

**College of Education & Health Professions** *Education Reform* 

# **WORKING PAPER SERIES**

## **Education and Anti-Semitism**

Jay P. Greene, University of Arkansas

Albert Cheng, University of Arkansas

Ian Kingsbury, Empire Center for Public Policy

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Many people believe that intolerance, in general, and anti-Semitism, in particular, are a function of ignorance, and the solution is education. We see evidence of this whenever concerns about intolerance or anti-Semitism become more salient. Proposed solutions frequently feature improved Holocaust education or expanded diversity, equity, and inclusion training. As two religious leaders recently urged, "The only thing that will truly halt the rise of anti-Semitism in America is education" (Stanton & Marcus, 2019). Profiles of anti-Semites tend to feature rural whites or urban minorities, but they are almost always from low-educational backgrounds. Well-educated people tend to feel secure in their higher social class circles and imagine that the dangers of inter-group hatred are concentrated elsewhere.

Indeed, widely-cited studies of anti-Semitism support the conviction that anti-Semitism is associated with low levels of education. For example, the Anti-Defamation League's Global 100 survey of anti-Semitism worldwide finds that "among Christians and the non-observant, higher education levels lead to fewer anti[-]Semitic attitudes" (ADL, p. 18). The survey, which included Iran and Turkey, found "the opposite is true among Muslims respondents…" (ADL, p.18). Excluding school systems that may explicitly teach hatred toward Jews, education appears to reduce anti-Semitism. After reviewing several studies, one prominent researcher concluded, "the better educated are much less anti-Semitic than the worse educated in the U.S., and no other measure of social status (e.g., income, occupation) can account for this relationship" (Weil, 1990, pp. 8-9).

The problem with this widely believed finding is that it is dependent on survey questions that may fail to capture anti-Semitism among the well-educated. For the most part, these studies measure anti-Semitism simply by asking respondents how they feel about Jews or by asking whether they agree with blatantly anti-Semitic stereotypes. For instance, Shenhav-Goldberg and Kopstein (2020) generate an Antisemitism index based on respondents' level of agreement with statements like "Jews have too much power in international financial markets" or "Jews don't care what happens to anyone but their own kind" (p. 244). More sophisticated respondents may be more likely to detect what they are being asked and give socially desirable answers that fail to reveal their anti-Semitism (Greene & Kingsbury, 2017). The finding that anti-Semitism is associated with lower levels of education may just be a function of who is caught by the measure, not a true relationship between education and antipathy toward Jews.

To address this potential problem, we have developed a new survey measure based on what Natan Sharansky (2004) identifies as a defining feature of anti-Semitism – the double-standard. We drafted two versions of the same question, one asking respondents to apply a principle to a Jewish example and another to apply the principle to a non-Jewish example. Subjects were randomly assigned to see one version or another so that no one would see both. If the factual circumstances of the Jewish and non-Jewish examples to which respondents were asked to apply a principle were truly comparable, we would expect subjects, on average, to answer both versions the same way. If, however, subjects, on average, applied the principle more harshly to the Jewish example, we can reasonably infer that the difference is evidence of antipathy toward Jews.

When we administered these double-standard measures in a nationally representative survey of over 1,800 people, our results differed from the conventional view about the relationship between education and anti-Semitism. We found that more highly educated people were more likely to apply principles more harshly to Jewish examples. Contrary to previous claims, education appears to provide no protection against anti-Semitism. By preventing subjects from knowing that they were being asked about their feelings toward Jews, we discovered that more highly educated people in the United States tend to have greater antipathy toward Jews.

## **Past Research**

The paradigm that ignorance breeds anti-Semitism and education, by virtue of addressing ignorance, quells anti-Semitic attitudes is supported by a robust literature which suggests that higher levels of educational attainment are associated with lower levels of anti-Semitic attitudes along with other forms of prejudice toward racial, ethnic, or religious outgroups. Stouffer (1955) was among the first scholars to posit a relationship between educational attainment and tolerance, or the degree to which one affirms the civil liberties of other groups. As Weil (1985) chronicles, numerous subsequent studies affirmed a link between educational attainment and traditionally liberal attitudes, including studies that specifically probe a link between education and anti-Semitism (Selznick & Steinberg, 1969; Martire & Clark, 1982).

Scholars who posit a link between education and anti-Semitism offer notably heterogenous explanations for their connection. For example, a psychodynamic theory posits that better-educated people tend to better tolerate diversity due to their privileged social station (Weil, 1985). In other words, they better tolerate outgroups because they are less likely to perceive them as threatening.

Alternatively, the social theory of education-derived tolerance popularized by Selznick & Steinberg (1969) as well as Lipset (1959) posits that anti-Semitism and other authoritarian attitudes are more prevalent among working class, less educated Americans due to a subculture that does not readily embrace liberal norms to the degree that they are recognized among the upper strata of society. This theory of "working class authoritarianism" holds that the upper strata of American society hold genuine reverence for liberal norms compared to the lower strata, but it suggests that differences in attitudes across socioeconomic groups are attributable to differences in socialization rather than knowledge. The authoritarian disposition of the lower strata then represents "a failure to repress man's 'primitive impulses' and to 'indoctrinate' him into democratic norms" (Jackman, 1973, p. 328).

Finally, it is possible that greater knowledge acquired through more formal schooling better equips individuals to make sense of a complex world rather than relying upon potentially uninformed heuristics. As Wodtke (2012) argues, "An advanced education attenuates prejudice and fosters a real commitment to racial equality by providing knowledge about the historical, social, and economic forces responsible for inequality; teaching the dangers of prejudice; neutralizing fear of the unknown; promoting democratic norms of equality and civil rights; and facilitating contact between racial groups" (p. 82).

The idea that, one way or another, higher levels of education results in greater acceptance of outgroups remains the conventional wisdom, or even an "iron law" in the social sciences (Schaefer, 1996, p. 10). However, the notion that higher levels of education begets more liberal racial, ethnic, or religious attitudes is not without its critics (Jenssen & Engesbak, 2006). An analysis of the National Election Study concludes that educational attainment was positively correlated with support for the general principle of integration, but not specific policies intended to foster integration, such as affirmative action (Jackman, 1978). In a corollary to that study, Jackman & Muha (1984) once again observe that education does not change private social attitudes so much as it encourages higher-status people to espouse public support for liberal norms such as equity and inclusion. More recent work concluded that individuals with higher levels of measured verbal intelligence were more likely to express support for liberal norms, but no more likely to support policies intended to foster equity and inclusion (Wodtke, 2016). According to the ideological refinement perspective, even highly educated adults behave in accordance with tribal interests and group conflict, the struggle for "claims to status, power and other scarce resources in which the aims of the [competing] groups are not only to gain the desired values, but also to affect, change or injure rivals" (Bobo, 1988, p. 91). Schooling then is not an enlightening process but "an institution that endows dominant groups with a keen awareness of their group interests, more advanced cognitive skills, and a set of ideological commitments that enable them to articulate an astute defense of their privileged position in the social hierarchy" (Wodtke, 2012, p. 81).

Glaser (2001) suggests that private hostility toward outgroups is proportional to the scope of their perceived threat to status, power, and resources. The proportional response theory of group conflict could explain why, for example, whites were more actively opposed to Black democratic participation in regions with higher shares of Black citizens, or why highly educated whites were more opposed to race-based college admissions than were whites with less education. If it is true that individuals behave in accordance with tribal competition for claims to status, power, and scarce resources, then the effect of education on anti-Semitism might be especially tenuous. "By almost any index, Jews are demographically overrepresented among the wealthiest, the most politically powerful, and the most intellectually accomplished of Americans" (Hollinger, 2004, p. 596).

## **Research Design and New Measure**

To examine the relationship between education levels and anti-Semitism we contracted with Ipsos to administer a survey to a nationally representative sample of 1,864 subjects. We oversampled K-12 teachers and higher education professors to provide additional statistical power to make inferences about people with higher education levels. Weights were used to ensure that the combined sample was representative of the United States. The survey instrument consisted of 29 items asking respondents about a variety of political issues and controversies as well as demographic and background information. A copy of the survey can be found in the Appendix.

Embedded in the survey were seven pairs of items that asked respondents to apply a principle to either a Jewish or non-Jewish example. Within each item pair, subjects were randomly assigned to see either the Jewish or non-Jewish version but not both.

For reasons we explain below, we focus on four of the seven items to generate our measure of anti-Semitism. The first item asks about whether "the government should set minimum requirements for what is taught in private schools," with Orthodox Jewish or Montessori schools given as the illustrating example. The second item asks about whether "a person's attachment to another country creates a conflict of interest when advocating in support of certain U.S. foreign policy positions," with Israel or Mexico offered as illustrating examples. The third item asks whether "the U.S. military should be allowed to forbid" the wearing of religious headgear as part of the uniform, with a Jewish yarmulke or Sikh turban offered as illustrating examples. And the fourth item asks whether public gatherings during the pandemic "posed a threat to public health and should have been prevented," with Orthodox Jewish funerals or Black Lives Matter protests offered as illustrating examples.

