

2023 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL
WAVE 130 JULY 2023
JULY 10-16, 2023¹

ASK ALL:

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 ALL:

POL_WELL In general, how well do you think the political system is working in the U.S. today?
[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-5 OR 5-1 FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE]

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

In general, how well do you think the political system is working in the U.S. today?

☐ Not at all well

☐ Not too well

☐ Somewhat well

☐ Very well

☐ Extremely well

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ASK ALL:

POLFUT How much confidence do you have in the future of the U.S. political system?

- 1 A lot
- 2 Some
- 3 Not too much
- 4 None at all

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

How much confidence do you have in the future of the U.S. political system?

- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Not too much
- ☐ None at all

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ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

RESPECTD Over the last several years, would you say the tone and nature of political debate in this country has...

- 1 Become more respectful
- 2 Become less respectful
- 3 Not changed much

Over the last several years, would you say the tone and nature of political debate in this country has...

- ☐ Become more respectful
- ☐ Become less respectful
- ☐ Not changed much

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

FACTSD Over the last several years, would you say the tone and nature of political debate in this country has...

- 1 Become more fact-based
- 2 Become less fact-based
- 3 Not changed much

Over the last several years, would you say the tone and nature of political debate in this country has...

- ☐ Become more fact-based
- ☐ Become less fact-based
- ☐ Not changed much

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ASK ALL:

POLREP_PERF How would you rate the job performance of each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; REVERSE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4 AND 4-1 FOR RANDOM ½ OF SAMPLE; ALWAYS ASK OPTION 5 LAST; KEEP THE SAME ORDER FOR ALL ITEMS FOR EACH RESPONDENT]**

HSE Your district's member of the House of Representatives
GOV Your state's governor
LOCL Local elected officials in your city or town

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Very good
- 2 Somewhat good
- 3 Somewhat bad
- 4 Very bad
- [SPACE]**
- 5 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

How would you rate the job performance of each of the following?

Your district's member of the House of Representatives

☐ Very good

☐ Somewhat good

☐ Somewhat bad

☐ Very bad

☐ Not sure

Your state's governor

☐ Very good

☐ Somewhat good

☐ Somewhat bad

☐ Very bad

☐ Not sure

Local elected officials in your city or town

☐ Very good

☐ Somewhat good

☐ Somewhat bad

☐ Very bad

☐ Not sure

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ASK RANDOM QUARTER OF SAMPLE (XQUARTER=1):

POLSYPROB_OE What do you see as the biggest problem with the political system in the U.S. today?

[OPEN-ENDED TEXT BOX]

What do you see as the biggest problem with the political system in the U.S. today?

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ASK RANDOM QUARTER OF SAMPLE (XQUARTER=2):

ELECTPROB_OE What do you see as the biggest problem with elected officials today?

[OPEN-ENDED TEXT BOX]

What do you see as the biggest problem with elected officials today?

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ASK RANDOM QUARTER OF SAMPLE (XQUARTER=3):

WORD_POL What one word or phrase would you use to describe politics in the U.S. these days?

[OPEN-ENDED TEXT BOX—smaller box]

What one word or phrase would you use to describe politics in the U.S. these days?

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ASK RANDOM QUARTER OF SAMPLE (XQUARTER=4) :

POLSSTR_OE What do you see as the biggest strength of the U.S. political system today?

[OPEN-ENDED TEXT BOX]

What do you see as the biggest strength of the U.S. political system today?

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ASK ALL:

GROWUPNEAR Do you currently live in or near the community where you grew up?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Do you currently live in or near the community where you grew up?

☐ Yes

☐ No

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ASK ALL:

POL_EMTN How often would you say you feel each of the following when thinking about politics these days? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

EXH Exhausted
HPFL Hopeful
ANG Angry
EXCTD Excited

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Always
- 2 Often
- 3 Sometimes
- 4 Rarely
- 5 Never

How often would you say you feel each of the following when thinking about politics these days?

Excited

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

Hopeful

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

Angry

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

Exhausted

- ☐ Always
- ☐ Often
- ☐ Sometimes
- ☐ Rarely
- ☐ Never

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ASK ALL:
USEXCEPT

Which of these statements best describes your opinion about the United States?
[RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-3 OR 3-1]

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

Which of these statements best describes your opinion about the United States?

- ☐ There are other countries that are better than the U.S.
- ☐ The U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others
- ☐ The U.S. stands above all other countries in the world

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ASK ALL:

INSTFAV

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following?

