**2016 PEW RESEARCH CENTER’S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL**

**WAVE 22 NOVEMBER**

**OCTOBER 25-NOVEMBER 8, 2016**[[1]](#footnote-1)

**ASK ALL:**

CAMPNII How closely have you been following news about candidates for the 2016 presidential election…

1 Very closely

2 Fairly closely

3 Not too closely

4 Not at all closely

**[FOR THOUGHTA AND THOUGHTB USE SAME FORM ASSIGNMENT FROM W21 (ONLY IF F\_RESPONDED\_W21=1). IF DID NOT RESPOND TO W21 (F\_RESPONDED\_W21=2-99), ASK ONLY TO FORM 1 IN W22]:**

**ASK ALL FORM 1:**

THOUGHTA How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election?

1 A lot

2 Some

3 Not much

4 None at all

**[FOR THOUGHTA AND THOUGHTB USE SAME FORM ASSIGNMENT FROM W21 (ONLY IF F\_RESPONDED\_W21=1). IF DID NOT RESPOND TO W21 (F\_RESPONDED\_W21=2-99), ASK ONLY TO FORM 2 IN W22]:**

**ASK ALL FORM 2:**

THOUGHTB How much thought have you given to the coming November election?

1 Quite a lot

2 Some

3 Only a little

4 None

**ASK ALL:**

MATTERS Thinking about how you feel about the 2016 presidential election and the next president, where would you place yourself on the following scale?

**[PROGRAMMING NOTE: PLEASE FLIP THE LABELS FOR HALF OF RESPONDENTS LEAVING THE SCALE ALWAYS 1🡪4]**

1 1 - Really matters who wins

2 2

3 3

4 4 - Doesn’t really matter who wins

**ASK ALL:**

VOTEGENA If the 2016 presidential election were being held today, would you vote for… **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 FIRST FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED OPTIONS 3 AND 4, WITH OPTION 5 ALWAYS LAST]**

1 Donald Trump, the Republican

2 Hillary Clinton, the Democrat

3 Gary Johnson, the Libertarian Party candidate

4 Jill Stein, the Green Party candidate

5 Vote for none/Other

**ASK IF NONE/OTHER CANDIDATE OR SKIPPED VOTEGEN (VOTEGENA=5 OR MISSING):**

VOTEGENB As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to… **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGENA]**

1 Lean more toward Donald Trump

2 Lean more toward Hillary Clinton

3 Lean more toward Gary Johnson

4 Lean more toward Jill Stein

5 None/Other

**[PROGRAMMING NOTE: Display choice 5 None/Other only if the question is skipped without selecting choice 1,2,3 or 4]**

*Soft Prompt: If you would not support any of the candidates, please select answer choice None/Other. If you would like to skip, click Next…*

**ASK IF SELECTED TRUMP/CLINTON/JOHNSON/STEIN (VOTEGENA=1,2,3,4):**

VOTEGENC And would you say…

1 You are certain to vote for **[**Trump/Clinton/Johnson/Stein**]**

2 There is a chance you might change your mind

**ASK IF JOHNSON/STEIN IN VOTEGENA (VOTEGENA=3,4) OR VOTEGENB (VOTEGENB=3,4):**

VOTEGEND And even though you don’t plan to support Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton, if you had to choose, would you say you … **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS VOTEGENA]**

1 Lean more toward Donald Trump

2 Lean more toward Hillary Clinton

**ASK IF JOHNSON/STEIN IN VOTEGENA (VOTEGENA=3,4) OR VOTEGENB (VOTEGENB=3,4):**

WHYTHRD Which best describes how you feel about the election this year… **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]**

1 I would probably vote for the Democratic presidential candidate if it wasn’t Hillary Clinton

2 I would probably vote for the Republican presidential candidate if it wasn’t Donald Trump

3 I would probably vote for **[**Gary Johnson/Jill Stein**]** no matter who the other candidates were

**ASK ALL:**

CAMPFEEL How have you been feeling about the 2016 presidential campaign recently?

*[Check all that apply]* **[RANDOMIZE]**

1 Interested

2 Excited

3 Optimistic

4 Indifferent

5 Frustrated

6 Disgusted

7 Scared

8 None of these **[EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]**

**ASK ALL:**

WHOWIN Regardless of who you support, who do you think will win the 2016 presidential election…  **[RANDOMIZE]**

1 Donald Trump

2 Hillary Clinton

**ASK IF RESPONDED TO WHOWIN (WHOWIN = 1,2):**

WINMARGIN And do you think **[PIPE RESPONSE FROM WHOWIN]** will win… **[RANDOMIZE]**

1 In a close election

2 By a lot

**ASK ALL:**

PLAN1 Do you plan to vote in the presidential election, have you already voted, or don’t you plan to vote?

