 Job #2423

October 17, 2020

Newtown Square, Pennsylvania

**Fall Swing State (Pre-Wave) Survey**

**QUOTAS:** n=7,500

4 States (Wisconsin, Pennsylvania, Michigan, North Carolina)

Wisconsin: n=3,000

-Milwaukee City

-Rest of Milwaukee DMA (excluding city)

-Madison DMA

-Green Bay DMA

-Rest of WI

Pennsylvania: n=1,500

-Philadelphia City

-Rest of Philadelphia DMA (excluding city)

-Pittsburgh DMA

-Rest of Pennsylvania

Michigan: n=1,500

-Detroit City

-Rest of Detroit DMA (excluding city)

-Grand Rapids, Kalamazoo, Battle Creek DMA

-Rest of Michigan

North Carolina: n=1,500

-Charlotte DMA

-Raleigh/Durham DMA

-Rest of North Carolina

- Ages 18+ (18-34, 35-54, 55+)

- Mix of male/female

- Mix of ethnicities

Nested Quotas will be based on Gender (2) x Age (3) x Strata for each state with external quotas for Education, Race, and Income

***\*\*Programmer note: Include time stamps for each section (bold/underlined headers).\*\****

**INTRO – Start timer**

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey.

For this study, we recommend having your device in the “horizontal” orientation for optimal formatting.

ASK ALL

S1. What state do you currently live in? (PLEASE SELECT STATE FROM LIST BELOW)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

***\*\*Programmer note: If Wisconsin, Pennsylvani, proceed. All other states terminate (STATE).\*\****

***\*\*Programmer note: Show S2 all on one screen.\*\****

ASK ALL

S2. Title of the Study: Study of [INSERT STATE] Residents

Principal Investigator: Michael Wagner (michael.wagner@wisc.edu)

DESCRIPTION OF THE RESEARCH

You are invited to participate in a study about state and national politics. You have been asked to participate because the purpose of the research is to learn how the public thinks about politics. The data collected in this study will be reported in academic publications in the future.

WHAT WILL MY PARTICIPATION INVOLVE?

If you decide to participate in this study, you will be asked to fill out an online survey. You will also be asked to answer questions about politics, the news media and some of your personal information to help us know how different groups of people think differently. The survey will take approximately 25 minutes.

ARE THERE ANY RISKS TO ME?

You will be asked to answer questions about political issues and behaviors. If you agree to participate, there is the risk that you could become uncomfortable with some of the questions.

ARE THERE ANY BENEFITS TO ME? We don't expect any direct benefits to you from participation in this study.

WILL I BE COMPENSATED FOR MY PARTICIPATION? You will receive compensation for participating in this study based on your agreement with the American Institute of Consumer Studies, the survey firm distributing our survey. There is no penalty for withdrawing in this study – you are free to withdraw at any time if you are not comfortable.

HOW WILL MY CONFIDENTIALITY BE PROTECTED?

The study team will not be informed of your IP address. All data will be stored in a password-protected online folder that only the study team has access.

WHOM SHOULD I CONTACT IF I HAVE QUESTIONS?

You may ask any questions about the research at any time. If you have questions about the research after completing the survey, you should contact the Principal Investigator Michael Wagner at michael.wagner@wisc.edu.

If you are not satisfied with the response of the research team, have more questions, or want to talk with someone about your rights as a research participant, you should contact the Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB Office at 608-263-2320.

By checking on the “I agree” box below, it indicates that you have read this consent form, had an opportunity to ask any questions about your participation in this research and voluntarily consent to participate. Please print a copy of this form if you would like one for your records.

1 I agree (PROCEED)

2 I disagree (TERMINATE – DISAGREE TERMS)

**SCREENERS AND ZIP**

***\*\*Programmer note: See end of questionnaire for county lists.\*\****

ASK ALL

S3. In what (INSERT STATE FROM S1) county do you live? (PLEASE SELECT COUNTY FROM LIST BELOW)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

***\*\*Programmer note: If state is Wisconsin and county is Milwaukee, ask S3a with Milwaukee wording. If state is Michigan and county is Wayne, ask S3a with Detroit wording.\*\****

ASK OF THOSE IN MILWAUKEE COUNTY (WI) OR WAYNE COUNTY (MI)

S3a. Do you currently live within the (Milwaukee/Detroit) city limits? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Yes

2 No

***\*\*Programmer note: If S3a=1 assign to city quota group. If S3a=2, assign to rest of DMA quota group.\*\****

ASK ALL

S4. What is your zip code? (PLEASE TYPE IN YOUR 5-DIGIT ZIP CODE IN THE SPACE BELOW)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

ASK ALL

S4a. What zip code did you grow up in (In what zip code did you spend the most time between birth and age 18?) (PLEASE TYPE IN YOUR 5-DIGIT ZIP CODE IN THE SPACE BELOW)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

99998 Don’t know

**INITIAL DEMOGRAPHICS**

ASK ALL

S5. What is your age? (PLEASE TYPE-IN NUMBER BELOW)

\_\_\_\_\_

99 Prefer not to say (TERMINATE – AGE REFUSE)

***\*\*Programmer note: If under 18, TERMINATE (AGE).\*\****

ASK ALL

S6. What is your gender? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1    Male

2    Female

3    Something else

***\*\*Programmer note: Check state/region/gender/age quotas and terminate if quota group is full.\*\****

ASK ALL

S7. What is the highest level of education you have completed? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1    High school or less

2    Some college

3    Associate’s degree

4    Bachelor’s degree

5    Master's degree, Doctoral degree, or Professional degree

ASK ALL

S8. What is your race? (PLEASE SELECT ALL THAT APPLY)

1    Black or African American (non-Hispanic)

2    Hispanic

3    White (non-Hispanic)

4    Asian, South Asian or Pacific Islander

5    Native American or American Indian

7    Other

ASK ALL

S9. What is your household income? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1    Less than $25,000

2    $25,000 to $49,999

3    $50,000 to $74,999

4    $75,000 to $99,999

5    $100,000 to $149,999

6  $150,000 to $199,999

7  Over $200,000

***\*\*Programmer note: Check education, race, and income quotas and terminate if quota is full.\*\****

***\*\*Programmer note: In S10, rotate order of codes 1-5, 5-1.\*\****

ASK ALL

S10. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a(n)...? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Strong Republican

2 Republican

3 Independent

4 Democrat

5 Strong Democrat

7 Other

***\*\*Programmer note: If S10=3 or 7, ask S11.\*\****

***\*\*Programmer note: In S11, rotate Republican and Democrat in question text and answers.\*\****

ASK INDEPENDENTS AND “OTHER”

S11. Do you lean more toward the Republican Party, the Democratic Party, or neither? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Republican Party

2 Democratic Party

3 Neither

***\*\*Programmer note: Rotate codes 1-5, 5-1.\*\****

ASK ALL

S12. In general, would you describe your political views as...? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1    Very conservative

2    Conservative

3    Moderate

4    Liberal

5    Very liberal

8     Don't know

ASK ALL

S15. Are you currently…? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1  Married

2  Living with a partner but not married

3  Widowed

4  Divorced

5  Separated

6  Never been married

***\*\*Programmer Note: Code 5 “I don’t have children” cannot be selected along with other responses.\*\****

ASK ALL

S16. If you have children, where do they go to school? (PLEASE SELECT ALL THAT APPLY)

