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Beyond Red vs. Blue: The Political Typology

Fragmented Center Poses Election Challenges for Both Parties

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About This Report

This is the second report of a multi-part series based on a national survey of 10,013 adults nationwide, conducted January 23-March 16, 2014 by the Pew Research Center. The survey, funded in part through grants from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and supported by the generosity of Don C. and Jeane M. Bertsch, is aimed at understanding the nature and scope of political polarization in the American public, and how it interrelates with government, society and people's personal lives.

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Overview

Even in an increasingly Red vs. Blue nation, the public's political attitudes and values come in many shades and hues.

Partisan polarization – the vast and growing gap between Republicans and Democrats – is a defining feature of politics today. But beyond the ideological wings, which make up a minority of the public, the political landscape includes a center that is large and diverse, unified by frustration with politics and little else. As a result, both parties face formidable challenges in reaching beyond their bases to appeal to the middle of the electorate and build sustainable coalitions.

The latest Pew Research Center political typology, which sorts voters into cohesive groups based on their attitudes and values, provides a field guide for this constantly changing landscape. Before reading further, <u>take our quiz</u> to see where you fit in the typology

The new typology has eight groups: Three are strongly ideological, highly politically engaged and overwhelmingly partisan – two on the right and one on the left. *Steadfast*

<u>Conservatives</u> are staunch critics of government and the social safety net and are very socially conservative. <u>Business</u>

<u>Conservatives</u> share Steadfast Conservatives' preference for limited government, but differ in their support for Wall Street and business, as

The 2014 Political Typology: Polarized Wings, a Diverse Middle

| | Percent of General Regist. Politicall public voters engaged | | | | |
|--|---|----------|----------|--|--|
| | % | % | % | | |
| The Partisan Anchors | 36 | 43 | 57 | | |
| • Steadfast Conservatives Socially conservative populists | 12 | 15 | 19 | | |
| Business Conservatives Pro-Wall Street, pro-immigrant | 10 | 12 | 17 | | |
| Solid Liberals Liberal across-the-board | 15 | 17 | 21 | | |
| Less Partisan, Less Predictable | 54 | 57 | 43 | | |
| • Young Outsiders Conservative views on government, not social issues | 14 | 15 | 11 | | |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics Financially stressed and pessimistic | 13 | 13 | 9 | | |
| Next Generation Left Young, liberal on social issues, less so on social safety net | 12 | 13 | 11 | | |
| Faith and Family Left Racially diverse and religious | 15 | 16 | 12 | | |
| Bystanders | <u>10</u> | <u>0</u> | <u>0</u> | | |
| Young, diverse, on the sidelines of politics | 100 | 100 | 100 | | |
| Ν | 10,013 | 7,999 | 4,767 | | |
| 2014 Political Typology. Figures may not add to 100% because of | | | | | |

rounding. The politically engaged are registered to vote, closely follow public affairs and say they always or nearly always vote.

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well as immigration reform. And Business Conservatives are far more moderate on social issues than are Steadfast Conservatives.

At the other end of the spectrum, <u>Solid Liberals</u> express liberal attitudes across almost every realm – government, the economy and business and foreign policy, as well as on race, homosexuality and abortion – and are reliable and loyal Democratic voters.

Taken together, these three groups form the electoral base of the Democratic and Republican Parties, and their influence on American politics is strong. While Solid Liberals, Steadfast Conservatives and Business Conservatives collectively make up only 36% of the American public, they represent 43% of registered voters and fully 57% of the more politically engaged segment of the American public: those who regularly vote and routinely follow government and public affairs.

The other typology groups are less partisan, less predictable and have little in common with each other or the groups at either end of the political spectrum. The one thing they do share is that they are less engaged politically than the groups on the right or left.

<u>Young Outsiders</u> lean Republican but do not have a strong allegiance to the Republican Party; in fact they tend to dislike *both* political parties. On many issues, from their support for environmental regulation to their liberal views on social issues, they diverge from traditional GOP orthodoxy. Yet in their support for limited government, Young Outsiders are firmly in the Republicans' camp.

Hard-Pressed Skeptics have been battered by the struggling economy, and their difficult financial circumstances have left them resentful of both government and business. Despite their criticism of government performance, they back more generous government support for the poor and needy. Most Hard-Pressed Skeptics say they voted for Obama in 2012, though fewer than half approve of his job performance today.

The <u>Next Generation Left</u> are young, relatively affluent and very liberal on social issues like same-sex marriage and abortion. But they have reservations about the cost of social programs. And while most of the Next Generation Left support affirmative action, they decisively reject the idea that racial discrimination is the main reason why many blacks are unable to get ahead.

The *Faith and Family Left* lean Democratic, based on their confidence in government and support for federal programs to address the nation's problems. But this very religious, racially and ethnically diverse group is uncomfortable with the pace of societal change, including the acceptance of homosexuality and non-traditional family structures.

And finally, an eighth group, the *Bystanders*, representing 10% of the public, are on the sidelines of the political process. They are not registered to vote and pay very little attention to politics.

What is the Typology?

The political typology sorts people into groups based on their attitudes and values, not their partisan labels. It is based on the largest political survey ever undertaken by the Pew Research Center, which also was the data source for our June 12 report <u>Political Polarization in the</u> <u>American Public</u>. The survey was conducted among 10,013 adults from January to March of this

year. The report also includes data from followup interviews with many of the initial survey's respondents as part of the Pew Research Center's newly-created American Trends Panel.

The polarization study found that more Americans today hold consistently liberal or consistently conservative values across a wide range of issues, that Democrats and Republicans are further apart ideologically and that more partisans express deeply negative views of the other political party, with many going so far as to see the other side as a "threat to the nation's well-being."

Even so, most Americans do not view politics through uniformly liberal or conservative lenses, and more tend to stand apart from partisan antipathy than engage in it. But the typology shows that the center is hardly unified. Rather, it is a combination of groups, each with their own mix of political values, often held just

Ideological Consistency vs. the Political Typology

Earlier this year, the Pew Research Center conducted a survey of 10,013 adults nationwide as part of a broad investigation of political changes in the nation. The first report on this data focused on political polarization and used 10 survey questions on political values to gauge how ideologically consistent Americans have become on a traditional left-right index.

The Political Typology represents an entirely different approach to analyzing the American public's values. It looks at a broader range of questions (23 questions) and instead of focusing on a single left-right dimension it uses a cluster analysis to find groups of Americans with similar views across multiple dimensions. While more complex, the typology reveals fissures on the right and left that are not evident in a simpler left-right array. Moreover, it sheds light on the diversity of values represented in the "center."

The two approaches complement one another: Most of the Solid Liberals are consistently liberal in their values, and the Steadfast Conservatives and Business Conservatives combined make up nearly all of the consistent conservatives. See <u>Section 1</u> for a further discussion of how these two approaches relate to each other.

2014 Political Typology.

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as strongly as those on the left and the right, but just not organized in consistently liberal or conservative terms. Taken together, this "center" looks like it is halfway between the partisan wings. But when disaggregated, it becomes clear that there are many distinct voices in the center, often with as little in common with each other as with those who are on the left and the right.

The Pew Research Center's political typology, <u>launched 27 years ago</u>, is an effort to look beyond "Red vs. Blue" in American politics, understanding that there are multiple dimensions to American political thinking, and that many people hold different combinations of values than the predominantly liberal and conservative platforms offered by the two political parties.

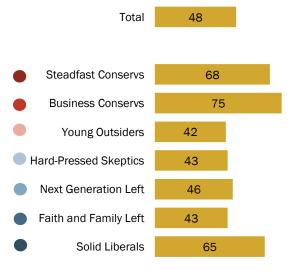
Electoral Implications

The new study highlights the challenges that both parties face heading into the 2014 and 2016 elections. Each can count on strong support from the three staunchly partisan groups; Steadfast Conservatives and Business Conservatives on the right, and Solid Liberals on the left. In all three groups, 2014 midterm preferences are comparable to the overwhelming support these groups gave their party's presidential candidate in 2012.

The middle groups in the typology are less predictable. To be sure, the Faith and Family Left and the Next Generation Left favor Democratic congressional candidates this year by roughly two-to-one margins. But they supported Barack Obama by wider margins in 2012, and their 2014 turnout is suspect. One early indicator of voter turnout is attention to government and public affairs, and fewer than half in these groups are following politics, compared with broad majorities in the more ideological groups.

Middle Typology Groups Least Likely to Follow Government & Public Affairs

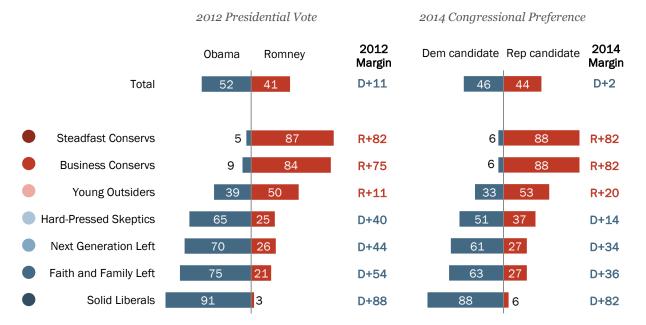
% following government & public affairs most of the time



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And the Hard-Pressed Skeptics – who say they supported Obama over Romney by a 65%-25% margin two years ago – are more closely divided in 2014. As they look toward this year's midterms, 51% plan to vote for the Democrat in their congressional district, while 37% plan to vote Republican. And the Republican-leaning Young Outsiders intend to vote Republican this fall by a somewhat larger margin (20 points) than they did in 2012 (11 points). Yet these groups also are less certain to turn out this fall compared with the more partisan bases.



Voting Preferences of the Typology Groups

% who voted/intend to vote for...

2014 Political Typology. Based on registered voters. 2012 vote based on those who recalled their vote. Other candidates not shown. **PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

Divisions on the Right

The typology study may have even greater relevance for understanding 2016, both for the nomination contests and the general election. In both parties' electoral coalitions, there are fissures on some of the most important dimensions in American politics.

On the right, coalitional politics are focused on the Steadfast Conservatives and Business Conservatives, both of whom lean Republican by overwhelming margins. Combined they make up about a quarter (27%) of all registered voters.

Both groups are overwhelmingly white and mostly male; Steadfast Conservatives are older on average (67% age 50 and older) than Business Conservatives (53%). And while they represent two

clearly different wings of the party – one more downscale and pessimistic, one more wealthy and optimistic – both are reliable GOP voting blocs.

Steadfast Conservatives and Business Conservatives agree that government should be smaller and play less of a role in the economy. They are unified in their intense opposition to President Obama – fully 94% of Steadfast Conservatives and 96% of Business Conservatives disapprove of his job performance. Notably, nearly identical shares of both groups agree with the Tea Party (55% of Business Conservatives, 53% of Steadfast Conservatives).

But these conservative groups differ in three important ways on policy debates that currently divide Republican leaders in Washington.

First, Steadfast Conservatives take very conservative views on key social issues like homosexuality and immigration, while Business Conservatives are less conservative – if not actually progressive – on these issues. Nearly

Steadfast, Business Conservatives Differ over Immigration, Homosexuality

| 9 | , | | - |
|-----------------------------|------|------|------------|
| | | | Steadfast- |
| Where they generally | Cons | Cons | Bus. diff |
| agree | % | % | |
| Disapprove of Barack | | | |
| Obama's job performance | 94 | 96 | -2 |
| Gov't is almost always | | | |
| wasteful & inefficient | 91 | 88 | +3 |
| Gov't is doing too many | | | |
| things better left to | 07 | ~~ | 0 |
| businesses and individuals | 87 | 90 | -3 |
| Gov't aid to the poor does | | | |
| more harm than good | 86 | 80 | +6 |
| U.S. has been successful | | | |
| more because of reliance | 70 | 71 | . 7 |
| on long-standing principles | 78 | 11 | +7 |
| Agree with Tea Party | 50 | | 0 |
| movement | 53 | 55 | -2 |
| Where they differ | | | |
| Immigrants today are a | | | |
| burden because they take | | | |
| jobs, housing, health care | 73 | 21 | +52 |
| Homosexuality should be | | | |
| discouraged by society | 74 | 31 | +43 |
| U.S. efforts to solve world | | | |
| problems usually end up | | ~~ | |
| making things worse | 55 | 20 | +35 |
| Wall Street helps economy | | | |
| more than it hurts | 49 | 74 | -25 |
| As Americans, we can | | | |
| always find ways to solve | 41 | 62 | -21 |
| problems | 41 | 02 | -21 |
| 2014 Political Typology. | | | |
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7

three-quarters of Steadfast Conservatives (74%) believe that homosexuality should be discouraged by society. Among Business Conservatives, just 31% think homosexuality should be discouraged; 58% believe it should be accepted.

Business Conservatives have generally positive attitudes toward immigrants and 72% favor a "path to citizenship" for those in the U.S. illegally, if they meet certain conditions. Steadfast Conservatives are more critical of immigrants; 50% support a path to citizenship, the lowest share of any typology group.

Second, just as Steadfast Conservatives are opposed to big government, they also are skeptical of big business. They believe that large corporations have too much power, and nearly half (48%) say the economic system unfairly favors powerful interests. By contrast, as their name suggests, Business Conservatives are far more positive about the free market, and overwhelmingly regard business – and Wall Street – positively.

Finally, these two conservative groups differ over foreign policy. Steadfast Conservatives have doubts about U.S. international engagement – and view free trade agreements as a bad thing for the U.S. – while Business Conservatives are more supportive of the U.S. taking an active role in world affairs and free trade.

Divisions on the Left

Solid Liberals, who constitute 15% of the public and 17% of registered voters, are the anchor of the Democratic Party's electoral coalition – the most avid and loyal voters, holding liberal views across nearly all issues.

But the party must rely on support from the other Democratically-oriented groups in the typology – the Faith and Family Left and Next Generation Left – to be successful. While each of these groups leans Democratic by wide margins, they diverge from across-the-board liberal thinking in a number of critical ways that have implications for their loyalty and turnout.

The Faith and Family Left is by far the most racially and ethnically diverse group in the typology: In fact, just 41% are white non-Hispanic; 30% are black, 19% are Hispanic and 8% are other or mixed race. The Faith and Family Left also is less affluent and less educated than the other

Strains in the Democratic Coalition over Morality, Homosexuality, Expanding the Social Safety Net

| | Solid Liberals | Faith and Family Left | Next Gen Left |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|------------------|
| Key demographics | % | % | % |
| White | 69 | 41 | 68 |
| Non-white | 29 | 57 | 31 |
| Under 40 | 41 | 31 | 52 |
| College grad+ | 52 | 18 | 38 |
| Where they generally agree | | | |
| Approve of Barack Obama's job performance | 84 | 61 | 66 |
| Government often does a better job than it gets credit for | 70 | 63 | 67 |
| Immigrants today strengthen our country because of hard work, talents | 93 | 70 | 83 |
| Sometimes laws to protect people from themselves are necessary | 77 | 75 | 68 |
| Where they differ | | | |
| Necessary to believe in God to be moral | 11 | 91 | 7 |
| Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard | 29 | 82 | 77 |
| Racial discrimination is the main reason many black people can't get ahead | 80 | 31 | 19 |
| Homosexuality should be accepted by society | 93 | 43 | 88 |
| Gov't should do more for needy even if it means going deeper into debt | 83 | 58 | 39 |
| 2014 Political Typology, Whites do not include | Hispanics, no | n-whites include k | lienanice |

2014 Political Typology. Whites do not include Hispanics; non-whites include Hispanics, African Americans, Asian Americans and those of another or mixed race.

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Democratically-oriented groups, and is older as well.

They also have strong religious convictions, which distinguishes them from Solid Liberals and the Next Generation Left. Fully 91% say "it is necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values." No more than about one-in-ten in the other Democratically-oriented groups agree. And the Faith and Family Left have much more conservative positions on social issues. Just 37% favor same-sex marriage, less than half the share of the other two groups on the left.

The Faith and Family Left support activist government and a strong social safety net, though by less overwhelming margins than Solid Liberals. And while the Faith and Family Left support affirmative action programs, just 31% believe that "racial discrimination is the main reason many black people can't get ahead these days." Among the much less racially diverse Solid Liberals, 80% think racial discrimination is the main barrier to black progress.

The Next Generation Left is the youngest of the typology groups. Roughly half (52%) are younger than 40, and this segment characterizes the liberal leanings of the Millennial (and younger Gen X) cohorts: The Next Generation Left embrace diversity, are generally positive about what government can do and are relatively upbeat about their own – and the nation's – future.

Yet in critical ways, the Next Generation Left have clear differences with Solid Liberals. While supportive of government, they have a fairly individualistic take on opportunity and self-achievement. As a result, they balk at the costs of expanding the social safety net – just 39% say the government should do more to help needy Americans even if it means going deeper into debt.

In addition, the Next Generation Left are less skeptical about business than the other Democratically-oriented groups. While they are no more likely than Solid Liberals to have investments in the stock market, a majority of the Next Generation Left (56%) say that Wall Street does more to help the economy than hurt it, compared with 36% of Solid Liberals.

A Pair of Political 'Wild Cards': Young Outsiders, Hard-Pressed Skeptics

The wild cards in the new political typology are the Young Outsiders and the Hard-Pressed

Skeptics. Both groups have weak partisan leanings, which are reflected in their early preferences in this fall's midterms: Young Outsiders favor the Republican candidate, or lean Republican, by a 53% to 33% margin; Hard-Pressed Skeptics plan to vote Democratic by 51% to 37%.

Whether many will show up at the polls is an open question: They are less likely than the core partisan typology groups to say they always vote.

Nonetheless, Young Outsiders may present an attractive opportunity for the GOP. They are younger and more diverse than Republicans generally. Nearly half are under 40, compared with just 33% among all Republicans. Yet Young Outsiders do not feel very favorably toward the GOP; in fact, nearly as many have a favorable opinion of the Democratic Party (34%) as the Republican Party (39%).

Young Outsiders share Republicans' deep opposition to increased government spending

Young Outsiders Share Republicans' Views on Government, Not Social Issues

| | Total public | Rep/Rep leaners | Young Outsiders |
|---|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| Key demographics | % | % | % |
| White | 66 | 81 | 73 |
| Non-white | 33 | 18 | 26 |
| Under 40 | 38 | 33 | 48 |
| Political views | | | |
| Obama job approval | 44 | 12 | 31 |
| Fav view of Rep Party | 37 | 68 | 39 |
| Fav view of Dem Party | 46 | 14 | 34 |
| Gov't can't afford to do much more for needy Gov't is almost always wasteful and inefficient | 51 56 | 73 75 | 76 75 |
| Stricter environmental laws, regs are worth cost Homosexuality should | 56 | 37 | 68 |
| be accepted by society | 62 | 49 | 78 |
| Favor legalization of marijuana | 54 | 43 | 67 |

2014 Political Typology. Whites do not include Hispanics; nonwhites include Hispanics, African Americans, Asian Americans and those of another or mixed race.

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on social programs. About three-quarters of Young Outsiders (76%) say the government can't afford to spend more to help the needy.

However, the Young Outsiders' generational imprint on issues like homosexuality, diversity and the environment make the Republican Party an uncomfortable fit. In views of societal acceptance of homosexuality, for instance, Young Outsiders have more liberal views than the public overall, and are much more liberal than Republicans.

Similarly, Hard-Pressed Skeptics have ambivalent views of the Democratic Party and disagree with Democrats on major issues as often, if not more, as they agree. Hard-Pressed Skeptics face the

most difficult financial circumstances of any of the typology groups, More than half (56%) have family incomes of less than \$30,000 a year and 67% say they often don't have enough money to make ends meet.

In 2012, Hard-Pressed Skeptics say they voted for Obama over Mitt Romney by more than two-to-one (65% to 25%), but today just 44% approve of the way Obama is handling his job as president; 48% disapprove.

Hard-Pressed Skeptics are not in sync with mainstream Democratic thinking in views of Obama's major policy initiatives – just 40% approve of the Affordable Care Act. And they take more conservative views on social issues, such as homosexuality and abortion, than do rank-and-file Democrats generally.

So why do Hard-Pressed Skeptics remain in the Democrats' camp, however marginally? In part,

Hard-Pressed Skeptics Critical of Government, But Favor More Spending

| | | | 0 |
|--|-----------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| | Total public | Dem/Dem leaners | Hard-Pressed Skeptics |
| Key demographics | % | % | % |
| College grad+ | 27 | 30 | 9 |
| Family income less than \$30,000 | 34 | 38 | 56 |
| Political views | | | |
| Obama job approval | 44 | 73 | 44 |
| Fav view of Rep Party | 37 | 16 | 32 |
| Fav view of Dem Party | 46 | 79 | 46 |
| Gov't is almost always wasteful and inefficient Gov't should do more for | 56 | 40 | 72 |
| needy even if it means going deeper into debt | 43 | 61 | 66 |
| Approve of Affordable Care Act | 41 | 70 | 40 |
| Homosexuality should be accepted by society | 62 | 74 | 49 |
| 2014 Political Typology. | | | |
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it may be because of their strong support for increased government social spending. Even though they take a dim view of government performance, 66% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics say the government should do more for the needy even if it means adding to the debt. That is little different from the 61% of all Democrats who favor more aid for the needy.

And while Hard-Pressed Skeptics are not enthusiastic about the Democratic Party, in some ways they are even more critical of the GOP. For instance, about half of Hard-Pressed Skeptics (53%) believe that the Democratic Party cares about the middle class. But just 26% say the same about the Republican Party.

The More Things Change...

The Pew Research Center created its first political typology in <u>1987</u>, when President Ronald Reagan was reeling from the Iran-Contra affair and the front-runners for the upcoming presidential election were Sen. Gary Hart for the Democrats and Vice President George H.W. Bush for the GOP.

Much has changed in politics over the past 27 years, of course. But some of the same fissures we identified in that first typology are still evident today. Today, **Business Conservatives** hold much more liberal positions on homosexuality and morality than do the other largely Republican group, **Steadfast Conservatives**. In 1987, **Enterprise Republicans** were much more tolerant than **Moral Republicans** on many of the social policy issues of the time, such as whether or not school boards should have the right to fire homosexual teachers.

On the left today, the majority-non-white *Faith and Family Left* is highly religious and has much more conservative attitudes about the acceptability of homosexuality and abortion than do the *Next Generation Left* or *Solid Liberals*. But this same fissure existed in the late 1980s between what we then described as the *Partisan Poor* and *Passive Poor* and the more upscale *60s Democrats* and *Seculars*.

Every Typology study between 1987 and 2014 has found a very downbeat, financially stressed group who is skeptical of government, yet supports the programs that assist people facing economic disadvantages. Over time, we have referred to them as the *Disaffected*, the *Embittered* or today the *Hard-Pressed Skeptics*, and their political leanings have varied with administrations, issues and economic conditions.

But not all has been constant in the political typology, reflecting changing generational, demographic and political contexts. An anchor of the Democratic Party in 1987 was the **New Dealers**, representing the generation raised during economic strife and World War II. With the New Deal generation largely gone, the Democratic coalition now leans heavily on the **Next Generation Left**, who are more socially liberal than their predecessors, but also somewhat more economically conservative.

And the appearance of the **Young Outsiders** is a new group in the political landscape. Previous typology studies have found right-leaning groups, such as the **Pro Government Conservatives** in 2005, who proved critical to George W. Bush's reelection. Drawn to the GOP coalition by the party's positions on security issues and morality, they otherwise supported a more expansive view of government and social programs. The **Young Outsiders** today are very different, as they share

the GOP base's deep skepticism of government programs, but favor a more limited foreign policy, and hold decidedly liberal social views.

About the Study

This is the second report of a multi-part series on political polarization based on a national survey of 10,013 adults nationwide, conducted January 23-March 16, 2014 by the Pew Research Center and funded in part through grants from the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation and supported by the generosity of Don C. and Jeane M. Bertsch.

The first report, <u>released June 12</u>, focused on the nature, scope and trajectory of political polarization in the American public, and how it interrelates with government, society and people's personal lives.

This report uses <u>cluster analysis to sort people into cohesive groups</u>, based on their responses to 23 questions covering an array of political attitudes and values. First developed in 1987, the Pew Research Center's political typology has provided a portrait of the electorate at various points across five presidencies; the last typology study was released in <u>May 2011</u>.

Over the course of 2014, the project will further explore the various factors that contribute to – or stem from – political polarization. A September report will examine how political polarization is linked to people's information environments: Their news sources, social media habits and interpersonal communication networks. Other reports will look at how political polarization relates to where people live, their political environments, how they view themselves and others around them, their socioeconomic circumstances, generational changes and broader sociological and psychological personality traits.

About the Data

The data in this report are based on three independent survey administrations with the same randomly selected, nationally representative group of respondents. The first is the center's largest survey on domestic politics to date: the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey, a national telephone survey of 10,013 adults, on landlines and cell phones, from January through March of this year. The other two surveys involved impaneling subsets of these respondents into the newly created American Trends Panel and following up with them via surveys conducted by Web, mail and telephone. The surveys are described in detail in the <u>About the Surveys</u> section of the report.

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Section 1: The Political Typology, Identity and Attitudes

This political typology is the sixth such study, following on previous studies in <u>1987</u>, <u>1994</u>, <u>1999</u> <u>2005</u> and <u>2011</u>. The typologies developed by the Pew Research Center are designed to describe the political landscape in some detail, going beyond self-identified partisanship or ideology. This year's typology segments people based on their combination of 23 political values and beliefs. You can find your own place in the political typology using <u>our online interactive</u>.

Our recent report on <u>political polarization</u>, which used the same survey analyzed in this report, found a rise in the share of the public that is consistently liberal or consistently conservative. These across-the-board liberals and conservatives are in full view in the typology, largely found in three loyal partisan groups: **Solid Liberals** on the left and **Business Conservatives** and **Steadfast Conservatives** on the right. The remaining four typology groups also each have a partisan imprint, but people in these groups do not fit as neatly into ideological molds.

However, a significant limitation of the ideological scale used in the polarization report is that it treats political ideology as a single left-right scale. This approach is valuable in terms of tracking levels of ideological consistency over time, but it does a poor job of describing the political "center" other than that they don't hold consistently liberal or consistently conservative views.

By taking into account a wider range of values, and looking for unique combinations of values, the political typology finds that the political "center" is remarkably fragmented and diverse. In fact, several of the groups that hold a mix of liberal and conservative views are nearly as politically distant from one another as Solid Liberals are from Steadfast or Business Conservatives. For instance, the **Faith and Family Left** hold liberal positions on the size of government and the social safety net but diverge from other Democratic groups in their degree of social conservatism. By contrast, **Young Outsiders**, a right leaning group, diverge from the conservative groups in their social liberalism, while holding deeply conservative values about the role of government and the social safety net. Both of these groups are ideologically mixed, but in different ways.

Similarly, though few among either Hard-Pressed Skeptics or the Next Generation Left are ideologically consistent in their political values, and both groups have a Democratic cast, their political values are more different than similar. **Hard-Pressed Skeptics** are generally isolationist when it comes to foreign policy, and critical of government even as they support the social safety net, while the **Next Generation Left** favors U.S. engagement with other nations and is generally supportive of government, although lukewarm in its support for the social safety net.

Creating the Typology

The typology divides the public into seven politically engaged groups, along with an eighth group of politically disengaged Bystanders. These groups are defined by their social and political values using 23 survey questions that address attitudes about government, business, privacy, foreign policy, the social safety net, individualism, religion, homosexuality, the environment, immigration and race. These measures are based on broadly oriented values designed to measure a person's underlying belief about what is right and wrong, acceptable or unacceptable, or what the government should or should not be involved in. The political typology is *not* based on opinions about political leaders, parties or current issues, nor are demographic characteristics used in its creation.

The current typology is a departure from past typologies, since it does not take partisan affiliation or personal financial circumstances into account in creating the groups. Yet despite the absence of these inputs into the typology, the groups sort fairly cleanly along party lines. The full set of questions—along with more details on how the groups are constructed—can be found <u>here</u>.

Ideological Consistency and the Typology Groups

Solid Liberals, as the name suggests, tend to hold liberal views across all value dimensions. This group is overwhelmingly Democratic: 89% call themselves Democrats or lean toward the Democratic Party, 91% voted for Barack Obama in 2012, and 88% intend to vote Democratic in the 2014 midterms.

Though just 12% of Americans hold consistently liberal positions, Solid Liberals make up the vast majority (82%) of that group; 68% of Solid Liberals are consistently liberal, while an additional 30% are mostly liberal in their political values.

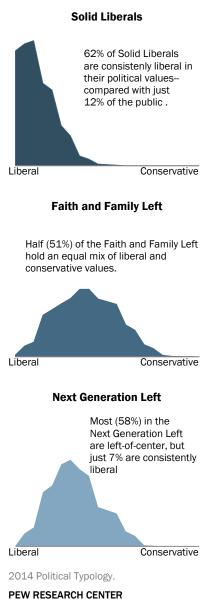
While Democratic candidates can largely count on the support of Solid Liberals, the **Faith and Family Left** and the **Next Generation Left** are important, but less reliable, members of the Democratic coalition. Each of these groups has a decidedly Democratic orientation, but they diverge from across-the-board liberal thinking in a number of critical ways that have implications for their loyalty and enthusiasm.

