

1 Moral Attribution in Political Psychology

Design a set of experiments applying the attribution literature to political psychology, such that the findings have at least the possibility of distinguishing between competing theories. These may be theories that already are in the literature and/or they may be theories that you propose.

1.1 Introduction

Human beings are inherently moral beings. As a representation of this, we need look no further than the stories we tell. These stories, from Homer's tale of Achilles in *The Iliad* to that of Darth Sidious (also Emperor Sheev Palpatine) in the Star Wars saga, describe the battle between good and evil and tell the stories of both heroes and villains. By-in-large, these stories are crafted to advocate for the protagonist, the good guy for whom we should be rooting. However, it is generally the villains whom we attend to most. Whether it were Captain Hook, "Bill The Butcher" Cutting, or Hedy Lamarr ("It's Hedley"!), these characters were all deliberately portrayed by filmmakers to communicate to the audience that we are in the presence of a nefarious individual. Being able to determine who intends to do us harm and who intends to do us good is an adaptive decision-making process that has helped us survive millennia so that we can put that skill to use when we boo or hiss a villain on-screen.

By extension, humans are also inherently tribal. Who is "good" and who is "bad" can also be applied to whom we perceive as in-group and who is out-group. The human mind developed in the presence of coalitional conflict (Geary, 2005). For many thousands of years, tribes have competed against each other. Coalitions that were more cooperative and cohesive not only survived but also gained resources from other coalitions and therefore reproduced more prolifically, passing their genes (and loyalty traits) to later generations (Tooby & Cosmides, 2010). Because coalitional commitment was crucial to group success, tribes punished and ostracized defectors and rewarded loyal members with status and resources. As a result, conspicuous demonstrations of loyalty and commitment to the tribe also enhanced individual status (thereby increasing potential resources and minimizing risks of ostracism). Over time, this affiliative behavior would select for traits that signaled coalitional commitment (Berreby, 2005) such as in-group allegiance (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Applied to the 21st century, modern politics *is* modern tribalism. Due to the consequences of obtaining and remaining in power, political partisans often see comfort in their own, and villainy in the opposing, side. However, perhaps more interesting than demonstrating that liberals prefer the views and presence of liberals, and conservatives vice versa, is determining the extent to which violations to intraparty values can or will be tolerated.

In recent years, both US political parties have ostracized their own members for violating party

values. For Democrats, figures such as former Senator Al Franken and Representative Anthony Weiner were ousted for violating ethical standards related to sexual behavior which, some might argue, are not equally as discrediting to members within the Republican party. For Republicans, figures such as late Senator John McCain, General John Kelly, and Lieutenant General H.R McMaster, despite the high symbolic value to conservatives of their military service, were rejected by a portion of the Republican base for failing to unequivocally support President Trump.

This paper will begin by establishing what it means for a person to violate an established moral standard. Following this, I will briefly review the literature on affective polarization in political partisanship, in particular how individuals make judgements regarding those within and those without their selected party. Next, I will outline an experiment set to determine what types of moral violations are (or are not) permissible in the opposing party. Finally, I will propose an experiment which seeks to determine the limits of inparty moral violations; can a liberal tell a lie and still be considered honest to other liberals; can a conservative reject the President and still be considered honorable to other conservatives?

1.2 Violations of Perfect and Imperfect Duties

Perhaps in response to the release of Star Wars (Kurtz, 1977), Reeder and Brewer (1979) proposed a distinction between trait dimensions that seemed to benefit attribution researchers and movie goers alike. First, partially restrictive (PR) trait dimensions do not change an expectancy about a person when that dimension is not fulfilled. For example, if one of our protagonists, Han Solo, occasionally engages in a behavior that is less-than-helpful, this would not necessarily cause an audience to outright reject him. Similarly, Watto, the greedy, distasteful owner of Anakin and Shmi Skywalker in The Phantom Menace (McCallum, 1999), could do something kind occasionally without an audience regarding him positively.

PR trait dimensions have two characteristics. First, neither positive nor negative behaviors are necessarily indicative of an actor's character, and therefore PR behaviors do not elicit strong trait attributions. For example, if a target acted in an unkind behavior (negative PR behavior), an observer could not be confident that this single incident was reflective of the actor's character. Secondly, situational information is important in attributing behavior. The perceived unfavorable behavior of an actor may be attributed to factors outside the actor's character, such as the actor's (or target's) mood, or external pressures such as a time crunch or a stressful encounter.

In contrast, hierarchically restrictive (HR) trait dimensions are more consequential. Consider the cases of Darth Vader and of Luke Skywalker. Darth Vader, having been established as a "bad guy", would not have had an audience change their opinion of him by performing a good action. He would simply remain an evil person who happened to do a good thing. Luke Skywalker, however, having been established as a good guy, would no longer still be considered as such if he had done a bad thing (i.e. Anakin murdering the younglings; The Revenge of the Sith, McCallum, 2005). In this instance, one

murderous behavior negates the trait expectancy that the target person is a good person.

HR trait dimensions differ from PR trait dimensions in two ways. First, HR trait dimensions are asymmetric, whereas PR dimensions are symmetric (both poles, positive and negative, are perceived to equally reflect an actor's character). For HR trait dimensions, positive and negative behaviors differ in their diagnosticity, meaning an observer will weigh a target's negative behavior differently from if that same target performed a positive behavior.

With respect to morality, the negative pole of the trait dimensions carries greater diagnosticity. Examples of morality trait dimensions related to morality are honest-dishonest and loyal-disloyal. For example, if an actor were to perform a dishonest behavior, an observer would be confident that the actor is a dishonest person (and a trait attribution is made). However, if an actor performs an honest behavior, an observer would not necessarily consider the actor as an honest person (and a trait attribution is not made). As Trafimow and Trafimow (1999) simply state, "the performance of a dishonest behavior strongly indicates that the target person is dishonest (because an honest person would not have done it!)" but "because friendly and unfriendly behaviors can be performed by both friendly or unfriendly people, and honest behaviors can be performed by both honest or dishonest people" (p.687).

