KnowledgePanel®

Ipsos Public Affairs
Project Report for the
2020 Pre-Election Study

Submitted to:
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Table of Contents

STUDY DESIGN & DOCUMENTATION 3

Introduction 3
Sample Definition, Field Period and Survey Length 3
Survey Cooperation Enhancements 3
Data File Deliverables and Descriptions 3
Key Personnel 6

IPSOS KNOWLEDGEPANEL® METHODOLOGY 7

Introduction 7
Ipsos Public Affairs 7
KnowledgePanel Methodology 7
ABS Recruitment 8
Household Member Recruitment 9
Survey Sampling from KnowledgePanel 9
Survey Administration 9
Response Rates 9

IPSOS KNOWLEDGEPANEL WEIGHTING 10

Sample Weighting 10
Study-Specific Post-Stratification Weights 11

APPENDIX A: FINAL PROGRAMMED MAIN SURVEY QUESTIONNAIRE 13

APPENDIX B: BENCHMARK DISTRIBUTIONS 26

Study Design & Documentation

Introduction

Ipsos Public Affairs (Ipsos) conducted the 2020 Pre-Election Study on behalf of University of Pennsylvania.

The study examines how respondents' attitudes have shifted on issues including immigration, the Affordable Care Act, and the political parties. It also examines changing media consumption behavior.

The survey was conducted on KnowledgePanel®, a probability-based web panel designed to be representative of the United States.

Sample Definition, Field Period and Survey Length

The target population consisted of general-population respondents who completed pre/post 2012 election survey.

The survey was fielded in English and consisted of two stages: A pretest followed by a main survey. The final programmed instrument is shown in Appendix A.

The median completion time of the main survey was 9 minutes.

The completion and qualification rates for the main survey are presented below.

Field Start	Field End	N Fielded	N Completed	Completion Rate	N Qualified	Qualification Rate
1/24/2020	1/31/2020	1335	1107	83%	1107	100%

Survey Cooperation Enhancements

As standard with KnowledgePanel surveys, email reminders were sent to non-responders on Day 3 of the field period. An additional reminder was sent to the remaining non-responders on Day 5 of the field period.

Data File Deliverables and Descriptions

For each survey, Ipsos prepared and delivered fully-formatted SPSS datasets containing the survey and demographic data with the appropriate variable and value labels. The table below shows the final Pretest and Main survey files delivered:

Delivery Date	File Type	File Name	File Size	N Records
1/21/2020	SPSS	UPenn_NAES2020_Pretest_Client.sav	314kb	25
1/31/2020	SPSS	UPenn_NAES2020_Main_Client_Unweighted.sav	4Mb	1107
2/4/2020	SPSS	UPenn_NAES2020_Main_Client_Final.sav	4Mb	1107

In addition, Ipsos prepared and delivered other deliverables as follows:

- Post-stratification statistical weights
- Item timing data in seconds for all respondents
- Demographic profile data for all respondents
- Additional non-demographic profile data for all qualified respondents: Shifted latitude and longitude are included for qualified respondents
    - Party ID
    - Ideology
    - Public Affair profile survey completion time
    - Core profile survey completion time
- Variables containing a respondent's CASEID/MNO from previous waves

Please also note the following for the survey data file:

- When a respondent refused to answer a question, the code "-1" is used.
- When questions or response choices were randomized, the order of the randomization is provided.

In addition to the survey variables from the Main interview, Ipsos' standard demographic profile variables, a set of additional profile variables, and a series of data processing variables created by Ipsos were provided in the data file. The following table shows the name and description of all variables included in the Main survey dataset.

