**PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

**SUMMER 2017 POLITICAL LANDSCAPE SURVEY**

**FINAL QUESTIONNAIRE**

N=5,000 total interviews of adults 18+ (1250 landline, 3750 cell phone) in English and Spanish.

Phase A, N=2,500 (625 landline, 1875 cell phone). Phase B N=2,500 (625 landline, 1875 cell phone)

Form 1/Form 2: each a random half sample

50 states (include Alaska and Hawaii)

Field Period: June 8-July 9, 2017

**LANDLINE INTRO:**

Hello, I am \_\_\_\_\_ calling on behalf of the Pew Research Center. We are conducting **[FORM 1:** a telephone; **FORM 2:** an**]** opinion survey about **[FORM 1:** some important issues facing this country today; **FORM 2:** what’s going on in the country**]**. I’d like to ask a few questions of the **[RANDOMIZE**: “YOUNGEST MALE, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home” **AND** “YOUNGEST FEMALE, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?”**]** **[IF NO MALE/FEMALE, ASK:** May I please speak with the YOUNGEST FEMALE/MALE, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home?] **GO TO MAIN INTERVIEW**

**CELL PHONE INTRO:**

Hello, I am \_\_\_\_\_ calling on behalf of the Pew Research Center. We are conducting **[FORM 1:** a telephone; **FORM 2:** an**]** opinion survey about **[FORM 1:** some important issues facing this country today. I know I am calling you on a cell phone. **FORM 2:** what’s going on in the country**]**. If you would like to be reimbursed for your cell phone minutes, we will pay all eligible respondents $5 for participating in this survey. This is not a sales call. **[IF R SAYS DRIVING/UNABLE TO TAKE CALL;** Thank you.We will try you another time…**]**

**VOICE MAIL MESSAGE (LEAVE ONLY ONCE -- THE FIRST TIME A CALL GOES TO VOICEMAIL):** I am calling on behalf of the Pew Research Center. We are conducting **[FORM 1:** anational; **FORM 2:** an**]** opinion survey **[FORM 1:** of cell phone users, **FORM 2:** about what’s going on in the country**]**. This is NOT a sales call. **[FORM 1:** We will try to reach you again. **FORM 2:** Your number was randomly sampled to represent your community. Thanks in advance if you can participate**]**

**SCREENING INTERVIEW:**

S1. Are you under 18 years old, OR are you 18 or older?

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| 1 | Under 18 |
| 2 | 18 or older |
| 9 | Don’t know/Refused |

**IF S1=2, CONTINUE WITH MAIN INTERVIEW**

**IF S1=1,9 THANK AND TERMINATE: This survey is limited to adults age 18 and over. I won’t take any more of your time…**

**READ TO ALL CELL PHONE**

**INTRODUCTION TO MAIN INTERVIEW:** If you are now driving a car or doing any activity requiring your full attention, I need to call you back later. The first question is…

**INTERVIEWER:**

**IF R SAYS IT IS NOT A GOOD TIME, TRY TO ARRANGE A TIME TO CALL BACK. OFFER THE TOLL-FREE CALL-IN NUMBER THEY CAN USE TO COMPLETE THE SURVEY BEFORE ENDING THE CONVERSATION.**

**[PROGRAMMER NOTES: PLEASE ASSIGN INTRO FORM SPLITS AT THE SAMPLE LEVEL (NOT THE CALL LEVEL). INCLUDE THESE INTRODUCTION VARIABLES AND RANDOMIZTIONS IN THE ALL CONTACTS FILES. WE WOULD LIKE TO BE ABLE TO RUN RESPONSE RATES SEPARATELY FOR EACH VERSION OF THE INTRODUCTION FOR THE LANDLINE AND CELL FRAMES SEPARATELY.]**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH:** Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President? **IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

1 Approve

2 Disapprove

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK PHASE A IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (Q.A1=1,2):**

Q.A1a Do you **[**approve/disapprove**]** very strongly, or not so strongly?

1 Very strongly

2 Not so strongly

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

1 Satisfied

2 Dissatisfied

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B3 In general, would you say life in America today is better, worse, or about the same as it was fifty years ago for people like you?