The Faith and Family Left are far more religious and socially conservative than other Democratically-oriented groups. But that is coupled with a strong support for government and a commitment to the social safety net. Overall, 51% of the Faith and Family Left hold about an equal mix of liberal and conservative values, while 38% are mostly liberal in their ideological leanings; just 6% are consistently liberal.

The political values of the **Next Generation Left** are generally liberal, but they diverge from Solid Liberals in expressing somewhat less support for the social safety net and more positive views of business. In addition, this group's individualistic streak shows through in its views on race; unlike Solid Liberals, most in the Next Generation Left think that society has made the necessary changes to give blacks and whites equal rights. But in other realms they are deeply liberal; they are supporters of

The Democratic-Leaning Groups

Distribution on a 10-item scale of political values



government, environmental protection and have positive views of immigrants. Still, their mix of

political values means that in contrast to Solid Liberals, even as 59% are left-of-center (with the remainder holding about an equal number of liberal and conservative positions), just 7% have down-the-line liberal political values.

How we Define "Ideological Consistency"

We utilize a scale composed of 10 questions to gauge people's ideological worldview. The questions cover a range of political values including attitudes about size and scope of government, the social safety net, immigration, homosexuality, business, the environment, foreign policy and racial discrimination. The scale is designed to measure how consistently liberal or conservative people's responses are across these various dimensions of political thinking (what some refer to as ideological 'constraint.' See <u>appendix A</u> of the polarization report for more detail.

Two groups: Young Outsiders and Hard-Pressed Skeptics are political wildcards-both are

heavily cross-pressured in their core political values, though in distinctly different ways. As a

result, members of both groups don't find either the Democratic or Republican Party a comfortable fit with their mix of beliefs.

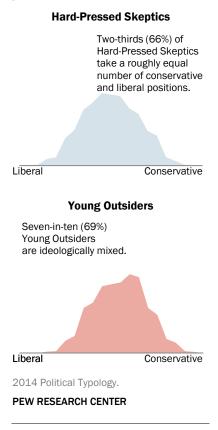
Hard Pressed Skeptics have a Democratic leaning, but their ties to the party are weak; while they voted for Obama over Romney by a wide margin (65% to 25%), they favor Democratic candidates over Republicans by just 14 points (51% to 37%) in the upcoming congressional elections. And despite their 2012 support for Obama, as many now disapprove of his performance as approve.

In contrast to other Democratic-leaning groups, Hard-Pressed Skeptics are distrustful of government and express highly negative attitudes towards immigrants. Yet they are nearly as full-throated in their support for government programs to alleviate poverty as Solid Liberals. This support for the social safety net may reflect their own financial precariousness—Hard-Pressed Skeptics are the lowest-income group in the typology.

Not surprisingly given these competing values, about two-thirds of Hard-Pressed Skeptics (66%) take a nearly even number of liberal and conservative positions across a range of political values; the remaining one-third are equally likely to be mostly conservative (16%) or mostly liberal (17%) in their overall orientation.

The Political Wildcards

Distribution on a 10-item scale of political values



The other wild card group, Young Outsiders, is similarly ideologically divided: Most (70%) hold an equal number of liberal and conservative values. And, like Hard-Pressed Skeptics, they are generally deeply distrustful of government. Yet despite sharing the ideological center with the Hard-Pressed, these groups share little else in common.

These Young Outsiders currently gravitate toward the Republican Party based on their fiscal conservatism and distrust of government. Yet, like the Next Generation Left, Young Outsiders tend to be very liberal on social issues, very secular in their religious orientation and are generally open to immigration.

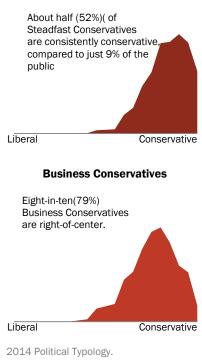
Unlike on the left, where the Solid Liberals are a single, ideologically consolidated bloc, consistently conservative Americans split into two groups in the political typology: **Business Conservatives** and **Steadfast Conservatives**. Both groups are overwhelmingly Republican in their political preferences, and are in complete agreement that government should be smaller and play less of a role in the economy. And both groups also express little support for the social safety net, overwhelmingly oppose environmental regulations and take an assertive foreign policy stance.

As a result, nearly all (97%) Americans with consistently conservative values are in one of these groups. Yet there is not wholesale agreement on the political right. Steadfast Conservatives hold very conservative social values and express very negative attitudes about immigrants. Business Conservatives generally view immigrants positively and are moderate—or even liberal—in their attitudes about homosexuality. And while Steadfast Conservatives oppose the government taking an active role in economic regulation, they are also fairly skeptical about the fairness of the free market and the influence large businesses have. By contrast, Business Conservatives hold more conservative views in these realms.

A Divided Right

Distribution on a 10-item scale of political values

Steadfast Conservatives





The Typology and Party Affiliation

More than eight-in-ten Steadfast Conservatives (84%) and Business Conservatives (86%) identify with or lean to the Republican Party, and 89% of Solid Liberals identify with or lean to the Democratic Party. In their voting behavior, as well as their opinions about the two parties and their leaders, those in these groups are politically "locked-in."

Other groups are less uniformly Republican or Democratic. While the Faith and Family Left and Next Generation Left are predominantly Democratic, about a quarter of those in each of these groups identify with or lean toward the GOP. Hard-Pressed Skeptics also tilt Democratic, yet 32% are Republican or lean Republican. Young Outsiders are also divided, though with a preference for the GOP: 49% identify with or lean to the Republican Party, while 35% are, or lean, Democratic.

Notably, substantial shares of all seven groups – including the three groups that are near uniform in their political preferences – choose not to identify with a political party. The two youngest groups, the Next Generation Left and Young Outsiders, are the most likely to embrace the independent label. About half of those in both groups call themselves political independents. But more than four-in-ten Business Conservatives (44%) and a third of Steadfast Conservatives (33%), also call themselves political independents, with most of those saying they lean to the Republican Party. And about a third (34%) of Solid Liberals say they are independent, with most of those leaning to the Democratic Party.

| | Rep/ Lean Rep | Dem/ Lean Dem | No Leaning | Repub- lican | Demo- crat | Indepen- dent | Lean Rep | Lean Dem |
|-------------------------|------------------|------------------|---------------|-----------------|---------------|------------------|-------------|-------------|
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 39 | 48 | 13=100 | 22 | 31 | 41 | 17 | 17 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Steadfast Conservatives | 84 | 7 | 9=100 | 56 | 5 | 33 | 28 | 2 |
| Business Conservatives | 86 | 6 | 8=100 | 49 | 4 | 44 | 37 | 2 |
| Young Outsiders | 49 | 35 | 16=100 | 23 | 21 | 51 | 26 | 15 |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | 32 | 53 | 15=100 | 17 | 37 | 41 | 15 | 16 |
| Next Generation Left | 25 | 65 | 10=100 | 12 | 35 | 49 | 13 | 29 |
| Faith and Family Left | 26 | 61 | 13=100 | 18 | 46 | 30 | 8 | 15 |
| Solid Liberals | 5 | 89 | 5=100 | 3 | 61 | 34 | 2 | 28 |

Party Identification Across the Typology Groups

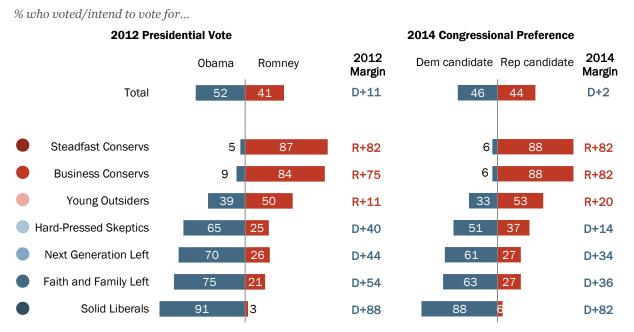
2014 Political Typology. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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How the Typology Groups Vote

Both the groups' current preferences for the 2014 congressional election and their presidential votes in 2012 closely mirror their partisan makeup. In their preferences for 2014, the vast majority of Solid Liberals (88%) and clear majorities of the Next Generation Left (61%) and the Faith and Family Left (63%) support Democratic candidates.

Hard-Pressed Skeptics also favor Democrats, though by a considerably narrower margin (51% support Democrats, 37% Republicans). On the other side of the aisle, overwhelming majorities of Steadfast Conservatives (88%) and Business Conservatives (88%) favor Republican candidates, while the GOP also enjoys a 20-point advantage among Young Outsiders.



Voting Preferences of the Typology Groups

2014 Political Typology. PVOTE, QB27, QB27a. Based on registered voters. 2012 vote based on those who recalled their vote. Other candidates not shown.

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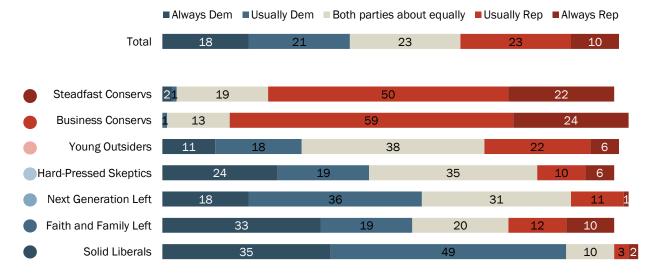
In large part, preferences in this year's election are similar to vote patterns in the 2012 presidential vote. But the Democratic shares of the votes among several groups—particularly Hard-Pressed Skeptics and the Faith and Family Left—have declined. In 2012, Obama won Hard-Pressed Skeptics by a 40-point margin; Democratic congressional candidates now lead Republican candidates among this group by a much slimmer 14-point margin. And although the Faith and

Family Left remains more than twice as likely to vote Democratic this fall, the 54-point margin Obama enjoyed among this group has narrowed to 36 points.

Voting Across Party Lines

Looking at voting behavior more broadly, Young Outsiders are particularly divided in their political leanings: 29% say they always or usually vote Democratic, 28% say they always or usually vote Republican, and 38% say they vote about equally for both parties. About a third (35%) of Hard-Pressed Skeptics also split their votes about equally between the two parties, though among the remaining two-thirds, far more say they vote Democratic than Republican (42% vs. 16%).

The political loyalty of other left groups is also not universal. Although most of those in the Next Generation Left (54%) say they always or usually vote Democratic, about three-in-ten (31%) say they vote about equally for candidates from both parties, and 12% vote mostly for Republicans. Similarly, 52% of the Faith and Family Left say they always or usually vote Democratic, with another 20% splitting their votes about evenly and a sizeable minority (22%) always or usually voting Republican.



Ticket Splitting Common among Groups in the Middle of the Typology

In national and statewide elections in recent years, % who say they have voted...

2014 Political Typology. QC142. Based on registered voters. Don't know/Never voted/Vote for other parties not shown.

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Views of the Tea Party

Support for the Tea Party is concentrated about evenly within the two conservative typology groups: 53% of Steadfast Conservatives and 55% of Business Conservatives say they agree with the Tea Party (few disagree, as most others in these groups have no opinion of the movement).

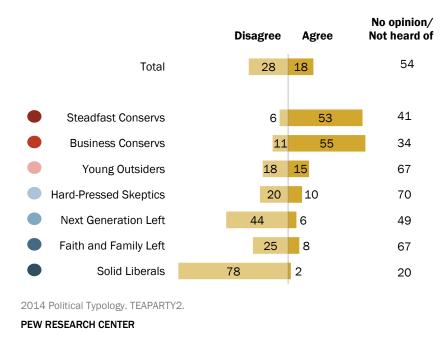
Young Outsiders - the other Republican leaning group have little affinity for the Tea Party. Two-thirds (67%) have no opinion of the Tea Party, and of those who do, slightly more disagree (18%) than agree (15%) with the movement.

Groups with a Democratic

leaning express more disagreement than agreement, although to varying degrees. More than three-quarters of Solid Liberals (78%) say they disagree with the Tea Party. And while 49% of the Next Generation Left have no opinion of the Tea Party, nearly as many (44%) say they disagree with it. Few of the Faith and Family Left or Hard-Pressed Skeptics have an opinion about the movement, though the balance of opinion among those in these groups who do rate the Tea Party is also negative.

Tea Party Draws Little Support Aside From Steadfast **Conservatives. Business Conservatives**

Do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either wau?



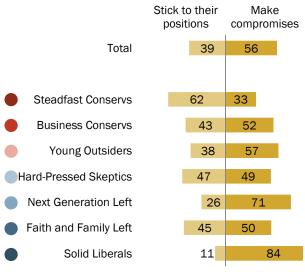
Most Groups Support Political Compromise

Overall, more Americans say they prefer elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with than those who stick to their positions (56% vs. 39%). Support for officials who compromise is strongest among Solid Liberals (84%) and the Next Generation Left (71%), while smaller majorities of Young Outsiders (57%) and Business Conservatives (52%) also prefer politicians who make compromises.

Both the Faith and Family Left and Hard-Pressed Skeptics are more divided on the question. And reflecting their name, Steadfast Conservatives stand out as the only group in which a majority (62%) prefers elected officials who remain steadfast, sticking to their positions rather than compromising.

Business Conservatives Far More Likely Than Steadfast to Favor Compromise

% saying they like elected officials who...



2014 Political Typology. Q51mm.

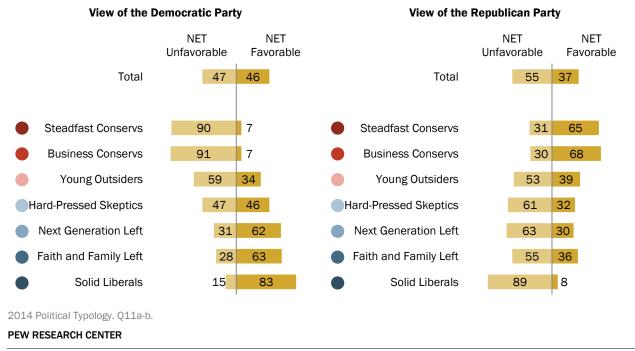
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Views of the Parties

To a large extent, views of the two parties mirror the underlying partisan composition of the typology groups. But in some cases, ratings of the two parties reveal a more generalized frustration with politics.

More than eight-in-ten Solid Liberals (83%) have a favorable opinion of the Democratic Party, and 89% view the GOP negatively. About six-in-ten of the Next Generation Left (62%) and the Faith and Family Left (63%) view the Democratic Party positively, with majorities in both of these groups holding an unfavorable view of the Republican Party.

Though a Democratic-leaning group, Hard-Pressed Skeptics are split in their views of the Democratic Party (46% favorable, 47% unfavorable) and have a largely unfavorable view of the GOP (32% favorable, 61% unfavorable). And although they tilt Republican in their preferences, Young Outsiders are the only group with a majority negative view of both the Democratic (59% unfavorable) and Republican (53% unfavorable) parties.



Young Outsiders View Both Parties Unfavorably

About nine-in-ten Steadfast Conservatives (90%) and Business Conservatives (91%) have an unfavorable opinion of the Democratic Party. Yet despite their strong Republican loyalty, their

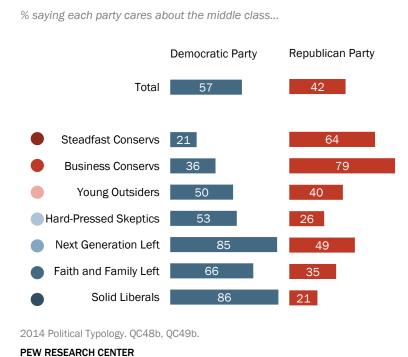
view of the GOP is muted; about two-thirds in both groups express a favorable view of the Republican Party.

Which Party Cares about Middle Class? More Say the Democrats

Among the public overall, 57% say the Democratic Party cares about the middle class, while only

42% say the same about the GOP. The Democrats' advantage on this trait is evident across five of the seven typology groups. Only Steadfast and Business Conservatives give the Republican Party better marks on this measure.

Although both Young Outsiders and Hard-Pressed Skeptics are more likely to say Democrats care about the middle class than to say this about Republicans, neither party performs particularly well on this measure among these groups. Half (50%) of Young Outsiders say the Democratic Party cares about the middle class, while 40% say the



Hard-Pressed Skeptics, Young Outsiders Not Impressed with Either Party's Efforts on Behalf of Middle Class

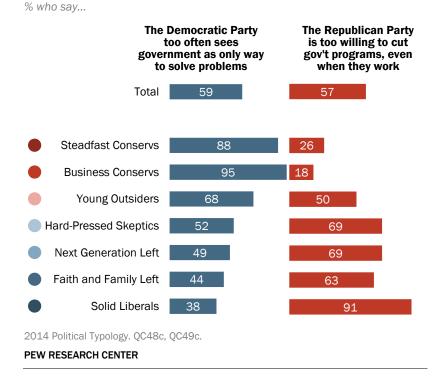
Republican Party does. Similarly, about half (53%) of Hard-Pressed Skeptics say the Democratic Party cares about the middle class, though here the GOP lags far behind, as only 26% say the same about the Republican Party.

Critiques of Both Parties' Approaches to Government

To test views of the parties further, the survey offered two criticisms of the Democratic and Republican parties, which majorities agreed with. About six-in-ten Americans (59%) say the Democratic Party "too often sees government as the only way to solve problems." Roughly the same share (57%) say the Republican Party "is too willing to cut government programs, even when they work."

These criticisms of *both* parties are common in the middle Typology groups. About twothirds of Young Outsiders (68%) say the Democratic Party is too reliant on government to

Many Say Democrats too Reliant on Government Solutions, Republicans too Quick to Cut Programs



solve problems, but half (50%) also say that the GOP is too quick to cut working programs. Similarly, while about seven-in-ten (69%) Hard-Pressed Skeptics and those in the Next Generation Left say the Republican Party is too willing to cut programs, about half of those in each of these groups say Democrats too often see government as the solution.

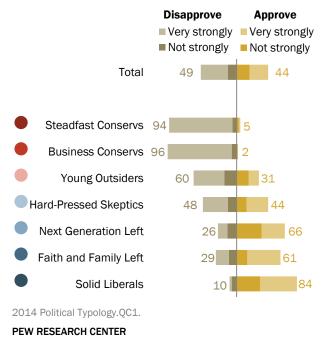
Not surprisingly, the critiques of the other side resonate with the overwhelming majority of Steadfast Conservatives, Business Conservatives and Solid Liberals. But about four-in-ten (38%) Solid Liberals also say the Democratic Party too often relies on government solutions, while a quarter of Steadfast Conservatives (26%) say the GOP is too quick to cut effective government programs.

Polarized Views of Obama

Not surprisingly, views of Barack Obama are highly polarized. Solid Liberals are his strongest supporters; 84% approve of how Obama is handling his job. Obama also fares well among the Faith and Family Left (61% approve) and the Next Generation Left (66% approve). But nearly all Steadfast (94%) and Business (96%) Conservatives disapprove of Obama's performance—and most of those say they very strongly disapprove. By about twoto-one (60% vs. 31%) Young Outsiders also express more disapproval than approval.

Though Obama won Hard-Pressed Skeptics in 2012, they are currently divided in their evaluations of his job performance: 48% disapprove, 44% approve.

Hard-Pressed Skeptics Divided in Views of Obama's Performance



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Hillary Clinton Popular with Democratic Groups, Hard-Pressed Skeptics

Hillary Clinton is viewed positively by all four groups with a Democratic tilt. Nearly nine-in-ten Solid Liberals (88%), seven-in-ten in the Faith and Family Left (70%) and Next Generation Left (70%) view her favorably. And while Hard-Pressed Skeptics are split in their views of Obama's job performance, they hold a favorable impression of Hillary Clinton by roughly two-to-one (62% vs. 32%).

While Young Outsiders are divided in their views of Clinton, (51% favorable, 46% unfavorable), more than eight-in-ten Steadfast (85%) and Business (86%) Conservatives view her unfavorably. And most of those opinions are *very* unfavorable.

Nancy Pelosi elicits a similarly strongly negative reaction from the two conservative groups: 85% of Steadfast Conservatives and 88% of Business Conservatives have an unfavorable opinion of the House Minority leader—and nearly all of those opinions are very unfavorable. By two-to-one, Young Outsiders also view Pelosi more negatively than positively (57% unfavorable, 19% favorable).

Very unfavorable Mostly unfavorable Mostly favorable **Hillary Clinton Nancy Pelosi Elizabeth Warren** Total Steadfast Conservs Business Conservs 86 Young Outsiders Hard-Pressed Skeptics Next Generation Left Faith and Family Left Solid Liberals

Clinton Viewed Favorably by Many in the Middle; Pelosi and Warren Are Not

% who say their view is...

2014 Political Typology. ATP(W3): FAVPOL. Those who did not rate not shown.

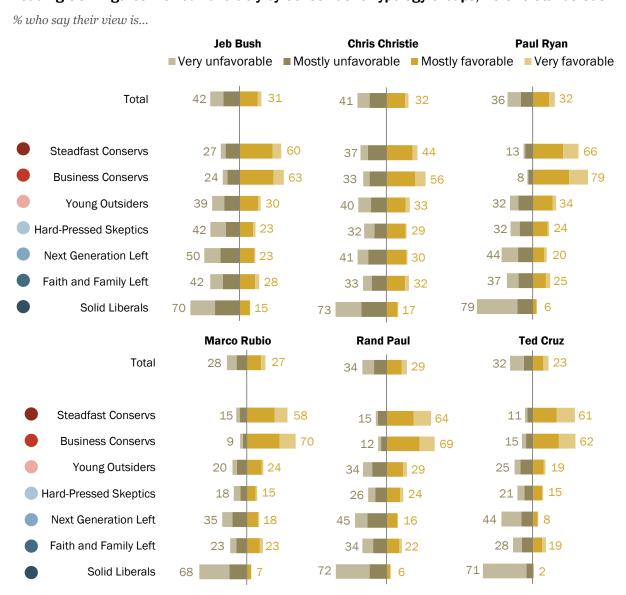
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Opinions about Pelosi are largely positive among both Solid Liberals (65% favorable, 23% unfavorable), and the Faith and Family Left (41% favorable, 26% unfavorable), but the former Speaker splits the Next Generation Left (38% favorable, 38% unfavorable), and is in negative territory among Hard-Pressed Skeptics (26% favorable, 39% favorable).

Elizabeth Warren is lesser known among all typology groups, but is broadly liked by Solid Liberals: 61% view her favorably, including 40% saying their opinion is very favorable. In contrast, Steadfast and Business Conservatives give the Massachusetts senator negative marks (while only around half of those in these groups rate her, those ratings are mostly negative). Other groups are both less likely to rate Warren overall, and those who do are more mixed in their views of her, although those in the Next Generation Left view Warren more positively than negatively by about two-to-one.

Cruz Draws Ire of the Left

There is little difference in how many leading Republicans are viewed by the two core GOP groups: Steadfast Conservatives and Business Conservatives. Large majorities in both of these groups have favorable views of Jeb Bush, Rand Paul, Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio and Paul Ryan. Though both groups also view Chris Christie more positively than negatively, a third (33%) of Business



Leading GOP Figures Viewed Favorably by Conservative Typology Groups; No One Stands Out

2014 Political Typology. ATP(W3): FAVPOL. Those who did not rate not shown.

Conservatives and 37% of Steadfast Conservatives have an unfavorable view of the New Jersey Governor. But none of these figures find much support from Young Outsiders, many of whom don't even rate these Republican leaders. Among those who do provide ratings, opinions are divided. And Hard-Pressed Skeptics are also divided over most of these figures.

All six of these men elicit unfavorable views from more than two-thirds of Solid Liberals, with many saying their views are very unfavorable. But Ted Cruz stands out as a particular lightning rod for Solid Liberals: 71% view him unfavorably, including 62% who say their view is very unfavorable.

Section 2: Views of the Nation, the Constitution and Government

The typology groups differ markedly in their attitudes about America's future, its standing in the world and the factors behind the nation's success.

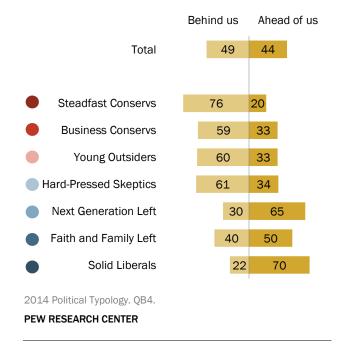
The public generally is divided about the nation's future: 49% think the country's best years are behind us, while 44% say the best years lie ahead.

Pessimism about the country's future is most prevalent among Steadfast Conservatives – fully 76% believe that "the country's best years are behind us," as do 59% of Business Conservatives. However, a negative outlook extends to the middle of the typology – 61% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics and 60% of Young Outsiders say the U.S. has already seen its best years.

By contrast, Solid Liberals and the Next Generation Left say the best is yet to come for the United States. Wide majorities of both groups (70% and 65%, respectively) say the

Optimism about Nation's Future Highest among Solid Liberals, Next Gen Left

% who say the United States' best years are ...



country's best years lie ahead. By a narrow margin, the Faith and Family Left also are more likely to say the best years are ahead (50%) than in the past (40%).

While there are divides in views over whether the country's best years are in the past or future, large majorities of all groups see the U.S. as either one of the greatest countries in the world or *the* greatest country in the world.

Overall, 58% say the U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others; 28% say the U.S. stands above all other countries. Just 12% say there are other countries that are better than the U.S.

Belief that the U.S. stands alone in the world is most prevalent among Steadfast Conservatives, Business

Most Say U.S. Is Among the Greatest Countries, But Does Not 'Stand Above All Others'

% who say...

The U.S. stands above all other countries The U.S. is one of the greatest countries, along with some others There are other countries that are better than the U.S. Total 28 58 12 Steadfast Conservs 46 46 7 **Business Conservs** 43 55 Young Outsiders 16 64 19 Hard-Pressed Skeptics 29 54 15 12 Next Generation Left 20 67 Faith and Family Left 39 51 8 11 71 Solid Liberals 16

2014 Political Typology. QC56. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Conservatives and the Faith and Family Left. Though they see the country's best years in the past, Steadfast Conservatives are as likely to say the U.S. stands above all other countries (46%) as say the U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others (46%).

Many Business Conservatives also say the U.S. stands alone as the best country (43%), though more (55%) say it is one of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others. Among the Democratically-oriented groups, the Faith and Family Left are the most likely to say the U.S. stands above all other countries: 39% say this, though a greater share (51%) says the U.S. is among the greatest countries.

Across all other groups, far more say the U.S. is one of several of the greatest countries in the world, rather than the one country standing above all others. For example, 67% of the Next Generation Left see the U.S. as one of the greatest countries, while 20% say it stands above all others.

Why Has the Country Been Successful?

There are greater divisions of opinion when it comes to the question of what explains the past success of the United States, with differences within and across partisan groupings.

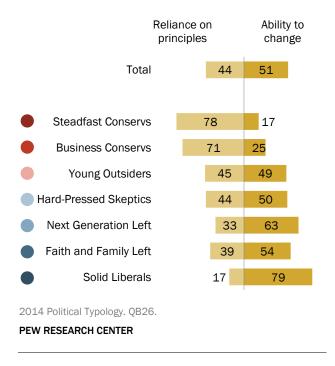
Overall, 51% say the country has been successful more because of its ability to change, while 44% say it is more because of its reliance on long-standing principles.

Both Steadfast and Business Conservatives see reliance on long-standing principles as the main reason the United States has been successful. Large percentages of both groups (78% and 71%, respectively) take this view.

However, the Young Outsiders are more divided: About as many say the country has been successful because of its ability to change (49%) as because of its reliance on principles (45%). Opinions are similar among the Hard-

Bigger Reason for U.S. Success: Ability to Change or Reliance on Principles?

% who say the country been successful more because of ...



Pressed Skeptics (50% ability to change vs. 44% reliance on principles).

Solid Liberals overwhelmingly say the country has been successful because of its ability to change (79%-17%). The Next Generation Left also holds this view by a wide 63%-33% margin. Roughly half of the socially conservative Faith and Family Left (54%) credit the nation's ability to change, while 39% attribute the nation's success to its reliance on long-standing principles.

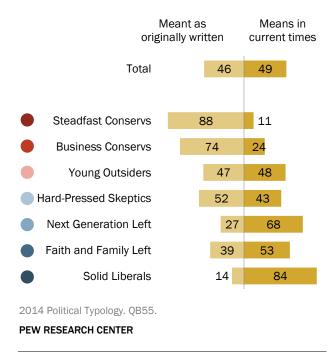
The theme of change versus tradition surfaces in views of a very different question – whether the Supreme Court should base its rulings on an understanding of what the Constitution meant as it was originally written or on what the Constitution means today.

The two most conservative groups stand out for their strong belief that the court should base its rulings on an understanding of the Constitution as originally written. Fully 88% of Steadfast Conservatives support "constitutional originalism," as do 74% of Business Conservatives – by far the highest percentages of any of the typology groups.

Solid Liberals take the opposite view. More than eight-in-ten (84%) say the Supreme Court should base its understanding of the Constitution on what it means today, not on what it meant when it was originally written. And about two-thirds (68%) of the Next

Wide Left-Right Divide Over How Constitution Should be Interpreted

% who say the Supreme Court should base its rulings on what the U.S. Constitution...



