little more
4. About the same amount
5. A little less
6. Somewhat less
7. Much less

[ineqinc1a] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the government trying to reduce the difference in incomes between the richest and poorest households?

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

**[DEMOCRATIC ATTITUDES]**

[IF FORM = 1]

[strpres1a] 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]

[strpres1b] How helpful or harmful would it be if U.S. presidents could work on the country's problems without paying attention to what Congress and the courts say?

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

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

“Even though they disagree on many issues, Democrats and Republicans must work together to find common ground.”

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree somewhat
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree somewhat
5. Disagree strongly

[IF FORM = 1]

**[CIVIL LIBERTIES AND TOLERANCE]**

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF THE RESPONSE OPTIONS IN leastgrp\_DO]

[leastgrp] Which of the following groups do you like **the least**?

1. communists
2. white supremacists
3. atheists
4. feminists
5. religious fundamentalists
6. gays
7. sexists
8. pro-gun activists
9. gun control activists
10. Muslims

[tol\_rally] Do you favor or oppose allowing [INSERT LEAST-LIKED GROUP NAME] to hold public rallies in your community?

- 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]

[tol\_pres] Do you favor or oppose banning [INSERT LEAST-LIKED GROUP NAME] from being president of the United States?

- 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]

[tol\_teach] Do you favor or oppose allowing [INSERT LEAST-LIKED GROUP NAME] to teach in public schools?

- 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]

[DISPLAY ANTIRELIG1 AND ANTIRELIG2 ON SAME PAGE]

[antirelig1] There are always some people whose ideas are considered bad or dangerous by other people. For instance, somebody who is against all church and religion. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your community against churches and religion, should he or she be allowed to speak or not?

1. Allowed to speak
2. Not allowed to speak

[antirelig2] Should such a person be allowed to teach at a college or university, or not?

1. Allowed to teach
2. Not allowed to teach

[DISPLAY RACIST1 AND RACIST2 ON SAME PAGE]

[racist1] Consider a person who believes that Blacks are genetically inferior. If such a person wanted to make a speech in your community claiming that Blacks are inferior, should he or she be allowed to speak or not?

1. Allowed to speak
2. Not allowed to speak

[racist2] Should such a person be allowed to teach at a college or university, or not?

1. Allowed to teach
2. Not allowed to teach

**[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]

[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 IN immprop\_DO]

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"/>

**[AFFIRMATIVE ACTION]**

[affact] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing universities to increase the number of black students studying at their schools by considering race along with other factors when choosing students?

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

**[HEALTH CARE]**

[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]

[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]

**[COVID19]**

[covid1] How worried are you personally about getting the coronavirus (COVID-19)?

1. Extremely worried
2. Very worried
3. Moderately worried
4. A little worried
5. Not at all worried

[covid2] How worried are you about the economic impact of the coronavirus?

1. Extremely worried
2. Very worried
3. Moderately worried
4. A little worried
5. Not at all worried

[covid\_elect] If the coronavirus still poses a serious health risk at the time of the November election, what should be done?

1. Hold the election as normal.
2. Hold the election but take steps to make in-person voting as safe as possible.
3. Hold the election but have all voters mail their ballots.
4. Delay the election.

## [ABORTION]

DISPLAY ABORT1 AND ABORT\_IMP ON SAME PAGE]

[abort1] Which of the following opinions on abortion best agrees with your view?

1. By law, abortion should never be permitted.
2. The law should permit abortion **only** in the case of rape, incest, or when the woman's life is in danger.
3. The law should permit abortion for reasons **other than** rape, incest, or danger to the woman's life, but only after the need for abortion has been clearly established.
4. By law, a woman should always be able to obtain an abortion as a matter of personal choice.

[abort\_imp] How important is this issue to you personally?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Moderately important
4. A little important
5. Not at all important

[abort2] How pleased or upset would you be if the Supreme Court reduced abortion rights?

- |  |     |
|--|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Extremely pleased         | [1] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Moderately pleased        | [2] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Slightly pleased          | [3] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Neither pleased nor upset | [4] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Slightly upset            | [5] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Moderately upset          | [6] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Extremely upset           | [7] |

## [LGBT RIGHTS]

[gayadopt] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose permitting gay or lesbian couples to adopt children?

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

[IF FORM = 1]

[transmilit1a] Do you think transgender people should be allowed to serve in the United States Armed Forces or don't you think so?

1. Transgender people should be allowed to serve
2. Transgender people should not be allowed to serve

[IF FORM = 2]

[transmilit1b] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose allowing transgender people to serve in the United States Armed Forces?