1 Better

2 Worse

3 About the same

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B4 Do you think the future of the next generation of Americans will be better, worse, or about the same as life today?

1 Better

2 Worse

3 About the same

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**NO QUESTIONS 5 THROUGH 11**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Imagine for a moment that you are moving to another community.

Q.A12 Would you prefer to live in **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**?

1 A community where the houses are larger and farther apart, but schools, stores, and restaurants are several miles away [OR]

2 A community where the houses are smaller and closer to each other, but schools, stores, and restaurants are within walking distance

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**NO QUESTION 13**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A14 Next, (is/are) **[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]** having a positive or negative effect on the way things are going in the country these days? How about **[NEXT ITEM] [INTERVIEWER: IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH:** “Overall do you think (it is/they are) having a POSITIVE or NEGATIVE effect on the way things are going in this country today?” **IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]?**

a. Labor unions

b. Churches and religious organizations

c. Colleges and universities

d. Banks and other financial institutions

e. The national news media

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Positive

2 Negative

3 Neither/No influence/Mixed **(VOL.)**

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A15 Would you say your overall opinion of… **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? **[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN “NEVER HEARD OF” AND “CAN’T RATE.”]** How about **[NEXT ITEM]**?

a. The Republican Party

b. The Democratic Party

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Very favorable

2 Mostly favorable

3 Mostly unfavorable

4 Very unfavorable

5 Never heard of **(VOL.)**

8 Can't rate **(VOL.)**

9 Refused **(VOL.)**

**NO QUESTIONS 16 THROUGH 17**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B18 How well does the **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** represent your values **[READ IN ORDER]**? What about **[NEXT]**?

a. The Republican Party

b. The Democratic Party

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Very well

2 Somewhat well

3 Not too well **[OR]**

4 Not at all well

**9 [VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**NO QUESTIONS 19 THROUGH 24**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.25 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is **[READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR, EXCEPT FOR ITEM P WHICH SHOULD HAVE STATEMENTS RANDOMIZED WITHIN PAIR]**. **[IF NECESSARY:** Next/How about/And**]**, **[NEXT PAIR]**. **[IF NECESSARY:** “Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?”]

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

a. Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient [OR]

Government often does a better job than people give it credit for

**ASK ALL:**

b. Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest [OR]

Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good

**ASK ALL:**

c. Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return [OR]

Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

d. The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt [OR]

The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy

**NO ITEM e**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

f. Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days [OR]

Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition

**ASK ALL:**

g. Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents [OR]

Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care

**NO ITEM h**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

i. The best way to ensure peace is through military strength [OR]

Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace

**NO ITEM j**

**ASK ALL:**

k. Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard [OR]

Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people

**NO ITEM l or m**

**ASK ALL:**

n. Business corporations make too much profit [OR]

Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit

**NO ITEM o**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

p. Americans need to sacrifice some privacy and freedoms in order to be safe from terrorism [OR]

Americans do NOT need to sacrifice privacy and freedoms in order to be safe from terrorism

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Statement #1

2 Statement #2

5 Neither/Both equally **(VOL.)**

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A26 And in your view, has this country been successful more because of its **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** or more because of its **[ITEM]?**

1 Ability to change [OR]

2 Reliance on long-standing principles

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A27 Thinking about your close friends, would you say **[READ; READ IN REVERSE ORDER FOR ½ SAMPLE]**? **[INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION:** If necessary, define college degree as a bachelor’s degree from a four-year college or university**]**

1 Most of them have a college degree

2 Some of them have a college degree and others do not [OR]

3 Most of them do not have a college degree

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B27 Since Donald Trump’s election, would you say you are paying **[RANDOMIZE** more/less, less/more**]** or about the same amount ofattention to politics as you used to?

1 More

2 Less [or]

3 About the same as you used to

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B28 When you talk about politics with people who have a different opinion of Donald Trump than you do, would you say you generally find it to be **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

1 Interesting and informative [OR]

2 Stressful and frustrating

3 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t talk politics with people who have a different opinion of Trump

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B29 Have you lived in or near your local community your entire life, aside from the time you may have spent away in school or college, or have you lived in other places?

1 Yes, entire life

2 Lived in other places

3 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Yes, except during active military duty

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A30 Thinking about the way things are going in politics today … on the issues that matter to you would you say your side has been winning more often than it’s been losing, or losing more often than it’s been winning?

