

FOR RELEASE MARCH 2, 2021

What 2020's Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling

BY *Scott Keeter, Nick Hatley, Arnold Lau and Courtney Kennedy*

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

Scott Keeter, Senior Survey Advisor
Courtney Kennedy, Director of Survey Research
Rachel Weisel, Senior Communications Manager
Calvin Jordan, Communications Associate
202.419.4372
www.pewresearch.org

RECOMMENDED CITATION

Pew Research Center, March, 2021 "What 2020's Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling"

About Pew Research Center

Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping the world. It does not take policy positions. The Center conducts public opinion polling, demographic research, content analysis and other data-driven social science research. It studies U.S. politics and policy; journalism and media; internet, science and technology; religion and public life; Hispanic trends; global attitudes and trends; and U.S. social and demographic trends. All of the Center's reports are available at www.pewresearch.org. Pew Research Center is a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts, its primary funder.

© Pew Research Center 2021

How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to understand how errors in correctly representing the level of support for Joe Biden and Donald Trump in preelection polling could affect the accuracy of questions in those same polls (or other polls) that measure public opinion on issues.

Specifically, if polls about issues are underrepresenting the Republican base the way that many 2020 preelection polls appeared to, how inaccurate would they be on measures of public opinion about issues? We investigated by taking a set of surveys that measured a wide range of issue attitudes and using a statistical procedure known as weighting to have them mirror two different scenarios. One scenario mirrored the true election outcome among voters (a 4.4-point Biden advantage, and another substantially overstated Biden's advantage (a 12-point lead). For this analysis, we used several surveys conducted in 2020 with more than 10,000 members of Pew Research Center's [American Trends Panel](#) (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses that ensures that nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. Questions in these surveys measured opinions on issues such as health care, the proper scope of government, immigration, race, and the nation's response to the coronavirus pandemic. These opinions were examined to see how they differed between the two scenarios.

What 2020's Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling

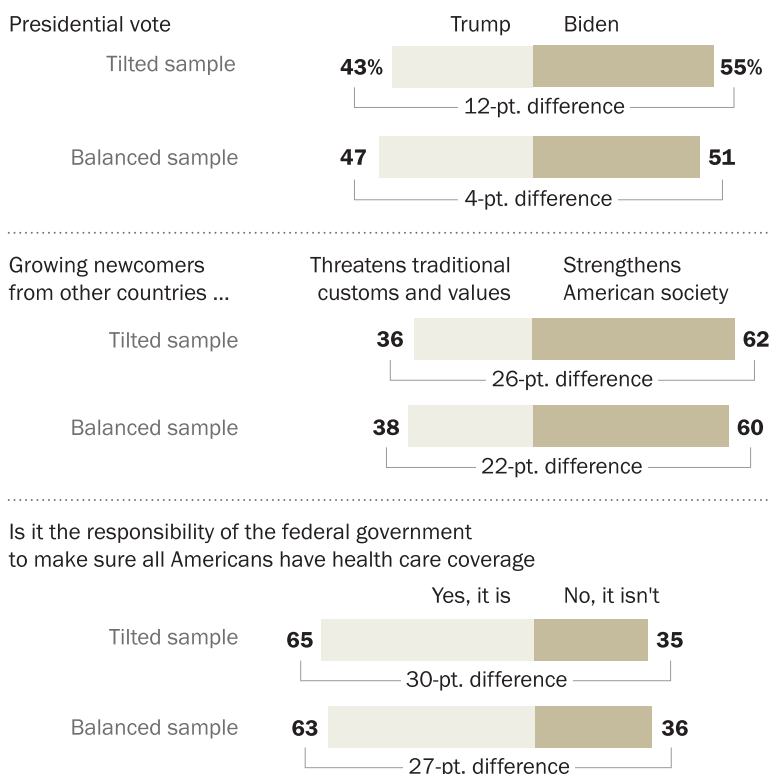
Most preelection polls in 2020 overstated Joe Biden's lead over Donald Trump in the national vote for president, and in some states incorrectly indicated that Biden would likely win or that the race would be close when it was not. These problems led some commentators to argue that "[polling is irrevocably broken](#)," that pollsters should be [ignored](#), or that "[the polling industry is a wreck, and should be blown up](#)."

The true picture of preelection polling's performance is more nuanced than depicted by some of the early broad-brush postmortems, but it is clear that Trump's strength was not fully accounted for in many, if not most, polls. Election polling, however, is just one application of public opinion polling, though obviously a prominent one. Pollsters often point to successes in

forecasting elections as a reason to trust polling as a whole. But what is the relevance of election polling's problems in 2020 for the rest of what public opinion polling attempts to do? Given the

A large overstatement of voter support for Joe Biden has a minimal effect on measures of opinion about issues

% supporting each option in two different samples, one that is too Democratic and the other correctly balanced



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27–Aug. 2, 2020.
 "What 2020's Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

errors in 2016 and 2020, how much should we trust polls that attempt to measure opinions on issues?¹

A new Pew Research Center analysis of survey questions from nearly a year’s worth of its public opinion polling finds that errors of the magnitude seen in some of the 2020 election polls would alter measures of opinion on issues by an average of less than 1 percentage point. Using the [national tally of votes for president](#) as an anchor for what surveys of voters should look like, analysis across 48 issue questions on topics ranging from energy policy to social welfare to trust in the federal government found that the error associated with underrepresenting Trump voters and other Republicans by magnitudes seen in some 2020 election polling varied from less than 0.5 to 3 percentage points, with most estimates changing hardly at all. Errors of this magnitude would not alter any substantive interpretations of where the American public stands on important issues. This does not mean that pollsters should quit striving to have their surveys accurately represent Republican, Democratic and other viewpoints, but it does mean that that errors in election polls don’t necessarily lead to comparable errors in polling about issues.

Sidebar: Why did we choose to test a 12-point Biden lead as the alternative to an accurate poll?

We created a version of our surveys with an overstatement of Biden’s advantage in the election (a “tilted version”) to compare with a “balanced version” that had the correct Biden advantage of 4.4 percentage points. The 12 percentage point Biden lead used in the “tilted” version of the simulation is arbitrary, but it was chosen because it was the largest lead seen in a national poll released by a major news organization in the two weeks prior to Election Day, as documented by [FiveThirtyEight](#). Several polls had Biden leads that were nearly as large during this time period. The simulation, including the manipulation of party affiliation among nonvoters, is described in greater detail below.

How is it possible that underestimating GOP electoral support could have such a small impact on questions about issues?