Generation Left also say the court's rulings should be based on what the Constitution means today. On this question, both Hard-Pressed Skeptics and Young Outsiders are divided.

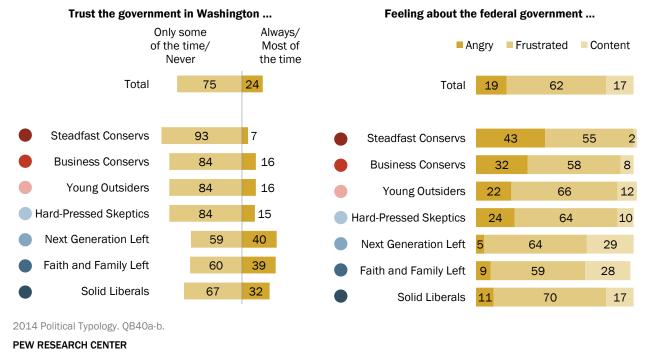
Views of the Federal Government

Pew Research surveys have documented the historic decline in <u>trust in government</u> over recent years, and the Typology survey finds that trust in government remains mired near record lows. Just 24% say they can trust the government in Washington to do what is right just about always or most of the time; far more (75%) say they trust government only some of the time or never.

Majorities of all typology groups express low levels of trust in government. Distrust is especially acute among the Republican-oriented groups. For example, 93% of Steadfast Conservatives trust the government only some of the time or never. The Next Generation Left are among the least negative groups, yet more still say they trust the government only sometimes or never (59%) than most of the time or always (40%).

Alongside low levels of trust, most Americans (62%) say they feel frustrated with the federal government, while another 19% say they are angry; just 17% say they feel basically content with the government.

While all groups are frustrated with government, Steadfast Conservatives are the most likely to say



Views of Government: Low Levels of Trust, High Frustration

they are angry: 43% say they feel this way toward government. By contrast, just 11% of Solid Liberals, 9% of the Faith and Family Left and 5% of the Next Generation Left are angry with government.

Many Business Conservatives (32%) say they are angry with the federal government, though far more describe themselves as frustrated (58%).

Similar percentages of Hard-Pressed Skeptics (24%) and Young Outsiders (22%) say they are angry with government. For both groups, this places them somewhat out of step with the groups at the poles of their partisan leanings: Young Outsiders are about half as likely to be angry with government as Steadfast Conservatives; Hard-Pressed Skeptics are about twice as likely to express anger with the federal government as Solid Liberals.

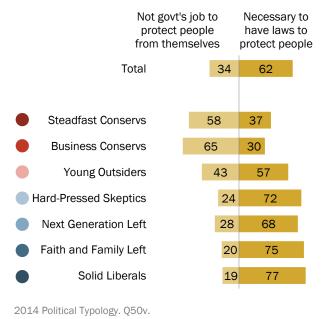
Defining Government's Role

Most Americans say that sometimes laws are necessary to protect people from themselves (62%), while 34% say that it's not the government's job to protect people from themselves. Most typology groups say it is sometimes necessary to have laws to protect people from themselves, including 57% of Young Outsiders – a group that generally holds limited views on what the government can and should be doing.

Business Conservatives (65%-30%) and Steadfast Conservatives (58%-37%) are the only two groups where majorities say it's not the government's job to protect people from themselves.

Conservatives Say It's Not Gov't's Job to 'Protect People From Themselves'

%who say...



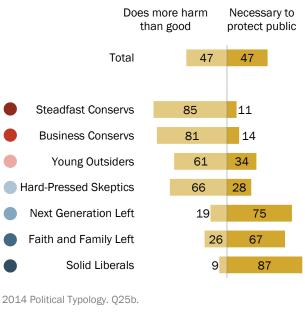
Yet the public has divided opinions about the government's regulation of business, and large majorities of the typology's middle groups – Hard-Pressed Skeptics (66%) and Young Outsiders (61%) – say regulation does more harm than good.

Anti-regulation views are a defining feature of the two most Republican typology groups. Fully 85% of Steadfast Conservative and 81% of Business Conservatives say that government regulation of business does more harm than good.

By contrast, there is strong support for government regulation of business among Solid Liberals (87% say regulation is necessary to protect the public interest), the Next Generation Left (75%) and the Faith and Family Left (67%).

Public Evenly Divided in Views of Government Regulation of Business

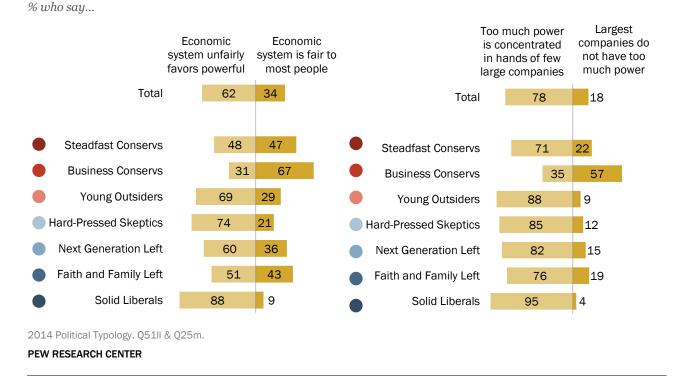
% who say government regulation of business...



Section 3: Fairness of the Economic System, Views of the Poor and the Social Safety Net

There is public agreement that the U.S. economic system unfairly favors powerful interests, and even more Americans believe that large corporations in this country are too powerful. But on both issues, Business Conservatives offer strongly dissenting views; they are the only typology group in which a majority sees the economic system as fundamentally fair.

Overall, the public has long been split over government assistance to the poor and needy. Yet while attitudes about the social safety net generally divide the right from the left, the Next Generation Left stand out among Democratically-oriented groups for their opposition to increased assistance to the needy if it means adding to the nation's debt.



Business Conservatives Stand Out for Belief in Fairness of Economic System

Overall, 62% of Americans say this country's economic system "unfairly favors powerful interests," compared with just 34% who think the system "is generally fair to most Americans." There is variance in opinions about economic fairness among Democratically-oriented groups. For

instance, while 88% of Solid Liberals say the economic system is unfair, only about half (51%) of the Faith and Family Left agree.

Yet Business Conservatives are the only group – on the right or left – in which most believe the economic system is fair to most people. Fully 67% say the economic system is fair to most Americans, and 47% of Steadfast Conservatives agree. Among the GOP-leaning Young Outsiders, just 29% think the system is fair while more than twice as many (69%) do not.

As their name implies, Business Conservatives also have much more positive views of major corporations than do other Americans. Fully 57% think that the largest companies do not have too much power; no more than one-in-four in other typology groups share this view. Even among Steadfast Conservatives, 71% say large corporations are too powerful.

However, there is greater agreement among the two conservative groups about whether corporate profits are appropriate: Majorities of both Business Conservatives (86%) and Steadfast Conservatives (62%) say "most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit." This view is shared far less widely among other typology groups: Majorities of Solid Liberals (80%), Hard-Pressed Skeptics (79%), and Young Outsiders (66%) say corporations "make too much profit." But the Faith and Family Left and Next Generation Left are more divided; a narrow

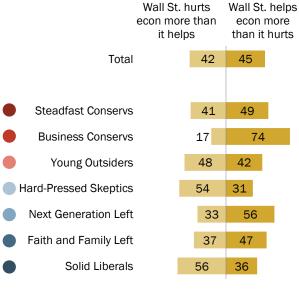
majority of the Faith and Family Left (54%) and half of the Next Generation Left (50%) say corporate profits are excessive.

Not only do Business Conservatives have the most positive views of corporations, they also are more likely than other typology groups to say that Wall Street helps more than hurts the U.S. economy. But in this case, they are joined by a 56% majority of the Next Generation Left.

Overall, 45% say Wall Street helps the U.S. economy more than it hurts, while about as many (42%) say it hurts the economy more than it helps. Views of Wall Street have improved since 2012, when more saw it as having a net negative than net positive impact (48%-36%).

Mixed Views of Wall Street





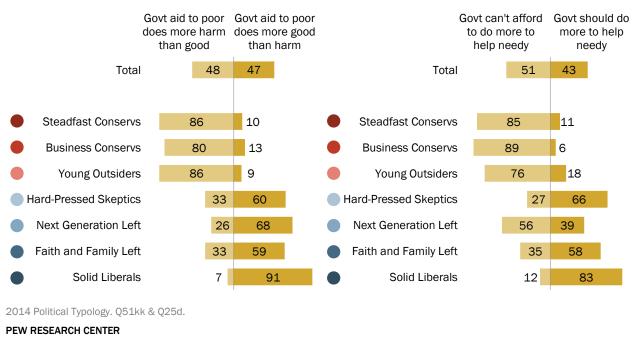
2014 Political Typology. Q51pp. PEW RESEARCH CENTER Majorities of Business Conservatives (74%) and the Next Generation Left (56%) think that Wall Street does more to help the economy. The most negative views of Wall Street's effect on the economy come from Solid Liberals (56% hurt more than help) and Hard-Pressed Skeptics (54%). The three other groups have more divided views of Wall Street's impact.

Government Aid to the Poor

Views of government aid to the poor are much more polarized along partisan lines than attitudes about the fairness of the economic system. Groups on the right overwhelmingly believe government aid to the poor does more harm than good, while those on the left say it has a positive impact.

Fully 86% of Steadfast Conservatives and Young Outsiders, along with 80% of Business Conservatives, say government aid to the poor does more harm than good by making people too dependent on government assistance. Majorities in the three Democratically-oriented groups, as well as the Democratic-leaning Hard-Pressed Skeptics, express the opposite view—that government aid to the poor does more good than harm because people can't get out of poverty

Next Generation Left See Government Aid to Poor as Doing More Good Than Harm, But Worry About Impact on Nation's Debt



% who say...

until their basic needs are met.

However, while most of the Next Generation Left (68%) support government aid to the poor in principle, they balk at the costs to the federal government. Overall, 56% say that the government can't afford to do much more to help the needy, while fewer (39%) say the government should do more to help the needy even if it means going deeper into debt.

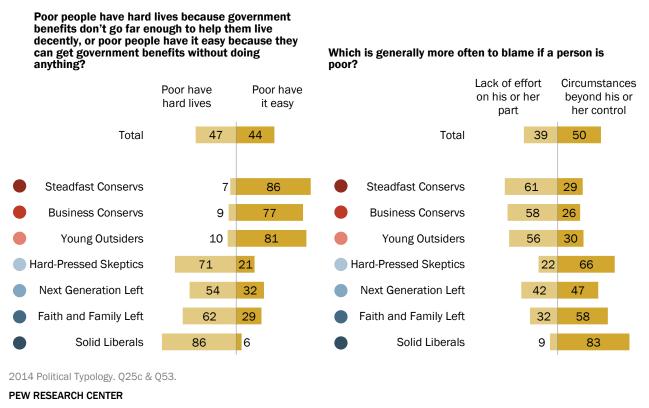
By contrast, majorities of Solid Liberals (83%), Hard-Pressed Skeptics (66%) and the Faith and Family Left (58%) all say the government should do more to help needy Americans even if it results in more debt.

Views of Poverty and the Poor

The public is split in their views of whether government aid to the poor is justified: While 44% say the poor "have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return," about as many (47%) believe poor people "have hard lives because government benefits don't go

Wide Differences Between Right and Left Over Why Some People are Poor

% who say ...



far enough to help them live decently."

Wide majorities of Steadfast Conservatives (86%) and Business Conservatives (77%) say poor people have it easy; they are joined in this view by 81% of the Republican-leaning Young Outsiders. By contrast, 86% of Solid Liberals think the poor have hard lives and that benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently; 71% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics agree. Smaller majorities of the Faith and Family Left (62%) and the Next Generation Left (54%) also say this.

There is a similar pattern in opinions about *why* a person is poor: Overall, 50% say it is more often because of circumstances beyond an individual's control; 39% think a lack of effort is more to blame. Majorities of Steadfast Conservatives (61%), Business Conservatives (58%) and Young Outsiders (56%) say a lack of effort is more often to blame for why a person is poor.

Among Democratically-oriented groups, 86% of Solid Liberals and 62% of the Faith and Family Left say that the poor have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently; 71% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics also express this view. But the Next Generation Left are more conflicted in their views: About as many say a lack of effort is usually to blame for why a person is poor (42%) as say poverty is the result of circumstances outside of one's control (47%).

Does Hard Work Lead to Success?

Americans continue to offer broad support for the idea that hard work leads to success in this country. Nearly two-thirds of the public (65%) say most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard, while just 32% say hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people.

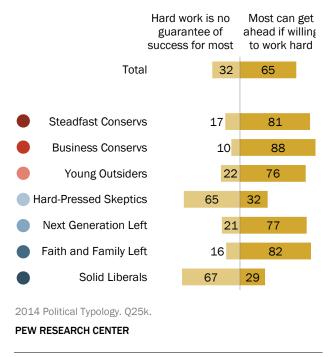
However, majorities of two typology groups – Hard-Pressed Skeptics and Solid Liberals – reject the American ideal that hard work is all it takes to succeed.

Hard-Pressed Skeptics face the most difficult financial circumstances of all the typology groups and 65% say hard work is no guarantee of success, compared with just 32% who say most people can get ahead if they're willing to work hard.

Solid Liberals are a relatively affluent group, ______ but by a 67%-29% margin, they also do not believe that hard work can guarantee success for most people.

Solid Liberals, Hard-Pressed Skeptics Doubt that Hard Work Leads to Success

% who say...

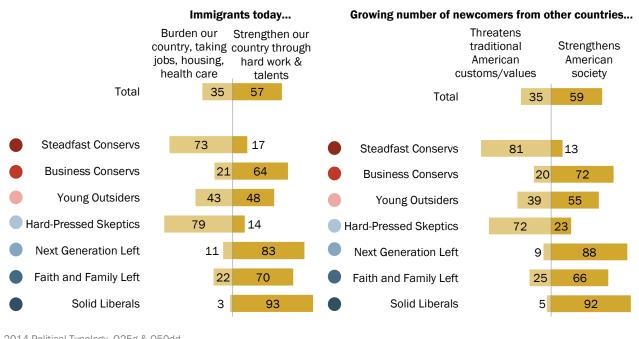


Across the five other typology groups, at least three-quarters say most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard. The Democratically-oriented Faith and Family Left and Next Generation Left are about as likely to hold this view as the three Republicanoriented groups.

Section 4: Views on Immigration and Race

On both the left and the right, there are divides about how immigrants affect American society. On balance, public views of immigrants are more positive than negative. By a margin of 57% to 35%, more say immigrants today strengthen rather than burden the country; by a similar 59% to 35% margin, most believe that the growing number of newcomers strengthens society rather than threatens traditions.

On both questions, the three groups on the left are in general agreement that immigrants strengthen the country. But Hard-Pressed Skeptics, a Democratic-leaning group, take more conservative views on both measures. About eight-in-ten (79%) say immigrants are a burden because they take jobs, housing and health care, while only 14% believe immigrants strengthen the U.S. because of their hard work and talents. Most Hard-Pressed Skeptics (72%) also say newcomers threaten traditional American customs and values.



Steadfast Conservatives, Hard-Pressed Skeptics View Immigrants Negatively

% who say...

2014 Political Typology. Q25g & Q50dd.

The solidly Republican Steadfast Conservatives view immigrants as a burden (73%) and as a threat to traditional values (81%). However, this contrasts with Business Conservatives, who mostly believe that immigrants strengthen the country (64% vs. 21%) and American society (72% vs. 20%).

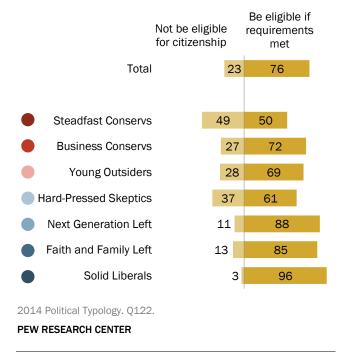
On immigration, Young Outsiders are the most conflicted. About as many believe immigrants strengthen (48%) as burden (43%) the country. On the issue of traditional customs and values, a slim majority says newcomers strengthen society (55%), while 39% see them as a threat to traditional values.

When it comes to immigration policy, six of the seven groups favor a pathway to citizenship for immigrants here illegally as long as certain requirements are met.

By a roughly three-to-one margin (76%-23%), the public thinks unauthorized immigrants should be eligible for citizenship.

More than eight-in-ten Solid Liberals (96%), Next Generation Left (88%) and Faith and Family Left (85%) say immigrants living in the country illegally should be eligible for citizenship, if they meet certain requirements.

Steadfast Conservatives Only Typology Group to Not Back Path to Citizenship



% who say immigrants who are living in U.S. illegally should...

On the right, Business Conservatives (72%) and Young Outsiders (69%) also are supportive of a pathway to citizenship. And Hard-Pressed Skeptics – who hold negative views of immigrants generally – support a pathway to citizenship by a 61% to 37% margin.

Steadfast Conservatives are the only group where most do not back a way for immigrants currently in the country to stay here legally. As many say immigrants now living in the U.S. should not be eligible for citizenship (49%) as say they should be eligible for citizenship, as long as certain requirements are met (50%).

Democratic Groups Divided over Racial Progress

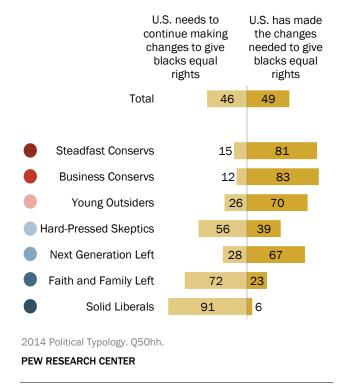
When it comes to racial progress in the U.S., the public is evenly divided about whether the country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites. About half (49%) say the U.S. has made the necessary changes, while 46% believe the country needs to continue making changes.

About eight-in-ten Business (83%) and Steadfast Conservatives (81%) agree that the U.S. has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites. At the other end of the ideological spectrum, 91% of Solid Liberals and 72% of the Faith and Family Left take the opposite view and say the U.S. needs to continue making changes to give black equal rights with whites.

Notably, a 67% majority of the Next Generation Left — the youngest Democraticleaning group — says the necessary changes to give blacks equal rights with whites have been made, while just 28% say more needs to be done.

On Racial Progress, Next Gen Left Is Far Apart from Other Democratic Groups

% who say...



While the public is divided over whether additional societal changes are needed to further racial equality, most do not believe that discrimination is the main reason why many blacks can't get ahead today.

By more than two-to-one (63%-27%), the public says blacks who can't get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition. This view is widely held across the three Republican-oriented groups, with at least eight-in-ten taking this position.

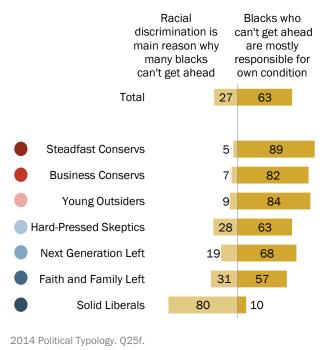
Smaller majorities of the Democratic-leaning Next Generation Left (68%) and Hard-Pressed Skeptics (63%) say that blacks who can't get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition.

A 57% majority of the Faith and Family Left (the most racially diverse group, 30% of whom are black) also say that blacks who can't get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition.

But Solid Liberals see the issue differently. Among this group, eight-in-ten (80%) say racial discrimination is the main reason why many blacks can't get ahead, making them at least 49 points more likely to hold this view than any other group.

Solid Liberals Say Discrimination Main Reason Many Blacks Can't Get Ahead

% who say...



The Democratically-oriented groups are largely in agreement, however, when it comes to the

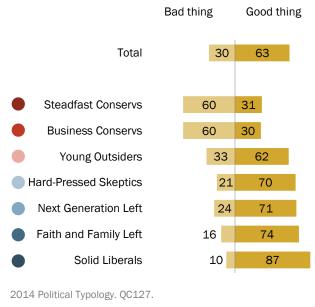
practice of affirmative action in college admissions. Majorities say it's a good thing to have affirmative action programs "designed to increase number of black and minority students on college campuses."

A vast majority of Solid Liberals believe in the merits of college affirmative action (87%), as do at least seven-in-ten of those in the three Democratic-leaning groups. The Young Outsiders also are mostly supportive of campus affirmative action: 62% say it's a good thing and just 33% say it's a bad thing.

Steadfast Conservatives and Business Conservatives, meanwhile, think these programs are a bad thing by a two-to-one margin (60%-31% and 60%-30%, respectively).

Broad Support for Affirmative Action Programs

% who say affirmative action programs to increase black and minority students on college campuses are a ...



www.pewresearch.org

52

Section 5: Views on Religion, the Bible, Evolution and Social Issues

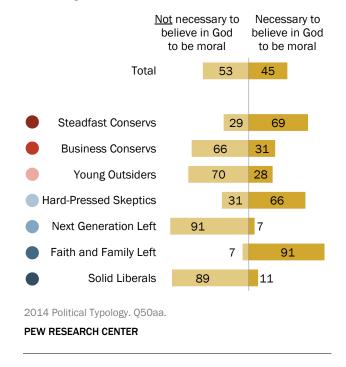
There are deep divisions in the political typology over religious beliefs, views of the Bible and social issues such as homosexuality and abortion. And while the right and left differ over these issues, in many cases they also divide both parties' coalitions.

On fundamental views related to belief in God, 53% of the public says it is not necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values, while 45% believes it is necessary. While overall opinion is fairly evenly split, opinion among the typology groups is not: Large majorities of all groups are on one side or the other of this question.

About nine-in-ten of the Next Generation Left (91%) and Solid Liberals (89%) say that belief in God is not necessary to be moral and have good values. But among the Faith and Family Left – a group that shares much in common politically with the other Democratically-

Both Left and Right Are Divided over Link between Belief in God and Morality

% who say it is...



oriented groups – 91% take the opposite view and say it is necessary to believe in God to be moral and have good values. Most Hard-Pressed Skeptics (66%) also say belief in God is needed to be a moral person.

There is a similar dynamic on the right. While nearly seven-in-ten Steadfast Conservatives (69%) say it is necessary to believe in God to be a moral person, about equally large percentages of Young Outsiders (70%) and Business Conservatives (66%) say this is not necessary.

About two-thirds (65%) of Americans say that the Bible and other works of Scripture are the word of God. Those who say this are about equally likely to say these religious texts should be "taken literally, word for word" (33%) as to say that not everything in these holy texts should be taken literally (30%).

The view that the religious texts are the word of God is held by broad majorities of Steadfast Conservatives (88%), the Faith and Family Left (87%), Hard-Pressed Skeptics (78%) and Business Conservatives (74%).

Although many Business Conservatives view the

Majorities of Steadfast Conservatives and Faith and Family Left Say Bible Should Be Taken Literally

Bible/Holy Scripture is ...

| | NET | The word of G Should be taken literally, word for word | iod Should not be taken literally | A book written by men and is NOT the word of God |
|-----------------------|-----|---|--|--|
| | % | % | % | % |
| Total | 65 | 33 | 30 | 30 |
| Steadfast Conservs | 88 | 57 | 26 | 8 |
| Business Conservs | 74 | 23 | 46 | 21 |
| Young Outsiders | 55 | 21 | 33 | 40 |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | 78 | 47 | 28 | 18 |
| Next Generation Left | 49 | 13 | 35 | 44 |
| Faith and Family Left | 87 | 54 | 30 | 10 |
| Solid Liberals | 30 | 10 | 20 | 63 |

2014 Political Typology. QB139/QB139a.

Notes: "Don't know "responses not shown. The wording of these questions varies depending on the religious affiliation of the respondent. Christians and the unaffiliated are asked about "the Bible"; Jews are asked about "the Torah"; Muslims are asked about "the Koran"; and Buddhists, Hindus and those of other faiths are asked about "the Holy Scripture." Subgroups may not add to NETs because of rounding and omission of don't know responses.

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Scripture as the word of God, just 23% say the text is meant to be taken literally, word for word. By contrast, 57% of Steadfast Conservatives and 54% of the Faith and Family Left, along with 47% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics, say the texts should be taken literally.

About half of the Next Generation Left (49%) and 55% of Young Outsiders say Scriptures are the word of God. And within these groups few say the Scripture is meant to be taken literally—just 21% of Young Outsiders and 13% of the Next Generation Left say this.

Just 30% of Solid Liberals say the Bible or other holy texts are the word of God; fully 63% of Solid Liberals say that the Bible or other holy book is "a book written by men and is not the word of God."

Views on Evolution

while 34% say humans and

About six-in-ten Americans (61%) say humans and other living things have evolved over time,

| while 3470 say humans and | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--|-------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--|--|
| others have existed in their | Majorities of Solid Liberals, Next Generation Left Say | | | | | |
| present form since the | Humans Have E | volv | ed Through | Natural Sel | lection | |
| beginning of time. These views | Humans and other living things have | | | | | |
| have changed little in recent | iiumuno unu otner no | ing in | ings nuce | | | |
| years. (For a detailed analysis | | Evolved over time | | | Existed in their present form since | |
| of opinion about evolution | | NET | Due to natural processes | Guided by a supreme being | the beginning of | |
| among religious groups, see | | % | % | % | % | |
| Public's Views on Evolution, | Total | 61 | 34 | 23 | 34 | |
| Dec. 30, 2013.) | Steadfast Conservs | 39 | 14 | 21 | 53 | |
| | Business Conservs | 57 | 26 | 27 | 36 | |
| Solid Liberals (86%) and the | Young Outsiders | 68 | 41 | 24 | 29 | |
| Next Generation Left (83%) | Hard-Pressed Skeptics | 50 | 21 | 24 | 46 | |
| are the most likely to say | Next Generation Left | 83 | 55 | 23 | 16 | |
| humans have evolved over | Faith and Family Left | 44 | 16 | 23 | 49 | |
| time. Majorities of Young | Solid Liberals | 86 | 62 | 19 | 13 | |
| Outsiders (68%) and Business | 2014 Political Typology. QC135/QC135a. "Don't know" responses not shown. Subgroups may not add to NETs because of rounding and omission of don't know responses. | | | | | |
| Conservatives (57%) also say | PEW RESEARCH CENTER | | | | | |
| this. | | | | | _ | |
| | | | | | | |

Hard-Pressed Skeptics (50% evolved vs. 46% have existed in present form) and the Faith and Family Left (44%-49%) are both divided on the question.

Among Steadfast Conservatives, more say humans and other living things have existed in their present form since the beginning of time (53%) than say they have evolved (39%).

Among those who say evolution has occurred, slightly more say that this is the result of "natural processes such as natural selection" (34% of the public) than say a supreme being guided the process (23%). Majorities of Solid Liberals (62%) and the Next Generation Left (55%), along with 41% of Young Outsiders, say humans evolved as a result of natural processes. Among all other typology groups, far fewer say humans evolved as a result of natural processes.

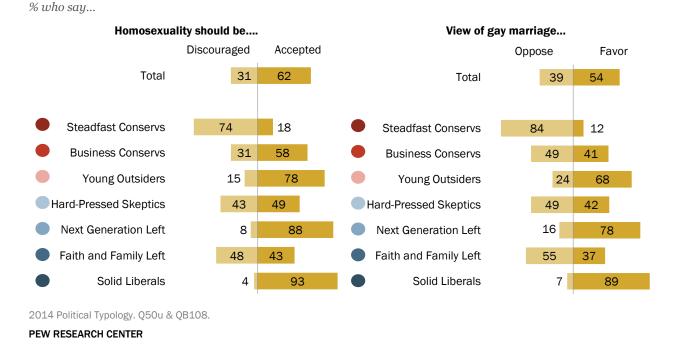
Homosexuality and Abortion

By a two-to-one margin, the public says homosexuality should be accepted by society (62%) rather than discouraged (31%), but there are deep divisions on this question across typology groups.

Fissures emerge on both sides of the partisan spectrum. For instance, about three-quarters of Steadfast Conservatives (74%) believe homosexuality should be discouraged, but a 58% majority of Business Conservatives think homosexuality should be accepted. And Young Outsiders, by a 78%-15% margin, also say homosexuality should be accepted rather than discouraged by society.

On the left, overwhelming majorities of both Solid Liberals (93%) and the Next Generation Left (88%) say homosexuality should be accepted. However, just 43% of the Faith and Family Left and 49% of the Democratic-leaning Hard-Pressed Skeptics agree.

Views about homosexuality generally are closely connected to attitudes on same-sex marriage. Overall, a 54% majority favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally; about four-in-ten (39%) oppose same-sex marriage.



Business Conservatives Favor Societal Acceptance of Homosexuality

Roughly nine-in-ten Solid Liberals (89%) favor same-sex marriage, as do 78% of the Next Generation Left. The Faith and Family Left and Hard-Pressed Skeptics take a more conservative stance: 55% of the Faith and Family Left and 49% of the Hard-Pressed Skeptics oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally.

As in views on homosexuality, Young Outsiders hold more liberal views on same-sex marriage than the two conservative groups. Nearly seven-in-ten (68%) Young Outsiders favor gay marriage; just 24% are opposed. While most Business Conservatives think homosexuality should be accepted (58%), only 41% favor same-sex marriage. Among Steadfast Conservatives, there is overwhelming opposition to same-sex marriage: 84% are opposed, while only 12% are in favor.