1 Winning more often than losing

2 Losing more often than winning

3 Winning as often as losing **(VOL.)**

8 Don’t think about politics in this way **(VOL.)**

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B30 If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?

1 Smaller government, fewer services

2 Bigger government, more services

3 Depends **(VOL.)**

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B31 Do you think U.S. involvement in the global economy **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

1 Is a good thing because it provides the U.S. with new markets and opportunities for growth [OR]

2 Is a bad thing because it lowers wages and costs jobs in the U.S.

3 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Neither

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL:**

OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote...**[READ IN ORDER]?**

1 Always

2 Nearly always

3 Part of the time

4 Seldom

5 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Never vote

6 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Other

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Thinking about the next congressional elections that will be coming up about a year from now…

Q.B32 How much, if at all, does it matter to you which party wins control of Congress next year? Does it matter **[READ IN ORDER]**?

1 A great deal

2 A fair amount

3 Not too much [OR]

4 Not at all

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B33 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for **[RANDOMIZE:** “the Republican Party’s candidate” OR “the Democratic Party’s candidate”**]** for Congress in your district?

1 Republican Party’s candidate

2 Democratic Party’s candidate

3 Other **(VOL.)**

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK PHASE B IF ‘OTHER’ ‘DON’T KNOW/REFUSED’ (Q.B33=3,9):**

Q.B33a As of TODAY, would you LEAN more to the **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.B33; IF NECESSARY:** “for U.S. Congress in your district”**]**?

1 Republican Party’s candidate

2 Democratic Party’s candidate

3 Other **(VOL.)**

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**NO QUESTIONS 34 THROUGH 35**

**RANDOMIZE Q.A36 AND Q.A37**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Now I have a few questions about the political parties…

[First]

Q.A36 The Republican Party. Do you think the Republican Party **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** or not?

a. Is too extreme

b. Has high ethical standards

c. Is too willing to cut government programs, even when they work

d. Cares about the middle class

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Yes, describes Republican Party

2 No, does not describe Republican Party

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**RANDOMIZE Q.A36 AND Q.A37**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

[Now thinking about…]

Q.A37 The Democratic Party. Do you think the Democratic Party **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** or not?

a. Is too extreme

b. Has high ethical standards

c. Too often sees government as the only way to solve problems

d. Cares about the middle class

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Yes, describes Democratic Party

2 No, does not describe Democratic Party

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**NO QUESTIONS 38 THROUGH 39**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.40 Would you say you follow what’s going on in government and public affairs **[READ]**?

1 Most of the time

2 Some of the time

3 Only now and then [OR]

4 Hardly at all

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**NO QUESTION 41**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B42 Is your overall opinion of **[INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE]** very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about **[NEXT NAME]?** **[IF NECESSARY:** Just in general, is your overall opinion of **[NAME]** very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?**] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN “NEVER HEARD OF” AND “CAN’T RATE.”]**

a. Donald Trump

b. Mike Pence

c. Barack Obama

d. Hillary Clinton

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Very favorable

2 Mostly favorable

3 Mostly unfavorable

4 Very unfavorable

5 Never heard of **(VOL.)**

8 Can't rate **(VOL.)**

9 Refused **(VOL.)**

**NO QUESTIONS 43 THROUGH 45**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B46 Do you think that Donald Trump has changed the Republican Party **[RANDOMIZE:** for the better/for the worse**]** or don’t you thinkhe has changed the Republican Party much either way?

1 Changed for the better

2 Changed for the worse

3 Hasn’t changed Republican Party much either way

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**NO QUESTIONS 47 THROUGH 49**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.50 Now I'm going to read a few more pairs of statements. Again, just tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is **[READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]. [IF NECESSARY:** Next/How about/And**]**, **[NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY:** “Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?”]