Name	Label
CaseID	Case ID
mno	Member Number
tm_start	Interview Start Time
tm_finish	Interview End Time
duration	Interview duration in minutes
Weight1	Post-stratification weight
DeviceType	Device Type
xparty7	Party ID
xideo	Ideology
xme2	Flag for ME2
xq4	Flag for Q4

xcld2	Flag for CLD2
xpck2	Flag for PCK2
ppcmdate	Date member completed Core Adult survey
pppadate	Date member completed Public Affairs survey
PPAGE	Age
ppagecat	Age - 7 Categories
ppagect4	Age - 4 Categories
PPEDUC	Education (Highest Degree Received)
PPEDUCAT	Education (Categorical)
PPETHM	Race / Ethnicity
PPGENDER	Gender
PPHHHEAD	Household Head
PPHHSIZE	Household Size
PPHOUSE	Housing Type
PPINCIMP	Household Income
PPMARIT	Marital Status
PPMSACAT	MSA Status
PPREG4	Region 4 - Based on State of Residence
ppreg9	Region 9 - Based on State of Residence
PPRENT	Ownership Status of Living Quarters
PPSTATEN	State
PPT01	Presence of Household Members - Children 0-1
PPT25	Presence of Household Members - Children 2-5
PPT612	Presence of Household Members - Children 6-12
PPT1317	Presence of Household Members - Children 13-17
PPT18OV	Presence of Household Members - Adults 18+
PPWORK	Current Employment Status

Key Personnel

Key personnel on the study include:

Wendy Mansfield – Senior Vice President, Research Development. W. Mansfield is based in Washington, DC.
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Ying Wang – Senior Account Manager, Ipsos Public Affairs. Y. Wang is based in Madison, WI.
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Ipsos KnowledgePanel® Methodology

Introduction

Ipsos is passionate about social science, health, and public policy research. We collaborate closely with our client throughout the research process, while applying rigor in every step. We specialize in innovative online research that consistently gives leaders in academia, government, and business the confidence to make important decisions. Ipsos delivers affordable, statistically valid online research through KnowledgePanel® and leverages a variety of other assets, such as world-class advanced analytics, an industry-leading physician panel, an innovative platform for measuring online ad effectiveness, and a research-ready behavioral database of frequent supermarket and drug store shoppers.

KnowledgePanel is the first and largest online research panel that is representative of the entire U.S. population. Panel members are randomly recruited through probability-based sampling, and households are provided with access to the Internet and hardware if needed.

Ipsos recruits panel members by using address-based sampling (ABS) methods (previously Ipsos relied on random-digit dialing [RDD] methods). Once household members are recruited for the panel and assigned to a study sample, they are notified by email for survey taking, or panelists can visit their online member page for survey taking (instead of being contacted by telephone or postal mail). This allows surveys to be fielded quickly and economically. In addition, this approach reduces the burden placed on respondents, since email notification is less intrusive than telephone calls and most respondents find answering online questionnaires more interesting and engaging than being questioned by a telephone interviewer. Furthermore, respondents have the convenience to choose what day and time to complete their assigned survey.

Ipsos Public Affairs

Ipsos Public Affairs has a strong tradition in working with sophisticated academic, government, and commercial researchers to provide high quality research, samples, and analyses. The larger Ipsos offers the fundamental knowledge for governmental agencies, academics, industries, industry, retailers, services companies and the media need to provide exceptional quality in research to make effective decisions. It delivers a comprehensive range of information and consultancy services. Ipsos is one of the leading survey research organizations worldwide, operating in 90 countries with over 16,000 employees.

For further information, visit our website: www.ipsos.com.

KnowledgePanel Methodology

KnowledgePanel is the largest online panel that relies on probability-based sampling techniques for recruitment; hence, it is the largest national sampling frame from which fully representative samples can be generated to produce statistically valid inferences for study populations. Our panel provides samples with the highest level of representativeness available in online research for measurement of public opinions, attitudes, and behaviors. The panel was first developed in

1999 by Knowledge Networks, an Ipsos company. Panel members are randomly selected so that survey results can properly represent the U.S. population with a measurable level of accuracy, features that are not obtainable from nonprobability or opt-in online panels (for comparisons of results from probability versus nonprobability methods, see MacInnis et al., 2018[1] and Yeager et al., 2011[2]).

