

Topline Results of an August 2024 Survey of Populist Attitudes Among the U.S. Electorate

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Institute for the Study of Modern Authoritarianism

Introduction and Technical Notes

The pages below provide the results of a survey developed by the Institute for Modern Authoritarianism and fielded nationwide from August 7 to August 12, 2024, by the online research organization YouGov. There were 1,000 respondents. Their responses to each of the survey questions are tallied in this "topline" report, having been weighted to better reflect U.S. demographics.

The survey was written to assess the frequency of populist sentiments among the U.S. electorate during the 2024 presidential race and to estimate the populist following of each of the presidential candidates. Three essays analyzing the findings from the survey have been authored by the Institute's survey research director, Thomas Shull, and published by the Institute's flagship periodical, *The UnPopulist*, at theunpopulist.net.

The pages that follow, in contrast, are a straightforward record of the survey's questions and people's responses. Readers should note the following:

- All figures in the pages below represent the percentage of survey respondents who chose each particular response. The only exceptions are calculations of the mean, median, and mode response for a handful of questions. These exceptions are clearly indicated.
- Some of the questions were not asked of all respondents. The group of respondents who answered any given question is described in *[bracketed, red, italicized text]* immediately preceding the question itself.
- Many of the survey questions were customized for the individual respondent. In most cases, this customization involved inserting in the survey text the name of the respondent's preferred presidential candidate in the race (we gathered this information from the sixth question in the survey). In other cases, we inserted the names of specific political parties. These and other insertions are clearly set off in [bracketed, blue, italicized text]. Further explanations of these insertions often appear in the [bracketed, red, italicized text] immediately preceding the question.
- People's responses to a survey question can be unintentionally influenced by the questions they have already answered and by the order in which the response choices for a given question are listed. To reduce the effect of this bias on the survey's overall results, we often randomized the order of the various sub-questions within a larger question before presenting them to the respondent. We also frequently randomized the order in which the respondent saw the response options for any given question. In cases where the response options represented a scale—for instance, responses varying from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree"—we reversed the order of the responses before presenting them to the respondent, so that the list began with "strongly disagree." For simplicity's sake, these randomizations are not described in the questions below.
- The response percentages for a given question may not sum to exactly 100 percent due to rounding. The sum will exceed 100 percent in questions that allow multiple answers.

The Survey Questions and Topline Responses

[Asked of everyone.]

1) In general, how satisfied or dissatisfied are you with how things are currently going in the United States?

Very satisfied	7
Somewhat satisfied	20
Neither satisfied nor dissatisfied/Undecided	14
Somewhat dissatisfied	25
Very dissatisfied	33

[Asked of everyone.]

2) We'd like you to rate how you feel towards two groups on a scale of 0 to 100. Zero means very unfavorable and 100 means very favorable. Fifty means you do not feel favorable or unfavorable.

(a) How would you rate your feeling toward	Democrats?
Mean	47
Median	50
Mode	0
(b) How would you rate your feeling toward	Republicans?
Mean	45
Median	50
Mode	0

3) How likely are you to vote in the upcoming presidential election?						
	Very likely72					
	Fairly likely10					
	Fairly unlikely3					
	Very unlikely9					
	I don't know; I'm not sure6					
[Asi	ed of everyone.]					
4)	On the whole, how closely are you following news about the upcoming presidential election?					
	Very closely43					
	Fairly closely34					
	Not too closely17					
	Not closely at all6					
[Asi	ed of everyone.]					
5)	Would you say you are more enthusiastic, less enthusiastic, or neither more nor less enthusiastic about voting in the upcoming presidential election than you were in the 2020 presidential election?					
	More enthusiastic					
	Neither more nor less enthusiastic					
	Less enthusiastic					
	I don't know; I'm not sure6					

