

Status Threat, Partisanship, and Voters' Conservative Shift toward Right-wing Candidates (Questionnaire)

May 6, 2025

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A Informed Consent

You are invited to be in a research study. You were selected as a possible participant because you are a registered user of this survey platform. We ask that you read this form before agreeing to be in the study. If you are under the age of 18, we ask that you do not complete this study.

This study is being conducted by Dr. Brianna A. Smith (Faculty, US Naval Academy) and Dr. Diogo Ferrari (Faculty, University of California, Riverside). The purpose of this study is to better understand people's attitudes and opinions. If you agree to be in this study, we will ask you to complete one survey. The survey will ask you to read a few paragraphs and answer some questions about your attitudes and general background.

You are always free to skip a question or end the survey at any time. There are no direct benefits to participation.

The original records of this study will be kept private. Research records will be stored securely, and any data shared or published in the future will not contain any information that will make it possible to identify a subject.

Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with the US Naval Academy or any other government agency. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting those relationships.

Questions about this study should be directed to Dr. Brianna A. Smith (smithb@usna.edu). If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher, you are encouraged to contact the Human Research Protection Program at (410) 293-2513 or HRPPoffice@usna.edu.

Please answer the consent question below and click "next" to confirm your consent to participate and to begin the survey. At the bottom of each page, you will click the "next" button to continue.

☐ I have read the information above. I consent to participate in this study.

☐ I do not consent to participate. You will not begin the study.

B Socio-demographic information

(gender) Which gender, if any, do you identify with? *Response options: 1. Male (coded as 0); 2. Female (1); 3. Neither/other (0)*

(state) In which state do you currently reside? (SELECT STATE FROM LIST).

(age) Which year were you born?

(educ) What is the highest level of school you have COMPLETED or the highest degree received? *Response options: 1. Less than high school (1); 2. High school graduate (or equivalent, including GED) (2); 3. Some college but didn't complete (3); 4. Associate degree (2-year) (4); 5. Complete College/Bachelor's degree (4-year) (5); 6. Master's degree (6); 7. Doctoral or terminal professional degree (Ph.D., JD, MD) (7)*

(race) Choose one or more races that you consider yourself to be: *Response options: 1. White (1); 2. Black or African-American (0); 3. American Indian or Alaska Native (0); 4. Asian (0); 5. Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (0); 6. Other (Text entry) (0)*

(inc) What is your TOTAL household income? *Response options: 1. Less than \$10,000 (1); 2. \$10,000 - \$19,999 (2); 3. \$20,000 - \$29,999 (3); 4. \$30,000 - \$39,999 (4); 5. \$40,000 - \$49,999 (5); 6. \$50,000 - \$59,999 (6); 7. \$60,000 - \$69,999 (7); 8. \$70,000 - \$79,999 (8); 9. \$80,000 - \$89,999 (9); 10. \$90,000 - \$99,999 (10); 11. \$100,000 - \$149,999 (11); 12. More than \$150,000 (12)*

(hhn) Including yourself, how many people - including children - live here regularly as members of this household?

C White identity

(wsid1) How important is being white to your identity? *Response options: 1. Extremely important (4) 2. Very important (3) 3. Not very important (2) 4. Not important at all (1)*

(wsid2) To what extent do you feel that white people in this country have a lot to be proud of? *Response options: 1. A great deal (4) 2. Somewhat (3) 3. Very little (2) 4. Not at all (1)*

(wsid3) How much would you say that whites in this country have a lot in common with one another? *Response options: 1. A great deal (4) 2. Somewhat (3) 3. Very little (2) 4. Not at all (1)*

D National identity

(nsid1) How important is being American to your identity? *Response options: 1. Extremely important (4) 2. Very important (3) 3. Not very important (2) 4. Not important at all (1)*

(nsid2) To what extent do you feel that American people have a lot to be proud of? *Response options: 1. A great deal (4) 2. Somewhat (3) 3. Very little (2) 4. Not at all (1)*

(nsid3) How much would you say that Americans have a lot in common with one another? *Response options: 1. A great deal (4) 2. Somewhat (3) 3. Very little (2) 4. Not at all (1)*

E Party identification (ANES)

(ptyid) Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what? *Response options: 1. Republican; 2. Democrat; 3. Independent;*

(ptyid.rep) (ask only if answered "Republican" in ptyid) Would you call yourself a strong Republican or not a very strong Republican? *Response options: 1. Strong Republican (3); 2. Not a very strong Republican (2)*

(ptyid.dem) (ask only if answered "Democrat" in ptyid) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or not a very strong Democrat?