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

- a. The Republican Party
- b. The Democratic Party
- c. Congress
- d. The Supreme Court

ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

HOUSE The U.S. House of Representatives

SENATE The U.S. Senate

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- 1 Very favorable
- 2 Mostly favorable
- 3 Mostly unfavorable
- 4 Very unfavorable

Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following?

The Democratic Party

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

Congress

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

The Republican Party

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

The Supreme Court

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

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Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each of the following?

The U.S. Senate

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

The U.S. House of Representatives

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

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ASK ALL:

CLRSOL Which comes closer to your own view? **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 There are clear solutions to most big issues facing the country today
- 2 Most big issues facing the country today don't have clear solutions

Which comes closer to your own view?

- ☐ Most big issues facing the country today don't have clear solutions
- ☐ There are clear solutions to most big issues facing the country today

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ASK ALL:

RUNWHY In your view, how many of the people who currently serve in elected office in local, state and federal governments ran for office because they wanted to...
[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

ASK ALL:

SRV Serve the public

ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

ISS Address issues they care about

FAME Get fame and attention for themselves

ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

MNEY Make a lot of money

HIGH Run for a higher-level office in the future

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 All of them
- 2 Most of them
- 3 Some of them
- 4 Few of them
- 5 None of them

In your view, how many of the people who currently serve in elected office in local, state and federal governments ran for office because they wanted to...

Get fame and attention for themselves

- ☐ All of them
- ☐ Most of them
- ☐ Some of them
- ☐ Few of them
- ☐ None of them

Serve the public

- ☐ All of them
- ☐ Most of them
- ☐ Some of them
- ☐ Few of them
- ☐ None of them

Address issues they care about

- ☐ All of them
- ☐ Most of them
- ☐ Some of them
- ☐ Few of them
- ☐ None of them

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In your view, how many of the people who currently serve in elected office in local, state and federal governments ran for office because they wanted to...

Make a lot of money

- ☐ All of them
- ☐ Most of them
- ☐ Some of them
- ☐ Few of them
- ☐ None of them

Run for a higher-level office in the future

- ☐ All of them
- ☐ Most of them
- ☐ Some of them
- ☐ Few of them
- ☐ None of them

Serve the public

- ☐ All of them
- ☐ Most of them
- ☐ Some of them
- ☐ Few of them
- ☐ None of them

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ASK ALL:

DIFFPARTY

Thinking about the Democratic and Republican parties, would you say there is...

- 1 A great deal of difference in what they stand for
- 2 A fair amount of difference in what they stand for
- 3 Hardly any difference at all in what they stand for

Thinking about the Democratic and Republican parties, would you say there is...

- ☐ A great deal of difference in what they stand for
- ☐ A fair amount of difference in what they stand for
- ☐ Hardly any difference at all in what they stand for

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ASK ALL:

DESC_POL Would you say that each of the following are a good description or a bad description of the U.S. political system today? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RANDOMIZE RESPONSE OPTIONS 1-4 OR 4-1 FOR RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS USING THE SAME ORDER FOR EACH ITEM]**

ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

SPCL	Special interest groups and lobbyists have too much say in what happens in politics
ORD	Ordinary Americans care about making the political system work well
ACC	Congress accomplishes more than people give it credit for
UNETH	Political leaders face consequences if they act unethically

ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

FEDCRED	The federal government does more for ordinary Americans than people give it credit for
KNW	It is easy to find unbiased information about what is happening in politics
COST	The cost of political campaigns makes it hard for good people to run for office
DIV	Republicans and Democrats are more focused on fighting each other than on solving problems

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| 1 | Very good description |
| 2 | Somewhat good description |
| 3 | Somewhat bad description |
| 4 | Very bad description |

Would you say that each of the following are a good description or a bad description of the U.S. political system today?

Congress accomplishes more than people give it credit for

- ☐ Very bad description
- ☐ Somewhat bad description
- ☐ Somewhat good description
- ☐ Very good description

Political leaders face consequences if they act unethically

- ☐ Very bad description
- ☐ Somewhat bad description
- ☐ Somewhat good description
- ☐ Very good description

Ordinary Americans care about making the political system work well

- ☐ Very bad description
- ☐ Somewhat bad description
- ☐ Somewhat good description
- ☐ Very good description

Special interest groups and lobbyists have too much say in what happens in politics

- ☐ Very bad description
- ☐ Somewhat bad description
- ☐ Somewhat good description
- ☐ Very good description

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Would you say that each of the following are a good description or a bad description of the U.S. political system today?