**NO ITEM q**

**ASK ALL:**

r. Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy [OR]

Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost

**NO ITEM s or t**

**ASK ALL:**

u. Homosexuality should be accepted by society [OR]

Homosexuality should be discouraged by society

**NO ITEM v,w, or x**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

y. I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially [OR]

I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation

**NO ITEM z**

**ASK ALL:**

aa. It IS NOT necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values [OR]

It IS necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values

**NO ITEM bb**

**ASK ALL:**

cc. In foreign policy, the U.S. should take into account the interests of its allies even if it means making compromises with them [OR]

In foreign policy, the U.S. should follow its OWN national interests even when its allies strongly disagree

**NO ITEM dd**

**ASK ALL:**

ee. It’s best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs [OR]

We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home

**NO ITEM ff or gg**

**ASK ALL:**

hh. Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites [OR]

Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Statement #1

2 Statement #2

5 Neither/Both equally **(VOL.)**

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.BX How big a problem, if at all, is economic inequality in this country today? Is it **[READ IN ORDER]**

1 A very big problem

2 A moderately big problem

3 A small problem [OR]

4 Not a problem at all

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

E.2 Are you now enrolled in school, either full or part-time, or not?

1 Yes, full-time student

2 Yes, part-time

3 No

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

E.1 Are you now currently retired?

1 Yes

2 Yes, semi-retired or “still do some type of work” **(VOL.)**

3 No

4 Disabled

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

E.3 **[IF E.1=1,2:** Some people who have retired do some type of work for pay…**/IF E.2=1,2 & E1=3,9:** Some students also do some type of work for pay/**IF E.1=4:** Some people who are disabled do some type of work for pay… **]** Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

1 Full-time

2 Part-time

3 Not employed

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK PHASE B IF NOT EMPLOYED (E.3=3):**

EMPLOY1 Are you currently looking for work, or not?

1 Yes, looking for work

2 No, not looking

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK PHASE B IF PART TIME (E.3=2):**

EMPLOY7 Would you prefer to be working full time, or not?

1 Yes, would prefer full time

2 No, would not

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

E.11 Could your household cover expenses if you had to live ONLY off of savings for three months? **(IF YES, ASK:)** Could your household live off savings for six months? **[INSTRUCTION IF YES TO THREE MONTHS:** If respondent is not sure about six months follow up, punch 2**]**

1 Yes, could live off savings for six months or more

2 Yes, could live off savings for three months, but not six months

3 No, could not live off savings for three months

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.51 **[PHASE A:** Next,**/PHASE B:** Again, just tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views. First,**] [RANDOMIZE ITEMS AND RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS WITHIN PAIRS]**. **[IF NECESSARY:** “Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?”**] [IF NECESSARY:** Next/How about/And**]**, **[NEXT PAIR]**.

**NO ITEM ii**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

jj. Religion should be kept separate from government policies [OR]

Government policies should support religious values and beliefs

**NO ITEM kk**

**ASK ALL:**

ll. The economic system in this country unfairly favors powerful interests [OR]

The economic system in this country is generally fair to most Americans

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

mm.I like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with [OR]

I like elected officials who stick to their positions

**ASK ALL:**

nn. The obstacles that once made it harder for women than men to get ahead are now largely gone [OR]

There are still significant obstacles that make it harder for women to get ahead than men

**NO ITEM oo**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

pp. There are clear solutions to most big issues facing the country today [OR]

Most big issues facing the country today don’t have clear solutions

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

qq. America’s openness to people from all over the world is essential to who we are as a nation [OR]

If America is too open to people from all over the world, we risk losing our identity as a nation

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

rr. Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things [OR]

Voting by people like me doesn’t really affect how government runs things

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Statement #1

2 Statement #2

5 Neither/Both equally **(VOL.)**

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B52 In general, would you say people with expertise on a subject are **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

1 Not any better at making good decisions than other people [OR are they]

2 Usually better at making good decisions than other people

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B52x Which do you think is the better way to improve the job situation in this country? **[READ, RANDOMIZE]**

1 Working to train people in the skills needed for jobs that are in demand

2 Working to bring back or save the kinds of jobs that match the skills people already have

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B53 Thinking about the last year…Please tell me if you have done any of the following. First, over the last year have you **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE],** or not? And over the last year have you **[INSERT NEXT ITEM**], or not?

a. Worked or volunteered for a political candidate or campaign

b. Contacted any elected official

c. Contributed money to a candidate running for public office, or to a group working to elect a candidate

**RESPONSE CATEGORIES:**

1 Yes, have done this over the last year

2 No, have not done this over the last year

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B54 And since the November presidential election, have you attended a political event, rally or organized protest, or have you not attended any of these types of events since then?