This finding may seem surprising. Wouldn’t a poll that forecast something as large as a 12 percentage point Biden victory also mislead on what share of Americans support the Black Lives Matter movement, think that the growing number of immigrants in the U.S. threatens traditional

¹ The answer could also depend on why the election polls were wrong. Election polls have an extra difficulty that issue polling does not: They must represent not the general public but rather the people who will actually vote in the election – a population that doesn’t yet exist at the time the poll is conducted. A poll could accurately represent the general public but fail to correctly forecast which members of the public will turn out to vote.

American customs and values, or believe global climate change is mostly caused by human activity?

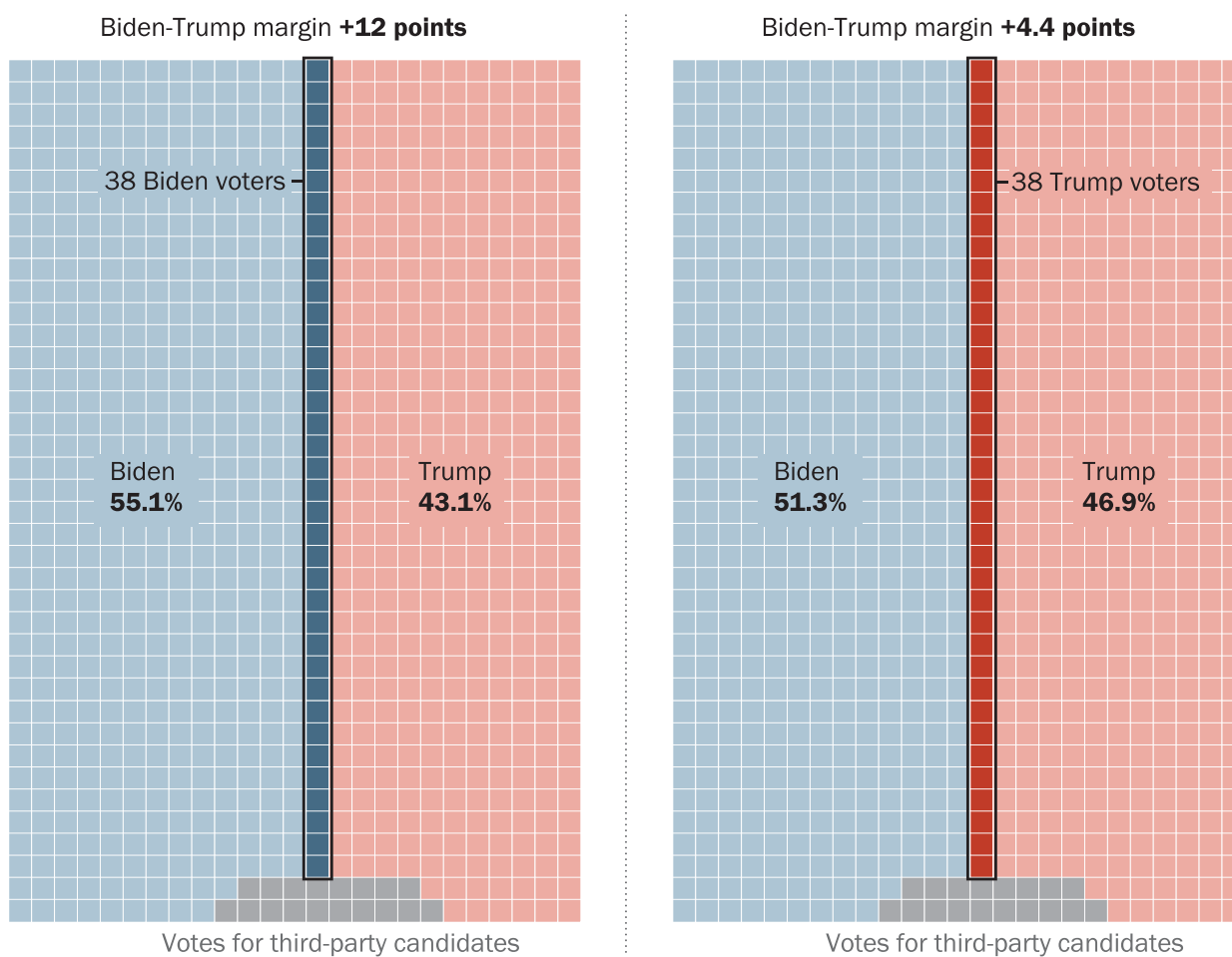
The accuracy of issue polling *could* be harmed by the same problems that affected election polling because support for Trump vs. Biden is highly correlated with party affiliation and opinions on many issues. Pew Research Center has [documented](#) the steadily increasing alignment of party affiliation with political values and opinions on issues, a type of political polarization. It stands to reason that measures of political values and opinions on issues could be harmed by whatever it is that led measures of candidate preference to be wrong.

But “highly correlated” does not mean “the same as.” Even on issues where sizable majorities of Republicans and Democrats (or Trump and Biden supporters) line up on opposite sides, there remains more diversity in opinion among partisans about issues than in candidate preference. In recent elections, about nine-in-ten of those who identify with a political party vote for the presidential candidate of that party, a share that has grown over time. But that high degree of consistency between opinions on issues and candidate preference – or party affiliation – is rare. That fact limits the extent to which errors in estimates of candidate preference can affect the accuracy of issue polling.

Visualizing a closely divided electorate

Election polling in closely divided electorates like those in the U.S. right now demands a very high degree of precision from polling. Sizable differences in the margin between the candidates can result from relatively small errors in the composition of the sample. Changing a small share of the sample can make a big difference in the margin between two candidates.

Changing the preferences of 38 voters out of 1,000 respondents shifts the poll's margin from a 12-point Biden advantage to about 4 points, the actual 2020 election result



Note: Depiction of two hypothetical polls of 1,000 voters.
 “What 2020’s Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling”

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

To visualize how few voters need to change to affect the margin between the candidates, consider a hypothetical poll of 1,000 adults. One version shows Biden prevailing over Trump by 12 percentage points (left side of the figure), while the version on the right shows the accurate election results. Biden voters are shown as blue squares and Trump voters as red squares (votes for third-party candidates are shown in gray along the bottom), but the strip in the middle shows the voters who change from the left figure to the right one.

The version on the right shows the actual 2020 election results nationally – a Biden advantage of a little more than 4 percentage points. The poll on the right was created by slightly increasing the representation of Trump voters and decreasing the representation of Biden voters, so that overall, the poll changes from a 12-point Biden advantage to a 4-point Biden advantage. This adjustment, in effect, flips the vote preferences of some of the voters. How many voters must be “changed” to move the margin from 12 points to about 4 points?