KnowledgePanel's recruitment process was originally based exclusively on a national RDD sampling methodology. In 2009, in light of the growing proportion of cellphone-only households, Ipsos migrated to an ABS recruitment methodology via the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File (DSF). ABS not only improves population coverage, but also provides a more effective means for recruiting hard-to-reach individuals, such as young adults and minorities. Households without Internet connection are provided with a web-enabled device and free internet service.

After initially accepting the invitation to join the panel, participants are asked to complete a short demographic survey (the initial Core Profile Survey); answers to this survey allow efficient panel sampling and weighting for future surveys. Upon completing the Core Profile Survey, participants become active panel members. All panel members are provided privacy and confidentiality protections.

ABS Recruitment

We use probability-based sampling methods for recruiting new members to join KnowledgePanel. For this purpose, we rely on the latest version of the Delivery Sequence File (DSF) from the USPS to select address-based samples that are nationally representative of all households. By taking advantage of a host of ancillary data that are appended to each address, we use stratified random sampling to ensure the geodemographic composition of our panel members mimic those of the adult population in the U.S.[3]

Adults from sampled households are invited to join KnowledgePanel through a series of mailings, including an initial invitation letter, a reminder postcard, and a subsequent follow-up letter. Moreover, telephone refusal-conversion calls are made to nonresponding households for which a telephone number could be matched to a physical address. Invited households can join the panel by:

- Completing and mailing back a paper form in a postage-paid envelope
- Calling a toll-free hotline phone number maintained by Ipsos
- Going to a designated Ipsos website and completing the recruitment form online

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[1] MacInnis, B., Krosnick, J., Ho, A., and M. Cho (2018). "The Accuracy of Measurements with Probability and Nonprobability Survey Samples: Replication and Extension." Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter 2018.

[2] Yeager, D., Krosnick, J., Chang, L., Javitz, H., Levendusky, M., Simper, A. and R. Wang (2011). "Comparing the Accuracy of RDD Telephone Surveys and Internet Surveys Conducted With Probability and Non-Probability Samples." Public Opinion Quarterly, Winter 2011.

[3] Fahimi, M. and D. Kulp (2009). "Address-Based Sampling – Alternatives for Surveys That Require Contacts with Representative Samples of Households." Quirk's Marketing Research Review, May 2009.

Household Member Recruitment

During the initial recruitment survey, all household members are enumerated. Following enumeration, attempts are made to recruit every household member who is at least 13 years old to participate in KnowledgePanel surveys. For household members aged 13 to 17, consent is collected from the parents or the legal guardian during the initial recruitment interview. No direct communication with teenagers is attempted before obtaining parental consent.

Survey Sampling from KnowledgePanel

Once panel members are recruited and profiled by completing our Core Profile Survey, they become eligible for selection for client surveys. Typically, specific survey samples are based on the equal probability selection method (EPSEM) for general population surveys. Customized stratified random sampling based on "profile" data can also be implemented as required by the study design. Profile data can also be used when a survey calls for pre-screening—that is, members are drawn from a subsample of the panel, such as females, Republicans, grocery shoppers, etc. (This can reduce screening costs, particularly for rare subgroups.) In such cases, we take care to ensure that all subsequent survey samples drawn that week are selected in such a way as to result in a sample that remains representative of the panel distributions. While surveys can be conducted with these teens directly, in most instances teen surveys are conducted by first selecting a sample of active members who are parents. This parent route alternative makes it possible to reach a larger sample of teens.

Survey Administration

Once assigned to a survey, members receive a notification email letting them know there is a new survey available for them to complete. This email notification contains a link that sends them to the survey. No login name or password is required. The field period depends on the client's needs and can range anywhere from a few hours to several weeks.

Typically, after three days, automatic email reminders are sent to all non-responding panel members in the sample. Additional email reminders are sent or custom reminder schedules are set up as needed. To assist panel members with their survey taking, each individual has a personalized member portal listing all assigned surveys that have yet to be completed.