- *Response options: 1. Strong Democrat (-3); 2. Not a very strong Democrat (-2)*

(ptyid.ind) (ask only if answered "Independent" in ptyid) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican or Democratic party? *Response options: 1. Republican party (1); 2. Democratic party (-1); 3. Neither party (0)*

F Party identification (social identity)

(psid1) How important is being a [Democrat/ Republican] to you? *Response options: 1. Extremely important (4) 2. Very important (3) 3. Not very important (2) 4. Not important at all (1)*

(psid2) How well does the term [Democrat/ Republican] describe you? *Response options: 1. Extremely well (4) 2. Very well (3) 3. Not very well (2) 4. Not at all (1)*

(psid3) When talking about [Democrats/ Republicans], how often do you use “we” instead of “they”? *Response options: 1. All of the time (5) 2. Most of the time (4) 3. Some of the time (3) 4. Rarely (2) 5. Never (1)*

(psid4) “To what extent do you think of yourself as being a [Democrat/ Republican]?” *Response options: 1. A great deal (4) 2. Somewhat (3) 3. Very little (2) 4. Not at all (1)*

G Attention check 1

[This attention check question is asked right before the vignette. One question is randomly chosen from a pool of different questions that follow similar formats. Three examples are presented below. In the first example, the letter “X” is randomly selected from a list of months (June, December, May, and so on) or weekdays (Monday, Wednesday, and so on). In the second example, “X” is replaced by a two-digits number, such as 82 or 21. Respondents need to both select the correct answer and enter the correct word or number to pass the attention check.

If participants pass the attention check, they continue on to the vignette. If they fail the check, participants are given a new attention check question from the pool. If they fail this second check, they are dropped from the survey.]

(chk.example1) The researchers responsible for this study need to ensure that you are paying attention to your responses. Select the answer below that says “none of the above” and then enter the text X in the appropriate space next to that response, regardless of whether we =jare in X or not/today is X or not;=. Be careful to spell X correctly. *(Response options: This survey is about television shows; Previous questions asked you about the name of your cat; Previous questions asked your opinion about vacation time; This survey is about politics; None of the above (with textbox next to it))*

(chk.example2) The researchers responsible for this study need to ensure that you are paying attention to your responses. Select the answer below that says “none of the above” and then enter the number X in the text box next to that answer. *(Response options: Previous questions asked your opinion about vacation time; This survey is about television shows; This survey is about sports; Previous questions asked you about political opinion; None of the above (with textbox next to it))*

(chk.example3) The researchers responsible for this study need to ensure that you are paying attention to your responses. Select the pair of words that meaningfully fill the blanks in the following sentence:_____ comes after _____.*(Response options: (1) Green; Paper (2)Afternoon; morning (3) car; sky (4) Wednesday; Blue (5) None of the above (with textbox next to it))*

H Vignette

Please read carefully the following paragraph about current events.

[Common initial text for all treatment groups]

Some Americans are doing worse than twenty years ago and may continue to lose wealth in

the new economy. Median household incomes have decreased since 2019, while prices of many consumer goods have increased..

[Each participant will see only ONE of the following four conditions, randomly selected]

[Control/reference condition]

Despite these changes, research shows that Americans maintain the respect and esteem that they used to have in society. The United States remains the most prosperous and strong economy in the world. When compared to other nations, Americans remain leaders in innovation, education, and entertainment, and continue to exert a remarkable cultural influence on other nations.

[Status threat condition (to whites)]

The structure of society as we know is also changing fast. The United States may soon become a ‘majority minority’ country in which white Americans are no longer the majority of the population. Rather, white Americans will be one of many minorities in society alongside Black Americans and other racial and ethnic groups. Alongside all these changes, the respect and esteem that white Americans used to have in society is declining, and many agree that white Americans are less valued today than they used to be.

[Status threat condition (to nation status relative to China)]

The United States is losing its position as a world leader, while China is taking a more central role. Some businesses and foreign governments look to China first before the United States, demonstrating China’s growing influence. Overall, the global status of America has declined - Americans are no longer seen as leaders in innovation, education, and entertainment and may soon lose much of their cultural influence.