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

[IF FORM = 1]

**[HARASSMENT]**

[harass] Do you think attention to sexual harassment from the #MeToo movement has gone much too far, has gone a little too far, has been about right, has not gone quite far enough, or has not gone nearly far enough?

- |                            |     |
|----------------------------|-----|
| Gone much too far          | [1] |
| Gone a little too far      | [2] |
| Has been about right       | [3] |
| Not gone quite far enough  | [4] |
| Not gone nearly far enough | [5] |

**[HIGHER EDUCATION]**

[IF FORM = 1]

[freecol1] 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.

- |   |     |
|---|-----|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Favor a great deal       | [1] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Favor a moderate amount  | [2] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Favor a little           | [3] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Neither favor nor oppose | [4] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Oppose a little          | [5] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Oppose a moderate amount | [6] |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Oppose a great deal      | [7] |

[IF FORM = 2]  
[freecol2]

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose guaranteeing free tuition at public colleges or universities for anyone admitted? The program 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]

[IF FORM = 1]  
[loans1]

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]

[IF FORM = 2]  
[loans2]

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose cancelling all of the 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]

[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]

**[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]

**[POLICE]**

[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]

**[COMPROMISE]**

[compro1] Would you prefer a government official who compromises to get things done, or who sticks to his or her principles no matter what?

1. Compromises to get things done
2. Sticks to his or her principles no matter what

[compro2] In politics, how often does compromising with the opposition really mean selling out one's principles?

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

[IF FORM = 1]

**[SPEECH]**

[pcorrect] Some think that the way people talk needs to change with the times to be more sensitive to people from different backgrounds. Others think that this has already gone too far and many people are just too easily offended. Which is closer to your opinion?

1. The way people talk needs to change a lot
2. The way people talk needs to change a little
3. People are a little too easily offended
4. People are much too easily offended

[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]

**[AUTHORITARIAN CHILD-REARING]**

Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. We will next show you several pairs of desirable qualities.

[childrear1] Please indicate which one you think is more important for a child to have:

1. Independence
2. Respect for elders

[childrear2] Which one is more important for a child to have?

1. Curiosity
2. Good manners

[childrear3] Which one is more important for a child to have?

1. Obedience
2. Self-reliance

[childrear4] Which one is more important for a child to have?

1. Being considerate
2. Well behaved

**[RURAL RESENTMENT]**

[rural2] 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]

- [rural3] 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]

- [rural4] 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]

#### [COVID (MIS)INFORMATION]

- [mis\_covid19] Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?
- The coronavirus (COVID-19) was developed intentionally in a lab. [1]
  - The coronavirus (COVID-19) was not developed intentionally in a lab. [2]

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

- [conf\_covid19] How confident are you about that?
- Not at all [1]
  - A little [2]
  - Moderately [3]
  - Very [4]
  - Extremely [5]

- [mis\_covid2] Which of these two statements do you think is most likely to be true?
- Currently, there is a vaccine for the coronavirus (COVID-19). [1]
  - Currently, there is not a vaccine for the coronavirus (COVID-19). [2]

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

- [conf\_covid2] How confident are you about that?
- Not at all [1]
  - A little [2]
  - Moderately [3]
  - Very [4]
  - Extremely [5]

**[IMPEACHMENT]**

[impeach1] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. House of Representatives' decision in December of last year to impeach President Trump?

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

[impeach2] Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose the U.S. Senate's decision in February to acquit President Trump of the impeachment charges and thus let him remain in office?

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

**[PARTY ID]**

[pid1r] Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an independent, or what?

- Republican [1]
- Democrat [2]
- 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 pid1r = 1 OR 2]

[IF pid1r = 2 INSERT "Democrat" in (Democrat/Republican); IF pid1r = 1 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 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]

**[PARTISAN IDENTITY STRENGTH]**

[FOR THIS BATTERY, INSERT TEXT BASED ON INITIAL PARTY ID QUESTION IF RESPONDENT SAID DEMOCRAT, REPUBLICAN, OR INDEPENDENT]

[pidstr1] How often do you think about the fact that you are [a Democrat/a Republican/an Independent]?

- 1. All of the time
- 2. Often
- 3. Sometimes
- 4. Rarely
- 5. Never

[pidstr2] How important is being [a Democrat/a Republican/an Independent] to your identity?

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

[pidstr3] How big a part does being [a Democrat/a Republican/an Independent] play in how you see yourself?