6)	If the upcoming presidential election were held tomorrow and the candidates were those listed below, whom would you probably vote for?
	Democrat Kamala Harris43
	Republican Donald Trump40
	Independent Robert F. Kennedy Jr4
	Independent Cornel West
	Libertarian Party candidate Chase Oliver1
	Green Party candidate Jill Stein0
	I don't think I would vote6
	I'm not sure5
	I would vote for someone else1
que.	nald Trump, Robert F. Kennedy Jr., Cornel West, Jill Stein, or Chase Oliver. All others skipped to stion 10. In the question below, "[respondent's preferred candidate]" indicates where the name of candidate the respondent chose in question 6 was automatically inserted in the question.] How certain are you that you will vote for [respondent's preferred candidate] in the upcoming presidential election?
	Very certain66
	Fairly certain14
	Fairly uncertain
	Very uncertain2
	I don't know/I'm not sure
	Not asked

[Asked of those who chose one of the six named candidates in question 6. All others skipped to question 10.]

8) Which of the following would you say is the PRIMARY reason you would vote for *[respondent's preferred candidate]*? Choose only one.

I support [her/his] policy agenda	25
[She/He]'s the only candidate who can actually win and is fit to serve as president	24
I don't want [candidate's major opponent(s): Kamala Harris/ Donald Trump/Donald Trump or Kamala Harris] to be elected president	20
I am [candidate's party affiliation: a Democrat/a Republican/ an independent voter/a Green Party supporter/a Libertarian Party supporter] and prefer to vote for [my party's candidate/ an independent candidate]	13
None of the above really describes why I would vote for [respondent's preferred candidate]	4
I feel a personal connection with [her/him]	2

[Asked of those who chose one of the six named candidates in question 6. All others skipped to question 10.]

9) When you think about [respondent's preferred candidate], do you agree or disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not asked
a) [She/He]'s the only recent politician who understands people like me	29	34	19	4	2	12
b) [She/He]'s the only recent politician who will actually fight for people like me	34	34	15	3	2	12

10) When you think of the elites who run America's most powerful institutions, do you agree or disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) America's political elites among its national elected officials have often harmed the interests of Americans like me in pursuit of their own selfish interests	35	36	23	5	1
b) America's business elites in finance and industry have often harmed the interests of Americans like me in pursuit of their own selfish interests	35	33	23	8	1
c) America's bureaucratic elites among the unelected officials in the federal government have often harmed the interests of Americans like me in pursuit of their own selfish interests	31	30	26	10	2
d) America's cultural elites in the media have often harmed the interests of Americans like me in pursuit of their own selfish interests	31	26	30	11	3
e) America's cultural elites in universities and the entertainment industry have often harmed the interests of Americans like me in pursuit of their own selfish interests	27	24	30	15	4
f) America's religious elites in its Christian churches have often harmed the interests of Americans like me in pursuit of their own selfish interests	25	23	30	14	7

[Asked of those who responded "agree" or "strongly agree" to question 10(a). All others skipped to question 12.]

11) When you think of America's political elites among its national elected officials and their effect on people like you, which of the following, if any, describes the kinds of harms they cause?

	Major harm	Moderate harm	No real harm	Not asked
They lie to benefit themselves and promote their agendas, damaging trust in government	56	13	2	29
They favor special interests and other groups at the expense of people like me	53	17	1	29
Their decisions hurt people's safety and quality of life	49	20	3	29
They don't care about government waste and fraud	48	21	2	29
They just don't do their jobs, so important national busines never gets done	s 45	23	4	29
They make bad decisions because they don't know enough about the issues	39	27	4	29
Their decisions hurt people in my community	37	30	4	29
They cause a harm not mentioned above	36	27	8	29

[Asked of those who responded "agree" or "strongly agree" to question 10(c). All others skipped to question 13.]

12) When you think of America's bureaucratic elites among the unelected officials in the federal government and their effect on people like you, which of the following, if any, describes the kinds of harms they cause?