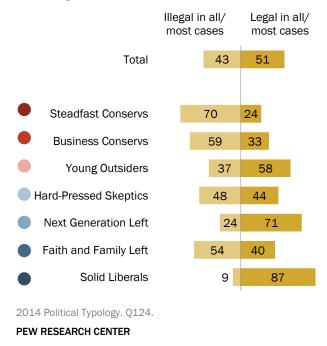
A similar pattern of opinions is seen on the issue of abortion. Overall, about half of the public (51%) says abortion should be legal in all or most cases, while 43% think it should be illegal in all or most cases.

On the left, majorities of Solid Liberals (87%) and the Next Generation Left (71%) support legal abortion. The Democratic-leaning Hard-Pressed Skeptics are roughly divided (48% illegal vs. 44% legal). Among the Faith and Family Left, more say abortion should be illegal in all or most cases (54%) than say it should be legal all or most cases (40%).

On the other end of the ideological spectrum, 70% of Steadfast Conservatives think abortion should be illegal in all or most cases – making them the group most likely to hold this view by a wide margin. A majority of Business Conservatives also are against legal abortion (59%).

Views on Abortion

% who say abortion should be ...



Abortion is another question on which the Republican-leaning Young Outsiders hold

more socially liberal views than their more solidly-Republican counterparts: 58% say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, while 37% believe it should be illegal in all or most cases.

Importance of Marriage and Having Children

When it comes to whether people should prioritize marriage and having children, the public is about evenly divided: 46% say society is better off if people make marriage and having children a

priority, while 50% believe society is just as well off if people have priorities other than family and marriage.

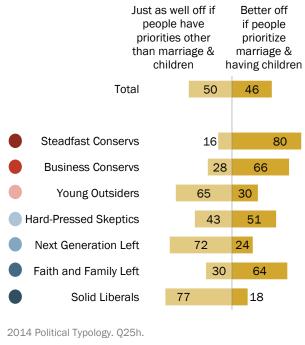
Steadfast Conservatives are the most likely to think marriage and having children should be prioritized (80% say this), while two-thirds of Business Conservatives (66%) agree.

They are joined in this view by 64% of the Democratic-leaning – and highly religious – Faith and Family Left.

By contrast, large majorities of the three youngest typology groups–Solid Liberals (77%), the Next Generation Left (72%) and the Republican-leaning Young Outsiders (65%)– say society is just as well off without people prioritizing marriage and having children.

Faith and Family Left Differ From Other Dem Groups in Prioritizing Marriage

% who say that society is...



Islam and Violence

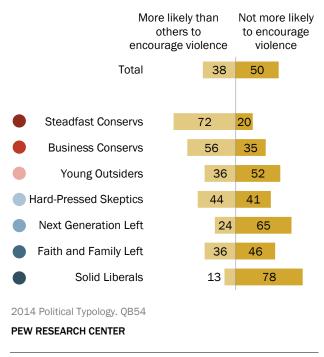
Roughly four-in-ten Americans (38%) say the Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers, while half (50%) say it does not encourage violence more than other religions.

More than three-quarters of Solid Liberals (78%), along with 65% of the Next Generation Left, reject the idea that Islam is more violent than other religions. By contrast, about sevenin-ten (72%) Steadfast Conservatives say Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence among its believers.

Opinion is less one-sided among other typology groups. Although a majority of Business Conservatives (56%) say Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence, 35% say it is not. Hard-Pressed Skeptics are divided (44% say Islam does encourage violence more, 41% say it does not).

Views of Islam and Violence

% who say Islamic religion is ...



And while more among both the Young Outsiders and the Faith and Family Left say Islam is no more likely to encourage violence than other religions, 36% in both of these groups say it is.

Section 6: Foreign Affairs, Terrorism and Privacy

The Pew Research Center's political typology finds evidence of the public's continued wariness about U.S. global involvement. In the poll, conducted January through March of this year, 60% say the U.S. should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home, while just 35% say it's best for the future of the country to be active in world affairs.

This is little changed from the previous political typology study in <u>2011</u>, when 58% wanted the U.S. to pay less attention to overseas problems. But a decade ago, fewer (49%) wanted the U.S. to focus less on international problems. (For more on public attitudes toward America's global role, see <u>Public Sees U.S. Power Declining as Support for Global Engagement Slips</u>, Dec. 3, 2013.)

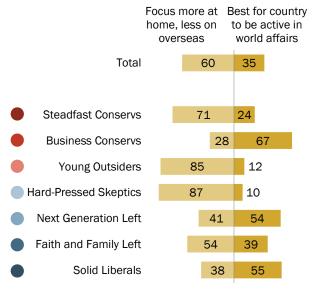
U.S. global involvement divides both the right and left, though to different degrees. Business Conservatives express strong support for an active U.S. global role, with 67% saying it is best for the country to be active in world affairs. Steadfast Conservatives take the opposite view and prioritize focusing on problems at home by a 71% to 24% margin.

The two middle groups of the typology – Young Outsiders and Hard-Pressed Skeptics – overwhelmingly want the U.S. to focus more on problems at home (85% of Young Outsiders, 87% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics).

On the left, narrow majorities of Solid Liberals (55%) and the Next Generation Left (54%) say it is best for the country to be active in world affairs. The Faith and Family Left disagree, with 54% saying it would be better to concentrate on problems at home.

Conservatives Deeply Divided Over Active U.S. Role in World Affairs

% who say...



2014 Political Typology. Q50ee. PEW RESEARCH CENTER Despite the public's reticence about global involvement, 53% say that problems in the world would be even worse without U.S. involvement; 40% say that U.S. efforts to solve world problems usually end up making things worse.

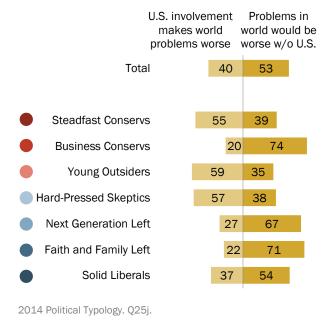
However, majorities in three typology groups – Young Outsiders (59%), Hard-Pressed Skeptics (57%) and Steadfast Conservatives (55%) – say U.S. global efforts actually make world problems worse.

The other groups disagree: Business Conservatives express the strongest support for U.S. efforts to solve problems around the world – 74% say they would be worse without U.S. intervention. Large majorities of the Faith and Family Left (71%) and Next Generation Left (67%) share this view. But fewer Solid Liberals (54%) think that global problems would be worse without U.S. involvement; 37% say U.S. actions to alleviate world problems make things worse.

•

Majorities in Three Groups Say U.S. Global Efforts Make Problems Worse

% who say...



Ideological Divisions over Military Strength, Use of Military Force

Most Americans see good diplomacy (62%) rather than military strength (30%) as the best way to

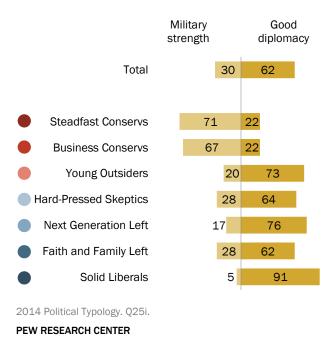
ensure peace. This view is held by most typology groups, with the exception of Steadfast and Business Conservatives, who hold strong pro-military views.

About seven-in-ten Steadfast Conservatives (71%) and Business Conservatives (67%) believe the best way to ensure peace is through military strength, rather than good diplomacy.

Among the other typology groups, clear majorities say good diplomacy is the best way to achieve peace. Among Solid Liberals, an overwhelming 91% see good diplomacy as the best way to ensure peace; just 5% think military strength is the best way to ensure peace.

What Is the Best Way to Ensure Peace?

% who say best way to ensure peace is...

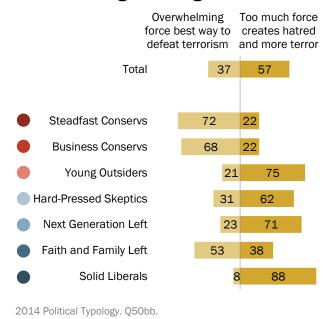


There are similar differences in opinions about the use of force to defeat terrorism around the world. Among the public generally, just 37% say using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism, while a majority (57%) says "relying too much on military force creates hatred that leads to more terrorism."

By greater than three-to one, both groups of conservatives support the use of overwhelming force to defeat terrorism around the world. The other groups in the typology take the opposite view, with one notable exception.

About half (53%) of the Faith and Family Left say using overwhelming force is the best way to defeat terrorism. Fewer (38%) think that the use of force creates hatred that leads to more terrorism.

Democratic Groups Differ Over Use of 'Overwhelming' Force against Terrorism



Views of Privacy, NSA Surveillance

There is broad agreement that Americans should not have to sacrifice civil liberties to be safe from terrorism. This is a view shared across all typology groups.

Overall, 74% say Americans shouldn't have to give up privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism, while just 23% say Americans need to be willing to give up privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism.

Opinion is more divided on the specific matter of the NSA's data collection program. A majority of Americans (54%) disapprove of the government's collection of telephone and internet data as part of anti-terrorism efforts; 42% approve of the program.

Public Rejects Need to Give up Privacy in Order to Be Safe From Terrorism

% who say...

| | to giv | not have ve up or safety | Give up privacy for safety from terrorism | | |
|-----------------------|--------|--------------------------------|---|----|--|
| Total | | 74 | 22 | | |
| | | | | | |
| Steadfast Conservs | | 80 | 1 | 18 | |
| Business Conservs | | 69 | 27 | | |
| Young Outsiders | | 80 | - | 18 | |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | | 83 | 1 | 4 | |
| Next Generation Left | | 66 | 30 | | |
| Faith and Family Left | | 66 | 28 | | |
| Solid Liberals | | 72 | 24 | | |
| | | | | | |

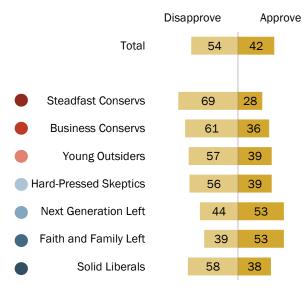
2014 Political Typology. Q50ff.

This is a rare issue on which the right and left agree: 69% of Steadfast Conservatives oppose the government's data collection program, as do 61% of Business Conservatives and 58% of Solid Liberals.

The other Democratically-oriented groups support the data collection program, though by fairly modest margins. About half of the Faith and Family Left and Next Generation Left (53% each) approve of the program.

Opposition to NSA Surveillance Unites Conservatives, Solid Liberals

Government's collection of phone and internet data ...



2014 Political Typology. Q126.

Free Trade Agreements Viewed as Positive for U.S.

By about two-to-one, more say free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a good thing (59%) than a bad thing (30%) for the U.S. Views of free trade have improved since the spring of 2011, when the public was more evenly divided (48% good thing vs. 41% bad thing).

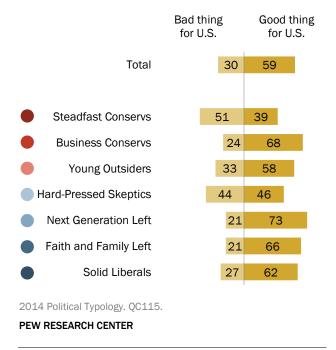
Free trade is supported by most typology groups, including 73% of the Next Generation Left and 68% of Business Conservatives.

Steadfast Conservatives are the only group where more say free trade agreements have been a bad thing (51%) rather than a good thing (39%) for the U.S.

Hard-Pressed Skeptics also express doubts about free trade: About as many see trade agreements as a bad thing (44%) as a good thing (46%) for the U.S.

Free Trade Agreements Draw Majority Support from Most Typology Groups

% who say free trade agreements are a ...



When it comes to economic relations with China, more Americans prioritize building a stronger relationship with China on economic issues (51%) over getting tougher with China on economic policy (41%).

Steadfast Conservatives (66%) are most likely to support a tougher stance against China. Among GOP-leaning groups, fewer Business Conservatives and Young Outsiders support a tougher approach to China.

Majorities of Democratically-oriented typology groups prioritize building a stronger economic relationship with China. The strength of this view varies somewhat across groups, with the Next Generation Left being the most likely to support building a stronger relationship with China on economic issues (63%), compared with 52% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics.

Steadfast Conservatives Most Likely to Favor Tougher Stance Against China

Which is more important ...

| | Getting tou with Chin econ issu | a on | Stronger eco relationship with China | | |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------------|------|--|--|--|
| Total | | 41 | 51 | | |
| | | | | | |
| Steadfast Conservs | | 66 | 28 | | |
| Business Conservs | | 51 | 41 | | |
| Young Outsiders | | 45 | 49 | | |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | | 41 | 52 | | |
| Next Generation Left | | 31 | 63 | | |
| Faith and Family Left | | 36 | 57 | | |
| Solid Liberals | | 33 | 58 | | |
| | | | | | |

2014 Political Typology. QB109. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

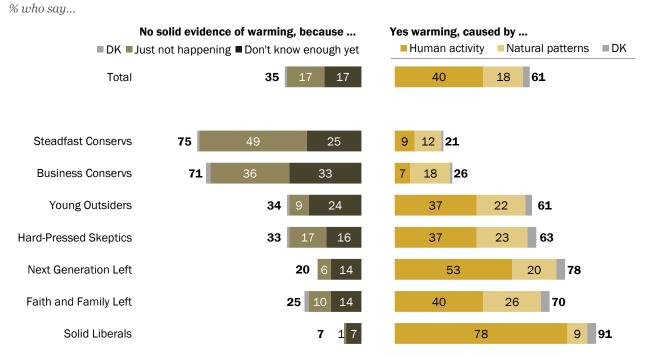
Section 7: Global Warming, Environment and Energy

Opinions about the environment and energy sharply divide the typology groups, with the two predominantly Republican groups – Steadfast Conservatives and Business Conservatives – standing out for their skepticism of global warming and relatively low support for environmental protection. The other typology groups generally express pro-environmental views, and majorities in these groups say the average temperature on Earth has increased over the past few decades. However, most typology groups also favor building the Keystone XL pipeline, with the notable exception of Solid Liberals.

Views of Global Warming

Overall, 61% of the public say there is solid evidence that the average temperature on Earth has been getting warmer over the past few decades, while 35% say there is not solid evidence that the Earth is warming.

Steadfast and Business Conservatives Say No Solid Evidence of Global Warming



2014 Political Typology. QC57/QC58a-b. Subgroups may not add to NETs because of rounding.

Among those who say the Earth is warming, most say it is caused by human activity (40% of the public), while fewer say it is because of natural patterns in the Earth's environment (18%).

Those who do not believe there is solid evidence the Earth is warming are divided, with as many saying they "just don't know enough yet" (17% of the public) as "it's just not happening" (also 17%).

Wide majorities of Steadfast Conservatives (75%) and Business Conservatives (71%) say there is not solid evidence the Earth is warming – the only two typology groups with a majority who hold this view. Nearly half of Steadfast Conservatives (49%) say warming is not happening at all, while 25% say not enough is yet known. Business Conservatives are divided, with about as many saying it is not happening (36%) as say that not enough is yet known (33%).

Majorities of Young Outsiders (61%) and Hard-Pressed Skeptics (63%) say there is solid evidence the Earth is warming. However, just 37% of each group says that the Earth is getting warmer as a result of human activity.

% who say ...

Broad majorities of the Next Generation Left (78%) and Faith and Family Left (70%) say that the average temperature on Earth has been getting warmer over the past few decades. The Next Generation Left, however, are somewhat more likely than the Faith and Family Left to say warming is the result of human activity (53% vs. 40%).

An overwhelming majority (91%) of Solid Liberals say the Earth is warming, and fully 78% say it is because of human activity – by far the highest percentage among typology groups.

Alongside doubts about global warming, 75% of Steadfast Conservatives and 70% of Business Conservatives say the country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment. Less than a quarter of each

Stark Divide Between Conservatives and Other Groups in Views of Environment

Country has Do whatever it takes to gone too far protecting enviro protect enviro Total 25 71 Steadfast Conservs 75 21 **Business Conservs** 70 22 Young Outsiders 13 83 Hard-Pressed Skeptics 22 75 Next Generation Left 7 90 Faith and Family Left 14 82 96 Solid Liberals 2 2014 Political Typology. Q50q. **PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

group say the country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment.

There is a stark divide between these two groups and the other typology groups: Clear majorities of the five other groups – including 96% of Solid Liberals and 83% of Republican-leaning Young Outsiders – say that the country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment.

Environmental protection draws more support in principle than when the issue of potential costs is raised. Among the public, 71% say the country "should do whatever it takes to protect the environment."

But a smaller majority (56%) says "stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost." Nearly four-in-ten (39%) say tougher environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.

Among Hard-Pressed Skeptics, the most financially-strapped typology group, 75% favor the country doing whatever is necessary to protect the environment. But as many say stricter

environmental laws hurt the economy as say they are worth the cost (47%). A similar pattern is evident, to a lesser extent, among the Faith and Family Left and the Young Outsiders; about two-thirds in each of these groups say stricter environmental regulations are worth the cost, though larger majorities (around eight-in-ten) say the country should do whatever is necessary to protect the environment.

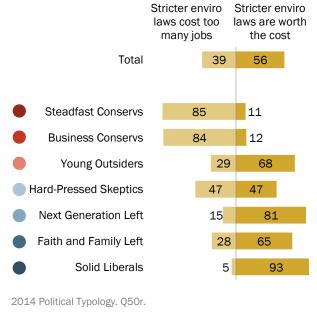
By comparison, Solid Liberals and the Next Generation Left are broadly supportive of environmental laws and regulations; most Solid Liberals (93%) and those in the Next Generation Left (81%) say stricter environmental laws are worth the economic costs.

And overwhelming majorities of both Steadfast (85%) and Business Conservatives (84%) say that stricter environmental regulations cost too many jobs and burt the cost

regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.

Hard-Pressed Skeptics Split Over Costs of Environmental Protection

% who say ...



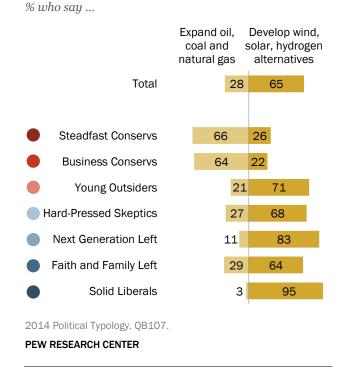
Most Prioritize Alternative Energy, But Keystone Draws Broad Support

When it comes to policies to address the country's energy supply, 65% say the more important priority should be developing alternative sources such as wind, solar and hydrogen technology; fewer than half as many (28%) say the priority should be on expanding exploration and production of oil, coal and natural gas.

Here again, the two most conservative typology groups are an exception. About twothirds of Steadfast Conservatives (66%) and Business Conservatives (64%) say it is more important for the country to focus on expanded production of oil, coal and natural gas than on developing alternatives such as wind, solar and hydrogen technology.

Majorities of all other groups prioritize the development of alternative energy sources over expanding exploration of fossil fuels. Solid Liberals (95%) and the Next Generation Left (83%) are the two groups most likely to back development of alternative sources of energy. They are joined in this view by 71% of Young Outsiders, 68% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics and 64% of the Faith and Family Left.

Alternative Energy Widely Supported, Except by Conservative Groups



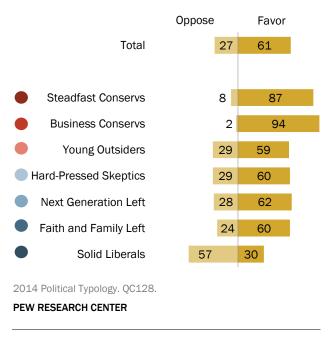
While most groups prioritize developing alternative sources of energy over the expanded

production of oil, coal and natural gas, the Keystone XL pipeline is broadly supported. Six of the seven typology groups support building the Keystone XL pipeline, including the Next Generation Left, which has pro-environmental views on most measures.

Solid Liberals are the only group in which a majority opposes the pipeline, which would transport oil from Canada's oil sands to refineries in Texas. By nearly two-to-one (57%-30%), Solid Liberals oppose construction of the pipeline.

Business Conservatives are nearly unanimous in their support for building the Keystone XL pipeline (94%-2%); and almost nine-in-ten Steadfast Conservatives (87%) also back construction.

Solid Liberals Only Group to Oppose Building Keystone XL Pipeline



Somewhat smaller majorities of Young Outsiders (59%), Hard-Pressed Skeptics (60%), the Faith and Family Left (60%) and the Next Generation Left (62%) support building the Keystone pipeline.

www.pewresearch.org

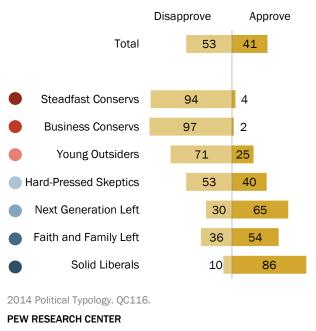
74

Section 8: Health Care, Marijuana, Common Core, Other Domestic Issues

The Affordable Care Act has been one of the most divisive issues of Barack Obama's presidency. The new typology finds nearly universal opposition to the law on the right. By contrast, support for the law on the left is not nearly as widespread or intense.

Overall, more disapprove (53%) than approve (41%) of the health care law. Opinion about the legislation is little changed since last fall.

Overwhelming percentages of Business Conservatives (97%) and Steadfast Conservatives (94%) oppose the law, with about nine-in-ten in each group expressing very strong disapproval (88% of Business Conservatives, 90% of Steadfast Conservatives). Staunch Opposition to ACA on the Right, Hard-Pressed Skeptics also Disapprove



Most Young Outsiders (71%) disapprove of the

law, 53% very strongly. And even among the Democratic-leaning Hard-Pressed Skeptics, there is more opposition (53%) than support (40%).

While 86% of Solid Liberals say they approve of the health care law, other Democratic groups are less enthusiastic. The Next Generation Left approves of the law 65% to 30%; a smaller majority of the Faith and Family Left (54%) back the law. Among the three groups, Solid Liberals are the only one in which a majority (64%) very strongly approves of the law.

While the public is concerned over the budget deficit and government spending, there is broad opposition across most political typology groups to reductions in Social Security benefits. When asked to think about the program's long term future, two-thirds (67%) of the public say that Social Security benefits should not be reduced in any way, while just 31% are willing to say that some reductions in benefits for future retirees need to be considered.

Business Conservatives are the only group in which a majority does not oppose the consideration of cuts in Social Security benefits. However, nearly as many Business Conservatives say benefits cuts should not be considered (46%) as say they should be on the table (49%).

Among all other groups, at least six-in-ten say reductions in Social Security benefits should not be considered.

Broad Opposition to Even 'Considering' Social Security Benefits Reductions

% who say that, when it comes to the long term future of Social Security...

| Some future Benefits should reductions need not be reduced to be considered in any way | | | | | | | | |
|--|----|----|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| Total | 31 | 67 | | | | | | |
| | | | | | | | | |
| Steadfast Conservs | 31 | 64 | | | | | | |
| Business Conservs | 49 | 46 | | | | | | |
| Young Outsiders | 27 | 72 | | | | | | |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | 20 | 79 | | | | | | |
| Next Generation Left | 34 | 64 | | | | | | |
| Faith and Family Left | 28 | 69 | | | | | | |
| Solid Liberals | 33 | 65 | | | | | | |
| 2014 Political Typology. Q125. | | | | | | | | |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER | | | | | | | | |

Marijuana Legalization Supported

In recent years, Pew Research surveys have documented the rise in support for legal marijuana, as it has become a <u>majority viewpoint</u> among the public. In the 2014 Typology survey, 54% say they think marijuana should be made legal, while 42% do not think it should be legal.

Support for legal marijuana is highest among Solid Liberals: about eight-in-ten (81%) say they think marijuana should be made legal; just 16% say it should not be legal. Slimmer majorities of

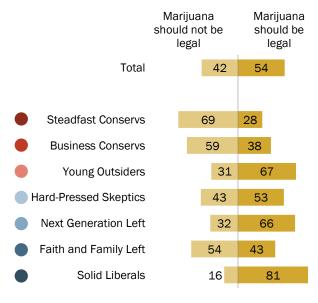
the Next Generation Left (66%) and the Democratic-leaning Hard-Pressed Skeptics (53%) also support legal marijuana.

However, the Faith and Family Left – defined by their liberal positions on the role and size of government and more conservative views of social issues – oppose legalizing marijuana by a 54% to 43% margin.

On the right, views of legal marijuana split the solidly Republican Steadfast and Business Conservatives from the Republican-leaning Young Outsiders. Majorities of Steadfast Conservatives (69%) and Business Conservatives (59%) say marijuana should not be made legal. However, Young Outsiders take the opposite view: 67% say marijuana should be legal and 31% say it should not be made legal.

Faith and Family Left Only Democratic Group to Oppose Legalizing Marijuana

% who say...



2014 Political Typology. QB110. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Sharply Divided Views over Gun Control

When it comes to the debate over gun policy, the public is evenly split: 49% say it is more important to protect the right of Americans to own guns, while 48% say it is more important to control gun ownership. Overall opinion on gun control has been little changed for <u>more than a</u> <u>year</u>.

While divided on whether the gun policy priority should be protecting gun rights or controlling gun ownership, most Americans on either side of this issue say that people should be able to own

guns, though with some limits or restrictions on ownership.

Gun Control vs. Gun Rights

More important to ...

Of the 49% who prioritize gun rights, most say there should be some restrictions on ownership (38% of the public). Similarly, a majority of those who prioritize gun control say that most Americans should be able to own guns with certain limits in place (35% of the public). Relatively few Americans say that there should be no restrictions on gun ownership (11%), or that gun ownership should be limited to only law enforcement and security personnel (12%).

| Protect gun rights | | | Conti | ol gun own | ership |
|--------------------|--|---|--|--|--|
| NET | Some restrict- ions | No restrict- ions | NET | Most own w/limits | Only law officials |
| % | % | % | % | % | % |
| 49 | 38 | 11 | 48 | 35 | 12 |
| | | | | | |
| 89 | 61 | 28 | 9 | 8 | 1 |
| 86 | 62 | 23 | 13 | 9 | 3 |
| 63 | 49 | 13 | 35 | 29 | 6 |
| 53 | 42 | 11 | 45 | 33 | 12 |
| 39 | 35 | 4 | 60 | 48 | 11 |
| 33 | 27 | 6 | 63 | 41 | 22 |
| 15 | 12 | 3 | 81 | 63 | 16 |
| | NET % 49 89 86 63 53 39 33 | Some restrict- ions % % 49 38 89 61 86 62 63 49 53 42 39 35 33 27 | Some restrict- ions No restrict- ions % % 49 38 11 89 61 28 86 62 23 63 49 13 53 42 11 39 35 4 33 27 6 | Some restrict- ions No restrict- ions NeT % % % 49 38 11 48 89 61 28 9 86 62 23 13 63 49 13 35 53 42 11 45 39 35 4 60 33 27 6 63 | Some restrict- ions No ions NET Most own w/limits % % % % 49 38 11 48 35 89 61 28 9 8 63 49 13 35 29 53 42 11 45 33 39 35 4 60 48 33 27 6 63 41 |

2014 Political Typology. Q123/Q123a-b. "Don't know" responses not shown.

Subgroups may not add to NETs because of rounding and omission of don't know responses. **PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

On gun policy, the difference in views between Solid Liberals and Steadfast and Business Conservatives are about as large as any seen in the typology survey.

Nearly nine-in-ten Steadfast Conservatives (89%) and 86% of Business Conservatives say it is more important to protect gun rights than to control ownership. By contrast, a broad majority of Solid Liberals (81%) say it is more important to control gun ownership.

The other Typology groups generally tack toward the dominant position within the party with which they are more affiliated. About six-in-ten of the Faith and Family Left (63%) and Next Generation Left (60%) prioritize controlling gun ownership.

Hard-Pressed Skeptics are divided, with about as many saying it is more important to protect the right of Americans to own guns (53%) as control gun ownership (45%).

The right-leaning Young Outsiders say protecting the right of Americans to own guns (63%), rather than controlling ownership (35%), should be the more important priority.

Opposition to Common Core Among Republican Groups

Overall, 60% of the public has heard either a lot (18%) or a little (41%) about the Common Core education standards for students in grades K-12; 40% have heard nothing at all.

Among those who have heard of the standards, 45% say they favor Common Core while 39% are

opposed. Intense views on the issue, while not widely held, are more prevalent among those opposed than in favor of the standards: 15% say they strongly oppose Common Core, compared with 9% who strongly favor it.

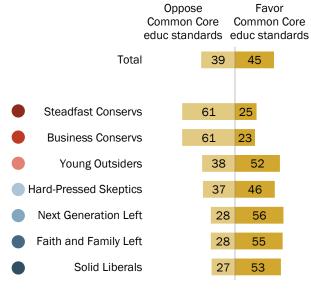
A relatively new issue to public debate, Common Core has quickly taken on a partisan cast.

The two solidly-Republican groups, Steadfast and Business Conservatives, oppose Common Core by more than two-to-one (61%-25% and 61%-23%, respectively).

By contrast, majorities of the Democraticallyoriented Next Generation Left (56%), Faith and Family Left (55%), and Solid Liberals (53%) say they favor the Common Core education standards.