It is easy to find unbiased information about what is happening in politics

- ☐ Very good description
- ☐ Somewhat good description
- ☐ Somewhat bad description
- ☐ Very bad description

The federal government does more for ordinary Americans than people give it credit for

- ☐ Very good description
- ☐ Somewhat good description
- ☐ Somewhat bad description
- ☐ Very bad description

Republicans and Democrats are more focused on fighting each other than on solving problems

- ☐ Very good description
- ☐ Somewhat good description
- ☐ Somewhat bad description
- ☐ Very bad description

The cost of political campaigns makes it hard for good people to run for office

- ☐ Very good description
- ☐ Somewhat good description
- ☐ Somewhat bad description
- ☐ Very bad description

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ASK ALL:

OFFICIALS_CARE

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

[ROTATE RESPONSE OPTIONS]

- 1 Most elected officials care what people like me think
- 2 Most elected officials don't care what people like me think

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

- ☐ Most elected officials don't care what people like me think
- ☐ Most elected officials care what people like me think

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ASK ALL:
POL_INFO

All in all, do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention paid to each of the following in our country these days? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2; ALWAYS ASK OPTION 3 LAST, USING THE SAME ORDER FOR EACH ITEM]**

CONG	The policies elected officials in Washington, D.C. are working on
LOCAL	The policies local elected officials are working on
DIS	Disagreements between Republicans and Democrats
ELECT24	The 2024 presidential election
ISSU	Important issues facing the country

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Too much attention
- 2 Too little attention
- 3 Right amount of attention **[ANCHOR]**

All in all, do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention paid to each of the following in our country these days?

Disagreements between Republicans and Democrats

☐ Too much attention

☐ Too little attention

☐ Right amount of attention

Important issues facing the country

☐ Too much attention

☐ Too little attention

☐ Right amount of attention

The policies elected officials in Washington, D.C. are working on

☐ Too much attention

☐ Too little attention

☐ Right amount of attention

The policies local elected officials are working on

☐ Too much attention

☐ Too little attention

☐ Right amount of attention

The 2024 presidential election

☐ Too much attention

☐ Too little attention

☐ Right amount of attention

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ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

TRUSTCONG In your view, how much of the time do members of Congress... **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

- a. Care about the people they represent
- b. Do a good job promoting laws and policies that serve the public interest

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 All or most of the time
- 2 Some of the time
- 3 Only a little of the time
- 4 None of the time

In your view, how much of the time do members of Congress...

Do a good job promoting laws and policies that serve the public interest

☐ All or most of the time

☐ Some of the time

☐ Only a little of the time

☐ None of the time

Care about the people they represent

☐ All or most of the time

☐ Some of the time

☐ Only a little of the time

☐ None of the time

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

CONG_JOB How would you rate the job members of Congress are doing when it comes to each of the following? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS POLREP_PERF]**

- FIN Keeping their personal financial interests separate from their work in Congress
- LST Listening to the concerns of people in their district
- RESP Taking responsibility for their actions
- OPP Working with members of the opposing party

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

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

How would you rate the job members of Congress are doing when it comes to each of the following?

Keeping their personal financial interests separate from their work in Congress

- ☐ Very good job
- ☐ Somewhat good job
- ☐ Somewhat bad job
- ☐ Very bad job

Working with members of the opposing party

- ☐ Very good job
- ☐ Somewhat good job
- ☐ Somewhat bad job
- ☐ Very bad job

Listening to the concerns of people in their district

- ☐ Very good job
- ☐ Somewhat good job
- ☐ Somewhat bad job
- ☐ Very bad job

Taking responsibility for their actions

- ☐ Very good job
- ☐ Somewhat good job
- ☐ Somewhat bad job
- ☐ Very bad job

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ASK ALL:

VOTEDIR_MOD How much, if at all, do you think that voting by people like you can affect the direction the country takes in the future?

- 1 A lot
- 2 Some
- 3 Not much
- 4 Not at all

How much, if at all, do you think that voting by people like you can affect the direction the country takes in the future?

- ☐ A lot
- ☐ Some
- ☐ Not much
- ☐ Not at all

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ASK ALL:

FAVPOL

What is your overall opinion of... **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

BIDEN	Joe Biden
TRUMP	Donald Trump
HARRIS	Kamala Harris
MCCARTHY	Kevin McCarthy
SCHUMER	Chuck Schumer

RESPONSE CATEGORIES:

- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| 1 | Very favorable |
| 2 | Mostly favorable |
| 3 | Mostly unfavorable |
| 4 | Very unfavorable |
| | [SPACE] |
| 5 | Never heard of this person |

What is your overall opinion of...