	Major harm	Moderate harm	No real harm	Not asked
They lie to benefit themselves and promote their agendas, damaging trust in government	47	13	2	39
They're more interested in controlling the public than in helping the public	46	13	2	39
They favor special interests and other groups at the expense of people like me	46	14	2	39
They overstep the limits on their powers, which undercuts our democracy	44	14	3	39
They don't care about government waste and fraud	42	17	3	39
They pass rules that hurt people in my community	37	21	3	39
They make bad decisions because they don't know enough about the issues	36	22	4	39
They cause a harm not mentioned above	33	22	6	39

13) For each of the groups of Americans listed below, would you say your feelings are GENERALLY positive, negative, or neither positive nor negative?

	Very positive	Somewhat positive	Neither positive nor negative	Somewhat negative	Very negative
a) Republicans	14	24	15	18	29
b) Democrats	18	23	15	15	29
c) People on the political right	10	22	31	17	21
d) People on the political left	9	20	33	14	24
e) Evangelical Christians	14	21	33	16	16
f) Muslims	7	17	49	16	11
g) Jews	17	27	47	6	3
h) Legal immigrants	34	35	25	4	2
i) Illegal immigrants	5	12	28	20	35
j) Whites	23	33	36	6	1
k) Blacks	26	30	36	6	2
1) Hispanics	24	28	41	6	2
m) Gays and lesbians	16	17	42	13	12
n) Transgender people	12	15	37	19	17
o) Men	29	29	33	7	2
p) Women	36	30	29	4	1

[In general, the questions below were asked only of those who met two criteria: they had "somewhat negative" or "very negative" feelings about the group in question 13, and they were not part of the group being tested. The second criterion was omitted for the questions on immigrants and sexual minorities, demographics where respondents' personal data were not available. All others skipped to question 16.]

14) For each of the groups in America listed below, would you GENERALLY agree, disagree, or neither agree nor disagree that government elites permit them to have special advantages at the expense of people like you?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not asked
a) Republicans	14	13	7	4	7	55
b) Democrats	20	10	5	3	4	58
c) People on the political right	10	11	7	3	4	65
d) People on the political le	ft 17	9	4	1	4	65
e) Evangelical Christians	11	8	6	2	3	70
f) Muslims	7	6	6	5	3	73
g) Jews	2	2	2	1	1	91
h) Legal Immigrants	1	1	1	1	1	94
i) Illegal Immigrants	22	9	10	7	7	45
j) Whites	2	1	1	0	1	96
k) Blacks	3	1	1	1	1	93
1) Hispanics	2	2	1	2	1	93
m) Gays and lesbians	8	5	4	4	5	74
n) Transgender people	13	8	5	4	6	64
o) Men	2	2	1	0	0	94
p) Women	1	0	0	0	0	98

[Asked of the same people and according to the same guidelines as in question 14. In general, the questions below were asked only of those who met two criteria: they had "somewhat negative" or "very negative" feelings about the group in question 13, and they were not part of the group being tested. The second criterion was omitted for the questions on immigrants and sexual minorities, demographics where respondents' personal data were not available. All others skipped to question 16.]

15) For each of the groups in America listed below, would you GENERALLY agree, disagree or neither agree nor disagree that they can't be true members of the national community?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not asked
a) Republicans	5	7	15	11	8	55
b) Democrats	5	6	17	9	5	58
c) People on the political right	4	7	11	7	6	65
d) People on the political left	7	5	12	6	5	65
e) Evangelical Christians	5	5	9	6	5	70
f) Muslims	6	6	8	5	3	73
g) Jews	1	3	3	1	1	91
h) Legal Immigrants	1	1	1	2	1	94
i) Illegal Immigrants	19	13	10	8	5	45
j) Whites	1	0	2	1	1	96
k) Blacks	1	1	3	1	1	93
1) Hispanics	1	1	2	2	1	93
m) Gays and lesbians	4	4	7	5	5	74
n) Transgender people	6	6	12	6	6	64
o) Men	1	1	3	1	1	94
p) Women	0	0	1	0	0	98

[Asked of those who chose one of the six named candidates in question 6. All others skipped to question 17. The specific "Inparties" and "Outparties" appearing in the question varied depending on the respondent's self-identified party affiliation and candidate preference. "Inparties" were assumed to be preferred to "Outparties."]

16) In recent years, some people have expressed concern that federal government law enforcement agencies like the Department of Justice and the IRS have been used by political leaders in Washington, D.C., to target their political opposition's leaders and supporters, while protecting their own. When you think about politics and the law, would you agree or disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not asked
a) [Outparties: Democrats/ Republicans/Democrats and Republicans] often twist the law to protect themselves or attack their enemies	40	28	13	4	2	12
b) [Inparties: Democrats/ Republicans/Independent elected politicians/ Green Party politicians/ Libertarian Party politicians] harm themselves if they comply with the law when their political opponents do not	10	23	30	18	7	12
c) I would trust [respondent's preferred candidate] as president to decide when to follow the law and when to ignore it to achieve justice	24	25	26	9	4	12

[Asked of those who identified themselves as Republicans, Democrats, or supporters of the Green or Libertarian Party presidential candidates. Those identifying as independents and not supporting one of the two minor-party candidates skipped to question 18; all others skipped to question 19. The specific "Inparty" or "Outparty" appearing below depended on the respondent's self-identified party affiliation and candidate preference. The "Inparty" was assumed to be preferred to the "Outparty."]

17) Do you agree or disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not asked
If a [Inparty: Democratic/ Republican/Green Party/ Libertarian Party] president can't get cooperation from [Outparty: Republican/Democratic/Democratic and Republican] members of Congress to pass new laws, the [Inparty: Democratic/Republican/ Green Party/Libertarian Party] president should circumvent Congress and issue executive orders on their own to accomplish their priorities.	11	24	27	12	7	19

Question source: Polarization Research Lab (with minor modifications).

[Asked of those both identifying as independents and not supporting one of the two minor-party candidates in question 6. All others skipped to question 19.]

18) Do you agree or disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not asked
If a president elected as an Independent can't get cooperation from Democratic and Republican members of Congress to pass new laws, the Independent president should circumvent Congress and issue executive orders on their own to accomplish their priorities.	1	4	8	4	3	81

Question source: Polarization Research Lab (with minor modifications).

19) When you think of the traits you would like to see in a presidential candidate, how important would you say the following traits are?

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not important
Sticks to constitutional rules	69	25	5	1
Willing to fight	62	32	4	1
Tolerates views different from his or her own	52	38	8	2
Willing to compromise when necessary	49	39	9	3
Seeks bipartisan coalitions	39	42	13	5
Assertive with political power	36	48	13	3
Politically outmaneuvers his or her opponents	31	44	20	5
Quick to seize political opportunities	27	47	19	6

[Asked of everyone.]

20) If you had to choose, would you rather have a member of Congress who compromises to get things done or sticks to their principles, no matter what?

I'd rather have a member of Congress who compromises to get things done
I'd rather have a member of Congress who sticks to their principles, no matter what40

Question source: YouGov.

[Asked of those whose response to question 6 was one of the six named candidates. All others skipped to question 23.]

21) Which of the following statements better describes [respondent's preferred candidate]—the statement on the left, the statement on the right, or a description somewhere in between the two statements? Choose a number between 1 and 7 to indicate your answer.

	Description on left	2	3	In between; both equally 4	5	6	Description on right	I'm not sure; I don't know		Not asked
a) [She/He] fights for the real Americans that the establishment politicians in Washington look down on	13	7	7	20	7	11	18	6	a) [She/He] cares about making government work for all Americans, particularly those striving for constructive progress	12
Mean response = 4.3 Median response = 4 Mode response = 4										
b) [She/He] recognizes the need for respectful inclusion of those who differ from [her/him]	11	7	8	21	8	8	18	6	b) [She/He] pushes back against the people who are making a mess of this country	12
	Mean response = 4.3 Median response = 4 Mode response = 4									

(Question 21 continued)	Description on left	2	3	n between; both equally	5	6	Description on right	I'm not sure; I don't know		Not asked
c) [She/He] says what other politicians don't have the guts to say	18	9	9	18	6	10	14	4	c) [She/He] understands the importance of thoughtful, rather than incendiary, democratic discourse	12
			Media	response = an response e response =	= 4					
d) [She/He] respects the importance of democratic processes to ensure consensus among key stakeholders	13	9	10	26	6	9	9	5	d) [She/He] makes decisions, instead of getting bogged down in "committees" and "dialogue" about everything	12
	Mean response = 3.8 Median response = 4 Mode response = 4									
e) [She/He] makes politics real, something between [her/him] and the people, and not some game played by party leaders and bureaucrats back in Washington	13	10	8	25	8	8	12	4	e) [She/He] recognizes the importance of working with governmental and party institutions to negotiate solutions and to construct a well-informed basis for change	12
			Media	response = in response e response =	= 4					

[Asked of those who chose one of the four party-affiliated candidates in question 6. All others skipped to question 23.]

22) Which of the following statements do you think better describes the [respondent's preferred candidate's party: Democratic Party/Republican Party/Green Party/Libertarian Party] under [respondent's preferred candidate]?

candidates' campaigns nationwide Both about equally	
Neither describes the party under [respondent's preferred candidate]	
I don't know; I'm not sure	7

Turning again to the upcoming election ...

[Asked of everyone.]

23) As you think about the 2024 presidential election, would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	Strongly agree	Agree	I don't know; I'm not sure	Disagree	Strongly disagree
The 2024 presidential election will decide whether America will continue to be a democracy.	35	28	23	7	7
This will be the most corrupt election in the history of our country.	10	17	33	21	20

[Asked of those who chose one of the six named candidates in question 6. All others skipped to question 25.]

24) Do you agree or disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not asked
If [respondent's preferred candidate] is elected president and can't get cooperation from [candidate's opponents: Democratic/Republican/Democratic and Republican] members of Congress to pass new laws, President [candidate's last name] should circumvent Congress and issue executive orders on [her/his] own to accomplish [her/his] priorities.	15	30	26	12	4	12

Question source: Polarization Research Lab (with minor modifications).

[Asked of those whose response to question 16(c) was "agree" or "strongly agree."]

25) In an earlier question, you indicated that you would trust [respondent's preferred candidate] as president to decide when to follow the law and when to ignore it to achieve justice. Which of the following BEST describes why you would trust [respondent's preferred candidate] to ignore the law in some cases? Choose only one.

I have a particularly high trust in [respondent's preferred candidate]; I wouldn't agree if [she/he] were like most presidents
The country is basically in a state of crisis, requiring a leader to engage in unusual measures
[Respondent's preferred candidate]'s opponents in the [candidate's main opposition: Republican Party/Democratic Party/Democratic and Republican parties] often break the law, so [she/he] may have to do the same to set things right
Presidents often have to break laws to get things done1
None of the above really describes why I'd agree with [respondent's preferred candidate]'s ignoring the law as president
in some cases
Not asked 51

26) Thinking about each of the following presidential candidates, how fearful would you feel if he or she were elected president?

	Very fearful	Somewhat fearful	Not very fearful	Not at all fearful	I'm not sure; I don't know
Republican Donald Trump	41	11	10	34	4
Democrat Kamala Harris	36	11	12	34	6
Independent Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	24	26	21	12	17
Green Party candidate Jill Stein	21	19	18	9	33
Independent Cornel West	19	17	19	10	35
Libertarian Party candidate Chase Oliver	17	20	16	7	40

[Asked of everyone.]

27) How likely do you think the following presidential candidates would be to pose a threat to American democracy if elected?

	Would definitely pose a threat to American democracy	Would possibly pose a threat to American democracy	Would not pose a threat to American democracy	I don't know; I'm not sure
Republican Donald Trump	42	12	38	8
Democrat Kamala Harris	33	13	46	8
Independent Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	14	27	35	23
Green Party candidate Jill Stein	13	19	27	41
Independent Cornel West	10	19	27	44
Libertarian Party candidate Chase Oliver	9	21	21	48

[Asked of those who selected in question 27 more than one candidate at their highest chosen threat level, whether "would definitely pose a threat" or "would possibly pose a threat." Those who selected only one candidate at their highest chosen threat level skipped to question 29. Those who chose only "would not pose a threat" or "I don't know; I'm not sure" for each of the six candidates in question 27 skipped to question 30. The combined results of questions 27 and 28 are shown in the response list below.]

28) And which of these candidates do you think would pose the greatest threat to American democracy? Choose only one.

Republican Donald Trump	45
Democrat Kamala Harris	34
Green Party candidate Jill Stein	2
Independent Robert F. Kennedy Jr.	1
Independent Cornel West	1
Libertarian Party candidate Chase Oliver	1
Two or more candidates pose the greatest threat	4
None of the candidates poses a clear threat	11

[Asked of those who chose one candidate as the greatest threat to American democracy in questions 27 and 28. Those who saw two or more candidates as posing the highest threat skipped to question 30, as did those who saw none of the candidates as a clear threat.]

29) In your view, which of the following represent the three BIGGEST threats [candidate whom respondent saw as greatest threat] would pose to American democracy as president? SELECT NO MORE THAN THREE.

Not asked	15
[She/He] would present another threat not listed above	8
[She/He] may not willingly step down from power at the end of [her/his] presidential term	21
[She/He] would target [her/his] political opponents for prosecution	27
[Her/His] policies would target people on the basis of race, religion, sex or sexual orientation	29
[She/He] would let [his/her] ideology overrule our individual rights	35
[She/He] would exceed the president's rightful powers, threatening the government's checks and balances	37
[She/He] lacks the capacity for this critical job, putting our democratic system at risk	39
[She/He] would tolerate political violence, especially from people who support [her/him]	39

30) Do Donald Trump's recent felony convictions for falsifying business records make you feel more likely, less likely or neither more nor less likely to vote for him for president in the upcoming election?

Much less likely to vote for Donald Trump	36
Somewhat less likely to vote for Donald Trump	6
Neither more nor less likely	31
Somewhat more likely to vote for Donald Trump	4
Much more likely to vote for Donald Trump	20
I'm not sure; I haven't decided yet	4

[Asked of everyone.]

Turning to questions of government more generally ...

31) For each political system below, would it be a very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad way of governing this country?

	Very good	Somewhat good	Somewhat bad	Very bad	I don't know; I'm not sure
a) A democratic system where citizens, not elected officials, vote directly on major national issues to decide what becomes law	23	36	14	10	16
b) A democratic system where representatives elected by citizens decide what becomes law	27	44	11	6	13
c) A system in which a strong leader can make decisions without interference from Congress or the courts	10	19	21	37	14

Question source: Pew Research Center.

[Asked of those who self-identified as Democrats or Republicans, including those who leaned toward one of the two parties. All others skipped to question 33. The specific "Inparty" or "Outparty" appearing below depended on the respondent's self-identified party affiliation and candidate preference. The "Inparty" was assumed to be preferred to the "Outparty."]

32) Do you agree or disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree	Not asked
When a [Inparty: Democratic/Republican] candidate questions the outcome of an election, other [Inparties: Democrats/Republicans] should be more loyal to the [Inparty: Democratic/Republican] party than to election rules and the constitution.	7	13	21	19	21	19
The government should be able to censor media sources that spend more time attacking [Inparties: Democrats/Republicans] than [Outparties: Republicans/Democrats].	6	16	18	17	25	19
[Inparty: Democratic/ Republican] elected officials should sometimes consider ignoring court decisions when the judges who issued those decisions were appointed by [Outparty: Republican/Democratic] presidents.	5	11	22	22	21	19
[Inparties: Democrats/ Republicans] should reduce the number of polling stations in areas that typically support [Outparties: Republicans/ Democrats].	3	7	18	23	30	19

33) Some have argued recently that the U.S. Constitution is "broken," saying it's no longer a good way to run the federal government and should be set aside in favor of something different. How much do you agree or disagree with that idea?

Strongly disagree	41
Somewhat disagree	13
Neither agree nor disagree	14
Somewhat agree	17
Strongly agree	7
I don't know; I'm not sure	8

34)	On January 6, 2021, people protesting the vote counts in the November 2020 presidential election entered the U.S. Capitol and disrupted the U.S. Congress' attempts to finalize the presidential election results. When you think of the protesters entering the Capitol, would you say that you approve of their actions, disapprove of their actions, or neither approve nor disapprove?
	Strongly disapprove
	Somewhat disapprove
	Neither approve nor disapprove
	Somewhat approve8
	Strongly approve6
	I don't know; I'm not sure6
skipį	ed of those who responded "strongly approve" or somewhat approve" in question 34. All others ed to question 36.] Which would you say better describes the reason you approve of the actions of the January 6, 2021, protesters at the Capitol?
	Protests like this are important whenever there's a question about the results of a close presidential election, even if they disrupt Congress
	The protest on January 6, 2021, properly disrupted Congress because the 2020 presidential election was a very unusual case
	I don't know; I'm not sure1
	Not asked85

[Asked of those who responded "strongly disapprove," somewhat disapprove," or "neither approve nor

38) News reports indicate that in recent years, large numbers of undocumented immigrants have crossed the U.S. border with Mexico and entered the country. When you think about the causes of this, would you agree or disagree with the following?

	Strongly agree	Agree	Undecided	Disagree	Strongly disagree
a) The federal government needs to install more physical barriers at the border	34	24	21	12	8
b) The federal government needs to create more ways for immigrants to obtain government documents to enter in an orderly manner	24	33	19	10	14
c) Our political leaders in Washington, D.C., have intentionally failed to reduce undocumented immigration because they want more immigrants to enter the country	30	17	28	16	9

[Asked of those who responded "agree" or "strongly agree" in question 38(c). All others skipped to question 40.]

39) In the previous question, you [agreed/strongly agreed] that our political leaders in Washington, D.C., have intentionally failed to reduce undocumented immigration because they want more immigrants to enter the country. Why do you think they might want more immigrants to enter the country? CHOOSE ALL THAT APPLY. IF YOU ARE UNSURE, CHOOSE ONLY THAT OPTION.

	Applies
Democratic Party politicians believe immigrants will vote for them and help them win elections	32
Our national political leaders want cheap foreign labor to drive down business costs and workers' wages	21
Our national political leaders want undocumented immigrants in the country to replace the culture and political power of white Americans	17
Our national political leaders want more immigrants for reasons not listed above	15
I don't know; I'm not sure	4
Not asked	53

40) Some believe that [1: manufacturing, possessing, and selling assault rifles and semi-automatic weapons should be banned]. Others believe that [2: manufacturing, possessing, and selling assault rifles and semi-automatic weapons should not be restricted]. Still others fall somewhere between these two positions. Where do you stand on this issue?

1. Ban the manufacture, possession, and sale of assault rifles and semi-automatic weapons	29
2.	8
3.	6
4. Middle of the road; see the pros and cons of both sides	30
5.	6
6.	5
7. Do not restrict the manufacture, possession, and sale of assault rifles and semi-automatic weapons	16
Mean response	
Median response	
Mode response 4	

41) Some believe that [1: richer people should pay a larger percentage of their income in taxes, as compared to poorer people]. Others believe that [2: every person should pay the same percentage of their income in taxes, regardless of how much they earn]. Still others fall somewhere between these two positions. Where do you stand on this issue?

1. Tax richer people at a higher rate	35
2.	8
3.	9
4. Middle of the road; see the pros and cons of both sides	25
5.	4
6.	3
7. Tax everyone at the same rate	15
Mean response	
Median response	
Mode response 1	

42) Some believe that [1: transgender athletes should be allowed to compete on teams that match the gender they identify with]. Others believe that [2: transgender athletes should be required to compete on teams that match the sex they were assigned at birth]. Still others fall somewhere between these two positions. Where do you stand on this issue?

1. Allow transgender athletes to compete on teams matching their gender identity	8
2.	3
3.	3
4. Middle of the road; see the pros and cons of both sides	27
5.	5
6.	4
7. Require transgender athletes to compete on teams matching their sex assigned at birth	50
Mean response	
Median response6	
Mode response	

43) Some believe that [1: there should be a government insurance plan that covers all medical expenses for everyone]. Others believe that [2: medical expenses should be paid by individuals and through private insurance plans]. Still others fall somewhere between these two positions. Where do you stand on this issue?

1. Implement government health insurance for everyone	34
2.	7
3.	9
4. Middle of the road; see the pros and cons of both sides	25
5.	5
6.	5
7. Have individuals and private insurance pay medical expenses	14
Mean response	3.3
Median response	4
Mode response	1

44) Some believe that [1: abortions should always be legal no matter what the reason]. Others believe that [2: abortions should never be legal no matter what the reason]. Still others fall somewhere between these two positions. Where do you stand on this issue?

1. Allow all abortions no matter their reason	22
2.	12
3.	9
4. Middle of the road; see the pros and cons of both sides	28
5.	11
6.	12
7. Outlaw all abortions no matter their reason	7
Mean response	
Median response	
Mode response 4	

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Turning now to more general questions ...

45)	How	proud	are	you	to	be	an	Ameri	can	?
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Extremely proud	39
Very proud	27
Moderately proud	18
Only a little proud	10
Not at all proud	6

Question source: Polarization Research Lab.

[Asked of those who self-identified as Democrats or Republicans, including those who leaned toward one of the two parties. All others skipped to question 47. The specific "Outparties" appearing in the question were members of the major party opposed to the respondent's own.]

46) Are you friends with any [Outparties: Republicans/Democrats]?

No	12
Yes, just one	3
Yes, some friends	43
Yes, about half of my friends	11
Yes, most of my friends	3
Not sure	8
	10
Not asked	19

[Ask	ked of everyone.]
47)	Not including your relatives, how many close friends would you say you have?
	None9
	17
	2-342
	4-523
	6 or more
	Question source: American Enterprise Institute.
[Ask	ked of everyone.]
48)	Do you think your wallet (or your valuables) would be returned to you if it were found by a stranger?
	No63
	Yes37
	Question source: Polarization Research Lab.
[As	ked of everyone.]
49)	Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

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You can't be too careful in dealing with people	65
Most people can be trusted	35

Question source: Pew Research Center.

50)	Do you think most people would try to take advantage of you if they got the chance, would they try to be fair?
	They would try to take advantage of me if they got the chance56
	They would try to be fair44
	Question source: Pew Research Center.
[Ask	eed of everyone.]
51)	Would you say that most of the time people try to be helpful, or that they are mostly just looking out for themselves?
	Most of the time people try to be helpful53
	They are mostly just looking out for themselves47
	Question source: Pew Research Center.
[Ask	red of those who self-identified as Republicans, including those who leaned Republican.]
52)	Would you describe yourself as a "MAGA Republican," "Never Trumper" or "Neither"?
	MAGA Republican18
	Never Trumper2
	Neither
	Not asked
	Question source: Polarization Research Lab.

or

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