Situational factors for HR dimensions differ from PR dimensions in that it is not important when and under what circumstances an actor engages in a negative behavior on an HR dimension, but this information is important when an actor engages in a positive behavior. If an actor engages in an honest behavior, observers perceive that the behavior may be due to reasons other than trait possession (perhaps the behavior provided the actor some immediate, temporary benefit) and the frequency of the behavior is also considered (is this a common behavior from this actor?). However, if an actor performs a single dishonest behavior, this is seen to be indicative of his or her trait possession regardless of any particular situational factors.

Consistent with Reeder and Brewer's (1979) distinction, Rothbart and Park (1986) found that participants rated traits such as honesty as being readily disconfirmed, while Birnbaum (1973) found that one observer-perceived negative behavior could undermine many observer-evaluated positive deeds. Further, Reeder and Coovett (1986) demonstrated that, after having previously determined that an actor was dishonest, an observer did not permit a single honest act to change their evaluation of the actor, but a single *dishonest* behavior was enough to alter an observer's attribution of that actor from what was theretofore one of honesty to one of dishonesty.

Given that there are HR and PR trait dimensions, several researchers have found that trait dimensions pertaining to morality tend to be hierarchically restrictive. For example, by varying situational demands for moral and immoral behaviors, researchers found that these demands carried more attributional weight for moral than for immoral behaviors (Reeder & Spores, 1983; McGraw, 1985; Trafimow & Schneider, 1994). Skowronski and Carlston (1987) showed that negative behaviors are diagnostic for immorality

because only immoral people would be expected to perform them. Of the possible trait dimensions that carry hierarchically restrictive attributional weight (when a bad behavior causes a person to be perceived as bad, but a good behavior does not similarly regard someone as good), Trafimow and Schneider (1994) found that two of them were explicitly moral (i.e. honest-dishonest and loyal-disloyal).

Traditionally, attribution theorists have focused on assessments of the situation (external) and the dispositional traits of the actor (internal) when explaining people's behavior (Jones & Nisbett, 1972). Trafimow and Trafimow (1999) identified perfect and imperfect duties as a means to explain moral attributions. The distinction between perfect and imperfect duties dates back to Immanuel Kant (1797/1991). According to Kant, "perfect duties" are perfect in that they allow for no exceptions regardless of a person's mood, situation, or any other consideration. These perfect duties, such as honesty, are absolute and universal: All rational and moral people are forbidden to lie, without exception. If a person were to lie, then they are not honest; just one instance of such a violation can damage a person's moral standing.

By contrast, imperfect duties may be occasionally violated with far fewer consequences to the a person's moral standing. For example, an imperfect duty, such as charitability, is different from the perfect duty or honesty. Even if a person is not charitable at a given time, it does not necessarily mean that that person is uncharitable. Situational factors *can* protect a person's moral standing in face of an imperfect duty violation; perhaps someone was uncharitable in the moment because they were on their way to make a donation or to buy a gift for someone. According to Kant, imperfect duties are duties of virtue. Fulfilling them results in merit for the actor, but not fulfilling them does not result in blame.

Applying Kant to attribution, Trafimow and Trafimow (1999) found that his distinction between perfect and imperfect duties corresponded to the distinction participants made between HR and PR morality trait dimensions. They demonstrated that more imperfect than perfect duty moral violations were required to override a positive impression of a person. That is, they found that participants changed their positive expectancies about an actor's trait possession more quickly because of a perfect duty violation rather than an imperfect duty violation. They also found that situations affect attributions for the violation of imperfect duties but not perfect duties.

While Kant (1797/1991) argued that rational and deliberative processes by individuals were necessary to distinguish perfect from imperfect duty violations, participants appear to be able to make these distinctions quite effortlessly. One possibility is that people rely on affect to distinguish between HR and PR trait dimensions. For example, affect has been found to be a strong factor in determining attitudes, which in turn is a reliable predictor of behavioral intentions and, consequently, behavior (Mann, 1959; Ostrom, 1969; Abelson et al., 1982; Breckler, 1984; Millar & Tesser, 1986; Breckler & Wiggins, 1989; Pfister & Bohm, 1992; Crites et al., 1994; Eagly et al., 1994; Trafimow & Sheeran, 1998; Trafimow et al., 2004). Provided affect is instrumental in developing attitudes and in determining human behavior, it stands that affect could very well be a factor that helps determine the way in which we interpret the

behavior of others, both of political copartisans and of partisan opposites.

1.3 Affective Political Partisanship

60 years after the seminal work *The American Voter* (Campbell et al., 1960), science still debates the nature of political partisanship (see Fiorina & Abrams, 2008; Hetherington, 2009). Early studies described partisanship in terms of in- and out-group affiliations (Campbell et al., 1960). More recent work suggests that the affiliation to a party is itself a form of social identity (Huddy, Mason, & Aarøe, 2010; Iyengar, Sood, & Lelkes, 2012). These social identities become evermore exacerbated in instances of group conflict or competition, raising both positive evaluations of the in-group and hostile evaluations of the out-group (Tajfel, 1970; Tajfel & Turner, 1979)

In the case of partisanship, this affective discrepancy between those of the in and out group — termed *affective polarization* by Iyengar and Westwood (2014) — has dramatically increased over the past 60 years (Haidt & Hetherington, 2012; Iyengar, Sood, & Lelkes, 2012). Unlike other forms of identity (i.e. race, gender, nationality, etc...) there are few (if any) social pressures to restrain from holding and expressing negative attitudes about political opposites (Himmelfarb & Lickteig, 1982; Maccoby & Maccoby, 1954; Sigall & Page 1971). If anything, political leaders, political media, and political group members encourage each other, in a self-reinforcing manner, to demonstrate hostility towards the political outgroup. Partisans therefore feel free to express animus and engage in discriminatory behavior toward opposing partisans.