[Status threat condition (to whites and nation status relative to China)]

The United States is losing its position as a world leader, while China is taking a more central role. Some businesses and foreign governments look to China first before the United States, demonstrating China’s growing influence. Overall, the global status of America has declined - Americans are no longer seen as leaders in innovation, education, and entertainment and may soon lose much of their cultural influence. Moreover, research shows that the respect and esteem that white Americans used to have in society is declining. Rather, white Americans will be one of many minorities in society alongside Black Americans and other racial and ethnic groups. Alongside all these changes, the respect and esteem that white Americans used to have in society is declining, and many agree that white Americans are less valued today than they used to be.

I Conjoint experiment

In the next few minutes, we will describe the profile of two potential candidates who are considering running for an open seat in your district in the next election. For each candidate, we will show you his or her campaign message highlights. Please remember that we are interested in your personal opinion. There are no right or wrong answers. You will repeat this task six times, and we will show you two candidates at a time.

Please, read **both** profiles carefully:

[Example]

Candidate A	Candidate B
Party affiliation: Democratic Party	Party affiliation: Republican Party
Campaign highlights: I maintain that affirmative action rectifies historical injustices and systemic discrimination against minorities like African Americans and Latinos. In my view, choice over abortion should be a fundamental human right. I believe that celebrating diversity means standing for LGBT rights. Immigration is the backbone of our nation's history and should be celebrated. I am convinced that tax policies should not unduly penalize the wealthy for their success, so I oppose increasing taxes to pay for welfare programs. I have no doubt that promoting free trade with China encourages economic activity and job creation.	Campaign highlights: I firmly believe that selection should be based on individual merit, not affirmative action because affirmative action hurts white American majorities. In my view, abortion is not a solution but another problem. I am in favor of protecting human life at all stages. I strongly believe that equal rights and protections must include the LGBT community. I am certain that immigrants contribute enormously to our economic growth and cultural diversity. I have no doubt that increasing taxes on the wealthy might drive them to invest elsewhere, which will hurt our economy. We should reduce government spending on welfare, not increase it. Increasing tariffs on Chinese products is needed to protect domestic jobs and our great economy.

On a scale from 1 to 7, where 1 indicates that you definitely would NOT vote for this type of candidate and 7 indicates that you definitely would vote for this type of candidate, would you vote for the candidates above?

	Definitely would NOT vote for						Definitely would vote for
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
(chrA)Candidate A							
(chrB)Candidate B							

(chr) If you have to choose between these candidates, which one would you choose?

	Candidate A	Candidate B
Preferred candidate		

[Party affiliation will be shown only to part of the sample. For each candidate, one position for each issue will be sampled from the following list of issues:]

- Abortion rights
 - Liberal positions:
 1. I advocate for people’s right to make their own decisions about abortion.
 2. I am convinced that abortion must be a private decision, not a legal debate.
 3. I strongly believe that supporting abortion rights means supporting equality and freedom.
 4. I believe that abortion rights should be citizens’ rights.
 5. In my view, choice over abortion should be a fundamental human right.
 - Conservative positions:
 1. I strongly believe that abortion should be prohibited. We should protect human life at all stages.
 2. I believe that abortion is never a solution. Every unborn child has the inherent right to live.
 3. I am convinced that abortion undermines the value of human life. Therefore, I firmly believe that abortion should be restricted.
 4. If elected, I will defend my commitment to preserving the sanctity of life, not abortion.
 5. In my view, abortion is not a solution but another problem. I am in favor of protecting human life at all stages.
- Affirmative action
 - Liberal positions:
 1. I am certain that affirmative action is a necessary pathway to social and racial equality. Therefore, I support adopting more affirmative action policies that benefit African American and Latinos in this country.
 2. I stand for promoting diversity and inclusiveness through affirmative action to improve lives of African American and Latinos.
 3. I maintain that affirmative action rectifies historical injustices and systemic discrimination against minorities like African Americans and Latinos.
 4. I am convinced that affirmative action is a vital step toward a fair society with more inclusivity for African Americans and Latinos.
 5. I hold that supporting affirmative action means supporting equal opportunities for all, including minorities like African Americans and Latinos.
 - Conservative positions:
 1. In my opinion, affirmative action can lead to reverse discrimination against whites. Therefore, affirmative action policies must be reduced.
 2. I firmly believe that selection should be based on individual merit, not affirmative action because affirmative action hurts white American majorities.