Common Core Draws Opposition From the Right

Among those who have heard of Common Core, % who...



2014 Political Typology. QC112.

Views of Casino Gambling

Most Americans say they favor legalized casino gambling in their state (61%), while only about half as many say they are opposed (33%).

There are only modest differences in views across typology groups on this question. At least half of all groups say they favor legal casino gambling in their state.

Steadfast Conservatives express the greatest level of concern over legalized gambling in their state: 51% favor it, 45% are opposed.

Support is highest among Young Outsiders (72%) and the Next Generation Left (70%), the two youngest typology groups.

Modest Ideological Differences in Views of Casino Gambling

% who...

| | Oppose leg gambling in state | Favor lega gambling in state | | |
|-----------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|----|--|
| Total | | 33 | 61 | |
| | | | | |
| Steadfast Conservs | | 45 | 51 | |
| Business Conservs | | 34 | 58 | |
| Young Outsiders | | 23 | 72 | |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | | 33 | 63 | |
| Next Generation Left | | 24 | 70 | |
| Faith and Family Left | | 42 | 52 | |
| Solid Liberals | | 30 | 62 | |

2014 Political Typology. QB106.

Section 9: Patriotism, Personal Traits, Lifestyles and Demographics

The Pew Research Center's <u>June 12 report</u> on political polarization in America found that the right and left have very different ideas about aspects of life beyond day-to day politics, such as the ideal features of a community and the types of people they would welcome into their families.

The typology study also demonstrates wide ideological differences in feelings of patriotism, views about the country's future, religious beliefs and practices, and even leisure activities and daily habits. The typology groups also vary widely by demographics. (*See the detailed demographics table at the end of this section.*)

Feelings of pride in being American – and a belief that honor and duty are core values – are much

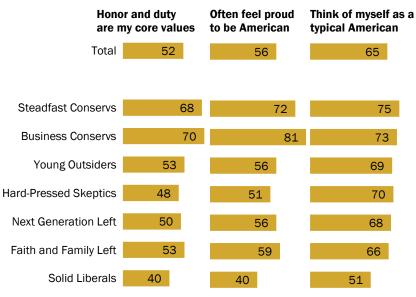
more widespread among the two conservative groups than the other typology groups.

Overall, 81% of Business Conservatives and 72% of Steadfast Conservatives say the phrase "often feel proud to be American" describes them well. These are by far the highest percentages across typology groups. Smaller majorities of the Faith and Family Left (59%), Next Generation Left (56%) and Young Outsiders (56%) say they often feel a sense of pride in being American.

However, Hard-Pressed Skeptics are divided – about as many say they often feel pride in being American

Conservatives More Likely to Say They Are 'Often Proud to be American'

% saying each describes them well...



2014 Political Typology. ATP(W3): ME2b, ME2d, ME4d.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

(51%) as do not (49%). And just 40% of Solid Liberals say they often feel pride in being American; 60% say that characterization does not fit them well.

In addition to high levels of patriotism, the groups on the right also are most likely to say they have a sense of honor and duty. About seven-in-ten Business Conservatives (70%) and Steadfast Conservatives (68%) say the phrase "honor and duty are my core values" fits them. Far fewer in the other typology groups, including just 40% of Solid Liberals, say this description applies well to them.

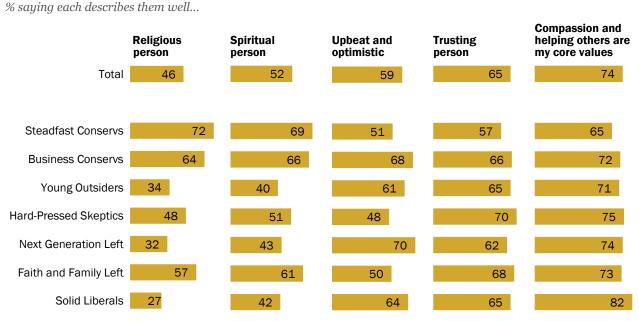
Overall, 65% of the public say they think of themselves as a "typical American," and this selfdescription is shared widely across each of the typology groups, again with the exception of Solid Liberals. About half of Solid Liberals (51%) say they think of themselves as a typical American while about as many (49%) do not.

Most Describe Themselves as Compassionate, Trusting

A large majority of Americans (74%) say the phrase "compassion and helping others are my core values" describes them well. This description is embraced by majorities across all typology groups, though Solid Liberals (82%) are the most likely to say it applies to them.

Most Americans (65%) also view themselves as trusting. The proportion saying this ranges from 57% (among Steadfast Conservatives) to 70% (among Hard-Pressed Skeptics).

There are greater differences in people's perception of whether they are religious and spiritual.



How They View Themselves: Compassion, Trust, Optimism, Religion

2014 Political Typology. ATP(W3): ME1b, ME1c, ME1e, ME3d, ME4c.

Overall, 46% say they are "religious," while slightly more (52%) say they are "spiritual."

As might be expected, the highly religious typology groups – Steadfast Conservatives, Business Conservatives and the Faith and Family Left – are most likely to say both of these descriptions apply to them.

In general, there is little difference between the percentage of people who see themselves as religious and those who say they are spiritual. For example, 64% of Business Conservatives say they are religious; about as many say they are spiritual (66%).

However, among Solid Liberals, more call themselves spiritual (42%) than say they are religious (27%). Among the Next Generation Left, more also describe themselves as spiritual (43%) than religious (32%).

The typology groups also express somewhat different attitudes about the future, reflecting, in part, their political beliefs and financial circumstances.

Most Americans (59%) say they are generally upbeat and optimistic, but this is not a majority view across all typology groups. Only about half of the Hard-Pressed Skeptics (48%) and the Faith and Family Left (50%) – who have the lowest family incomes of the typology groups – say the phrase "upbeat and optimistic" describes them well.

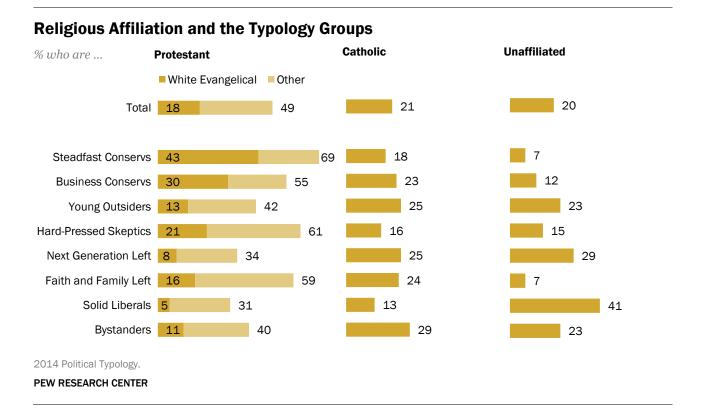
Steadfast Conservatives, who are much better off financially than these two groups, also are relatively gloomy: 51% describe themselves as upbeat and optimistic. A positive outlook is most prevalent among the affluent Business Conservatives (68%) and the Next Generation Left (70%). Most Solid Liberals (64%) and Young Outsiders (61%) also describe themselves as upbeat and optimistic.

Religious Affiliation and Practice

Steadfast Conservatives are one of the most religious groups in the typology. Nearly seven-in-ten (69%) identify as Protestant, a much higher share than among the public overall (49%). And the share of Steadfast Conservatives who are white evangelical Protestants (43%) is more than twice as large as in the public generally (18%).

The Democratic-leaning Faith and Family Left are as likely as Steadfast Conservatives to be affiliated with a religion (just 7% are unaffiliated), but fewer are white evangelical Protestants and somewhat more identify as Catholic.

Solid Liberals are the least religious group -41% are not affiliated with a religion; 10% describe themselves as atheists, 9% say they are agnostic and 22% say they are "nothing in particular."



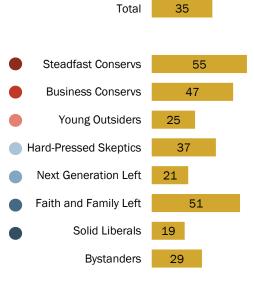
Most Steadfast Conservatives regularly attend religious services. Overall, 55% say they attend weekly or more. The Faith and Family Left are nearly as likely to go to religious services at least once a week (51%).

Many Business Conservatives also regularly attend services: 47% go at least once a week, compared with 35% of the public as a whole.

Only about two-in-ten of the Next Generation Left (21%) and Solid Liberals (19%) go to religious services weekly, making them the two typology groups least likely to be regular attenders.

How Often Do You Attend Religious Services?

% saying they attend weekly or more ...



2014 Political Typology.

Who Feels Financially Stressed, Who Has Money in the Market?

The financial challenges facing the Hard-Pressed Skeptics, who have the lowest family incomes of the main typology groups, are shown by the large majority (67%) who say: "I often don't have enough money to make ends meet." That is by far the highest percentage of any typology group; even among the young struggling Bystanders, fewer (56%) say they routinely face financial shortfalls.

Notably, typology groups on both the right and left feel relatively comfortable financially. Nearly eight-in-ten Business Conservatives (77%) and 64% of Steadfast Conservatives, as well as large majorities of the Next Generation Left (70%) and Solid Liberals (69%), say "paying the bills is generally not a problem for me."

Hard-Pressed Skeptics Often Don't Have Enough Money to Make Ends Meet

% who say...

| | Often struggle to make ends meet | | Paying th generally proble | not a |
|-------------------------------|--|----|----------------------------------|-------|
| Total | | 40 | 58 | |
| | | | | |
| Steadfast Conservs | | 32 | 64 | |
| Business Conservs | | 20 | 77 | |
| Young Outsiders | | 36 | 63 | |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | | 67 | 31 | |
| Next Generation Left | | 28 | 70 | |
| Faith and Family Left | | 48 | 50 | |
| Solid Liberals | | 30 | 69 | |
| Bystanders | | 56 | 41 | |
| 2014 Political Typology, 050z | | | | |

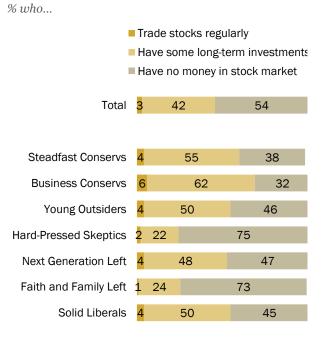
2014 Political Typology. Q50z.

Hard-Pressed Skeptics face even greater financial challenges than the Faith and Family Left, but they are both equally unlikely to be stock market participants. Overall, 73% of the Faith and Family Left report having no money in the stock market, nearly identical to the 75% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics who are not in the market.

Slightly more than half of Solid Liberals (55%), Young Outsiders (54%) and the Next Generation Left (52%) say they have at least some long-term investments in the stock market.

Business Conservatives (68%) are the most likely to have money in the market, but even among Business Conservatives, just 6% say they regularly trade stocks and other funds.

Few Active Investors, Even Among Business Conservatives



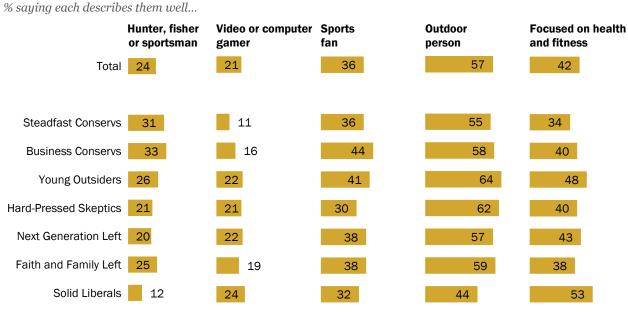
2014 Political Typology. ATP(W3): INVEST.

Leisure Activities

A majority of Americans (57%) say the phrase "outdoor person" describes them well, and this is true across six of the seven major typology groups; Solid Liberals (44%) are less likely than the other groups to say this description fits them well. And just 12% of Solid Liberals say the phrase "hunter, fisher or sportsman" describes them well. That also is the lowest percentage among typology groups.

On the other hand, while 53% of Solid Liberals say they are focused on health and fitness, only about a third of Steadfast Conservatives (34%) are focused on health and fitness.

Interest in sports and video games also differs across typology groups. Business Conservatives (44%) and Young Outsiders (41%) are more likely than Hard-Pressed Skeptics (30%) or Solid Liberals (32%) to say they are sports fans. And Steadfast Conservatives – the oldest of the typology groups – are less likely than those in almost all of the other groups to say the phrase "computer and video gamer" describes them well.



Leisure Activities of the Typology Groups: Hunting, Sports, Outdoors and Fitness

2014 Political Typology. ATP(W3): ME1a, ME3a, ME3b, ME3e, ME4a.

There also are wide differences across typology groups in reported gun ownership: About half in each of the two conservative groups say they have a gun, rifle or pistol in their homes (52% of Steadfast Conservatives, 50% of Business Conservatives).

Gun ownership also is relatively common among the Young Outsiders, who express liberal views on many social issues, but are supporters of gun rights (See Section 2). About four-in-ten (41%) Young Outsiders have a gun in their homes.

Only about a quarter of the Faith and Family Left (26%) and Solid Liberals (24%) have guns in their homes – roughly half the share of the two conservative groups.

Roughly Half of Steadfast, Business Conservatives Have Gun in Their Homes

% who...

| | Do not have gun in home | Have gun in home |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------|
| Total | 63 | 34 |
| | | |
| Steadfast Conservs | 40 | 52 |
| Business Conservs | 45 | 50 |
| Young Outsiders | 57 | 41 |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | 64 | 35 |
| Next Generation Left | 68 | 31 |
| Faith and Family Left | 72 | 26 |
| Solid Liberals | 75 | 24 |

2014 Political Typology. ATP(W3): GUN1. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Use of Public Transportation; Recycling and Reusing

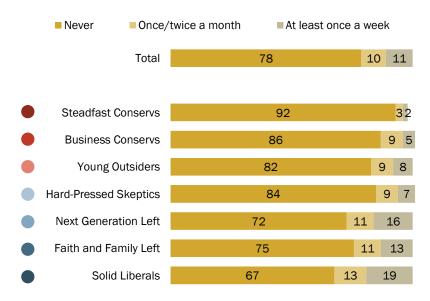
Most Americans (78%) say that in a typical month, they never use public transportation; 11% say they use it at least once a week, while 10% say they use it once or twice a month.

Public transportation use is higher on the left than right. About a third (32%) of Solid Liberals say they use public transportation at least once or twice a month, including 19% who use it at least once a week.

By contrast, 92% of Steadfast Conservatives say they never use public transportation in a typical month.

Solid Liberals Most Likely to Use Public Transportation

% who say they use public transportation...



2014 Political Typology. ATP(W3): TRANSPORT.

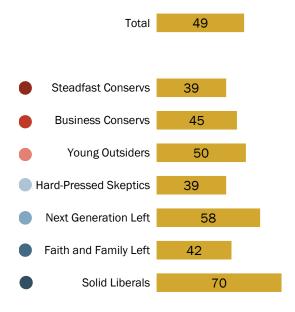
Nearly half of Americans (49%) say the phrase "recycle and reuse as a daily habit" describes them well; about as many (51%) say this does not describe them.

Solid Liberals are the most likely to describe recycling and reuse as part of their daily habits, seven-in-ten (70%) do this, along with 58% of the Next Generation Left.

Recycling is practiced less across most of the other typology groups. Only about four-in-ten Steadfast Conservatives (39%), Hard-Pressed Skeptics (39%) and the Faith and Family Left (42%) say they "recycle and reuse as a daily habit."

Solid Liberals Most Likely to Recycle

% who say "recycle and reuse as a daily habit" describes them well...



2014 Political Typology. ATP(W3): ME2e.

| Demographic Characteristics of the Typology Groups | | | | | | | | | |
|--|-------|-------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|--------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------|
| | Total | Solid Liberals | Faith and Family Left | Next Generation Left | Hard- Pressed Skeptics | Young Outsiders | Business Conservs | Steadfast Conservs | By- standers |
| | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Men | 49 | 44 | 45 | 49 | 42 | 48 | 62 | 59 | 47 |
| Women | 51 | 56 | 55 | 51 | 58 | 52 | 38 | 41 | 53 |
| 18-29 | 22 | 24 | 15 | 33 | 14 | 30 | 13 | 7 | 38 |
| 30-49 | 33 | 31 | 32 | 36 | 34 | 35 | 33 | 25 | 39 |
| 50-64 | 27 | 28 | 28 | 19 | 32 | 22 | 33 | 36 | 17 |
| 65+ | 17 | 16 | 24 | 11 | 19 | 12 | 20 | 31 | 6 |
| White | 66 | 69 | 41 | 68 | 61 | 73 | 85 | 87 | 48 |
| Black | 12 | 13 | 30 | 7 | 20 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 10 |
| Hispanic | 13 | 8 | 19 | 15 | 9 | 14 | 7 | 4 | 32 |
| Post graduate | 9 | 21 | 6 | 13 | 2 | 7 | 14 | 5 | 2 |
| College grad | 18 | 31 | 12 | 24 | 7 | 18 | 29 | 16 | 8 |
| Some college | 32 | 30 | 27 | 36 | 30 | 42 | 34 | 33 | 22 |
| HS or less | 40 | 18 | 54 | 26 | 60 | 33 | 22 | 46 | 67 |
| Family income | | | | | | | | | |
| \$100,000+ | 15 | 22 | 8 | 23 | 5 | 16 | 28 | 16 | 4 |
| \$75,000-100,000 | 10 | 12 | 6 | 13 | 5 | 13 | 16 | 13 | 6 |
| \$30,000-\$75,000 | 32 | 32 | 31 | 30 | 26 | 36 | 33 | 39 | 23 |
| <\$30,000 | 34 | 26 | 45 | 26 | 56 | 27 | 12 | 21 | 58 |
| Union household | | | | | | | | | |
| Yes | 16 | 20 | 18 | 18 | 15 | 16 | 11 | 16 | 11 |
| No | 83 | 80 | 80 | 81 | 85 | 84 | 88 | 81 | 89 |

The Typology: Gender, Race, Education, Other Demographics

2014 Political Typology. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

Section 10: Political Participation, Interest and Knowledge

On several measures, three groups stand out for their participation in politics: Solid Liberals, Business Conservatives and Steadfast Conservatives. In addition to being the most likely to say they always or nearly always vote, these groups also donate money, contact elected officials and discuss politics with others at the highest rates.

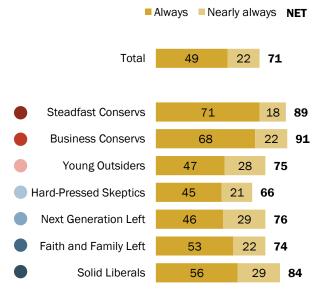
Overall, about seven-in-ten (73%) Americans are registered to vote and say they always (49%) or nearly always (22%) vote. This rises to about nine-in-ten Steadfast Conservatives (89%) and Business Conservatives (91%), and more than eight-in-ten Solid Liberals (84%)

Fewer in the Faith and Family Left (74%) always or nearly always vote, and vote intentions are comparable among the Next Generation Left (76%) and Young Outsiders (75%). Hard-Pressed Skeptics are the least likely to say they always or nearly always vote (66%).

A similar pattern emerges when it comes to paying attention to government and public affairs and engaging in political activities. Fully three-quarters of Business Conservatives (75%) follow what's going on in government and public affairs "most of the time," as do about two-thirds of Steadfast Conservatives

Steadfast, Business Conservatives Most Likely to Vote

% who say they vote...



2014 Political Typology. OFTVOTE. Based on total; asked of registered voters.

(68%) and Solid Liberals (65%). Among the four groups in the middle of the typology, less than half follow government and public affairs to the same degree.

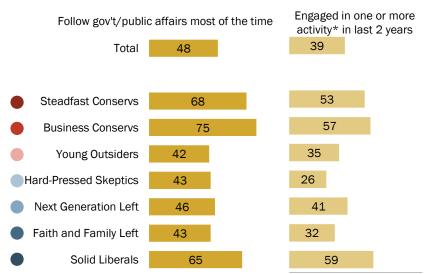
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The three more partisan groups are also more likely to engage in a variety of activities related to politics. About four-in-ten (39%) say they have donated money to a campaign or group working to elect a candidate, worked or volunteered for a campaign, contacted an elected official or attended a campaign event in the past two years.

More than half of Solid Liberals (59%), Business Conservatives (57%) and Steadfast Conservatives (53%) have engaged in one or more of those political activities in the past two years. The share drops to 41%

Among Four Groups, Less Than Half Frequently Follow News About Government and Public Affairs

% who...



* Activities include donating money to a campaign or group working to elect a candidate, working/volunteering for a campaign, contacting an elected official and attending a campaign event.

2014 Political Typology. Q40, Q101, Q105.

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among the Next Generation Left, 35% of Young Outsiders, 32% of the Faith and Family Left, and 26% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics.

In general, that trend holds for each of the individual activities. Solid Liberals, Business Conservatives and Steadfast Conservatives are significantly more likely than people in the other groups to have donated money in the last two years. They are also much more likely to have contacted an elected official. Solid Liberals stand out as more likely than those in any other group to have worked or volunteered time for a candidate or campaign.

Solid Liberals, Conservative Groups Participate Most in Political Activities

Faith and Next Hard-Solid Family Generation Pressed Young Business Steadfast Total Skeptics Liberals Left Outsiders Left Conservs Conservs % % % % % % % % In last 2 years... Campaign donor 15 29 11 14 6 9 24 21 4 7 3 3 2 2 7 6 More than \$250 Worked/Volunteered for a 7 8 15 8 4 6 9 9 campaign 19 29 17 25 Contacted elected official 28 44 44 42 Attended a campaign event 15 25 14 18 10 13 22 18 2014 Political Typology. Q101, Q102, Q105.

Political Interest and Knowledge

Government and politics ranks alongside health and medicine as one of the general topics people are most interested in. Yet there are wide disparities between the typology groups. About half of Solid Liberals (52%), Business Conservatives (59%) and Steadfast Conservatives (54%) list politics and government as one of their top-three interests. Among the other groups, far fewer list politics as one of their top interests.

Just 29% of both Young Outsiders and the Next Generation Left rank politics as one of the topics they are most interested in, as do 22% of the Faith and Family Left. And among Hard-Pressed Skeptics, only 16% rate politics and government as a top interest, near the bottom of the list. (Note: These questions were asked only of internet users, 89% of the general population.)

Which Topics Are You Most Interested in?

% who say each topic is one of the three they are most interested in...

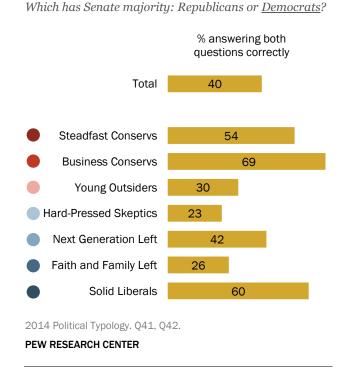
| Total | Solid Liberals | Faith and Family Left | Next Generation Left | Hard- Pressed Skeptics | Young Outsiders | Business Conservs | Steadfast Conservs |
|---------------------------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|
| % | % | % | % | % | % | % | % |
| Health 37 | Politics 52 | Health 41 | Sci/Tech 41 | Health 48 | Health 38 | Politics 59 | Politics 54 |
| Politics 36 | Sci/Tech 43 | Religion 37 | Health 36 | Religion 32 | Sci/Tech 32 | Religion 38 | Religion 42 |
| Sci/Tech 32 | Health 39 | Community events 26 | Politics 29 | Entertain 30 | Sports 30 | Business 30 | Health 33 |
| Religion 28 | Religion 22 | Entertain 23 | Entertain 24 | Community events 29 | Politics 29 | Sci/Tech 29 | Community events 23 |
| Sports 23 | Art/Theater 21 | Sports 23 | Community events 23 | Sci/Tech 26 | Entertain 24 | Health 24 | Sports |
| Community events 22 | Community events 18 | Politics 22 | Sports | Sports 25 | Community events 21 | Sports | Sci/Tech 20 |
| Entertain 20 | Sports | Sci/Tech 19 | Art/Theater 21 | Politics 16 | Business 21 | Community events 19 | Business |
| Business 16 | Entertain 13 | Business 17 | Religion 18 | Art/Theater 15 | Religion 20 | Entertain 8 | Entertain 9 |
| Art/Theater 14 | Business 12 | Art/Theater 7 | Business 17 | Business 8 | Art/Theater | Art/Theater 6 | Art/Theater 3 |

2014 Political Typology. ATP(W1): Q1/Q2. Respondents were asked about their interest in nine topics. Those who selected more than three were then asked to select the three they were most interested in. Based on web sample.

In addition to being more interested in government and politics, Steadfast Conservatives, Business Conservatives and Solid Liberals are the most likely to discuss government and politics with others; about six-in-ten report doing so at least a few times a week, compared with four-in-ten or fewer of the other groups.

Another key measure of political engagement is how knowledgeable people are about the current political landscape, and here again the more ideological groups score far higher. Nationwide, just 40% of Americans can correctly identify the partisan balance in both the House of Representatives and the Senate (that Republicans have the majority in the former, and Democrats in the latter). The remaining six-in-ten know only one (33%) or neither (28%) of those facts.

Business Conservatives are the most likely to correctly identify the majority party in both houses of Congress (69%), followed by Solid Liberals (60%) and Steadfast Conservatives (54%). Who Controls the Senate and House? Which has House majority: Republicans or Democrats?



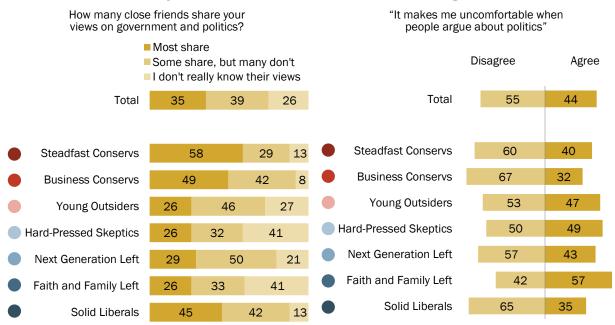
Fewer than half in any of the other groups can

correctly identify the majority party in both houses. About four-in-ten (42%) of the Next Generation Left, just three-in-ten (30%) Young Outsiders, and only about a quarter of the Faith and Family Left (26%) and Hard-Pressed Skeptics (23%) are able to correctly identify both.

These differences are exhibited in how people communicate about politics as well. The two most conservative groups and the Solid Liberals are more likely than those in other groups to say they enjoy talking about politics with friends and family.

In addition, those three groups are the most likely to have friends who share their views on politics. More than half of Steadfast Conservatives (58%) say most of their close friends share their views, as do 49% of Business Conservatives and 45% of Solid Liberals. By contrast, far fewer in the middle four groups say this about their close friends, instead saying they either have many friends with different points of view, or simply that they don't know their friends' political views.

In that same vein, those three groups are more likely to disagree than agree with the statement: "It makes me uncomfortable when people argue about politics." By contrast, more among the Faith and Family Left agree than disagree that they are uncomfortable when people argue about politics (57%-42%).



Most Faith and Family Left Uncomfortable When People Argue About Politics

2014 Political Typology. ATP(W1): Q44, ATP(W3): AGREE2.

Appendix 1: Typology Group Profiles

STEADFAST CONSERVATIVES

12% OF ADULT POPULATION / 15% OF REGISTERED VOTERS / 19% OF VERY ENGAGED
84% Rep/Lean Rep (56% Rep, 28% Lean Rep)

Basic description: This overwhelmingly Republican group holds very conservative attitudes across most issues, including social policy and the size and scope of government. However, they are critical of business and Wall Street. Steadfast Conservatives also express highly negative attitudes toward immigrants and take a skeptical view of U.S. global involvement.

Defining values: Among all typology groups, Staunch Conservatives are the most likely to say they are angry with the federal government. Just 12% favor same-sex marriage and 24% support legal abortion – the lowest shares of any group. Fully 81% of Steadfast Conservatives think that "the growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values." Most think that U.S. efforts to solve global problems usually make things worse and just 39% think free trade agreements are good for the United States, the lowest percentage of any group.

Political attitudes: Steadfast Conservatives are highly engaged in politics: fully 74% say they always or nearly always vote in primary elections. They overwhelmingly supported Mitt Romney in 2012; this year, 88% support the Republican candidate in their congressional district. Steadfast Conservatives have favorable opinions of several possible GOP candidates in 2016, but just 44% have a favorable view of New Jersey Gov. Chris Christie.

Who they are: Nearly nine-in-ten (87%) are non-Hispanic white and 59% are male. Steadfast Conservatives are the oldest typology group (31% are 65 or older) and have the highest share of white evangelical Protestants (43%). They are less educated and have lower family incomes than Business Conservatives. Still, 64% of Steadfast Conservatives say "paying the bills is generally not a problem."

Lifestyle notes: Many are regular churchgoers (55% attend religious services at least weekly), while 52% have a gun in their households.