Affective polarization, defined by Iyengar and Westwood (2014), is the tendency of people identifying as Republicans or Democrats to view members of the opposing party negatively and members of the same party positively (Campbell et al., 1960; Green, Palmquist, & Schickler, 2004). This distinction can be directly attributed to the perception of one collection as the outgroup, to which a person does not belong, and another collection as the ingroup, to which that person does belong. Social psychological research has provided an extensive history of in- and outgroup perception, notably, members of the ingroup tend to attribute negative characteristics to members of the outgroup, regardless of how trivial the in-out group distinction may be (Billig & Tajfel, 1973; Tajfel 1970; Tajfel & Turner 1979).

In the present American political environment, hostility between political parties have reached a fever pitch. This hostility can be attributed to a number of factors, including repeated negative attributions assigned to out-party members from political candidates and aligned news media outlets as well as partisans self-selecting their media sources (Catapano & Tormala, In Prep). Among Americans who identify as either Democrats or as Republicans, negative views of the opposite party, and its supporters have dramatically increased (Haidt & Hetherington, 2012; Iyengar, Sood, & Lelkes, 2012). Likewise, party members, in addition to holding negative attitudes toward the other party, they are also less trusting of the intentions and motivations of others than they are of copartisan politicians (Munro,

Weih, & Tsai, 2010).

Despite being less readily perceptible as traits like race and gender, opportunities abound for identifying politically signalling cues. Casual workplace discussions (Mutz & Mondak, 2006), social media engagement (Kreiss & McGregor, 2017; Metz, Kruikemeier, & Lecheler, 2019), and T-shirts and bumper stickers (Korte, 2012). Thus, for a large portion of the electorate, information on individuals' political affiliations is conspicuously accessible.

Even more striking than the availability of partisan cues is the gradual encroachment of party preference into previously, ostensibly, nonpolitical domains. Neighborhoods, cities, and even states are increasingly politically homogeneous (Bishop, 2008). Pointedly, even the rate at which parents' displeasure of a child marrying a member of the opposite political party has increased (Iyengar, Sood, & Lelkes 2012; Rosenfeld, Reuben, & Falcon, 2011).

It is evident, perhaps now more than anytime in living memory, Americans increasingly dislike people and groups on the other side of the political divide. This disdain is not only socially permitted, but oftentimes even encouraged; due to social, geographic, and online self-selection, people are unlikely to face any real social repercussion for the open expression of hostile attitudes. Heightened affective polarization has widened American partisanship beyond what we have before experienced.

In a demonstration of affective polarization, Weizel and Wegner (personal communication, March 15, 2020) have conducted a line of research that investigated behavioral differences attributed to either in-group liking or to out-group animosity. For example, which would cause a self-identified Republican to put up a yard sign supporting a local Republican politician? Would this Republican's behavior be more driven by his or her positive affect and affiliation towards the Republican party? Or would his or her behavior be driven by their dislike of Democrats?

In line with Trafimow and Trafimow's (1999) observation that negative attributions carry more attributional diagnosticity than positive ones, Iyengar & Krupenkin (2018) found that outparty animosity did a better job predicting an aggregate of political behaviors. Additionally, Weizel and Wegner's (2020) work show that among an array of political behaviors, outparty animosity was the driver of costlier/higher-investment behaviors (i.e. monetary contributions, attending rallies, contacting officials) than inparty liking, which better accounted for lower-investment behaviors (i.e. online posting, displaying campaign material).

1.4 Present research

Having established that people make different moral trait attributions based on the type of behavior they observe (Perfect/HR vs. Imperfect/PR), and that people think and behave differently based on inparty and outparty affiliations, the experiments presented here seek to determine two things. The first experiment seeks to establish whether strong inparty liking can buffer against an observed perfect duty

violation. Specifically, can a political copartisan lie and still be considered honest? Second, is there a limit to copartisan perfect duty violations? Specifically, when threatening the nature of one's partisan affiliation by violating a loyalty duty, what becomes of them within the party?

1.4.1 Establishing conditional moral violations based on party party

The objective of this experiment is to test the bounds of honesty as a hierarchically restrictive trait. Recall from above that perfect duties are generally robust to conditionality. An honest person cannot tell a lie and still be considered an honest person, while no amount of truths a dishonest person tells will he or she be considered honest.

In this political climate, however, I suspect there is a role for conditionality when considering the trait attributions of political opposite and of copartisans. Simply put, it appears as though a like-minded politician can lie and still be considered honest, depending to what that particular lie pertains. For example, in his first three years in office, The Washington Post (2020) reports Donald Trump to have told 16,241 false or misleading claims. Given this, there are number of possible inparty reactions.

1. “Donald Trump lies, therefore he is dishonest”
2. “Donald Trump lies, but it is for the good of the party/country, therefore his honesty remains intact”
3. “Donald Trump does not lie (despite evidence to the contrary), therefore he is honest”

Scenario one comports with Kant's notions of a perfect duty: that regardless of the situation, a person who has told a lie is inherently a dishonest person. Scenario two presents a more complicated possibility. Scenario two acknowledges that a person can be untruthful, *but remain honest* so long as those untruths are consistent with inparty values. This particular scenario invites confounding political calculations, such as game theory and losing power, which extend beyond the purview of this paper. The third scenario appears the most simple in that for some partisans, being faced with the possibility that their candidate is immoral, they will simply reject the evidence.

In order to determine political partisanship, participants will first complete a *feelings thermometer* (Hutchens, Hmielowski & Beam, 2015; Lelkes, Sood, & Iyengar, 2015). This thermometer asks participants to rate, on a scale from 0-100, how they feel about political ideologies, candidates, and partisans (e.g., Iyengar, Sood, & Lelkes, 2012; Abramowitz, 2013; Iyengar & Westwood, 2014; Rogowski & Sutherland, 2016). From these self-reported ratings, participants will be identified as either Republican (and to what degree) or Democrat (and to what degree). For this study, Independents' data will be disregarded.

Participants will then be presented, in a manner adapted from Trafimow and Trafimow (1999), with a description of a person and a scenario displaying their [lack of] honesty. The descriptions will consist of the target (2; Democrat or Republican), their behavior (2; Lie vs. Honesty), and their motive (3; for

them self, for their party, or against the opposing party). After reading the description, participants will answer two questions: “In your view, do you consider [Target] to be an honest person? Yes or no?” and “In your view, do you consider [Target] to be a moral person? Yes or No?”.