- 1. None
- 2. Small
- 3. Moderate
- 4. Large
- 5. Very Large

**[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?

Mark one answer in each row.

	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"/>				
[rr3]	Over the past few years, blacks have gotten less than they deserve.	<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"/>				

**[RESPONDENT HEALTH]**

[health1] Would you say that in general your health is:

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

**[RELIGION]**

[relig1] What is your present religion, if any? Are you...

- Protestant [1]
- Roman Catholic [2]
- Orthodox Christian (such as Greek or Russian Orthodox) [3]
- Latter-Day Saints (LDS) [4]
- Jewish [5]
- Muslim [6]
- Buddhist [7]
- Hindu [8]
- atheist [9]
- agnostic [10]
- something else: [TEXT BOX: relig1\_11\_TEXT] [11]
- nothing in particular [12]

[IF FORM = 1 AND religi1a = 12 (“nothing in particular”)]

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

[IF FORM = 2 AND religi1a = 12 (“nothing in particular”)]

[relig2b] Would you say that is atheist, agnostic, Christian, or nothing in particular?  
\_ Atheist [1]  
\_ Agnostic [2]  
\_ Christian [3]  
\_ Nothing in particular [4]

[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?  
\_ 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]

### [FUNDAMENTALIST IDENTITY]

[ASK IF RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION IS ANYTHING EXCEPT ATHEIST, AGNOSTIC, OR NOT RELIGIOUS]

[fundmt1] Do you consider yourself a fundamentalist or not a fundamentalist?

1. Fundamentalist
2. Not a fundamentalist

[IF FUNDMT1 = 1]

[fundmt2] How important is being a fundamentalist to your identity?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Moderately important
4. A little important
5. Not at all important

**[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 [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 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]

**[PERCEIVED SOCIAL AND EMOTIONAL EFFECTS OF POLITICS]**

[impact1] Do you feel your life would be better or worse if you spent more time thinking about politics?

1. A great deal better
2. Moderately better
3. A little better
4. Neither better nor worse
5. A little worse
6. Moderately worse
7. A great deal worse

[impact2] How stressful do you find thinking about politics?

1. Extremely stressful
2. Very stressful
3. Moderately stressful
4. A little stressful
5. Not at all stressful

[impact3] How often do you find it helpful to hear the political views of friends who disagree with you?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[impact4] How often do you regret comments that you make when talking about politics?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[impact5] How much do you enjoy talking about politics with other people in your life?

1. A great deal
2. A lot
3. A moderate amount
4. A little
5. Not at all

[impact6] How often do you secretly wish for bad things to happen to those who disagree with you politically?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[impact7] Lately, how upset do you get from reading, watching, or listening to the news?

1. Extremely upset
2. Very upset
3. Moderately upset
4. A little upset
5. Not at all upset

[impact8] In the past four years, how much have political differences hurt your relationships with close family members?

1. A great deal
2. A lot
3. A moderate amount
4. A little
5. Not at all

[impact9] In the past four years, how much have political differences hurt your relationships with friends?

1. A great deal
2. A lot
3. A moderate amount
4. A little
5. Not at all

**[ETHNIC/NATIONAL IDENTITY]**

[IF FORM =1]

[ethnic1] In addition to being American, what do you consider your main ethnic group or nationality group? [example: Italian, Jamaican, African American, Cambodian, Cape Verdean, Norwegian, Dominican, French Canadian, Haitian, Korean, Lebanese, Polish, Nigerian, and so on.]

[TEXT BOX, 100 CHARACTERS]

[IF FORM =2]

[ethnic2] What do you consider your main ethnic group or nationality group? [example: Italian, Jamaican, African American, Cambodian, Cape Verdean, Norwegian, Dominican, French Canadian, Haitian, Korean, Lebanese, Polish, Nigerian, and so on.]

[TEXT BOX, 100 CHARACTERS]

[IF ethinc1 OR ethnic2 EQ no answer or "don't know" or "dont know" or "dk"]

[ethnic3] Why didn't you answer the previous question? Please let us know if it is confusing or if there is a problem with the question.

