Study Information

Client: University of Pennsylvania
Project Title: Recontact 2020 Pre-Election Study
Project Number: 20-078245-01

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I. SAMPLE VARIABLES

- KP standard demographics
- **XME2**: 1=ASKED IN 2016 NOV; 2=NOT ASKED
- **XQ4**: 1=asked Q4_1 in 2016 Nov; 2=Asked Q4_2 in 2016 Nov; 3=not asked
- **XCLD2**: 1=asked in 2018; 2=not asked in 2018
- **XPCK2**: 1=asked in 2016 Oct; 2=not asked in 2016 Oct
- **XPOS5**: 1=asked in 2020; 2=not asked in 2020
- **XDH2**: 1=asked in 2020; 2=not asked in 2020
- **XEP4**: 1=asked in 2016 Nov; 2=not asked in 2016 Nov
- **XRE24**: 1=asked in 2016 Nov; 2=not asked in 2016 Nov

II. QUOTA CHECK BASED ON SAMPLE VARIABLES

No Quota

III. INTRODUCTION

NA

IV. SCREENER

SCRIPTER: Do not prompt on all questions

No screener

V. MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE

SCRIPTER: Use default instruction text for each question type unless otherwise specified.

Base: all respondents

ME1 [M]
From which of the following sources have you heard anything about the presidential campaign? *Please check all that apply.*

1. Television news programs (morning or evening)
2. Newspapers, either online or print versions
3. Television talk shows, public affairs or news analysis programs
4. Internet sites, chat rooms or blogs
5. Radio news or radio talk shows
6. News magazines
7. Online social networking sites such as Facebook, Twitter, or Tumblr
8. Have not heard anything about the presidential campaign **[S]**

Base: if ME1=1 OR 3
Randomize items 1-15 and record the order.

ME2A[M]

Which of the following programs do you watch regularly on television? Please check any that you watch at least once a month.

1. Any local news program (Fox, Eyewitness News, Action News, etc.)
2. Hannity
3. Tucker Carlson Tonight
4. Rachel Maddow Show
5. 60 Minutes
6. NBC Nightly News with Lester Holt
7. ABC World News with David Muir
8. Anderson Cooper 360
9. CNN Newsroom
10. NCIS
11. The Masked Singer
12. The Tonight Show with Jimmy Fallon
13. Late Show with Stephen Colbert
14. Jimmy Kimmel Live!
15. CBS Evening News with Norah O'Donnell
16. None of the above **[S, anchor]**

Base: if xME2=1 AND DOV_GROUP_1=1
Scripter: randomize and record the order

ME2[S]

Which of the following issues is the most important to you in terms of choosing which political candidates you will support in the upcoming election?

[1] Abortion
[2] National debt
[3] Environment and climate change
[4] Gay rights
[5] Gun control
[6] Health care
[7] Immigration
[8] Poverty
[9] Income inequality
[10] Unemployment
[11] Economic growth
[12] Military strength
[13] Morality and religion in society
[14] Racism
[15] Social security
[16] Taxes
[17] Women's rights
[18] Crime
[19] Foreign policy
[20] Education
[21] Terrorism and homeland security

Create VP5_A [S]: Randomly assign respondents to see either of the texts and record the order
If DOV_VP5_A=1; display TEXT1
If DOV_VP5_A=2; display TEXT2

Base: Ask all

[ALWAYS ASK VP5_A_1 FIRST, THEN VP5_A_4,]

Insert these Democrats, do not bold:
VP5_A_1: Joe Biden
VP5_A_4: Bernie Sanders

VP5_A_1-4 [S]
[if DOV_VP5_A = 1: If the presidential election was held today and Donald Trump, the Republican, was running against **[INSERT NAME]**, the Democrat, who would you vote for? **/ if DOV_VP5_A = 2:**If the presidential election was held today and **[INSERT NAME]**, the Democrat, was running against Donald Trump, the Republican, who would you vote for?**]**

1. [if **DOV_VP5_A = 1:** Donald Trump, the Republican**/if DOV_VP5_A =2: [INSERT NAME]**, the Democrat]
2. [if **DOV_VP5_A =1: [INSERT NAME]**, the Democrat**/if DOV_VP5_A =2:** Donald Trump, the Republican]
3. Other (SPECIFY) **[O]**
4. Would not vote for President

Base: if VP5_A_1=1-2 AND AND DOV_GROUP_1=2
Show VP5_OE right after VP5_A_1
VP5_OE [O][LIMIT UP TO 200 CHARACTERS]
Let's say a friend asked you why you were supporting **[INSERT ANSWER FROM VP5_A_1]**, in the presidential election. In one sentence, what would you say?