While exists the possibility of uncovering partisanship that acknowledges simultaneous dishonesty and favorability, it seems more likely that one of adherence to perfect duties or of affective polarization will hold true. In the event that partisan participants identify a copartisan as doing or saying something dishonest, and subsequently assign them the trait attribution of dishonesty onto them, then this would support the notion that honesty is a hierarchically restrictive trait attribution. If, however, partisans presented with evidence of copartisans being less than truthful, yet still consider them to be honest, then this would suggest the trait of honesty is more situational than previously considered. This outcome would provide support to concept of affective polarization at the expense of perfect duties.

1.4.2 Determining extent of permissible violations within own party

The second experiment seeks to determine the extent of affective polarization in the face of perceived disloyalty. To illustrate the purpose of this experiment, permit me to tell you the tale of Jefferson Beauregard Sessions.

Jeff Sessions, former Republican Senator from Alabama, established himself as an outspoken supporter of candidate Donald Trump early in the 2016 Presidential election cycle. As such, Mr. Sessions’s loyalty was rewarded upon Donald Trump’s successful election by being nominated for the position of United States Attorney General. Sessions’s relationship with the president frayed very early in Trump’s administration when Sessions recused himself from an investigation into the Trump campaign. The president and his supporters perceived this as a violation of loyalty to Trump and Sessions was dismissed immediately following the midterm elections of 2018. Sessions is currently running as a Republican for the senate seat he vacated; Donald Trump has endorsed Sessions’s Republican opponent.

What is interesting about this case is that Jeff Sessions never changed his behaviors or ideologies. He is the exact same Republican who endorsed Donald Trump in 2015. In fact, Sessions’s 2020 campaign advertisements still seek to align him closely with the president. In this instance, affective polarization would predict that a partisan Republican voter would regard Sessions very highly, while his violation of the hierarchically restrictive trait of loyalty would predict disfavorability among Republican partisans.

To test this, participants will be presented information similarly to the first experiment. They will once again take a battery of feeling thermometers to determine partisanship. In this instance, however, participants will be presented a description of a target that varies party (2; Democrat or Republican), their behavior (2; loyalty or disloyalty), and to a partisan cause (2; Donald Trump or Planned Parenthood). After reading the description, participants will answer two questions: “In your view, do you consider [Target] to be a loyal person? Yes or no?” and “In your view, do you consider

[Target] to be a moral person? Yes or No?”.

This experiment tests the strength of the trait attribution of loyalty when it collides with affective polarization. In this case, is it possible to hold all of the same partisan views as another person, but hold a negative attitude towards him or her because of a perceived loyalty violation? If people give more weight toward affective polarization, then a common disdain for political opponents should still unite an partisan observer with a copartisan who committed a disloyal act. However, if loyalty carries more attributional weight, as appears to be the case with Jeff Sessions, no amount of political agreement can forgive such a violation.

1.5 Conclusion

If it is discovered that in politics, loyalty is truly a perfect duty, but honesty is not, this line of research could help explain the interesting political landscape America is currently experiencing. If it is found that a political actor can sometimes act dishonestly and still be considered honest, this draws support from the notion that honesty is a hierarchically restrictive behavior or a perfect duty.

However, if it stands that loyalty is considered hierarchically restrictive despite political observer-target congruence, then it might explain President Trump’s perpetual staff turnover. If a single violation of loyalty to the president causes an aide or staffer to be considered disloyal, an attribution which is inexcusable and untenable, then it stands that there will be an ever-reducing pool of individuals who can possibly maintain that standard.

1.6 References

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2 Appendix A: Accompanying Documents

For the following media sources, please indicate your:

1. Familiarity of the source (Not Familiar - Extremely Familiar)
2. The frequency at which you access the media source weekly (1 day/week - 7 days/week)
3. The extent to which you find yourself in agreement with the media presentation (Do not agree with presentation - Agree very much with presentation)

			Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely			
			1 day/week	2 days/week	3 days/week	4 days/week	5 days/week	6 days/week	7 days/week	
CNN (www.cnn.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	1 day/week	2 days/week	3 days/week	4 days/week	5 days/week	6 days/week	7 days/week
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Daily Beast (www.thedailybeast.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Huffington Post (www.huffingtonpost.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
MSNBC (www.msnbc.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
CBS News (www.cbsnews.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
NPR (www.npr.org)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
PBS News Hour (www.pbs.org)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Washington Post (www.washingtonpost.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Military Times (www.militarytimes.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Politico (www.politico.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Snopes (www.snopes.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Voice of America (www.voanews.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Forbes (www.forbes.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
New York Post (nypost.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
The Hill (thehill.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Wall Street Journal (www.wsj.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Daily Caller (dailycaller.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Federalist Society (fedsoc.org)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Fox News (www.foxnews.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
The Blaze (www.theblaze.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Breitbart (www.breitbart.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			
Infowars (www.infowars.com)	Familiarity	Never	Less than weekly	Not at all	Slightly	Somewhat	Moderately	Extremely		
	Frequency	Agreement	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neutral	Agree	Strongly Agree			

Study 1
Testing partisan duty limits of honesty

In the following scenarios, please indicate whether you believe the politician, importantly ***in this single instance*** is honest or dishonest, immoral or moral.

Scenario 1

President Donald Trump (Republican) is concerned about his re-election prospects. In an effort to bolster the economy, and consequently enable him to use a successful economy as a positive talking point, he downplays the potential severity of an oncoming pandemic, endangering millions of Americans.

In this situation, would you consider President Trump to be: Dishonest or Honest
In this situation, would you consider President Trump to be: Immoral or Moral

Scenario 2

President Donald Trump (Republican) is negotiating for a nationwide concealed carry (firearms) with senior congressional Democrats. In order to get Democrats to the table, President Trump offers expanded national abortion access. When the Democrats sit down to negotiate with President Trump, he rescinds his offer and presents the Democrats as being obstructionist for walking away.