[TEXT BOX, 500 CHARACTERS]

**[RACE AND ETHNICITY]**

[latin1] Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

1. Yes
2. No

[IF FORM = 1]

[race1a] Please choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be. (Mark all that apply)

1. White
2. Black or African American
3. American Indian or Alaska Native
4. Asian
5. Native Hawaiian, or other Pacific islander

[IF FORM = 2]

[race1b] Please choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be. For this survey, Hispanic origin is not a race. (Mark all that apply)

1. White
2. Black or African American
3. American Indian or Alaska Native
4. Asian
5. Native Hawaiian, or other Pacific islander

**[RACIAL AND ETHNIC IDENTITY STRENGTH]**

[ASK ITEMS IN THIS BATTERY FOR EACH ETHNIC OR RACIAL GROUP SELECTED IN LATIN, RACE1A, OR RACE1B]

[IF FORM = 1]

[groupid1a\_lat/\_whi/\_bla/\_asi/\_nat/\_hpi]

How often do you think about the fact that you are [Hispanic/RACIAL GROUP]?

1. All of the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[IF FORM = 1]

[groupid2a\_lat/\_whi/\_bla/\_asi/\_nat/\_hpi]

How important is being [Hispanic/RACIAL GROUP] to your identity?

1. Not at all important
2. A little important
3. Moderately important
4. Very important
5. Extremely important

[IF FORM = 1]

[groupid3a\_lat/\_whi/\_bla/\_asi/\_nat/\_hpi]

How big a part does being [Hispanic/RACIAL GROUP] play in how you see yourself?

1. None
2. Small
3. Moderate
4. Large
5. Very Large

[IF FORM = 2]

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

[IF FORM = 2]

[groupid1b\_lat/\_whi/\_bla/\_asi/\_nat/\_hpi]

"I often think about the fact that I am [Hispanic/RACIAL GROUP]."

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat disagree
5. Strongly disagree

[IF FORM = 2]

[groupid2b\_lat/\_whi/\_bla/\_asi/\_nat/\_hpi]

"Generally, being [Hispanic/RACIAL GROUP] is important to my identity."

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat disagree
5. Strongly disagree

[IF FORM = 2]

[groupid3b\_lat/\_whi/\_bla/\_asi/\_nat/\_hpi]

"The fact that I am [Hispanic/RACIAL GROUP] is a major part of how I see myself."

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Somewhat disagree
5. Strongly disagree

### [WHITE GROUP CONSCIOUSNESS]

[IF RACE1A/B = 1 "WHITE"]

[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]

### [FEMINIST IDENTITY]

[IF FORM = 1]

[femid1a] Do you consider yourself a feminist, an anti-feminist, or neither a feminist nor an anti-feminist?

1. Feminist
2. Anti-feminist
3. Neither a feminist nor an anti-feminist

[IF FORM = 2]

[femid1b] Do you consider yourself a feminist, an anti-feminist, or neither of these?

1. Feminist
2. Anti-feminist
3. Neither

[femid2\_fem/anti/nei] How important is it to you to be [a feminist/an anti-feminist/ neither a feminist nor an anti-feminist]?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Moderately important
4. A little important
5. Not at all important

### **[LGBT SOCIAL CONTACT]**

[knowtran1] Among your immediate family members, relatives, neighbors, co-workers, or close friends, are any of them transgender as far as you know?

1. Yes
2. No

[IF KNOWTRAN = 1, DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE]

[knowtran2] What is your relationship to that person (or people)? (mark any that apply)

1. Immediate family
2. Other relative
3. Neighbor
4. Co-worker
5. Close friend
6. Other relationship

[knowgay1] Among your immediate family members, relatives, neighbors, co-workers, or close friends, are any of them gay, lesbian, or bisexual as far as you know?

1. Yes
2. No

[IF KNOWGAY = 1, DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE]

[knowgay2] What is your relationship to that person (or people)? (mark any that apply)

1. Immediate family
2. Other relative
3. Neighbor
4. Co-worker
5. Close friend
6. Other relationship

[IF FORM = 2]

**[PERCEIVED STRESS]**

[stress1] In the last month, how often have you felt that you were unable to control the important things in your life?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[stress2] In the last month, how often have you felt confident about your ability to handle your personal problems?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[stress3] In the last month, how often have you felt that things were going your way?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[stress4] In the last month, how often have you felt difficulties were piling up so high that you could not overcome them?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[IF FORM = 2]

**[DEPRESSION]**

[depress1] In the past week, how often have you had trouble keeping your mind on what you were doing?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[depress2] In the past week, how often have you felt hopeful about the future?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[depress3] In the past week, how often has your sleep been restless?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[depress4] In the past week, how often have you been bothered by things that usually don't bother you?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[depress5] In the past week, how often have you felt depressed?

1. All the time
2. Often
3. Sometimes
4. Rarely
5. Never

[IF FORM = 1]

**[SELF-RIGHTEOUSNESS AND JUDGMENTAL ORIENTATION]**

[callout1] How important is it to call people out when they say or do something that is morally wrong?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Moderately important
4. A little important
5. Not at all important

[speech1] Some complain that too many people are easily offended these days and too quick to police what others say. They refer to this as "political correctness." In your view, how serious of a problem is political correctness?