KEY BELIEFS

| | General Public | Steadfast Conservatives |
|--|-------------------|----------------------------|
| | % | % |
| Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient | 56 | 91 |
| Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return | 44 | 86 |
| Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good | 47 | 85 |
| It is the responsibility of the federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage | 47 | 7 |
| Oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally | 39 | 84 |
| Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites | 49 | 81 |
| This country been successful more because of its reliance on long-standing principles than its ability to change | 44 | 78 |
| The country's best years are behind us | 49 | 76 |
| This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment | 25 | 75 |
| Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care | 35 | 73 |
| The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers | 38 | 72 |
| The best way to ensure peace is through military strength | 30 | 71 |
| U.S. efforts to solve problems around the world usually end up making things worse | 40 | 55 |
| Society is better off if people make marriage and having children a priority | 46 | 80 |
| Religion is a very important part of my life | 66 | 83 |
| Humans and other living things have existed in their present form since the beginning of time | 34 | 53 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2014 Political Typology. | | |

BUSINESS CONSERVATIVES

10% OF ADULT POPULATION / 12% OF REGISTERED VOTERS / 17% OF VERY ENGAGED
86% Rep/Lean Rep (49% Rep, 37% Lean Rep)

Basic description: Business Conservatives are traditional small-government Republicans. Overwhelming percentages think that government is almost always wasteful and it does too much better left to businesses and individuals. Business Conservatives differ from Steadfast Conservatives in their strong support for Wall Street and business more generally. There are other important differences as well: Most Business Conservatives think that immigrants strengthen the country and take a positive view of U.S. global involvement. They are less socially conservative than Steadfast Conservatives.

Defining values: Business Conservatives are more likely than other typology groups to identify as "libertarians," though just 27% say that term describes them well. Their political values and attitudes do reflect a libertarian philosophy in some respects, though there are important differences as well. They are the only group in which a majority (67%) believes the economic system is fair to most Americans rather than unfairly tilted in favor of the powerful. Business Conservatives are not liberal on most social issues, but they are more progressive than Steadfast Conservatives. For instance, while nearly half of Business Conservatives (49%) oppose same-sex marriage, 58% say homosexuality should be accepted rather than discouraged.

Political attitudes: They have favorable impressions of several possible GOP candidates in 2016, but they are most favorable toward Rep. Paul Ryan (79% favorable). Business Conservatives also are more likely than Steadfast Conservatives to have a favorable view of New Jersey Gov. Christ Christie (56% vs. 44%). They are knowledgeable about politics and are politically engaged – 71% say they always or nearly always vote in primary elections.

Who they are: Business Conservatives are the most affluent typology group – 45% have family incomes of \$75,000 or more; 28% have incomes of at least \$100,000. Most Business Conservatives are 50 or older, but as a group they are not as old as Steadfast Conservatives. Most are white non-Hispanic (85%) and male (62%). Roughly three-quarters (77%) of Business Conservatives have attended college and 43% have a four-year degree. Among Steadfast Conservatives, only about half (54%) have been to college and just 21% have completed their degrees.

Lifestyle notes: Most Business Conservatives live in the suburbs (54%). Two-thirds of Business Conservatives (68%) have investments in the stock market and 57% say they are interested in business and finance – both figures are highest among typology groups.

KEY BELIEFS

| | General Public | Business Conservatives |
|--|-------------------|---------------------------|
| | % | % |
| It is <u>not</u> the responsibility of the federal government to make sure all Americans have health care coverage | 50 | 92 |
| Government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals | 51 | 90 |
| The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy | 51 | 89 |
| Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard | 65 | 88 |
| Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient | 56 | 88 |
| Some future reductions to Social Security need to be considered | 31 | 49 |
| Stricter environmental laws cost too many jobs and hurt the economy | 39 | 84 |
| Wall Street helps the American economy more than it hurts | 45 | 74 |
| Business corporations make too much profit | 56 | 10 |
| It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs | 35 | 67 |
| The best way to ensure peace is through military strength | 30 | 67 |
| Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents | 57 | 64 |
| I worry the government is getting too involved in the issue of morality | 62 | 71 |
| It is not necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values | 53 | 66 |
| Homosexuality should be accepted by society | 62 | 58 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2014 Political Typology. | | |

• YOUNG OUTSIDERS

14% OF ADULT POPULATION, 15% OF REGISTERED VOTERS, 11% OF VERY ENGAGED
49% Rep/Lean Rep (23% Rep, 26% Lean Rep); 35% Dem/Lean Dem

Basic description: This relatively young, largely independent group holds a mix of conservative and liberal views. And while more lean toward the Republican Party than the Democratic Party, Young Outsiders express unfavorable opinions of both major parties. They are skeptical of activist government; a substantial majority views government as wasteful and inefficient. Yet they diverge from the two conservative typology groups – Steadfast Conservatives and Business Conservatives – in their strong support for the environment and many liberal social policies.

Defining values: A large majority of Young Outsiders (81%) think "poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return." That is among the highest share of any typology group. Two-thirds (66%) say government is doing too much to solve problems, while only about half as many (32%) want it to do more. Yet most Young Outsiders favor government action to protect the environment; 68% say stricter environmental laws are worth the cost. Majorities of Young Outsiders favor same-sex marriage (68%) and legalizing marijuana (67%), while 58% say abortion should be legal in all or most cases. However, they also are strong supporters of gun rights. About six-in-ten (63%) say it is more important to protect the right of Americans to own guns while just 35% think it is more important to control gun ownership.

Political attitudes: In this fall's midterms, Young Outsiders favor the Republican in their district by 53% to 33%. Yet they are not deeply engaged in politics. Only 42% say they follow what's going on in politics and government most of the time, and just 30% know that Democrats have a majority in the Senate and that Republicans control the House. Young Outsiders have divided views of many political figures; no leading Republican is viewed more positively than negatively.

Who they are: Young Outsiders are one of the youngest typology groups; 30% are under 30 and most are under 50. About three-quarters (73%) are non-Hispanic whites, and about as many are male (48%) as female (52%). They are relatively secure financially, for their age profile, and most (63%) say "paying the bills is generally not a problem."

Lifestyle notes: Young Outsiders are detached from religion as well as politics. Just 25% say they attend religious services at least weekly. Most Young Outsiders say it is important to live in a community with high quality public schools and where they can live near extended family. Relatively few place priority on living near people who share their religious faith (23%) or political views (18%).

KEY BELIEFS

| | General Public | Young Outsiders |
|--|-------------------|--------------------|
| | % | % |
| Government aid to the poor does more harm than good | 48 | 86 |
| Government can't afford to do much more to help the needy | 51 | 76 |
| Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient | 56 | 75 |
| Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest | 47 | 34 |
| Homosexuality should be accepted by society | 62 | 78 |
| Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost | 56 | 68 |
| Use of marijuana should be legal | 54 | 67 |
| More important to protect gun rights than to control gun ownership | 49 | 63 |
| Abortion should be legal in all or most cases | 51 | 58 |
| Society is better off if people make marriage and having children a priority | 46 | 30 |
| We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home | 60 | 85 |
| U.S. efforts to solve problems around the world usually end up making things worse | 40 | 59 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2014 Political Typology. | | |

HARD-PRESSED SKEPTICS

13% OF ADULT POPULATION, 13% OF REGISTERED VOTERS, 9% OF VERY ENGAGED
53% Dem/Lean Dem (37% Dem, 16% Lean Dem); 32% Rep/Lean Rep

Basic description: Deeply financially-stressed and distrustful of government, Hard-Pressed Skeptics lean toward the Democratic Party but have reservations about both political parties. They want government to do more to solve problems, but have doubts about its efficiency. Hard-Pressed Skeptics are dissatisfied with conditions in the country and their communities. They are among the most cynical about the ability of individuals to improve their lot through hard work. These attitudes may reflect their distressed financial conditions: Hard-Pressed Skeptics have the lowest family incomes of any of the typology groups.

Defining values: Seven-in-ten (71%) Hard-Pressed Skeptics say the poor have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently. Despite their strong support for a government safety net, however, most take a dim view of government performance. Fully 72% say government is wasteful and inefficient, far higher than any other Democratic-leaning group. Their opinions about business and Wall Street are equally negative. More generally, 74% think the U.S. economic system favors powerful interests. About eight-in-ten (79%) view immigrants as a burden on the country. They also are wary of U.S. global involvement. An overwhelming 87% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics think the U.S. should pay less attention to overseas problems and concentrate more on problems at home.

Political attitudes: Just 39% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics say they are interested in government and politics, the lowest percentage of any typology group. Fewer than a quarter (23%) are aware of which parties control the House and Senate. In 2012, 62% of registered voters in this group say they voted for Barack Obama. But today, just 44% of Hard-Pressed Skeptics approve of Obama's job performance. Just 26% have a favorable view of House Minority Leader Nancy Pelosi while 39% view her unfavorably. But Hillary Clinton is popular with Hard-Pressed Skeptics: 62% have a favorable impression of Clinton.

Who they are: About six-in-ten (61%) are non-Hispanic whites; 20% are black, while 9% are Hispanic. Hard-Pressed Skeptics have the highest share of women (58%) of any typology group. Just 9% are college graduates, by far the lowest percentage of all the groups; 60% have no more than a high school education. More than half (56%) have annual family incomes less than \$30,000. About half (51%) are 50 or older, which is somewhat higher than the share of older Americans in the public (44%).

Lifestyle notes: Only about a third of Hard-Pressed Skeptics (32%) say they work-full-time. Nearly half (46%) live in the suburbs, but more express a preference for living in a small town than in a suburb or city.

KEY BELIEFS

| | General Public | Hard-Pressed Skeptics |
|---|-------------------|--------------------------|
| | % | % |
| | 40 | 67 |
| I often don't have enough money to make ends meet | 40 | 67 |
| Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people | 32 | 65 |
| The country can't solve many of its important problems | 50 | 64 |
| The country's best years are behind us | 49 | 61 |
| Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient | 56 | 72 |
| Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough | 47 | 71 |
| Government should do more to help the needy even if it means going deeper into debt | 43 | 66 |
| Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest | 47 | 28 |
| Immigrants today are a burden on the country | 35 | 79 |
| Business corporations make too much profit | 56 | 79 |
| Wall Street hurts the economy more than it helps | 42 | 54 |
| U.S. should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate at home | 60 | 87 |
| U.S. effort to solve problems around the world usually end up making things worse | 40 | 57 |
| Free trade agreements with other countries have been a bad thing for U.S. | 30 | 44 |
| Religion is a very important part of life | 66 | 76 |
| Homosexuality should be accepted by society | 62 | 49 |
| Abortion should be legal in all or most cases | 51 | 44 |
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NEXT GENERATION LEFT

12% OF ADULT POPULATION / 13% OF REGISTERED VOTERS / 11% OF VERY ENGAGED
65% Dem/Lean Dem (35% Dem, 29% Lean Dem)

Basic description: Young, well-educated and financially comfortable, the Next Generation Left have very liberal attitudes on many issues, including homosexuality and abortion, the environment and foreign policy. They are supportive of an activist government, but wary of expanding the social safety net. They also have relatively positive views of Wall Street's impact on the economy. While most affiliate with the Democratic Party or lean Democratic, few consider themselves strong Democrats.

Defining values: Fully 88% of the Next Generation Left say that homosexuality should be accepted by society and 78% favor same-sex marriage. Just 24% believe society is better off if people make getting married and having children a priority. The Next Generation Left are not critical of government – 67% say it "often does a better job than people give it credit for." And most think government aid to the poor does more good than harm. Yet 56% say the government cannot afford to do much more to help the needy. The Next Generation Left value racial and ethnic diversity, but just 19% think that racial discrimination is holding back many blacks; far more (68%) say blacks who can't ahead are responsible for their own condition.

Political attitudes: The Next Generation Left were solidly in the Democratic camp in 2012 and are likely to be there again this year – 61% of registered voters support the Democratic candidate for Congress in their district, or lean Democratic, in a 2014 ballot test. However, 49% think the Democratic Party "too often sees government as the only way to solve problems." Only about a third of the Next Generation Left (35%) are Democratis and just 15% say they are strong Democrats. Still, most (65%) at least lean to the Democratic Party. This group has the highest share of self-described moderates (53%) in the political typology.

Who they are: About two-thirds (68%) are non-Hispanic whites and 15% are Hispanic. One of the two youngest groups, the average age is 41 and a third (33%) are younger than 30. Roughly three-quarters (74%) have some college experience and 62% are financially satisfied.

Lifestyle notes: Only about half of the Next Generation Left (47%) view religion as very important and only about one-in-five (21%) attend services at least weekly. Most (71%) have an interest in science and technology. While 57% say it is important to live close to museums and theaters, an even higher percentage (70%) value access to the outdoors for hiking, fishing and camping.

KEY BELIEFS

| | General Public | Next Generation Left |
|--|-------------------|-------------------------|
| | % | % |
| Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost | 56 | 81 |
| Government aid to the poor does more good than harm | 47 | 68 |
| The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy | 51 | 56 |
| Wall Street HELPS the American economy more than it hurts | 45 | 56 |
| Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit | 39 | 45 |
| It is NOT necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values | 53 | 91 |
| Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard | 65 | 77 |
| Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents | 57 | 83 |
| Favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally | 54 | 78 |
| Blacks who can't get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition | 63 | 68 |
| Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites | 49 | 67 |
| Society is better off if people make marriage and having children a priority | 46 | 24 |
| Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace | 62 | 76 |
| Free trade agreements with other countries have been good for the U.S. | 59 | 73 |
| Relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism | 57 | 71 |
| It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs | 35 | 54 |
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FAITH AND FAMILY LEFT

15% OF ADULT POPULATION, 16% OF REGISTERED VOTERS, 12% OF VERY ENGAGED
61% Dem/Lean Dem (46% Dem, 15% Lean Dem)

Basic description: The Faith and Family Left combine strong support for activist government with conservative attitudes on many social issues. They are highly diverse – this is the only typology group that is "majority-minority." The Faith and Family Left favor increased government aid for the poor even if it adds to the deficit and believe that government should do more to solve national problems. They oppose same-sex marriage and legalizing marijuana. Religion and family are at the center of their lives. Most say it is necessary to believe in God in order to be moral.

Defining values: Fully 85% of the Faith and Family Left say religion is very important and 51% want the government to do more to protect morality -- the highest percentage of any typology group. Most support government aid to the poor: 59% say it does more good than harm because people are unable to escape poverty unless their basic needs are met. Fully 74% support affirmative action programs and just 23% think the country has made needed changes to give blacks equal rights. Yet a majority of the Faith and Family Left (57%) say that blacks who are unable to get ahead are responsible for their own condition.

Political attitudes: Most say they voted for Obama in 2012 and this year 63% of registered voters support the Democratic candidate for Congress in their district. Yet they have the highest share of self-described conservatives (37%) of any Democratic-leaning typology group. Just half know that the GOP has a majority in the House and even fewer (44%) know that Democrats have a majority in the Senate.

Who they are: The Faith and Family Left includes the highest share of African Americans (30%) and Hispanics (19%) of any typology group; they also have the largest share of foreign-born (18%). One of the least educated (54% have no more than a high school education), and lowest income groups (45% make less than \$30,000 a year). Roughly half (51%) are 50 and older.

Lifestyle notes: Two-thirds (66%) say they are interested in religion and spirituality. Roughly half (51%) attend services at least weekly. Fully 73% say compassion and helping others are core values. Just 38% are interested in health and fitness, among the lowest shares of any typology group.

KEY BELIEFS

| | General Public | Faith & Family Left |
|---|-------------------|------------------------|
| | % | % |
| Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest | 47 | 67 |
| Government often does a better job than people give it credit for | 40 | 63 |
| Government aid to poor does more good than harm | 46 | 59 |
| Government should do more to help the needy even if it means going deeper into debt | 43 | 58 |
| Religion is very important part of life | 66 | 85 |
| Society is better off when people make marriage and having children a priority | 46 | 64 |
| Humans and other living things have evolved over time | 61 | 44 |
| Racial discrimination is the main reason why many blacks can't get ahead these days | 27 | 31 |
| View affirmative action programs as a good thing | 63 | 74 |
| Immigrants strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents | 57 | 70 |
| Homosexuality should be accepted by society | 62 | 43 |
| Favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally | 54 | 37 |
| Abortion should be legal in all or most cases | 51 | 40 |
| Marijuana should be legal | 54 | 43 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2014 Political Typology. | | |

SOLID LIBERALS

15% OF ADULT POPULATION / 17% OF REGISTERED VOTERS / 21% OF VERY ENGAGED
89% Dem/Lean Dem (61% Dem, 28% Lean Dem)

BASIC DESCRIPTION: Highly educated and affluent, Solid Liberals strongly support the social safety net and take very liberal positions on virtually all issues. Most say they always vote Democratic and they are unflagging supporters of Barack Obama. Solid Liberals are very optimistic about the nation's future and are the most likely to say that America's success is linked to its ability to change, rather than its reliance on long-standing principles. On foreign policy, Solid Liberals overwhelmingly believe that good diplomacy – rather than military strength – is the best way to ensure peace; in addition, most say that relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that fuels more terrorism.

DEFINING VALUES: Fully 83% of Solid Liberals say the government should do more to help the needy, even if it means going deeper into debt. About as many (87%) say government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest. An equally large majority (87%) says abortion should be legal in all or most cases; 44% say there should be no restrictions at all on abortion. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) say that religion is not that important to them. Eight-in-ten say racial discrimination is the main reason blacks can't get ahead; among the public generally, just 27% express this view.

POLITICAL ATTITUDES: Solid Liberals strongly backed Barack Obama in 2012 and remain supportive of him today: 84% approve of his job performance, with 51% approving very strongly. Solid Liberals view other leading Democrats positively as well. Nearly nine-in-ten (88%) have a favorable opinion of Hillary Clinton. Sen. Elizabeth Warren is not as well known; still, 61% view the Massachusetts senator favorably while just 9% view her unfavorably. About as many have a *very* favorable impression of Warren as Clinton (40% Warren, 42% Clinton). While Solid Liberals view many leading Republicans unfavorably, they have especially negative opinions of Sen. Ted Cruz: 2% have a favorable opinion of Cruz, compared with 71% who view him unfavorably – 62% *very* unfavorably.

WHO THEY ARE: The most highly educated of the typology groups, 52% have college degrees and 21% have graduate degrees. They also are the most urban group (47% live in urban areas), and are generally satisfied with their financial situation. A majority of Solid Liberals (56%) are women. Nearly half (46%) seldom or never attend religious services.

LIFESTYLE NOTES: Solid Liberals prefer an urban lifestyle: 45% say if they could live anywhere they wanted, they would live in a city. And 73% would rather live in a community with smaller houses closer to schools and shopping, than one with larger houses where things are farther apart; that is the highest percentage of any typology group. A large majority (69%) values living in a community that is in close proximity to art museums and theaters. Just 12% say the description "hunter, fisher or sportsman" fits them well, the lowest share of any typology group.

KEY BELIEFS

| | General Public | Solid Liberals |
|--|-------------------|-------------------|
| | % | % |
| Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost | 56 | 93 |
| U.S. economic system unfairly favors powerful interests | 62 | 88 |
| Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest | 47 | 87 |
| Government should do more to help the needy even if it means going deeper into debt | 43 | 83 |
| Business corporations make too much profit | 56 | 80 |
| Solid evidence that global warming is caused by human activity | 40 | 78 |
| Government often does a better job than people give it credit for | 40 | 70 |
| Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents | 57 | 93 |
| Abortion should be legal in all or most cases | 51 | 87 |
| Racial discrimination is the main reason why many blacks can't get ahead these days | 27 | 80 |
| This country has been successful more because of its ability to change than reliance on long-standing principles | 51 | 79 |
| Children are better off when a parent stays home to focus on the family | 60 | 40 |
| Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace | 62 | 91 |
| It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs | 35 | 55 |
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BYSTANDERS

10% OF ADULT POPULATION, 0% OF REGISTERED VOTERS

• 43% Dem/Lean Dem (19% Dem, 24% Lean Dem), 23% Rep/Lean Rep (7% Rep, 16% Lean Rep), 34% Ind/Other no leaning

Basic description: Bystanders are on the sidelines of the political process, either by choice or because they are ineligible to vote. None are currently registered to vote. Most follow government and public affairs only now and then (32%) or hardly at all (32%).

Who they are: Nearly four-in-ten Bystanders (38%) are under 30. About a third (32%) are Hispanic, 10% are black and 48% are non-Hispanic whites. A third were born outside the United States. Bystanders have low levels of education and household income. Two-thirds (67%) have no college experience; just 11% are college graduates. Nearly six-in-ten (58%) have family incomes of \$30,000 or less.

Lifestyle notes: Bystanders like the outdoors: 66% think of themselves as an "outdoor person." In addition, 35% describe themselves as a "video or computer gamer." Among the public generally, just 21% think of themselves as video gamers. Bystanders are more likely to say they are interested in celebrities and entertainment than the public overall (64% vs. 44%); about two-thirds (64%) are interested in health and medicine, and 50% follow science and technology. Bystanders express relatively low interest in business and finance and, not surprisingly, government and politics.

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Appendix 2: About the Political Typology

The 2014 political typology divides the public into seven politically engaged groups, along with an eighth group of less engaged Bystanders. The assignment of individuals to one of the seven core typology groups is based on their responses to 23 questions about social and political values.

The questions used in the typology construction are in a balanced alternative format where respondents choose which of two statements most closely reflects their own views (Q25 and Q50 in the topline). Items included in the typology construction measure a variety of dimensions of political values and are used to group people in multi dimensional political space. Many of these values are similar to those used in past typology studies; however this year's typology is a departure from past analyses because it uses individual questions; in prior years, scales measuring underlying political dimensions were constructed using many of the same questions. This new approach allowed for the inclusion of some additional values not used in prior typologies (for instance, values about U.S. involvement in world affairs). In addition, unlike previous typologies, this year's typology does not include any measure of party affiliation in the model, nor does it include measures of personal financial security.

The typology groups are created using cluster analysis, a statistical procedure that uses respondents' scores on all 23 items to sort them into relatively homogeneous groups. The tables on the following pages show each of the questions and the distribution of responses among of each of the seven typology groups (excluding Bystanders).

Cluster analysis is not an exact process. Different cluster solutions are possible using the same data depending on model specifications and even the order in which respondents are sorted. In order to address the sensitivity of cluster analysis to the order in which cases are entered, each cluster model was run several thousand times, and the results compared, to identify the solution that produced the set of groups that were both homogeneous internally and different from one another with respect to the set of political values. In technical terms, the solution for each model with the lowest sum of squared error of the clusters was chosen. Models with different numbers of clusters were examined, and the results evaluated for their effectiveness in producing cohesive groups that were sufficiently distinct from one another, large enough in size to be analytically practical and substantively meaningful.

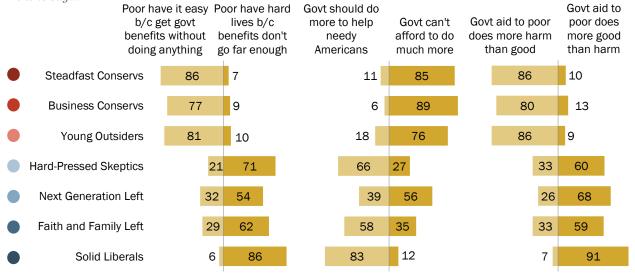
While each model differed somewhat from the others, all of them shared certain key features. The final model selected to produce the political typology was judged to be strongest from a statistical point of view, most persuasive from a substantive point of view, and was representative of the general patterns seen across the various cluster solutions.

As in past typologies, a measure of political attentiveness and voting participation was used to extract the "Bystander" group, people who are largely not engaged or involved in politics, before the remaining respondents were sorted into groups. Bystanders are defined as those who are: 1) Not registered to vote; 2) Say they seldom or never vote; and 3) Do not follow government and public affairs most of the time. They represent 10% of the overall population and were held aside prior to scale development and assignment of the remaining 90% of respondents to their typology groups.

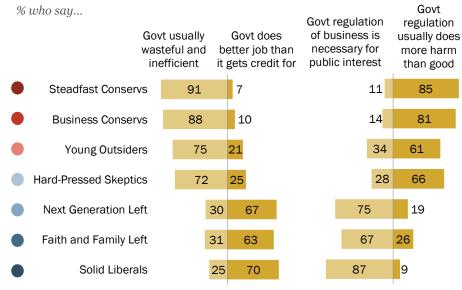
Questions Used in Creating the Political Typology

Views of the Social Safety Net

% who say...



Views of Government

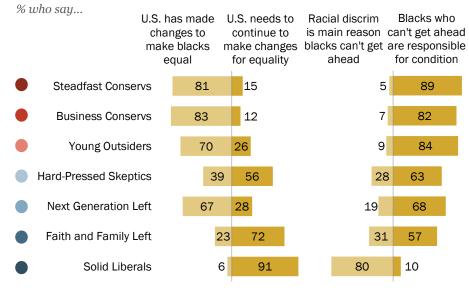


See topline for full question wording for each item. "Don't know" responses not shown.

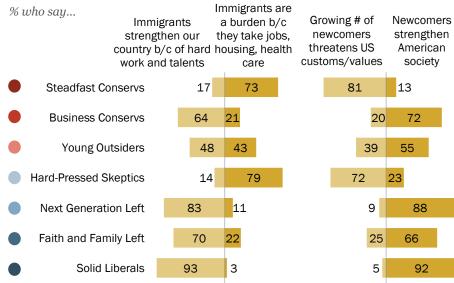
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Views about Race



Views of Immigrants

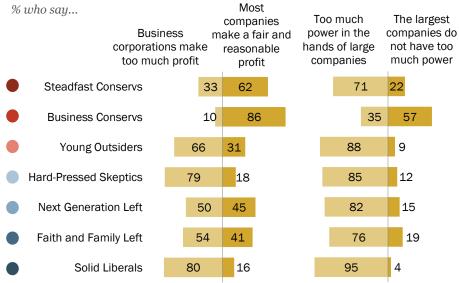


See topline for full question wording for each item. "Don't know" responses not shown.

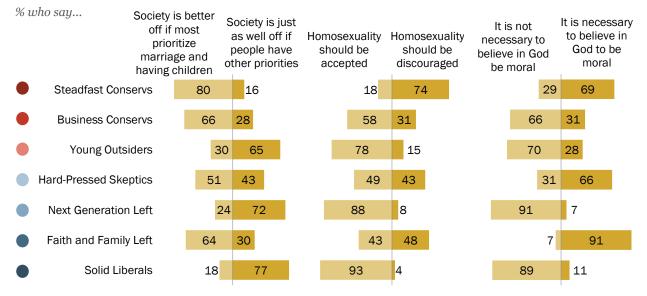
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Views of Business



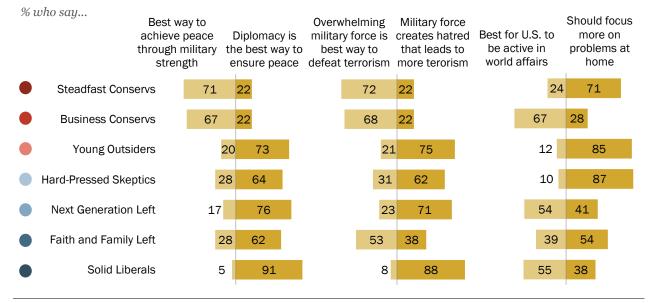
Views about Family, Religion, Homosexuality

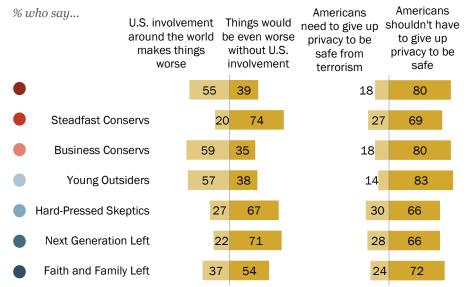


See topline for full question wording for each item. "Don't know" responses not shown.

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Views about Foreign Policy, Terrorism

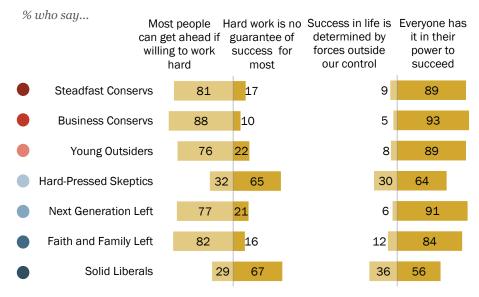




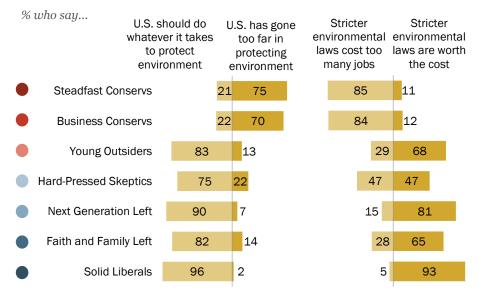
See topline for full question wording for each item. "Don't know" responses not shown.

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Views about Individualism



Views about the Environment



See topline for full question wording for each item. Don't know responses not shown.

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Appendix 3: About the Surveys

The data in this report are based on three independent survey administrations with the same randomly selected, nationally representative group of respondents. The first is the center's largest survey on domestic politics to date: the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey, a telephone survey of just over 10,000 Americans. A subset of these respondents has been impaneled into the newly created American Trends Panel. Follow-up surveys have been conducted with them, and this report includes data from two of these follow-up surveys (the first by Web and telephone, the second by Web and mail). The main telephone survey and the panel surveys are described separately, in further detail, in the section that follows.