The answer is not very many – just 38 of the 1,000, or about 4% of the total. The Biden voters who are replaced by Trump voters are shown as the dark blue vertical strip in the middle of the left-hand panel of the graphic (12-point victory) and dark red in the right panel (more modest 4-point victory).

In addition to shifting the margin in the race, this change in the sample composition has implications for all the other questions answered by the Trump and Biden voters. The Trump voters, whose numbers have increased statistically, now have a larger voice in questions about immigration, climate change, the appropriate size and scope of the federal government, and everything else in the surveys. The Biden voters have a correspondingly smaller voice.

But as may be apparent by comparing the pictures on the left and right, the two pictures of the electorate are quite similar. They both show that the country is very divided politically. Neither party has a monopoly on the voting public. Yet, while the division is fairly close to equal, it is not completely equal – Republicans do not outnumber Democrats among actual voters in either one. But the margin among voters is small. It is this closeness of the political division of the country, even under the scenarios of a sizable forecast error, that suggest that conclusions about the broad shape of public opinion on issues are not likely to be greatly affected by whether election polls are able to pinpoint the margin between the candidates.

Simulating two versions of political support among the public

To demonstrate the range of possible error in issue polling that could result from errors like those seen in 2020 election polling, we conducted a simulation that produced two versions of several of

our opinion surveys from 2020, similar to the manipulation depicted in the hypothetical example shown above. One version included exactly the correct share of Trump vs. Biden voters (a Biden advantage of 4.4 percentage points) – we will call it the “balanced version” – and a second version included too many Biden voters (a Biden advantage of 12 percentage points, which was the largest lead seen in a public poll of a major polling organization’s national sample released in the last two weeks of the campaign, as documented by [FiveThirtyEight](#)). We’ll call it the “tilted version.”

But nearly all of Pew Research Center’s public opinion polling on issues is conducted among the *general public* and not just among *voters*. Nonvoters make up a sizable minority of general public survey samples. In our 2020 post-election survey, nonvoters were 37% of all respondents (8% were noncitizens who are ineligible to vote and the rest were eligible adults who reported not voting). It’s entirely possible that the same forces that led polls to underrepresent Trump voters would lead to the underrepresentation of Republicans or conservatives among nonvoters. Thus, we need to produce two versions of the nonvoting public to go along with our two versions of the voters.

Unlike the situation among voters, where we have the national vote margin as a target, we do not have an agreed-upon, objective target for the distribution of partisanship among nonvoters. Instead, for the purposes of demonstrating the sensitivity of opinion measures to changes in the partisan balance of the nonvoter sample, we created a sample with equal numbers of Republicans and Democrats among nonvoters to go with the more accurate election outcome (the Biden 4.4-point margin among voters), and a 10-point Democratic Party affiliation nonvoter advantage to go with the larger (and inaccurate) 12-point Biden margin among voters.² These adjustments, in effect, simulate different samples of the public. In addition to the weighting to generate the candidate preference and party affiliation scenarios, the surveys are weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, education and many other characteristics.³ This kind of weighting, which is common practice among polling organizations, helps ensure that the sample matches the population on characteristics that may be related to the opinions people hold.

The simulation takes advantage of the fact that our principal source of data on public opinion is the American Trends Panel, a set of more than 10,000 randomly selected U.S. adults who have agreed to take regular online surveys from us. We conducted surveys with these same individuals approximately twice per month in 2020, with questions ranging across politics, religion, news consumption, economic circumstances, technology use, lifestyles and many more topics. For this

² The partisan shares among nonvoters in the two versions are arbitrary, chosen simply to demonstrate the effects of a 10-point difference. They do not necessarily represent the current distribution of party affiliation among 2020 nonvoters.

³ Read more about the [ATP’s methodology](#) and see the methodology section of [this report](#) for details about the specific weighting employed in [this study](#).

analysis, we chose a set of 48 survey questions representing a wide range of important topics on nine different surveys conducted during 2020.

After the November election, we asked our panelists if they voted, and if so, for whom. We also collect a measure of party affiliation for all panelists, regardless of their voter status. With this information, we can manipulate the share of Biden vs. Trump voters in each poll, and Democrats vs. Republicans among nonvoters, and look back at their responses to surveys earlier in the year to gauge how our reading of public opinion on issues differs in the two versions.

Before describing the results in more detail, it's important to be explicit about the assumptions underlying this exercise. We can manipulate

the share of voters for each presidential candidate and the share of Democrats and Republicans among nonvoters, but the results may not tell the full story if the Trump and Biden voters in our surveys do not accurately represent their voters in the population. For example, if believers of the internet conspiracy theories known as QAnon are a much higher share of Trump voters in the population than in our panel, that could affect how well our simulation reflects the impact of changing the number of Trump voters. The same is true for our adjustments of the relative shares of Democrats and Republicans. If the partisans in our panel do not accurately reflect the partisans in the general public, we may not capture the full impact of over- or underrepresenting one party or the other.

American Trends Panel surveys used in this report

Interview dates	Number of respondents	Topics in the interview (partial list)
March 10-16, 2020	8,914	Foreign policy goals; Russia
March 19-30, 2020	12,477	Social trust
April 29-May 5, 2020	10,957	Alternative fuels; causes of global climate change; how well U.S. has dealt with pandemic
June 16-22, 2020	4,708	Confidence in social media and technology companies
July 13-19, 2020	10,211	Confidence in various people and institutions to protect personal data
July 27-Aug. 2, 2020	11,001	Presidential approval; trust in government; preference for bigger/smaller government; gender and racial attitudes
Aug. 3-Sept. 20, 2020	13,584	Interest in government and public affairs; following the news
Sept. 8-13, 2020	10,093	Racial attitudes; Black Lives Matter; social media
Nov. 18-29, 2020	12,648	Post-election attitudes; threat of COVID-19; mask wearing; sources of news about the election

Source: Nine interviews with U.S. adults who are members of the American Trends Panel. "What 2020's Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

How much can the balance of these two scenarios affect measures of opinion on issues?

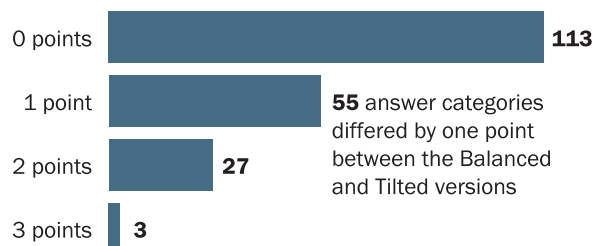
The adjustment from the tilted version (a 12-point Biden advantage with a 10-point Democratic advantage in party affiliation among nonvoters) to the balanced version (a 4.4-point Biden advantage with equal numbers of Democrats and Republicans among nonvoters), makes very little difference in the balance of opinion on issue questions. Across a set of 48 opinion questions and 198 answer categories, most answer categories changed less than 0.5%. The average change associated with the adjustment was less than 1 percentage point, and approximately twice that for the margin between alternative answers (e.g., favor minus oppose). The maximum change observed across the 48 questions was 3 points for a particular answer and 5 points for the margin between alternative answers.