In this situation, would you consider President Trump to be: Dishonest or Honest
In this situation, would you consider President Trump to be: Immoral or Moral

Scenario 3

Democratic Candidate Joe Biden has a long history of supporting women's causes, including women's equality, violence prevention against women, and #MeToo. Seeking to minimize the effect of a sexual assault claim from a former female staffer on his candidacy, Joe Biden publicly espouses support for women to be believe, while simultaneously denying the encounter and questioning the woman's motives.

In this situation, would you consider Joe Biden to be: Dishonest or Honest
In this situation, would you consider Joe Biden to be: Immoral or Moral

Scenario 3

Democratic Candidate Joe Biden's personal instinct is in line with working class Americans. However, he is aware of the political reality that necessitates massive corporate campaign donations - corporations whose motivations are often at the expense of working class Americans. Joe Biden takes the corporations' money and immediately preceding the vote, he publishes all large donations and makes clear corporations will not be receiving favors from him once elected.

In this situation, would you consider Joe Biden to be: Dishonest or Honest
In this situation, would you consider Joe Biden to be: Immoral or Moral

Study 2
Testing partisan duty limits of loyalty

In the following scenarios, please indicate whether you believe the politician, importantly ***in this single instance*** is honest or dishonest, immoral or moral.

Scenario 1

Attorney General Jeff Sessions (Republican), appointed as the chief law enforcement officer in the United States By President Donald Trump, is in a position to protect the president from Democratic attacks surrounding possible campaign coordination with Russia to get Trump elect in 2016. In the face of scrutiny, Sessions recuses himself from the case rather than be seen as protecting his boss.

In this situation, would you consider Jeff Sessions to be:
In this situation, would you consider Jeff Sessions to be:

Loyal	or	Disloyal
Immoral	or	Moral

Scenario 2

Governor John Bel Edwards (Democrat) of Louisiana oversees a southern, typically conservative state. Democratic fundraising groups, from progressive to moderate, donated a great deal of time and money to get Governor Edwards elected. Once elected, Governor Edwards, himself pro-life, seeks to defund Planned Parenthood from state dollars with the intent of closing down all clinics in Louisiana.

In this situation, would you consider Governor Edwards to be:
In this situation, would you consider Governor Edwards to be:

Loyal	or	Disloyal
Immoral	or	Moral



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

Fielding & Sample specifications

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

Programming & Design specifications

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

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

[START SCREEN (CONSENT)]

[DISPLAY ONLY]

SURVEY INTRODUCTION

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

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

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

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

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE FORM=1 OR 2]

[FOLLOW POLITICS]

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

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

[VOTER REGISTRATION]

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

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

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

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

No, not registered [3]

[IF reg=1 OR 2]
[whenreg] When did you register to vote for the first time?

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

[IF whenreg=1 OR 2]
[howreg] How did you register to vote, the first time?

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

[howreg_os] Other (please specify) [TEXT BOX] [6]

[IF whenreg=1 OR 2]

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

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

[2018 TURNOUT AND CHOICE]

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

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

[IF turnout18 = 5]

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

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

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

[turnout18w] When did you vote?

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

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

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

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

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

[MULTIPUNCH]

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

Mark all that apply.

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

[IF vharder1 IS MARKED]

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

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

[IF vharder5 IS MARKED]

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

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

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

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

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

[IF house18t = 1]

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

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

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

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

[IF senate18t = 1]
[INCLUDE RESPONSE OPTION 4 AND PARENTHEICAL TEXT IF inputstate = MN or inputstate = MS, ELSE OMIT OPTION 4 AND OMIT PARENTHEICAL TEXT]
[senate18p] For the U.S. Senate, did you vote Democrat, Republican, or another party(, or did you vote for Senate candidates from two different parties in your state's two U.S. Senate races)?
 __ Democrat [1]
 __ Republican [2]
 __ another party [3]
 __ two different parties [4]

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

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

[IF gov18t=1]
[gov18p] For governor of [INPUTSTATE], did you vote for a Democrat, Republican, or another party?
 __ Democrat [1]
 __ Republican [2]
 __ another party [3]

[ELECTORAL INTEGRITY]

[GENERATE RANDOM VARIABLE rand_votestop= 1 OR 2]

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

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

[SAME PAGE AS votestop1 OR votestop2]
[votestop_imp] How concerned are you about this?
 __ Not at all [1]
 __ A little [2]
 __ Moderately [3]

- Very [4]
- Extremely [5]

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

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

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

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

[ELECTORAL INTEGRITY, FORM 1 ONLY]

[IF FORM=1]

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

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

[IF FORM=1]

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

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

[IF FORM=1]

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

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

[IF FORM=1]

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

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

[IF FORM=1]

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

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

[RETROSPECTIVE TURNOUT AND CANDIDATE CHOICE 2016]

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

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

[IF turnout16=3]

[SAME PAGE AS turnout16]

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

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

[IF turnout16=1 OR turnout16b=1]

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

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

[PROSPECTIVE TURNOUT]

[NUMERIC INPUT]

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

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

[PARTICIPATION]

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

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

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND_MARCH = 1 OR 2]

[IF RAND_MARCH=1]

[march1] During the past 12 months, have you joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?
__ Have done this in past 12 months [1]
__ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

[IF RAND_MARCH=2]

[march2] During the past 12 months, have you joined in a political march, rally, or demonstration, or have you not done this in the past 12 months?
__ Have done this in past 12 months [1]
__ Have not done this in the past 12 months [2]

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

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

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

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

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

[GLOBAL EMOTION BATTERY]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

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

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

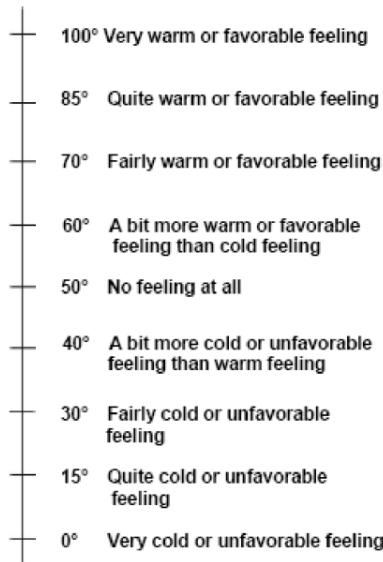
Mark one answer in each row.