Ipsos also operates an ongoing modest incentive program to encourage participation and create member loyalty. The incentive program includes special raffles and sweepstakes with both cash rewards and other prizes to be won. Typically, we assign panel members no more than one survey per week. On average, panel members complete two to three surveys per month with durations of 10 to 15 minutes per survey. An additional incentive is usually provided for longer surveys.

Response Rates

As a member of the American Association of Public Opinion Research (AAPOR), Ipsos follows the AAPOR standards for response rate reporting. While the AAPOR standards were established for single survey administrations and not for multi-stage panel surveys, we use the Callegaro-

DiSogra (2008)[4] algorithms for calculating KnowledgePanel survey response rates. Generally, the KnowledgePanel survey completion rate is about 60%, with minor variations due to survey length, topic, sample specifications, and other fielding characteristics. In contrast, virtually all surveys that employ nonprobability online panels typically achieve survey completion rates in the low single digits. This means that – aside from the fact that nonprobability panels are inherently not representative of any known populations – the effective size of KnowledgePanel (55,000 panel members × 0.60 completion rate = 33,000 respondents) would be equivalent to a nonprobability panel with 1,650,000 members that on average secures completion rates close to 2% (1,650,000 panel members x 0.02 = 33,000 respondents).

Ipsos KnowledgePanel Weighting

Sample Weighting

As detailed above, significant resources and infrastructure are devoted to the recruitment process for KnowledgePanel so that our active panel members can properly represent the adult population of the U.S. This representation is achieved not only with respect to a broad set of geodemographic indicators, but also for hard-to-reach adults (such as those without Internet access or Spanish-language-dominant Hispanics) who are recruited in proper proportions. Consequently, the raw distribution of KnowledgePanel mirrors that of the U.S. adults fairly closely, barring occasional disparities that may emerge for certain subgroups due to differential attrition.

For selection of general population samples from KnowledgePanel, a patented methodology has been developed that ensures all samples behave as EPSEM samples. Briefly, this methodology starts by weighting the pool of active members to the geodemographic benchmarks secured from the latest March supplement of the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey (CPS) along several dimensions. Using the resulting weights as measures of size, a probability-proportional-to-size (PPS) procedure is used to select study specific samples. It is the application of this PPS methodology with the imposed size measures that produces fully self-weighing samples from KnowledgePanel, for which each sample member can carry a design weight of unity. Moreover, in instances where a study design requires any form of oversampling of certain subgroups, such departures from an EPSEM design are accounted for by adjusting the design weights in reference to the CPS benchmarks for the population of interest.

The geodemographic benchmarks used to weight the active panel members for computation of size measures include:

- Gender (Male/Female)
- Age (18–29, 30–44, 45–59, and 60+)
- Race/Hispanic ethnicity (White/Non-Hispanic, Black/Non-Hispanic, Other/Non-Hispanic, 2+ Races/Non-Hispanic, Hispanic)

[4] Callegaro, M. and C. DiSogra (2008). "Computing Response Metrics for Online Panels." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 72, No. 5.

- Education (Less than High School, High School, Some College, Bachelor and beyond)
- Census Region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West)
- Household income (under $10k, $10K to <$25k, $25K to <$50k, $50K to <$75k, $75K to <$100k, $100K to <$150k, and $150K+)
- Home ownership status (Own, Rent/Other)
- Metropolitan Area (Yes, No)
- Hispanic Origin (Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Other, Non-Hispanic)

Study-Specific Post-Stratification Weights

Once all survey data have been collected and processed, design weights are adjusted to account for any differential nonresponse that may have occurred. Depending on the specific target population for a given study, geodemographic distributions for the corresponding population are obtained from the CPS, the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS), or in certain instances from the weighted KnowledgePanel profile data. For this purpose an iterative proportional fitting (raking) procedure is used to produce the final weights. In the final step, calculated weights are examined to identify and, if necessary, trim outliers at the extreme upper and lower tails of the weight distribution. The resulting weights are then scaled to aggregate to the total sample size of all eligible respondents.

For this study, the following benchmark distributions of U.S. adults age 30 and over from the most recent (March 2019) Current Population Survey (CPS) data were used for the raking adjustment of weights.