1 Public School

2 Private School

3 Home School

4 University or Technical/Community College

5 They are out of school

6 I don’t have children

ASK ALL

S17. Would you describe the place where you live as urban, suburban or rural? Urban is a big city like (INSERT CITIES). Suburban is a built up place close to a big city and rural is less built up with fewer people and further away from a big city. (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1    Urban

2    Suburban

3    Rural

8    Don’t know

Cities:

Wisconsin – Milwaukee, Madison, or Green Bay

Pennsylvania – Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, or Allentown

Michigan – Detroit, Grand Rapids, or Warren

North Carolina – Charlotte, Raleigh, or Greensboro

ASK ALL

QC1. To ensure the program is working properly, please select the number “3” below. (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 1

2 2

3 3

4 4

5 5

**GROUP CLOSENESS/IN-COMMON**

***\*\*Programmer note: Present in grid format. Insert the following names depending on state:***

**Wisconsin Pennsylvania Michigan North Carolina**

Q1a Madison Philadelphia Detroit Charlotte

Q1b Milwaukee Pittsburgh Grand Rapids Raleigh

Q1c Wisconsin Pennsylvania Michigan North Carolina

Q1d Wisconsinites Pennsylvanians Michiganders North Carolinians

Q1m Robin Vos Tom Wolf Gretchen Whitmer Roy Cooper

Q1n Tony Evers Scott Wagner Bill Schuette Jeff Johnson

Q1o Wisconsin Pennsylvania Michigan North Carolina

Q1p Wisconsin Pennsylvania Michigan North Carolina

***\*\*Programmer note: Randomize a-p, but keep m/n (rotate m/n within) and o/p (rotate o/p within) together. Present in grid format \*\****

ASK ALL

Q1. How much do you trust members of each of the following groups? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Distrust completely

2 Distrust somewhat

3 Neither trust nor distrust

4 Trust somewhat

5 Trust completely

a. People living in (INSERT CITY)

b. People living in (INSERT CITY)

c. Suburban (INSERT STATE) residents

d. Rural (INSERT NAME)

e. People of another religion

f. People of another race or ethnicity

g. People in your neighborhood

h. Legal immigrants

i. Labor Union members

j. Small Business owners

k. Deer hunters

l. Evangelical Christians

m. Supporters of (INSERT NAME) ***(Programmer: rotate with n)***

n. Supporters of (INSERT NAME) ***(Programmer: rotate with m)***

o. (INSERT STATE) Democrats ***(Programmer: rotate with p)***

p. (INSERT STATE) Republicans ***(Programmer: rotate with o)***

**INSTITUTIONAL TRUST**

***\*\*Programmer note: Randomize within sections A and B but keep the items in A together and the items in B together. Also rotate A and B as blocks – show in grid format. Insert state name for item I and T.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q2. How much do you trust each of the following organizations or institutions? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Distrust completely

2 Distrust somewhat

3 Neither trust nor distrust

4 Trust somewhat

5 Trust completely

**Section A**

a. Political Talk Radio

b. The Police

c. Colleges and Universities

d. The Military

e. The Department of Natural Resources (DNR)

f. Labor Unions

g. Large Corporations

h. Your City Government

i. The (INSERT STATE) Legislature

j. The Office of the Governor

k. The State Supreme Court

l. The US Supreme Court

m. The US Congress

n. The Trump Administration

**Section B**

o. The New York Times

p. The Wall Street Journal

q. Fox News

r. CNN

s. MSNBC

t. (INSERT STATE) Journalists

u. Your Local TV News Station

**POLITICAL PARTICIPATION**

***\*\*Programmer note: Show in grid format, randomize a-r.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q3. For each activity listed below, please indicate how frequently during the past 12 months you have engaged in this activity. (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Never

2 Rarely

3 Occasionally

4 Fairly often

5 Very often

a. Participated in a political protest activity

b. Attended a political meeting, rally, or speech

c. Signed a petition

d. Wore a badge or a t-shirt with a political message

e. Donated money to a political campaign

f. Tried to persuade someone to change their position on a candidate or issue

g. Contacted an elected official for any reason

h. Volunteered for a candidate or campaign

i. Displayed a sticker or sign supporting a candidate

j. Volunteered for a community organization

k. Helped raise money for a cause or an organization

l. Donated money to a cause, political group or organization

m. Served in a leadership role in a community organization

n. Provided support to someone in need

(LETTER o OMITTED)

p. Attended religious services

q. Boycotted certain products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons

r. Deliberately bought certain products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons

**ONLINE PARTICIPATION**

***\*\*Programmer note: Show in grid format, randomize a-m.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q4. For each activity listed below, please indicate how frequently during the past 12 months you have engaged in this activity online, including on social media like Facebook and Twitter. (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Never

2 Rarely

3 Occasionally

4 Fairly often

5 Very often

a. Joined an online group for a candidate

b. Followed a candidate, campaign or party on social media

c. Followed a civic organization on social media

d. Followed a social movement, such as #teaparty or #blacklivesmatter, on social media

e. Commented on an online news story or political blog post

f. Sent text messages to others about a political or social issue

g. Posted or shared content about politics or a social issue on social media

h. Shared funny videos or cartoons related to a political candidate, campaign or issue

i. ‘Liked’ material related to political issues that others have posted on social media

j. Used social media settings to make changes to what appears in my news feed

k. Tried to avoid seeing political content on social media

l. Decided not to share a post on social media because it could offend other people

m. Unfriended, blocked, or hid people who post too often about politics on social media

ASK ALL

Q5. Thinking about everything YOUR FRIENDS have posted in the past week on Facebook, such as status updates, comments, or links to news stories, about how much of what your friends have posted is related to politics? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 None at all

2 A little

3 Some

4 Most

5 Almost all

9 I don’t use Facebook

**POLITICAL NETWORKS**

***\*\*Programmer note: Insert text boxes for person’s name/initials. Insert drop down lists for each person per below. Note that 6d will be asked after 6a-c, e.\*\****

***\*\*Programmer note: Insert drop down lists below for each person 1-3.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q6. Looking back over the last 6 months, who are the people with whom you discussed government, elections, politics or political issues?