Donald Trump

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable
- ☐ Never heard of this person

Joe Biden

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable
- ☐ Never heard of this person

Kamala Harris

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable
- ☐ Never heard of this person

Chuck Schumer

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable
- ☐ Never heard of this person

Kevin McCarthy

- ☐ Very favorable
- ☐ Mostly favorable
- ☐ Mostly unfavorable
- ☐ Very unfavorable

- ☐ Never heard of this person

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ASK ALL:

JOBPOSDIFF If someone would like to change the country for the better, how effective do you think each of the following activities would be? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS POL_WELL]**

ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

RUNL Running for political office
VOLP Volunteering for a political campaign
DON Donating money to a charity or nonprofit
RALLY Attending a political rally

ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

DON2 Donating money to a candidate or political party
PROT Attending a political protest
VOTE Voting in elections
VOL Volunteering for an organization or association

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

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

If someone would like to change the country for the better, how effective do you think each of the following activities would be?

Volunteering for a political campaign

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

Running for political office

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

Donating money to a charity or nonprofit

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

Attending a political rally

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

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If someone would like to change the country for the better, how effective do you think each of the following activities would be?

Voting in elections

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

Donating money to a candidate or political party

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

Volunteering for an organization or association

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

Attending a political protest

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

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RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM

ASK ALL:

REPRSNTREP How well does the REPUBLICAN PARTY represent the interests of people like you?

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

How well does the REPUBLICAN PARTY represent the interests of people like you?

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

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RANDOMIZE ORDER OF REPRSNTREP AND REPRSNTDEM

ASK ALL:

REPRSNTDEM How well does the DEMOCRATIC PARTY represent the interests of people like you?

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

How well does the DEMOCRATIC PARTY represent the interests of people like you?

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

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ASK ALL:

BESTPRES Thinking about all of the U.S. presidents over the past 40 years, which one do you think has done the best job as president? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER 1-7 AND 7-1]**

- 1 Ronald Reagan
- 2 George H.W. Bush
- 3 Bill Clinton
- 4 George W. Bush
- 5 Barack Obama
- 6 Donald Trump
- 7 Joe Biden

Thinking about all of the U.S. presidents over the past 40 years, which one do you think has done the best job as president?

- ☐ Ronald Reagan
- ☐ George H.W. Bush
- ☐ Bill Clinton
- ☐ George W. Bush
- ☐ Barack Obama
- ☐ Donald Trump
- ☐ Joe Biden

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ASK IF BESTPRES IS NOT SKIPPED (BESTPRES=1,2,3,4,5,6,7)]:

BESTPRES2 Which president would you name as the second best president of the last 40 years?
[SHOW IN SAME ORDER AS BESTPRES; REMOVE THE OPTION CHOSEN IN BESTPRES]

- 1 Ronald Reagan
- 2 George H.W. Bush
- 3 Bill Clinton
- 4 George W. Bush
- 5 Barack Obama
- 6 Donald Trump
- 7 Joe Biden

Which president would you name as the second best president of the last 40 years?

☐ Ronald Reagan

☐ George H.W. Bush

☐ George W. Bush

☐ Barack Obama

☐ Donald Trump

☐ Joe Biden

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ASK ALL:

REPR_INFL Do you think each of the following have too much influence, too little influence or about the right amount of influence when it comes to the decisions that members of Congress make? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; ROTATE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST, USING THE SAME ORDER FOR EACH ITEM]**

ASK ALL:

DIST The people in their districts
LRGE Large employers in their districts

ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

LBBY Lobbyists and special interest groups

ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

DONOR The people who donated a lot of money to their political campaigns

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 Too much influence
- 2 Too little influence
- 3 About the right amount of influence **[ANCHOR]**

Do you think each of the following have too much influence, too little influence or about the right amount of influence when it comes to the decisions that members of Congress make?

Lobbyists and special interest groups

- ☐ Too little influence
- ☐ Too much influence
- ☐ About the right amount of influence

The people in their districts

- ☐ Too little influence
- ☐ Too much influence
- ☐ About the right amount of influence

Large employers in their districts

- ☐ Too little influence
- ☐ Too much influence
- ☐ About the right amount of influence

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Do you think each of the following have too much influence, too little influence or about the right amount of influence when it comes to the decisions that members of Congress make?

Large employers in their districts

- ☐ Too much influence
- ☐ Too little influence
- ☐ About the right amount of influence

The people in their districts

- ☐ Too much influence
- ☐ Too little influence
- ☐ About the right amount of influence

The people who donated a lot of money to their political campaigns

- ☐ Too much influence
- ☐ Too little influence
- ☐ About the right amount of influence

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ASK ALL:

CANQUALPOL In general, would you say the quality of the candidates running for political office in the last several years has been...

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

In general, would you say the quality of the candidates running for political office in the last several years has been...

