Recontact Pre-2016-Election
310.111.00615.1

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Contracted Length of Interview: 20 minutes
Start Fieldwork: 09/22/16
End Fieldwork: 11/15/16
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I. SAMPLE VARIABLES

- KP standard demographics
- **XPARTY** (1=Strong Republican; 2= Not Strong Republican; 3=Leans Republican; 4= Undecided/Independent/Other; 5=Leans Democrat; 6= Not Strong Democrat; 7= Strong Democrat; 9=Missing)
- **XIDEO** (1=Extremely liberal; 2=Liberal; 3=Slightly liberal; 4=Moderate, middle of the road; 5=Slightly conservative; 6=Conservative; 7=Extremely conservative; 9=Missing)XREL1
- **XZIP: 0-99999**

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.

SCRIPTER: Do not prompt on all questions.

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

Base: Ask all

VP5_A [S]
[if DOV_VP5_A = 1: If the presidential election was held today and Donald Trump, the Republican, was running against Hillary Clinton, the Democrat, who would you vote for? **/ if DOV_VP5_A = 2:**If the presidential election was held today and Hillary Clinton, the Democrat, was running against Donald Trump, the Republican, who would you vote for?**]**

1. [if **DOV_VP5_A = 1:** Donald Trump and Mike Pence, the Republicans/if **DOV_VP5_A =2:** Hillary Clinton, the Democrat]
2. [if **DOV_VP5_A =1:** Hillary Clinton and Tim Kaine, the Democrats/if **DOV_VP5_A =2:** Donald Trump, the Republican]
Bill Weld, the Libertarian
4. Jill Stein and Ajamu Baraka, the Green Party candidates
5. Other (SPECIFY) **[O]**
6. Would not vote for President

Base: if VP5_A=1-5

VP5_OE [O][LIMIT UP TO 200 CHARACTERS]
Let's say a friend asked you why you were supporting **[INSERT ANSWER FROM VP5_A],** 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
Randomly assign whether Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton appears first
dov_new [s]: 1=Trump; 2=Clinton

New. **[THERMOMETER]**
Please rate [**IF DOV_NEW=1:**Donald Trump/**IF DOV_NEW=2:**Hillary Clinton] on a thermometer that runs from 0 to 100 degrees. Rating above 50 means that you feel favorable and warm toward {[**IF DOV_NEW=1:**him/[**IF DOV_NEW=2:**her}, and rating below 50 means that you feel unfavorable and cool.

[IF DOV_NEW=1]NRL3Q [TRUMP]

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

[IF DOV_NEW=2]NRL3B [CLINTON]
[SP] Don’t know who person is
[SP] Don’t know enough about her

Base: Ask all
Programming note: Feeling thermometer; reference sno 16716 NRL3A

The next person is: [**IF DOV_NEW=2:**Donald Trump/ **IF DOV_NEW=1:**Hillary Clinton]
Where on that thermometer would you rate [**IF DOV_NEW=2:**Donald Trump// **IF DOV_NEW=1:**Hillary Clinton]?

[IF DOV_NEW=2]NRL3Q [TRUMP]

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

[IF DOV_NEW=1]NRL3B [CLINTON]
[SP] Don't know who person is
[SP] Don't know enough about her

Base: Ask all

RANDOMIZE THE ORDER OF CLD1 AND CLD2

[FROM WAVE 2 OF 2008 PANEL]
CLD1. Is there anything in particular that you like or dislike about Hillary Clinton? If so, please fill in the boxes below.

I like: [ENTER TEXT]
I dislike: [ENTER TEXT]

[SP] Don't know enough about this person

[SP] Nothing in particular

Base: Ask all

[FROM WAVE 2 OF 2008 PANEL]
CLD2. Is there anything in particular that you like or dislike about Donald Trump? If so, please fill in the boxes below.

I like: [ENTER TEXT]
I dislike: [ENTER TEXT]

[SP] Don't know enough about this person

[SP] Nothing in particular

[PLEASE RE-INSERT PCK2 HERE]

Economic perceptions

Scripter:
Create RAN_ECO [s][Randomize and record the order]
If RAN_ECO=1; "ECO3 SHOW FIRST"
If RAN_ECO=2; "ECO1 SHOW FIRST"
Please refer to SNO16716.