Please type their first names or initials in the boxes on the left. You may enter up to three people, but please at least one person.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | ***\*\*Programmer note: Insert drop down lists below for each person 1-3.\*\**** | | | | | |
| 6a. | 6b. How frequently do you talk?  1 Never  2 Rarely  3 Occasionally  4 Fairly often  5 Very often | 6c. Relationship to you?  1 Family  2 Friend  3 Co-Worker  7 Other | 6d.  Perceived political ideology of person…  1 Strong Democrat  2 Democrat  3 Independent who leans Democrat  4 Independent  5 Independent who leans Republican  6 Republican  7 Strong Republican  9 Don’t know | 6e.  How far away do you live from this person?  1 More than 30 miles  2 Within 30 miles, different town or city  3 Same town/ city | 6f.  Is the person the same race as you?  1 Yes  2 No |
| **Person #1 \_\_\_\_** |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Person #2 \_\_\_\_** |  |  |  |  |  |
| **Person #3 \_\_\_\_** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 🞏 Don’t discuss government, elections, politics, or political issues with anyone | | | |  |  |

(old Q6d OMITTED – actually renamed as Q6e)

**POLITICAL CONVERSATIONS**

ASK ALL

Q8. How often do you discuss politics and current events with **family members and friends**? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1    More than once a week

2    About once a week

3    Once or twice a month

4    A few times a year

5    Never

ASK ALL

Q9. How often do you discuss politics and current events with **co-workers**? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1    More than once a week

2    About once a week

3    Once or twice a month

4    A few times a year

5    Never

9 Don’t work

ASK ALL

Q10. How many days per week do you discuss politics and current events with Republicans? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

0 0 days

1 1 day

2 2 days

3 3 days

4 4 days

5 5 days

6 6 days

7 7 days

 ASK ALL

Q11. How many days per week do you discuss politics and current events with Democrats? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

0 0 days

1 1 day

2 2 days

3 3 days

4 4 days

5 5 days

6 6 days

7 7 days

ASK ALL

Q12. During the past week, how often did you agree with the political content or opinion your friends posted on social media? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Never

2 Rarely

3 Occasionally

4 Fairly often

5 Very often

9 Don’t use social media

ASK ALL

Q16.  Have you ever stopped talking about politics with someone because you disagreed? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Yes

2 No

ASK ALL

Q17. Have you ever ended a friendship or stopped spending time with a family member because you disagreed about politics? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Yes

2 No

ASK ALL

Q17a. In the last two months, have you tried to **restart** talking with someone you had stopped talking to because you *disagreed* about politics? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Yes

2 No

Q17b. In the last two months, has a conversation resulted in you changing your mind about a political issue? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1. Yes
2. No

Q17c. In the last two months, have you deleted a social media post after learning the content was not true? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1. Yes
2. No

**VOTE INTENTION**

ASK ALL

Q18. What are the chances that you will vote in the November 2020 elections -- are you absolutely certain to vote, very likely to vote, are the chances 50-50, don't you think you will vote, or did you vote already by voting early or absentee ballot? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Absolutely certain

2 Very Likely

3 50-50

4 Will not vote (SKIP TO Q21a)

5 Already voted (early or absentee ballot)

***\*\*Programmer note: If Q18=5 (already voted) ask Q18a.\*\****

ASK THOSE WHO HAVE VOTED

Q18a. How did you vote? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1. Mail
2. In-person
3. Drop-off at a designated ballot box

***\*\*Programmer note:*** ***If Q18=1, 2, or 3 (plan to vote), ask Q18b.\*\****

ASK THOSE PLANNING TO VOTE

Q18b. How do you plan to vote? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1. Mail
2. In-person
3. Drop-off at a designated ballot box

***\*\*Programmer note: Rotate order of Q19/Q19a/Q20. Insert state and candidates below in Q20. Ask of those who may vote or already voted (Q18=1-3 or 5)\*\****

***\*\*Programmer note: Randomize candidate names (codes 01 and 02) Q19.\*\****

***\*\*Programmer note: If Q18=5 (already voted), use “did you” wording. All others use “do you plan to” wording.\*\****

ASK THOSE WHO MAY VOTE/ALREADY VOTED

Q19. In the 2020 US presidential race, who [do you plan to/did you] vote for? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

01    Joe Biden

02    Donald Trump

97    Someone else (Please Specify)\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

98    Don't know

***\*\*Programmer note: Ask 19a if state is North Carolina.***

***\*\*Programmer note: Randomize candidate names (codes 01 and 02) Q19a.\*\****

***\*\*Programmer note: If Q18=5 (already voted), use “did you” wording. All others use “do you plan to” wording.\*\****

ASK THOSE WHO MAY VOTE/ALREADY VOTED IN NORTH CAROLINA

Q19a. In the governor’s race in North Carolina, who [do you plan to/did you] vote for? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

01    Roy Cooper

02    Dan Forest

97    Someone else (Please Specify)\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

98    Don't know

***\*\*Programmer note: Show candidate names (codes 01 and 02) in the same order as Q19. Ask only of MI and NC respondents.\*\****

***\*\*Programmer note: If Q18=5 (already voted), use “did you” wording. All others use “do you plan to” wording.\****

ASK THOSE WHO MAY VOTE/ALREADY VOTED

Q20. In the U.S. Senate race in (INSERT STATE), who [do you plan to/did you] vote for? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

01    (INSERT CANDIDATE 1)

02    (INSERT CANDIDATE 2)

97     Someone else (Please Specify)\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

98     Don't know

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Wisconsin | Pennsylvania | Michigan | North Carolina |
| CAN 1 | SKIP THIS Q | SKIP THIS Q | Gary Peters | Cal Cunningham |
| CAN 2 | SKIP THIS Q | SKIP THIS Q | John James | Thom Tillis |

(NEWS CONSUMPTION SECTION OMITTED)

**NEWS AVOIDANCE/NEWS FATIGUE AND OTHER SCALES MERGED TOGETHER**

***\*\*Programmer note: Do NOT scramble Q25. Show in grid format.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q25. For the next set of statements, please select the number indicating how much you agree or disagree with each statement. (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER STATEMENT)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Strongly disagree |  |  |  | Strongly agree |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

a. News is not made for someone like me.

b. The news media focus too much on negative stories.

c. I am worn out by the amount of news there is these days.

d. I can’t get enough news these days.

e. I rely on my friends to tell me what’s important when news happens

f. I can be well informed even when I don’t actively follow the news

g. I don’t worry about keeping up with the news because I know news will find me

h. I rely on information from my friends based on what they share on social media

i. I do not have to seek news because when it breaks, it will get to me over social media

j. I’m informed about public affairs, even when I do not actively seek news myself

k. I prefer learning about important issues from family and friends as compared to learning about them from the news

***\*\*Programmer note: Show in grid format. Do not scramble Q26, but rotate statements O and P. Insert state name in Q26a.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q26. For the next set of statements, please select the number indicating how much you agree or disagree with each statement. (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER STATEMENT)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Strongly disagree |  |  |  | Strongly agree |
| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 |

a. The news media in (INSERT STATE) cover politics fairly.

b. The national news media cover politics fairly.

c. I consider myself well-qualified to participate in politics.

d. I think that I am at least as well-informed about politics and government as most people.

e. We can work together to promote important political goals even if we face difficulties.

f. We are able to struggle together in order to achieve political goals.

g. Organized groups of citizens can have a lot of impact on the policies of this country.

h. Dramatic change can occur in this country if people banded together and demanded change.

j. Most politicians do not care about the people.

k. Most politicians only care about the interests of the rich and powerful.

(LETTER L OMITTED)

m. There should be more emphasis on traditional family values.

n. The world is always changing and we should adjust our view of moral behavior to that change.

o. Politicians should follow only the will of the people.

p. The people, and not politicians, should make our most important policy decisions.

q. The political differences between the elite and the people are much larger than the differences among the people themselves.

r. I would rather be represented by a citizen than by a professional politician.

s. What people call “compromise” in politics is really just selling out on one’s principles.

t. Established politicians who claim to defend our interests, only take care of themselves.

u. The established elite and politicians have often betrayed the people.

v. Much of our lives are being controlled by plots hatched in secret places.

w. The people who really 'run' the country, are not known to the voters.