3. In my view, affirmative action can undermine the principle of reward on merit and end up undermining chances of success for people in majority groups, like white Americans.
 4. In my view, affirmative action is detrimental to our society in the long run and hurt white American majorities. I believe in equal opportunity, not mandated equal results from affirmative action.
 5. I hold that affirmative action compromises standards of excellence and can reward minority groups even when they don't deserve it, at the expenses of deserving people among white Americans.
- Immigration policy
 - Liberal positions:
 1. In my view, opening our borders to immigrants is a testament to our values of compassion and equality.
 2. I am certain that immigrants contribute enormously to our economic growth and cultural diversity.
 3. I am convinced that more immigrants can lead to more diversity and richness in our culture and society.
 4. Immigration is the backbone of our nation's history and should be celebrated.
 5. Immigrants bring unique skills and perspectives that benefit our economy.
 - Conservative positions:
 1. A stricter immigration policy is necessary to protect our jobs and resources.
 2. I am certain that unregulated immigration could strain our public services and infrastructure.
 3. Protecting our borders is critical for our national security. We should have stronger policies against illegal immigration.
 4. The priority should be on taking care of our citizens before accepting more immigrants.
 5. It is crucial to control our borders and restrict immigration to protect our social values and culture.
 - Marriage and LGBT rights
 - Liberal positions:
 1. I strongly believe that equal rights and protections must include the LGBT community.
 2. I believe that LGBT individuals deserve the same legal protections as everyone else.
 3. I support LGBT rights because, for me, it means supporting human rights.
 4. I am convinced that if we respect human rights, we must respect LGBT rights.
 5. I believe that celebrating diversity means standing for LGBT rights.
 - Conservative positions:

1. I believe marriage should remain between a man and a woman.
 2. I believe that preserving traditional family values includes opposing LGBT marriage laws.
 3. LGBT rights challenge the traditional structure of our society.
 4. I support upholding societal norms which preclude same-sex marriage.
 5. I strongly believe that endorsing LGBT rights might erode the family, cultural, and moral foundations of our society.
- Redistribution
 - Liberal positions:
 1. I have no doubt that progressive taxation is an effective tool to reduce economic inequality. We must increase taxes on the rich and expand social programs.
 2. I am certain that raising taxes on the wealthy is a good thing. It can help to improve society by funding social welfare programs.
 3. I maintain that increasing taxes on capital gains to create more welfare policies could reduce wealth disparities.
 4. I support increasing tax on the wealthy to redistribute income and curb extreme wealth inequalities in our nation.
 5. I believe that tax reform targeting the rich could help to adopt more programs to help the poor and alleviate economic inequality.
 - Conservative positions:
 1. I am certain that high taxes can discourage investment and hinder economic growth. I firmly oppose it. We already spend too much on welfare programs.
 2. I have no doubt that increasing taxes on the wealthy might drive them to invest elsewhere, which will hurt our economy. We should reduce government spending on welfare, not increase it.
 3. I have no doubt that progressive taxation could punish successful entrepreneurs and business owners. We should avoid increasing taxes at all costs.
 4. I hold that addressing economic inequality should not be achieved at the expense of economic growth. So, I oppose expanding welfare programs.
 5. I am convinced that tax policies should not unduly penalize the wealthy for their success, so I oppose increasing taxes to pay for welfare programs.
 - Trade policy
 - Liberal positions:
 1. If elected, I will support open trade with other countries, like China, because it stimulates economic growth and development.
 2. I am sure that increasing trade with China is good because it creates a wider market for our products.
 3. I support reducing trade barriers against China. This will benefit our economy.
 4. I support global trade with China because it brings opportunities for businesses in our country to grow and expand.

5. I have no doubt that promoting free trade with China encourages economic activity and job creation.
- Conservative positions:
1. I support trade protectionism against China. We need to shield our local industries that make our country great.
 2. Increasing tariffs on Chinese products is needed to protect domestic jobs and our great economy.
 3. Stricter trade policies against China will prevent unfair competition from cheap foreign goods. This will help to maintain US economy, which is the leading in the world.
 4. I believe we need to prioritize our national industries before international trade with China to protect jobs and our world-leading economy.
 5. I am certain that free trade agreements with China can harm our local industries and employment. US has the largest economy in the world, and we must keep it that way.