1 Yes, since election

2 No, not since election

9 Don’t Know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK PHASE B IF ATTENDED SINCE NOV (Q.B54=1):**

Q.B54a And would you say this has been **[READ]**? **[IF NECESSARY:** Would you say you have attended events, rallies or protests since the November election **[READ]]**?

1 In support of Donald Trump or his policies

2 In opposition to Donald Trump or his policies [OR]

3 Not related to Donald Trump or his policies

4 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Both/multiple

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B55 [And] If a friend of yours told you they voted for **[insert item; randomize]**, do you think this would **[RANDOMIZE; KEEP IN SAME ORDER FOR BOTH ITEMS:** put a strain on your friendship, make your friendship stronger**]** or would it not have any effect on your friendship?

a. Donald Trump

b. Hillary Clinton

1 Put a strain on friendship

2 Make friendship stronger [OR]

3 Not have any effect

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**NO QUESTIONS 56 THROUGH 61**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A62 Which of these statements best describes your opinion about the United States? **[READ IN ORDER; REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF OF SAMPLE]**

1 The U.S. stands above all other countries in the world.

2 The U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others [OR]

3 There are other countries that are better than the U.S.

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**NO QUESTIONS 63 THROUGH 76**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

On another subject,

Q.A77 From what you’ve read and heard, is there solid evidence that the average temperature on earth has been getting warmer over the past few decades, or not?

1 Yes

2 No

3 Mixed/some evidence **(VOL.)**

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK PHASE A IF EARTH IS GETTING WARMER (Q.A77=1):**

Q.A77a Do you believe that the earth is getting warmer **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

1 Mostly because of human activity such as burning fossil fuels [OR]

2 Mostly because of natural patterns in the earth’s environment

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK PHASE A IF EARTH IS NOT GETTING WARMER (Q.A77=2):**

Q.A77b Do you think that we just don’t know enough yet about whether the Earth is getting warmer or do you think it’s just not happening?

1 Just don’t know enough yet

2 Just not happening

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A78 Which is the bigger problem for the country today? **[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS]**

1 People seeing discrimination where it really does NOT exist [OR]

2 People not seeing discrimination where it really does exist

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**NO QUESTION 79**

### **ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B80 When it comes to the economy, which comes closer to your view? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

1 It’s possible to have economic policies that benefit everyone in the country [OR]

2 Pretty much any economic policy will end up benefiting some people at the expense of others

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**NO QUESTIONS 81 THROUGH 125**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A126 Do you think it is the responsibility of the federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage, or is that not the responsibility of the federal government?

1 Yes, government responsibility

2 No, not government responsibility

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK PHASE A IF GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY (QA126=1):**

Q.A126aShould health insurance **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

1 Be provided through a single national health insurance system run by the government [OR]

2 Continue to be provided through a mix of private insurance companies and government programs

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK PHASE A IF NOT GOVERNMENT RESPONSIBILITY (QA126=2):**

Q.A126b Should the government **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

1 Not be involved in providing health insurance at all [OR SHOULD THE GOVERNMENT]

2 Continue programs like Medicare and Medicaid for seniors and the very poor

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A127 Next, all systems of justice make mistakes, but which do you think is worse: to convict an innocent person or to let a guilty person go free?

1 Convict an innocent person

2 Let a guilty person go free

3 Both **(VOL.)**

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A128 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

1 Strongly favor

2 Favor

3 Oppose

4 Strongly oppose

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A129 Do you think abortion should be **[READ IN ORDER TO RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE, IN REVERSE ORDER TO OTHER HALF OF SAMPLE]**?

1 Legal in all cases

2 Legal in most cases

3 Illegal in most cases [OR]

4 Illegal in all cases

9 **[VOL. – DO NOT READ]** Don’t Know/Refused

**NO QUESTIONS 130 THROUGH 142**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

Q.A143 Which statement comes closer to your own views even if neither is exactly right **[READ]**?

1 The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers [OR]

2 The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others

3 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Neither/both equally

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**NO QUESTIONS 144 THOUGH 165**

**ASK ALL:**

Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only.