One 3-point difference was on presidential job approval, a measure very strongly associated with the vote. In the balanced version, 39 percent approved of Trump’s job performance, while 58 percent disapproved. In the tilted version, 36 percent approved of Trump’s performance and 60 percent disapproved. Two other items also showed a 3-point difference on one of the response options. In the balanced version, 54% said that it was a bigger problem for the country that people did not see racism that was occurring, compared with 57% among the tilted version. Similarly, in the balanced version, 38% said that the U.S. had controlled the coronavirus outbreak “as much as it could have,” compared with 35% who said this in the tilted version. All other questions tested showed smaller differences.

Opinion questions on issues that have been at the core of partisan divisions in U.S. politics tended to be the only ones that showed any difference between the balanced version and the tilted version. Preference for smaller versus bigger government, a fundamental dividing line between the parties, differed by 2 points between the versions. Perceptions of the impact of immigration on the country, a core issue for Donald Trump, also varied by 2 points between the two versions. The belief that human activity contributes “a great deal” to global climate change was 2 points higher

Most survey answers did not change when comparing ‘balanced’ and ‘tilted’ versions

Number of survey answer categories showing differences of 0, 1, 2 and 3 percentage points between versions



Size of difference between Balanced and Tilted versions

Source: Estimates from nine 2020 Pew Research Center surveys. “What 2020’s Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling”

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

in the tilted version. The share of Americans saying that government should do more to help the needy was 2 points higher in the tilted version than the balanced version.

Despite the fact that news audiences are quite polarized politically, there were typically only small differences between the two versions in how many people have been relying on particular sources for news in the aftermath of the presidential election. The share of people who said that CNN had been a major source of news about the presidential election in the period after Election Day was 2 points higher in the tilted version than the balanced version, while the share who cited Fox News as a major source was 1 point higher in the balanced version than the tilted version.

The complete set of comparisons among the 48 survey questions are shown in the topline at the end of this report.

Estimates differ little between a poll mirroring the election versus one overstating Biden support

% of U.S. adults expressing opinion

	Tilted version	Balanced version
<i>Presidential vote (among voters only)</i>		
Biden	55	51
Trump	43	47
Other	2	2
<i>Trump job approval</i>		
Approve	37	39
Disapprove	60	57
Not sure	3	3
<i>Trust the government in Washington to do what is right ...</i>		
Just about always/most of the time	21	22
Only some of the time	64	64
Never	14	14
Not sure	1	1
<i>How much more difficult, if at all, is it to be a Black person in this country than it is to be a White person?</i>		
A lot more difficult	43	41
A little more difficult	33	34
No more difficult	22	24
Not sure	1	1
<i>How much of a threat, if any, is the coronavirus outbreak for the health of the U.S. population as a whole?</i>		
A major threat	66	64
A minor threat	28	30
Not a threat	6	6
Not sure	0	0

Note: Left-hand column shows simulated 12-point Biden advantage among voters and 10-point Democratic Party affiliation advantage among nonvoters. Right-hand column shows a 4.4-point Biden advantage among voters and equal numbers of Democrats and Republicans among nonvoters. Presidential vote is among voters only; other figures are for the general public.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27–Aug. 2, 2020.

“What 2020’s Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling”

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Why don't big differences in candidate preference and party affiliation result in big differences in opinions on issues?

Opinions on issues and government policies are *strongly*, but not *perfectly*, correlated with partisanship and candidate preference. A minority of people who support each candidate do not hold views that are consistent with what their candidate or party favors. Among nonvoters, support among partisans for their party's traditional positions – especially among Republicans – is even weaker. This fact lessens the impact of changing the balance of candidate support and party affiliation in a poll.

There's almost never a one-to-one correspondence between the share of voters for a candidate and the share of people holding a particular opinion that aligns with the opinion of that candidate's party. Three examples from a summer 2020 survey illustrate the point.

Asked whether they favor a larger government providing more services or a smaller government providing fewer services, nearly one-fourth of Biden's supporters (23%) opted for smaller government, a position not usually associated with Democrats or Democratic candidates. On a question about whether the growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens American values or strengthens its society, nearly one-third of Trump's supporters (31%) take the pro-immigrant view, despite the fact that the Trump administration took a number of steps to limit both legal and illegal immigration. And about one-fourth of Trump's supporters (24%) say that it is the responsibility of the federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage, hardly a standard Republican Party position.

Most of the candidates' voters divide as expected on issues, but some do not

% holding each opinion among voters for each candidate

	All voters	Biden voters	Trump voters
<i>Favor a ...</i>	%	%	%
Smaller government	49	23	81
Bigger government	49	74	18
Not sure	2	3	1
<i>Growing number of newcomers from other countries ...</i>			
Threatens traditional American culture and values	37	13	66
Strengthens American society	61	85	31
Not sure	2	2	3
<i>Responsibility of federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage</i>			
Yes, it is	60	90	24
No, it is not	39	9	75
Not sure	1	1	1

Note: Based on panelists who also took the post-election survey.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27–Aug. 2, 2020.
“What 2020's Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling”

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Shifting the focus to party affiliation among nonvoters, we see even less fidelity of partisans to issue positions typically associated with those parties. For example, nearly half of Republicans and independents who lean Republican but did not vote (47%) said that the growing number of immigrants from other countries strengthens American society. And 43% of them favor a larger government providing more services. A 55% majority of Republican nonvoters in this survey believe that it is the responsibility of the federal government to make sure that all Americans have health insurance coverage. This is still considerably smaller than the share of Democratic nonvoters who think the government is responsible for ensuring coverage (78%), but it is far more than we see among Republican voters.

These “defectors” from the party line, in both directions and among both voters and nonvoters, weaken the ability of changes in the partisan or voting composition of the sample to affect the opinion questions. Adding more Trump voters and Republicans also does add more skeptics about immigration, but nearly a third of the additional Trump voters say immigrants *strengthen* American society, a view shared by about half of Republican nonvoters. This means that our survey question on immigration does not change in lockstep with changes in how many Trump supporters or Republicans are included in the poll. Similarly, the Biden voter group includes plenty of skeptics about a larger government. Pump up his support and you get more supporters of bigger government, but, on balance, not as many as you might expect.