The logic of these double-standard items is that the situations are comparable enough in the Jewish and non-Jewish examples that respondents should answer them similarly, on average, regardless of how they feel about Jews. Some people may favor more or less regulation of what is taught in private schools, be more or less concerned about dual-loyalty issues, be more or less deferential to military uniform rules, and believe that public gatherings posed more or less of a threat to public health. Regardless of how subjects feel about each of these substantive issues, they should not, in the aggregate, answer them differently if they are shown Jewish or non-Jewish examples.

For the remaining three items, the circumstances between the Jewish and non-Jewish items may have been different enough that a person could answer them differently without it reflecting antipathy or favoritism toward Jews. The first of these items asked whether Israel's Basic law is "discriminatory" when it says that "the state of Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish people." The non-Jewish version of this item asked about the provision in the Danish Constitution that says "The Evangelical Lutheran Church shall be the Established Church of Denmark, and, as such, it shall be supported by the State" or the provision in the Jordanian Constitution that says "Islam is the religion of the State and Arabic is its official language." The second item asked about whether scholars from Israel or China should be subject to academic boycotts "to protest human rights violations by those countries' governments." And the third asked about whether professors should be fired for denying the Holocaust or for criticizing immigrants. For all three of these items, the situations are dissimilar enough that the average respondent did not treat them similarly, and so we omit them from our measure of anti-Semitism.<sup>1</sup>

We calculate the percentage of respondents who answered in support of applying the principle in question in a restrictive or unfavorable way to Jews or other groups. For instance, on the item about setting minimum educational standards for Yeshivas or Montessori schools, we report the percentage of respondents who agreed that the government should establish those standards for either type of school. To examine whether the prevalence of applying double standards is related to education, we calculated these percentages separately for respondents from two different educational levels: individuals with no more than a four-year degree and individuals with an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Even so, the patterns of results and our conclusions hold true with all seven items.

advanced degree.<sup>2</sup> Our measure of anti-Semitism for each of the two subgroups is the difference between how much the respective subgroups answered the Jewish and non-Jewish versions of each item.

## Results

Respondents with higher education levels are more likely than those with lower education levels to apply a double-standard unfavorable towards Jews. Across the four items in which the Jewish and non-Jewish versions of questions seemed the most similar and which the overall sample answered roughly in the same way, subjects with college degrees were 5 percentage points more likely to apply a principle harshly to Jews than non-Jews. Among those with advanced degrees, subjects were 15 percentage points more unfavorable toward Jewish than non-Jewish examples. These results are displayed in the last row of Table 1.

## <<Table 1 Here>>

Looking at these four items separately throughout Table 1, we observe respondents with higher education levels answer more unfavorably toward Jews for three questions and no different for one. On the question of regulating the content of private schools, people with higher education levels favor more government regulation, but do not appear to apply that very differently if the illustrating example is an Orthodox Jewish or Montessori school.

When asked whether "attachment to another country creates a conflict of interest," respondents with a four-year degree were 7 percentage points and those with advanced degrees were 13 percentage points more likely to express this concern when the attachment in question was to Israel than to Mexico. People with advanced degrees are 12 percentage points more likely to support the military in prohibiting a Jewish yarmulke than in prohibiting a Sikh turban as part of the uniform. Those with college degrees answer these the same whether the example is Jewish or Sikh.

The overall sample was fairly concerned about public gatherings during the pandemic, with 61 percent supporting the prohibition of public gatherings whether for an Orthodox Jewish funeral or for Black Lives Matter (BLM) protests. Among those with a four-year degree, they are 11 percentage points more likely to oppose these public gatherings for Jewish funerals than for BLM protests. People with advanced degrees were 36 percentage points more likely to want Orthodox Jewish funerals prohibited than BLM protests.

## Discussion

Our double-standard measure of anti-Semitism does not allow us to gauge the absolute level of anti-Semitism in the United States since we focus on items where the average person finds the Jewish and non-Jewish version of items to be comparable. By design, the average person's result will be close to zero. But this approach does allow us to break out the sample by education level to see where there is relatively more or less antipathy toward Jews. Contrary to

 $<sup>^{2}</sup>$  We obtain similar results under a regression approach where we use a continuous measure of years of education to predict differences in responses between the Jewish and non-Jewish version of the items.

conventional wisdom and past research, people with more education are more unfavorable to Jews.

Our results are inconsistent with prior theories that suggest the more highly educated are more willing to tolerate outgroups because they are less likely to perceive them as threatening (Weil, 1985). Nor are our results consistent with the social theory of education-derived tolerance which argues that the less educated express more prejudice towards outgroups because they are less familiar with democratic norms and socialized to live by them (Lipset 1959; Selznick & Steinberg 1969). On the other hand, our findings cohere with the view that education endows individuals with greater awareness of their own group interests and the ability to defend them (Glaser 2001; Wodtke, 2012). Nevertheless, we do not have direct empirical evidence to test the particulars of this theory.

This greater antagonism toward Jews among the more educated is troubling for a number of reasons. First, Jews may be mistaken about where threats to their interests predominate. Jews may think that dangers come from distant and unfamiliar groups when they are more likely to emanate from the circles in which Jews tend to find themselves. Second, well-educated people tend to have greater influence over the course of events, so it does not bode well for Jews to be disfavored by them. Third, our strategies for addressing intolerance, in general, and anti-Semitism, in particular, tend to revolve around the belief that group-hatred is caused by ignorance and the solution is education. But if more educated people are more hostile with respect to Jews, additional instruction and sensitivity training are unlikely to be fruitful remedies.

At the very least, it seems that an education that simply provides information about historical events, civil liberties, and other cultural groups is insufficient. Addressing anti-Semitism and, more generally, prejudice may require the cultivation of virtue. Specifically, it requires the formation of a kind of character that is not only familiar with the other outgroups and democratic norms but also has the integrity to behave in ways that demonstrate consideration of their interests and restraint in the use of political power in the pursuit of personal interests.

As Harvard Professor and Yiddish scholar, Ruth Wisse (2017), has argued, anti-Semitism has not thrived because of ignorance, but because it "forms part of a political movement and serves a political purpose." Those political causes making use of anti-Semitism are increasingly favored by the well-educated in this country. Countering the anti-Semitism of the well-educated will be a political and moral struggle, not one that addressed by conventional approaches and conceptions of education.

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## **Table 1: Survey Results**

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | Percent Responding "Yes" to Each Item |                  |                                |
|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | By Highest Education                  |                  | lucation Level                 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | General Public                        | Four-Year Degree | More than Four-<br>Year Degree |
| There is a disagreement about the extent to which the government should<br>regulate what is taught in private schools. For example, some people have<br>expressed concerns that Orthodox Jewish schools do not cover the same<br>academic material required in public schools, while others believe that those<br>schools should be free to choose their own curriculum. Do you believe that the<br>government should establish minimum requirements for what is taught in<br>private schools? | 53                                    | 54               | 67                             |
| There is a disagreement about the extent to which the government should<br>regulate what is taught in private schools. For example, some people have<br>expressed concerns that Montessori schools do not cover the same academic<br>material required in public schools, while others believe that those schools<br>should be free to choose their own curriculum. Do you believe that the<br>government should establish minimum requirements for what is taught in<br>private schools?      | 49                                    | 54               | 70                             |
| Difference in percent of population responding "Yes"                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 4                                     | 0                | -3                             |
| Some people have raised concerns about whether a person's attachment to<br>another country creates a conflict of interest when advocating in support of<br>certain U.S. foreign policy positions. For example, many citizens of the United<br>States feel a particular attachment to Israel for historical and cultural reasons.<br>Do you think this attachment to another country creates a conflict of interest?                                                                            | 32                                    | 26               | 35                             |
| Some people have raised concerns about whether a person's attachment to<br>another country creates a conflict of interest when advocating in support of<br>certain U.S. foreign policy positions. For example, many citizens of the United<br>States feel a particular attachment to Mexico for historical and cultural reasons.<br>Do you think this attachment to another country creates a conflict of interest?                                                                            | 27                                    | 19               | 22                             |
| Difference in percent of population responding "Yes"                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 5                                     | 7                | 13                             |