- Age (30-44, 45-59, 60+) by Gender (Male, Female)
- Race (White, AA, Other/2+ Races, Hispanic) by Gender (Male, Female)
- Region (Northeast, Midwest, South, West) by Gender (Male, Female)
- Metro (Non-Metro, Metro) by Gender (Male, Female)
- Education (LHS/HS, Some College, Bachelor or above) by Gender (Male, Female)
- Age (30-44, 45+) X (White/2+ Races, AA/Others/Hispanic) X (LHS/HS, Some College, Bachelor or above)
- Household Income (Less than $25K, $25K-49,999, $50K-74,999, $75K-99,999, $100K-$149,999, $150K+) by Gender

Weights were trimmed and scaled to sum to the sample size of respondents.

Trimming:
Male: (2.69%, 98.66%)
Female: (1.37%, 98.81%)
DEEF (overall): 2.5857

Range of Weights:

Analysis Variable : weight1								
N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Median	Coeff of Variation	1st Pctl	99th Pctl	Sum
1107	0.059	6.724	1.000	0.572	125.924	0.059	6.570	1107.000

Detailed information on the demographic distributions of the benchmarks can be found in Appendix B.

Appendix A: Final Programmed Main Survey Questionnaire

Study Information

Client: University of Pennsylvania
Project Title: Recontact 2020
Project Number:

Account Executive: Wendy Mansfield
Project Manager: Ying Wang

I. SAMPLE VARIABLES

- KP standard demographics
- **XPARTY7** (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)
- **XME2**: 1=ASKED IN 2016; 2=NOT ASKED
- **XQ4**: 1=asked Q4_1 in 2016; 2=Asked Q4_2 in 2016; 3=not asked
- **XCLD2**: 1=asked in 2018; 2=not asked in 2018
- **XPCK2**: 1=asked in 2016; 2=not asked in 2016

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?

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 ME1=2

ME2B[O]
What newspaper do you read most regularly, whether online or in print? Please list its complete name as well as you can.

Newspaper:

Base: if xME2=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

Base: Ask if XPARTY7 = 5,6,7 (Strong Democrats, Weak Democrats, Independents who lean Democratic)

VP1A_DEM [S][RANDOMIZE 1-9]
If you had to choose this week to vote for one of the primary candidates to be the presidential nominee for the Democratic Party, which candidate would you vote for:

1. Bernie Sanders
2. Joe Biden
3. Elizabeth Warren
4. Pete Buttigieg
5. Andrew Yang
6. Amy Klobuchar
7. Tom Steyer
8. Deval Patrick
9. Michael Bloomberg
10. Someone else **[OPEN TEXT]**

Base: Ask all
DOV_VP10[S]: RANDOMLY ASSIGN 25% OF SAMPLE TO GROUP1; 25% SAMPLE TO GROUP2: 50% SAMPLE TO GROUP3
1=GROUP1 (25%)
2=GROUP2 (25%)
3=GROUP3 (50%)

Base: VIPA_DEM=1-9 AND DOV_VP10=3

VP10_OE [O][LIMIT UPTO 200 CHARACTERS]
Let's say a friend asked you why you were supporting **[INSERT ANSWER FROM VP1A_DEM]** in the primary election. In one sentence, what would you say?

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

[RANDOMIZE and record the ORDER OF VP5_A_1, VP5_A_2, VP5_A_3, VP5_A_4,]

Insert these Democrats, do not bold:

VP5_A_1: Joe Biden
VP5_A_2: Elizabeth Warren
VP5_A_3: Pete Buttigieg
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: 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: xcld2=1 and dov_vp10=1
CLD2 [O]
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, LIMIT 100 CHARACTERS]
I dislike: [ENTER TEXT, LIMIT 100 CHARACTERS]

[SP] Don't know enough about this person

[SP] Nothing in particular

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.