More variation in opinion on issues among nonvoters

% of nonvoters holding each opinion

	All nonvoters %	Dem/lean Dem %	Rep/lean Rep %
<i>Favor a ...</i>			
Smaller government	38	26	55
Bigger government	59	73	43
Not sure	2	3	1
<i>Growing number of newcomers from other countries ...</i>			
Threatens traditional American culture and values	36	23	52
Strengthens American society	61	76	47
Not sure	3	1	1
<i>Responsibility of federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage</i>			
Yes, it is	68	78	55
No, it is not	31	22	45
Not sure	1	*	1

Note: Based on panelists who also took the post-election survey.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 27–Aug. 2, 2020.
“What 2020’s Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling”

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

We want different things from opinion polls and election polls

Not all applications of polling serve the same purpose. We expect and need more precision from election polls because the circumstances demand it. In a closely divided electorate, a few percentage points matter a great deal. In a poll that gauges opinions on an issue, an error of a few percentage points typically will not matter for the conclusions we draw from the survey.

Those who follow election polls are rightly concerned about whether those polls are still able to produce estimates precise enough to describe the balance of support for the candidates. Election polls in highly competitive elections must provide a level of accuracy that is difficult to achieve in a world of [very low response rates](#). Only a small share of the survey sample must change to produce what we perceive as a dramatic shift in the vote margin and potentially an incorrect forecast. As was shown in the graphical simulation earlier, an error of 4 percentage points in a candidate's support can mean the difference between winning and losing a close election. In the context of the 2020 presidential election, a change of that small size could have shifted the outcome from a spot-on Biden lead of 4.4 points to a very inaccurate Biden lead of 12 points.

Differences of a magnitude that could make an election forecast inaccurate are less consequential when looking at issue polling. A flip in the voter preferences of 3% or 4% of the sample can change which candidate is predicted to win an election, but it isn't enough to dramatically change judgments about opinion on most issue questions. Unlike the measurement of an intended vote choice in a close election, the measurement of opinions is more subjective and likely to be affected by how questions are framed and interpreted. Moreover, a full understanding of public opinion about a political issue rarely depends on a single question like the vote choice. Often, [multiple questions](#) probe [different aspects](#) of an issue, including its importance to the public.

Astute consumers of polls on issues usually understand this greater complexity and subjectivity and factor it into their expectations for what an issue poll can tell them. The goal in issue polling is often not to get a precise percentage of the public that chooses a position but rather to obtain a sense of where public opinion stands. For example, differences of 3 or 4 percentage points in the share of the public saying they would prefer a larger government providing more services matter less than whether that is a viewpoint endorsed by a large majority of the public or by a small minority, whether it is something that is increasing or decreasing over time, or whether it divides older and younger Americans.

How do we know that issue polling – even by the different or more lenient standards we might apply to them – is accurate?

The reality is that we don't know for sure how accurate issue polling is. But good pollsters take many steps to improve the accuracy of their polls. Good survey samples are usually weighted to accurately reflect the demographic composition of the U.S. public. The samples are adjusted to match parameters measured in high-quality, high response rate government surveys that can be used as [benchmarks](#). Many opinions on issues are associated with demographic variables such as race, education, gender and age, just as they are with partisanship. At Pew Research Center, we also adjust our surveys to match the population on several other characteristics, including region, religious affiliation, frequency of internet usage, and participation in volunteer activities. And although the analysis presented here explicitly manipulated party affiliation among nonvoters as part of the experiment, our regular approach to weighting also includes a target for party affiliation that helps minimize the possibility that sample-to-sample fluctuations in who participates could introduce errors. Collectively, the methods used to align survey samples with the demographic, social and political profile of the public help ensure that opinions correlated with those characteristics are more accurate.

As a result of these efforts, several [studies](#) have [shown](#) that properly conducted public opinion polls produce estimates very similar to benchmarks obtained from federal surveys or administrative records. While not providing direct evidence of the accuracy of measures of opinion on issues, they suggest that polls can accurately capture a range of phenomena including lifestyle and health behaviors that may be related to public opinion.

But it's also possible that the topics of some opinion questions in polls – even if not partisan in nature – may be related to the reasons some people choose not to participate in surveys. A lack of trust in other people or in institutions such as governments, universities, churches or science, might be an example of a phenomenon that leads both to nonparticipation in surveys and to errors in measures of questions related to trust. [Surveys may have a smaller share of distrusting people](#) than is likely true in the population, and so measures of these attitudes and anything correlated with them would be at least somewhat inaccurate. Polling professionals should be mindful of this type of potential error. And we know that measures of political and civic engagement in polls are biased upward. Polls tend to [overrepresent](#) people interested and engaged in politics as well as those who take part in volunteering and other helping behaviors. Pew Research Center weights its samples to address both of these biases, but there is no guarantee that weighting completely solves the problem.

Does any of this suggest that under-counting Republican voters in polling is acceptable?

No. This analysis finds that polls about public opinion on issues can be useful and valid, even if the poll overstates or understates a presidential candidate's level of support by margins seen in the 2020 election. But this does not mean that pollsters should quit striving to have their surveys accurately represent Republican, Democratic and other viewpoints. Errors in the partisan composition of polls can go in both directions. As recently as 2012, election polls slightly underestimated Barack Obama's support.

Despite cautions from those inside and outside the profession, polling will continue to be judged, fairly or not, on the performance of preelection polls. A continuation of the recent underestimation of GOP electoral support would certainly do further damage to the field's reputation. More fundamentally, the goal of the public opinion research community is to represent the public's views, and anything within the profession's control that threatens that goal should be remedied, even if the consequences for estimates on topics other than election outcomes are small. Pew Research Center is exploring ways to ensure we reach the correct share of Republicans and that they are comfortable taking our surveys. We are also trying to continuously evaluate whether Republicans and Trump voters – or indeed, Democrats and Biden voters – in our samples are fully representative of those in the population.

Limitations of this analysis

One strength of this analysis is that the election is over, and it's not necessary to guess at what Trump support ought to have been in these surveys. And by using respondents' self-reported vote choice measured after the election, we avoid complications from respondents who may have changed their minds between taking the survey and casting their ballot.

However, this study is not without its limitations. It's based on polls conducted by only one organization, Pew Research Center, and these polls are national in scope, unlike many election polls that focused on individual states. The underlying mechanism that weakens the association between levels of candidate support (or party affiliation) and opinions on issues should apply to polls conducted by any organization at any level of geography, but we examined it using only our surveys.

Another important assumption is that the Trump voters and Biden voters who agreed to be interviewed are representative of Trump voters and Biden voters nationwide with respect to their opinions on issues. We cannot know that for sure.