- ☐ Very good
- ☐ Somewhat good
- ☐ Somewhat bad
- ☐ Very bad

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ASK ALL:

CANMTCHPOL Which comes closer to your view of candidates for political office, even if neither is exactly right?

I usually feel like... **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 There is at least one candidate who shares most of my views
- 2 None of the candidates represent my views well

Which comes closer to your view of candidates for political office, even if neither is exactly right?

I usually feel like...

- ☐ There is at least one candidate who shares most of my views
- ☐ None of the candidates represent my views well

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ASK ALL:

FAVOPP_POL Do you favor or oppose each of the following proposals? **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; RANDOMLY DISPLAY RESPONSES 1-4 OR 4-1, USING THE SAME ORDER FOR EACH ITEM]**

ASK ALL:

TRM Limiting the number of terms that members of Congress can serve
JST Increasing the number of justices on the Supreme Court

ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

AGE Putting a maximum age limit in place for elected officials in Washington, D.C.

ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

SC Putting a maximum age limit in place for Supreme Court justices

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

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

Do you favor or oppose each of the following proposals?

Putting a maximum age limit in place for elected officials in Washington, D.C.

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

Increasing the number of justices on the Supreme Court

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

Limiting the number of terms that members of Congress can serve

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

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Do you favor or oppose each of the following proposals?

Increasing the number of justices on the Supreme Court

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

Limiting the number of terms that members of Congress can serve

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

Putting a maximum age limit in place for Supreme Court justices

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

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ASK ALL:

VTPRIORITY

Please indicate whether you would favor or oppose the following ideas about election policy. **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS; DISPLAY RESPONSES IN SAME ORDER AS FAVOPP_POL]**

AUT

Automatically registering all eligible citizens to vote

PHT

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

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.

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

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

Automatically registering all eligible citizens to vote

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

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ASK ALL:

SPENDPOL_LIM Which comes closer to your own view – even if neither is exactly right?

[RANDOMIZE 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]

- 1 Individuals and organizations should be able to spend as much money as they want in support of political campaigns
- 2 There should be limits on the amount of money individuals and organizations can spend in support of political campaigns
- 3 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

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

- ☐ Individuals and organizations should be able to spend as much money as they want in support of political campaigns
- ☐ There should be limits on the amount of money individuals and organizations can spend in support of political campaigns
- ☐ Not sure

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ASK ALL:

SPENDPOL_LAW In general, do you think... **[RANDOMIZE 1 AND 2 WITH OPTION 3 ALWAYS LAST]**

- 1 It's possible to have laws that would effectively reduce the role of money in politics
- 2 It's not possible to have laws that would effectively reduce the role of money in politics
- 3 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

In general, do you think...

- ☐ It's not possible to have laws that would effectively reduce the role of money in politics
- ☐ It's possible to have laws that would effectively reduce the role of money in politics
- ☐ Not sure

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ASK ALL:

IMPT_CAND

How important is it that political candidates you support... **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS;
DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS POL_WELL]**

GEN Share your gender
RC Share your racial and ethnic background
REL Share your religious values
ISS Share your views on political issues
EB Come from a similar economic background as you
CMNY Have lived in a community like yours

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

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

How important is it that political candidates you support...

Share your views on political issues

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

Have lived in a community like yours

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

Share your gender

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

Come from a similar economic background as you

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

Share your racial and ethnic background

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

Share your religious values

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

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

PTY_CHSE How well does the following statement describe your views?

I often wish there were more political parties to choose from in this country
[DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS POL_WELL]

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

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

How well does the following statement describe your views?

I often wish there were more political parties to choose from in this country

☐ Not at all well

☐ Not too well

☐ Somewhat well

☐ Very well

☐ Extremely well

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ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

SOLVE_LIKELY Do you think that having more than two major political parties in this country would...
[RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2 WITH OPTIONS 3 AND 4 ALWAYS LAST]

- 1 Make it easier to solve the country's problems
- 2 Make it harder to solve the country's problems
- 3 Would not have much of an impact either way **[ANCHOR]**
- [SPACE]**
- 4 Not sure **[ANCHOR]**

Do you think that having more than two major political parties in this country would...

☐ Make it easier to solve the country's problems

☐ Make it harder to solve the country's problems

☐ Would not have much of an impact either way

☐ Not sure

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ASK ALL:

ELCTCOLLB

Thinking about the way in which the president is elected in this country, which would you prefer? **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 Change the current system, so the candidate who receives the most total votes nationwide wins the election
- 2 Keep the current system, in which the candidate who wins the most votes in the Electoral College wins the election

Thinking about the way in which the president is elected in this country, which would you prefer?