**MEDIA USE**

**Transition screen:** Next, we’d like to ask you some questions about the news.

***\*\*Programmer note: Show in grid format. Scramble A-KK, but keep D-F, L-O, P-S, T-U, V-AA, BB-FF, GG-KK together but randomize within.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q27. Thinking of your recent media use, how often in the last week have you used the following types of media content? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Never

2 Rarely

3 Occasionally

4 Fairly often

5 Very often

a. National nightly news on CBS, ABC, or NBC

b. The Today Show, Good Morning America or CBS This Morning

c. Local television evening or nightly news

d. CNN cable news programs (e.g., Anderson Cooper, Wolf Blitzer)

e. FOX cable news programs (e.g., Sean Hannity, Laura Ingraham)

f. MSNBC cable news programs (e.g., Rachel Maddow, Chris Hayes)

g. News programming on NPR -- live radio, podcasts, streaming (e.g., All Things Considered)

h. National conservative talk radio -- live radio, podcasts, streaming (e.g., Rush Limbaugh, Ben Shapiro)

i. Local talk radio -- local radio hosts’ talk shows about politics in your state

j. The New York Times -- print or digital versions

k. The Washington Post -- print or digital versions

l. The Wall Street Journal -- print or digital versions

m. USA Today -- print or digital versions

n. The largest newspapers in your state -- print or digital versions

o. Local newspapers in your city or county -- print or digital versions

p. The Hill

q. HuffPost

r. Politico

s. Vox

t. Slate

u. Buzzfeed News

v. Breitbart

w. One America News Network (OAN)

x. Daily Caller

y. International news websites (e.g., BBC, Guardian)

z. Internet news aggregators (e.g., Yahoo News, Google News, Apple News)

aa. Fact-checking websites (e.g. PolitiFact, Factcheck.org, Snopes.com, Check Your Fact)

bb. Facebook

cc. Twitter

dd. YouTube

ee. Instagram

ff. Reddit

gg. Entertainment news programs (e.g., Entertainment Tonight, E! News)

hh. News satire (e.g., The Daily Show, Last Week Tonight with John Oliver)

ii. Daytime talk shows (e.g., Ellen, The View)

jj. Late night talk shows -- live broadcasts or clips (e.g., Jimmy Fallon, Jimmy Kimmel, Stephen Colbert)

kk. Joe Rogan’s Podcast

ASK ALL

Q28. Please describe your use of Facebook. (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 I don’t have a Facebook account (SKIP TO Q29a)

2 I have an account but don’t/rarely use it

3 I use Facebook about once a month

4 I use Facebook about once a week

5 I use Facebook several times a week

6 I use Facebook about once per day

7 I use Facebook multiple times a day

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show in grid format.\*\****

ASK FACEBOOK USERS

Q29. Thinking about your Facebook use, how often would you say you see the following kinds of posts on Facebook? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Never

2 Rarely

3 Occasionally

4 Fairly often

5 Very often

1. Friends’ posts about politics and social issues
2. News organizations’ posts about politics and social issues
3. Posts from political campaigns
4. Advertisements from political campaigns or political groups
5. Information you suspect to be untrue (from any source)
6. Friends’ posts about their family or their lives

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show in grid format.\*\****

ASK ALL

29a. Thinking about your use of email, how often would you say you receive the following types of messages: (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Never

2 Rarely

3 Occasionally

4 Fairly often

5 Very often

~~9 Do not use/have email~~

1. Messages from friends about politics and social issues
2. Messages from news organizations about politics and social issues
3. Messages from political campaigns
4. Advertisements from political campaigns or political groups
5. Information you suspect to be untrue (from any source)
6. Friends’ posts about their family or their lives

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show in grid format.\*\****

ASK ALL

29b. Thinking about your YouTube use, how often would you say you view the following kinds of videos? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Never

2 Rarely

3 Occasionally

4 Fairly often

5 Very often

9 Do not use YouTube

1. Videos from talk shows featuring politicians, political commentators or political issues
2. Videos from news interview programs about politics and social issues
3. Videos from political campaigns
4. Advertisements from political campaigns or political groups
5. Information you suspect to be untrue (from any source)

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show in grid format. If Q28=1 (No account), skip to Q.31.\*\****

ASK FACEBOOK USERS

Q30. Thinking again about your Facebook use, how often would you say you post the following types of posts on Facebook? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Never

2 Rarely

3 Occasionally

4 Fairly often

5 Very often

1. Share your own opinion about political or social issues
2. Share news articles about politics or social issues
3. Share friends’ posts about politics or social issues
4. Encourage others to register to vote or vote
5. Encourage others to support a political candidate or party
6. Share updates about yourself or your family

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show in grid format. If Q28=1 (No account), skip to Q.31.\*\****

ASK FACEBOOK USERS

Q30a. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Strongly Disagree

2 Disagree

3 Neither Agree nor Disagree

4 Agree

5 Strongly Agree

a. Facebook censors important news stories from my newsfeed

b. Facebook filters the news stories I see in my newsfeed

c. Facebook just shows me news stories in my newsfeed that my friends share

ASK ALL

Q30e. In general, the news that gets shared on my Facebook feed is… (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 mostly favoring liberals

2 somewhat favoring liberals

3 equally favoring liberals and conservatives

4 somewhat favoring conservatives

5 mostly favoring conservatives

8 I don’t use Facebook

9 Don’t know

ASK ALL

Q30f. In general, the news that gets shared on my Twitter feed is… (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 mostly favoring liberals

2 somewhat favoring liberals

3 equally favoring liberals and conservatives

4 somewhat favoring conservatives

5 mostly favoring conservatives

8 I don’t use Twitter

9 Don’t know

**ISSUE POSITIONS**

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show as grid.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q31. Which comes closest to your view? Using the 1 to 5 scale below, please indicate where your opinion falls on the spectrum for each issue. (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| a. | Oppose a restrictive immigration policy | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Favor a restrictive immigration policy |
| b. | Favor raising taxes on the top 5% | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Oppose raising taxes on the top 5% |
| c. | Oppose “Obamacare” | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Favor “Obamacare” |
| d. | Pro-life on abortion | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Pro-choice on abortion |
| g. | Oppose environmental regulations | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Favor environmental regulations |
| h. | Support the Green New Deal | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Oppose the Green New Deal |
| i. | Favor strengthening background checks on gun sales | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Oppose strengthening background checks on gun sales |
| j. | Support Black Lives Matter Movement | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Oppose Black Lives Matter Movement |
| k. | Support a government requirement to wear a mask in public indoor spaces | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Oppose a government requirement to wear a mask in public indoor spaces |
| l. | Believe left-wing politicians and entertainers are grooming children to be at risk of child sexual abuse | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Do not believe left-wing politicians and entertainers are grooming children to be at risk of child sexual abuse |

ASK ALL

Q32. In general, do you think it is best for lawmakers to stick to their principles no matter what or make compromises to get something done? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Stick to principles no matter what