Acknowledgments

This report was made possible by The Pew Charitable Trusts. Pew Research Center is a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts, its primary funder.

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

Research team

Scott Keeter, *Senior Survey Advisor*
Nick Hatley, *Research Analyst*
Arnold Lau, *Research Analyst*
Courtney Kennedy, *Director, Survey Research*

Methodology

Andrew Mercer, *Senior Research Methodologist*
Ashley Amaya, *Senior Research Methodologist*
Nick Bertoni, *Senior Panel Manager*
Jesse Lopez, *Associate Panel Manager*
Dorene Asare-Marfo, *Associate Panel Manager*

Communications and editorial

Rachel Weisel, *Senior Communications Manager*
Calvin Jordan, *Communications Associate*
Travis Mitchell, *Copy Editor*
David Kent, *Copy Editor*

Graphic design and web publishing

Bill Webster, *Information Graphics Designer*
Travis Mitchell, *Digital Producer*

Several others provided helpful comments and input on this study, including Jocelyn Kiley, Carroll Doherty, Bradley Jones, Claudia Deane, Michael Dimock, Robert Y. Shapiro, Michael Delli Carpini and Cliff Zukin.

Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. This report is based on interviews with respondents to nine survey waves of the panel conducted during 2020, including a post-election wave that measured turnout and vote choice in the 2020 presidential election. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is managed by Ipsos.

Panel recruitment

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a random, address-based sample of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2019 and 2020, respectively.

Across these three address-based recruitments, a total of 17,161 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 15,134 (88%) agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. In each household, the adult with the next birthday was asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. Of the 25,076 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 13,568 remained active

American Trends Panel recruitment surveys

Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	2,187
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	1,245
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	622
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS/web	9,396	8,778	5,906
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS/web	5,900	4,720	2,334
June 1 to July 19, 2020	ABS/web	1,865	1,636	1,274
	Total	36,879	25,076	13,568

Note: Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel. "What 2020's Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time the most recent panel wave used in this report was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90% range.⁴ The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

Sample design

The overall target population for this survey was non-institutionalized persons ages 18 and older, living in the U.S., including Alaska and Hawaii.

Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaires for the surveys used here were developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with Ipsos. The web program was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the Ipsos project management team and Pew Research Center researchers. The Ipsos project management team also populated test data which was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the surveys.

Incentives

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$20 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

⁴ AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "[AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling](#)."

Waves used in this study

Here are the nine survey waves used in the study, with interview dates, number of respondents and a partial list of the topics included in the study.

Data quality checks

To ensure high-quality data, the Center’s researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for very high rates of leaving questions blank, as well as always selecting the first or last answer presented. A small number of individuals were removed from each wave as a result of these checks. For additional details, please consult the methodologies for individual waves.

American Trends Panel surveys used in this report

Interview dates	Number of respondents	Topics in the interview (partial list)
March 10-16, 2020	8,914	Foreign policy goals; Russia
March 19-30, 2020	12,477	Social trust
April 29-May 5, 2020	10,957	Alternative fuels; causes of global climate change; how well U.S. has dealt with pandemic
June 16-22, 2020	4,708	Confidence in social media and technology companies
July 13-19, 2020	10,211	Confidence in various people and institutions to protect personal data
July 27-Aug. 2, 2020	11,001	Presidential approval; trust in government; preference for bigger/smaller government; gender and racial attitudes
Aug. 3-Sept. 20, 2020	13,584	Interest in government and public affairs; following the news
Sept. 8-13, 2020	10,093	Racial attitudes; Black Lives Matter; social media
Nov. 18-29, 2020	12,648	Post-election attitudes; threat of COVID-19; mask wearing; sources of news about the election

Source: Nine interviews with members of the general public who are a part of the American Trends Panel.

“What 2020’s Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling”

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Weighting

Most of the data used in this study were subjected to special weighting created for the purpose of simulating two kinds of samples, one that reflected the actual division of the presidential vote at the national level, plus an evenly balanced division of Democrats and Republicans among nonvoters, and the other that reflected a large overstatement of support for Joe Biden and a 10-point Democratic advantage in party affiliation. Both special weights also adjusted the sample to match the actual share of the general public who turned out to vote.

The ATP data was weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey (and the probability of being invited to participate in the panel in cases where only a subsample of respondents were invited). The base weights for panelists recruited in different years are scaled to be

Weighting dimensions

Variable	Benchmark source
Age x Gender	2018 American Community Survey
Education x Gender	
Education x Age	
Race/Ethnicity x Education	
Country of birth among Hispanics*	
Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among Hispanics and Asian Americans*	
Years lived in the U.S.*	
Home internet access*	
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2019 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2017 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life Supplement
Voter registration	2018 CPS Voting and Registration Supplement
Party affiliation	Average of the three most recent Pew Research Center telephone surveys
Frequency of internet use*	2020 National Public Opinion Reference Survey
Religious affiliation*	
Self-reported voter turnout (applied as a final raking variable)	Based on voting eligible population turnout percentage as computed by the U.S. Elections Project
Leaned party affiliation among nonvoters (one version set at equal shares Democratic and Republican; the other set a 10-percentage point Democratic advantage)	Arbitrary for purposes of the simulation
Vote choice among voters (one version matched national vote count; the other set a Biden advantage of 12 percentage points)	National vote count from Cook Political Report; the other is arbitrary for the purposes of the simulation
Frequency of internet use*	2020 National Public Opinion Reference Survey
Religious affiliation*	

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population. The 2020 National Public Opinion Reference Survey featured 1,862 online completions and 2,247 mail survey completions.

Stars indicate exceptions for raking dimensions used. Years lived in the U.S. was not used in the March 10-16, 2020 survey and was only among Hispanics in the March 19 - Mar. 29 and April 29 - May 5, 2020 surveys. Born inside or outside the U.S. was not used in the March 10-16 and March 19-29, 2020 surveys. Country of birth among Hispanics was not used in the July 22 - Aug. 2, 2020 or later surveys. Prior to the Aug. 3 - Sept. 20, 2020 survey, home internet access was used. The Aug. 3 - Sept. 20, 2020 and later surveys used frequency of internet use. Religious affiliation was only used in Aug. 3 - Sept. 20, 2020 and later surveys.

"What 2020's Election Poll Errors Tell Us About the Accuracy of Issue Polling"

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

proportionate to the effective sample size for all active panelists in their cohort. To correct for nonresponse to the initial recruitment surveys and gradual panel attrition, the base weights for all active panelists are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table to create a full-panel weight.