1. Extremely serious
2. Very serious
3. Moderately serious
4. A little serious
5. Not at all serious

[CREATE RANDOM ASSIGNMENT XFORGIVE = 1 OR 2]

[IF XFORGIVE = 1]

[forgive1a] As a society, are we too quick or too slow to forgive people who mess up?

1. Much too quick to forgive
2. Somewhat too quick to forgive
3. A little too quick to forgive
4. Neither too quick nor too slow to forgive
5. A little too slow to forgive
6. Somewhat too slow to forgive
7. Much too slow to forgive

[IF XFORGIVE = 2]

[forgive1b] As a society, are we too quick or too slow to forgive people who say hurtful things or discriminate against others?

1. Much too quick to forgive
2. Somewhat too quick to forgive
3. A little too quick to forgive
4. Neither too quick nor too slow to forgive
5. A little too slow to forgive
6. Somewhat too slow to forgive
7. Much too slow to forgive

[callout2] When a person unintentionally behaves in a way that is hurtful or that discriminates against others, how important is it for people to point out and publicly criticize this behavior?

1. Extremely important
2. Very important
3. Moderately important
4. A little important
5. Not at all important

[speech2] Some complain that too many people make offensive comments these days when they should know better. In your view, how serious of a problem is people saying offensive things when they should know better?

1. Extremely serious
2. Very serious
3. Moderately serious
4. A little serious
5. Not at all serious

[IF XFORGIVE = 1]

[forgive2a] Do you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly with this statement?

“Times change -- it’s not appropriate to judge people's past actions and comments by today’s moral standards.”

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree somewhat
3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree somewhat
5. Disagree strongly

[IF XFORGIVE = 2]

[forgive2b] Given that times change, do you think it is appropriate or inappropriate to judge people's past actions and comments by today's moral standards?

1. Very appropriate
2. Moderately appropriate
3. Slightly appropriate
4. Neither appropriate nor inappropriate
5. Slightly inappropriate
6. Moderately inappropriate
7. Very inappropriate

[IF FORM = 1]

[GRID]

[display:] How well do the following statements fit with your own views?

Mark one answer in each row.

		Not well at all	Slightly well	Moderately well	Very well	Extremely well
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[divmoral]	You shouldn't expect others to adopt the same ideas of right and wrong as you, because there will always be a diversity of moral viewpoints in the world.	<input type="radio"/>				
[forgive3]	Making hurtful comments is unforgivable.	<input type="radio"/>				
[moralsup1]	My ideas are much more just and fair than those of my political adversaries.	<input type="radio"/>				
[duepro3]	Those facing discipline have an absolute right to cross-examine their accusers.	<input type="radio"/>				
[moralcert3]	Diversity of opinion is valuable in any group or organization.	<input type="radio"/>				
[forgive5]	Sometimes people say offensive things unintentionally. We should accept their apology and move on.	<input type="radio"/>				
[intelsup1]	If people were better informed about the issues, they would hold the same opinions that I do.	<input type="radio"/>				
[moralcert1]	Some people hold views that are so horrible, there is no point listening to them.	<input type="radio"/>				
[duepro4]	When many similar allegations are lodged against the same person, you can be pretty sure they are guilty.	<input type="radio"/>				

[moralcert6]	Most political issues have a clear "right" and "wrong" side of the debate.	<input type="radio"/>				
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[IF FORM = 1]

[GRID]

[display:] How well do the following statements fit with your own views?

Mark one answer in each row.

		Not well at all	Slightly well	Moderately well	Very well	Extremely well
		[1]	[2]	[3]	[4]	[5]
[forgive4]	There should be zero tolerance for offensive remarks: if you make such a comment, you should be fired.	<input type="radio"/>				
[moralcert2]	There are reasonable arguments on both sides of most political issues, even if I may agree with some arguments more than others.	<input type="radio"/>				
[duepro1]	It is often unfair to make victims testify in front of those who have hurt them.	<input type="radio"/>				
[IF XFORGIVE = 1] [callout3a]	Those who know right from wrong have a clear duty to criticize anyone who engages in inappropriate behavior and see that they are held accountable for their actions.	<input type="radio"/>				
[IF XFORGIVE = 2] [callout3b]	Those who have a modern understanding of right and wrong have a clear duty to criticize anyone who engages in inappropriate behavior and see that they are held accountable for their actions.	<input type="radio"/>				
[moralsup2]	Logical reasoning is a better guide to morality than traditional religious teachings.	<input type="radio"/>				
[duepro2]	No matter how horrible the accusation, it is important to wait until all the evidence is gathered before punishing someone.	<input type="radio"/>				
[intelsup2]	Most people who disagree with me turn out to be wrong.	<input type="radio"/>				
[duepro5]	There is too often a rush to judgment these days when people are accused of saying or doing something hurtful.	<input type="radio"/>				