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

[FEELING THERMOMETERS]

[DISPLAY]

[ftintro] Please look at the graphic below.



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

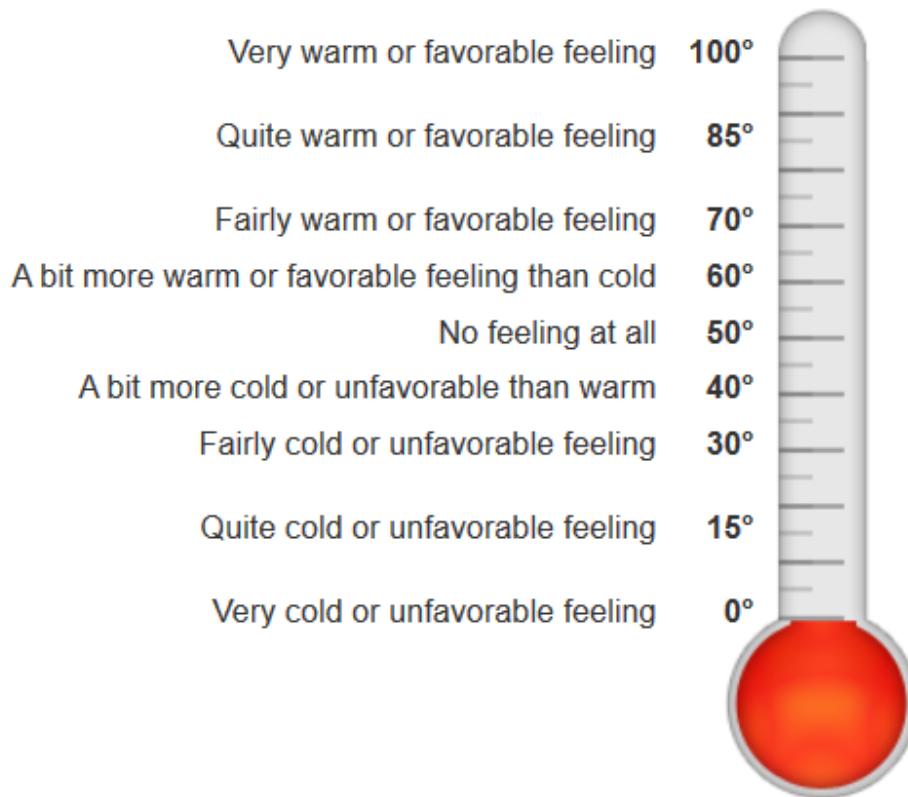
Ratings between 50 degrees and 100 degrees mean that you feel favorable and warm toward the person. Ratings between 0 degrees and 50 degrees mean that you don't feel favorable toward the person and that you don't care too much for that person. You would rate the person at the 50 degree mark if you don't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

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

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

FT WIDGET LIKE THIS:

Click on thermometer to give your rating.



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

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

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

[ftmetoo] How would you rate **the #MeToo movement?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this group)

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

[ftrural] How would you rate **rural Americans?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this group)

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

[ftsocialists] How would you rate **socialists?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this group)

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[ftmueller] How would you rate **Special Counsel Robert Mueller?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this person)

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

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

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

[ftkavanaugh] How would you rate **Supreme Court Justice Brett Kavanaugh?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this person)

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

[ftaltright] How would you rate **the "alt right"?**
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this group)

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

[ftantifa] How would you rate **Antifa**?
[INTERFACE: FT WIDGET.]
(I don't recognize this group)

[VOTING]

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

[IF vote20dem=1]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS]

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

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

__ Donald Trump [1]
__ Joe Biden [2]
__ someone else [3]
__ probably not vote [4]

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

__ Donald Trump [1]
__ Elizabeth Warren [2]
__ someone else [3]
__ probably not vote [4]

[ISSUE OWNERSHIP/PARTY HANDLING]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

Which party, the Democrats or the Republicans, would better handle each of the following issues, or is there no difference?
Mark one answer in each row.

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

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

[TRUMP JOB APPROVAL]

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

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

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

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

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

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

[TRUMP EMOTION BATTERY, FORM 1 ONLY]

[IF FORM=1]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ITEMS IN GRID]

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

Mark one answer in each row.

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

[POLICY-SPECIFIC EMOTION BATTERY, FORM 2 ONLY]

[IF FORM=2]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD ORDER OF ITEMS IN GRID]

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

Mark one answer in each row.

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

[RUSSIA/TRUMP CAMPAIGN INVESTIGATION]

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

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

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

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

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

 __ Probably coordinated with the Russians [1]
 __ Probably did not [2]

[ECONOMIC PERFORMANCE]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

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

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

[GENERATE AND SAVE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND_IMPROVE=1 OR 2]

[IF RAND_IMPROVE=1]

[improve1] When it comes to people trying to improve their financial well-being, do you think it is now easier, harder, or the same as it was 20 years ago?

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

[IF FORM=1]

[finpar1] When it comes to getting ahead financially, do you think you've had it easier, harder, or the same as your parents?

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

[IF FORM=2]

[finpar2] When it comes to getting ahead financially, do you think it has been easier, harder, or the same for your generation as it was for your parents' generation?

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

[IF RAND_IMPROVE=2]

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

[improve2] When it comes to people trying to improve their financial well-being, do you think it is now easier, harder, or the same as it was 20 years ago?

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

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

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

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

[IDEOLOGICAL PLACEMENTS]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF lcd AND lcr IN rand_lc]

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

Mark one answer in each row

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

[CORRUPTION/CAMPAIN FINANCE]

[GENERATE AND SAVE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND_DIRECT = 1 OR 2. SEPARATELY GENERATE AND SAVE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND_IND = 1 OR 2.]