Base: Ask all

ECO1 [S] **Retrospective – Sociotropic**
Thinking about the economy in the country as a whole, would you say that over the past year the nation's economy has gotten better, stayed about the same, or gotten worse?

1. Gotten a lot better

2. Gotten a little better
3. Gotten a little worse
4. Gotten a lot worse
5. Stayed about the same

Base: Ask all

ECO3 [S] **Retrospective – Personal**
We are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you and your family living here are better off, worse off, or just about the same financially as you were a year ago?

1. A lot better off
2. A little better off
3. A little worse off
4. A lot worse off
5. Just about the same

Base: Ask all
Scripter: Randomize and record the order
[GRID]

ISO. Next we have some questions about what role the United States should play with respect to the rest of the world.

Please tell us whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

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

[RANDOMIZE]

ISO1. The U.S. needs to play an active role in solving conflicts around the world.
ISO2. The U.S. government should just try to take care of the well-being of Americans and not get involved with other nations.
ISO3. It is essential for the United States to work with other nations to solve problems, such as overpopulation, hunger, and pollution.
ISO4. It will be best for the future of the country if we stay out of world affairs.
ISO5. The United States has the responsibility to play the role of "world policeman," that is, to fight violations of international law and aggression wherever they occur.

Issue Opinions of Respondents and Perceived Agreement with Candidates

Base: Ask all

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: Ask all

POS5 [Grid, SP across] **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: Ask all

POS7 [S] **Trade – Self**
Do you favor or oppose the federal government in Washington negotiating more free trade agreements like NAFTA?

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

Base: Ask all

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

Base: if DH2=1-4

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
Randomly assign respondents to one of the 2 order; USE THE SAME FORMAT AS CHINA1
DOV_R18 [S]: 1=1; 2=2

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

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

DOWN:
1.Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
2. Where would you place [IF DOV_R18=1: Hillary Clinton/ IF DOV_R18=2: Donald Trump] on this scale?
3. How about [IF DOV_R18=1: Donald Trump/[IF DOV_R18=2: Hillary Clinton]? Where would you place him on this scale?

Base: Ask all
Scripter: Please use SNO 19124 RE16 as a reference to program the question, do not show numbers and border for the scale, please put statement in the first column

Randomize response options 2 and 3. Show 2 and 3 after option1. Please use the same exact formatting as in the 2012 waves sno 16716 RE21
Create RE_Randomize[s]: randomly assign a value of 1 or 2 with equal probability

CHINA1. **[7-POINT SCALE, WITH DON'T KNOW, DON'T SHOW THE NUMBER]**

There are different views about China. Some people see China as more of an opportunity for new markets and economic investment, while others see it as a threat to our jobs and security. Still others are somewhere in between. Which view is closer to your own?

China is a terrific opportunity for new markets and investment						China is strictly a threat to US jobs and security	DON'T KNOW
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8

1. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

2. Where would you place [IF **RE_Randomize=1:** Hillary Clinton /IF **RE_Randomize=2:** Donald Trump] on this scale?
3. How about [IF **RE_Randomize=1:** Donald Trump/IF **RE_Randomize=2:**Hillary Clinton]? Where would you place [IF **RE_Randomize=1:** him/ IF **RE_Randomize=2:** her] on this scale?

Evaluation of Campaign Process

Base: Ask all

EP1 [S] **Government Attention**
How much do you feel that having elections makes the government pay attention to what the people think: a good deal, some or not much?

1. A good deal
2. Some
3. Not much

Base: Ask all

EP3 [S] **Elections about Money Only**
In general, do you think the best candidates win the elections or is it just the candidates who raise the most money that get elected, or something in between?

1. Best candidates win
2. Candidates who raise the most money win
3. Something in between

Base: Ask all

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: Ask all
Randomize response options 2 and 3. Show 2 and 3 after option1. Please use the same exact formatting as in the 2012 waves sno 16716 RE16

RE16a [Grid] **Trade**
Some people think that the United States should have more trade agreements with other countries. Others believe that the U.S. should have fewer trade agreements. Of course, some other people have opinions somewhere in between.