For ATP waves in which only a subsample of panelists are invited to participate, a wave-specific base weight is created by adjusting the full-panel weights for subsampled panelists to account for any differential probabilities of selection for the particular panel wave. For waves in which all active panelists are invited to participate, the wave-specific base weight is identical to the full-panel weight.

The wave-specific base weights for panelists who completed the survey are again calibrated to match the population benchmarks specified above. These weights are trimmed (typically at about the 1st and 99th percentiles) to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights⁵. Sampling errors and test of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

The special weighting for this study employed all of the weighting dimensions normally employed by Pew Research Center when it weights the American Trends Panel with an additional calibration to match desired dimensions for voter turnout, vote choice among voters, and party affiliation among non-voters. As the special weights use arbitrary targets for the purposes of simulation, estimates in the report should not be used to describe the U.S. population.

© Pew Research Center, 2021

⁵ No trimming was done for the additional calibration on turnout, vote choice, and party affiliation among non-voters.

Toplines

American Trends Panel Wave 63.5
March 10-16, 2020
N = 8,914

Which statement comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right? When dealing with major international issues, our country should...

Q8_W63.5	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Take into account the interests of other countries even if it means making compromises with them	65	66	66
Follow its own interests even when other countries strongly disagree	34	32	32
Refused	1	1	1

How much of a threat, if at all, is each of the following to our country? - Russia's power and influence

Q12_c_W63.5	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Major threat	56	56	58
Minor threat	38	37	37
Not a threat	5	5	5
Refused	1	1	1

American Trends Panel Wave 64
March 19-29, 2020
N = 12,477

Generally speaking, would you say that...

SOCTRUST2_W64	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Most people can be trusted	49	49	53
Most people can't be trusted	49	49	46
Refused	1	1	1

American Trends Panel Wave 67
April 29 – May 5, 2020
N = 10,957

Right now, which ONE of the following do you think should be the more important priority for addressing America's energy supply?

EN1_W67	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Developing alternative sources, such as wind, solar and hydrogen technology	79	80	79
Expanding exploration and production of oil, coal and natural gas	20	19	20
Refused	1	1	1

How much do you think human activity, such as the burning of fossil fuels, contributes to global climate change?

EN7_W67	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
A great deal	47	49	49
Some	33	32	32
Not too much	14	13	13
Not at all	6	5	6
Refused	0	0	1

How good of a job has each of the following done in dealing with the coronavirus outbreak? The United States

COVID_COUNTRY_BATT_a_W67	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Excellent	10	10	10
Good	38	37	37
Only fair	31	32	31
Poor	19	20	21
Refused	1	1	1

American Trends Panel Wave 69
June 16-22, 2020
N = 4,708

How much confidence do you have in social media companies to determine which posts on their platforms should be labeled as inaccurate or misleading?

TECHREG2_W69	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
A great deal of confidence	4	5	4
A fair amount of confidence	26	27	27
Not too much confidence	38	38	38
No confidence at all	29	28	29
Refused	2	2	2

Thinking about the role of the government in regulating major technology companies, do you think they should be regulated...

TC5_W69	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
More than they are now	47	47	47
Less than they are now	11	11	11
The same as they are now	39	39	39
Refused	3	3	3

Which of the following statements comes closer to your own view - even if neither is exactly right?

GOVNEEDY_W69	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	56	58	58
The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	41	40	40
Refused	2	2	2

Thinking about the nation's economy... How would you rate economic conditions in this country today?

ECON1_W69	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Excellent	4	4	4
Good	22	21	22
Only fair	44	44	44
Poor	29	30	30
Refused	1	1	1

American Trends Panel Wave 70
July 13-19, 2020
N = 10,211

Compared with five years ago, do you feel your personal information is...

SECUR1_W70	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
More secure	6	6	5
Less secure	68	67	68
About the same	27	27	27
Refused	0	0	0

How confident, if at all, are you that the following groups will keep your personal records safe from hackers or unauthorized users? Public health organizations

RECSAFE_a_W70	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Very confident	12	12	12
Somewhat confident	46	47	47
Not too confident	26	26	26
Not at all confident	15	15	15
Refused	0	0	0

How confident, if at all, are you that the following groups will keep your personal records safe from hackers or unauthorized users? Your medical doctor or health care providers

RECSAFE_b_W70	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Very confident	32	32	32
Somewhat confident	48	49	49
Not too confident	13	13	12
Not at all confident	7	6	6
Refused	0	0	0

How confident, if at all, are you that the following groups will keep your personal records safe from hackers or unauthorized users? The social media sites you use

RECSAFE_c_W70	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Very confident	2	2	2
Somewhat confident	17	17	16
Not too confident	36	37	37
Not at all confident	44	44	44

Refused	0	0	0
---------	---	---	---

How confident, if at all, are you that the following groups will keep your personal records safe from hackers or unauthorized users? The federal government

RECSAFE_d_W70	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Very confident	9	9	8
Somewhat confident	41	41	41
Not too confident	29	29	29
Not at all confident	21	21	21
Refused	0	0	0

How confident, if at all, are you that the following groups will keep your personal records safe from hackers or unauthorized users? Your credit card company

RECSAFE_e_W70	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Very confident	14	14	14
Somewhat confident	48	48	49
Not too confident	23	23	23
Not at all confident	14	14	14
Refused	0	0	0

**American Trends Panel Wave 71
July 27 - August 2, 2020
N = 11001**

How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?

TRUSTFEDGOV_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Just about always	3	3	2
Most of the time	19	18	18
Only some of the time	64	64	65
Never	14	14	14
Refused	1	1	1

If you had to choose, would you rather have...

GOVSIZE1_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
A smaller government providing fewer services	45	43	45
A bigger government providing more services	52	54	52

Refused 2 2 2

According to the U.S. Census Bureau, in the next 25 to 30 years, Black Americans, Latinos, and Asian Americans will make up a majority of the population. In general, do you think that this is...

ETHNCMAJ_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Good for the country	25	26	24
Bad for the country	12	11	11
Neither good nor bad for the country	63	63	64
Refused	1	1	0

Which statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right?

VOTING_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things	61	61	63
Voting by people like me doesn't really affect how government runs things	39	38	36
Refused	1	1	1

How much more difficult, if at all, is it to be a Black person in this country than it is to be a White person?

DIFFBLACK_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
A lot more difficult	41	43	43
A little more difficult	34	33	33
No more difficult	24	22	23
Refused	1	1	1

Which statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right?

WOMENOBS_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
The obstacles that once made it harder for women than men to get ahead are now largely gone	44	43	43
There are still significant obstacles that make it harder for women to get ahead than men	54	56	55
Refused	1	1	1

In general, how much do White people benefit from advantages in society that Black people do not have?