|                                                                                  | 49   | 44   | 51    |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------|------|-------|
| The U.S. military has faced litigation about whether it should allow service     | 47   |      | 51    |
| members to wear religious headgear as part of their uniform. For example,        |      |      |       |
| Simcha Goldman sued the Air Force when he was ordered not to wear a              |      |      |       |
| yarmulke, which is a Jewish head-covering, while on duty. Do you think the       |      |      |       |
| U.S. military should be allowed to forbid these religious items?                 |      |      |       |
| The U.S. military has faced litigation about whether it should allow service     | 50   | 43   | 39    |
| members to wear religious headgear as part of their uniform. For example,        |      |      |       |
| Simratpal Singh sued the Army when he was ordered not to wear a turban,          |      |      |       |
| which is a Sikh head-covering, while on duty. Do you think the U.S. military     |      |      |       |
| should be allowed to forbid the wearing of these religious items?                | 1    | 1    | 10    |
| Difference in percent of population responding "Yes"                             | -1   | 1    | 12    |
| Many cities recently issued and then relaxed orders forbidding public            | 61   | 74   | 78    |
| gatherings to reduce the spread of the Coronavirus. When those orders were in    | 01   | 7.4  | 70    |
| effect some groups nevertheless had public gatherings. For example, in New       |      |      |       |
| York large groups of Orthodox Jews gathered for funerals. Do you believe         |      |      |       |
| these violations posed a threat to public health and should have been prevented? |      |      |       |
| Many cities recently issued and then relaxed orders forbidding public            | 61   | 63   | 42    |
| gatherings to reduce the spread of the Coronavirus. When those orders were in    |      |      |       |
| effect some groups nevertheless had public gatherings. For example, in New       |      |      |       |
| York large groups of protestors gathered for demonstrations in support of Black  |      |      |       |
| Lives Matter. Do you believe these violations posed a threat to public health    |      |      |       |
| and should have been prevented?                                                  | 0    | 11   | 26    |
| Difference in percent of population responding "Yes"                             | 0    | 11   | 36    |
| Average of differences in percent of population                                  | 2.00 | 4.75 | 14.50 |
| responding "Yes" across all four items                                           |      |      |       |

## **Appendix: Survey**

## Study Information

| Client               | University of Arkansas                |
|----------------------|---------------------------------------|
|                      |                                       |
| Project Name         | Gen pop and Educators                 |
| Account Executive    | Wendy Mansfield                       |
| Project Manager      | Kim Lewandowski                       |
| Ipsos Job Number     | 20-091058-01                          |
| SNO(s)               | Pretest SNO = 23715; Main SNO=23766   |
| LOI                  | 10 minutes                            |
| Type of Study        | Ad- hoc, one shot                     |
| Field Start Date     | Pretest 12/4/20; Main 12/9/20         |
| (tentative is fine)  |                                       |
| Field End Date       | Pretest 12/5/20; Main 12/xx/20        |
| (tentative is fine)  |                                       |
| Teams Involved       | Scripting, DP, Stats, Panel Relations |
| DP Team Scope        | data clean, client SPSS dataset       |
| Kickoff Meeting Date | 11/19/2020                            |
| (tentative is fine)  |                                       |
| Comments             |                                       |
|                      |                                       |
|                      |                                       |
|                      |                                       |
|                      |                                       |

## Standard Question Type Descriptions

Standard question types include:

- S = Single Select: Allows respondents to select one answer in a list of options.
- M = Multi-select: Allows respondents to select multiple answers from a list of options.
- DD = Dropdown Menu: Allows respondents to select one answer from a drop-down menu of options.
- Grid (including options for banked or accordion grids)
- S (Optional: Banked/Accordion) Grid: Allows respondents to select one answer in a 2dimensional grid layout.
- M (Optional: Banked/Accordion) Grid: Allows respondents to select multiple answers in a 2-dimensional grid layout.
- N = Number: Allows respondents to enter a numeric response in an open-ended answer field (specify valid range or number of digits, e.g., up to three digits for age, five numbers for zip code)
- T = Text: Allows respondents to enter a text response in an open-ended answer field (specify size as Small, Medium, Large or a specific number of characters, e.g., two letters for U.S. state)
- DISP = Display/Descriptive Content: Displays text and/or multimedia elements to respondents without requiring interaction.
- RT = Ratings Thermometer: Allows respondents to select a numeric value (usually 0-100 on a visual scale resembling a thermometer
- RS = Ratings Slider: Allows respondents to select a numeric value (usually 0-100 on a horizontal visual scale with the endpoints labelled

## Sample Type

• DOV\_sample (1=KP; 2=Opt-in)

## Sample Variables

- KP standard demographics
- Xarkansas (1=genpop, 2=k-12, 3=higher education)
- xrel1 (1 Catholic 2 Evangelical or Protestant Christian (Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal, Church of Christ 3 Jehovah's Witness 4 Mormon 5 Jewish 6 Islam/Muslim 7 Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian) 8 Hindu 9 Buddhist 10 Unitarian (Universalist) 11 Other Christian religion, please specify: 12 Other non-Christian religion, please specify: 13 No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic 14 Missing)
- xideo (1 Extremely Liberal; 2 Liberal; 3 Slightly Liberal; 4 Moderate, Middle Of The Road; 5 Slightly Conservative; 6 Conservative; 7 Extremely Conservative; 9 Missing)
- xcp0003 0-99
- xcp0005 0-999
- xcp0007 1=Basically every day, 2=A few times a week, 3=A few times a month, 4=Once a month, 5=Less than once a month, 6=Not at all, 9=Refused/missing; re-ask in field
- xcp0017 1=Not at all, 2=Somewhat, 3=A lot, 4=Completely, 9=Refused/missing; re-ask in field
- xppcm0044 0-9999

## Main Questionnaire (including screener, if applicable)

Programming Notes:

- Code all refusals as -1.
- Use default instruction text for each question type unless otherwise specified.
- Do not prompt on all questions. (Remove this instruction if sample is all opt-in, client list sample, or otherwise not KP.)

## SCREENER

OPT-IN sample demos asked in Screener: Age – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 Gender – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 Race – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 Hispanic Origin – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 State/region/Zip – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 Employment – ask of all respondents both KP and Opt-in

# Base: All respondents [PPWORKR]

## E100 [Banked Grid; prompt once]

Do any of the following currently describe you?

Custom instruction: Select one answer from each row.

#### Employment status in rows:

- 1. Employed full time (35 hours or more per week) for pay with an organization or company
- 2. Employed part time (less than 35 hours per week) for pay with an organization or company
- 3. Self-employed full time (35 hours or more per week)
- 4. Self-employed part time (less than 35 hours per week)

Answers in columns:

1. Yes

2. No

Create DOV\_EMPLOYED.

IF ANY E100\_1=1 OR E100\_2=1 OR E100\_3=1 OR E100\_4=1 DOV\_EMPLOYED=1. IF E100A=2 AND E100B=2 AND E100C AND E100D=2 DOV\_EMPLOYED=2. ELSE DOV\_EMPLOYED=3.

- 1. Employed
- 2. Not employed
- 3. Refused

Base: IF DOV\_EMPLOYED=2 (respondents who are not employed) Prompt once if DOV\_sample=2

## E102 [Banked Grid]

Do any of the following currently describe you?

Custom instruction: Select one answer from each row.

Employment status in rows:

- 1. Looking for work
- 2. Unable to work due to a disability
- 3. On temporary layoff from a job

Answers in columns:

1. Yes

2. No

Base: ALL RESPONDENTS Prompt once if DOV\_sample=2

## E104 [Banked Grid]

Do any of the following currently describe you?

Custom instruction: Select one answer from each row.

Employment status in rows:

- 1. Retired
- 2. A student
- 3. A stay-at-home spouse or partner
- 4. Working in an unpaid job, such as an internship or volunteer position
- 5. Working as a freelancer or independent contractor for pay

Answers in columns:

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

Variable name: PPWORKR [S] Variable Text: Current employment status Response list:

- 1. Working as a paid employee
- 2. Working self-employed
- 3. Not working on temporary layoff from a job
- 4. Not working looking for work
- 5. Not working retired
- 6. Not working disabled
- 7. Not working other

Values must be assigned in the order below so that codes at the bottom of the table overwrite codes at the top:

| E100     | DOV_EMPLOYED | E102     | E104     | PPWORKR |
|----------|--------------|----------|----------|---------|
|          | 3            |          |          | Refused |
|          | 2            |          |          | 7       |
|          |              |          | E104_2=1 | 7       |
|          |              |          | E104_3=1 | 7       |
|          |              |          | E104_4=1 | 7       |
|          |              |          | E104_5=1 | 7       |
|          |              | E102_2=1 |          | 6       |
|          |              |          | E104_1=1 | 5       |
|          |              | E102_1=1 |          | 4       |
|          |              | E102_3=1 |          | 3       |
| E100_4=1 |              |          |          | 2       |

| E100_2=1 |  | 1 |
|----------|--|---|
| E100_3=1 |  | 2 |
| E100_1=1 |  | 1 |

PROGRAMMER: Terminate if xarkansas=2,3 or DOV\_sample=2 and ppworkR=3-7,REFUSED

Base: Xarkansas=2,3 (KP sample k-12 and higher education) or DOV\_sample=2 PROMPT ONCE

## QS1 [S]

In your current job, what kind of work do you do?