2 Compromise to get something done

***\*\*Programmer note: Ask Q36 for Wisconsin only. All other states skip to Q37.\*\****

ASK WISCONSIN ONLY

Q36. As you may know, Foxconn Corporation continues to promise it will build a large video display factory in Racine County employing up to 13,000 workers. The state previously pledged to provide up to $3 billion dollars of taxpayer money to Foxconn as an incentive to locate the plant in Wisconsin. Do you think the Foxconn plant will ultimately provide this much or more benefit to the state or is the state paying more than the plant is worth? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Will provide this much or more benefit

2 State is paying more than the plant is worth

8 Don’t know

(Q37 OMITTED)

ASK ALL

Q41. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Strongly Approve

2 Approve

3 Neither Approve nor Disapprove

4 Disapprove

5 Strongly Disapprove

8 Don’t know

***\*\*Programmer note: For Q42, insert governor and state name per below:***

Wisconsin Tony Evers

Pennsylvania Tom Wolf

Michigan Gretchen Whitmer

North Carolina Roy Cooper

ASK ALL

Q42. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way [INSERT GOVERNOR] is handling his job as Governor of [INSERT STATE]? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Strongly Approve

2 Approve

3 Neither Approve nor Disapprove

4 Disapprove

5 Strongly Disapprove

8 Don’t know

**Transition Screen:** You will now be shown a list of people. Please indicate if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of them or if you haven't heard enough about them yet to have an opinion.

***\*\*Programmer note: Randomize names.\*\****

***\*\*Programmer note: Show Q43-Q53 in grid format. For Q43-Q48 insert names below depending on state.\*\****

The names are... (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER FOR EACH ROW)

1 Very Favorable

2 Somewhat Favorable

3 Neither Favorable or Unfavorable

4 Somewhat Unfavorable

5 Very Unfavorable

8 Haven’t heard enough

WI PA MI NC

Q43 Tammy Baldwin Bob Casey Jr. Debbie Stabenow Thom Tillis

Q44 Tony Evers Tom Wolf Gretchen Whitmer Roy Cooper

Q45 Ron Johnson Pat Toomey Gary Peters Richard Burr

Q46 Robin Vos OMIT OMIT Cal Cunningham

Q43. [INSERT NAME]

Q44. [INSERT NAME]

Q45. [INSERT NAME]

Q46. [INSERT NAME]

Q47. Supreme Court Nominee Amy Coney Barrett

Q48. Mike Pence

Q49. Barack Obama

Q50. Kamala Harris

Q51. Donald Trump

Q52. Stephen Colbert

Q53. Rush Limbaugh

**2020 NEW BATTERIES**

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show in grid format. \*\****

ASK ALL

AA. Next, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Strongly Disagree

2 Disagree

3 Neither Agree nor Disagree

4 Agree

5 Strongly Agree

AA1. The traditional American way of life is disappearing so fast that we may have to use force to save it

AA2. A time will come when patriotic Americans have to take the law into their own hands

AA3. Strong leaders sometimes have to bend the rules in order to get things done

(OLD SET OF QUESTIONS THAT WERE HERE OMITTED)

**HEALTH**

ASK ALL

HLH1. Would you say your health in general is excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

5 Excellent

4 Very good

3 Good

2 Fair

1 Poor

ASK ALL

HLH2. Which of the following best describes your primary health insurance? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 I have health insurance that is provided through my or a family member's employer, union, school, trade group or professional association

2 I have health insurance provided through Medicare

3 I have health insurance that I or a family member purchased directly from the health insurance company or HMO, not through an employer, union, school, trade group or professional association

4 I have health insurance through the military or through VA Benefits

5 I have health insurance that is provided through a government health program, such as Medicaid

9 Not applicable- I do not have health insurance

**NEED FOR CHAOS**

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show in grid format.\*\****

ASK ALL

NCH. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Strongly Disagree

2 Disagree

3 Neither Agree nor Disagree

4 Agree

5 Strongly Agree

NCH1. I get a kick when natural disasters strike in foreign countries

NCH3. I fantasize about a natural disaster wiping out most of humanity such that a small group of people can start all over

NCH4. I think society should be burned to the ground

NCH5. When I think about our political and social institutions, I cannot help thinking "just let them all burn

NCH7. We need to tear down the current political institutions and start all over.

NCH9. I need chaos around me - it is too boring if nothing is going on.

NCH10. Sometimes I just feel like destroying beautiful things

**ELITISM**

E. What comes to mind when you hear the term “political elites?” Anything else come to mind? (PLEASE BE SPECIFIC AND DETAILED IN YOUR ANSWER.)

**HOSTILE SEXISM**

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show in grid format.\*\****

ASK ALL

HS. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statements? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Strongly Disagree

2 Disagree

3 Neither Agree nor Disagree

4 Agree

5 Strongly Agree

HS1.Most women fail to appreciate all that men do for them.

HS2. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.

HS3. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.

**EXPERIMENTS**

***\*\*Programmer note: Randomly assign respondent to EDP1-8. Pulse in appropriate question wording below.\*\****

ASK PART OF SAMPLE BASED ON RANDOM ASSIGNMENT

EDP. (PRESENT WORDING BELOW) (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Strongly Oppose

2 Oppose

3 Neither Support or Oppose

4 Support

5 Strongly Support

EDP1. Many people have expressed opinions on the Black Lives Matter protests. How much do you support the goals of the protests to defund the police?

EDP2. Many people have expressed opinions on the Black Lives Matter protests. How much do you support the goals of the protests to reform the police?

EDP3. Many people have expressed opinions on the Black Lives Matter protests. How much do you support the goals of the protests to abolish the police?

EDP4. Many people have expressed opinions on the Black Lives Matter protests. How much do you support the goals of the protests to defund reduce police budgets?

EDP5. Many people have expressed opinions on the Black Lives Matter movement. How much do you support the goals of the movement to defund the police?

EDP6. Many people have expressed opinions on the Black Lives Matter movement. How much do you support the goals of the movement to reform the police?

EDP7. Many people have expressed opinions on the Black Lives Matter movement How much do you support the goals of the movement to abolish the police?

EDP8. Many people have expressed opinions on the Black Lives Matter movement. How much do you support the goals of the movement to defund reduce police budgets?

***\*\*Programmer note: Randomly assign respondent to EMK1-12. In this experiment we want the first condition to be whether you get no source (“How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?”), Joe Biden, Donald Trump, or Dr. Anthony Fauci of the National Institute of Health. The second condition is whether one wears a mask to protect others, from becoming infected themselves, or stopping community spread. Pulse in appropriate question wording below.\*\****

ASK PART OF SAMPLE BASED ON RANDOM ASSIGNMENT

EMK. (PRESENT WORDING BELOW) (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Strongly Disagree

2 Disagree

3 Neither Agree nor Disagree

4 Agree

5 Strongly Agree

EMK1. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is important to wear a mask to protect others from becoming infected with the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK2. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement from Joe Biden: It is important to wear a mask to protect others from becoming infected with the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK3. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement from Donald Trump: It is important to wear a mask to protect others from becoming infected with the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK4. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement from Dr. Anthony Fauci of the National Institute for Health: It is important to wear a mask to protect others from becoming infected with the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK5. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is important to wear a mask to protect yourself from becoming infected with the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK6. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement from Joe Biden: It is important to wear a mask to protect yourself from becoming infected with the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK7. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement from Donald Trump: It is important to wear a mask to protect yourself from becoming infected with the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK8. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement from Dr. Anthony Fauci of the National Institute for Health: It is important to wear a mask to protect yourself from becoming infected with the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK9. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: It is important to wear a mask to stop community spread of the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK10. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement from Joe Biden:

It is important to wear a mask to stop community spread of the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK11. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement from Donald Trump:

It is important to wear a mask to stop community spread of the coronavirus (Covid-19).