Overview of Telephone Survey Methodology

Most of the analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted January 23-March 16, 2014 among a randomly selected national sample of 10,013 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (5010 respondents were interviewed on a landline, and 5003 were interviewed on a cellphone, including 2,649 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted under the direction of Abt SRBI. A combination of landline and cellphone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who was at home at the time of the call. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://people-press.org/methodology/.

Data collection was divided equally into three phases (A, B, and C) with independent samples, non-overlapping interview dates and separate weighting. The questionnaire for each phase contained a core set of measures of political attitudes and values, political engagement and demographic characteristics, along with a set of unique questions about issues, lifestyle, media use and other topics covered in this series of reports. Additionally, most respondents to the survey were invited to join the newly created Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel, described below.

The combined landline and cellphone sample is weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the 2012 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the 2010 U.S. Census. The sample is also weighted to match current patterns of telephone status (landline only, cellphone only or both landline and cellphone), based on extrapolations from the January-June 2013 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure accounts

for the fact that respondents with both landline and cellphones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that

| Group | Total samp | le for all three phases | Single phase (phase with smallest N shown) | | | |
|-------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------|--|-----------------------|--|--|
| | Unweighted sample size | Plus or minus | Unweighted sample size | Plus or minus | | |
| Total sample | 10013 | 1.1 percentage points | 3335 | 2.0 percentage points | | |
| Steadfast Conservatives | 1427 | 3.0 percentage points | 457 | 5.3 percentage points | | |
| Business Conservatives | 1197 | 3.3 percentage points | 380 | 5.8 percentage points | | |
| Young Outsiders | 1246 | 3.2 percentage points | 391 | 5.7 percentage points | | |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | 1135 | 3.4 percentage points | 347 | 6.1 percentage points | | |
| Next Generation Left | 1208 | 3.3 percentage points | 389 | 5.7 percentage points | | |
| Faith and Family Left | 1393 | 3.0 percentage points | 445 | 5.4 percentage points | | |
| Solid Liberals | 1752 | 2.7 percentage points | 563 | 4.8 percentage points | | |
| Bystanders | 655 | 4.4 percentage points | 202 | 8.0 percentage points | | |

would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

Telephone Survey Methodology in Detail

Sample Design

A combination of landline and cellphone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Landline and cellphone numbers were sampled to yield an equal number of landline and cellphone interviews.

The design of the landline sample ensures representation of both listed and unlisted numbers (including those not yet listed) by using random digit dialing. This method uses random generation of the last two digits of telephone numbers selected on the basis of the area code, telephone exchange and bank number. A bank is defined as 100 contiguous telephone numbers, for example 800-555-1200 to 800-555-1299. The telephone exchanges are selected to be proportionally stratified by county and by telephone exchange within the county. That is, the number of telephone numbers randomly sampled from within a given county is proportional to that county's share of telephone numbers in the U.S. Only banks of telephone numbers containing one or more listed residential numbers are selected.

The cellphone sample is drawn through systematic sampling from dedicated wireless banks of 1,000 contiguous numbers and shared service banks with no directory-listed landline numbers (to ensure that the cellphone sample does not include banks that are also included in the landline sample). The sample is designed to be representative, both geographically and by large and small wireless carriers.

Both the landline and cell samples are released for interviewing in replicates, which are small random samples of each larger sample. Using replicates to control the release of telephone numbers ensures that the complete call procedures are followed for all numbers dialed. The use of replicates also improves the overall representativeness of the survey by helping to ensure that the regional distribution of numbers called is appropriate.

Respondent Selection

Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest male or female, 18 years of age or older who was at home at the time of the call (for half of the households interviewers ask to speak with the youngest male first, and for the other half the youngest female). If there is no eligible person of the requested gender at home, interviewers ask to speak with the youngest adult of the opposite gender now at home. This method of selecting respondents within households improves participation among young people, who are often more difficult to interview

than older people because of their lifestyles, but this method is not a random sampling of members of the household.

Unlike a landline phone, a cellphone is assumed in Pew Research polls to be a personal device. Interviewers ask if the person who answers the cellphone is 18 years of age or older to determine if the person is eligible to complete the survey; interviewers also confirm that the person is not driving and is in a safe place. For those in the cell sample, no effort is made to give other household members a chance to be interviewed. Although some people share cellphones, it is still uncertain whether the benefits of sampling among the users of a shared cellphone outweigh the disadvantages.

Interviewing

Interviewing was conducted under the direction of Abt SRBI. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Data collection was divided equally into three phases (A, B and C) with independent samples, non-overlapping interview dates and separate weighting. The questionnaire for each phase contained a core set of measures of political attitudes and values, political engagement and demographic characteristics, along with a set of unique questions about issues, lifestyle, media use and other topics covered in this series of reports.

As many as seven attempts were made to complete an interview at every sampled landline and cellphone number. Calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week (including at least one daytime call) to maximize the chances of making contact with a potential respondent. An effort was made to recontact most interview breakoffs or refusals to attempt to convert them to completed interviews. People reached on cellphones were offered \$5 compensation for the minutes used to complete the survey. Additionally, most respondents to the survey were invited to join the newly created Pew Research Center's American Trends Panel (see below).

Overall, the response rate was 11.2% for the landline sample and 9.8% for the cell sample. The response rate is the percentage of known or assumed residential households for which a completed interview was obtained, and is computed using the American Association for Public Opinion Research's method for Response Rate 3 (RR3) as outlined in their <u>Standard Definitions</u>.

Weighting

The landline sample is first weighted by household size to account for the fact that people in larger households have a lower probability of being selected. In addition, the combined landline and cellphone sample is weighted to adjust for the overlap of the landline and cell frames (since people

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with both a landline and cellphone have a greater probability of being included in the sample), including the relative size of each frame and each sample.

The sample is then weighted to population parameters using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity, region, population density and telephone usage. The population parameters for gender, age, education, race/ethnicity and region are from the Census Bureau's 2012 American Community Survey (ACS) one-year estimates, and the parameter for population density is from the 2010 U.S. Census. The parameter for telephone usage (landline only, cellphone only, both landline and cellphone) is based on extrapolations from the January-June 2013 National Health Interview Survey. The specific weighting parameters are: gender by age, gender by education, age by education, race/ethnicity (including Hispanic origin and nativity), region, density and telephone usage; non-Hispanic whites are also balanced on age, education and region. The weighting procedure simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. The final weights are trimmed to prevent individual cases from having a disproportionate influence on the final results.

Weighting cannot eliminate every source of nonresponse bias. Nonetheless, properly-conducted public opinion polls have a good record of obtaining unbiased samples.

Sampling Error

Sampling error results from collecting data from some, rather than all, members of the population. The 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey of 10,013 adults had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 1.1 percentage points with a 95% confidence interval. This means that in 95 out of every 100 samples of the same size and type, the results we obtain would vary by no more than plus or minus 1.1 percentage points from the result we would get if we could interview every member of the population. Thus, the chances are very high (95 out of 100) that any sample we draw will be within 1.1 points of the true population value. The margins of error reported and statistical tests of significance are adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, a measure of how much efficiency is lost from the weighting procedures.

Many of the findings in this report are based on parts of the sample, such as the interviews in a single phase of the study (approximate sample size 3,333) or on subgroups such as Democrats or women. The sampling error for these will be larger than for the total sample. Sampling error for frequently-cited subgroups and for the individual phases are reported above.

The American Trends Panel Surveys (ATP)

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by the Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults living in households. Respondents who self-identify as internet users (representing 89% of U.S. adults) participate in the panel via monthly self-administered Web surveys, and those who do not use the internet participate via telephone or mail. The panel is being managed by Abt SRBI.

Data in this report are drawn from two waves of the panel. The March-April wave (ATP W1) was conducted March 19-April 29, 2014 among 3,308 respondents (2,901 by Web and 407 by phone). The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 3,308 respondents is plus or minus 2.2 percentage points.

The May wave (ATP W3) of the panel was conducted April 29-May 27, 2014 among 3,243 respondents (2,906 by web and 337 by mail). The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 3,243 respondents is plus or minus 2.3 percentage points.

All current members of the American Trends Panel were originally recruited from the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey, a large (n=10,013) national landline and cellphone random digit dial (RDD) survey conducted January 23rd to March 16th, 2014, in English and Spanish. At the end of that survey, respondents were invited to join the panel. The invitation was extended to all respondents who use the internet (from any location) and a random subsample of respondents who do not use the internet.¹

Of the 10,013 adults interviewed, 9,809 were invited to take part in the panel. A total of 5,338 agreed to participate and provided either a mailing address or an email address to which a welcome packet, a monetary incentive and future survey invitations could be sent. Panelists also receive a small monetary incentive after participating in each wave of the survey.

The ATP data were weighted in a multi-step process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original survey selection probability and the fact that some panelists were subsampled for invitation to the panel. Next, an adjustment was made for the fact that the propensity to join the panel varied across different groups in the sample. The final step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region to parameters from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2012 American Community Survey.

¹ When data collection for the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey began, non-internet users were subsampled at a rate of 25%, but a decision was made shortly thereafter to invite all non-internet users to join. In total, 83% of non-internet users were invited to join the panel.

Population density is weighted to match the 2010 U.S. Decennial Census. Telephone service is weighted to estimates of telephone coverage for 2014 that were projected from the January-June 2013 National Health Interview Survey. It also adjusts for party affiliation using an average of the three most recent Pew Research Center general public telephone surveys, and for internet use using as a parameter a measure from the 2014 Survey of Political Polarization. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting.

The Web component of the March-April wave had a response rate of 61% (2,901 responses among 4,753 Web-based individuals enrolled in the panel); the telephone component had a response rate of 70% (407 responses among 585 non-Web individuals enrolled in the panel). Taking account of the response rate for the 2014 Survey of Political Polarization (10.6%), the cumulative response rate for the March-April ATP wave is 3.6%.

The Web component of the May wave had a response rate of 61% (2,906 responses among 4,740 Web-based individuals enrolled in the panel); the mail component had a response rate of 61% (337 responses among 553 non-Web individuals enrolled in the panel). Taking account of the response rate for the 2014 Survey of Political Polarization (10.6%), the cumulative response rate for the May ATP wave is 3.5%.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the two panel waves:

| Sample Size and Margin of Error for American Trends Panel Waves | | | | | | | | |
|---|---------------------------|------------------------|---------------------------|------------------------|--|--|--|--|
| Group | Marc | ch-April (ATP W1) | May (ATP W3) | | | | | |
| | Unweighted sample size | Plus or minus | Unweighted sample size | Plus or minus | | | | |
| Total sample | 3308 | 2.2 percentage points | 3243 | 2.3 percentage points | | | | |
| Steadfast Conservatives | 428 | 6.1 percentage points | 427 | 6.2 percentage points | | | | |
| Business Conservatives | 441 | 6.0 percentage points | 445 | 6.1 percentage points | | | | |
| Young Outsiders | 419 | 6.1 percentage points | 415 | 6.3 percentage points | | | | |
| Hard-Pressed Skeptics | 288 | 7.4 percentage points | 261 | 7.9 percentage points | | | | |
| Next Generation Left | 450 | 5.9 percentage points | 445 | 6.1 percentage points | | | | |
| Faith and Family Left | 305 | 7.2 percentage points | 301 | 7.4 percentage points | | | | |
| Solid Liberals | 823 | 4.4 percentage points | 802 | 4.5 percentage points | | | | |
| Bystanders | 154 | 10.1 percentage points | 147 | 10.6 percentage points | | | | |

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Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2014 POLITICAL POLARIZATION AND TYPOLOGY SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE

Phase A: January 23-February 9, 2014 N=3,341 Phase B: February 12-26, 2014 N=3,337 Phase C: February 27-March 16, 2014 N=3,335 Combined N=10,013

ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q.A1 Generally, how would you say things are these days in your life -- would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?

| Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014 Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 (SDT) Jul 16-26, 2012 (SDT) Dec 6-19, 2011 (SDT) Sep 1-15, 2011 (SDT) Mar 15-29, 2011 (SDT) Jan 14-27, 2010 (SDT) Jul 20-Aug 2, 2009 (SDT) Apr 2-8, 2009 (SDT) Get 3-19, 2008 (SDT) Jun 16-Jul 16, 2008 (SDT) October, 2006 November, 2005 October, 2005 October, 2003 Echman, 2002 | Very happy 30 29 30 31 30 28 34 29 32 29 35 36 29 34 29 34 29 | Pretty happy 53 51 47 50 47 52 54 49 52 49 51 48 51 56 50 51 51 | Not too happy 15 16 21 15 20 16 16 15 16 15 17 14 12 14 15 16 | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 2 4 1 3 2 2 3 4 4 3 1 1 1 4 2 |
|--|---|---|--|--|
| Late March, 2003 February, 2003 | 29 29 | 51 | 17 | 3 |
| September, 1996 | 34 | 53 | 11 | 2 |

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

| | Approve | Dis- Approve | (VOL.) DK/Ref | | Approve | Dis- <u>Approve</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|---------------------|---------|-----------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 44 | 49 | 7 | Dec 7-11, 2011 | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| Feb 14-23, 2014 | 44 | 48 | 8 | Nov 9-14, 2011 | 46 | 46 | 8 |
| Jan 15-19, 2014 (U) | 43 | 49 | 8 | Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 43 | 48 | 9 |
| Dec 3-8, 2013 (U) | 45 | 49 | 6 | Aug 17-21, 2011 | 43 | 49 | 7 |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 41 | 53 | 6 | Jul 20-24, 2011 | 44 | 48 | 8 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 43 | 51 | 6 | Jun 15-19, 2011 | 46 | 45 | 8 |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 (U) | 44 | 49 | 8 | May 25-30, 2011 | 52 | 39 | 10 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 46 | 46 | 7 | May 5-8, 2011 | 50 | 39 | 11 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 49 | 43 | 7 | May 2, 2011 (WP) | 56 | 38 | 6 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 51 | 43 | 6 | Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 47 | 46 | 8 | Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 51 | 39 | 10 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 51 | 41 | 7 | Feb 2-7, 2011 | 49 | 42 | 9 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 52 | 40 | 7 | Jan 5-9, 2011 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 55 | 39 | 6 | Dec 1-5, 2010 | 45 | 43 | 13 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 50 | 43 | 7 | Nov 4-7, 2010 | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 47 | 45 | 8 | Oct 13-18, 2010 | 46 | 45 | 9 |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 | 46 | 42 | 11 | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 46 | 45 | 9 | Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 47 | 41 | 12 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 50 | 41 | 9 | Jun 8-28, 2010 | 48 | 41 | 11 |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 47 | 43 | 10 | Jun 16-20, 2010 | 48 | 43 | 9 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 44 | 48 | 8 | May 6-9, 2010 | 47 | 42 | 11 |

Q.C1 CONTINUED...

| - | | Dis- | (VOL.) | | | Dis- | (VOL.) |
|--------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|--------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Approve</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> | | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Approve</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| Apr 21-26, 2010 | 47 | 42 | 11 | Aug 20-27, 2009 | 52 | 37 | 12 |
| Apr 8-11, 2010 | 48 | 43 | 9 | Aug 11-17, 2009 | 51 | 37 | 11 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 46 | 43 | 12 | Jul 22-26, 2009 | 54 | 34 | 12 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 49 | 39 | 12 | Jun 10-14, 2009 | 61 | 30 | 9 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 49 | 42 | 10 | Apr 14-21, 2009 | 63 | 26 | 11 |
| Dec 9-13, 2009 | 49 | 40 | 11 | Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009 | 61 | 26 | 13 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 51 | 36 | 13 | Mar 9-12, 2009 | 59 | 26 | 15 |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 52 | 36 | 12 | Feb 4-8, 2009 | 64 | 17 | 19 |
| Sep 10-15, 2009 | 55 | 33 | 13 | | | | |

ASK IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (Q.C1=1,2):

Q.C1a Do you [approve/disapprove] very strongly, or not so strongly?

BASED ON TOTAL PHASE C:

| | Approve | | | | Disapprove | | | | |
|---------------------|---------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------|--------|
| | | Very | Not so | (VOL.) | | Very | Not so | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| | Total | <u>strongly</u> | <u>strongly</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> | Total | <u>strongly</u> | <u>strongly</u> | DK/Ref | DK/Ref |
| Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 44 | 26 | 17 | 1 | 49 | 38 | 11 | 1 | 7 |
| Dec 3-8, 2013 (U) | 45 | 26 | 16 | 3 | 49 | 39 | 9 | 1 | 6 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 49 | 31 | 17 | 2 | 43 | 33 | 10 | * | 7 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 52 | 35 | 15 | 2 | 40 | 31 | 8 | 1 | 7 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 46 | 30 | 15 | 2 | 45 | 36 | 8 | 1 | 9 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 44 | 27 | 15 | 2 | 48 | 35 | 12 | 1 | 8 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 43 | 26 | 15 | 2 | 48 | 34 | 13 | 1 | 9 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 43 | 26 | 15 | 2 | 49 | 38 | 11 | 1 | 7 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 51 | 32 | 18 | 2 | 39 | 29 | 10 | 1 | 10 |
| Jan 5-9, 2011 | 46 | 27 | 16 | 2 | 44 | 30 | 13 | 1 | 10 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 47 | 28 | 17 | 2 | 44 | 32 | 11 | 1 | 9 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 48 | 29 | 17 | 2 | 43 | 31 | 11 | 1 | 9 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 49 | 30 | 15 | 3 | 42 | 30 | 11 | 1 | 10 |
| Apr 14-21, 2009 | 63 | 45 | 13 | 5 | 26 | 18 | 8 | * | 11 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

| 5 4 40 00 0014 | Satis- <u>fied</u> | Dis- satisfied | (VOL.) DK/Ref | 1 15 10 2011 | Satis- <u>fied</u> | Dis- satisfied | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-------------------|-------------------------|
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 28 | 66 | 6 | Jun 15-19, 2011 | 23 | 73 | 4 |
| Jan 15-19, 2014 | 26 | 69 | 5 | May 5-8, 2011 | 30 | 62 | 8 |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 21 | 75 | 3 | May 2, 2011 | 32 | 60 | 8 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 14 | 81 | 5 | Mar 8-14, 2011 | 22 | 73 | 5 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 27 | 67 | 6 | Feb 2-7, 2011 | 26 | 68 | 5 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 30 | 65 | 5 | Jan 5-9, 2011 | 23 | 71 | 6 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 31 | 64 | 5 | Dec 1-5, 2010 | 21 | 72 | 7 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 30 | 66 | 4 | Nov 4-7, 2010 | 23 | 69 | 8 |
| Dec 17-19, 2012 | 25 | 68 | 7 | Sep 23-26, 2010 | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 33 | 62 | 5 | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 25 | 71 | 5 |
| Oct 18-21, 2012 | 32 | 61 | 8 | Jun 24-27, 2010 | 27 | 64 | 9 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 31 | 64 | 5 | May 13-16, 2010 | 28 | 64 | 7 |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 28 | 68 | 5 | Apr 21-26, 2010 | 29 | 66 | 5 |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 | 29 | 64 | 7 | Apr 1-5, 2010 | 31 | 63 | 6 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 24 | 69 | 6 | Mar 11-21, 2010 | 25 | 69 | 5 |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 28 | 66 | 6 | Mar 10-14, 2010 | 23 | 71 | 7 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 21 | 75 | 4 | Feb 3-9, 2010 | 23 | 71 | 6 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 17 | 78 | 5 | Jan 6-10, 2010 | 27 | 69 | 4 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 17 | 79 | 4 | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 25 | 67 | 7 |
| Jul 20-24, 2011 | 17 | 79 | 4 | Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 25 | 67 | 7 |

Q.B2 CONTINUED...

| Q.B2 CONTINUED | | | | | | | |
|------------------------------|--------|------------------|---------------|------------------------|--------|------------------|---------------|
| | Satis- | Dis- | (VOL.) | | Satis- | Dis- | (VOL.) |
| | fied | <u>satisfied</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> | | fied | <u>satisfied</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| Sep 10-15, 2009 ¹ | 30 | 64 | 7 | January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 28 | 65 | 7 | November, 2002 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| Aug 11-17, 2009 | 28 | 65 | 7 | September, 2002 | 41 | 55 | 4 |
| Jul 22-26, 2009 | 28 | 66 | 6 | Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| Jun 10-14, 2009 | 30 | 64 | 5 | May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 34 | 58 | 8 | March, 2002 | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| Apr 14-21, 2009 | 23 | 70 | 7 | Late September, 2001 | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| Jan 7-11, 2009 | 20 | 73 | 7 | Early September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | 6 |
| December, 2008 | 13 | 83 | , 4 | June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | 5 |
| Early October, 2008 | 11 | 86 | 3 | March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 25 | 69 | 6 | February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| | 23 | 74 | 5 | | 55 | 43 | 4 |
| August, 2008 | | | | January, 2001 | | | 4 7 |
| July, 2008 | 19 | 74 | 7 | October, 2000 (RVs) | 54 | 39 | |
| June, 2008 | 19 | 76 | 5 | September, 2000 | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| Late May, 2008 | 18 | 76 | 6 | June, 2000 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| March, 2008 | 22 | 72 | 6 | April, 2000 | 48 | 43 | 9 |
| Early February, 2008 | 24 | 70 | 6 | August, 1999 | 56 | 39 | 5 |
| Late December, 2007 | 27 | 66 | 7 | January, 1999 | 53 | 41 | 6 |
| October, 2007 | 28 | 66 | 6 | November, 1998 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| February, 2007 | 30 | 61 | 9 | Early September, 1998 | 54 | 42 | 4 |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 32 | 61 | 7 | Late August, 1998 | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| Early January, 2007 | 30 | 63 | 7 | Early August, 1998 | 50 | 44 | 6 |
| December, 2006 | 28 | 65 | 7 | February, 1998 | 59 | 37 | 4 |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 28 | 64 | 8 | January, 1998 | 46 | 50 | 4 |
| Early October, 2006 | 30 | 63 | 7 | September, 1997 | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| July, 2006 | 30 | 65 | 5 | August, 1997 | 49 | 46 | 5 |
| May, 2006* | 29 | 65 | 6 | January, 1997 | 38 | 58 | 4 |
| March, 2006 | 32 | 63 | 5 | July, 1996 | 29 | 67 | 4 |
| January, 2006 | 34 | 61 | 5 | March, 1996 | 28 | 70 | 2 |
| Late November, 2005 | 34 | 59 | 7 | October, 1995 | 23 | 73 | 4 |
| Early October, 2005 | 29 | 65 | 6 | June, 1995 | 25 | 73 | 2 |
| July, 2005 | 35 | 58 | 7 | April, 1995 | 23 | 74 | 3 |
| Late May, 2005* | 39 | 57 | 4 | July, 1994 | 24 | 73 | 3 |
| February, 2005 | 38 | 56 | 6 | March, 1994 | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| January, 2005 | 40 | 54 | 6 | October, 1993 | 22 | 73 | 5 |
| December, 2004 | 39 | 54 | 7 | September, 1993 | 20 | 75 | 5 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 36 | 58 | 6 | May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | 7 |
| July, 2004 | 38 | 55 | 7 | January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | , 11 |
| - | 33 | 61 | | | 28 | 68 | 4 |
| May, 2004 | 39 | 55 | 6 | January, 1992 | | | 4 5 |
| Late February, 2004* | | | 6 | November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | |
| Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | 7 | Gallup: Late Feb, 1991 | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | 9 | August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | 6 | May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | 5 |
| August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | 7 | January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| April 8, 2003 | 50 | 41 | 9 | September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | 5 |

¹ In September 10-15, 2009 and other surveys noted with an asterisk, the question was worded "Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?"

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B3 And thinking about the local community where you live, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your local community today?

| | | | (VOL.) |
|------------------------------------|------------------|--------------|--------|
| | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | DK/Ref |
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 62 | 34 | 4 |
| Gallup: January, 2007 ² | 79 | 20 | 1 |
| March, 2006 | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| Gallup: January, 2005 | 75 | 24 | 1 |
| Gallup: January, 2004 | 76 | 23 | 1 |
| February, 2001 | 73 | 22 | 5 |
| Gallup: January, 2001 | 76 | 22 | 2 |
| March, 1994 | 68 | 27 | 5 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B4 Thinking about the future of the United States, do you think the country's best years are ahead of us or behind us?

| Feb 12-26 | | <i>Gallup</i> Dec 14-17 |
|-------------|---------------------------|----------------------------|
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2012</u> ³ |
| 44 | Ahead of us | 47 |
| 49 | Behind us | 50 |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 3 |

QUESTIONS B5, A6, A8, A9 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO QUESTIONS 7,10

ASK ALL:

Next,

Would you say your overall opinion of ... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is very favorable, mostly Q.11 favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."] How about [NEXT ITEM]?

| | | | Favoral | ole | U | nfavoral | ole | (VOL.) Never (| (VOL.) Can't rate/ |
|----|----------------------|-------|---------|--------|-------|----------|--------|--------------------------|------------------------------|
| | | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly | <u>heard of</u> | Ref |
| a. | The Republican Party | | | | | | | | |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 37 | 7 | 30 | 55 | 24 | 31 | * | 7 |
| | Dec 3-8, 2013 (U) | 35 | 8 | 27 | 59 | 28 | 31 | 0 | 6 |
| | Oct 9-13, 2013 | 38 | 5 | 32 | 58 | 26 | 32 | * | 4 |
| | Jul 17-21, 2013 | 33 | 7 | 25 | 58 | 25 | 34 | * | 9 |
| | Jun 12-16, 2013 | 40 | 8 | 32 | 55 | 23 | 33 | * | 5 |
| | Jan 9-13, 2013 | 33 | 6 | 28 | 58 | 27 | 31 | 1 | 8 |
| | Dec 5-9, 2012 | 36 | 7 | 28 | 59 | 23 | 36 | * | 5 |
| | Sep 12-16, 2012 | 42 | 12 | 30 | 50 | 25 | 26 | * | 8 |
| | Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 36 | 9 | 27 | 56 | 28 | 28 | * | 8 |
| | Mar 7-11, 2012 | 36 | 7 | 30 | 56 | 27 | 29 | * | 8 |
| | Jan 11-16, 2012 | 35 | 7 | 27 | 58 | 28 | 30 | * | 7 |
| | Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 36 | 7 | 29 | 55 | 27 | 28 | * | 9 |
| | Aug 17-21, 2011 | 34 | 5 | 29 | 59 | 27 | 32 | * | 7 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 42 | 9 | 32 | 51 | 22 | 28 | 1 | 7 |
| | Feb 2-7, 2011 | 43 | 8 | 35 | 48 | 19 | 29 | * | 9 |
| | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 43 | 8 | 35 | 49 | 21 | 28 | * | 8 |
| | July 1-5, 2010 | 39 | 10 | 29 | 49 | 24 | 25 | * | 12 |

² For January 10-14, 2001 through January 15-18, 2007 the Gallup question read, "All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your local community?" 3

In December 2012, Gallup asked "When you think about the future of the United States, which do you agree with more: the country's best years are ahead of us or the country's best years are behind us?"