SEX **[ENTER RESPONDENT'S SEX:]**

1 Male

2 Female

**ASK ALL:**

AGE What is your age?

\_\_\_\_\_\_\_\_ years

97 97 or older

99 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL:**

EDUC What is the highest level of school you have completed or the highest degree you have received? **[DO NOT READ]** **[INTERVIEWER NOTE**: Enter code 3-HS grad if R completed training that did NOT count toward a degree**]**

1 Less than high school (Grades 1-8 or no formal schooling)

2 High school incomplete (Grades 9-11 or Grade 12 with NO diploma)

3 High school graduate (Grade 12 with diploma or GED certificate)

4 Some college, no degree (includes some community college)

5 Two year associate degree from a college or university

6 Four year college or university degree/Bachelor’s degree (e.g., BS, BA, AB)

7 Some postgraduate or professional schooling, no postgraduate degree (e.g. some graduate school)

8 Postgraduate or professional degree, including master’s, doctorate, medical or law degree (e.g., MA, MS, PhD, MD, JD, graduate school)

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**[MAKE FULL NOTE AVAILABLE FOR INTERVIEWERS**: Enter code 3-HS graduate if R completed vocational, business, technical, or training courses after high school that did NOT count toward an associate degree from a college, community college or university (e.g., training for a certificate or an apprenticeship)]

**ASK ALL:**

HISP Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican or Cuban?

1 Yes

2 No

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL:**

RACE Which of the following describes your race? You can select as many as apply. White, Black or African American, Asian or Asian American or some other race. **[RECORD UP TO FOUR IN ORDER MENTIONED BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL] [IF R VOLS MIXED BIRACIAL, PROBE ONCE:** What race or races is that?]

1 White (e.g., Caucasian, European, Irish, Italian, Arab, Middle Eastern)

2 Black or African-American (e.g., Negro, Kenyan, Nigerian, Haitian)

3 Asian or Asian-American (e.g., Asian Indian, Chinese, Filipino, Vietnamese or other Asian origin groups)

4 Some other race **(SPECIFY\_\_\_\_ IF NEEDED**: What race or races is that?**)**

5 Native American/American Indian/Alaska Native **(VOL.)**

6 Pacific Islander/Native Hawaiian **(VOL.)**

7 Hispanic/Latino **(VOL.)** (e.g., Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban)

8 Don't know **(VOL.)**

9 Refused (e.g., non-race answers like American, Human, purple) **(VOL.)**

**ASK IF HISPANIC (HISP=1 OR RACE=7):**

BIRTH\_HISP Were you born in the United States, on the island of Puerto Rico, or in another country?

1 U.S.

2 Puerto Rico

3 Another country

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK IF NOT HISPANIC (HISP=2,9 AND RACE≠7):**

USBORN Were you born in the United States or in another country?

1 Yes, born in U.S.

2 No, some other country

3 Puerto Rico **(VOL.)**

4 Other U.S. Territories (includes Guam, Samoa, U.S. Virgin Islands) **(VOL.)**

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL PHASE A:**

MARITAL Are you currently married, living with a partner, divorced, separated, widowed, or have you never been married? **[IF R SAYS “SINGLE,” PROBE TO DETERMINE WHICH CATEGORY IS APPROPRIATE]**

1 Married

2 Living with a partner

3 Divorced

4 Separated

5 Widowed

6 Never been married

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK IF NOT BORN IN US, PUERTO RICO OR US TERRITORIES (BIRTH\_HISP=3,9 OR USBORN=2,9):**

CITIZEN Are you a citizen of the United States, or not?

1 Yes

2 No

9 Don’t know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL:**

RELIG What is your present religion, if any? Are you Protestant, Roman Catholic, Mormon, Orthodox such as Greek or Russian Orthodox, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, something else, or nothing in particular?

**[INTERVIEWER: IF R VOLUNTEERS “nothing in particular, none, no religion, etc.” BEFORE REACHING END OF LIST, PROMPT WITH: And would you say that’s atheist, agnostic, or just nothing in particular?]**

1 Protestant (Baptist, Methodist, Non-denominational, Lutheran, Presbyterian, Pentecostal, Episcopalian, Reformed, Church of Christ, Jehovah’s Witness, etc.)