1. Plan to vote
2. Already voted
3. Don’t plan to vote

**ASK IF PLAN TO VOTE (PLAN1=1):**

PLAN2 Do you plan to cast your vote in **[**the general election**] [IF RSTATE=22 LOUISIANA:** the November election**]**...

1 Before Election Day

2 On Election Day

3 Not sure

**ASK IF PLAN TO VOTE EARLY (PLAN2=1) and state is NOT WA, OR, CO (RSTATE != 8,41, OR 53):**

EARLY1 Do you plan to vote in **[**the general election**] [IF RSTATE=22 LOUISIANA:** the November election**]** in person or will you mail in your ballot?

1 Vote in person

2 Mail in ballot

3 Not sure

**ASK IF ALREADY VOTED (PLAN1=2):**

EARLY1A Did you vote in person or did you mail in your ballot?

1 Vote in person

2 Mail in ballot

**ASK ALL:**

INCREMENTAL Thinking about major problems facing the country and how best to solve them. In general, which do you think would be more effective… **[RANDOMIZE]**

1 Using proven approaches that solve problems gradually, even if change may take a while

2 Using new approaches that may be able to solve problems quickly, but also may risk making things worse

**PROGRAMMING NOTE: ASK ALL ITEMS ON ONE SCREEN; INCLUDE INTRO PARAGRAPH AT TOP; DO NOT USE THERMOMETER IMAGE**

**ASK ALL:**

THERMO We'd like to get your feelings toward some different countries in the world on a “feeling thermometer.” A rating of zero degrees means you feel as cold and negative as possible. A rating of 100 degrees means you feel as warm and positive as possible. You would rate the country at 50 degrees if you don’t feel particularly positive or negative toward the country.

How do you feel toward **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**?  *[Enter the number in the box between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings]*

**ASK ALL:**

THERMCHINA China

THERMBRITAIN Britain

THERMRUSSIA Russia

THERMGERMANY Germany

THERMMEXICO Mexico

THERMJAPAN Japan

Enter number here:

**SOFT PROMPT TEXT:** “*Please enter the “degree” or number between 0 and 100 that reflects your feelings in the box. If you would like to skip, click Next.”*

**ASK ALL:**

NEXTCOMP Thinking about the next president, which comes closer to your own views – even if neither is exactly right? **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

1 The next president should work closely with members of the opposing party in Congress

2 The next president should advance their own programs and not worry about working with the opposing party in Congress

**ASK ALL:**

NATPROBS How much of a problem do you think each of the following are in the country today?

**[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

a. Illegal immigration

b. Terrorism

c. Crime

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY:**

d.F1 Job opportunities for all Americans

e.F1 Sexism

f.F1 Gun violence

g.F1 Climate change

h.F1 Condition of roads, bridges and other infrastructure

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY:**

i.F2 Job opportunities for working-class Americans

j.F2 Racism

k.F2 The affordability of a college education

l.F2 The gap between the rich and poor

m.F2 Drug addiction

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 A very big problem

2 A moderately big problem

3 A small problem

4 Not a problem at all

**ASK ALL:**

ECON1 Thinking about the nation’s economy…

How would you rate economic conditions in this country today?

1 Excellent

2 Good

3 Only fair

4 Poor

**ASK ALL:**

PERSNFIN Which best describes you… **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

1 I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially

2 I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation

**ASK ALL:**

FREETRADE In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

1 Good thing

2 Bad thing

**ASK ALL:**

FRIENDP Thinking about your close friends, how many would you say… **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

a. Support Donald Trump for president

b. Support Hillary Clinton for president

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 A lot

2 Some

3 Just a few

4 None

**RANDOMIZE MESUM1 AND MESUM2**

**ASK ALL:**

MESUM1 Which of these describes you well? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

*[Check all that apply]*

a. Honor and duty are my core values

b. Compassion and helping others are my core values

c. Think of myself as a typical American

d. Blue collar

e. Focused on my professional life and career

f. Interested in visiting other countries

g. None of these **[EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]**

**RANDOMIZE MESUM1 AND MESUM2**

**ASK ALL:**

MESUM2 Which of these describes you well? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

*[Check all that apply]*

a. Open-minded

b. Traditional

c. Supporter of the National Rifle Association (NRA)

d. Supporter of the Black Lives Matter movement

e. Supporter of rights for lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) people

f. Consider myself a feminist

g. None of these **[EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]**

**ASK ALL:**

LIVESAME Have you lived in or near your local community your entire life, aside from time you may have spent away in school or college, or have you lived in other places?

1 Lived in or near my local community my entire life

2 Lived in other places

**ASK ALL:**

POLRULES Which comes closer to your view… **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

1 In politics, it’s sometimes necessary to bend the rules in order to get things done

2 In politics, it’s important to respect the rules, even if it sometimes makes it harder to get things done

**ASK ALL:**

USSUCSS In your view, has the U.S. been successful more because of… **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

1 Its ability to change

2 Its reliance on long-standing principles

**ASK ALL:**

SCOTUS How important is the choice of the next Supreme Court justice to you personally?

1 Very important

2 Somewhat important

3 Not too important

4 Not at all important

**ASK ALL:**

Thinking about some different areas in the country today…

EGHTYRS Since 2008, do you think each has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same… **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

a. The country’s economy

b. The job situation in the country

c. The country’s security from terrorism

d. The country’s standing around the world

e. The immigration situation in the country

f. Race relations in the country

g. Crime in the country

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Gotten better

2 Gotten worse

3 Stayed about the same

**ASK ALL REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS (F\_PARTYSUM\_FINAL=1):**

GOPDIRCT Thinking about the future of the Republican Party, would you say that you are…

1 Very optimistic

2 Somewhat optimistic

3 Somewhat pessimistic

4 Very pessimistic

**ASK ALL DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS (F\_PARTYSUM\_FINAL=2):**

DEMDIRCT Thinking about the future of the Democratic Party, would you say that you are…

1 Very optimistic

2 Somewhat optimistic

3 Somewhat pessimistic

4 Very pessimistic

**ASK ALL:**

PREDELEC Just your best guess, after the elections this November, which political party do you think will hold a majority in… **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS A AND B; RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]**

a. The U.S. Senate

b. The U.S. House of Representatives

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Republican Party

2 Democratic Party

**[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF EMTPRESTRUMP & EMTPRESCLINTON IN SAME ORDER AS RESPONDENT RECEIVED IN WAVE 20. IF NOT ASSIGNED IN WAVE 20 THEN ASSIGN RANDOMIZATION HERE.]**

**ASK ALL:**

Thinking about the presidential election that will take place in November...

**ASK ALL:**

EMTPRESTRUMP How would you feel if Donald Trump won the presidential election in November 2016?

**[ROTATE ORDER 1-4 FOR HALF, 4-1 FOR OTHER HALF USING SAME ROTATION RECEIVED IN WAVE 20. IF NOT ASSIGNED IN WAVE 20 THEN ASSIGN ROTATION HERE. RECORD IF RESPONDENT WAS SHOWN 1-4 OR 4-1]**

1 Excited

2 Relieved

3 Disappointed

4 Angry

**ASK ALL:**

EMTPRESCLINTON How would you feel if Hillary Clinton won the presidential election in November 2016?

**[DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS EMTPRESTRUMP AND RECORD ORDER]**

1 Excited

2 Relieved

3 Disappointed

4 Angry

**RANDOMIZE HRCADMIN AND DTADMIN**

**ASK ALL:**

HRCADMIN If Hillary Clinton won the presidential election, do you think each would happen or not? **[RANDOMIZE, USE SAME ORDER FOR DTADMIN]**

a. Hillary Clinton would improperly use the office to enrich herself or her friends and family

b. Hillary Clinton would run an open and transparent administration

c. Hillary Clinton would improve the way government works

d. Hillary Clinton would improve the country’s standing around the world

e. Hillary Clinton would set a high moral standard for the presidency

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Would definitely happen

2 Would probably happen

3 Would probably NOT happen

4 Would definitely NOT happen

**RANDOMIZE HRCADMIN AND DTADMIN**

**ASK ALL:**

DTADMIN If Donald Trump won the presidential election, do you think each would happen or not? **[RANDOMIZE, USE SAME ORDER FOR HRCADMIN]**

a. Donald Trump would improperly use the office to enrich himself or his friends and family

b. Donald Trump would run an open and transparent administration

c. Donald Trump would improve the way government works

d. Donald Trump would improve the country’s standing around the world

e. Donald Trump would set a high moral standard for the presidency

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Would definitely happen

2 Would probably happen

3 Would probably NOT happen

4 Would definitely NOT happen

**ASK ALL:**

DTASSLT As you may know, several women have recently accused Donald Trump of sexually assaulting them in the past. From what you’ve read and heard, do you think these accusations against Donald Trump are… **[REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF SAMPLE]**

1 Definitely true

2 Probably true

3 Probably NOT true

4 Definitely NOT true

**ASK ALL:**

PRSCONTACT Thinking about the 2016 presidential election campaign so far, have you received any of the following from a candidate’s campaign or a group supporting a candidate? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS a-f]** *[Check all that apply]*

a. PRINTED mail or flyers

**ASK ITEM b. OF INTERNET USERS ONLY (F\_INTUSER\_FINAL=1):**

b. Email

c. A personal visit at home from someone representing a campaign or other group

d. A PRE-RECORDED telephone call

e. A telephone call from a LIVE PERSON

f. A text message

g. None of these **[EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]**

**[FOR CNDCNTCT SERIES, RANDOMIZE CLINTON/TRUMP ORDER—KEEP IN SAME ORDER FOR ALL ITEMS RESPONDENT GETS]**

**ASK THOSE WHO RECEIVED PRINTED MAIL (PRSCONTACTa=1):**

CNDCNTCT1 Did you receive PRINTED mail or flyers from the campaign of, or a group supporting...