EMK12. How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement from Dr. Anthony Fauci of the National Institute for Health: It is important to wear a mask to stop community spread of the coronavirus (Covid-19).

***\*\*Programmer note: Randomly assign respondent to GND1-8. Pulse in appropriate question wording below.\*\****

ASK PART OF SAMPLE BASED ON RANDOM ASSIGNMENT

GND. (PRESENT WORDING BELOW) (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Strongly Disagree

2 Disagree

3 Neither Agree nor Disagree

4 Agree

5 Strongly Agree

GND1. How much do you agree or disagree that the Green New Deal could help address flooding in [STATE]?

GND2. How much do you agree or disagree that the Green New Deal could help address climate fires around the world?

GND3. How much do you agree or disagree that the Green New Deal could help create jobs in [STATE]?

GND4. How much do you agree or disagree that the Green New Deal will cost so much that taxes would have to be raised?

GND5. How much do you agree or disagree that more aggressive environmental actions could help address flooding in [STATE]?

GND6. How much do you agree or disagree that more aggressive environmental actions could help address climate fires around the world?

GND7. How much do you agree or disagree more aggressive environmental actions could help create jobs in [STATE]?

GND8. How much do you agree or disagree that more aggressive environmental actions will cost so much that taxes would have to be raised?

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list. Show in grid format.\*\****

ASK ALL

VM. Next, how confident are you in the following items related to voting in the general election this year? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Not at all confident

2 Not very confident

3 Somewhat confident

4 Completely confident

VM1. My vote will be counted

VM2. All in-person votes will be counted

VM3. All mail-in votes will be counted

VM4. All in-person absentee votes will be counted

VM5. All ballots dropped off at an official ballot box will be counted

**PERCEPTION OF CHANGES IN COMMUNITY**

***\*\*Programmer note: Show in grid format. Randomize A-D.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q54. For the following question, use the 1 to 5 scale below to indicate where your opinion falls on the spectrum for each topic.

Thinking about your community, would you say that over the past ten years it has… (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| a. | Gained employment | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Lost employment |
| b. | Gained more population in general | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Lost more population in general |
| c. | Gained more older (+65) population | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Lost more older (+65) population |
| d. | Gained more health care services and resources | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | Lost more health care services and resources |

**MATERIALISM/POST-MATERIALISM**

***\*\*Programmer note for Q55 and Q55a: Force two answers, please offer a ranked choice. (i.e., log their answers so that the first thing they choose is their first ranked). Randomize codes 1-4.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q55. For a nation, it is not always possible to obtain everything one might wish. If you had to choose among the following things, which are the two that seem most desirable to you? (PLEASE SELECT TWO ANSWERS BELOW)

1 Maintaining order in the nation

2 Giving the people more say in important political decisions

3 Fighting rising prices

4 Protecting freedom of speech

Q55a. For a nation, it is not always possible to obtain everything one might wish. If you had to choose among the following things, which are the two that seem most desirable to you? (PLEASE SELECT TWO ANSWERS BELOW)

1 A high level of economic growth

2 Making sure this country has strong defense forces

3 Seeing that people have more say about how things are done at their jobs and in their communities

4 Trying to make our cities and countryside more beautiful

***\*\*Programmer note: Split each state’s sample so one-third get A, one-third get B, and one-third get C.\*\****

ASK ALL, BUT 1/3 GET EACH ITEM (A, B, C)

Q62. Thinking just about the state of [INSERT STATE], do you feel things [INSERT ITEM A-C] are generally getting a lot better, getting a little better, staying the same, getting a little worse or getting a lot worse? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Getting a lot better

2 Getting a little better

3 Staying the same

4 Getting a little worse

5 Getting a lot worse

8 Don’t know

a. in [INSERT STATE]

b. for black people in [INSERT STATE]

c. for rural people in [INSERT STATE]

ASK ALL

KN1. Have more Americans died from the Covid-19 (“coronavirus”) pandemic of 2020 or the H1N1 (“Swine Flu”) pandemic of 2009 (PLEASE SELECT ONE ITEM BELOW)

1 Covid-19

2 H1N1

3 About the same number of Americans died

4 Don’t know

ASK ALL

KN2. Is a pregnant person more likely to die while giving birth or having an abortion? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ITEM BELOW)

1 Giving birth

2 Having an abortion

3 About the same likelihood of dying

4 Don’t know

ASK ALL

KN3. Has the US deficit increased, decreased, or stayed roughly the same President Trump took office? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ITEM BELOW)

1 Increased

2 Decreased

3 Stayed roughly the same

4 Don’t know

KN4. Has the per capita death rate (adjusted for population size) from Covid-19 (“coronavirus”) been worse in the United States or the European Union? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ITEM BELOW)

1 United States

2 European Union

3 Roughly the same number of deaths per capita in the US and the EU

4 Don’t know

KN5. Has the US economy added more jobs than it has lost since President Trump took office? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ITEM BELOW)

1 Added more jobs

2 Lost more jobs

3 Held steady on jobs

4 Don’t know

**TASTE INDICATORS**

***\*\*Programmer note: Scramble list.\*\****

***\*\*Analytic note: All variables represent C – Culture. \*\****

ASK ALL

DDB. Now, please think about how your lifestyle, interests, and attitudes. Of the list below, please check each item that you **really enjoy**. (PLEASE SELECT ALL THAT APPLY)

01 I enjoy traveling to other countries

02 I enjoy imported beer

03 I enjoy talk radio sports shows

04 I enjoy classical music concerts

05 I enjoy going to art galleries

06 I enjoy gourmet coffee

07 I enjoy *This is Us*

08 I enjoy soap operas

09 I enjoy the *National Enquirer*

10 I enjoy NASCAR

11 I enjoy fast food like McDonald’s or Burger King

12 I enjoy fishing

13 I enjoy pickup trucks

14 I enjoy hybrid cars

15 I enjoy fine dining

16 I enjoy religious programming

**RELIGIOUS TRADITIONALISM/MODERNISM**

***\*\*Programmer note: Rotate codes 1-3, 3-1.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q56. Next, which of these statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word.