2 Roman Catholic (Catholic)

3 Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints/LDS)

4 Orthodox (Greek, Russian, or some other orthodox church)

5 Jewish (Judaism)

6 Muslim (Islam)

7 Buddhist

8 Hindu

9 Atheist (do not believe in God)

10 Agnostic (not sure if there is a God)

11 Something else **(SPECIFY:\_\_\_\_\_\_)**

12 Nothing in particular

13 Christian **(VOL.)**

14 Unitarian (Universalist) **(VOL.)**

99 Don't Know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK IF SOMETHING ELSE OR DK/REF (RELIG=11, 99):**

CHR Do you think of yourself as a Christian or not? **[IF R NAMED A NON-CHRISTIAN RELIGION IN PREVIOUS QUESTION (e.g. Native American, Wiccan, Pagan, etc.), DO NOT READ (ENTER "NO" CODE 2)]**

1 Yes

2 No

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK IF CHRISTIAN (RELIG=1-4, 13 OR CHR=1):**

BORN Would you describe yourself as a "born again" or evangelical Christian, or not?

1 Yes, would

2 No, would not

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL:**

ATTEND Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services... more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, seldom, or never?

1 More than once a week

2 Once a week

3 Once or twice a month

4 A few times a year

5 Seldom

6 Never

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL:**

INCOME Last year, that is in 2016, what was your total family income from all sources, before taxes? Just stop me when I get to the right category. **[READ]**

1 Less than $10,000

2 10 to under $20,000

3 20 to under $30,000

4 30 to under $40,000

5 40 to under $50,000

6 50 to under $75,000

7 75 to under $100,000

8 100 to under $150,000 [OR]

9 $150,000 or more

10 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK IF INCOME $150K+ (INCOME=9):**

INCHI And was your total 2016 family income before taxes **[READ]**

1 Under $250,000 [or]

2 $250,000 or more

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK ALL:**

REG Which of these statements best describes you? **[READ IN ORDER] [INSTRUCTION: BE SURE TO CLARIFY WHETHER RESPONDENT IS ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN THEY ARE REGISTERED OR ONLY PROBABLY REGISTERED; IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS THAT THEY ARE IN NORTH DAKOTA AND DON’T HAVE TO REGISTER, PUNCH 1]**

1 Are you ABSOLUTELY CERTAIN that you are registered to vote at your current address [OR]

2 Are you PROBABLY registered, but there is a chance your registration has lapsed [OR]

3 Are you NOT registered to vote at your current address

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?

1 Republican

2 Democrat

3 Independent

4 No preference **(VOL.)**

5 Other party **(VOL.)**

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):**

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

1 Republican

2 Democrat

9 Other/Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT (PARTY=1,2):**

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG **[**Republican/Democrat**]** or NOT a strong **[**Republican/Democrat**]**?

1 Strong

2 Not strong

9 Don't know**/**Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK PHASE B IF REPUBLICAN OR LEAN REPUBLICAN (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):**

Q.B166 Thinking for a moment about people who consider themselves Democrats, which of these comes closer to your views about them? **[READ; RANDOMIZE]**

1 They feel differently than I do about politics, but they probably share many of my other values and goals [OR]

2 They feel differently than I do about politics, and they probably don't share many of my other values and goals, either

**9 [VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK PHASE B IF DEMOCRAT OR LEAN DEMOCRAT (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2):**

Q.B167 Thinking for a moment about people who consider themselves Republicans, which of these comes closer to your views about them? **[READ; RANDOMIZE]**

1 They feel differently than I do about politics, but they probably share many of my other values and goals [OR]

2 They feel differently than I do about politics, and they probably don't share many of my other values and goals, either

**9 [VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK PHASE A IF REPUBLICAN OR LEAN REPUBLICAN (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):**

**Q.A168 And would you say you [IF PARTY=1 consider yourself a Republican, IF PARTYLN=1 lean to the Republican Party], more because you are [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE] or is it more because you are [INSERT ITEM]?**

**1 FOR what the Republican Party represents**

**2 AGAINST what the Democratic Party represents**

**9 [VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK PHASE A IF DEMOCRAT OR LEAN DEMOCRAT (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2):**

**Q.A169 And would you say you [IF PARTY=2 consider yourself a Democrat, IF PARTYLN=2 lean to the Democratic Party], more because you are [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE] or is it more because you are [INSERT ITEM]?**

**1 FOR what the Democratic Party represents**

**2 AGAINST what the Republican Party represents**

**9 [VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL:**

IDEO In general, would you describe your political views as... **[READ]**

1 Very conservative

2 Conservative

3 Moderate

4 Liberal [OR]

5 Very liberal

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**ASK ALL:**

HH1 How many people, including yourself, live in your household?