[INSERT TEXT BOX]

Base: Ask all
Programming note: Feeling thermometer; reference sno 16716 NRL3A
NRL3Q. [THERMOMETER]
Please rate Donald Trump on a thermometer that runs from 0 to 100 degrees. Rating above 50 means that you feel favorable and warm toward him, and rating below 50 means that you feel unfavorable and cool.

[SP] Don't know who person is
[SP] Don't know enough about him

Base: xpck2=1

[Accordion format]

[RANDOMIZE THE ORDER OF item 1-2]

PCK2 Using this scale that ranges from extremely liberal to extremely conservative, where would you place each of these candidates on this scale? Just click the box at the bottom if you don't know enough about the person to rate him or her.

SCALES:
1. Extremely liberal
2. Liberal
3. Slightly liberal
4. Moderate, middle of the road
5. Slightly conservative
6. Conservative
7. Extremely conservative
8. Don't Know

ITEMS:
1. Joe Biden
2. Donald Trump

Base: Ask all
PROPMT ONCE

[INCLUDED POST-ELECTION 2012]

Q7[S]

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a...

Republican 1
Democrat 2
Independent 3
Another party, please specify:
[TEXT] 4
No preference 5

Base: IF Q7= 1

Q8[S]

Would you call yourself a...

Strong Republican 1
Not very strong Republican 2

Base: IF Q7 = 2

Q9**[S]**

Would you call yourself a...

Strong Democrat 1
Not very strong Democrat 2

Base: IF Q7= 3, 4, 5, or refused

Q10[s]

Do you think of yourself as closer to the...

Republican Party 1
Democratic Party 2

Base: if xq4=1

Q4_1 [O]

If you had to describe the Democratic Party in one sentence, what would you say?

[CONSTRAIN TEXT BOX TO 140 CHARACTERS]

Base: if xq4=2

Q4_2 [O]

If you had to describe the Republican Party in one sentence, what would you say?

[CONSTRAIN TEXT BOX TO 140 CHARACTERS]

Issue Opinions of Respondents and Perceived Agreement with Candidates

Base: Ask all

POS3 [S]

Which of the following options comes closest to your view on what we should be doing about federal income taxes?

1. Taxes should be cut.
2. Taxes should be kept pretty much as they are.
3. Taxes should be raised if necessary in order to maintain current federal programs and services.

Base: xPOS5=1

POS5 [Grid, BANED FORMAT] **Immigration – Self: Path to Citizenship, Border Fence**

Please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following proposals addressing immigration:

Strongly favor	Somewhat favor	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose

1. Provide a path to citizenship for some illegal aliens who agree to return to their home country for a period of time and pay substantial fines.
2. Increase border security by building a fence along part of the U.S. border with Mexico.

Base: xdh2=1

DH2 [S]
As you may know, a health reform bill was signed into law in 2010. Given what you know about the health reform law, do you have a generally favorable or generally unfavorable opinion of it?

1. Very favorable
2. Somewhat favorable
3. Somewhat unfavorable
4. Very unfavorable

CREATE DOV_GROUP_4=1,2 RANDOM VARIABLE

Base: if DH2=1-4 AND DOV_GROUP_4=1

DH3 [O]
Could you tell me in your own words what is the main reason you have **[IF DH2=1 or 2:** a favorable **/ IF DH2=3 or 4:** an unfavorable) opinion of the health reform law?

Base: Ask all
[accordion]
RE18.Some people think the 2010 health care reform law should be kept as it is. Others want to repeal the entire 2010 health care law. Still others are somewhere in between.

Statements:
1.Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
2. Where would you place Donald Trump on this scale?

Scale:

1. 1 - The 2010 health care reform law should be kept as it is
2. 2
3. 3
4. 4 - Only parts of the 2010 health care reform law should be kept
5. 5
6. 6
7. 7 - The entire 2010 health care law should be repealed
8. DON'T KNOW

Base: Ask all
SINGLEPAYER [s]
Do you favor or oppose having a national health plan--or a single-payer plan--in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan?