WHADVANT_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
A great deal	32	34	33
A fair amount	27	28	26
Not too much	24	23	23
Not at all	15	14	15

Refused	1	1	1
---------	---	---	---

Do you think it is the responsibility of the federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage?

GOVTHC_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Yes, it is	63	65	63
No, it is not	36	35	37
Refused	1	1	1

Which statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right?

IMMCULT2_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values	38	36	37
The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society	60	62	61
Refused	2	2	2

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

POL1DT_W71	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Approve	39	37	38
Disapprove	57	60	59
Refused	3	3	3

**American Trends Panel Wave 72
August 3 – September 20, 2020
N = 13,584**

Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs...

FOLGOV_W72	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Most of the time	45	45	49
Some of the time	34	34	33
Only now and then	14	14	12
Hardly at all	6	6	5
Refused	0	0	0

Would you say you follow the news...

FOLNEWS_W72	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
All or most of the time	42	42	45
Some of the time	35	35	34
Only now and then	15	15	13
Hardly ever	8	8	7
Refused	0	0	0

**American Trends Panel Wave 74
September 8-13, 2020
N = 10,093**

When it comes to racial discrimination, which do you think is the bigger problem for the country today?

RACESURV6_W74	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
People seeing racial discrimination where it really does NOT exist	44	42	43
People NOT seeing racial discrimination where it really DOES exist	54	57	56
Refused	2	2	2

When it comes to giving Black people equal rights with White people, do you think our country has...

RACESURV12_W74	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Gone too far	16	15	15
Not gone far enough	48	50	49
Been about right	35	33	34
Refused	2	2	2

From what you've read and heard, how do you feel about the Black Lives Matter movement?

BLM_W74	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Strongly support	27	29	29
Somewhat support	27	28	26
Somewhat oppose	15	15	14
Strongly oppose	29	27	30
Refused	1	1	1

In your opinion, how good of a job are social media companies doing when it comes to addressing online harassment or bullying on their platforms?

SMOH_W74	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Excellent	3	3	2
Good	16	16	16
Only fair	47	47	47
Poor	31	31	32
Refused	3	3	3

**American Trends Panel Wave 79
November 18-29, 2020
N = 12,648**

From what you've seen or heard, do you generally think DONALD TRUMP has been delivering the right message or the wrong message to the country following the presidential election?

ELECTTRUMPMSG_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Completely RIGHT message	11	10	11
Mostly RIGHT message	25	23	23
Mostly WRONG message	22	22	21
Completely WRONG message	40	42	43
Refused	2	2	2

From what you've seen or heard, do you generally think JOE BIDEN has been delivering the right message or the wrong message to the country following the presidential election?

ELECTBIDENMSG_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Completely RIGHT message	22	23	24
Mostly RIGHT message	40	41	40
Mostly WRONG message	21	20	20
Completely WRONG message	15	13	14
Refused	3	3	3

How much of a threat, if any, is the coronavirus outbreak for... The health of the U.S. population as a whole

COVIDTHREAT_a_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
A major threat	64	66	65
A minor threat	30	28	29
Not a threat	6	6	5
Refused	0	0	0

Thinking about the problems the country is facing from the coronavirus outbreak, do you think...

COVID_FUT_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
The worst is behind us	28	28	28
The worst is still to come	71	71	71
Refused	1	1	1

Given the current situation with the coronavirus outbreak, would you feel comfortable or uncomfortable doing each of the following? Going out to the grocery store

COVID_COMFORT_a_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Comfortable doing this	75	74	75
Uncomfortable doing this	25	26	24
Refused	0	0	0

In the past month, how often, if ever, have you worn a mask or face covering when in stores or other businesses?

COVIDMASK1_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
All or most of the time	85	86	87
Some of the time	7	7	7
Hardly ever	4	4	4
Never	2	2	2
Have not gone to these types of places	2	2	1
Refused	0	0	0

Thinking now about efforts to produce a vaccine for the coronavirus, COVID-19... If a vaccine to prevent COVID-19 were available today, would you...

COVID_SCI6E_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Definitely get the vaccine	28	29	29
Probably get the vaccine	31	31	31
Probably NOT get the vaccine	22	22	21
Definitely NOT get the vaccine	19	18	18
Refused	1	1	1

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

COVIDCONTROL_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
The U.S. has controlled the outbreak as much as it could have	38	35	36
The U.S. has not controlled the outbreak as much as it could have	61	63	62
Refused	1	1	1

Please indicate whether each of the following has been a source of news for you about the presidential election since polls closed on Election Day (Nov. 3). Fox News Cable Channel

CAMP20NEWS2_a_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Major source	23	22	22
Minor source	33	33	32
Not a source	43	44	45
Refused	1	1	1

Please indicate whether each of the following has been a source of news for you about the presidential election since polls closed on Election Day (Nov. 3). CNN

CAMP20NEWS2_b_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Major source	26	28	27
Minor source	30	31	30
Not a source	43	41	42
Refused	1	1	1

Please indicate whether each of the following has been a source of news for you about the presidential election since polls closed on Election Day (Nov. 3). MSNBC

CAMP20NEWS2_c_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Major source	17	17	17
Minor source	28	28	28
Not a source	55	53	54
Refused	1	1	1

Please indicate whether each of the following has been a source of news for you about the presidential election since polls closed on Election Day (Nov. 3). ABC, CBS, or NBC national network TV

CAMP20NEWS2_d_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Major source	37	38	37
Minor source	36	36	36
Not a source	26	26	26
Refused	0	1	1

Please indicate whether each of the following has been a source of news for you about the presidential election since polls closed on Election Day (Nov. 3). NPR

CAMP20NEWS2_e_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Major source	13	14	14
Minor source	22	22	22
Not a source	64	63	63
Refused	1	1	1

Please indicate whether each of the following has been a source of news for you about the presidential election since polls closed on Election Day (Nov. 3). The New York Times

CAMP20NEWS2_f_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Major source	15	16	16
Minor source	27	27	27
Not a source	57	56	56
Refused	1	1	1

Please indicate whether each of the following has been a source of news for you about the presidential election since polls closed on Election Day (Nov. 3). Washington Post

CAMP20NEWS2_g_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Major source	11	12	12
Minor source	27	28	28
Not a source	60	59	60
Refused	1	1	1

Please indicate whether each of the following has been a source of news for you about the presidential election since polls closed on Election Day. Talk radio, such as Sean Hannity or Rush Limbaugh

CAMP20NEWS2_h_W79	Balanced Version	Tilted Version	As released to the public
Major source	11	11	11
Minor source	19	19	18
Not a source	68	69	70
Refused	1	1	1