[moralcert4]	Compromise with my political opponents would prevent us from achieving a better society.	<input type="radio"/>				
[forgive6]	If politicians express regret for past hurtful comments, there is no need to punish them further.	<input type="radio"/>				
[moralcert5]	When people say we should try harder to understand the views of our political opponents, I find that insulting.	<input type="radio"/>				

IF FORM = 2

**[LINKED FATE]**

[ASK ITEM FOR EACH GROUP SELECTED IN RACE1A OR RACE1B]

[link\_bla/his/asi/whi/nat/hpi] How much do you think what happens generally to [black people/Hispanic people/white people/Asian American people/Native American people/Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islanders] in this country will affect what happens in your life?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not very much
4. Not at all

[IF FORM = 2]

**[SELF-MONITORING]**

[selfmon1] In social situations, how easy is it for you to alter your behavior if you feel that something else is called for?

1. Extremely easy
2. Very easy
3. Moderately easy
4. A little easy
5. Not at all easy

[selfmon2] When you are with other people, how often do you put on a show to impress or entertain them?

1. Always
2. Most of the time
3. Some of the time
4. Once in a while
5. Never

[selfmon3] How hard is it for you to change your behavior to suit different people and different situations?

1. Extremely hard
2. Very hard
3. Moderately hard
4. A little hard
5. Not at all hard

[selfmon4] When you are in a group of people, how often are you the center of attention?

1. Always
2. Most of the time
3. Some of the time
4. Once in a while
5. Never

[selfmon5] How easy is it for you to adjust your actions to fit whatever is required by the situation?

1. Extremely easy
2. Very easy
3. Moderately easy
4. A little easy
5. Not at all easy

[selfmon6] How good or poor of an actor would you be?

1. Excellent
2. Good
3. Fair
4. Poor
5. Very poor

## **[INCOME]**

[CREATE RANDOM ASSIGNMENT RAND\_INC = 1, 2, OR 3]

[IF RAND\_INC = 1]

[inc\_anes] The next question is about the total income of all the members of your family living here (with you) in 2019, before taxes. The figure should include income from all sources, including salaries, wages, pensions, Social Security, dividends, interest, and all other income. What was the total income of all your family members living here in 2019?

1. Under \$5,000
2. \$5,000 - \$9,999
3. \$10,000 - \$14,999
4. \$15,000 - \$19,999
5. \$20,000 - \$24,999
6. \$25,000 - \$29,999
7. \$30,000 - \$34,999
8. \$35,000 - \$39,999
9. \$40,000 - \$44,999
10. \$45,000 - \$49,999
11. \$50,000 - \$54,999
12. \$55,000 - \$59,999
13. \$60,000 - \$64,999
14. \$65,000 - \$69,999
15. \$70,000 - \$74,999
16. \$75,000 - \$79,999
17. \$80,000 - \$84,999
18. \$85,000 - \$89,999
19. \$90,000 - \$94,999

20. \$95,000 - \$99,999
21. \$100,000 - \$124,999
22. \$125,000 - \$149,999
23. \$150,000 - \$174,999
24. \$175,000 - \$199,999
25. \$200,000 - \$249,999
26. \$250,000 or more

[IF RAND\_INC = 2]

[inc\_cps] The next question is about the total combined income of all members of your family during the past 12 months. This includes money from jobs, net income from business, farm or rent, pensions, dividends, interest, Social Security payments and any other money income received by members of your family who are 15 years of age or older. What was the total income of your family during the past 12 months?

[income categories]

[IF RAND\_INC = 3]

[inc\_cpsmod] The next question is about the total combined income of all members of your family living here (with you) during the past 12 months. This includes money from jobs, net income from business, farm or rent, pensions, dividends, interest, Social Security payments and any other money income received by members of your family who are 15 years of age or older. What was the total income of your family during the past 12 months?

[income categories]

## **[HOME TENURE]**

[IF FORM = 1]

[home\_anes] Do you pay rent for your home, make monthly mortgage payments for your home, own your home outright with no payments due, or have some other living arrangement?