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Strongly oppose

Immigration

Create DOV: RAN_RE23 [S][Randomize and record the order]
If RAN_RE23=1: SHOW "returning illegal immigrants to their native countries" first in both question and response item

If RAN_RE23=2: SHOW "creating a pathway to U.S. citizenship for illegal immigrants" first in both question and response item

Create DOV: RE_Randomize [S][Randomize and record the order]
If RE_Randomize=1: Show Democratic first
If RE_Randomize=2: Show Republican first
Please assign half the respondents with equal probability

Base: all respondents

RE23_A [accordion grid]
On immigration, some people argue that U.S. policy should focus on **[If RAN_RE23=1:** returning illegal immigrants to their native countries/ **if RAN_RE23=2:** creating a pathway to U.S. citizenship for illegal immigrants.] Other people argue that U.S. policy should focus on **[if RAN_RE23=1:** creating a pathway to U.S. citizenship for illegal immigrants**/if RAN_RE23=2:** returning illegal immigrants to their native countries]. Still others are somewhere in between.

Stament in row
RE23_A. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
RE23_B. Where would you place the [IF **RE_Randomize=1:**Democratic Party/IF **RE_Randomize=2:** Republican Party] on this scale?
RE23_C. How about the [IF **RE_Randomize=1:** Republican Party/IF **RE_Randomize=2:** Democratic Party]? Where would you place it on this scale?

Statement in column:
1. **[If RAN_RE23=1:** Return illegal immigrants to their native countries/**If RAN_RE23=2:**Create a pathway to U.S. citizenship for illegal immigrants]
2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7. **[If RAN_RE23=1:** Create a pathway to U.S. citizenship for illegal immigrants/**If RAN_RE23=2:**Return illegal immigrants to their native countries]
8. DON'T KNOW

GENERATE DOV_GROUP_3 RANDOM VARIABLE 1 OR 2

Base: xep4=1 AND DOV GROUP_3=1

EP4 [S] **Faith in Elections**

In some countries, people believe their elections are conducted fairly. In other countries, people believe that their elections are conducted unfairly. Do you believe presidential elections in the United States are generally…

1. Very fair
2. Somewhat fair
3. Neither fair nor unfair
4. Somewhat unfair
5. Very unfair

Base: All Respondents

Scripter:

Sliding scale; sp, range 0-100, do not show range
MAKE SURE THEY DO IT THE SAME WAY AS THEY DID IT ON THE 2012 PRE-ELECTION SURVEY SNO16716, ESP IN TERMS OF WHERE THE SLIDER STARTS, ETC

Base: PPETHM=1

CREATE DATA-ONLY RANDOM VARIABLE DET.
[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF DETH1, DETH2, DETH3.]

First	Second	Third
1	2	3

1. **DETH1**
2. **DETH2**
3. **DETH3**

PROGRAMMING NOTE: SHOW FIRST QUESTION IN THE ORDER AFTER DETH0, SECOND QUESTION AFTER RE 24, THIRD QUESTION AFTER DH8.

ONE SET HERE, NEXT SET AFTER "PERCEIVED POLARIZATION" SECTION.

[SLIDING SCALES; SP, RANGES 0-100, DO NOT SHOW RANGES; SHOW ALL SCALES ON THE SAME SCREEN]

Base: PPETHM=1
PUT DETH0 INSTRUCTION AND DETH1 ON THE SAME SCREEN]

DETH0.[Sliding Scale – S – Range 0-100]
Next are some questions about various groups in our society. Below are left-right scales on which you can rate characteristics of people in different groups.

- For the first item below, the far left side of the scale means that you think most of the people in that group are "hard working."
- Placing the slider on the far right side means that you think most of the people in that group are "lazy."
- The middle means that you think the people in this group are not particularly towards one end or the other.

DETH1. Where would you rate whites in general on these scales?

Hard working																					Lazy

Trustworthy																				Untrustworthy

Political System Legitimacy

Base: xre24=1 DOV GROUP_3=2

RE24 **[Grid SP across, SP down]**Please tell us how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree

1. I would rather live under our system of government than any other that I can think of.
2. At present I feel very critical of our political system.

Black Separatism [ASKED WAVE 3 2008]

Base: ppethm=2

[SP]

BSEP1. Is it more important for blacks to build good relations with whites or for blacks to build pride and respect for themselves, even if it means causing tension between blacks and whites?

1. More important for blacks to build good relations with whites
2. More important for blacks to build pride and respect for themselves

Base: if ppethm=2

[SP]

LF1. Do you think what happens generally to Black people in this country will have something to do with what happens in your life, or not?

1. Yes
2. No

Base: if lf1=1

[SP]

LF2. Will it affect you a lot, some, or not very much?