☐ Change the current system, so the candidate who receives the most total votes nationwide wins the election

☐ Keep the current system, in which the candidate who wins the most votes in the Electoral College wins the election

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ASK FORM 1 ONLY (XFORM=1):

HOUSESZ

As you may know, there are 435 members of the House of Representatives in Washington, each of whom represents an average of more than 750,000 people.

Do you think the number of members in the House of Representatives should ...
[RANDOMIZE 1 & 2, KEEP 3 LAST]

- 1 Increase
- 2 Decrease
- 3 Stay the same **[ANCHOR]**

As you may know, there are 435 members of the House of Representatives in Washington, each of whom represents an average of more than 750,000 people.

Do you think the number of members in the House of Representatives should...

☐ Increase

☐ Decrease

☐ Stay the same

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ASK FORM 2 ONLY (XFORM=2):

SENATESZ

As you may know, the Constitution requires that all states have two U.S. senators, regardless of how many people live in the state.

Which comes closer to your view? **[RANDOMIZE]**

- 1 The Constitution should not be changed, and all states should continue to have two senators regardless of the size of their population
- 2 The Constitution should be amended so that states with larger populations have more senators than smaller states

As you may know, the Constitution requires that all states have two U.S. senators, regardless of how many people live in the state.

Which comes closer to your view?

- ☐ The Constitution should not be changed, and all states should continue to have two senators regardless of the size of their population
- ☐ The Constitution should be amended so that states with larger populations have more senators than smaller states

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ASK ALL:
SATIS24

Thinking about the presidential election that will take place in November 2024, what's your overall impression so far of the people who will be running for president?

[RANDOMLY DISPLAY RESPONSES IN SAME ORDER AS POLL_WELL]

- 1 Extremely satisfied
- 2 Very satisfied
- 3 Fairly satisfied
- 4 Not too satisfied
- 5 Not at all satisfied

Thinking about the presidential election that will take place in November 2024, what's your overall impression so far of the people who will be running for president?

- ☐ Not at all satisfied
- ☐ Not too satisfied
- ☐ Fairly satisfied
- ☐ Very satisfied
- ☐ Extremely satisfied

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ASK ALL:

PRES For each of the following, which comes closer to your view? **[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS ON SCREEN]**

INT Recent presidential election campaigns have been...

- 1 Interesting
- 2 Dull

INF Recent presidential election campaigns have been...

- 1 Informative
- 2 Not informative

FCS Recent presidential election campaigns have...

- 1 Focused on the right issues
- 2 Not focused on the right issues

TIME Recent presidential election campaigns have...

- 1 Lasted too long
- 2 Not lasted too long

CANDID The nominees in recent presidential elections have...

- 1 Been good candidates
- 2 Not been good candidates

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

Recent presidential election campaigns have been...

☐ Interesting

☐ Dull

Recent presidential election campaigns have been...

☐ Informative

☐ Not informative

The nominees in recent presidential elections have...

☐ Been good candidates

☐ Not been good candidates

Recent presidential election campaigns have...

☐ Focused on the right issues

☐ Not focused on the right issues

Recent presidential election campaigns have...

☐ Lasted too long

☐ Not lasted too long

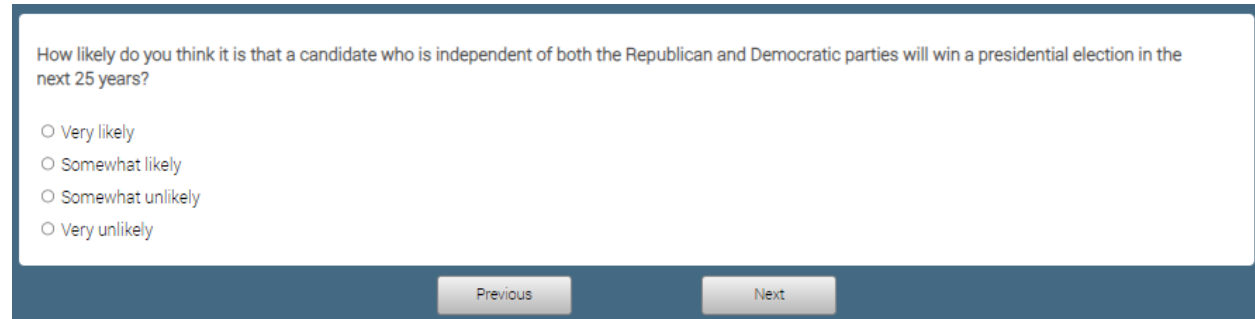
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ASK ALL:

LIKELYPRESIND How likely do you think it is that a candidate who is independent of both the Republican and Democratic parties will win a presidential election in the next 25 years? **[REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF RESPONDENTS]**

- 1 Very likely
- 2 Somewhat likely
- 3 Somewhat unlikely
- 4 Very unlikely

A screenshot of a survey question interface. The question text is "How likely do you think it is that a candidate who is independent of both the Republican and Democratic parties will win a presidential election in the next 25 years?". Below the question are four radio button options: "Very likely", "Somewhat likely", "Somewhat unlikely", and "Very unlikely". At the bottom of the interface are two buttons: "Previous" and "Next".