Government should have more free trade agreements			Keep things the same as they are now			Government should have fewer free trade agreements
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[SP] Don't know

1. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?
2. Where would you place [IF **RE_Randomize=1:** Hillary Clinton /IF **RE_Randomize=2:** Donald Trump] on this scale?

3. How about [IF **RE_Randomize=1:** Donald Trump/IF **RE_Randomize=2:**Hillary Clinton]? Where would you place [IF **RE_Randomize=1:** him/ IF **RE_Randomize=2:** her] on this scale?

Immigration

Create DOV: RAN_RE23 [S][Randomize and record the order]
If DOV_RE23=1; "SHOW A FIRST"
If DOV_RE23=2; "SHOW B FIRST"

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
USE SAME GRAPHIC AS IN 2012 SURVEYS SNO16716

RE23_A [Grid]
On immigration, some people argue that U.S. policy should focus on **[If DOC_RE23=1:** returning illegal immigrants to their native countries/ **if DOV_RE23=2:** creating a pathway to U.S. citizenship for illegal immigrants.] Other people argue that U.S. policy should focus on **[if DOV_RE23=1:** creating a pathway to U.S. citizenship for illegal immigrants**/if DOV_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 DOC_RE23=1:** Return illegal immigrants to their native countries/**If DOC_RE23=2:**Create a pathway to U.S. citizenship for illegal immigrants]

2.
3.
4.
5.
6.
7. **[If DOC_RE23=1:** Create a pathway to U.S. citizenship for illegal immigrants/**If DOC_RE23=2:**Return illegal immigrants to their native countries]
8. DON'T KNOW

Perceived Benefits of Globalization

Scripter: Randomize SOC1 and PER1 with same probability. Record the order.

Base: All Respondents

SOC1 [S] Trade: Sociotropic Benefit

Thinking about the increasing amount of trade between the U.S. and other countries, do you think this has helped the United States economy, hurt the United States economy, or has it not affected the U.S. economy?

1. Helped the economy a lot
2. Helped the economy a little
3. Hurt the economy a little
4. Hurt the economy a lot
5. Not affected the economy either way

Base: All Respondents

PER1 [S] Trade: Personal Benefit

Think about the increasing amount of trade between the United States and other countries. Do you think this has helped you and your family financially, hurt you and your family financially, or has it not affected your family's financial situation?

1. Helped my family a lot financially
2. Helped my family a little financially
3. Hurt my family a little financially
4. Hurt my family a lot financially

5. Has not affected my family financially

Scripter: Randomize OSO1 and OPER1 with same probability. Record the order.

Base: All Respondents

OSO1 [S] Outsourcing: Sociotropic Benefit

Overall, do you think outsourcing has generally been good for the American economy, bad for the economy, or has it not affected the American economy either way?

1. Very good for the economy
2. Somewhat good for the economy
3. Somewhat bad for the economy
4. Very bad for the economy

5. Hasn't affected the economy either way

Base: All Respondents

OPER1 [S] **Outsourcing: Personal Benefit**
Have you or has anyone in your family been positively or negatively affected by outsourcing?

1. No, not affected by outsourcing
2. Yes, positively affected by outsourcing
3. Yes, negatively affected by outsourcing

Perceived Polarization

Base: All Respondents

RE10 [S] **How Politically Divided**
How politically divided are Americans these days?

1. Not at all divided
2. Somewhat divided
3. Very divided
4. Extremely divided

Base: All Respondents

RE11 [S] **Agreement on Policies between Rep-Dem Voters**
How much agreement is there between the policies that Republican and Democratic voters want these days?

1. A great deal of agreement
2. Some agreement
3. Very little agreement
4. No agreement at all

Base: All Respondents

RE12 [S] **Political Polarization of the American Public**
Some people say the American public is extremely polarized politically these days, while others think this is not really true. Which statement best describes your view of the American public?

1. Americans are extremely polarized
2. Americans are somewhat polarized
3. Americans are not very polarized
4. American are not at all polarized

Base: All Respondents

RE13 [S] **Extreme Views**

More and more Americans have extreme views these days.

1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree
4. Strongly disagree

Base: All Respondents
Keep format the same as PCK2 IN S16716

[GRID, SP] [PLEASE MOVE THIS QUESTION TO THE INDICATED SPACE ABOVE.]
[RANDOMIZE THE ORDER OF HC AND DT]
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 far right if you don't know enough about the person to rate him or her.