[IF RAND_DIRECT = 1]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD "AMOUNT_DIR" WITH VALUES OF 25 or 2,500]

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

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

[IF RAND_DIRECT = 2]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD "AMOUNT_DIR" WITH VALUES OF 25 or 2,500]

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

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

[IF RAND_IND = 1]

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

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

[IF RAND_IND = 2]

[RANDOMIZE AND RECORD "AMOUNT_IND" WITH VALUES OF 2,500 OR 250,000]

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

- A great deal [1]

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

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

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

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

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

[HARASSMENT AND DISCRIMINATION]

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

“It has gone too far and is calling into question all interactions between men and women in the workplace, which will hurt people’s ability to do their jobs.” Or:

“It is an appropriate response to a problem that has been ignored for too long and addressing it will help women in the workplace.”

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

[harassstr] How strongly do you feel about that?

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

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

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

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

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

__ Very often [5]

[sexharass] Have you ever personally experienced sexual harassment at work, or not?
__ Have [1]
__ Have not [2]

[disc_selfrace] How much discrimination have you personally experienced because of your race or ethnicity?
__ None [1]
__ A little [2]
__ A moderate amount [3]
__ A lot [4]
__ A great deal [5]

[WHITE RESENTMENT AND IDENTITY]

[IF R IS WHITE AND NON-HISPANIC]

[whiteid] How important is being White to your identity?
__ Not at all important [1]
__ A little important [2]
__ Moderately important [3]
__ Very important [4]
__ Extremely important [5]

[IF R IS WHITE AND NON-HISPANIC]

[whitework] How important is it that whites work together to change laws that are unfair to whites?
__ Not at all important [1]
__ A little important [2]
__ Moderately important [3]
__ Very important [4]
__ Extremely important [5]

[whitejob] How likely is it that many whites are unable to find a job because employers are hiring minorities instead?
__ Not at all likely [1]
__ A little likely [2]
__ Somewhat likely [3]
__ Very likely [4]
__ Extremely likely [5]

[IMMIGRATION]

[immignum] Do you think the number of immigrants from foreign countries who are permitted to come to the United States to live should be increased, decreased, or kept the same as it is now?
__ Increased a lot [1]
__ Increased a moderate amount [2]
__ Increased a little [3]
__ Kept the same as now [4]
__ Decreased a little [5]
__ Decreased a moderate amount [6]
__ Decreased a lot [7]

[immigpol] Which comes closest to your view about what government policy should be toward unauthorized immigrants now living in the United States?

- Make all unauthorized immigrants felons and send them back to their home country. [1]
- Have a guest worker program so they can work. [2]
- Allow them to remain and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship, if they pay back taxes and meet certain requirements. [3]
- Allow them to remain and eventually qualify for U.S. citizenship without penalties. [4]

[birthright] Some people have proposed that the U.S. Constitution should be changed so that the children of unauthorized immigrants do not automatically get citizenship if they are born in this country.

Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose this proposal?

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

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

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

[diversity] On balance, do you think having an increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities in the United States makes this country a better place to live, a worse place to live, or does it make no difference?

- A lot better [1]
- Moderately better [2]
- A little better [3]
- No difference [4]
- A little worse [5]
- Moderately worse [6]
- A lot worse [7]

[illimcrime] Does illegal immigration increase, decrease, or have no effect on the crime rate in the U.S.?

- Increase a lot [1]
- Increase a moderate amount [2]
- Increase a little [3]
- No effect [4]
- Decrease a little [5]
- Decrease a moderate amount [6]
- Decrease a lot [7]

[illimschool] Is illegal immigration good, bad, or neither good nor bad for the quality of local public education?

- Very good [1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[HEALTH CARE]

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

- Approve extremely strongly [1]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[INCOME INEQUALITY]

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

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

[POSTMATERIALIST VALUES, FORM 2 ONLY]

[IF FORM=2]

[post1] Which of these do you consider to be the most important?

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

[IF FORM=2]

[OMIT THE RESPONSE OPTION SELECTED IN post1]

[post2] And which would be the next most important?

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

[IF FORM=2]

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

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

[IF FORM=2]

[OMIT THE RESPONSE OPTION SELECTED IN post3]

[post4] And which would be the next most important?

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

[TAXES]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[RACIAL RESENTMENT]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

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

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

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

[GROUP EMPATHY]

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND_EMP=1 OR 2]

[IF RAND_EMP = 1]

[emp_concern1] How often would you say that you have tender, concerned feelings for people from another racial or ethnic group who are less fortunate than you?

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

[IF RAND_EMP = 2]

[emp_concern2] How often would you say that you feel concerned about people from another racial or ethnic group who are less fortunate than you?

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

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

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

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

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

[IF RAND_EMP = 1]

[emp_adv1] When you see someone being taken advantage of due to their race or ethnicity, how often do you feel protective towards them?

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

[IF RAND_EMP = 2]

[emp_adv2] When you see someone being treated poorly due to their race or ethnicity, how often do you feel protective towards them?

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

[FOREIGN POLICY, FORM 2 ONLY]

[IF FORM=2]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

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

Mark one answer in each row.