30. Business Operations (including Marketing)

7. Legal

32. Education, Teaching (K-12, college or university), Training, and Library

34. Health Diagnosing or Treating Practitioner (such as physician, nurse, dentist, veterinarian, pharmacist)

- 15. Protective Service (such as firefighter, law enforcement worker)
- 35. Sales

29. Other, please specify [O]

PROGRAMMER: Terminate if QS1 is not equal to 32, or refused

#### Base: IF QS1=32 PROMPT ONCE

## QS2 [S]

Which of the following best describes the type of work that you do?

## CPS codes (do not show on screen)

2205 Postsecondary teachers

2300 Preschool and kindergarten teachers

2310 Elementary and middle school teachers

2320 Secondary school teachers

2330 Special education teachers

2360 Other teachers and instructors

## Show if QS1=32:

We will show on screen to respondents:

- 78 College or University Professor / Postsecondary Teacher
- 79 Preschool or Kindergarten Teacher
- 80 Elementary or Middle School Teacher
- 81 Secondary School Teacher
- 82 Special Education Teacher
- 86 Other Teacher or Instructor

PROGRAMMER:Terminate if xarkansas=3 and QS2=79,80,81,82,86, REFUSED OR DOV\_sample=2 AND QS2=79,80,81,82,86, REFUSED OR xarkansas=2 and QS2=78, REFUSED

## PROMPT ONCE

QS3 [S]

Do you currently teach a K-12 class (whether online or in person)?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

PROGRAMMER: Terminate if QS3=2 or refused

## Base: QS2=78 PROMPT ONCE

## QS4 [S]

Do you currently teach at a college or university (whether online or in person)?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

PROGRAMMER: Terminate if QS4=2 or refused

## Base: QS4=1

PROMPT ONCE, prompt if other specify is selected but left blank

## QS5 [S]

What is your current title?

- 1. Full professor
- 2. Associate professor
- 3. Assistant professor
- 4. Adjunct professor
- 6. Instructor
- 5. Other, please specify [O]

#### Base: Dov\_sample=2

[PPGENDER] QGENDER [S]

Are you...?

## [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Select one answer only.

1. Male 2. Female

## Base: Dov\_sample=2

[PPAGE] AGECONS [Q] How old are you?

## [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Type in your age.

SCRIPTER: min.=0, max.=120. Show label to right of box: years old. Prompt following nonresponse. PROGRAMMER: Terminate if DOV\_sample=2 and PPAGE is less than 18

Base: Dov\_sample=2 [PPSTATEN] [PPREG4]

QSTATE [S] In which state do you live?

Select one answer only.

- 63. Alabama
- 94. Alaska
- 86. Arizona
- 71. Arkansas
- 93. California
- 84. Colorado
- 16. Connecticut
- 51. Delaware
- 53. District of Columbia
- 59. Florida
- 58. Georgia
- 95. Hawaii
- 82. Idaho
- 33. Illinois
- 32. Indiana
- 42. Iowa
- 47. Kansas
- 61. Kentucky
- 72. Louisiana
- 11. Maine
- 52. Maryland
- 14. Massachusetts
- 34. Michigan
- 41. Minnesota
- 64. Mississippi
- 43. Missouri
- 81. Montana
- 46. Nebraska
- 88. Nevada
- 12. New Hampshire
- 22. New Jersey
- 85. New Mexico
- 21. New York
- 56. North Carolina
- 44. North Dakota
- 31. Ohio
- 73. Oklahoma
- 92. Oregon
- 23. Pennsylvania
- 15. Rhode Island
- 57. South Carolina
- 45. South Dakota
- 62. Tennessee

74. Texas
87. Utah
13. Vermont
54. Virginia
91. Washington
55. West Virginia
35. Wisconsin
83. Wyoming

SCRIPTER: Assign numeric codes per list above, but show full state name in alphabetic order in programmed survey. Show as drop down.

Variable name: PPREG4

Type: SP

**Variable Text:** Region 4 – based on State of residence

- **Response list:** 
  - 1. Northeast
  - 2. Midwest
  - 3. South
  - 4. West

| PPSTATEN | PPREG4 |
|----------|--------|
| 11-23    | 1      |
| 31-47    | 2      |
| 51-74    | 3      |
| 81-95    | 4      |

#### Base: Dov\_sample=2

[PPMSACAT] QZIP [Q] What is the ZIP Code where you live?

SCRIPTER: min.=00000, max.=99999; require a 5-digit response.

#### Variable name: QZIP

 Type: SP

 [Use crosswalk table based on zip\_level\_table. xlsx]

#### Base: Dov\_sample=2

[PPHISPAN] QRACE1 [M] Are you Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino?

#### [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Select all answers that apply.

- 1. No, I am not [S]
- 2. Yes, Mexican, Mexican-American, Chicano
- 3. Yes, Puerto Rican

4. Yes, Cuban, Cuban American

8. Yes, other Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino group (Please specify, for example Argentinean, Colombian, Dominican, Nicaraguan, Salvadoran, Spaniard, and so on) ... [O]

Base: Respondents who indicated multiple countries of origin (more than one response selected for QRACE1 2 to QRACE1 8);

QRACE1a [S]

Which group do you identify with most closely?

## [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Select one answer only.

Show only response options selected in QRACE1:

- 2. Mexican, Mexican-American, Chicano
- 3. Puerto Rican
- 4. Cuban, Cuban American
- 5. Other Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino group

SCRIPTER: Prompt following nonresponse.

SCRIPTER: Create Data-only variable PPHISPAN by using the below logic involving responses to QRACE1 and QRACE1a.

Variable name: PPHISPAN [S] Variable Text: Census Hispanicity

## Response list:

- 1. Non-Hispanic
- 2. Mexican, Mexican American, Chicano
- 3. Puerto Rican
- 4. Cuban, Cuban American
- 8. Other Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino group

Count numhispan=QRACE1\_2 QRACE1\_3 QRACE1\_4 QRACE1\_5 (1).

| QRACE1    | NUMHISPAN | QRACE1a | PPHISPAN                                   |
|-----------|-----------|---------|--------------------------------------------|
| 1         | -         | -       | 1                                          |
| 2         | 1         | -       | 2                                          |
| 3         | 1         | -       | 3                                          |
| 4         | 1         | -       | 4                                          |
| 5         | 1         | -       | 5                                          |
| Any value | >1        | 2       | 2                                          |
| Any value | >1        | 3       | 3                                          |
| Any value | >1        | 4       | 4                                          |
| Any value | >1        | 5       | 5                                          |
| Any value | >1        | Refused | Randomly<br>assign to one<br>of the values |

|  | chosen in |
|--|-----------|
|  | QRACE1    |

#### Base: Dov\_sample=2

QRACE2INTRO

Please indicate what you consider your race to be. We appreciate your effort to describe your background using these U.S. Census Bureau categories.

SCRIPTER: Show on same screen as CPSRACE.

## Base: Dov\_sample=2

CPSRACE [M]

Please choose one or more race(s) that you consider yourself to be.

## [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Select all answers that apply.

- 1. White
- 2. Black or African American
- 3. American Indian or Alaska Native
- 4. Asian
- 5. Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
- 6. Some other race ... [O]

Base: Respondents who are Asian (CPSRACE=4);

CPSASIAN [M] Which of the following Asian groups are you?

Select all answers that apply.

- 1. Asian Indian
- 2. Chinese
- 3. Filipino
- 4. Japanese
- 5. Korean
- 6. Vietnamese

7. Other Asian (Please specify, for example Hmong, Laotian, Thai, Pakistani, Cambodian, and so on)... [O]

Base: Respondents who are Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander (CPSRACE=5);

#### CPSNHPI [M]

Which of the following Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander groups are you?

#### Select all answers that apply.

- 1. Native Hawaiian
- 2. Guamanian or Chamorro
- 3. Samoan
- 4. Other Pacific Islander (Please specify, for example Fijian, Tongan, and so on) ... [O]

SCRIPTER: Create Data-only variable PPETHM by using the below logic involving responses to QRACE1, CPSRACE, CPSASIAN and CPSNHPI.

## Variable name: PPETHM [S]

Variable Text: Census Ethnicity demographic **Response list:** 

- 1. White, Non-Hispanic
- 2. Black, Non-Hispanic
- 3. Other, Non-Hispanic
- 4. Hispanic
- 5. 2+ Races, Non-Hispanic

Compute Asian=0.

Compute nhopi=0.

If CPSASIAN\_1=1 or CPSASIAN\_2=1 or CPSASIAN\_3=1 or CPSASIAN\_4=1 or CPSASIAN\_5=1 or CPSASIAN \_6=1 or CPSASIAN \_7=1 asian=1. If CPSNHPI \_1=1 or CPSNHPI\_2=1 or CPSNHPI\_3=1 or CPSNHPI\_4=1 nhopi=1.

Count numraces=CPSRACE\_1 CPSRACE\_2 CPSRACE\_3 asian nhopi CPSRACE\_6 (1).

| RACE1            | CPSRACE/CPSASIAN/<br>CPSNHPI                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | РРЕТНМ  |
|------------------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------|
| 1                | CPSRACE_1=1 and<br>numraces=1                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 1       |
| 1                | CPSRACE_2=1 and numraces=1                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 2       |
| 1                | (CPSRACE_3=1 OR<br>CPSASIAN_1=1 OR<br>CPSASIAN_2=1 OR<br>CPSASIAN_3=1 OR<br>CPSASIAN_4=1 OR<br>CPSASIAN_5=1 OR<br>CPSASIAN_6=1 OR<br>CPSASIAN_7=1 OR<br>CPSNHPI_1=1 OR<br>CPSNHPI_2=1 OR<br>CPSNHPI_3=1 OR<br>CPSNHPI_4=1 OR<br>CPSRACE_6=1)<br>and numraces=1 | 3       |
| 1                | numraces > 1                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 5       |
| 2 OR 3 OR 4 OR 8 | (numraces=1 or<br>numraces>1)                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 4       |
| REFUSED          | Any value                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | MISSING |
| Any value        | REFUSED                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | MISSING |
| 2 OR 3 OR 4 OR 8 | REFUSED                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 4       |

## Quotas

| Quotas are for Dov_sample=2 and QS2=78 (opt in sample and postsecondary teacher) |          |       |                 |  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|-------|-----------------|--|
| Quota                                                                            | ppgender | ppage | Opt-In<br>Quota |  |
| ppgender by ppage                                                                | Male     | 18-34 | 55              |  |
| ppgender by ppage                                                                | Female   | 18-34 | 60              |  |
| ppgender by ppage                                                                | Male     | 35-54 | 78              |  |
| ppgender by ppage                                                                | Female   | 35-54 | 86              |  |
| ppgender by ppage                                                                | Male     | 55+   | 67              |  |
| ppgender by ppage                                                                | Female   | 55+   | 54              |  |
|                                                                                  |          |       |                 |  |
|                                                                                  |          |       |                 |  |

Quotas are for Dov\_sample=2 and QS2=78 (opt in sample and postsecondary teacher)

| Region   | Region    | Opt-In<br>Quota |
|----------|-----------|-----------------|
| ppreg4=1 | Northeast | 86              |
| ppreg4=2 | Midwest   | 87              |
| ppreg4=3 | South     | 138             |
| ppreg4=4 | West      | 89              |

| Quotas are for Dov_sample=2 and QS2=78 (opt in sample and postsecondary teacher) |                                    |                 |  |  |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------|--|--|
| ppethm                                                                           | Race-Ethnicity                     | Opt-In<br>Quota |  |  |
| ppethm=1                                                                         | White/Non-Hispanic                 | 275             |  |  |
| ppethm=2                                                                         | Black/Non-Hispanic                 | 28              |  |  |
| ppethm=3                                                                         | Other or 2+ Races/Non-<br>Hispanic | 65              |  |  |
| ppethm=4                                                                         | Hispanic                           | 32              |  |  |

## MAIN QUESTIONNAIRE

## Base: All respondents

## Q1. [SP; BANKED GRID]

How essential do you think it is for high schools to teach students the following?

#### Statements in row: Randomized

1. To be knowledgeable about periods such as the American Founding, the Civil War, and the Cold War

2. To understand economic principles such as supply and demand and the role of market incentives

3. To be activists who challenge the status quo of our political system and seek to remedy injustices

- 4. To identify the protections guaranteed by the Bill of Rights
- 5. To see themselves as global citizens living in an interconnected world
- 6. To understand concepts such as federalism, separation of powers, and checks and balances
- 7. To understand common courtesy and kindness
- 8. To appreciate the importance of hard work
- 9. To be resilient

#### Responses in column:

- 1. Absolutely essential
- 2. Very essential
- 3. Moderately essential
- 4. Slightly essential
- 5. Not essential at all

#### Base: All respondents

#### Q5. [S]

Should school children be required to say the Pledge of Allegiance every morning at school?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. Unsure

#### Base: All respondents

## Q2. [SP; BANKED GRID]

How close does the following statement come to your own view?

#### Statements in row: Randomize

1. The United States is a unique country that stands for something special in the world.

2. Respect for military service is something high schools should impart to students.

3. It is important to teach foreign-born students to value the United States and understand the meaning of citizenship.

Responses in column:

1. Very close

2. Moderately close

## 3. Slightly close

4. Not at all close

## Base: All respondents

## Q3. [SP; BANKED GRID]

Just off the top of your head, would you say you have a positive or negative image of each of the following?

Statements in row: Randomize

- 1. Capitalism
- 2. Socialism

Responses in column:

- 1. Very positive
- 2. Positive
- 3. Neutral
- 4. Negative
- 5. Very negative

PROGRAMMER: Randomly insert 1 question form Q23-Q29 in this spot

#### Base: All respondents

## Q4. [S]

To what extent do you agree with the statement: "I see myself more as a global citizen than a citizen of my country"?

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly disagree
- 5. Not sure

#### Base: All respondents

## Q6. [S]

Do you support or oppose removing the current health care system and replacing it with a single-payer system, in which the federal government would expand Medicare to cover the medical expenses of every American citizen?

- 1. Strongly support
- 2. Somewhat support
- 3. Neither support nor oppose
- 4. Somewhat oppose
- 5. Strongly oppose

Base: All respondents

## Q7. [S]

Which comes closest to your view about illegal immigrants living in the United States?

- 1. They should be allowed to stay in the US and apply for citizenship
- 2. They should be allowed to stay in the US but not become citizens
- 3. They should be required to leave the US

PROGRAMMER: Randomly insert 1 question form Q23-Q29 in this spot

#### Base: All respondents

## Q8. [S]

In general, do you feel that the laws covering the sale of firearms should be made more strict, kept as they are now, or made less strict?

- 1. More strict
- 2. Kept as they are
- 3. Less strict

## Base: All respondents

## Q9. [S]

Do you believe that whether a person is a man or a woman is determined by that person's sex at birth, or can be different from sex at birth?

- 1. Determined by sex at birth
- 2. Can be different from sex at birth
- 3. Unsure

## Base: All respondents

## Q10. [S]

Do you support or oppose the government setting higher emissions standards for automobiles?

- 1. Strongly support
- 2. Somewhat support
- 3. Neither support nor oppose
- 4. Somewhat oppose
- 5. Strongly oppose

PROGRAMMER: Randomly insert 1 question form Q23-Q29 in this spot

#### Base: All respondents

## Q11. [S]

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump handled his job as president?

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

## Base: All respondents

## Q13. [S]

Suppose a couple is expecting a child and learns that he or she may have an incurable genetic disorder that could lead to severe physical disabilities. Do you agree or disagree that this couple should consider terminating the pregnancy?

- 1. Strongly agree
- 2. Agree
- 3. Disagree
- 4. Strongly disagree
- 5. Not sure

PROGRAMMER: Randomly insert 1 question form Q23-Q29 in this spot

## Base: All respondents

## Q14. [S]

The American Dream refers to the idea that Americans can become financially successful through hard work. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion of the American Dream?

## Rotate statements 1 and 3

 The American Dream is attainable. Most people who work hard will be financially successful.
 The American Dream is attainable, but connections, generational wealth, race or gender matter along with hard work when it comes to financial success.

3. The idea of the American Dream is mostly fictional. When it comes to financial success, hard work matters much less than factors such as connections, generational wealth, race, or gender.

## Base: All respondents

## Q15. [S]

Recently, protestors have torn down statues of historical figures that they deem controversial. For example, protestors in several cities have torn down or destroyed statues of Christopher Columbus. Which of the following statements comes closest to your view of how communities should address statues depicting Columbus?

1. Protestors are justified in tearing down statues of Christopher Columbus

2. I would like statues of Columbus to be removed, but I would prefer that the decision to remove them is made by political officials or popular vote

3. I don't care if statues of Columbus are removed

4. I would prefer if statues of Columbus remain intact

PROGRAMMER: Randomly insert 1 question form Q23-Q29 in this spot

## Base: All respondents

## **Q18. [S]** Should the Electoral College be replaced with direct popular elections?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. Unsure

## Base: All respondents

## Q19. [S]

Should religious organizations qualify for tax exemption?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. Unsure

PROGRAMMER: Randomly insert 1 question form Q23-Q29 in this spot

## Base: All respondents

## Q20. [S]

The burning of the American flag has become an occurrence during various protests throughout the United States. Recently, protesters burned an American flag near the White House moments after President Trump delivered a speech at the "Salute to America" Independence Day celebration. Do you think burning of the American Flag should be classified as a crime?

1. Yes, it's a crime

- 2. No, it's free speech
- 3. Unsure

## Base: All respondents

## Q22. [S]

Which of the following comes closest to your views on abortion?

1. Abortion should always be legal

- 2. Abortion should be legal but more restricted than it is currently
- 3. Abortion should always be illegal

PROGRAMMER: please rotate option 1 and 3

PROGRAMMER: Randomly insert 1 question form Q23-Q29 in this spot

## Base: All respondents

## Q23. [S]

RANDOMLY ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO GET ONE OF THE TWO VERSIONS

#### Version 1:

There is a disagreement about the extent to which the government should regulate what is taught in private schools. For example, some people have expressed concerns that Orthodox Jewish schools do not cover the same academic material required in public schools, while others believe that those schools should be free to choose their own curriculum. Do you believe

that the government should establish minimum requirements for what is taught in private schools?

Version 2:

There is a disagreement about the extent to which the government should regulate what is taught in private schools. For example, some people have expressed concerns that Montessori schools do not cover the same academic material required in public schools, while others believe that those schools should be free to choose their own curriculum. Do you believe that the government should establish minimum requirements for what is taught in private schools?

1. Yes, the government should set minimum requirements for what is taught in private schools 2. No, the government should not establish minimum requirements for what is taught in private schools

3. Not sure

## Base: All respondents

## Q24. [S]

RANDOMLY ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO GET ONE OF THE THREE VERSIONS

## Version 1:

Some countries have government established religions or officially recognize the leading religious group. For example, Israel's Basic Law says, "The state of Israel is the nation-state of the Jewish people, in which it fulfills its natural, religious, and historic right to self-determination." Do you believe that this provision is discriminatory?

#### Version 2:

Some countries have government established religions or officially recognize the leading religious group. For example, Denmark's Constitution says, "The Evangelical Lutheran Church shall be the Established Church of Denmark, and, as such, it shall be supported by the State." Do you believe that this provision is discriminatory?

#### Version 3:

Some countries have government established religions or officially recognize the leading religious group. For example, Jordan's Constitution says, "Islam is the religion of the State and Arabic is its official language." Do you believe that this provision is discriminatory?

1. Yes, the provision is discriminatory

- 2. No, the provision is not discriminatory
- 3. Not sure

## Base: All respondents

## Q25. [S]

RANDOMLY ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO GET ONE OF THE TWO VERSIONS

Version 1:

Academic organizations have sometimes pursued boycotts of universities in certain countries to protest human rights violations by those countries' governments. In the 1980s, organizations boycotted universities in South Africa, refusing to allow scholars from South African universities to attend conferences or give lectures. More recently, some professors have called for a similar

boycott of scholars from Israeli universities. Do you support boycotting academics from Israeli universities?

- 1. Yes, I support boycotting academics from Israeli universities
- 2. No, I do not support boycotting academics from Israeli universities
- 3. Not sure

## Version 2:

Academic organizations have sometimes pursued boycotts of universities in certain countries to protest human rights violations by those countries' governments. In the 1980s, organizations boycotted universities in South Africa, refusing to allow scholars from South African universities to attend conferences or give lectures. More recently, some professors have called for a similar boycott of scholars from Chinese universities. Do you support boycotting academics from Chinese universities?

- 1. Yes, I support boycotting academics from Chinese universities
- 2. No, I do not support boycotting academics from Chinese universities
- 3. Not sure

## Base: All respondents

## **Q26. [S]** RANDOMLY ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO GET ONE OF THE TWO VERSIONS

## Version 1:

Some people have raised concerns about whether a person's attachment to another country creates a conflict of interest when advocating in support of certain U.S. foreign policy positions. For example, many citizens of the United States feel a particular attachment to Israel for historical and cultural reasons. Do you think this attachment to another country creates a conflict of interest?

## Version 2:

Some people have raised concerns about whether a person's attachment to another country creates a conflict of interest when advocating in support of certain U.S. foreign policy positions. For example, many citizens of the United States feel a particular attachment to Mexico for historical and cultural reasons. Do you think this attachment to another country creates a conflict of interest?

- 1. Yes, attachment to another country creates a conflict of interest
- 2. No, attachment to another country does not create a conflict of interest
- 3. Not sure

## Base: All respondents

## Q27. [S]

RANDOMLY ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO GET ONE OF THE TWO VERSIONS

## Version 1:

The U.S. military has faced litigation about whether it should allow service members to wear religious headgear as part of their uniform. For example, Simcha Goldman sued the Air Force when he was ordered not to wear a yarmulke, which is a Jewish head-covering, while on duty. Do you think the U.S. military should be allowed to forbid these religious items?

## Version 2:

The U.S. military has faced litigation about whether it should allow service members to wear religious headgear as part of their uniform. For example, Simratpal Singh sued the Army when he was ordered not to wear a turban, which is a Sikh head-covering, while on duty. Do you think the U.S. military should be allowed to forbid the wearing of these religious items?

1. Yes, the US military should be allowed to forbid these religious items

2. No, the US military should not be allowed to forbid these religious items

## Base: All respondents

## Q28. [S]

RANDOMLY ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO GET ONE OF THE TWO VERSIONS

## Version 1:

Many cities recently issued and then relaxed orders forbidding public gatherings to reduce the spread of the Coronavirus. When those orders were in effect some groups nevertheless had public gatherings. For example, in New York large groups of Orthodox Jews gathered for funerals. Do you believe these violations posed a threat to public health and should have been prevented?

## Version 2:

Many cities recently issued and then relaxed orders forbidding public gatherings to reduce the spread of the Coronavirus. When those orders were in effect some groups nevertheless had public gatherings. For example, in New York large groups of protestors gathered for demonstrations in support of Black Lives Matter. Do you believe these violations posed a threat to public health and should have been prevented?

1. Yes, these activities should have been prevented

- 2. No, these activities should not have been prevented
- 3. Not sure

## Base: All respondents

## Q29. [S]

RANDOMLY ASSIGN RESPONDENTS TO GET ONE OF THE TWO VERSIONS

## Version 1:

American colleges and universities typically affirm the importance of freedom of expression for students and faculty. However, some people think that individuals should be punished for particularly offensive statements. For example, Fang Zhou, a professor at Georgia Gwinnett College, provoked anger when he claimed that undocumented workers are a "financial drain" and disproportionately responsible for committing crimes. Do you believe that Professor Zhou should have been fired for his comments?

## Version 2:

American colleges and universities typically affirm the importance of freedom of expression for students and faculty. However, some people think that individuals should be punished for particularly offensive statements. For example, Arthur Butz, a professor at Northwestern University, provoked anger for claiming that the Holocaust is a hoax. Do you believe that Professor Butz should have been fired for his comments?

1. Yes, he should have been fired

- 2. No, he should not have been fired
- 3. Unsure

Base: All respondents QPID100 [S] Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as...

Select one answer only.

- 1. Republican
- 2. Democrat
- 3. Independent
- 6. Something else

SCRIPTER: Prompt following nonresponse. Rotate 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> responses.

Base: Respondents who are Republican (QPID100=1)

QPID110 [S] Would you call yourself a...

Select one answer only.

- 1. Strong Republican
- 2. Not very strong Republican

Base: Respondents who are Democrat (QPID100=2)

QPID120 [S] Would you call yourself a...

Select one answer only.

- 1. Strong Democrat
- 2. Not very strong Democrat

Base: Respondents who are Independent or Something else (QPID100=3, 6)

QPID130 [S] Do you think of yourself as closer to the...

Select one answer only.

1. Republican Party

2. Democratic Party

Base: Dov\_sample=2 OR XIDEO=9 (Missing)

IDEO [S]

In general, do you think of yourself as... Select one answer only.

1. Extremely liberal

2. Liberal

- 3. Slightly liberal
- 4. Moderate, middle of the road
- 5. Slightly conservative
- 6. Conservative
- 7. Extremely conservative

Create data-only variable: **DOV\_IDEO [S]** Merge coding of XIDEO and IDEO

- 1. Extremely liberal
- 2. Liberal
- 3. Slightly liberal
- 4. Moderate, middle of the road
- 5. Slightly conservative
- 6. Conservative
- 7. Extremely conservative
- -1. Refused

If XIDEO≠9 then DOV\_IDEO=XIDEO; Else DOV\_IDEO=IDEO.

The next few questions are about your religion.

SCRIPTER: Show on same screen as Q260.

Base: Dov\_sample=2 OR XREL1=14 (Missing)

REL1 [S]

What is your religion? Select one answer only.

1. Catholic

2. Evangelical or Protestant Christian (Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal, Church of Christ, etc.)

- 3. Jehovah's Witness
- 4. Mormon
- 5. Jewish
- 6. Islam/Muslim
- 7. Greek or Russian Orthodox
- 8. Hindu
- 9. Buddhist
- 10. Unitarian (Universalist)
- 11. Other Christian religion
- 12. Other non-Christian religion
- 13. No religion

Create data-only variable: **DOV\_REL1 [S]** Merge coding of XREL1 and REL1

1. Catholic

2. Evangelical or Protestant Christian (Baptist, Lutheran, Methodist, Presbyterian, Episcopalian, Pentecostal, Church of Christ, etc.)

- 3. Jehovah's Witness
- 4. Mormon
- 5. Jewish
- 6. Islam/Muslim
- 7. Orthodox Church (Greek or Russian)
- 8. Hindu
- 9. Buddhist
- 10. Unitarian (Universalist)
- 11. Other Christian religion
- 12. Other non-Christian religion
- 13. No religion, not a believer, atheist, agnostic
- -1. Refused

*If XREL1≠14 then DOV\_REL1=XREL1; Else DOV\_REL1=REL1.* 

Base: Respondents who are Evangelical or Protestant Christian, Catholic, Jehovah's Witness, Mormon, Orthodox, or Other Christian (DOV\_REL1=1-4, 7, 11)

Q26a [S]

Would you describe yourself as a born-again or evangelical Christian? Select one answer only.

1. Yes

2. No

## Base: Respondents who have no religion (DOV\_REL1=13)

Q26b [S]

Do you consider yourself to be Jewish? Select one answer only.

- 1. Yes
- 2. Half or part

3. No

OPT-IN sample demos added: Education – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 Income – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 Marital status – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 Household head – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 Household size – ask of all DOV\_sample=2n Own/Rent – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 Calibration Questions – ask of all DOV\_sample=2 plus missing DOV\_sample =2 (KP)

Base: Dov\_sample=2 [PPEDUC] [PPEDUCAT] QEDUC [S] What is the highest level of school you have completed?

Select one answer only.

- 15. Some high school or less no diploma or GED
- 9. High school graduate high school diploma or the equivalent (GED)
- 10. Some college, no degree
- 11. Associate degree
- 12. Bachelor's degree
- 13. Master's degree
- 14. Professional or Doctorate degree

## Base: Respondents with some high school or less (QEDUC=15)

QEDUCa [S] What is the highest level of school you have completed?

Select one answer only.

- 1. No formal education
- 2. 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th grade
- 3. 5th or 6th grade
- 4. 7th or 8th grade
- 5. 9th grade
- 6. 10th grade
- 7. 11th grade
- 8. 12th grade NO DIPLOMA

SCRIPTER: Create Data-only variables.

## Variable name: PPEDUC [S]

Variable Text: Education - categorical

## Response list:

- 1. No formal education
- 2. 1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th grade
- 3. 5th or 6th grade
- 4. 7th or 8th grade
- 5. 9th grade
- 6. 10th grade
- 7. 11th grade
- 8. 12th grade NO DIPLOMA
- 9. HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATE high school diploma or the equivalent (GED)
- 10. Some college, no degree
- 11. Associate degree
- 12. Bachelor's degree
- 13. Master's degree
- 14. Professional or Doctorate degree

| QEDUC | QEDUCa | PPEDUC |
|-------|--------|--------|
|       | 1      | 1      |
|       | 2      | 2      |
|       | 3      | 3      |
|       | 4      | 4      |
|       | 5      | 5      |
|       | 6      | 6      |
|       | 7      | 7      |
|       | 8      | 8      |
| 9     |        | 9      |
| 10    |        | 10     |

| 11 | 11 |
|----|----|
| 12 | 12 |
| 13 | 13 |
| 14 | 14 |

Variable name: PPEDUCAT [S] Variable Text: Education - categorical Response list:

- 1. Less than HS
- 2. HS
- 3. Some college
- 4. Bachelor or higher

| QEDUC | PPEDUCAT |
|-------|----------|
| 15    | 1        |
| 9     | 2        |
| 10-11 | 3        |
| 12-14 | 4        |

Base: Dov\_sample=2

## [PPINCIMP]

## QINC [S]

How much is the <u>combined income</u> of all members of YOUR HOUSEHOLD for the PAST 12 MONTHS? **[SPACE]** 

Please include your income PLUS the income of all members living in your household (including cohabiting partners and armed forces members living at home). Please count income BEFORE TAXES and from all sources (such as wages, salaries, tips, net income from a business, interest, dividends, child support, alimony, and Social Security, public assistance, pensions, or retirement benefits).

Select one answer only.

- 1. Below \$50,000
- 2. \$50,000 or more
- 3. Don't know

SCRIPTER: Prompt once if question is skipped. Do not show 'Don't know' initially. Show 'Don't know' only with the prompt if question is skipped initially.

#### [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Base: Respondents with household income below \$50,000 (QINC=1)

#### QINC2 [S]

We would like to get a better estimate of your total HOUSEHOLD income in the past 12 months before taxes. Was it...

#### [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Select one answer only.

1. Less than \$5,000 2. \$5,000 to \$7,499 3. \$7,500 to \$9,999 4. \$10,000 to \$12,499 5. \$12,500 to \$14,999 6. \$15,000 to \$19,999 7. \$20,000 to \$24,999 8. \$25,000 to \$29,999 9. \$30,000 to \$34,999 10. \$35,000 to \$39,999 11. \$40,000 to \$49,999

Base: Respondents with household income of \$50,000 or more (QINC=2)

#### QINC3 [S]

We would like to get a better estimate of your total HOUSEHOLD income in the past 12 months before taxes. Was it...

#### [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Select one answer only.

3. \$50,000 to \$59,999 4. \$60,000 to \$74,999 5. \$75,000 to \$84,999 6. \$85,000 to \$99,999 7. \$100,000 to \$124,999 8. \$125,000 to \$149,999 9. \$150,000 to \$174,999 10. \$175,000 to \$199,999 11. \$200,000 to \$249,999 12. \$250,000 or more

SCRIPTER: Create Data-only variable.

Variable name: PPINCIMP [S] Variable Text: HH income – profile and imputed Response list: 1. Less than \$5,000

2. \$5,000 to \$7,499 3. \$7,500 to \$9,999 4. \$10,000 to \$12,499 5. \$12,500 to \$14,999 6. \$15,000 to \$19,999 7. \$20,000 to \$24,999 8. \$25,000 to \$29,999 9. \$30,000 to \$34,999 10. \$35,000 to \$39,999 11. \$40,000 to \$49,999 12. \$50,000 to \$59,999 13. \$60,000 to \$74,999 14. \$75,000 to \$84,999 15. \$85,000 to \$99,999 16. \$100,000 to \$124,999 17. \$125,000 to \$149,999 18. \$150,000 to \$174,999 19. \$175,000 to \$199,999 20. \$200,000 to \$249,999 21. \$250,000 or more

| QINC2 | QINC3 | PPINCIMP |
|-------|-------|----------|
| 1     |       | 1        |
| 2     |       | 2        |
| 3     |       | 3        |
| 4     |       | 4        |
| 5     |       | 5        |
| 6     |       | 6        |
| 7     |       | 7        |
| 8     |       | 8        |
| 9     |       | 9        |
| 10    |       | 10       |
| 11    |       | 11       |
|       | 3     | 12       |
|       | 4     | 13       |
|       | 5     | 14       |
|       | 6     | 15       |
|       | 7     | 16       |
|       | 8     | 17       |
|       | 9     | 18       |
|       | 10    | 19       |
|       | 11    | 20       |
|       | 12    | 21       |

## Base: Dov\_sample=2

QMARIT [S] Are you now...?

Select one answer only.

- 1. Married
- 2. Widowed
- 3. Divorced
- 4. Separated
- 5. Never married

Base: Respondents who are not married (QMARIT=2-5, Refused)

QPRTNR [S] Are you currently living with a partner to whom you are not married?

Select one answer only.

1. Yes

2. No

## [PPMARIT]

SCRIPTER: Create Data-only variable PPMARIT by using the below logic involving responses to QMARIT AND QPRTNR.

Create numeric variable, PPMARIT, range [1,6] compute ppmarit = qmarit. if (qprtnr = 1 and qmarit=5) ppmarit = 6 (Living with partner).

Base: Dov\_sample=2 [PPHHHEAD] QHEAD [S] Is your residence in...

Select one answer only.

- 1. Your name only
- 2. Your name with someone else's name (jointly owned or rented)
- 3. Someone else's name only

SCRIPTER: Create Data-only variable.

Variable name: PPHHHEAD Type: SP Variable Text: Household head Numeric range: 0-1 or 99

| QHEAD | PPHHHEAD |
|-------|----------|
| 1-2   | 1        |
| 3     | 0        |

Base: Dov\_sample=2

## [PPT18OV]

QHHSIZE\_adults [Q]

Including yourself, how many people are <u>18 years of age or older</u> and currently live in your household at least 50% of the time?

#### [SPACE]

Please include unrelated individuals (such as roommates), and also include those now away traveling, away at school, or in a hospital.

#### [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Type in the number of adults 18 years of age or older.

SCRIPTER: min.=1, max.=10. Prompt following nonresponse. Show on same screen as Q5b.

#### Base: Dov\_sample=2

QHHSIZE\_kids [Q]

Next, how many people are <u>17 years of age or younger</u> and currently live in your household at least 50% of the time? If none, enter "0".

#### [SPACE]

Include babies and small children.

#### [PROMPT]

Your answer will help represent the entire U.S. population and will be kept confidential. Thank you!

Type in the number of children 17 years of age or younger.

SCRIPTER: min.=0, max.=10. Prompt following nonresponse.

Base: Dov\_sample=2 [PPHHSIZE] QHHSIZE [Q]

SCRIPTER: Create DOV: QHHSIZE=QHHSIZE\_adults + QHHSIZE\_kids. Compute if QHHSIZE\_adults and QHHSIZE\_kids are not refused.

Base: Respondents with children in the household (QHHSIZE\_kids ge 1) [PPT0\_1] [PPT2\_5] [PPT6\_12] [PPT13\_17] QAGEGROUP [Q] How many members are there in each age group in your household?

Type in the number for the answer.

1. 0 to 1 year old 2. 2 to 5 years old 3. 6 to 9 years old 4. 10 to 12 years old 5. 13 to 17 years old

SCRIPTER: min.=0, max.=10; do not allow decimals Note this question does not appear in the Core profile. For Panel members it is collected as part of recruitment.

Base: Dov\_sample=2

[PPRENT] QOWN [S] Are your living quarters...

Select one answer only.

- 1. Owned by you or someone in your household with a mortgage or loan
- 4. Owned by you or someone in your household free and clear (without a mortgage or loan)
- 2. Rented
- 3. Occupied without payment of rent

SCRIPTER: Create Data-only variable.

Variable name: PPRENT Type: SP Variable Text: Home is owned or rented

| QOWN | PPRENT |
|------|--------|
| 1, 4 | 1      |
| 2    | 2      |
| 3    | 3      |

Base: Dov\_sample=2

[PPHOUSE] QHOUSE [S] Which best describes the building where you live?

Select one answer only.

- 1. One-family house detached from any other house
- 2. One-family house attached to one or more houses (such as a condo or townhouse)
- 3. Building with 2 or more apartments
- 4. Mobile home

5. Boat, RV, van, etc.

Base: Dov sample=2 or DOV sample=1 and XCP0003=99 or Missing

NOTE: ITEM USED FOR CURRENT CALIBRATION APPROACH - CALIBRATION 3.0.

QCP0003 [Q]

Approximately, how many hours of television do you watch on an average day?

Type in the number for the answer.

SCRIPTER: Show single box labeled "Enter # hours" min.=0, max.=24. Create Data-only variable.

DATA ONLY [NUMERIC] DOV\_CP0003 - HOURS OF TV - AGGREGATE OF XCP0003 AND QCP0003 Instructions: IF XCP0003=0-24 THEN DOV\_CP0003=XCP0003. IF XCP0003=99 OR MISSING THEN DOV\_CP0003=QCP0003. 0-24 99. Refused/missing; re-ask in field SAMVAR Definition Variable name: XCP0003 Type: Numeric Variable Text: Approximately, how many hours of television do you watch on an average day? Response list: 0-24 99. Refused/missing; re-ask in field

Base: Dov\_sample=2 or DOV\_sample=1 and XCP0005=999 or Missing

#### **NOTE:** ITEM USED FOR CURRENT CALIBRATION APPROACH - CALIBRATION 3.0. QCP0005 [Q]

In a typical week, about how many hours do you spend on the Internet for personal use? If none, enter "0". If less than an hour in a week, enter "1".

Type in the number for the answer.

SCRIPTER: Show one box labeled "hours spent on the Internet for personal use" min.=0, max.=168; do not allow decimals. Create Data-only variable.

DATA ONLY [NUMERIC] DOV\_CP0005 - HOURS ON INTERNET FOR PERSONAL USE - AGGREGATE OF XCP0005 AND QCP0005 Instructions: IF XCP0005=0-168 THEN DOV\_CP0005=XCP0005. IF XCP0005=999 OR MISSING THEN DOV\_CP0005=QCP0005. 0-168 999. Refused/missing; re-ask in field SAMVAR Definition Variable name: XCP0005 Type: Numeric Variable Text: In a typical week, about how many hours do you spend on the Internet for personal use? Response list: 0-168 999. Refused/missing; re-ask in field

Base: Dov\_sample=2 or DOV\_sample=1 and XCP0007=9 or Missing

**NOTE:** ITEM USED FOR CURRENT CALIBRATION APPROACH - CALIBRATION 3.0. QCP0007 [S] How often, if at all, have you used the Internet to express your opinions about POLITICAL or COMMUNITY issues within the last 12 months?

Select one answer only.

SCRIPTER: Create Data-only variable.

- 1. Basically every day
- 2. A few times a week
- 3. A few times a month
- 4. Once a month
- 5. Less than once a month
- 6. Not at all

## DATA ONLY [SINGLE PUNCH]

#### DOV\_CP0007 – USES INTERNET TO EXPRESS OPINIONS - AGGREGATE OF XCP0007 AND QCP0007 Instructions: IF XCP0007=1-6 THEN DOV\_CP0007=XCP0007. IF XCP0007=9 OR MISSING THEN DOV\_CP0007=QCP0007.

- 1. Basically every day
- 2. A few times a week
- 3. A few times a month
- 4. Once a month
- 5. Less than once a month
- 6. Not at all
- 9. Refused/missing; re-ask in field

#### **SAMVAR Definition**

#### Variable name: XCP0007

#### Type: SP

**Variable Text:** How often, if at all, have you used the Internet to express your opinions about POLITICAL or COMMUNITY issues within the last 12 months?

**Response list:** 

- 1. Basically every day
- 2. A few times a week
- 3. A few times a month
- 4. Once a month
- 5. Less than once a month
- 6. Not at all
- 9. Refused/missing; re-ask in field

#### Base: Dov\_sample=2 or DOV\_samel=1 and XCP0017=9 or Missing

NOTE: ITEM USED FOR CURRENT CALIBRATION APPROACH - CALIBRATION 3.0. IF YOUR PROJECT REQUIRES THAT YOU INCLUDE QADOPT1-QADOPT5, DO NOT ALSO INCLUDE QCP0017 (QCP0017 IS THE SAME AS QADOPT1. QCP0017 IS A STANDALONE QUESTION, WHEREAS QADOPT1 IS PART OF A GRID). QCP0017 [S] How much does the following statement describe you?

How much does the following statement describe you?

#### Select one answer only.

## Statement in row:

1. I usually try new products before other people.

Answers in column:

- 1. Not at all
- 2. Somewhat

3. A lot

4. Completely

SCRIPTER: Set-up as single item banked. Ensure equal column widths. Create Data-only variable.

#### DATA ONLY [SINGLE PUNCH] DOV\_CP0017 – TRY NEW PRODUCTS BEFORE OTHER PEOPLE - AGGREGATE OF XCP0017 AND QCP0017 Instructions: IF XCP0017=1-4 THEN DOV\_CP0017=XCP0017. IF XCP0017=9 OR MISSING THEN DOV\_CP0017=QCP0017.

1. Not at all

2. Somewhat

3. A lot

4. Completely

9. Refused/missing; re-ask in field

## **SAMVAR Definition**

Variable name: XCP0017

## Type: SP

**Variable Text:** How much does the following statement describe you? [I usually try new products before other people.]

**Response list:** 

- 1. Not at all
- 2. Somewhat
- 3. A lot
- 4. Completely
- 9. Refused/missing; re-ask in field

<< End of Questionnaire>>