1. Pay rent
2. pay mortgage
3. Own home with no payments due
4. Some other arrangement

[IF FORM = 2]

[home\_cps] Are your living quarters owned or being bought by a household member, rented for cash, or occupied without payment of cash rent?

1. Owned/bought by a household member
2. Rented for cash
3. Occupied without payment of cash rent

**[POLITICAL VIOLENCE AND HOSTILITY]**

[INSERT "Democrats" IF PID1 = REPUBLICAN OR PIDLEAN = CLOSER TO REPUBLICANS; INSERT "Republicans" IF PID1 = DEMOCRAT OR PIDLEAN = CLOSER TO DEMOCRATS; INSERT "Democrats and Republicans" IF PID1 = INDEPENDENT AND PIDLEAN = NOT CLOSER TO EITHER]  
[viol3\_dems/rep/both] How often do you feel like [Democrats/Republicans/Democrats and Republicans] just deserve to be slapped?

1. Never
2. Some of the time
3. About half of the time
4. Most of the time
5. Always

[viol1] When politicians fail to do what's best for America, how much do they deserve to be harassed or threatened?

1. A great deal
2. A lot
3. A moderate amount
4. A little
5. Not at all

[IF FORM = 1]

[viol2a] How much do you feel it is justified for people to use violence to pursue their political goals in this country?

1. Not at all
2. A little
3. A moderate amount
4. A lot
5. A great deal

[IF FORM = 2]

[viol2b] How much do you feel it is acceptable for people to use violence to pursue their political goals in this country?

1. Not at all
2. A little
3. A moderate amount
4. A lot
5. A great deal

**[LIFE EXPERIENCES]**

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW ACCEPTED]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER in exp1\_DO]

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
[VARNAME]		[1]	[2]
exptravel_ever	traveled outside the United States	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exphomesch	homeschooled your children <b>for a year or more</b> after age six	<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"/>
expshark	been bitten by a shark	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exparrest	been arrested and taken into police custody	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
exppubasst	received food stamps or other form of public assistance	<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"/>
callout_social	tried to shame someone on Facebook or Twitter for making offensive remarks	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
callout_person	criticized someone to their face for making racist or sexist comments	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[CURRENT EXPERIENCE OR STATUS]**

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW ACCEPTED]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER in exp2\_DO]

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"/>
expbuyusa	Regularly choose products because they are made in America	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expretire	Have a pension or a retirement account (such as an IRA, 401k, or similar)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
expknowpris	Personally know someone who is in prison	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

**[DEMOGRAPHICS]**

[birthyr] What is the year of your birth?

[NUMBER BOX]

[sex] What is your sex?

- 1. Male
- 2. Female

[educ] What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received?

- 1. 12th grade or below, no high school diploma
- 2. High school graduate/diploma or equivalent
- 3. Some college but no degree
- 4. Associate degree
- 5. Bachelor's degree
- 6. Master's degree
- 7. Professional degree (e.g., MD, DDS, JD)
- 8. Doctorate

[state] In which state do you currently reside?

[PULLDOWN MENU; DISPLAY 50 STATES + DC]

[zip] What is the zipcode of your current residence?

[NUMBER BOX]

[children] How many children or teenagers age 0 to 17 live in your household?

[number box]

[marital1] Are you now married, widowed, divorced, separated, or never married?

1. Married
2. Widowed
- 3 Divorced
4. Separated
5. Never Married

[IF MARITAL DOES NOT EQUAL "MARRIED" THEN ASK:]

[marital2] Are you currently living with a partner, or not?

1. Yes
2. No

[IF FORM = 1]

[citizen1] Are you a citizen of the United States?

1. Yes, I was born a citizen
2. Yes, I became a citizen
3. No, but I am a permanent resident.
4. No - any other status.

[IF FORM = 2]

[citizen2] Are you a U.S. citizen, or not?