DOV_POS5[S]: RANDOMLY ASSIGN 50% TO GROUP1 AND 50% TO GROUP2
1=GROUP1
2=GROUP2

Base: DOV_POS5=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: 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

Create DOV: DOV_EX5: RANDOMLY ASSIGN HALF RESPONDENTS TO ONE OF THE TWO GROUPS: 1=SHOW EX5: 2=DO NOT SHOW EX5

BASE: IF DOV_EX5=1

EX5[S]

Setting aside your own preferences and what you know about the current candidates for president, do you think – all else being equal – that a female candidate for president has more of a chance of winning, less of a chance of winning, or about the same chance as a male candidate for president?

1 Much more of a chance of winning
2 Somewhat more of a chance of winning
3 Somewhat less of a chance of winning
4 Much less of a chance of winning
5 About the same chance of winning

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**

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

Base: PPETHM=1

[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**

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**

VII. STANDARD SCREENED OUT TEXT FOR PANEL SAMPLE:

<See SCREENER section>

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE

Appendix B: Benchmark Distributions

30+ CPS Benchmarks
Source: March 2019 CPS

Table of age3 by ppgender			
age3	**ppgender**		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Age 30-44	32.87	30.75	31.77
Age 45-59	31.58	30.89	31.22
Age 60+	35.55	38.36	37.01
Total	9.49E+07	1.03E+08	1.98E+08

Table of ppeth4 by ppgender			
ppeth4	**ppgender**		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
White, non-hispanic	66.21	65.04	65.6
Black, non-hispanic	10.53	12.01	11.3
Other or two races, non-hispanic	7.91	8.4	8.17
Hispanic	15.35	14.55	14.93
Total	9.49E+07	1.03E+08	1.98E+08

Table of ppreg4 by ppgender			
ppreg4	**ppgender**		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Northeast	17.21	17.77	17.5
Midwest	20.97	20.76	20.86
South	37.73	38.26	38.01
West	24.08	23.21	23.62
Total	9.49E+07	1.03E+08	1.98E+08

Table of ppmsacat by ppgender			
ppmsacat	**ppgender**		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Non-Metro	13.95	13.57	13.75
Metro	86.05	86.43	86.25
Total	9.49E+07	1.03E+08	1.98E+08

Table of ppeducat3 by ppgender			
ppeducat3	**ppgender**		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
LHS/HS	40.12	37.31	38.66

Some College	24.47	26.66	25.61
Bachelor or above	35.41	36.03	35.73
Total	9.49E+07	1.03E+08	1.98E+08

Table of income6 by ppgender

income6	**ppgender**		
	Male	**Female**	**Total**
Under $25,000	11.7	16.31	14.1
$25,000-$49,999	17.39	19	18.23
$50,000-$74,999	17.08	16.44	16.74
$75,000-$99,999	14.06	12.91	13.46
$100,000-$149,999	18.65	16.71	17.64
$150,000 and over	21.13	18.64	19.83
Total	9.49E+07	1.03E+08	1.98E+08

age2	**racetwo**	**ppeducat3**	**Frequency**	**Percent**
Age 30-44	**White/2+ Races**	**LHS/HS**	9670054	4.88
Age 30-44	**White/2+ Races**	**Some College**	9499559	4.8
Age 30-44	**White/2+ Races**	**Bachelor or above**	17408985	8.79
Age 30-44	**AA/Other/Hispanic**	**LHS/HS**	11801224	5.96
Age 30-44	**AA/Other/Hispanic**	**Some College**	6136861	3.1
Age 30-44	**AA/Other/Hispanic**	**Bachelor or above**	8408779	4.25
Age 45+	**White/2+ Races**	**LHS/HS**	34382885	17.36
Age 45+	**White/2+ Races**	**Some College**	26364333	13.31
Age 45+	**White/2+ Races**	**Bachelor or above**	34843690	17.59
Age 45+	**AA/Other/Hispanic**	**LHS/HS**	20719936	10.46
Age 45+	**AA/Other/Hispanic**	**Some College**	8733936	4.41
Age 45+	**AA/Other/Hispanic**	**Bachelor or above**	10116049	5.11