2 The Bible is the inspired word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word.

3 The Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history, and moral precepts recorded by men.

ASK ALL

Q57. Would you describe yourself as a "born-again" or evangelical Christian, or not? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Yes, would

2    No, would not

8 Don’t know

ASK ALL

Q58. What is your religious preference – are you Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, another religion or no religion? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

01  Protestant

02  Roman Catholic

03  Jewish

04  Muslim/Islam

05  Mormon/Latter-Day Saints

06  Other Christian Religion

07  Other Non-Christian Religion

08  No Religion/Atheist/Agnostic

98  Don’t know

**Occupation (Merge w BLS?)**

ASK ALL

OC1. Which of the following best describes the kind of work you do? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

01 Agriculture, Forestry, Fishing and Hunting

02 Mining, Oil and Gas Extraction, and Utilities

03 Construction

04 Manufacturing

05 Wholesale Trade

06 Sales &/or Retail Trade

07 Transportation and Warehousing

08 Media, Communications, and Digital Entertainment

09 Finance, Accounting, and Consulting

10 Insurance

11 Real Estate, Rental, and Leasing

12 Personal Care and Services

13 Research

14 Engineering, Computer-Related Design, and Architecture

15 Law and Legal Services

16 Education

17 Health Care and Social Assistance

18 Arts, Entertainment, and Recreation

19 Restaurant, Travel and Lodging

20 Non-Profit, Community, Religious and Social Service Organizations

21 Maintenance and Repair Services

22 Cleaning as category (other category precision repair)

22 Government

23 Student

24 Retired

25 Unemployed

97 Other

00 Do not work

**RACIAL RESENTMENT**

ASK ALL

Next, we want to ask you about how much you agree or disagree with some statements about different groups in our society. (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER STATEMENT)

***\*\*Programmer note: Show Q65-Q68 in grid format. Randomize Q65-Q68.\*\****

1 Strongly disagree

2 Somewhat disagree

3 Neither agree nor disagree

4 Somewhat agree

5 Strongly agree

9 Prefer not to answer

Q65. Over the past few years, black people have gotten less than they deserve

Q66. Irish, Italian, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up, black people should do the same without any special favors

Q67. It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if black people would only try harder they could be just as well off as white people

Q68. Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for black people to work their way out of the lower class

ASK ALL

Q70. Whose responsibility is it to determine if a law is constitutional or not ... is it the president, the Congress, or the Supreme Court? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 President

2 Congress

3 Supreme Court

8 Don’t know

ASK ALL

Q71. How much of a majority is required for the U.S. Senate and House to override a presidential veto? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 A simple majority

2 A two-thirds majority

3 A three-fifths majority

8 Don’t know

ASK ALL

Q72. Do you happen to know which party has the most members in the House of Representatives in Washington D.C.? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Republican Party

2 Democratic Party

3 It is a tie between the two parties

8 Don’t know

ASK ALL

Q73. Which one of the two major political parties is more conservative than the other at the national level? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Republican Party

2 Democratic Party

3 They are equally conservative

8 Don’t know

**GENERAL POLITICAL PARTICIPATION AND ATTITUDES**

ASK ALL

Q74. Some people are registered to vote and others are not. Are you registered to vote in the precinct or ward where you now live, or aren't you? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1  Yes, Registered to Vote

2  No, Not Registered to Vote

8 Don't Know

ASK ALL

Q75. How difficult do you find the voting process? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Not at all difficult

2 Not too difficult

3 Somewhat difficult

4 Very difficult

ASK ALL

Q76. Some people seem to follow what's going on in politics 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 politics most of the time, some of the time, only now and then, or hardly at all? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

     1 Most of the time

  2 Some of the time

   3 Only now and then

  4 Hardly at all

  8 Don't know

ASK ALL

Q77. Over the past year, do you feel the state economy has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? (SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Gotten better

2 Gotten worse

3 Stayed the same

8 Don’t know

ASK ALL

Q78. Looking ahead, over the next year do you expect the state economy to get better, get worse, or stay about the same? (SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Get better

2 Get worse

3 Stay the same

8 Don’t know

ASK ALL

Q79. Thinking about your family's financial situation, would you say you are living comfortably, just getting by, or struggling to make ends meet? (SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1 Living comfortably

2 Just getting by

3 Struggling

8 Don’t know

**EMOTION MATRIX**

***\*\*Programmer note: Present in grid format. Randomize items A-D.\*\****

ASK ALL

Q82. Thinking about this November’s elections, would you say you are… (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER PER ITEM)

1 Not at all

2 Not too much

3 Somewhat

4 A great deal

a. Enthusiastic

b. Angry

c. Frustrated

d. Hopeful

ASK ALL

Q83. Are you or any member of your household a member of a local, state or national labor union? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1  Yes, I am

2  Yes, another household member is

3  Yes, both I am and another household member is

4  No, nobody in household

8  Don't know

ASK ALL

Q84. Do you or any member of your household work for federal, state, or local government—for example, as a public school teacher, police officer, firefighter, or other government job? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)

1     Yes

2      No

8     Don't know

ASK ALL

QC2. Finally, what is your ZIP code? (PLEASE TYPE IN YOUR 5-DIGIT ZIP CODE IN THE SPACE BELOW)

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_

(CLOSING SCREEN)

**Thank you very much for your participation.**

***INSERT STATES AND ELIGIBLE COUNTIES HERE***

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **FIPS** | **Wisconsin** |
| 55001 | Adams |
| 55003 | Ashland |
| 55005 | Barron |
| 55007 | Bayfield |
| 55009 | Brown |
| 55011 | Buffalo |
| 55013 | Burnett |
| 55015 | Calumet |
| 55017 | Chippewa |
| 55019 | Clark |
| 55021 | Columbia |
| 55023 | Crawford |
| 55025 | Dane |
| 55027 | Dodge |
| 55029 | Door |
| 55031 | Douglas |
| 55033 | Dunn |
| 55035 | Eau Claire |
| 55037 | Florence |
| 55039 | Fond du Lac |
| 55041 | Forest |
| 55043 | Grant |
| 55045 | Green |
| 55047 | Green Lake |
| 55049 | Iowa |
| 55051 | Iron |
| 55053 | Jackson |
| 55055 | Jefferson |
| 55057 | Juneau |
| 55059 | Kenosha |
| 55061 | Kewaunee |
| 55063 | La Crosse |
| 55065 | Lafayette |
| 55067 | Langlade |
| 55069 | Lincoln |
| 55071 | Manitowoc |
| 55073 | Marathon |
| 55075 | Marinette |
| 55077 | Marquette |
| 55078 | Menominee |
| 55079 | Milwaukee |
| 55081 | Monroe |
| 55083 | Oconto |
| 55085 | Oneida |
| 55087 | Outagamie |
| 55089 | Ozaukee |
| 55091 | Pepin |
| 55093 | Pierce |
| 55095 | Polk |
| 55097 | Portage |
| 55099 | Price |
| 55101 | Racine |
| 55103 | Richland |
| 55105 | Rock |
| 55107 | Rusk |
| 55109 | St. Croix |
| 55111 | Sauk |
| 55113 | Sawyer |
| 55115 | Shawano |
| 55117 | Sheboygan |
| 55119 | Taylor |
| 55121 | Trempealeau |
| 55123 | Vernon |
| 55125 | Vilas |
| 55127 | Walworth |
| 55129 | Washburn |
| 55131 | Washington |
| 55133 | Waukesha |
| 55135 | Waupaca |
| 55137 | Waushara |
| 55139 | Winnebago |
| 55141 | Wood |