ACROSS:
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

DOWN:
1. Hillary Clinton
2. Donald Trump

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: All Respondents

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

SAMVAR: XDETH

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]

[ASK TO ALL RESPONDENTS][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: All Respondents

RE24 **[Grid SP across, MP 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. Our system of government is in need of some serious changes.
3. Whatever its faults may be, our form of government is best for representing the interests of the country's citizens.
4. At present I feel very critical of our political system.

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

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

DETH2. Where would you rate Hispanics or Latinos in general on these scales?

Hard working																					**Lazy**

Trustworthy																					**Untrustworthy**

National Superiority

Base: All Respondents

Scripter: Randomize and record order

Q12. **[Grid SP across, MP down]**

To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of these statements:

Strongly Agree	Somewhat Agree	Somewhat Disagree	Strongly Disagree

1. In the United States, our people are not perfect, but our culture is superior to others.
2. I would rather be a citizen of America than of any other country in the world.
3. The world would be a better place if people from other countries were more like Americans.

4. The way things are in America, people like me and my family have a good chance of improving our standard of living.

Base: All Respondents

EM1[s].
Do you think that economic mobility, that is, people's opportunity to improve their financial well-being, has decreased or increased today compared to what it was 20 years ago?

1. Increased a lot
2. Increased a little
3. Neither increased or decreased
4. Decreased a little
5. Decreased a lot

Base: All Respondents

EM2**[Grid SP across, MP down].**
To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

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

1. Hard work offers little guarantee of success.
2. If people work hard they almost always get what they want.
3. Most people who do not get ahead in life probably work as hard as people who do.
4. Any person who is willing to work hard has a good chance of succeeding.

Social Dominance Orientation

Base: All Respondents

Q15. [Grid SP across, MP down][PROMPT]
There are many kinds of groups in the world: men and women, ethnic and religious groups, nationalities, political factions. How much do you support or oppose these ideas about groups in general? For each statement select a number from 1 to 10 to show your opinion.

1 Extremely oppose	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10 Extremely favor

1. In setting priorities, we must consider all groups.
2. We should not push for group equality.
3. Group equality should be our ideal.
4. Superior groups should dominate inferior groups.

Base: All Respondents

[grid]

Q16. To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly

1. In general, I find society to be fair.
2. American society needs to be radically restructured.
3. Most policies serve the greater good.
4. Everyone has a fair shot at wealth and happiness.
5. Our society is getting worse every year.
6. Society is set up so that people usually get what they deserve.

Base: All Respondents

Scripter: Randomize and record order

MKT**[Grid SP across, MP down]**

We hear a lot of talk these days about the idea of the "marketplace," where goods and services are bought and sold and businesses compete for customers. To what extent do you agree or disagree with each of these statements about the marketplace:

Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly

MKT1. The marketplace is generally more efficient and less wasteful than government.
MKT2. The marketplace is democratic because it allows everyone to express their preferences by choosing what to buy.
MKT3. Institutions like government and public schools should follow the principles of the marketplace.

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? (READ IF NECESSARY: 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

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: All Respondents

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

Base: All Respondents

FFW[Grid SP across, MP down].
Please tell us to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

Female elected officials are more likely to…

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree	Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree

1. Favor women for government jobs over male applicants.
2. Promote educational programs targeted at girls at the expense of boys.
3. Support government spending that favors women.
4. Focus on issues that mainly affect women.

Base: All Respondents

FFWa[SP]. Thinking about the statements you just read, would it be good or bad if female elected officials favored women?

1. Very good
2. Somewhat good
3. Somewhat bad
4. Very bad

Base: All Respondents

MS**[Grid SP across, MP down].**
Please tell us to what extent you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

Down:

1. When women demand equality these days, they are actually seeking special favors.
2. Women often miss out on good jobs because of discrimination.
3. Women who complain about harassment cause more problems than they solve.

Across:

1. Agree strongly
2. Agree somewhat

3. Neither agree nor disagree
4. Disagree somewhat
5. Disagree strongly

VII. STANDARD SCREENED OUT TEXT FOR PANEL SAMPLE:

<See SCREENER section>

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE