

**2023 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 140 POLITICS SURVEY
JAN. 16 – 21, 2024¹**

ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

SATIS All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

- 1 Satisfied
- 2 Dissatisfied

All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

☐ Satisfied

☐ Dissatisfied

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ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

YEARAHEAD Looking ahead, as far as you are concerned, do you think that 2024 will be...
[RANDOMIZE]

- 1 Better than 2023
- 2 Worse than 2023

Looking ahead, as far as you are concerned, do you think that 2024 will be...

☐ Better than 2023

☐ Worse than 2023

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ASK ALL:

POL1JB Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president?

- 1 Approve
- 2 Disapprove

¹ Open-end responses are excluded from public datasets to protect the confidentiality of ATP panelists.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president?

- ☐ Approve
☐ Disapprove

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ASK IF POL1JB=1,2:

POL1JBSTR Do you **[IF POL1JB=1: approve; IF POL1JB=2: disapprove]** of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president...

- 1 Very strongly
 2 Not so strongly

Do you approve of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president...

- ☐ Very strongly
☐ Not so strongly

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Do you disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president...

- ☐ Very strongly
☐ Not so strongly

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ASK ALL:

JBSUCCESS In the long run, do you think Joe Biden will be... **[RANDOMIZE 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]**

- 1 A successful president
 2 An unsuccessful president
 3 Too early to tell **[ANCHOR]**

In the long run, do you think Joe Biden will be...

- ☐ A successful president
☐ An unsuccessful president
☐ Too early to tell

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ASK ALL:

BIDENDESC How well does each of the following describe Joe Biden? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

ORD Cares about the needs of ordinary people
MENT Mentally sharp
STND Stands up for what he believes in
HON Honest
INSP Inspiring

ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

GETDN Able to get things done
ENER Energetic
STRN Strong leader
MDL A good role model
TEMP Even-tempered

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Very well
- 2 Fairly well
- 3 Not too well
- 4 Not at all well

How well does each of the following describe Joe Biden?

Honest

- ☐ Very well
- ☐ Fairly well
- ☐ Not too well
- ☐ Not at all well

Mentally sharp

- ☐ Very well
- ☐ Fairly well
- ☐ Not too well
- ☐ Not at all well

Stands up for what he believes in

- ☐ Very well
- ☐ Fairly well
- ☐ Not too well
- ☐ Not at all well

Inspiring

- ☐ Very well
- ☐ Fairly well
- ☐ Not too well
- ☐ Not at all well

Cares about the needs of ordinary people

- ☐ Very well
- ☐ Fairly well
- ☐ Not too well
- ☐ Not at all well

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How well does each of the following describe Joe Biden?

Energetic

☐ Very well

☐ Fairly well

☐ Not too well

☐ Not at all well

A good role model

☐ Very well

☐ Fairly well

☐ Not too well

☐ Not at all well

Able to get things done

☐ Very well

☐ Fairly well

☐ Not too well

☐ Not at all well

Strong leader

☐ Very well

☐ Fairly well

☐ Not too well

☐ Not at all well

Even-tempered

☐ Very well

☐ Fairly well

☐ Not too well

☐ Not at all well

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

Thinking about major problems facing the country and how best to solve them...

In general, which do you think would be more effective?

- ☐ Using proven approaches that solve problems gradually, even if change may take a while
- ☐ Using new approaches that may be able to solve problems quickly, but also may risk making things worse

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ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

INSTN Are each of the following having a positive or negative effect on the way things are going in the country these days? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREENS 1 AND 2; RANDOMIZE ITEMS WITHIN EACH SCREEN]**

[SCREEN 1]

ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

INSTN_CHR	Churches and religious organizations
INSTN_CLGS	Colleges and universities
INSTN_LBRUN	Labor unions
INSTN_TECHCMP	Technology companies
INSTN_SMBUS	Small businesses

[SCREEN 2]

ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

INSTN_K12	K-12 public schools
INSTN_BNKS	Banks and other financial institutions
INSTN_MIL	The military
INSTN_LGECRP	Large corporations

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

1	Positive effect
2	Negative effect

Are each of the following having a positive or negative effect on the way things are going in the country these days?

Churches and religious organizations

- ☐ Positive effect
- ☐ Negative effect

Small businesses

- ☐ Positive effect
- ☐ Negative effect

Technology companies

- ☐ Positive effect
- ☐ Negative effect

Colleges and universities

- ☐ Positive effect
- ☐ Negative effect

Labor unions

- ☐ Positive effect
- ☐ Negative effect

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Are each of the following having a positive or negative effect on the way things are going in the country these days?

K-12 public schools

☐ Positive effect

☐ Negative effect

Banks and other financial institutions

☐ Positive effect

☐ Negative effect

Large corporations

☐ Positive effect

☐ Negative effect

The military

☐ Positive effect

☐ Negative effect

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ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

INSTN2 Are each of the following having a positive or negative effect on the way things are going in the country these days? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREENS 1 AND 2; RANDOMIZE ITEMS WITHIN EACH SCREEN]**

[SCREEN 1]**ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):**

INSTN2_CHR	Churches and religious organizations
INSTN2_CLGS	Colleges and universities
INSTN2_LBRUN	Labor unions
INSTN2_TEHCMP	Technology companies
INSTN2_SMBUS	Small businesses

[SCREEN 2]**ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):**

INSTN2_K12	K-12 public schools
INSTN2_BNKS	Banks and other financial institutions
INSTN2_MIL	The military
INSTN2_LGECRP	Large corporations

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- | | |
|---|--------------------------|
| 1 | Very positive effect |
| 2 | Somewhat positive effect |
| 3 | Somewhat negative effect |
| 4 | Very negative effect |

Are each of the following having a positive or negative effect on the way things are going in the country these days?

Colleges and universities

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect

Labor unions

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect

Churches and religious organizations

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect

Technology companies

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect

Small businesses

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect

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Are each of the following having a positive or negative effect on the way things are going in the country these days?

Banks and other financial institutions

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect

K-12 public schools

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect

The military

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect

Large corporations

- ☐ Very positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat positive effect
- ☐ Somewhat negative effect
- ☐ Very negative effect

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ASK ALL:

DECISION Which better describes your approach to solving problems... **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 I tend to carefully consider all possible options, even if it takes more time
- 2 I tend to look for a quick solution that meets my needs, even if I haven't considered all possible options

Which better describes your approach to solving problems...

- ☐ I tend to carefully consider all possible options, even if it takes more time
- ☐ I tend to look for a quick solution that meets my needs, even if I haven't considered all possible options

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ASK ALL:

WINLOSE

Thinking about the way things have been going in politics over the last few years on the issues that matter to you, would you say your side has been... **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 Winning more often than losing
- 2 Losing more often than winning

Thinking about the way things have been going in politics over the last few years on the issues that matter to you, would you say your side has been...

☐ Winning more often than losing

☐ Losing more often than winning

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ASK ALL:

PRIPRES

How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREENS 1 AND 2; RANDOMIZE ITEMS WITHIN EACH SCREEN]**

[SCREEN 1]**ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):**

- PRIPRES_JOB Improving the job situation
- PRIPRES_BD Reducing the budget deficit
- PRIPRES_DTRD Reducing the availability of illegal drugs like heroin, fentanyl and cocaine
- PRIPRES_ENV Protecting the environment
- PRIPRES_TER Defending the country from future terrorist attacks

ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

- PRIPRES_EC Strengthening the nation's economy
- PRIPRES_GCC Dealing with global climate change
- PRIPRES_EDU Improving the educational system
- PRIPRES_HC Reducing health care costs
- PRIPRES_CRI Reducing crime

How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year?

Protecting the environment

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Reducing the availability of illegal drugs like heroin, fentanyl and cocaine

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Improving the job situation

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Reducing the budget deficit

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Defending the country from future terrorist attacks

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

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How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year?

Improving the educational system

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Strengthening the nation's economy

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Reducing health care costs

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Reducing crime

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Dealing with global climate change

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

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[SCREEN 2]**ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):**

PRIPRES_GT Dealing with global trade issues
PRIPRES_INF Improving the country's roads, bridges and public transportation systems
PRIPRES_RA Addressing issues around race in this country
PRIPRES_SC Taking steps to make the Social Security system financially sound
PRIPRES_MON Reducing the influence of money in politics

ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

PRIPRES_POOR Dealing with the problems of poor people
PRIPRES_MIL Strengthening the U.S. military
PRIPRES_NRG Improving the nation's energy system
PRIPRES_IMM Dealing with the issue of immigration
PRIPRES_POL Improving the way the political system works in the U.S.

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 Top priority
- 2 Important but lower priority
- 3 Not too important
- 4 Should not be done

How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year?

Improving the country's roads, bridges and public transportation systems

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Addressing issues around race in this country

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Reducing the influence of money in politics

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Taking steps to make the Social Security system financially sound

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Dealing with global trade issues

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

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How much of a priority should each of the following be for the president and Congress to address this year?

Dealing with the problems of poor people

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Improving the nation's energy system

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Dealing with the issue of immigration

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Improving the way the political system works in the U.S.

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

Strengthening the U.S. military

- ☐ Top priority
- ☐ Important but lower priority
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Should not be done

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[ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1) PRESWITHOP FIRST AND OPWITHPRES SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2) OPWITHPRES FIRST AND PRESWITHOP SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS]²

ASK ALL:

PRESWITHOP This year, do you think Joe Biden should... **[RANDOMIZE AND SHOW IN SAME ORDER AS OPWITHPRES]**

- 1 Try as best he can to work with Republican congressional leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some people who voted for him
- 2 Stand up to Republican congressional leaders on issues that are important to the people who voted for him, even if it means it's harder to address critical problems facing the country

This year, do you think Joe Biden should...

☐ Stand up to Republican congressional leaders on issues that are important to the people who voted for him, even if it means it's harder to address critical problems facing the country

☐ Try as best he can to work with Republican congressional leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some people who voted for him

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[ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1) PRESWITHOP FIRST AND OPWITHPRES SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2) OPWITHPRES FIRST AND PRESWITHOP SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS]

ASK ALL:

OPWITHPRES This year, do you think Republican congressional leaders should... **[RANDOMIZE AND SHOW IN SAME ORDER AS PRESWITHOP]**

- 1 Try as best they can to work with Joe Biden to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some Republican voters
- 2 Stand up to Joe Biden on issues that are important to Republican voters, even if it means it's harder to address critical problems facing the country

This year, do you think Republican congressional leaders should...

☐ Stand up to Joe Biden on issues that are important to Republican voters, even if it means it's harder to address critical problems facing the country

☐ Try as best they can to work with Joe Biden to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some Republican voters

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² For panelist experience purposes, we asked both PRESWITHOP and OPWITHPRES of all respondents in order to give them the opportunity to weigh in on both parties. However, these items are subject to strong order effects, so we only analyzed data based on the item asked first. In all cases, form I respondents received PRESWITHOP first and form II respondents received OPWITHPRES first. For reporting purposes, PRESWITHOP is based on FORM=1; OPWITHPRES is based on FORM=2.

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

Thinking about the nation's economy...

How would you rate economic conditions in this country today?

☐ Excellent
 ☐ Good
 ☐ Only fair
 ☐ Poor

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ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

ECON1B

A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be...

- 1 Better
- 2 Worse
- 3 About the same as now

A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be...

☐ Better
 ☐ Worse
 ☐ About the same as now

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ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1) AND ECON1 = 1- 4:

ECONOE

In a few words, what are the main reasons why you think economic conditions in the country are [IF ECON1=1: excellent; IF ECON1=2 good; IF ECON1=3: only fair; IF ECON1=4: poor]?

[OPEN-ENDED TEXT BOX]

In a few words, what are the main reasons why you think economic conditions in the country are excellent?

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In a few words, what are the main reasons why you think economic conditions in the country are good?

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In a few words, what are the main reasons why you think economic conditions in the country are only fair?

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In a few words, what are the main reasons why you think economic conditions in the country are poor?

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ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

ECONCONC How concerned, if at all, are you personally about each of the following economic issues in the country today? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

PRICE The price of food and consumer goods
UNEM People who want to work being unable to find jobs
REAL The cost of housing
STCK How the stock market is doing
ENG2 The price of gasoline and energy
BANK The stability of banks and financial institutions

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Very concerned
- 2 Somewhat concerned
- 3 Not too concerned
- 4 Not at all concerned

How concerned, if at all, are you personally about each of the following economic issues in the country today?

People who want to work being unable to find jobs

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

How the stock market is doing

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

The stability of banks and financial institutions

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

The cost of housing

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

The price of food and consumer goods

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

The price of gasoline and energy

- ☐ Very concerned
- ☐ Somewhat concerned
- ☐ Not too concerned
- ☐ Not at all concerned

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ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

HGSTNDRD Which comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

Elected officials... **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 Should avoid heated or aggressive language because it could encourage some people to take violent action
- 2 Should be able to use heated or aggressive language to express themselves without worrying about whether some people may act on what they say

Which comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

Elected officials...

☐ Should avoid heated or aggressive language because it could encourage some people to take violent action

☐ Should be able to use heated or aggressive language to express themselves without worrying about whether some people may act on what they say

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ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

HGSTNDRD2 Which comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

Political candidates... **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 Should avoid heated or aggressive language because it could encourage some people to take violent action
- 2 Should be able to use heated or aggressive language to express themselves without worrying about whether some people may act on what they say

Which comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

Political candidates...

☐ Should avoid heated or aggressive language because it could encourage some people to take violent action

☐ Should be able to use heated or aggressive language to express themselves without worrying about whether some people may act on what they say

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ASK ALL:

MARIJUANA3 Which comes closer to your view about the use of marijuana by adults?

- 1 It should be legal for medical AND recreational use
- 2 It should be legal for medical use ONLY
- 3 It should NOT be legal

Which comes closer to your view about the use of marijuana by adults?

- ☐ It should be legal for medical AND recreational use
- ☐ It should be legal for medical use ONLY
- ☐ It should NOT be legal

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ASK ALL:

MARIJ_STRICT Are marijuana laws in your state... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1-2; ALWAYS ASK OPTIONS 3 AND 4 LAST]**

- 1 Too strict
- 2 Not strict enough
- 3 About right **[ANCHOR]**
- [SPACE]**
- 4 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

Are marijuana laws in your state...

- ☐ Too strict
- ☐ Not strict enough
- ☐ About right
- ☐ Not sure

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[RANDOMIZE MARIJ_CRIME, MARIJ_ECON, MARIJ_FAIR AND MARIJ_DRUG AND DISPLAY ON SAME PAGE; RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1-2 WITHIN ITEMS; ALWAYS ASK OPTION 3 LAST]

DISPLAY FOR ALL:

For each of the following, which comes closer to your view?

ASK ALL:

MARIJ_CRIME When marijuana is legal for recreational use, it...

- 1 Makes communities more safe
- 2 Makes communities less safe
- 3 Does not have much impact **[ANCHOR]**

ASK ALL:

MARIJ_ECON When marijuana is legal for recreational use, it...

- 1 Is good for local economies
- 2 Is bad for local economies
- 3 Does not have much impact **[ANCHOR]**

ASK ALL:

MARIJ_FAIR When marijuana is legal for recreational use, it...

- 1 Makes the criminal justice system more fair
- 2 Makes the criminal justice system less fair
- 3 Does not have much impact **[ANCHOR]**

ASK ALL:

MARIJ_DRUG When marijuana is legal for recreational use, it...

- 1 Increases the use of other drugs like heroin, fentanyl and cocaine
- 2 Decreases the use of other drugs like heroin, fentanyl and cocaine
- 3 Does not have much impact **[ANCHOR]**

For each of the following, which comes closer to your view?

When marijuana is legal for recreational use, it...

- ☐ Increases the use of other drugs like heroin, fentanyl and cocaine
- ☐ Decreases the use of other drugs like heroin, fentanyl and cocaine
- ☐ Does not have much impact

When marijuana is legal for recreational use, it...

- ☐ Is bad for local economies
- ☐ Is good for local economies
- ☐ Does not have much impact

When marijuana is legal for recreational use, it...

- ☐ Makes communities more safe
- ☐ Makes communities less safe
- ☐ Does not have much impact

When marijuana is legal for recreational use, it...

- ☐ Makes the criminal justice system more fair
- ☐ Makes the criminal justice system less fair
- ☐ Does not have much impact

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ASK ALL:

EXCPWER

Which of the following statements comes closest to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

- 1 Many of the country's problems could be dealt with more effectively if U.S. presidents didn't have to worry so much about Congress or the courts
- 2 It would be too risky to give U.S. presidents more power to deal directly with many of the country's problems

Which of the following statements comes closest to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

- ☐ Many of the country's problems could be dealt with more effectively if U.S. presidents didn't have to worry so much about Congress or the courts
- ☐ It would be too risky to give U.S. presidents more power to deal directly with many of the country's problems

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TALKIMP

How important is it to you personally to use language that other people do not find offensive?

- 1 Very important
- 2 Somewhat important
- 3 Not too important
- 4 Not at all important

How important is it to you personally to use language that other people do not find offensive?

- ☐ Very important
- ☐ Somewhat important
- ☐ Not too important
- ☐ Not at all important

[Previous](#)[Next](#)**ASK ALL:**

TALKCONF

How confident are you that the language you use is not offensive to other people?

- 1 Very confident
- 2 Somewhat confident
- 3 Not too confident
- 4 Not at all confident

How confident are you that the language you use is not offensive to other people?

☐ Very confident
☐ Somewhat confident
☐ Not too confident
☐ Not at all confident

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ASK ALL:

VTPRIORITY Please indicate whether you would favor or oppose the following ideas about election policy. **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RANDOMLY DISPLAY RESPONSES 1-4 OR 4-1]**

ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

ATO Automatically registering all eligible citizens to vote
 HLDY Making Election Day a national holiday
 FLN Allowing people convicted of felonies to vote after serving their sentences
 RMVVT Removing people from registration lists if they have not recently voted or confirmed their registration
 BLT_CL Banning groups from collecting completed ballots from a large number of voters in order to return them to official voting centers

ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

GOVID Requiring all voters to show government-issued photo identification to vote
 PPR Requiring electronic voting machines to print a paper backup of the ballot
 ERLY Making early, in-person voting available to voters for at least two weeks prior to Election Day
 ML Allowing any voter to vote by mail if they want to
 REGED Allowing people to register on Election Day at the polls

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

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

Please indicate whether you would favor or oppose the following ideas about election policy.

Banning groups from collecting completed ballots from a large number of voters in order to return them to official voting centers

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

Removing people from registration lists if they have not recently voted or confirmed their registration

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

Automatically registering all eligible citizens to vote

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

Allowing people convicted of felonies to vote after serving their sentences

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

Making Election Day a national holiday

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

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Please indicate whether you would favor or oppose the following ideas about election policy.

Requiring all voters to show government-issued photo identification to vote

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

Allowing any voter to vote by mail if they want to

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

Requiring electronic voting machines to print a paper backup of the ballot

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

Making early, in-person voting available to voters for at least two weeks prior to Election Day

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

Allowing people to register on Election Day at the polls

- ☐ Strongly favor
- ☐ Somewhat favor
- ☐ Somewhat oppose
- ☐ Strongly oppose

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ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

UNDROPPL As you may know, over the past several decades there has been a large reduction in the percentage of workers who are represented by unions.

Do you think this has been... **[REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF SAMPLE]**

- 1 Very good for working people
- 2 Somewhat good for working people
- 3 Somewhat bad for working people
- 4 Very bad for working people

As you may know, over the past several decades there has been a large reduction in the percentage of workers who are represented by unions.

Do you think this has been...

☐ Very bad for working people
☐ Somewhat bad for working people
☐ Somewhat good for working people
☐ Very good for working people

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ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

UNIONDROP As you may know, over the past several decades there has been a large reduction in the percentage of workers who are represented by unions.

Do you think this has been... **[REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF SAMPLE]**

- 1 Very good for the country
- 2 Somewhat good for the country
- 3 Somewhat bad for the country
- 4 Very bad for the country

As you may know, over the past several decades there has been a large reduction in the percentage of workers who are represented by unions.

Do you think this has been...

☐ Very bad for the country
☐ Somewhat bad for the country
☐ Somewhat good for the country
☐ Very good for the country

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DISPLAY FOR ALL:

On another topic...

ASK ALL

BORDER_CL How closely have you been following news about the current situation at the U.S. border with Mexico and the large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S.? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF OPTIONS 1-5 AND 5-1 FOR RANDOM HALF SAMPLE]**

- 1 Extremely closely
- 2 Very closely
- 3 Somewhat closely
- 4 Not too closely
- 5 Not at all closely

On another topic...

How closely have you been following news about the current situation at the U.S. border with Mexico and the large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S.?

☐ Extremely closely

☐ Very closely

☐ Somewhat closely

☐ Not too closely

☐ Not at all closely

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ASK FORM 1 ONLY [XFORM=1]:

BRDERJOB How would you rate the job the U.S. government is doing dealing with the large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S. at the border with Mexico?

- 1 Very good job
- 2 Somewhat good job
- 3 Somewhat bad job
- 4 Very bad job

How would you rate the job the U.S. government is doing dealing with the large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S. at the border with Mexico?

☐ Very good job

☐ Somewhat good job

☐ Somewhat bad job

☐ Very bad job

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY [XFORM=2]:

IMM_CRISIS Would you say the large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S. at the border with Mexico is... **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF OPTIONS 1-4 AND 4-1 FOR RANDOM HALF SAMPLE]**

- 1 A crisis for the U.S.
- 2 A major problem for the U.S., but not a crisis
- 3 A minor problem for the U.S.
- 4 Not a problem for the U.S.

Would you say the large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S. at the border with Mexico is...

☐ A crisis for the U.S.

☐ A major problem for the U.S., but not a crisis

☐ A minor problem for the U.S.

☐ Not a problem for the U.S.

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ASK ALL:

IMMFACT How much of a reason is each of the following for why a large number of migrants are seeking to enter the U.S. at the border with Mexico? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

- NOOPP Bad economic conditions in their home countries
- USOPP Good economic opportunities in the U.S.
- VIOL Violence in their home countries
- FRDM Greater political freedoms in the U.S.
- POL Belief that U.S. immigration policies will make it easy to stay in the country once they arrive

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Major reason
- 2 Minor reason
- 3 Not a reason

How much of a reason is each of the following for why a large number of migrants are seeking to enter the U.S. at the border with Mexico?

Violence in their home countries

☐ Major reason
☐ Minor reason
☐ Not a reason

Greater political freedoms in the U.S.

☐ Major reason
☐ Minor reason
☐ Not a reason

Belief that U.S. immigration policies will make it easy to stay in the country once they arrive

☐ Major reason
☐ Minor reason
☐ Not a reason

Good economic opportunities in the U.S.

☐ Major reason
☐ Minor reason
☐ Not a reason

Bad economic conditions in their home countries

☐ Major reason
☐ Minor reason
☐ Not a reason

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ASK ALL:
IMMCRIMM

Do you think the situation at the U.S. border with Mexico, with a large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S., is leading to... **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1-2; ALWAYS ASK OPTION 3 LAST]**

- 1 More crime in the U.S.
- 2 Less crime in the U.S.
- 3 Doesn't have much impact on crime in the U.S. **[ANCHOR]**

Do you think the situation at the U.S. border with Mexico, with a large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S., is leading to...

☐ More crime in the U.S.

☐ Less crime in the U.S.

☐ Doesn't have much impact on crime in the U.S.

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ASK ALL:

IMMPOLIMPCT Thinking about some proposed policies to address immigration and the situation at the U.S. border with Mexico, do you think each of the following proposals would make the situation better or worse? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RANDOMIZE RESPONSES 1-2; WITH 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]**

ASK FORM 1 ONLY:

- DPRT** Increasing deportations of people who are in the country illegally
- BUS** Putting more severe penalties on businesses if they hire people who are not legally allowed to work in the U.S.
- AID** Increasing economic aid to Central American countries where many migrants are coming from
- HRD** Making it harder for asylum seekers to be granted temporary legal status in the U.S. while they wait for their asylum hearing
- COND** Increasing resources to provide safe and sanitary conditions for migrants arriving in the U.S.

ASK FORM 2 ONLY:

- RCS** Increasing the number of immigration judges and staff so that asylum applications can be decided more quickly
- OPP** Creating more opportunities for people to legally immigrate to the U.S.
- WALL** Substantially expanding the wall along the U.S. border with Mexico
- WORK** Making it easier for asylum seekers to work legally while they wait for a decision about their asylum applications

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Better
- 2 Worse
- 3 Not make much difference **[ANCHOR]**
- [SPACE]**
- 4 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

Thinking about some proposed policies to address immigration and the situation at the U.S. border with Mexico, do you think each of the following proposals would make the situation better or worse?

Increasing resources to provide safe and sanitary conditions for migrants arriving in the U.S.

- ☐ Better
- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Not make much difference
- ☐ Not sure

Increasing economic aid to Central American countries where many migrants are coming from

- ☐ Better
- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Not make much difference
- ☐ Not sure

Increasing deportations of people who are in the country illegally

- ☐ Better
- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Not make much difference
- ☐ Not sure

Putting more severe penalties on businesses if they hire people who are not legally allowed to work in the U.S.

- ☐ Better
- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Not make much difference
- ☐ Not sure

Making it harder for asylum seekers to be granted temporary legal status in the U.S. while they wait for their asylum hearing

- ☐ Better
- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Not make much difference
- ☐ Not sure

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Thinking about some proposed policies to address immigration and the situation at the U.S. border with Mexico, do you think each of the following proposals would make the situation better or worse?

Making it easier for asylum seekers to work legally while they wait for a decision about their asylum applications

- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Better
- ☐ Not make much difference
- ☐ Not sure

Substantially expanding the wall along the U.S. border with Mexico

- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Better
- ☐ Not make much difference
- ☐ Not sure

Creating more opportunities for people to legally immigrate to the U.S.

- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Better
- ☐ Not make much difference
- ☐ Not sure

Increasing the number of immigration judges and staff so that asylum applications can be decided more quickly

- ☐ Worse
- ☐ Better
- ☐ Not make much difference
- ☐ Not sure

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ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

IMMIG_OE What other thoughts about immigration would you like to share?

[PROGRAMMING NOTE: OPEN END TEXT BOX]

What other thoughts about immigration would you like to share?

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ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

IMMIG_OE2

What is your top concern, if any, about the large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S. at the border with Mexico?

[PROGRAMMING NOTE: OPEN END TEXT BOX]

What is your top concern, if any, about the large number of migrants seeking to enter the U.S. at the border with Mexico?

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ASK ALL:

NEWYR

Did you make any New Year's resolutions this year (2024)?

- 1 Yes, I made several
- 2 Yes, I made one
- 3 No, I did not make any

Did you make any New Year's resolutions this year (2024)?

- ☐ Yes, I made several
- ☐ Yes, I made one
- ☐ No, I did not make any

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ASK IF NEWYR= 1,2

NEWRES Did you make any New Year's resolutions about... **[RANDOMIZE HLTH-FIN, keep SE last]**

HLTH Your health, exercise or diet
WRK Your work or career
FMLY Your relationships with family or friends
HBS Your hobbies or personal interests
FIN Your money or finances
SE Something else **[always last]**

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

1 Yes
2 No

Did you make any New Year's resolutions about...

Your relationships with family or friends

☐ Yes

☐ No

Your hobbies or personal interests

☐ Yes

☐ No

Your money or finances

☐ Yes

☐ No

Your health, exercise or diet

☐ Yes

☐ No

Your work or career

☐ Yes

☐ No

Something else

☐ Yes

☐ No

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ASK IF NEWYR=1

RESKEPT_M And so far this year, have you kept your New Year's resolutions?

- 1 Yes, all of them
- 2 Yes, some of them
- 3 No, none of them

And so far this year, have you kept your New Year's resolutions?

☐ Yes, all of them
☐ Yes, some of them
☐ No, none of them

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ASK IF NEWYR=2

RESKEPT_S And so far this year, have you kept your New Year's resolution?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

And so far this year, have you kept your New Year's resolution?

☐ Yes
☐ No

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ASK IF NEWYR=3:

RESLNONE Which of the following is the main reason why you did not make a New Year's resolution?
[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1-4; ALWAYS ASK OPTION 5 LAST]

- 1 I don't like to make resolutions
- 2 I couldn't think of anything
- 3 I forgot
- 4 I break them too easily
- [SPACE]**
- 5 Another reason **[ANCHOR]**

Which of the following is the main reason why you did not make a New Year's resolution?

- ☐ I don't like to make resolutions
- ☐ I break them too easily
- ☐ I couldn't think of anything
- ☐ I forgot
- ☐ Another reason

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ASK ALL:

IMPEACHFOLL_JB

As you may know, the House of Representatives has begun an impeachment inquiry into Joe Biden's conduct and his possible connections to his son Hunter's business dealings.

How closely have you been following news about the impeachment inquiry?
[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSES 1-5 and 5-1]

- 1 Extremely closely
- 2 Very closely
- 3 Somewhat closely
- 4 Not too closely
- 5 Not at all closely

As you may know, the House of Representatives has begun an impeachment inquiry into Joe Biden's conduct and his possible connections to his son Hunter's business dealings.