1. A lot
2. Some
3. Not very much

Base: All Respondents

[Number, range 0-366]
DOCVISITS

How many times have you been to a doctor, nurse, or other health professional in the past 12 months?

[ENTER NUMBER]

THIS SECOND SERIES (WHICHEVER IS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED) GOES AFTER RE24

GOVERNMENT HELP TO BLACKS [INCLUDED ON OCTOBER 2012 SURVEY]

Base: All Respondents

RE23[s]
Now we would like to ask about a separate topic. Some people feel that the government in Washington should make every effort to improve the social and economic position of Blacks. (Suppose these people are at one end of a scale, at point 1.) Others feel that the government should not make any special effort to help Blacks because they should help themselves. (Suppose these people are at the other end, at point 7.) And, of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, or 6.

Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale?

1 1- Government should help Blacks
2 2
3 3
4 4
5 5
6 6
7 7 - Blacks should help themselves

Base: All Respondents
Scripter: Please show mouse over pop-up for "health plan". Please show below text as a pop-up
"A health plan would include any private insurance plan through your employer or a plan that you purchased yourself, as well as a government program like Medicare or Medicaid/Medi-CAL."

DH7 [S]
Are you, yourself, now covered by any form of health insurance or health plan or do you not have health insurance at this time? A health plan would include any private insurance plan through your employer or a plan that you purchased yourself, as well as a government program like Medicare or Medicaid/Medi-CAL

1 Covered by health insurance
2 Not covered by health insurance

Base: DH7=1

DH8 [S]

Which of the following is your MAIN source of health insurance coverage? Is it a plan through your or your spouse's employer, a plan you purchased yourself, are you covered by Medicare or Medicaid/Medi-CAL, some other government program, or do you get your health insurance from somewhere else?

1 Plan through your/your spouse's employer
2 Plan you purchased yourself
3 Medicare
4 Medicaid/Medi-CAL
5 Some other government program
6 Somewhere else (**SPECIFY) [O]**
7 Plan through your parent/mother/father

Base: DH8=2,6 [FROM 2018 NOVEMBER SURVEY]

DH8A [s]

Did you purchase your CURRENT health insurance plan directly from an insurance company, from the marketplace known as Healthcare.gov **[**or **[INSERT STATE-SPECIFIC MARKETPLACE NAME FROM TABLE below]],** or through an insurance agent or broker?

1. Directly from an insurance company

2. From Healthcare.gov **[**or **insert state-specific marketplace name]**

3. Through an insurance agent or broker

4. Somewhere else

5 Don't know

[LISTING OF STATE-SPECIFIC MARKETPLACE NAMES – PPSTATEN]

AL	
AK	
AZ	
AR	
CA - 93	Covered California
CO - 84	Connect for Health Colorado
CT - 16	Access Health CTÊ
DC - 53	DC Health Link
DE	
FL	
GA	
HI	
ID - 82	Your Health Idaho
IL	

IN	
IA	
KS	
KY	
LA	
ME	
MD - 52	Maryland Health Connection
MA - 14	Health Connector
MI	
MN - 41	Mnsure
MS	
MO	
MT	
NE	
NV	
NH	
NJ	
NM - 85	beWellnm
NY - 21	New York State of Health
NC	
ND	
OH	
OK	
OR	
PA	
RI	
SC	
SD	
TN	
TX	
UT	
VT - 13	Vermont Health Connect
VA	
WA - 91	Washington Healthplanfinder
WV	
WI	
WY	

Base: DH8=2,6

DH8B [s]

As far as you know, is the amount you pay for your health plan based on your income, or is it not based on your income?

1. Yes, based on income

2. No, not based on income

Base: PPETHM=1

THIS THIRD SERIES (WHICHEVER IS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED) GOES AFTER DH8
[SLIDING SCALES; SP, RANGES 0-100, DO NOT SHOW RANGES ; SHOW SCALES ON THE SAME SCREEN]

DETH3. Where would you rate blacks in general on these scales?

HARD WORKING																					**LAZY**

TRUSTWORTHY																					**UNTRUSTWORTHY**

Base: ppethm=1,2,3,5

RE27 [S]
In your day-to-day life, how frequently do you have conversations with Hispanics or Latinos?

1. Never or almost never
2. Less than once a month
3. 1-3 times each month
4. At least once a week
5. Every day

VII. STANDARD SCREENED OUT TEXT FOR PANEL SAMPLE:

<See SCREENER section>

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE