

# Kalikow School Poll at Hofstra University

## Executive Summary and Analysis



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## Abstract

The first year of Biden's presidency has been fraught with challenges for the president. Unfortunately for the president, registered voters give him poor marks on his performance thus far, with every issue area seeing major declines in approval ratings compared with the Kalikow School Poll from April 2021. In general, Americans are unhappy with the direction the country is going, with just 21.7 percent reporting they think the country is going in the right direction. Put another way, Biden and the Democrats are entering the thick of the 2022 congressional campaign cycle with tremendous headwinds. Whether those headwinds translate into a costly election, however, is unclear, as Biden is running even with Donald Trump in a head-to-head 2024 rematch and preferences for a generic congressional candidate are 50-50 between the two major parties.

Biden's most significant policy problem is the economy, with inflation being the most serious concern. Respondents in our sample express concern about their own personal finances as well: They report that their personal finances have not improved greatly in the past year, though the sting of inflation is widespread. Prospects for improvement of their own personal finances next year seem dim to most respondents. This, coupled with the perception that wages have not kept pace, may prove to be a tough narrative for the Biden administration and congressional Democrats to counter in 2022, especially since some of these economic concerns are particularly acute in the all-but-certain-to-be-important suburbs.

Americans strongly support Biden's sanctions of Russia for its invasion of Ukraine, a notable bright spot in an otherwise difficult poll for the president. When considering the possibility that the sanctions may equate to additional pain in the form of increased energy prices, Americans remain resolute in their support.

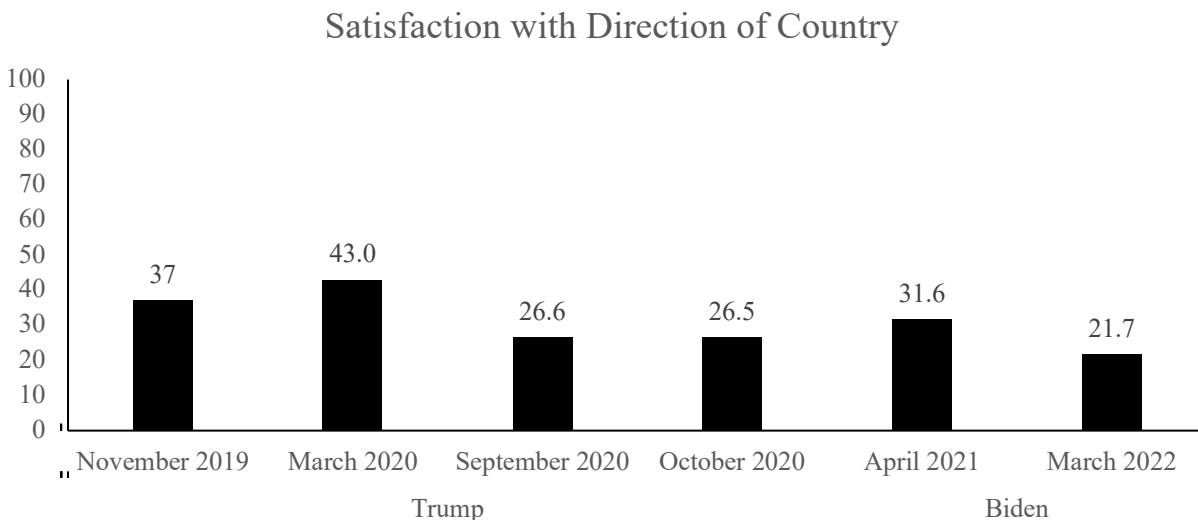
Biden's best issue is his response to the COVID-19 pandemic (though he still receives slightly negative marks). The Kalikow School Poll was in the field during the middle part of March 2022, where cases of COVID-19 continued to drop precipitously and much of the more stringent pandemic restrictions were dismantled, even in the most densely populated areas. If the poll had collected responses during the previous month, the numbers may have been far worse. Relatedly, Americans are mixed on their views toward whether vaccines should be required for certain activities and whether a mask mandate should return, even if the CDC recommends it.

Finally, the status of American democracy is stable if not at a worrisome equilibrium. Support for secession remains around 29 percent, with Republicans more supportive of the idea. Conversely, Democrats' support for secession seems to have receded since the 2020 election. Views on the January 6 assault on the Capitol remain stable, though more Republicans and Independents now view the event as an out of hand protest or a normal rally. Concerns about how the 2024 presidential election will unfold are seemingly justified, as a stubborn 29.4 percent of respondents believe Donald Trump won in 2020, with 60.4 percent of Republicans reporting that he won.

## Joe Biden's Performance in Office

### Satisfaction with Direction of the Country

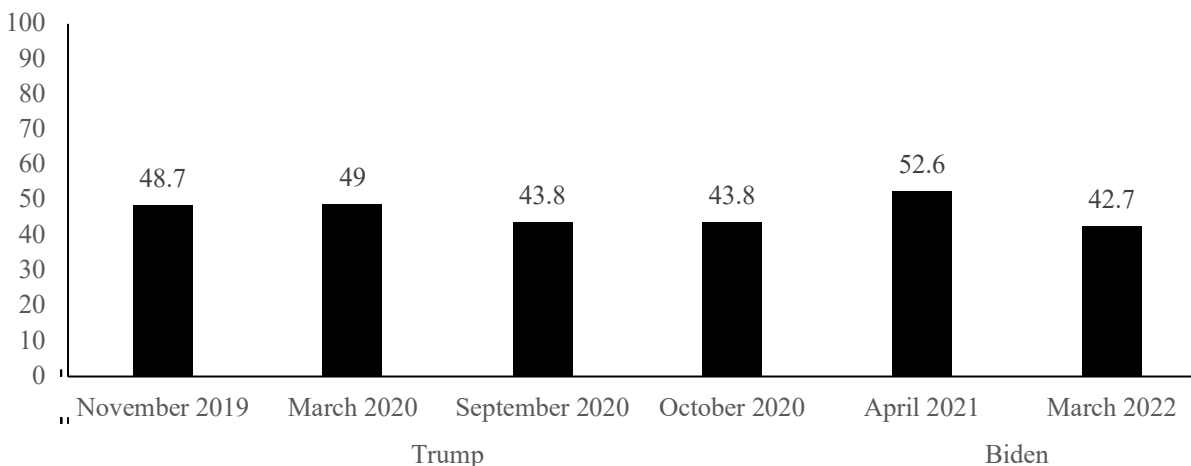
Satisfaction with the direction of the country has declined under the first year of Biden's presidency. Under Donald Trump, we collected observations that confirmed, in broad brushstrokes, that individuals' assessment of the country's direction was often moving in lockstep with shifts in the economy. Under Biden, we observe the same pattern. While most of the economy's fundamentals are similar to what they were a year ago, concerns about inflation have become central to how individuals assess the economy and its performance. If there was any honeymoon effect captured in the April 2021 poll, it has certainly evaporated, as we observe an almost 10-point drop in satisfaction in less than a year from his 100 days in office.



### Biden's Job Approval and Favorability

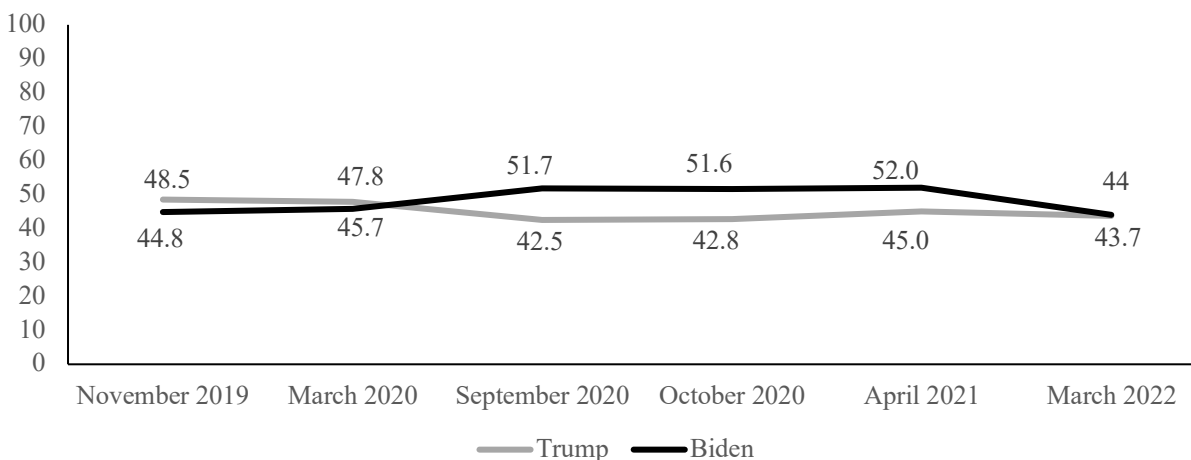
In April 2021, Biden's job approval rating exceeded any of the job approval ratings we collected during the Trump administration. In this poll, Biden's job approval rating is lower than any rating collected under Trump. While there is a broad expectation that almost all presidents eventually lose support from their original job approval rating, the decline of almost 10 percentage points from last year is notable.

## Presidential Job Approval



Similar to his job approval rating, Biden's favorable-unfavorable assessment has also declined. During the 2020 election cycle, Biden saw his favorables increase, especially after it became clear he would be the Democratic nominee. While these elevated favorables carried into his honeymoon period, Biden's favorables are now indistinguishable from Trump's, who continues to demonstrate consistency on this measure across time.

## Presidential Favorables

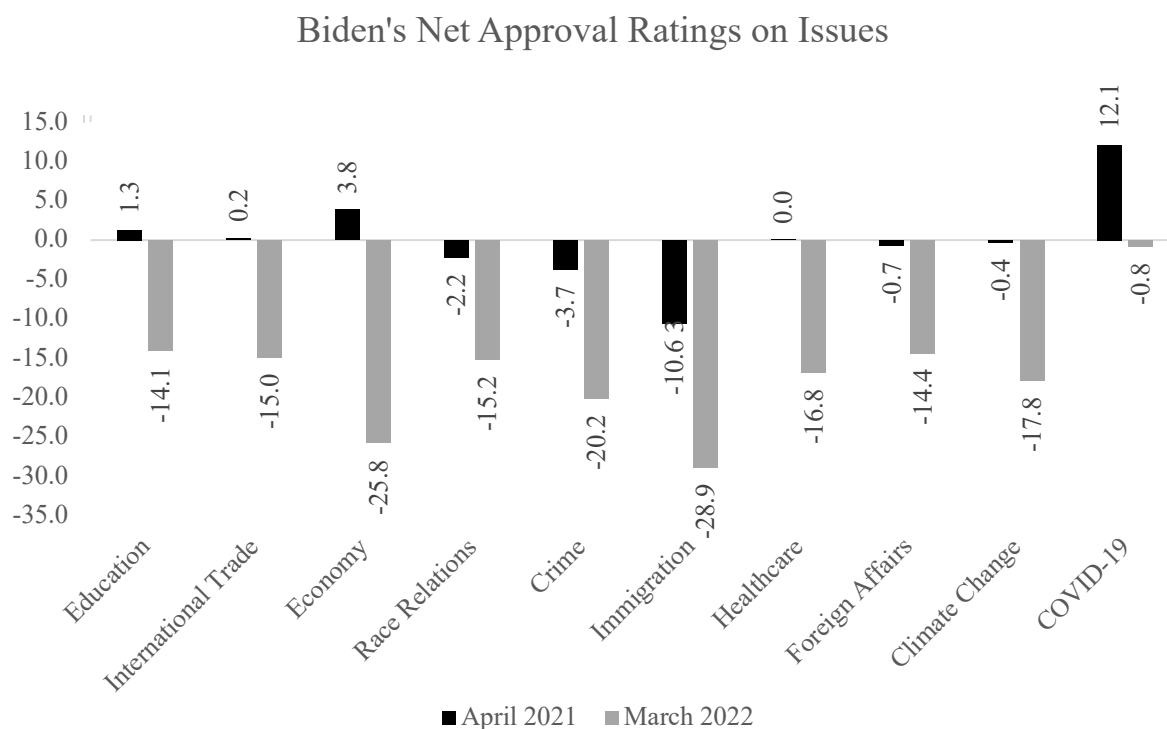


## Biden's Performance on Issues

When asked, respondents unsurprisingly indicated the economy was the most important issue, with 98.1 percent indicating it was important or very important. Rounding out the top five issues were foreign affairs, education, crime, and healthcare. Concerns about COVID-19, however, dropped 12 percentage points, where 72.4 percent of respondents think the issue is important or very important. Climate change declined in importance by just over 5 percentage points, likely due to the change in economic conditions.

The March 2022 poll did not have positive news for the Biden administration's job performance on specific issues. Biden saw substantial decreases in approval for all policy issues, with some

issues — namely the economy — cratering, going from a +3.8 in April 2021 to a -25.8 in March 2022. The only issue that borders on 0 — which would indicate an even rating — is COVID-19. It stands to reason if we had been in the field during February, this issue would have had a substantial negative net rating as well due to the high number of cases from the Omicron variant at the time.



## Personal Economic Situation and Inflation

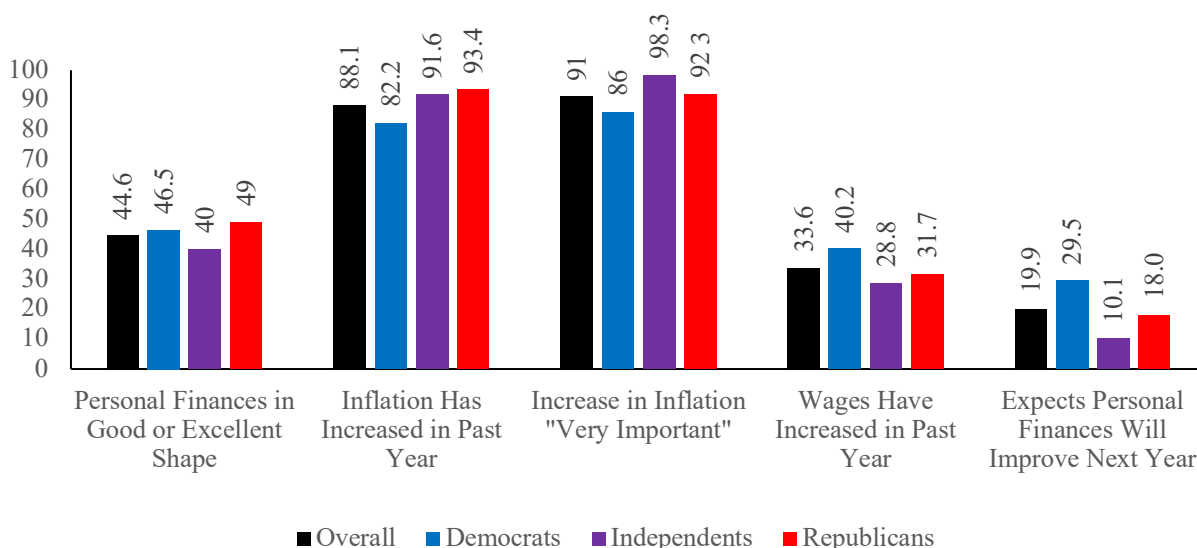
Given the historical importance of the economy in shaping American politics, we asked a battery of questions to assess the personal finances of our respondents. Many respondents — a plurality — report being in good personal financial shape. Republicans have the most positive assessment, with 49 percent reporting favorably on their personal finances.

Unsurprisingly, respondents almost universally reported that inflation had increased in the last year. The information environment concerning inflation has become saturated with confirmatory evidence and news reports that prices on goods and services have increased. News reports on scarcity of goods and difficulty of acquiring services — especially consumer electronics — and other supply chain disruptions during the pandemic have led to substantial gains in prices across a variety economic sectors. With the onset of the Ukraine conflict in February 2022, fuel costs have also increased substantially, providing for most individuals a an immediately interpretable pocketbook view of how prices have increased. Nearly the same amount of people report that inflation is a “very important” problem and concern.

Common measurements of wage gains have also indicated that wages increased over the last year. Respondents, however, were much less likely to report that they thought wages had in fact increased. Additionally, only 1/5<sup>th</sup> of respondents indicated they believed their financial situation would improve over the next year.

On balance, respondents are both very worried about the state of the economy — and inflation in particular — but do not believe their situation will improve nor do they report that they believe wages have increased in the past year. Such a mix of attitudes are particularly problematic for the Democratic Party as the 2022 election cycle begins in earnest.

### Personal Economic Situation and Inflation

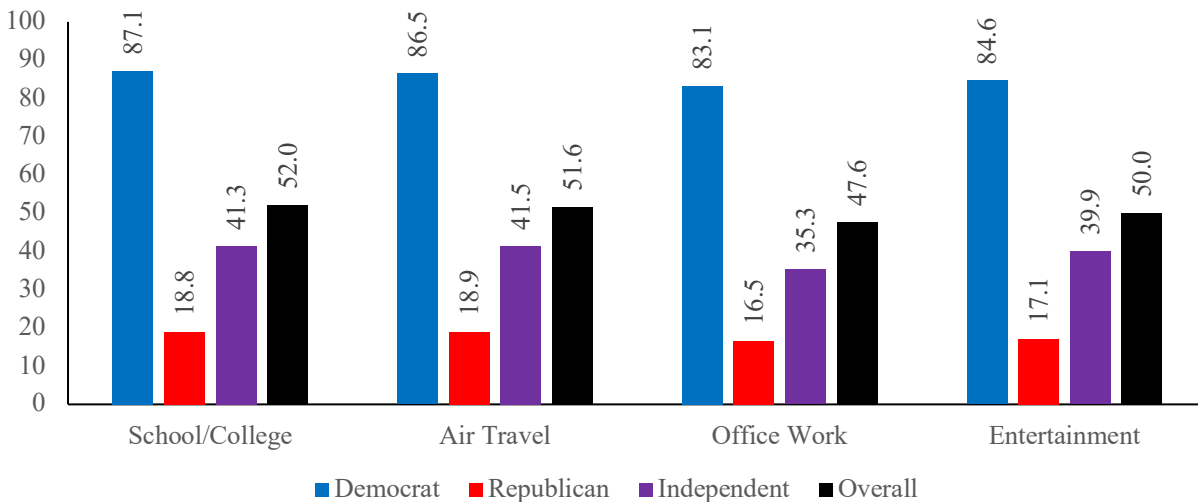


## COVID-19 Vaccine Policy and Mask Mandates

### COVID-19 Vaccine Requirements

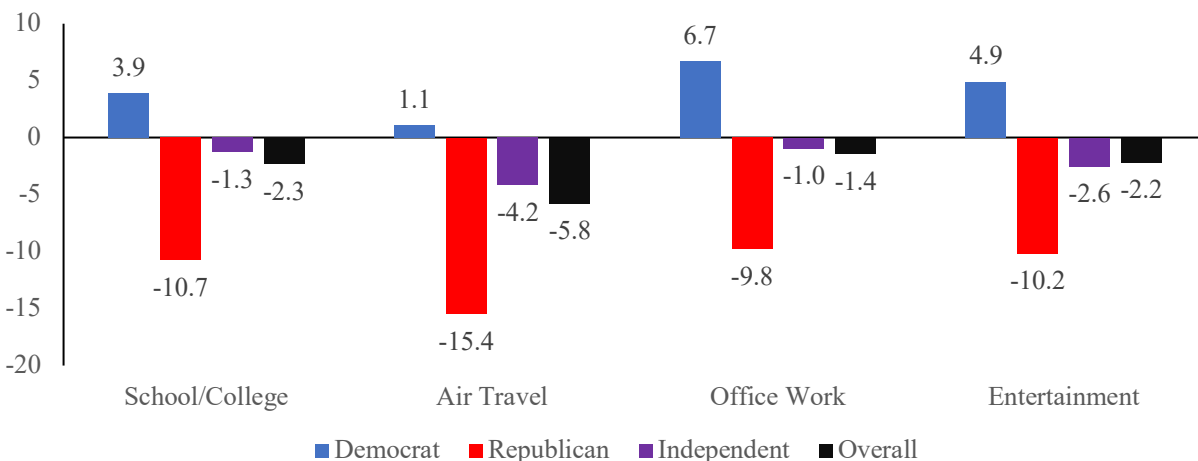
Most pandemic-related policies have been subject to partisan interpretation. Vaccine mandates also elicit a partisan response, with Democrats overwhelmingly supporting policies for the four activities we asked about (school attendance, air travel, office work, and live entertainment). About one out of six Republicans support such a mandate on any given issue, whereas independents support mandates at a higher rate (though it is less than a majority in all cases). While vaccine mandates are supported by a majority in all activities except office work, it seems unlikely that such mandates would be politically attractive to policymakers in many places that are not heavily Democratic (e.g., urban areas).

### March 2022: Should a COVID-19 Vaccine be Required for...



Compared to when we asked the same question in April 2021, attitudes on vaccine mandates have shifted in partisan ways. In addition to partisans taking cues from their respective opinion leaders and opinion sources, additional scientific evidence has emerged concluding that vaccines are robust in keeping individuals out of the hospital, but likely do far less to prevent transmission of the disease. While it is unclear if these data represent a stable equilibrium, there is clear evidence that Democrats have become more supportive of mandates and Republicans have become far less supportive. Independents remain largely the same, though support has declined at the margins.

### Change Since April 2021: Should a COVID-19 Vaccine be Required for...

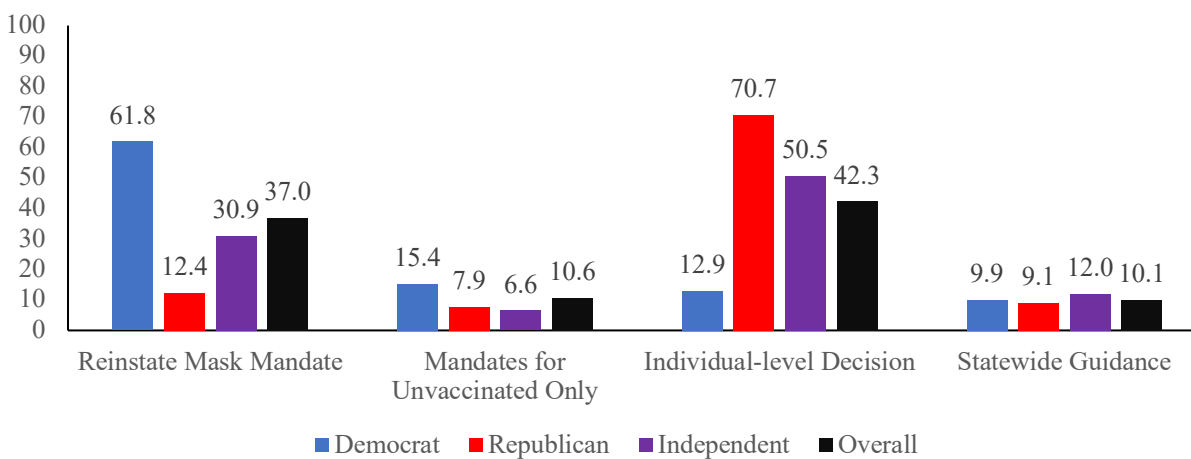


Mask mandates were a particularly potent issue during the pandemic and remained controversial, especially as schools reopened. In many local contests during the 2021 election, school-related concerns — including mandates — had a noticeable impact on both the tenor of campaigns and likely impacted the outcomes. At present, most areas of the country have ended most mask mandates, as the stated expectation is that policy would follow a more endemic-based model.



Respondents, however, are not particularly eager to re-enact mask mandates. Democratic respondents are the only majority that supports reinstating mandates for all. A strong majority of Republicans and a slim majority of independents state that it should remain an individual-level decision. As with vaccine mandates, it would seem likely that areas of the country that are substantially more Democratic than Republican (e.g., the Northeast, California, etc.) may find reinstituting mask ordinances as politically feasible when compared with other parts of the country. Masks, too, have a mixed scientific track record according to the CDC, which likely only further complicates the prospect of reinstating a mandate anywhere.

What Should Local Communities Do if CDC Recommends Mask Rules

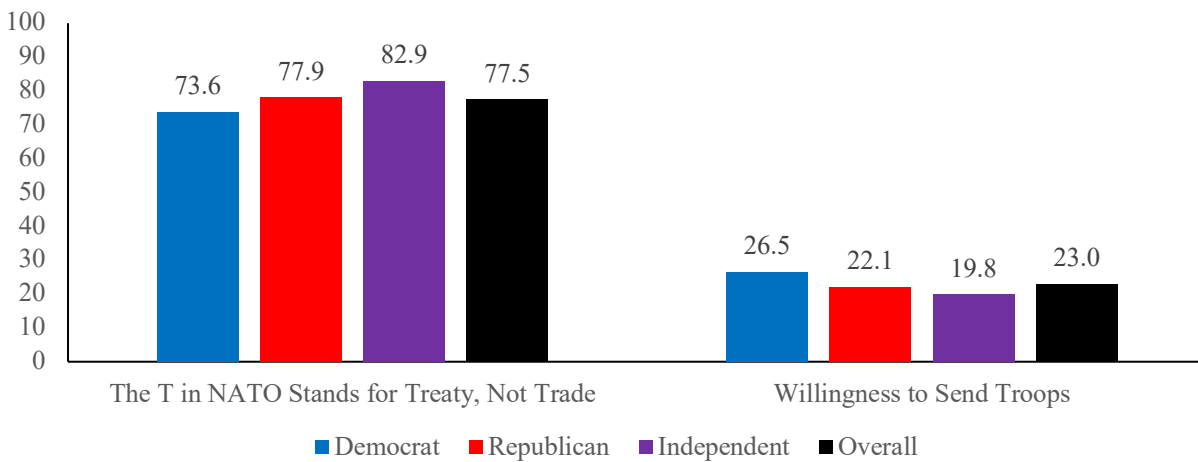


## Ukraine

After Russian armed forces invaded Ukraine in February 2022, NATO member countries, European Union member countries, and many others in the international community imposed substantial economic and political sanctions on Russia. NATO continues to take a central role in monitoring the conflict, but the institution itself — and the United States' membership in it — had come under substantial scrutiny during the Trump presidency. As Trump had also made NAFTA a target during his campaign and early presidency, we aimed to measure the extent to which the public understood the function of NATO in this convoluted information environment. When asked whether NATO mostly about treaties or trade agreements, 77.5 percent correctly identified that it concerned treaties.

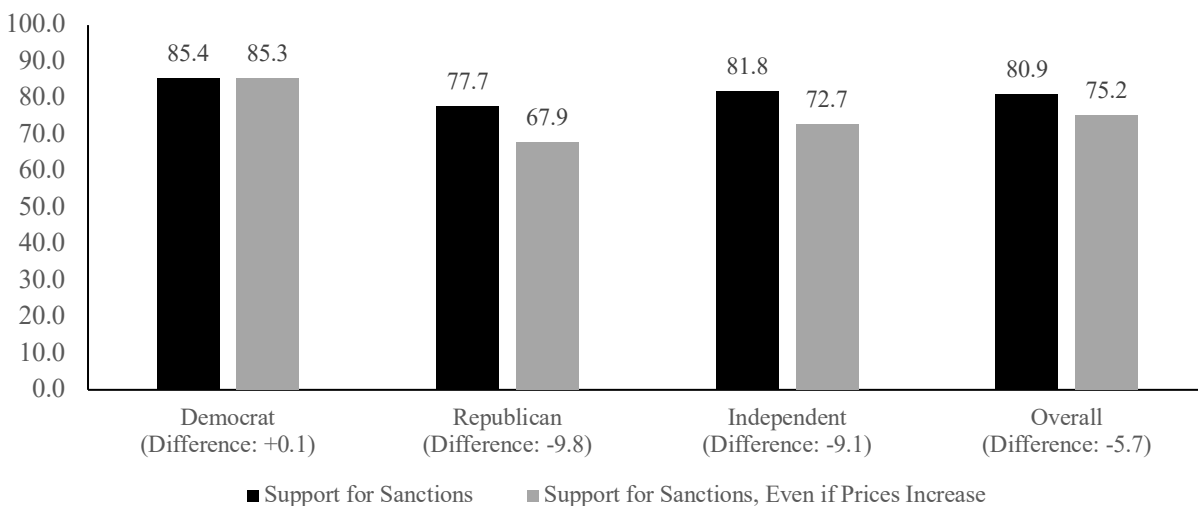
When it comes to the option of sending troops to Ukraine to engage in conflict directly, there is minimal support for the prospect. Just 23 percent overall supported the idea, with slightly more Democrats supporting the idea and slightly more Republicans and Independents opposing it.

## Ukraine Conflict: Knowledge of NATO and Willingness to Send Troops



While there is no broad appetite for direct conflict, the current strategy of employing economic and political sanctions enjoys broad support across all groups. To offer a glimpse of how strong that support might be, we split the sample in two groups and asked different questions (exact wording is available in the questionnaire after the summary). For the first group, they were asked to report how strongly they supported continuing sanctions. For the second group, we also provided a small bit of information: continuing to support sanctions has led to, and will likely continue to result in, an increase in fuel costs, including gasoline. While support did drop when we highlighted the specific personal cost, the decline in support is 5.7 percentage points. While this constitutes an interesting finding from a social scientific perspective, substantive support for sanctions remains robust even in the face of increased costs at home.

## Support for Sanctions (Split Sample)

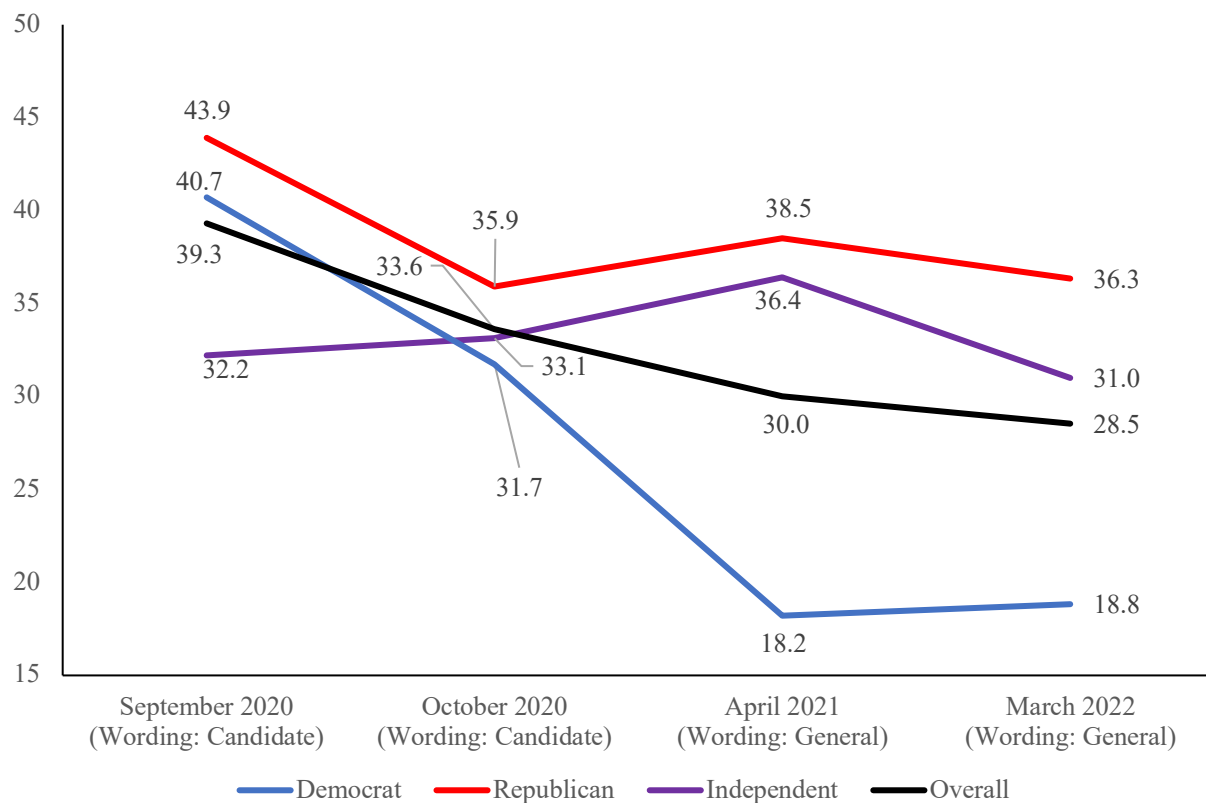


## The State of American Politics

### Support for Secession: Before and After the 2020 Election

Before the 2020 presidential election, we asked respondents to report whether they would support their state trying to secede from the union if their preferred candidate was not victorious. After the election, we continued to ask if respondents supported secession (without the prompt of a candidate losing). After four cycles of asking this question, some distinguishable patterns have emerged. Both Republicans and Democrats expressed substantial support for the idea in the pre-election period, with noticeable declines occurring closer to Election Day. After the election, Republicans remained at an elevated level of support as did Independents. Democrats, however, saw their support for the idea decline, though almost one in five still support the idea.

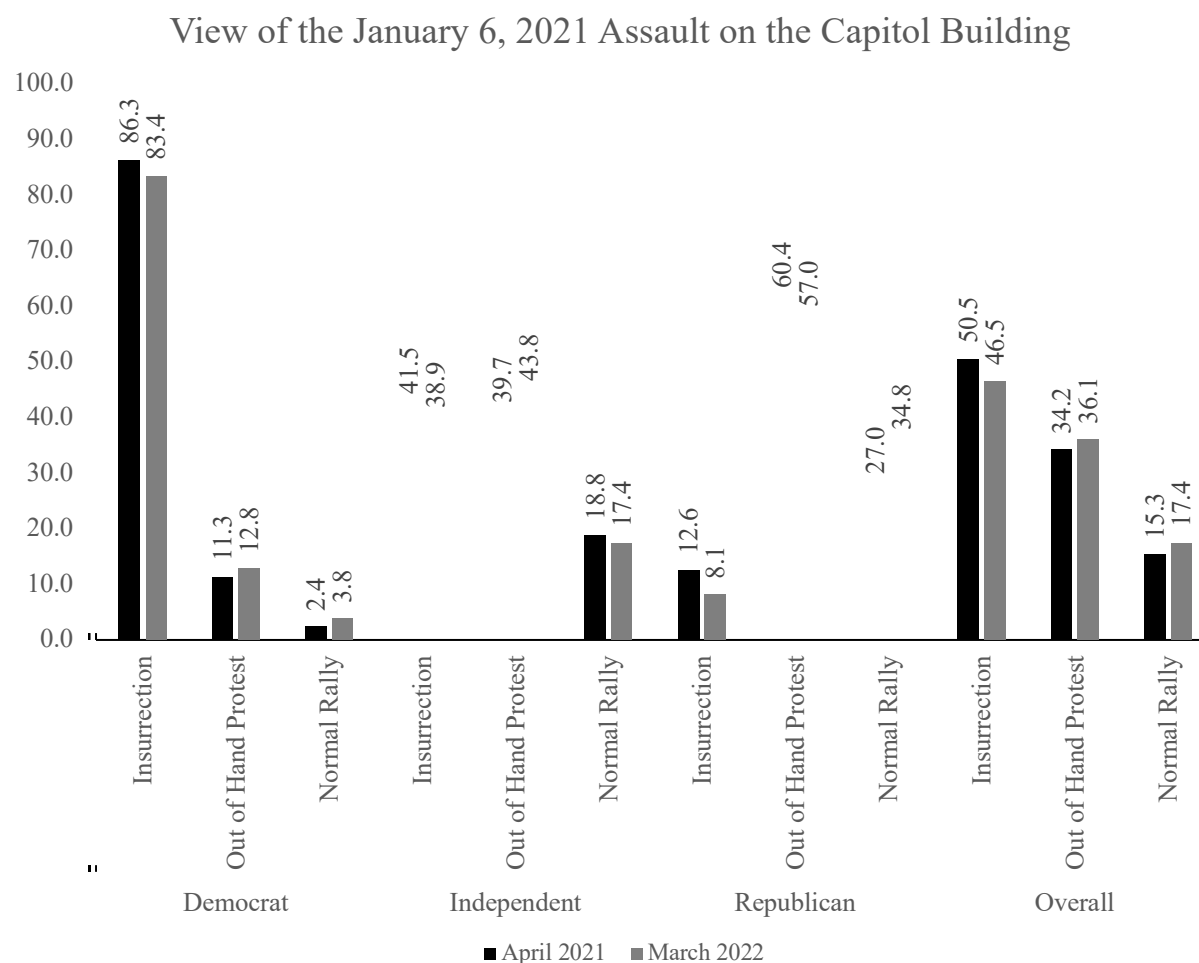
Support for Secession Over Time



### The January 6, 2021, Capitol Assault and Rejection of 2020 Presidential Election Result

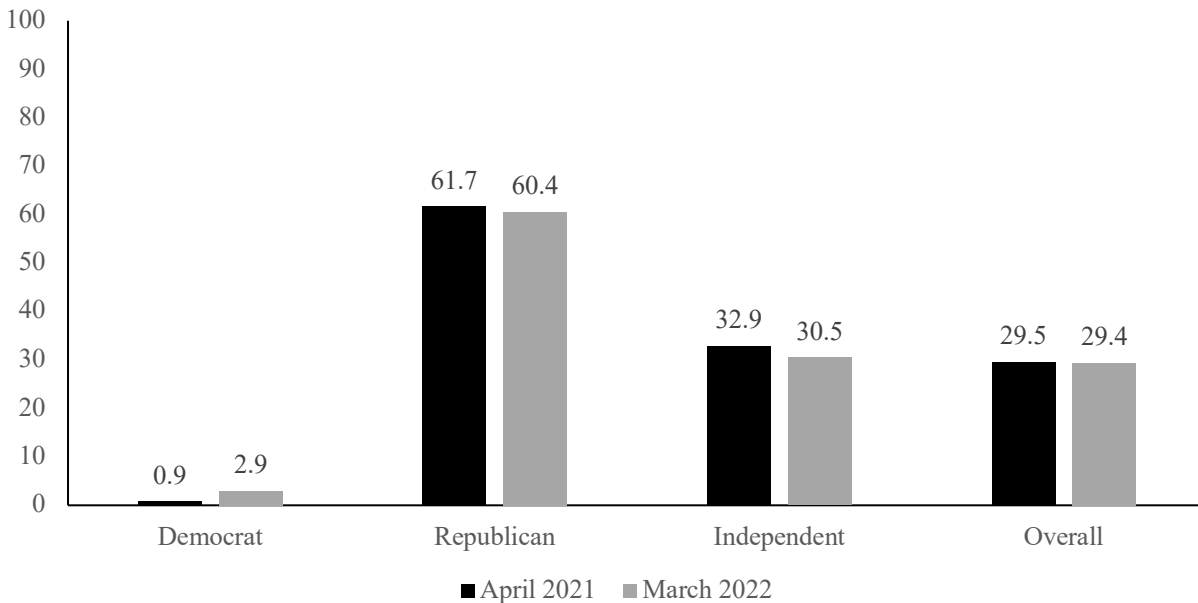
In April 2021, there was a vastly different partisan response when we asked respondents to report how they felt about the January 6 assault on the Capitol. Views of that event have remained largely stable, with a shift toward viewing the assault as less of an insurrection and more of an out of hand protest or a normal rally. This shift is most pronounced amongst Republicans, with over 1/3<sup>rd</sup> indicating they see the event as a normal rally. Just 8.1 percent of Republicans view it

as an insurrection. Independents remain mixed in their views of the event. Overall, however, the responses to the question this year versus last year are largely consistent across subgroups.



We also asked respondents to report which candidate won the 2020 presidential election. The numbers we recorded in 2021 were normatively concerning — these numbers have remained stable in 2022. As was the case in 2021, almost 30 percent of all respondents think Donald Trump won, with over 60 percent of all Republicans holding that belief. Given that political elites on the Republican side and conservative news and opinion outlets continue to either accommodate or actively burnish such beliefs, there is little reason to expect these numbers to move in the near future.

## Belief that Trump Won the 2020 Election



## The State of Suburban Politics

While the full extent of the pandemic's impact on suburban politics is unclear, there are strong expectations that the most pivotal districts still reside in suburban areas. Suburban registered voters seem less pleased with Biden's performance a year into his presidency than in April 2021, as only 43 percent of suburbanites approve of his job performance.

Biden Approval	Suburban	Urban	Rural
Approve	43.1	51.9	32.7
Disapprove	57.0	48.1	67.3

The extent to which this translates into pain at the ballot box, however, is less clear. If the election were held today, a rematch against Donald Trump would be a toss-up. Additionally, a generic congressional ballot is a toss-up. Approval numbers as low as Biden's often serve as a harbinger of a rough cycle for the president's party. Whether that materializes is left to be seen, but it does not appear in our survey results.

Biden vs. Trump 2024	Suburban	Urban	Rural
Trump	49.6	39.1	60.2
Biden	50.4	60.9	39.8

<b>Generic Congressional Vote</b>	Suburban	Urban	Rural
Republican	49.7	36.8	60.3
Democratic	50.4	63.2	39.7

Suburbanites also identify the economy as the most important issue. In terms of personal finances, suburbanites are more concerned about inflation than their urban counterparts. While suburbanites report doing better financially when compared with rural respondents, they lag behind urban respondents. When thinking about the next year, they are also less likely to expect their personal finances to improve when compared with urban respondents. Rural residents are more pessimistic still.

<b>Importance of Inflation</b>	Suburban	Urban	Rural
Very Important	91.7	86.8	93.0
Not Very Important	8.3	13.2	7.0

<b>Personal Financial Situation</b>	Suburban	Urban	Rural
Excellent or Good	45.9	46.8	38.9
Fair or Poor	54.1	53.2	61.1

<b>Personal Finances Next Year</b>	Suburban	Urban	Rural
Improve	19.9	25.3	15.3
Stay about the same	48.4	48.6	46.0
Decline	31.7	26.1	38.8

Suburbanites often average somewhere in between the averages of urban and rural respondents for most questions. For vaccine mandates, this pattern holds. Interestingly, however, suburbanites are substantially closer to urbanites on reinstituting mask mandates. Given the prevalence of two parents working in suburban settings, masks may be seen as something of a necessity in order to keep schools open.

<b>Support for Vaccine Mandates</b>	Suburban	Urban	Rural
School/College	52.3	62.4	41.2
Airline Travel	51.4	64.6	40.9
Office Work	46.8	58.4	39.5
Entertainment	49.8	61.1	39.6

<b>If CDC Recommends Masks...</b>	Suburban	Urban	Rural
Reinstate Mask Mandate	39.9	42.7	25.9
Mandates for Unvaccinated Only	10.4	11.7	9.9
Individual-level Decision	41.4	34.1	52.9
Statewide Guidance	8.3	11.5	11.2

## Methodology

The Kalikow School Poll, designed by Hofstra University's Kalikow Center for the Study of the American Presidency and executed by YouGov, is based on interviews of 2,278 of YouGov's panelists, matched down to a sample of 2,000 registered voters using a proximity matching method. The poll recorded responses from individuals who are 18 years or older and are registered voters. The survey collected responses from March 11 – 21, 2022. The survey oversampled respondents who live in suburban areas of the country. The overall margin of error for the survey is 2.86. The margin of error for suburbanites is 3.97 (n=1,000), 5.57 for urban respondents (n=500), and 5.73 for rural respondents (n=500).

## Survey Questionnaire

For analysis and commentary on any of the survey questions not covered in this executive summary, please contact Dr. Craig Burnett ([craig.burnett@hofstra.edu](mailto:craig.burnett@hofstra.edu)).

NOTE: Text that is inside of [brackets] indicates programming instructions.

### *Introductory Questions*

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

Satisfied

Dissatisfied

2. [Rotate Issues] How important is it to you that the president and Congress deal with each of the following issues before the 2022 midterm elections?

	Very Important	Important	Not Important
Education	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
International Trade	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Economy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Race Relations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Crime	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Healthcare	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Foreign Affairs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Climate Change	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
COVID-19 Pandemic Response	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>



3. Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way Joe Biden is handling his job as president?

Approve  
Disapprove

4. How often would you say you vote in midterm Congressional elections?

Always  
Nearly always  
Sometimes  
Seldom  
Never

5. [Rotate Names] Would you say your overall opinion of the following people is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	Very favorable	Mostly favorable	Mostly unfavorable	Very unfavorable	I am unfamiliar with this person
Joe Biden	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Barack Obama	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mitch McConnell	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Donald Trump	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Nancy Pelosi	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Kamala Harris	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Mike Pence	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

6. [Rotate Name Options and Choice Options] If the 2024 election were today and Donald Trump was the Republican candidate and Joe Biden was the Democratic candidate, which candidate would you prefer?

Donald Trump  
Joe Biden

7. [Rotate Options and Choices] If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the [Republican] candidate OR the [Democratic] candidate for Congress in your district?

Republican  
Democratic

*Government Performance Questions*

8. We're interested in how much confidence you have in some different institutions. In general, how much confidence do you have in...

	No confidence at all	Not too much confidence	Some confidence	A lot of confidence
The federal government	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your state government	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your local government	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your local public schools	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Your local police	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigration and Customs Enforcement (ICE)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The U.S. Intelligence Community	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The U.S. Armed Forces	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

9. [Rotate Topics] How would you rate Joe Biden's job performance on the following issues so far:

	Approve	Disapprove
Education	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
International Trade	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
The Economy	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Race Relations	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Crime	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Immigration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Healthcare	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Foreign Affairs	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Climate Change	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
COVID-19 Pandemic Response	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

*Issue Questions*

10. [Rotate Topics] Are the following big problems, small problems, or not a problem in the community where you live?

	Big Problem	Small Problem	Not a Problem
Crime	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Unemployment or lack of job opportunities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Quality of public schools	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Infrastructure such as roads, bridges, and sewers	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Drug abuse	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Tension between different racial and ethnic groups	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

11. Which of the following comes closest to your view on abortion:

- Abortion should be *legal in all cases*
- Abortion should be *legal in most cases*
- Abortion should be *illegal in most cases*
- Abortion should be *illegal in all cases*

12. Do you think that the federal government should set abortion policy, or do you think that abortion policy should be decided at the state level?

Federal  
State

13. What should be the priority for dealing with immigration in this country?

- Tighter border security, such as improving physical barriers and increased enforcement of immigration laws
- Allowing undocumented immigrants already here to become citizens if they meet certain requirements
- Both should be given equal priority

14. Deferred Action for Childhood Arrivals — commonly referred to as DACA — allows undocumented individuals who arrived in the country as children to stay legally. DACA does not provide the nearly 700,000 recipients a pathway to citizenship. Do you support or oppose changing the policy to provide a pathway to citizenship for these individuals?

Support  
Oppose

15. Do you happen to know if the international group commonly known as NATO is mostly about trade agreements between governments or treaties between governments? [Rotate Options]

Mostly treaties  
Mostly trade

16. In late February, Russian military forces crossed Ukraine's border and began taking over Ukrainian territory. Do you think that the United States should send troops to engage in the conflict directly, or should it continue rely on other means such as economic and political sanctions?

The United States should be willing to use troops  
The United States should rely on other means

[Coin Flip: Respondent Receives Either Question 17 or Question 18, not Both].

17. Current U.S. economic and political sanctions against Russia have led to an increase in the cost of energy — including gasoline and heating fuel — and have a negative impact on the U.S. economy. Given this possibility, do you support or oppose the current policy of sanctioning Russia over the invasion of Ukraine?

Support  
Oppose

18. Do you support or oppose the current policy of sanctioning Russia over the invasion of Ukraine?

Support  
Oppose

#### *Climate Change/Environment*

19. In your view, is climate change a very serious problem, somewhat serious, not too serious, or not a problem?

Very serious

Somewhat serious  
Not too serious  
Not a problem

20. [Rotate Options] How do the following rate in informing your view that climate change is a problem: Important, Somewhat Important, or Not Important?

	Important	Somewhat Important	Not Important
Impact on Children and/or Grandchildren	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Future Economic Opportunities	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Value of Property	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Impact on Other Parts of the World	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Potential Increase in Immigration	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

21. Thinking about climate change, which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion:

We should prioritize protecting the environment, even if it slows economic growth  
We should prioritize economic growth, even if it means further harming the environment

22. In the past few years, do you think race relations in the United States have gotten better, worse, or remained about the same?

Better  
Worse  
About the same

23. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about potential reparations for slavery:

The U.S. should acknowledge the impact of slavery by both providing cash payments *and* funding programs designed to help Black Americans who are descendants of slaves

The U.S. should acknowledge the impact of slavery by funding programs aimed at helping Black Americans who are descendants of slaves, *but no cash payments*

The U.S. should acknowledge the impact of slavery without any additional actions

The U.S. does not need to acknowledge the impact of slavery

[RANDOMIZE SAMPLE INTO TWO HALFS]

24. [RANDOMIZED GROUP 1 RECEIVES THIS QUESTION] Do you support or oppose reducing the responsibilities of local police departments by reallocating funds to other local government agencies — for example, agencies involved in social work — who would then respond to certain types of emergency calls and situations instead of the police?

Support

Oppose

25. [RANDOMIZED GROUP 2 RECEIVES THIS QUESTION] Do you support or oppose defunding the police, which usually means reducing the responsibilities of local police departments by reallocating funds to other local government agencies — for example, agencies involved in social work — who would then respond to certain types of emergency calls and situations instead of the police?

Support

Oppose

### *Health Care*

26. Which of the following most closely describes your health insurance situation:

I receive health insurance from my employer or a family member's employer

I receive health insurance from Medicaid

I receive health insurance from Medicare

I receive healthcare by purchasing it from a healthcare provider directly, or someone purchases it on my behalf

I receive healthcare by purchasing it from a federal or state-supported marketplace, or someone purchases it on my behalf

I do not currently have health insurance

27. In general, how satisfied are you with your current health insurance situation?

Very satisfied

Somewhat satisfied

Unsatisfied

Very unsatisfied



28. Do you favor or oppose having the government offer a government-administered health plan – commonly referred to as a “public option” – that individuals could purchase?

Favor  
Oppose  
Unsure

29. Do you favor or oppose having a national health plan – commonly referred to as Medicare-for-all – in which all Americans would get their insurance from a single government plan?

Favor  
Oppose  
Unsure

30. [If Respondent Favors Medicare for All] Would you still support a Medicare-for-all plan if it meant that everyone must transition to Medicare, even if you currently have health insurance through your employer?

Support  
Oppose  
Unsure

31. Do you think that being vaccinated against COVID-19 should or should not be required for the following activities:

	Required	Not Required
Attending school or college in-person	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Airline travel	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Working in an office building	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Attending live entertainment events (e.g., concerts, sports)	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

32. Recently, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) released masking recommendations based on local COVID-19 hospitalization rates. If hospitalization rates

increase in your area to where the CDC recommends reinstituting a mask rule, which of the following comes closest to your opinion:

- Local communities, including school districts, should reinstate indoor mask mandates.
- Local communities, including school districts, should reinstate indoor mask mandates for unvaccinated people only.
- Local communities, including school districts, should let individuals decide whether to wear a mask indoors.
- Local communities, including school districts, should seek statewide guidance on mask mandates.

### *Personal Finance Questions*

33. How would you rate your own personal financial situation?

- Excellent shape
- Good shape
- Fair shape
- Poor shape

34. Do you own your home, rent your home, live with your parents or other family member, or do you have some other type of arrangement?

- Own
- Rent
- Live with parents or other family
- Other arrangement

35. Over the past six months, do you think inflation has increased, stayed about the same, or decreased?

- Increased
- Stayed about the same
- Decreased

36. How important of a problem do you think inflation is today?

- Very important problem
- Not very important problem

37. In the past year, do you think wages have increased, stayed about the same, or decreased?

- Increased
- Stayed about the same
- Decreased

38. Do you think that your personal economic situation will improve, stay about the same, or decline over the next year?

Improve  
Stay about the same  
Decline

*Election Security and State of Democracy*

39. When the Constitution was adopted, the size of each congressional district was about 30,000 individuals. Today, the average congressional district is over 700,000.

Do you think we should keep the House of Representatives the same size, which would likely result in an increase in average district population?

Or, do you think that we should increase the size of the House of Representatives, which would likely result in an decrease in average district population?

Increase the size of the House of Representatives  
Keep the size of the House of Representatives the same

40. [Reference, for Information Only: <https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/decennial/2020/data/apportionment/apportionment-2020-tableB.pdf>]

According to the US Census Bureau, the next five states that would receive an additional member of the House of Representatives would be Arizona, Florida, New York, Ohio, and Texas. Given this, would you support or oppose increasing the size of the House of Representatives?

Increase the size of the House of Representatives  
Keep the size of the House of Representatives the same

41. Would you support or oppose a federal law that sets uniform basic election standards for every state that would make it easier to vote but also included a voter identification requirement?

Support  
Oppose

42. Do you think the U.S. Senate should or should not keep the filibuster, a tactic that is available to the minority party to stop legislation from moving through the chamber?

The Senate should keep the filibuster  
The Senate should not keep the filibuster

43. One potential reform to the filibuster is to require senators who are filibustering to speak without any breaks to keep the filibuster going. Do you support or oppose this potential reform?

Support  
Oppose

44. Do you think that mail-in voting is a secure method to cast a ballot?

Yes, mail-in voting is secure.  
No, mail-in voting is not secure.

45. Do you think we need to change our system of presidential selection?

Yes, we need to change our system of presidential selection  
No, we do not need change our system of presidential selection

46. As you may know, the Electoral College ultimately selects who will be the president and vice president. Some have called for having the national popular vote determine who wins the election. Do you support or oppose this proposal?

Support  
Oppose

47. Would you support or oppose holding a constitutional convention to revise our Constitution?

Support  
Somewhat Support  
Somewhat Oppose  
Oppose

48. Would you support or oppose a formal request by your state to secede from the United States?

Support  
Somewhat Support  
Somewhat Oppose  
Oppose

49. Who won the 2020 presidential election?

Joe Biden  
Donald Trump

50. Which of the following statements comes closest to your opinion about the assault of the United States Capitol Building on January 6, 2021?

It was an insurrection

It was a protest that got out of hand

It was no different than any other constitutionally-protected rally

[Split Sample Ordering: Coin Flip for Which One Appears First for the Following Two Questions]

51. Who should have primary control over K-12 education policy, including issues such as the choice of school curricula, student disciplinary policies, and graduation and grade promotion requirements? [Rotate Options]

Education professionals, such as teachers and administrators

Local governmental officials, such as local school boards or other elected officials

State government officials, such as state legislators or state boards of education

Federal government officials, such as Congress or the U.S. Department of Education

Residents from within the school district

52. Who should have primary control over policing policy, including issues such as police training, use-of-force standards, and disciplinary complaints? [Rotate Options]

Police professionals, such as police officers and local police department leaders

Local governmental officials, such as mayors or other elected officials

State government officials, such as state legislators or oversight agency

Federal government officials, such as Congress or the Department of Justice

Residents from within the police department's jurisdiction

53. If the Supreme Court were to decide to overturn *Roe v. Wade* — the landmark Supreme Court case that made abortion legal — it would then be up to the individual states to decide their own abortion laws. Do you think that the Supreme Court should uphold or overturn *Roe v. Wade*?

Uphold *Roe v. Wade*

Overturn *Roe v. Wade*

*Location Questions*

54. What description best describes your current living situation?

I live in an urban area

I live in a suburban area

I live in a rural area

Not sure

55. Our research requires us to accurately determine what part of the country people who complete the survey live in. We only use this information for classification purposes. What is your five digit zip code?

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