How closely have you been following news about the impeachment inquiry?

- ☐ Extremely closely
- ☐ Very closely
- ☐ Somewhat closely
- ☐ Not too closely
- ☐ Not at all closely

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ASK ALL:

IMPEACHAPP_JB

Do you approve or disapprove of the House of Representatives' decision to conduct an impeachment inquiry into Joe Biden?

- 1 Strongly approve
- 2 Somewhat approve
- 3 Somewhat disapprove
- 4 Strongly disapprove

Do you approve or disapprove of the House of Representatives' decision to conduct an impeachment inquiry into Joe Biden?

- ☐ Strongly approve
- ☐ Somewhat approve
- ☐ Somewhat disapprove
- ☐ Strongly disapprove

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ASK ALL:

IMPEACHREM_JB

Regardless of your view of the House of Representatives' decision to conduct an inquiry...

Do you think Joe Biden has done things that are grounds for his impeachment?

- 1 Definitely has
- 2 Probably has
- 3 Probably has not
- 4 Definitely has not

Regardless of your view of the House of Representatives' decision to conduct an inquiry...

Do you think Joe Biden has done things that are grounds for his impeachment?

- ☐ Definitely has
- ☐ Probably has
- ☐ Probably has not
- ☐ Definitely has not

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DISPLAY FOR ALL:

Just a few last questions...

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF WRKRCMPMOD AND SOCSEC_CPS]

ASK ALL:

WRKRCMPMOD At any point in 2023, did you receive any Workers' Compensation payments or other payments as a result of a job-related injury or illness?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Just a few last questions...

At any point in 2023, did you receive any Workers' Compensation payments or other payments as a result of a job-related injury or illness?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

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At any point in 2023, did you receive any Workers' Compensation payments or other payments as a result of a job-related injury or illness?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

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ASK ALL:

SOCSEC_CPS At any point in 2023, did you receive any Social Security Payments from the U.S. Government?

1 Yes

2 No

Just a few last questions...

At any point in 2023, did you receive any Social Security Payments from the U.S. Government?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

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At any point in 2023, did you receive any Social Security Payments from the U.S. Government?

- ☐ Yes
☐ No

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ASK ALL:

ASREP_ABORT

When do you think abortion should be legal? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSES 1-4 and 4-1]**

- 1 Abortion should always be legal. There should be no restrictions on abortion.
- 2 Abortion should be legal, but with some restrictions (such as for minors or late-term abortions).
- 3 Abortion should only be legal in special circumstances, such as when the life of the mother is in danger.
- 4 Abortion should be illegal. It should never be allowed.

When do you think abortion should be legal?

☐ Abortion should always be legal. There should be no restrictions on abortion.
 ☐ Abortion should be legal, but with some restrictions (such as for minors or late-term abortions).
 ☐ Abortion should only be legal in special circumstances, such as when the life of the mother is in danger.
 ☐ Abortion should be illegal. It should never be allowed.

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ASK ALL:

ASREP_AGREE

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS AND SHOW ONE ITEM PER SCREEN. RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSES 1-5 and 5-1]**

- a. The Holocaust is a myth
- b. Jews have too much power in America
- c. American Jews make a positive contribution to American society
- d. The State of Israel has the right to exist

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Strongly agree
- 2 Tend to agree
- 3 Neither agree nor disagree
- 4 Tend to disagree
- 5 Strongly disagree

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

The Holocaust is a myth

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Tend to disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Tend to agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

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Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

The State of Israel has the right to exist

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Tend to disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Tend to agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

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Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

American Jews make a positive contribution to American society

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Tend to disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Tend to agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

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Do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

Jews have too much power in America

- ☐ Strongly disagree
- ☐ Tend to disagree
- ☐ Neither agree nor disagree
- ☐ Tend to agree
- ☐ Strongly agree

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CODEBOOK FOR ATP SAMPLE VARIABLES TO BE USED IN SURVEY PROGRAMMING LOGIC**XFORM**

- 1 Form 1
- 2 Form 2

Note: Flag to randomly assign panelists to one of two forms (Form 1, Form 2) and weight within form
ATP source: Randomly assigned for each survey.