1 Hillary Clinton

2 Donald Trump

3 Both

**ASK THOSE WHO RECEIVED EMAIL (PRSCONTACTb=1):**

CNDCNTCT2 Did you receive EMAIL from the campaign of, or a group supporting...

1 Hillary Clinton

2 Donald Trump

3 Both

**ASK THOSE WHO WERE VISITED AT HOME (PRSCONTACTc=1):**

CNDCNTCT3 Were you visited at home by someone representing the campaign of, or a group supporting...

1 Hillary Clinton

2 Donald Trump

3 Both

**ASK THOSE WHO RECEIVED PRE-RECORDED CALL (PRSCONTACTd=1):**

CNDCNTCT4 Did you receive a PRE-RECORDED CALL from the campaign of, or a group supporting...

1 Hillary Clinton

2 Donald Trump

3 Both

**ASK THOSE WHO RECEIVED LIVE PHONE CALL (PRSCONTACTe=1):**

CNDCNTCT5 Did you receive a LIVE PHONE CALL from someone representing the campaign of, or a group supporting...

1 Hillary Clinton

2 Donald Trump

3 Both

**ASK THOSE WHO RECEIVED TEXT MESSAGE (PRSCONTACTf=1):**

CNDCNTCT6 Did you receive a TEXT MESSAGE from the campaign, or a group supporting...

1 Hillary Clinton

2 Donald Trump

3 Both

**RANDOMIZE COMPDTR AND COMPDTD**

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY:**

COMPDTR If DONALD TRUMP wins the presidential election, how likely do you think it is that he will work with REPUBLICANS in Washington on important issues facing the country?

1 Very likely

2 Somewhat likely

3 Somewhat unlikely

4 Very unlikely

**RANDOMIZE COMPDTR AND COMPDTD**

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY:**

COMPDTD If DONALD TRUMP wins the presidential election, how likely do you think it is that he will work with DEMOCRATS in Washington on important issues facing the country?

1 Very likely

2 Somewhat likely

3 Somewhat unlikely

4 Very unlikely

**RANDOMIZE COMPHRCR AND COMPHRCD**

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY:**

COMPHRCR If HILLARY CLINTON wins the presidential election, how likely do you think it is that she will work with REPUBLICANS in Washington on important issues facing the country?

1 Very likely

2 Somewhat likely

3 Somewhat unlikely

4 Very unlikely

**RANDOMIZE COMPHRCR AND COMPHRCD**

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY:**

COMPHRCD If HILLARY CLINTON wins the presidential election, how likely do you think it is that she will work with DEMOCRATS in Washington on important issues facing the country?

1 Very likely

2 Somewhat likely

3 Somewhat unlikely

4 Very unlikely

**ASK ALL:**

MEIDEO Which of these describes you well? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

*[Check all that apply]*

a. Libertarian

b. Progressive

c. Liberal

d. Conservative

e. Socialist

f. Capitalist

g. Moderate

h. None of these **[EXCLUSIVE PUNCH]**

**RANDOMIZE GLBLECON AND TORTURE**

**ASK ALL:**

GLBLECON Thinking about the global economy, which comes closer to your view? When other major countries do well economically… **[RANDOMIZE]**

1 It makes it EASIER for the U.S. to do well

2 It makes it HARDER for the U.S. to do well

**RANDOMIZE GLBLECON AND TORTURE**

**ASK ALL:**

TORTURE Thinking about U.S. anti-terrorism efforts, which comes closer to your view about the use of torture? **[RANDOMIZE]**

1 There are NO circumstances under which the use of torture is acceptable

2 There are some circumstances under which the use of torture is acceptable

**ASK ALL:**

CONCEDE Thinking about the results of the presidential election this November, how important do you think it is for a losing candidate to publicly acknowledge the winner as the legitimate president of the country?

1 Very important

2 Somewhat important

3 Not too important

4 Not at all important

**ASK IF HAVE NOT ALREADY VOTED (PLAN1=1,3,missing):**

SCALE10 Please rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1.

Definitely will vote --- (10)

(9)

(8)

(7)

(6)

(5)

(4)

(3)

(2)

Definitely will not vote --- (1)

**ASK ALL:**

REG Which of these statements best describes you?

1 You are ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN that you are registered to vote at your current address

2 You are PROBABLY registered, but there is a chance your registration has lapsed

3 You are NOT registered to vote at your current address

1. Open-end responses are excluded from public datasets to protect the confidentiality of ATP panelists. Lines across page designate a page break. [↑](#footnote-ref-1)