How likely do you think it is that a candidate who is independent of both the Republican and Democratic parties will win a presidential election in the next 25 years?

☐ Very likely

☐ Somewhat likely

☐ Somewhat unlikely

☐ Very unlikely

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[ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1), REPPRESWON FIRST AND DEMPRESWON SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2), DEMPRESWON FIRST AND REPPRESWON SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS]

ASK ALL:

REPPRESWON Imagine a presidential election where the Republican candidate wins in a close election against a Democratic candidate.

As president, how much should they focus on the priorities of the people who...

[RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS DEMPRESWON]

- VTE Voted for them
- OPP Voted for the Democratic candidate
- DNV Did not vote

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

- 1 A great deal
- 2 A fair amount
- 3 Not too much
- 4 Not at all

Imagine a presidential election where the Republican candidate wins in a close election against a Democratic candidate.

As president, how much should they focus on the priorities of the people who...

Voted for the Democratic candidate

☐ A great deal

☐ A fair amount

☐ Not too much

☐ Not at all

Did not vote

☐ A great deal

☐ A fair amount

☐ Not too much

☐ Not at all

Voted for them

☐ A great deal

☐ A fair amount

☐ Not too much

☐ Not at all

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[ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1), REPPRESWON FIRST AND DEMPRESWON SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS; ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2), DEMPRESWON FIRST AND REPPRESWON SECOND ON SEPARATE SCREENS]

ASK ALL:

DEMPRESWON Imagine a presidential election where the Democratic candidate wins in a close election against a Republican candidate.

As president, how much should they focus on the priorities of the people who...

[RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS REPPRESWON]

VTE Voted for them
 OPP Voted for the Republican candidate
 DNV Did not vote

RESPONSE OPTIONS

- 1 A great deal
- 2 A fair amount
- 3 Not too much
- 4 Not at all

Imagine a presidential election where the Democratic candidate wins in a close election against a Republican candidate.

As president, how much should they focus on the priorities of the people who...

Voted for the Republican candidate

- ☐ A great deal
- ☐ A fair amount
- ☐ Not too much
- ☐ Not at all

Did not vote

- ☐ A great deal
- ☐ A fair amount
- ☐ Not too much
- ☐ Not at all

Voted for them

- ☐ A great deal
- ☐ A fair amount
- ☐ Not too much
- ☐ Not at all

ASK ALL:

Now, thinking about the U.S. Supreme Court...

ASK FORM 1 (XFORM=1):

COURTIDEO In your view, do you think the current Supreme Court is...

- 1 Conservative
- 2 Middle of the road
- 3 Liberal

Now, thinking about the U.S. Supreme Court...

In your view, do you think the current Supreme Court is...

- ☐ Conservative
- ☐ Middle of the road
- ☐ Liberal

ASK FORM 2 (XFORM=2):

COURTPOWER Do you think the U.S. Supreme Court has...

- 1 Too much power
- 2 Too little power
- 3 Right amount of power

Now, thinking about the U.S. Supreme Court...

Do you think the U.S. Supreme Court has...

☐ Too much power

☐ Too little power

☐ Right amount of power

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ASK ALL:

POLINT How interested would you say you are in politics? [**DISPLAY RESPONSE OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS POL_WELL**]

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

How interested would you say you are in politics?

☐ Not at all interested

☐ Not too interested

☐ Somewhat interested

☐ Very interested

☐ Extremely interested

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ASK ALL:

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF CNFLCT1-CNFLCT3 and RECORD ORDER; RANDOMIZE LABELS FOR RESPONSES 1 and 4. RECORD ORDER.

CNFLCT1 [S] Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

[FOR RANDOM ½ SAMPLE SHOW RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER BUT KEEPING THE NUMERIC CODES THE SAME (1 AT THE TOP AND 4 AT THE BOTTOM)]

- (1) Disagreements make me uncomfortable
- (2)
- (3)
- (4) Disagreements don't really bother me that much

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

Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

☐ 1 - Disagreements don't really bother me that much

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 4 - Disagreements make me uncomfortable

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ASK ALL:

CNFLCT2 [S] Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

[FOR RANDOM ½ SAMPLE SHOW RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER BUT KEEPING THE NUMERIC CODES THE SAME (1 AT THE TOP AND 4 AT THE BOTTOM)]

- (1) I enjoy challenging the opinions of others
- (2)
- (3)
- (4) I don't enjoy challenging others, even when they are wrong

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

Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

☐ 1 - I don't enjoy challenging others, even when they are wrong

☐ 2

☐ 3

☐ 4 - I enjoy challenging the opinions of others

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ASK ALL:

CNFLCT3 [S] Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

[FOR RANDOM ½ SAMPLE SHOW RESPONSE OPTIONS IN REVERSE ORDER BUT KEEPING THE NUMERIC CODES THE SAME (1 AT THE TOP AND 4 AT THE BOTTOM)]

- (1) I would rather go along with the group than risk creating conflict
- (2)
- (3)
- (4) I would rather speak my mind, even if it risks creating conflict

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

Where would you place yourself on the following scale?

- ☐ 1 - I would rather go along with the group than risk creating conflict
- ☐ 2
- ☐ 3
- ☐ 4 - I would rather speak my mind, even if it risks creating conflict

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DISPLAY TO ALL:

Just a few last questions...

ASK ALL:

TATTOO_ACCEPT Over the past 20 or so years, do you think society has become more accepting or less accepting of people with tattoos, or has it stayed about the same?

- 1 More accepting
- 2 Less accepting
- 3 Stayed about the same

Just a few last questions...

Over the past 20 or so years, do you think society has become more accepting or less accepting of people with tattoos, or has it stayed about the same?

- ☐ More accepting
- ☐ Less accepting
- ☐ Stayed about the same

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ASK ALL:

TATTOO_HAVE Do you currently have any tattoos?

- 1 Yes, one tattoo
- 2 Yes, more than one tattoo
- 3 No

Do you currently have any tattoos?

- ☐ Yes, one tattoo
- ☐ Yes, more than one tattoo
- ☐ No

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ASK IF HAVE A TATTOO (TATTOO_HAVE=1,2)

TATTOO_WHY

For each of the following, please indicate whether it is a major reason, a minor reason, or not a reason why you have [IF TATTOO_HAVE = 1: a tattoo./IF TATTOO_HAVE = 2: any of your tattoos.] [RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

BATTERY ITEMS:

- a. To remember or honor someone or something
- b. To make a statement about what I believe
- c. To improve my personal appearance

RESPONSE OPTIONS:

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

For each of the following, please indicate whether it is a major reason, a minor reason, or not a reason why you have a tattoo.

To improve my personal appearance

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

To remember or honor someone or something

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

To make a statement about what I believe

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

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For each of the following, please indicate whether it is a major reason, a minor reason, or not a reason why you have any of your tattoos.

To improve my personal appearance

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

To remember or honor someone or something

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

To make a statement about what I believe

- ☐ Major reason
- ☐ Minor reason
- ☐ Not a reason

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ASK IF HAVE A TATTOO (TATTOO_HAVE=1,2)

TATTOO_REGRET

Do you ever regret getting **[IF TATTOO_HAVE = 1: your tattoo?/ IF TATTOO_HAVE = 2: any of your tattoos?]**

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

Do you ever regret getting your tattoo?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

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Do you ever regret getting any of your tattoos?

- ☐ Yes
- ☐ No

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ASK IF DO NOT HAVE A TATTOO (TATTOO_HAVE=3)

TATTOO_LATER How likely are you to get a tattoo in the future? **[DISPLAY OPTIONS IN SAME ORDER AS POL_WELL]**

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

How likely are you to get a tattoo in the future?

☐ Not at all likely

☐ Not too likely

☐ Somewhat likely

☐ Very likely

☐ Extremely likely

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ASK IF DO NOT HAVE A TATTOO (TATTOO_HAVE=3)

TATTOO_REACT What kind of impression does seeing a tattoo on someone give you of that person?

- 1 More positive than negative
- 2 More negative than positive
- 3 Neither positive nor negative

What kind of impression does seeing a tattoo on someone give you of that person?

☐ More positive than negative

☐ More negative than positive

☐ Neither positive nor negative

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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

XQUARTER

- 1 Form OE 1
- 2 Form OE 2
- 3 Form OE 3
- 4 Form OE 4

Note: Flag to randomly assign panelists to one of four forms (Form OE 1, Form OE 2, Form OE 3, Form OE 4)