**INTERVIEWER NOTE: HOUSEHOLD MEMBERS INCLUDE PEOPLE WHO THINK OF THIS HOUSEHOLD AS THEIR PRIMARY PLACE OF RESIDENCE, INCLUDING THOSE WHO ARE TEMPORARILY AWAY ON BUSINESS, VACATION, IN A HOSPITAL, OR AWAY AT SCHOOL. THIS INCLUDES INFANTS, CHILDREN AND ADULTS.**

\_\_\_\_\_\_ Enter number 1-7

8 8 or more

9 Don’t know/Refused

**ASK IF MORE THAN ONE PERSON IN HH (HH1>1):**

HH3 How many, including yourself, are adults, age 18 and older?

\_\_\_\_\_\_ Enter number 1-7

8 8 or more

9 Don’t know/Refused

**ASK ALL LANDLINE SAMPLE:**

L1. Now thinking about your telephone use… Do you have a working cell phone?

1 Yes, have cell phone

2 No, do not

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK IF NO CELL PHONE AND MULTI-PERSON HOUSEHOLD (L1=2,9 AND HH1>1):**

L1a. Does anyone in your household have a working cell phone?

1 Yes, someone in household has cell phone

2 No

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL CELL PHONE SAMPLE:**

C1. Now thinking about your telephone use… Is there at least one telephone INSIDE your home that is currently working and is not a cell phone?

1 Yes home telephone

2 No, home telephone

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

**ASK ALL:**

ZIPCODE What is your zipcode?

\_\_\_\_\_ Enter Zipcode

9 Don’t know/Refused

**END OF INTERVIEW**

**ASK CELL PHONE SAMPLE:**

MONEY2 That’s the end of the interview. If you would like to be reimbursed for your cell phone minutes, we can send you $5. I will need your full name and a mailing address where we can send you the money? **[INTERVIEWER NOTE:** If R does not want to give full name, explain we only need it so we can send the $5 to them personally.**]**

1 **[ENTER FULL NAME] – INTERVIEWER: PLEASE VERIFY SPELLING**

2 **[ENTER MAILING ADDRESS]**

3 **[City]**

4 **[State]**

5 **CONFIRM ZIP from above**

9 **(VOL.)** Respondent does not want the money

**ASK ALL:**

Thank you very much for your time. This survey is being conducted by the Pew Research Center, which will be issuing a report on the results of this survey on their website, pewresearch dot ORG, in the coming weeks.

**THANK YOU** again for your help! Have a nice day/evening.

END TIMING BLOCK 9

I HEREBY ATTEST THAT THIS IS A TRUE AND HONEST INTERVIEW.

INTERVIEWER GENDER:

ISEX

1 Male

2 Female

INTERVIEWER RACE:

IHISP1 Are you, yourself, of Hispanic origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

1 Yes

2 No

9 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

IRACE1 Which of the following describes your race? You can select as many as apply.

**[READ LIST. RECORD UP TO FOUR RESPONSES IN ORDER MENTIONED]**

1 White

2 Black or African-American

3 Asian or Asian-American

4 Or some other race

9 **[VOL. DO NOT READ]** Don't know/Refused

**[PLEASE MAKE THE FOLLOWING TEXT AVAILABLE TO INTERVIEWERS ANYTIME A RESPONDENT ASKS ABOUT THE NATURE OF THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER]** The Pew Research Center is an independent nonpartisan public opinion research organization that studies attitudes toward politics, the press and issues facing the nation. The Center has no connection to the government, political parties, or any campaigns. Reports about its surveys are made available free of charge on their website pewresearch dot ORG.