1. U.S. citizen
2. Not a citizen

### [POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE]

[RANDOMLY ASSIGN R TO INSTRUCTION\_GROUP = 0, 1, OR 2. SEPARATELY RANDOMLY ASSIGN TO FEEDBACK\_GROUP = 0 OR FEEDBACK\_GROUP = 1]

[instruction1]

[ask if instruction\_group=1, else skip]

**We are interested in the guesses people make when they do not know the answer to a question. We will ask you several questions. Some may be easy, but others are meant to be so difficult that you will have to guess.**

**In fact, for some of these questions, if you answer correctly, we will know that you probably looked up the answer.**

**Please do not look up the answers you do not know. Instead, please just make your best guess.**

[instruction2]

[ask if instruction\_group=2, else skip]

**We are interested in the guesses people make when they do not know the answer to a question. We will ask you several questions. Some may be easy, but others are meant to be so difficult that you will have to guess.**

**In fact, for some of these questions, if you answer correctly, we will know that you probably looked up the answer.**

**Please do not look up the answers you do not know. Instead, please just make your best guess.**

**After you have guessed, we will show you the right answers.**

[geer1896]

**In what year did the Supreme Court of the United States decide Geer v. Connecticut?**

[NUMBER BOX, HARD RANGE 1000-2020]

[admit]

[ask if geer1896 = "1896" and feedback\_group = 1, else skip]

**You are right! Did you look up the answer to that question, or did you already know it yourself?**

I looked it up

I already knew it

[feedback]

[ask if geer1896 = "1896" and feedback\_group = 1, else skip]

**Please do not look up the answers yet!**

**For the next questions, please make your best guess without any help. After you do that, we will show you all the right answers.**

[mauga]

**What job or political office is held by Lemanu Peleti Mauga?**

[TEXT BOX 60 CHARACTERS]

[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]

[debrief]

[display if (geer1896 = "1896" and feedback\_group = 1) or instruction\_group=2, else skip]

**Thank you for answering the questions. Here are the answers.**

**Geer v. Connecticut was decided in 1896.**

**Lemanu Peleti Mauga is the Lieutenant Governor of American Samoa.**

**John Roberts is currently Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court.**

**Angela Merkel is currently Chancellor of Germany.**

**U.S. Senators are elected for a term of six years.**

**The U.S. government spends less on foreign aid than on Medicare, national defense, or Social Security.**

[IF FORM = 2]

**[STEREOTYPES]**

[ALL ITEMS FOR ONE GROUP ON THE SAME SCREEN; BUT SEPARATE SCREENS FOR EACH GROUP]

Now we have some questions about different groups in our society. We're going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of the people in a group can be rated. In the first statement a score of '1' means that you think almost all of the people in that group tend to be 'trustworthy.' A score of '7' means that you think most people in the group are 'untrustworthy.' A score of '4' means that you think that most people in the group are not closer to one end or the other, and of course, you may choose any number in between.

Where would you rate Whites in general on the following scales?

[whites\_1]      1 Trustworthy  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7 Untrustworthy

[whites\_2]      1 Hardworking  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7 Lazy

[whites\_3]      1 Intelligent  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7 Unintelligent

[whites\_4]      1 Patriotic  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7 Unpatriotic

[whites\_5]      1 Peaceful  
2  
3  
4  
5  
6  
7 Violent

[whites\_6]      1 Friendly  
2  
3  
4

- 5
- 6
- 7 Unfriendly

- [whites\_7] 1 American
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 Foreign

[REPEAT FOR OTHER RACIAL GROUPS]

Where would you rate Blacks in general on the following scales?

- [blacks\_1] trustworthy.
- [blacks\_2] hardworking
- [blacks\_3] intelligent
- [blacks\_4] patriotic
- [blacks\_5] peaceful
- [blacks\_6] friendly
- [blacks\_7] American

Where would you rate Hispanics in general on the following scales?

- [hisp\_1] trustworthy.
- [hisp\_2] hardworking
- [hisp\_3] intelligent
- [hisp\_4] patriotic
- [hisp\_5] peaceful
- [hisp\_6] friendly
- [hisp\_7] American

Where would you rate Asians in general on the following scales?

- [asians\_1] trustworthy.
- [asians\_2] hardworking
- [asians\_3] intelligent
- [asians\_4] patriotic
- [asians\_5] peaceful
- [asians\_6] friendly
- [asians\_7] American

**[SURVEY EXPERIENCE]**

[survexp1] Not counting this survey, how many times have you been **asked** to take a survey of any sort in the past month? (Type the number. If none, type 0.)

[COUNT BOX]

[survexp2] Not counting this survey, how many times have you **completed** a survey in the past month? (Type the number. If none, type 0.)

[COUNT BOX]

[dejavu] How many times have you previously completed this survey?

- 0. Zero
- 1. Once
- 2. Twice
- 3. Three times or more

**[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 serious [1]
- Serious some of the time [2]
- Serious about half the time [3]
- Serious most of the time [4]
- Always serious [5]

**[CONCLUSION]**

[DISPLAY:] This is the end of the survey. Thank you for taking time to answer our questions. Your responses are very important to us.

**[END SURVEY]**