J Status shift perception (and attention check 2)

[The item chk2 below is used as attention check. The text in <random option> will be randomly selected from the available options.]

To what extent do you agree with the following statements? *Response options: 1. Strongly disagree (-2); 2. Somewhat disagree (-1); 3. Neither agree nor disagree (0); 4. Somewhat agree (1); 5. Strongly agree (2); 99. Don't know (Missing)* [**Ask in random order**]

	1	2	3	4	5
(pwami) White Americans are becoming a minority					
(pwast) White Americans have less esteem and respect in society than they did in the past					
(pwaec) White Americans are worse off economically than they were in the past					
(chk2) Select <random option> in this line to show that you are paying attention					
(pagl) The United States is no longer a global leader					
(past) Americans are less esteemed and respected by other nations than they were in the past					
(paec) Most Americans are worse off economically than they were in the past					

K Self-reported status threat anxiety

To what extent do you agree with the following statements?

(st1) People like me should be threatened by increasing ethnic diversity in the US *Response options: 1. Strongly disagree (1) 2. Disagree (2) 3. Somewhat disagree (3) 4. Somewhat agree (4) 5. Agree (5) 6. Strongly agree (6)*

(st2) People like me will benefit from increasing ethnic diversity in the US *Response options:* 1. *Strongly disagree* (6) 2. *Disagree* (5) 3. *Somewhat disagree* (4) 4. *Somewhat agree* (3) 5. *Agree* (2) 6. *Strongly agree* (1)

(st3) People like me should be threatened by the increased strength of other countries *Response options:* 1. *Strongly disagree* (1) 2. *Disagree* (2) 3. *Somewhat disagree* (3) 4. *Somewhat agree* (4) 5. *Agree* (5) 6. *Strongly agree* (6)

(st4) People like me will benefit from the increased strength of other countries *Response options:* 1. *Strongly disagree* (6) 2. *Disagree* (5) 3. *Somewhat disagree* (4) 4. *Somewhat agree* (3) 5. *Agree* (2) 6. *Strongly agree* (1)

L Ideology

(libcons) We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this? *Response options:* 1. *Very liberal* (-3); 2. *Liberal* (-2); 3. *Somewhat liberal* (-1); 4. *Moderate/middle of the road* (0); 5. *Somewhat conservative* (1); 6. *Conservative* (2); 7. *Very conservative* (3); 99. *Haven't thought much about this* (Missing)

(ideo) In politics, people sometimes talk of LEFT and RIGHT. Where would you place yourself on a scale from 0 to 10 where 0 means the left and 10 means the right?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Left										Right

M Generalized prejudice

Next, we'd like to get your feelings toward some groups and countries in the news these days. Ratings between 5 and 10 mean that you feel favorable toward the group or country. Ratings between 0 and 5 mean that you don't feel favorable toward the group or country or that you don't care too much for that group or country. Rating the group or country at 5 means that you don't feel particularly favorable or unfavorable toward the group or country. [Ask in random order]

0-10	
(ftwhite)	White Americans
(ftblack)	Black Americans
(ftlatino)	Latino Americans
(ftasian)	Asian Americans
(ftus)	The United States
(ftchina)	China
(ftuk)	The United Kingdom
(ftjapan)	Japan

N Debrief

Thank you for your participation. The main purpose of the study was to better understand political opinions about current events. If you would prefer that your responses to the survey are not used in our research, please click the corresponding button below. This will not affect your compensation in any way. Otherwise, please click the continue button.

Please do not discuss the content of this study with anyone who may take this study. Knowing what the study is about can bias people's responses, even if they do not mean to be biased.

We hope that participating in our study has not caused you any discomfort or concern. If it has, please know that you are encouraged to contact the Human Research Protection Program at (410) 293-2513 or HRPPoffice@usna.edu. Alternatively, the contact information for the lead researcher is provided below.

–Dr. Brianna A. Smith (smithb@usna.edu)

–Dr. Diogo Ferrari (diogof@ucr.edu)

- ☐ Continue (you may use my responses in your research)
- ☐ I wish to withdraw from the study - please do NOT use my responses in your research