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

[ENVIRONMENT: CLIMATE CHANGE]

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND_CLIMATE=1 OR 2]

[IF RAND_CLIMATE=1]

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

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

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

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

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

[IF RAND_CLIMATE=1, FILL "rising temperatures", ELSE IF RAND_CLIMATE=2 FILL "climate change"]

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

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

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

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

[POLITICAL VIOLENCE]

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

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

[FREE TRADE]

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

IF TRADE_ORDER=1: freetrade, tariff_work, tariff_con
IF TRADE_ORDER=2: freetrade, tariff_con, tariff_work
IF TRADE_ORDER=3: tariff_work, tariff_con, freetrade
IF TRADE_ORDER=4: tariff_con, tariff_work, freetrade]

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

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

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

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

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

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

[DRUGS/OPIOID EPIDEMIC]

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

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

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

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

<input type="checkbox"/> Is doing the right amount	[4]
<input type="checkbox"/> Should be doing a little less	[5]
<input type="checkbox"/> Should be doing a moderate amount less	[6]
<input type="checkbox"/> Should be doing a great deal less	[7]

[GUNS]

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

<input type="checkbox"/> Favor a great deal	[1]
<input type="checkbox"/> Favor moderately	[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 moderately	[6]
<input type="checkbox"/> Oppose a great deal	[7]

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

<input type="checkbox"/> Favor a great deal	[1]
<input type="checkbox"/> Favor moderately	[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 moderately	[6]
<input type="checkbox"/> Oppose a great deal	[7]

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

<input type="checkbox"/> Favor a great deal	[1]
<input type="checkbox"/> Favor moderately	[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 moderately	[6]
<input type="checkbox"/> Oppose a great deal	[7]

[DEMOCRATIC NORMS]

[IF FORM=1]

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

How much do you agree or disagree with this statement?

<input type="checkbox"/> Agree strongly	[1]
<input type="checkbox"/> Agree somewhat	[2]
<input type="checkbox"/> Neither agree nor disagree	[3]
<input type="checkbox"/> Disagree somewhat	[4]
<input type="checkbox"/> Disagree strongly	[5]

[IF FORM=1]

[GRID, ONE RESPONSE PER ROW]

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

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

[IF FORM=2]

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

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

[IF FORM=2]

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

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

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

[EVALUATIONS OF NEWS MEDIA]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[IF media4 = 1 or 2]

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

[POLITICAL CORRECTNESS]

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

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

[RURAL RESENTMENT]

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND_RURAL=1 OR 2.]

[IF RAND_RURAL=1]

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

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

[IF RAND_RURAL=2]

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

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

All [5]

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

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

[IMPEACHMENT]

[IF FORM=2]

[DISPLAY ONLY]

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

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

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

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

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

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

[POLITICAL KNOWLEDGE]

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

[IF RAND_PK=1]

[DISPLAY ONLY]

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

[ALL RESPONDENTS]

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

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

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

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

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

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

[PARTY ID]

[GENERATE RANDOMIZATION VARIABLE RAND_PID = 1 OR 2]

[IF RAND_PID =1]

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

[IF pid1d = 4]

[TEXT BOX]

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

What is that? _____

[IF RAND_PID =2]

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

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

[IF pid1r = 4]

[TEXT BOX]

[pid2r]

[PROGRAMMING: if pid2r is displayed, display it on the same screen as pid1r.]

What is that? _____

[IF pid1d = 1 OR 2 OR pid1r = 1 OR 2]

[IF pid1d = 1 OR pid1r = 1 INSERT "Democrat" in (Democrat/Republican); IF pid1d = 2 or pid1r = 2 INSERT "Republican" in (Democrat/Republican)]

[pidstr]

Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or a not very strong (Democrat/Republican)?

__ Strong (Democrat/Republican) [1]

__ Not very strong (Democrat/Republican) [2]

[IF pid1d=3 OR 4 OR NO ANSWER OR pid1r = 3 OR 4 OR NO ANSWER]

[pidlean] Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

__ Closer to the Republican Party [1]

__ Closer to the Democratic Party [2]

__ Neither [3]

[MILITARY SERVICE]

[dem_activduty] Are you now serving on active duty in the U.S. armed forces -- the U.S. Air Force, Army, Coast Guard, Marine Corps, or Navy -- or have you previously served on active duty in the U.S. armed forces, or have you never served on active duty in the U.S. armed forces?

__ Now serving on active duty [1]

__ Previously served on active duty but not now on active duty [2]

__ Have never served on active duty [3]

[IF dem_activduty=1]

[milyears] How many years have you been on active duty so far?

[NUMBER BOX SOFT RANGE 0-30, HARD RANGE 0-50]

[IF dem_activduty=2]

[MARK ALL THAT APPLY]

When did you serve?

Mark all that apply.

[milyr1] __ before 1950 [1]

[milyr2] __ 1950-1959 [2]

[milyr3] __ 1960-1974 [3]

[milyr4] __ 1975-1989 [4]

[milyr5] __ 1990-2000 [5]

[milyr6] __ 2001-present [6]

[IF dem_activduty=1 OR 2]

[combat] Were you deployed to a combat zone during your service, or were you never deployed to a combat zone?

__ Was deployed to a combat zone [1]

__ Never deployed to a combat zone [2]

[RESPONDENT HEALTH]

[FILL "MONTH" WITH THE CURRENT MONTH SUCH AS "November"]

[hospital] Have you or a member of your immediate family spent the night in a hospital in the past 12 months—that is, since (MONTH) 2017?
____ This has happened in the past year [1]
____ This has not happened in the past year [2]

[RACE AND GENDER OF SPOUSE, FORM 1 ONLY]

[IF FORM=1]

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

[IF FORM=1]

[IF MARITAL IN(1,2,3,4)]

[IF R MARITAL IN(2,3,4) DISPLAY "most recent former", ELSE OMIT "most recent former"]

[spouseeth] Is your (most recent former) spouse Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino?
____ Yes [1]
____ No [2]

[IF FORM=1]

[IF MARITAL IN(1,2,3,4)]

[IF R MARITAL IN(2,3,4) DISPLAY "most recent former", ELSE OMIT "most recent former"]

Please choose one or more races that describes your (most recent former) spouse.
Mark all that apply.

[sp_w] ____ White
[sp_b] ____ Black or African-American
[sp_ai] ____ American Indian or Alaska Native
[sp_asian] ____ Asian
[sp_pi] ____ Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

[IF FORM=1]

[IF MARITAL IN(1,2,3,4)]

[IF R MARITAL IN(2,3,4) DISPLAY "most recent former", ELSE OMIT "most recent former"]

[sp_gender] What is the gender of your (most recent former) spouse?
____ Male [1]
____ Female [2]
____ Something else [3]

[RESPONSE QUALITY]

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

Always [5]

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

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

[END SURVEY]