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| **FIPS** | **Pennsylvania** |
| 42001 | Adams |
| 42003 | Allegheny |
| 42005 | Armstrong |
| 42007 | Beaver |
| 42009 | Bedford |
| 42011 | Berks |
| 42013 | Blair |
| 42015 | Bradford |
| 42017 | Bucks |
| 42019 | Butler |
| 42021 | Cambria |
| 42023 | Cameron |
| 42025 | Carbon |
| 42027 | Centre |
| 42029 | Chester |
| 42031 | Clarion |
| 42033 | Clearfield |
| 42035 | Clinton |
| 42037 | Columbia |
| 42039 | Crawford |
| 42041 | Cumberland |
| 42043 | Dauphin |
| 42045 | Delaware |
| 42047 | Elk |
| 42049 | Erie |
| 42051 | Fayette |
| 42053 | Forest |
| 42055 | Franklin |
| 42057 | Fulton |
| 42059 | Greene |
| 42061 | Huntingdon |
| 42063 | Indiana |
| 42065 | Jefferson |
| 42067 | Juniata |
| 42069 | Lackawanna |
| 42071 | Lancaster |
| 42073 | Lawrence |
| 42075 | Lebanon |
| 42077 | Lehigh |
| 42079 | Luzerne |
| 42081 | Lycoming |
| 42083 | McKean |
| 42085 | Mercer |
| 42087 | Mifflin |
| 42089 | Monroe |
| 42091 | Montgomery |
| 42093 | Montour |
| 42095 | Northampton |
| 42097 | Northumberland |
| 42099 | Perry |
| 42101 | Philadelphia |
| 42103 | Pike |
| 42105 | Potter |
| 42107 | Schuylkill |
| 42109 | Snyder |
| 42111 | Somerset |
| 42113 | Sullivan |
| 42115 | Susquehanna |
| 42117 | Tioga |
| 42119 | Union |
| 42121 | Venango |
| 42123 | Warren |
| 42125 | Washington |
| 42127 | Wayne |
| 42129 | Westmoreland |
| 42131 | Wyoming |
| 42133 | York |

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| **FIPS** | **Michigan** |
| 26001 | Alcona |
| 26003 | Alger |
| 26005 | Allegan |
| 26007 | Alpena |
| 26009 | Antrim |
| 26011 | Arenac |
| 26013 | Baraga |
| 26015 | Barry |
| 26017 | Bay |
| 26019 | Benzie |
| 26021 | Berrien |
| 26023 | Branch |
| 26025 | Calhoun |
| 26027 | Cass |
| 26029 | Charlevoix |
| 26031 | Cheboygan |
| 26033 | Chippewa |
| 26035 | Clare |
| 26037 | Clinton |
| 26039 | Crawford |
| 26041 | Delta |
| 26043 | Dickinson |
| 26045 | Eaton |
| 26047 | Emmet |
| 26049 | Genesee |
| 26051 | Gladwin |
| 26053 | Gogebic |
| 26055 | Grand Traverse |
| 26057 | Gratiot |
| 26059 | Hillsdale |
| 26061 | Houghton |
| 26063 | Huron |
| 26065 | Ingham |
| 26067 | Ionia |
| 26069 | Iosco |
| 26071 | Iron |
| 26073 | Isabella |
| 26075 | Jackson |
| 26077 | Kalamazoo |
| 26079 | Kalkaska |
| 26081 | Kent |
| 26083 | Keweenaw |
| 26085 | Lake |
| 26087 | Lapeer |
| 26089 | Leelanau |
| 26091 | Lenawee |
| 26093 | Livingston |
| 26095 | Luce |
| 26097 | Mackinac |
| 26099 | Macomb |
| 26101 | Manistee |
| 26103 | Marquette |
| 26105 | Mason |
| 26107 | Mecosta |
| 26109 | Menominee |
| 26111 | Midland |
| 26113 | Missaukee |
| 26115 | Monroe |
| 26117 | Montcalm |
| 26119 | Montmorency |
| 26121 | Muskegon |
| 26123 | Newaygo |
| 26125 | Oakland |
| 26127 | Oceana |
| 26129 | Ogemaw |
| 26131 | Ontonagon |
| 26133 | Osceola |
| 26135 | Oscoda |
| 26137 | Otsego |
| 26139 | Ottawa |
| 26141 | Presque Isle |
| 26143 | Roscommon |
| 26145 | Saginaw |
| 26147 | St. Clair |
| 26149 | St. Joseph |
| 26151 | Sanilac |
| 26153 | Schoolcraft |
| 26155 | Shiawassee |
| 26157 | Tuscola |
| 26159 | Van Buren |
| 26161 | Washtenaw |
| 26163 | Wayne |
| 26165 | Wexford |

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| **FIPS** | **North Carolina** |
| 37001 | Alamance |
| 37003 | Alexander |
| 37005 | Alleghany |
| 37007 | Anson |
| 37009 | Ashe |
| 37011 | Avery |
| 37013 | Beaufort |
| 37015 | Bertie |
| 37017 | Bladen |
| 37019 | Brunswick |
| 37021 | Buncombe |
| 37023 | Burke |
| 37025 | Cabarrus |
| 37027 | Caldwell |
| 37029 | Camden |
| 37031 | Carteret |
| 37033 | Caswell |
| 37035 | Catawba |
| 37037 | Chatham |
| 37039 | Cherokee |
| 37041 | Chowan |
| 37043 | Clay |
| 37045 | Cleveland |
| 37047 | Columbus |
| 37049 | Craven |
| 37051 | Cumberland |
| 37053 | Currituck |
| 37055 | Dare |
| 37057 | Davidson |
| 37059 | Davie |
| 37061 | Duplin |
| 37063 | Durham |
| 37065 | Edgecombe |
| 37067 | Forsyth |
| 37069 | Franklin |
| 37071 | Gaston |
| 37073 | Gates |
| 37075 | Graham |
| 37077 | Granville |
| 37079 | Greene |
| 37081 | Guilford |
| 37083 | Halifax |
| 37085 | Harnett |
| 37087 | Haywood |
| 37089 | Henderson |
| 37091 | Hertford |
| 37093 | Hoke |
| 37095 | Hyde |
| 37097 | Iredell |
| 37099 | Jackson |
| 37101 | Johnston |
| 37103 | Jones |
| 37105 | Lee |
| 37107 | Lenoir |
| 37109 | Lincoln |
| 37111 | McDowell |
| 37113 | Macon |
| 37115 | Madison |
| 37117 | Martin |
| 37119 | Mecklenburg |
| 37121 | Mitchell |
| 37123 | Montgomery |
| 37125 | Moore |
| 37127 | Nash |
| 37129 | New Hanover |
| 37131 | Northampton |
| 37133 | Onslow |
| 37135 | Orange |
| 37137 | Pamlico |
| 37139 | Pasquotank |
| 37141 | Pender |
| 37143 | Perquimans |
| 37145 | Person |
| 37147 | Pitt |
| 37149 | Polk |
| 37151 | Randolph |
| 37153 | Richmond |
| 37155 | Robeson |
| 37157 | Rockingham |
| 37159 | Rowan |
| 37161 | Rutherford |
| 37163 | Sampson |
| 37165 | Scotland |
| 37167 | Stanly |
| 37169 | Stokes |
| 37171 | Surry |
| 37173 | Swain |
| 37175 | Transylvania |
| 37177 | Tyrrell |
| 37179 | Union |
| 37181 | Vance |
| 37183 | Wake |
| 37185 | Warren |
| 37187 | Washington |
| 37189 | Watauga |
| 37191 | Wayne |
| 37193 | Wilkes |
| 37195 | Wilson |
| 37197 | Yadkin |
| 37199 | Yancey |