Q.11 CONTINUED....

b.

| 11 CONTINUED | | | | | | | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|----------|-------------|
| | | | | | | | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| | | | ole | | nfavorab | | | Can't rate/ |
| | <u>Total</u> | <u>Very</u> | <u>Mostly</u> | <u>Total</u> | <u>Very</u> | <u>Mostly</u> | heard of | Ref |
| April 1-5, 2010 | 37 | 8 | 29 | 53 | 26 | 27 | * | 9 |
| Mar 18-21, 2010 | 37 | 5 | 32 | 51 | 20 | 31 | * | 12 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 46 | 5 | 41 | 46 | 14 | 32 | 0 | 8 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 40 | 6 | 34 | 50 | 19 | 31 | * | 10 |
| Aug 11-17, 2009 | 40 | 7 | 33 | 50 | 18 | 32 | * | 10 |
| Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009 | 40 | 7 | 33 | 51 | 17 | 34 | 0 | 9 |
| Jan 7-11, 2009 | 40 | 5 | 35 | 55 | 21 | 34 | * | 5 |
| Late October, 2008 | 40 | 10 | 30 | 50 | 23 | 27 | * | 10 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 47 | 11 | 36 | 46 | 22 | 24 | * | 7 |
| August, 2008 | 43 | 9 | 34 | 49 | 18 | 31 | 1 | 7 |
| Late May, 2008 | 39 | 7 | 32 | 53 | 20 | 33 | * | 8 |
| July, 2007 | 39 | 7 | 32 | 53 | 22 | 31 | 0 | 8 |
| Early January, 2007 | 41 | 9 | 32 | 48 | 21 | 27 | 1 | 10 |
| Late October, 2006 | 41 | 9 | 32 | 50 | 20 | 30 | * | 9 |
| July, 2006 | 40 | 10 | 30 | 52 | 23 | 29 | 1 | 7 |
| April, 2006 | 40 | 10 | 30 | 50 | 21 | 29 | * | 10 |
| February, 2006 | 44 | 11 | 33 | 50 | 24 | 26 | * | 6 |
| Late October, 2005 | 42 | 12 | 30 | 49 | 24 | 25 | * | 9 |
| July, 2005 | 48 | 13 | 35 | 43 | 18 | 25 | * | 9 |
| June, 2005 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 44 | 20 | 24 | 0 | 8 |
| December, 2004 | 52 | 15 | 37 | 42 | 17 | 25 | 0 | 6 |
| June, 2004 | 51 | 12 | 39 | 40 | 14 | 26 | 0 | 9 |
| Early February, 2004 | 52 | 14 | 38 | 42 | 16 | 26 | * | 6 |
| June, 2003 | 58 | 14 | 44 | 33 | 10 | 23 | 0 | 9 |
| April, 2003 | 63 | 14 | 49 | 31 | 10 | 21 | * | 6 |
| December, 2002 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 33 | 11 | 22 | * | 8 |
| July, 2001 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 42 | 15 | 27 | * | 10 |
| January, 2001 | 56 | 13 | 43 | 35 | 13 | 22 | * | 9 |
| September, 2000 (RVs) | 53 | 11 | 42 | 40 | 12 | 28 | 0 | 7 |
| August, 1999 | 53 | 8 | 45 | 43 | 12 | 31 | * | 4 |
| February, 1999 | 44 | 7 | 37 | 51 | 15 | 36 | 0 | 5 |
| January, 1999 | 44 | 10 | 34 | 50 | 23 | 27 | 0 | 6 |
| Early December, 1998 | 46 | 11 | 35 | 47 | 20 | 27 | * | 7 |
| Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 52 | 9 | 43 | 42 | 14 | 28 | 0 | 6 |
| Early September, 1998 | 56 | 9 | 47 | 37 | 11 | 26 | * | 7 |
| March, 1998 | 50 | 10 | 40 | 43 | 12 | 31 | * | 7 |
| August, 1997 | 47 | 9 | 38 | 47 | 11 | 36 | * | 6 |
| June, 1997 | 51 | 8 | 43 | 42 | 11 | 31 | 1 | 6 |
| January, 1997 | 52 | 8 | 44 | 43 | 10 | 33 | * | 5 |
| October, 1995 | 52 | 10 | 42 | 44 | 16 | 28 | * | 4 |
| December, 1994 | 67 | 21 | 46 | 27 | 8 | 19 | * | 6 |
| July, 1994 | 63 | 12 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | 4 |
| May, 1993 | 54 | 12 | 42 | 35 | 10 | 25 | 0 | 11 |
| July, 1992 | 46 | 9 | 37 | 48 | 17 | 31 | * | 6 |
| | | | | | | | | |
| The Democratic Party | | | | | | | | _ |
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 46 | 12 | 34 | 47 | 23 | 24 | * | 7 |
| Dec 3-8, 2013 (U) | 47 | 15 | 32 | 48 | 24 | 24 | * | 5 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 47 | 9 | 39 | 48 | 22 | 27 | 0 | 4 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 41 | 10 | 31 | 50 | 23 | 28 | * | 9 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 51 | 14 | 37 | 45 | 19 | 26 | 0 | 5 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 47 | 13 | 34 | 46 | 18 | 28 | * | 7 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 47 | 23 | 25 | 1 | 4 |
| Sep 12-16, 2012 | 53 | 21 | 32 | 40 | 18 | 22 | * | 7 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 47 | 14 | 33 | 45 | 21 | 24 | * | 8 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 49 | 14 | 36 | 43 | 18 | 25 | * | 7 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 43 | 13 | 29 | 51 | 23 | 28 | * | 7 |
| | | | | | | | | |

Q.11 CONTINUED....

| 1 CONTINUED | | | | | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|---------|---------------|----------|---------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|
| | | | | | (VOL.) (VOL.) | | | |
| | | | ole | | nfavoral | | | Can't rate/ |
| Son 33 Oct 4 2011 | Total | Very | <u>Mostly</u> | Total | <u>Very</u> | <u>Mostly</u> | heard of * | <u>Ref</u> |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 46 43 | 13 | 32 34 | 45 | 19 21 | 26 | * | 9 7 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 43 48 | 9 14 | 34 34 | 50 45 | 21 18 | 29 27 | * | 6 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 Feb 2-7, 2011 | 40 47 | 14 | 34 35 | 45 46 | 17 | 27 29 | * | 6 |
| | | 13 | | | | 29 24 | * | 7 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 50 44 | 12 | 36 31 | 44 45 | 20 22 | 24 23 | * | 11 |
| July 1-5, 2010 April 1-5, 2010 | 38 | 9 | 29 | 52 | 27 | 25 | * | 9 |
| Mar 18-21, 2010 | 40 | 8 | 32 | 49 | 25 | 23 | * | 11 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 48 | 9 | 39 | 44 | 17 | 27 | * | 8 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 43 | 19 | 24 | * | 10 |
| Aug 11-17, 2009 | 49 | 12 | 37 | 40 | 16 | 25 | * | 10 |
| Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009 | 59 | 15 | 44 | 34 | 13 | 21 | * | 7 |
| Jan 7-11, 2009 | 62 | 19 | 43 | 32 | 12 | 20 | * | 6 |
| Late October, 2008 | 57 | 19 | 38 | 33 | 15 | 18 | * | 10 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 55 | 18 | 37 | 39 | 14 | 25 | * | 6 |
| August, 2008 | 57 | 16 | 41 | 37 | 13 | 24 | * | 6 |
| Late May, 2008 | 57 | 14 | 43 | 37 | 14 | 23 | * | 6 |
| July, 2007 | 51 | 13 | 38 | 41 | 14 | 27 | 0 | 8 |
| Early January, 2007 | 54 | 15 | 39 | 35 | 12 | 23 | * | 11 |
| Late October, 2006 | 53 | 13 | 40 | 36 | 11 | 25 | * | 11 |
| July, 2006 | 47 | 13 | 34 | 44 | 13 | 31 | 2 | 7 |
| April, 2006 | 47 | 12 | 35 | 42 | 14 | 28 | * | 11 |
| February, 2006 | 48 | 14 | 34 | 44 | 17 | 27 | 0 | 8 |
| Late October, 2005 | 49 | 14 | 35 | 41 | 15 | 26 | * | 10 |
| July, 2005 | 50 | 15 | 35 | 41 | 14 | 27 | * | 9 |
| June, 2005 | 52 | 12 | 40 | 39 | 13 | 26 | * | 9 |
| December, 2004 | 53 | 13 | 40 | 41 | 14 | 27 | * | 6 |
| June, 2004 | 54 | 12 | 42 | 36 | 11 | 25 | 0 | 10 |
| Early February, 2004 | 58 | 14 | 44 | 37 | 9 | 28 | * | 5 |
| June, 2003 | 54 | 11 | 43 | 38 | 10 | 28 | 0 | 8 |
| April, 2003 | 57 | 13 | 44 | 36 | 11 | 25 | * | 7 |
| December, 2002 | 54 | 15 | 39 | 37 | 10 | 27 | * | 9 |
| July, 2001 | 58 | 18 | 40 | 34 | 10 | 24 | * | 8 |
| January, 2001 | 60 | 18 | 42 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 1 | 9 |
| September, 2000 (RVs) | 60 | 16 | 44 | 35 | 12 | 23 | * | 5 |
| August, 1999 | 59 | 14 | 45 | 37 | 9 | 28 | * | 4 |
| February, 1999 | 58 | 11 | 47 | 37 | 11 | 26 | 0 | 5 |
| January, 1999 | 55 | 14 | 41 | 38 | 12 | 26 | 0 | 7 |
| Early December, 1998 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 34 | 10 | 24 | 0 | 7 |
| Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 56 | 11 | 45 | 38 | 9 | 29 | * | 6 |
| Early September, 1998 | 60 | 13 | 47 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | 7 |
| March, 1998 | 58 | 15 | 43 | 36 | 10 | 26 | * | 6 |
| August, 1997 | 52 | 11 | 41 | 42 | 10 | 32 | 0 | 6 |
| June, 1997 | 61 | 10 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | 6 |
| January, 1997 | 60 | 13 | 47 | 35 | 7 | 28 | * | 5 |
| October, 1995 | 49 | 9 | 40 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 0 | 3 |
| December, 1994 | 50 | 13 | 37 | 44 | 13 | 31 | * | 6 |
| July, 1994 | 62 | 13 | 49 | 34 | 7 | 27 | * | 4 |
| May, 1993 | 57 | 14 | 43 | 34 | 9 | 25 | 0 | 9 |
| July, 1992 | 61 | 17 | 44 | 33 | 9 | 24 | * | 6 |
| | | | | | | | | |

ITEM cb PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO ITEM d

Q.11 CONTINUED...

| Q.11 CONTINUED | | | | | | | <i></i> | <i></i> |
|--|--------------|----------|---------------|--------------|------------------|----------|---------------------|---------------------------|
| | Favorable | | Unfavorable | | (VOL.) | (VOL.) | | |
| | Total | Very | <u>Mostly</u> | Total | nravorat Very | Mostly | Never (heard of | Can't rate/ <u>Ref</u> |
| ASK PHASE B ONLY: | <u>10tai</u> | very | MOSLIY | <u>10tai</u> | very | MOSLIY | <u>nearu or</u> | Ker |
| e.B Labor unions | | | | | | | | |
| Feb 12-Feb 26, 2014 | 46 | 13 | 33 | 41 | 18 | 23 | 2 | 12 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 51 | 16 | 35 | 42 | 17 | 25 | 1 | 6 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 41 | 11 | 30 | 46 | 21 | 26 | 1 | 12 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 47 | 18 | 29 | 39 | 17 | 23 | 2 | 12 |
| Feb 2-7, 2011 | 45 | 11 | 34 | 41 | 17 | 25 | 1 | 13 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 41 | 11 | 30 | 42 | 16 | 26 | 1 | 16 |
| January, 2007 | 58 | 18 | 40 | 31 | 11 | 20 | 2 | 9 |
| Late March, 2005 | 56 | 17 | 39 | 33 | 9 | 24 | 1 | 9 |
| March, 2002 | 59 | 15 | 44 | 32 | 9 | 23 | 1 | 8 |
| July, 2001 | 51 | 12 | 39 | 36 | 10 | 26 | 1 | 12 |
| March, 2001 | 63 | 16 | 47 | 28 | 7 | 21 | 1 | 8 |
| August, 1999 | 59 | 12 | 47 | 36 | 9 | 27 | * | 5 |
| Early September, 1998 | 52 | 12 | 40 | 38 | 13 | 25 | * | 10 |
| June, 1997 | 58 | 15 | 43 | 35 | 10 | 25 | * | 7 |
| May, 1997 | 49 | 15 | 34 | 39 | 13 | 26 | * | 12 |
| April, 1996 | 47 | 10 | 37 | 45 | 17 | 28 | * | 8 |
| February, 1996 | 54 | 17 | 37 | 41 | 14 | 27 | * | 5 |
| July, 1994 | 57 | 14 | 43 | 38 | 10 | 28 | * | 5 |
| January, 1988 | 52 | 10 | 42 | 39 | 10 | 29 | * | 9 |
| July, 1985 | 46 | 9 | 37 | 47 | 17 | 30 | * | 7 |
| NO ITEMS f, g | | | | | | | | |
| ASK PHASE B ONLY: | | | | | | | | |
| h.B The National Rifle Association | | | | | | | | |
| Feb 12-Feb 26, 2014 | 53 | 23 | 30 | 37 | 19 | 17 | 2 | 8 |
| December, 2007 | 52 | 22 | 30 | 32 | 14 | 18 | 6 | 10 |
| Late March, 2005 | 49 | 18 | 31 | 39 | 17 | 22 | 2 | 10 |
| June, 1999 | 46 | 17 | 29 | 45 | 21 | 24 | 1 | 8 |
| September, 1998 | 48 | 16 | 32 | 40 | 18 | 22 | 2 | 10 |
| August, 1995 | 44 | 16 | 28 | 45 | 21 | 24 | 1 | 10 |
| June, 1995 | 44 | 16 | 28 | 48 | 24 | 24 | 2 | 6 |
| July, 1994 | 55 | 19 | 36 | 37 | 16 | 21 | 1 | 7 |
| ASK PHASE B ONLY: | | | | | | | | |
| i.B The Federal Reserve | | | _ | _ | | | | |
| Feb 12-Feb 26, 2014 | 47 | 10 | 37 | 37 | 14 | 23 | 2 | 14 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 57 | 12 | 45 | 32 | 12 | 20 | 1 | 10 |
| ASK PHASE B ONLY: | | | _ | | | | | |
| j.B The Environmental Protection | | | | | | | - | |
| Feb 12-Feb 26, 2014 | 57 | 14 | 43 | 33 | 14 | 19 | 2 | 8 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 62 | 15 | 47 | 30 | 12 | 19 | 2 | 6 |
| Mar 18-21, 2010 | 57 | 11 | 46 | 32 | 12 | 20 | 1 | 10 |
| October, 1997 | 69 | 14 | 55 | 27 | 7 | 20 | 1 | 3 |
| Roper, August 1987 | 62 | 19 10 | 43 | 30 | 7 | 23 | | 8 |
| Roper, August 1986 | 59 | 18 10 | 41 | 31 | 7 | 24 | | 10 |
| Roper, August 1985 Roper, August 1984 | 58 68 | 19 27 | 39 41 | 31 26 | 11 9 | 20 17 | | 11 6 |
| Ruper, August 1904 | 00 | 27 | 41 | 20 | 9 | 1/ | | U |
| | | | | | | | | |

Q.11at-Q.B12 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO QUESTIONS 13-24

ASK ALL:

Q.25 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is **[READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT <u>NOT</u> STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]**. Next, **[NEXT** PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]

| a. Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Dec 3-8, 2013 Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> December, 2008 | Government is almost always wasteful and <u>inefficient</u> 56 55 55 55 61 53 | Government often does a better job than people <u>give it credit for</u> 40 39 39 39 35 40 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 4 6 6 4 7 |
|--|---|--|---|
| October, 2008 | 55 | 35 | 8 |
| September, 2008 | 56 | 35 39 | 8 5 |
| December, 2004 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| June, 2003 | 48 | 46 | 6 |
| September, 2000 | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| August, 1999 | 51 | 43 | 6 |
| June, 1997 | 59 | 36 | 5 |
| October, 1996 | 56 | 39 | 5 |
| April, 1995 | 63 | 34 | 3 |
| October, 1994 | 64 | 32 | 4 |
| July, 1994 | 66 | 31 | 3 |

| b. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Feb 8-12, 2012 ⁴ Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 December, 2008 October, 2008 January, 2008 December, 2004 July, 2002 February, 2002 August, 1999 October, 1996 October, 1995 April, 1995 October, 1994 | Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest 47 40 47 47 50 41 49 54 50 41 49 54 50 48 45 45 45 43 38 41 | Government regulation of business usually does <u>more harm than good</u> 47 52 45 43 38 50 41 36 41 44 46 50 51 55 54 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 5 7 8 10 12 9 10 10 10 9 8 9 5 6 7 5 |
|----|---|---|---|---|
| c. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Dec 3-8, 2013 | Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return 44 43 | Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live <u>decently</u> 47 43 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 9 14 |

In Feb 8-12, 2012 survey, question was asked as a stand-alone item.

138

Q.25 CONTINUED...

December, 2004

September, 2000

June, 2003

August, 1999

| Q | CONTINUEDIN | | | |
|------|---------------------|--|--|--------------------------|
| | | Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in | Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ |
| | | <u>return</u> | <u>decently</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | May 1-5, 2013 | 45 | 44 | 11 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 41 | 47 | 12 |
| | January, 2008 | 34 | 52 | 14 |
| | December, 2005 | 35 | 51 | 14 |
| | | | | |
| | September, 2005 | 38 | 51 | 11 |
| | December, 2004 | 34 | 52 | 14 |
| | June, 2003 | 34 | 55 | 11 |
| | August, 1999 | 45 | 42 | 13 |
| | June, 1997 | 45 | 42 | 13 |
| | October, 1996 | 46 | 40 | 14 |
| | October, 1995 | 54 | 36 | 10 |
| | April, 1995 | 52 | 39 | 9 |
| | - | | 41 | |
| | October, 1994 | 48 | | 11 |
| | July, 1994 | 53 | 39 | 8 |
| | | The government should do more to help needy | | |
| | | Americans, even if it | The government today | (VOL.) |
| | | means going deeper into | can't afford to do much | Both/Neither/ |
| d. | | debt | <u>more to help the needy</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 43 | 51 | 6 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| | December, 2008 | 55 | 35 | 10 |
| | October, 2008 | 51 | 37 | 12 |
| | | | | |
| | April, 2007 | 63 | 28 | 9 |
| | December, 2004 | 57 | 33 | 10 |
| | August, 1999 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| | October, 1996 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| | April, 1996 | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| | October, 1995 | 47 | 47 | 6 |
| | April, 1995 | 46 | 47 | 7 |
| | October, 1994 | 50 | 43 | 7 |
| | - | | 47 | 5 |
| | July, 1994 | 48 | 47 | 5 |
| NO 1 | ITEM e. | | | |
| | | Racial discrimination is the | Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are | |
| | | main reason why many | mostly responsible for | (VOL.) Both (Noithor/ |
| f. | | black people can't get | their own condition | Both/Neither/ |
| 1. | 1 22 M 16 2014 | ahead these days | | DK/Ref |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 27 | 63 | 10 |
| | Jan 4-8, 2012 | 21 | 60 | 19 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 26 | 60 | 14 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 | 18 | 67 | 15 |
| | September, 2005 | 26 | 59 | 15 |
| | December 2004 | 20 | <u> </u> | |

Q.25 CONTINUED...

| | Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get <u>ahead these days</u> | Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for <u>their own condition</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------|---|---|---|
| October, 1997 | 25 | 61 | 14 |
| June, 1997 | 33 | 54 | 13 |
| October, 1996 | 28 | 58 | 14 |
| October, 1995 | 37 | 53 | 10 |
| April, 1995 | 34 | 56 | 10 |
| October, 1994 | 34 | 54 | 12 |
| July, 1994 | 32 | 59 | 9 |

| | | Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work | Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ |
|----|---------------------------------|--|--|-------------------------|
| g. | | and talents | care | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| | Dec 3-8, 2013 | 53 | 35 | 11 |
| | Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 49 | 40 | 11 |
| | Mar 13-17, 2013 | 49 | 41 | 10 |
| | Jan 4-8, 2012 | 48 | 37 | 15 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 45 | 44 | 12 |
| | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> | 44 | 42 | 14 |
| | Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| | Jun 16-20, 2010 | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 | 46 | 40 | 14 |
| | October, 2006 | 41 | 41 | 18 |
| | March, 2006 | 41 | 52 | 7 |
| | December, 2005 | 45 | 44 | 11 |
| | December, 2004 | 45 | 44 | 11 |
| | June, 2003 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| | September, 2000 | 50 | 38 | 12 |
| | August, 1999 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| | October, 1997 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| | June, 1997 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| | April, 1997 | 38 | 52 | 10 |
| | June, 1996 | 37 | 54 | 9 |
| | July, 1994 | 31 | 63 | 6 |
| | | | Society is just as well off if | |

| h. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | Society is better off if people make marriage and <u>having children a priority</u> 46 | people have priorities other than marriage and <u>children</u> 50 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 5 |
|----|---------------------|---|--|--|
| i. | | The best way to ensure peace is through military <u>strength</u> | Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 30 | 62 | 8 |
| | Dec 3-8, 2013 | 31 | 57 | 12 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 31 | 58 | 11 |
| | October, 2006 | 28 | 57 | 15 |
| | December, 2004 | 30 | 55 | 15 |
| | | | | |

Q.25 CONTINUED...

| Q.25 | 5 CONTINUED | | | |
|------|---------------------------------|--|---|--|
| | | The best way to ensure peace is through military <u>strength</u> | Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | August, 1999 | 33 | 55 | 12 |
| | October, 1996 | 36 | 53 | 11 |
| | October, 1995 | 36 | 59 | 5 |
| | April, 1995 | 35 | 58 | 7 |
| | October, 1994 | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| | July, 1994 | 36 | 58 | 6 |
| j. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | U.S. efforts to solve problems around the world usually end up <u>making things worse</u> 40 | Problems in the world would be even worse without U.S. involvement 53 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 7 |
| k. | | Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work <u>hard</u> | Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success <u>for most people</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 65 | 32 | 3 |
| | Jan 15-19, 2014 (U) | 60 | 38 | 3 |
| | Dec 7-11, 2011 | 58 | 40 | 3 |
| | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> | 64 | 33 | 3 |
| | March, 2006 | 64 | 33 | 3 |
| | December, 2005 | 64 | 33 | 3 |
| | December, 2004 | 68 | 28 | 4 |
| | September, 2000 | 73 | 24 | 3 |
| | August, 1999 | 74 | 23 | 3 |
| | July, 1994 | 68 | 30 | 2 |
| ١. | | Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside of our control | Everyone has it in their own power to succeed | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 16 | 80 | 4 |
| | Dec 3-8, 2013 | 18 | 76 | 7 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 19 | 75 | 5 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 | 12 | 82 | 6 |
| | December, 2004 | 16 | 78 | 6 |
| | August, 1999 | 15 | 80 | 5 |
| | July, 1994 | 18 | 79 | 3 |
| m. | | Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies | The largest companies do <u>NOT have too much power</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 78 | 18 | 4 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 78 | 16 | 6 |
| | October, 2008 | 78 | 15 | 7 |
| | December, 2004 | 77 | 16 | 7 |
| | July, 2002 | 80 | 12 | 8 |
| | February, 2002 | 77 | 17 | 6 |
| | August, 1999 | 77 | 17 | 6 |
| | October, 1996 | 75 | 18 | 7 |

Q.25 CONTINUED...

| - | | Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies | The largest companies do <u>NOT have too much power</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----|---------------------------------|--|---|---|
| | October, 1995 | 77 | 18 | 5 |
| | April, 1995 | 75 | 20 | 5 |
| | October, 1994 | 73 | 20 | 7 |
| | July, 1994 | 76 | 19 | 5 |
| n. | | Business corporations make too much profit | Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 56 | 39 | 4 |
| | Mar 13-17, 2013 | 53 | 41 | 6 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 54 | 39 | 7 |
| | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> | 54 | 39 | 6 |
| | December, 2008 | 58 | 35 | 7 |
| | October, 2008 | 59 | 33 | 8 |
| | December, 2005 | 61 | 33 | 6 |
| | December, 2004 | 53 | 39 | 8 |
| | June, 2003 | 51 | 42 | 7 |
| | July, 2002 | 58 | 33 | 9 |
| | February, 2002 | 54 | 39 | 7 |
| | September, 2000 | 54 | 38 | 8 |
| | August, 1999 | 52 | 42 | 6 |
| | June, 1997 | 51 | 43 | 6 |
| | October, 1996 | 51 | 42 | 7 |
| | October, 1995 | 53 | 43 | 4 |
| | April, 1995 | 51 | 44 | 5 |
| | October, 1994 | 50 | 44 | 6 |
| | July, 1994 | 52 | 43 | 5 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

| 701 | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|---|---|
| 0. | | Elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty <u>quickly</u> | Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters <u>back home</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Feb 12-26, 2014 | 79 | 17 | 4 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 72 | 22 | 5 |
| | December, 2004 | 66 | 26 | 8 |
| | September, 2000 | 66 | 27 | 7 |
| | August, 1999 | 68 | 26 | 6 |
| | October, 1996 | 69 | 25 | 6 |
| | April, 1996 | 72 | 23 | 5 |
| | October, 1995 | 73 | 24 | 3 |
| | April, 1995 | 76 | 21 | 3 |
| | October, 1994 | 74 | 22 | 4 |
| | July, 1994 | 71 | 25 | 4 |
| | | | | |

Q.25 CONTINUED... ASK ALL PHASE C:

| p. | | Most elected officials care what people like me think | Most elected officials don't care what people like me <u>think</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----|---------------------------------|---|--|---|
| | Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 20 | 78 | 2 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 26 | 69 | 5 |
| | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> | 29 | 68 | 4 |
| | December, 2004 | 32 | 63 | 5 |
| | June, 2003 | 33 | 62 | 5 |
| | September, 2000 | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| | August, 1999 | 35 | 60 | 5 |
| | June, 1997 | 28 | 67 | 5 |
| | October, 1996 | 38 | 58 | 4 |
| | October, 1995 | 33 | 64 | 3 |
| | April, 1995 | 32 | 64 | 4 |
| | October, 1994 | 29 | 68 | 3 |
| | July, 1994 | 34 | 64 | 2 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B26 And in your view, has this country been successful more because of its [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] or more because of its [ITEM]?

Feb 12-26

<u>2014</u>

- 51 Ability to change
- 44 Reliance on long-standing principles

5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C26 Next, [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

| <i>WaPo</i> : December, 1998 34 62 4 | 1 | in agreer <u>most im</u> 2012 nber, 2004 ry, 2004 mber, 2002 nber, 2001 | nent about the portant values 26 29 27 34 45 69 74 34 | | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 3 2 1 1 2 1 2 4 3 |
|--|------------------------------|---|--|----|--|
| WaPo: December, 1998 34 62 4 WaPo/KFF/Harvard: August, 1998 31 66 3 General Social Survey: 1993 ⁵ 32 63 5 | WaPo/KFF/Harvard: August, 19 | 998 | 31 | 66 | 4 3 5 |

⁵

¹⁹⁹³ General Social Survey asked: "There is a lot of discussion today about whether Americans are divided or united. Some say that Americans are united and in agreement about the most important values. Others think that Americans are greatly divided when it comes to the most important values. What is your view about this?" Response options were not randomized.

ASK ALL: OFTVOTE

How often would you say you vote...[READ IN ORDER]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=7,999]:

| | | | Part | | (VOL.) | | |
|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|--------------|--------|
| | | Nearly | of the | | Never | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| | <u>Always</u> | <u>always</u> | <u>time</u> | <u>Seldom</u> | <u>vote</u> | <u>Other</u> | DK/Ref |
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 61 | 24 | 8 | 5 | 1 | * | * |
| Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 | 62 | 23 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 | * |
| Oct 24-28, 2012 | 59 | 24 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 1 | * |
| Oct 4-7, 2012 | 67 | 20 | 6 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| Sep 12-16, 2012 | 64 | 22 | 7 | 4 | 2 | 1 | * |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 64 | 24 | 6 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 57 | 29 | 8 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| Jan 4-8, 2012 | 60 | 24 | 8 | 6 | 1 | 1 | * |
| Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 62 | 24 | 8 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| Oct 27-30, 2010 | 58 | 24 | 11 | 5 | 2 | 1 | * |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 | 57 | 27 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 1 | * |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 59 | 26 | 9 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| June 16-20, 2010 | 52 | 31 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009 | 62 | 23 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| November, 2008 | 60 | 23 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 2 | * |
| Late October, 2008 | 57 | 26 | 8 | 5 | 3 | 1 | * |
| Mid-October, 2008 | 57 | 27 | 7 | 5 | 3 | 1 | * |
| Early October, 2008 | 53 | 27 | , 9 | 6 | 3 | 1 | 1 |
| Late September, 2008 | 55 | 27 | 9 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 55 | 28 | 10 | 5 | 2 | 1 | * |
| August, 2008 | 55 | 29 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | * |
| July, 2008 | 53 | 30 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| January, 2007 | 58 | 29 | 9 | 3 | 1 | * | * |
| | 58 | 29 | | 5 | 2 | 1 | * |
| November, 2006 | | 20 | 8 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | * |
| Late October, 2006 | 58 | | | 4 | 2 | 1 | |
| Early October, 2006 | 47 56 | 36 | 10 | 6 | | 1 * | 1 * |
| September, 2006 | 56 | 28 | 9 | | 1 | * | |
| May, 2006 | 60 | 26 | 8 | 4 | 1 | | 1 |
| December, 2005 | 60 | 24 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 * | 1 |
| December, 2004 | 64 | 22 | 8 | 4 | 1 | | 1 * |
| November, 2004 | 62 | 21 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 1 | * |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 63 | 22 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 | |
| Early October, 2004 | 58 | 25 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| September, 2004 | 58 | 27 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 1 * | 1 |
| August, 2004 | 56 | 28 | 9 | 5 | 2 | * | 1 * |
| July, 2004 | 54 | 31 | 9 | 4 | 1 | | |
| June, 2004 | 57 | 29 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| May, 2004 | 56 | 27 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| April, 2004 | 55 | 29 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Late March, 2004 | 50 | 31 | 11 | 6 | 1 | * | 1 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 55 | 30 | 9 | 5 | 1 | * | * |
| February, 2004 | 55 | 29 | 12 | 3 | * | * | * |
| January, 2004 | 54 | 30 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 1 | * |
| August, 2003 | 53 | 30 | 10 | 5 | 1 | * | * |
| June, 2003 | 48 | 36 | 11 | 3 | 1 | * | 0 |
| Early November, 2002 | 52 | 30 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Early October, 2002 | 50 | 33 | 11 | 4 | * | 1 | 1 |
| Early September, 2002 | 59 | 25 | 11 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| August, 2002 | 53 | 32 | 10 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| May, 2002 | 53 | 31 | 9 | 5 | 1 | * | 1 |
| Early November, 2000 | 57 | 26 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * |
| | | | | | | | |

OFTVOTE CONTINUED...

| OFTVOTE CONTINUED | | | | | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------------|---------------|-------------|---------------|--------|--------------|--------|
| | | | Part | | (VOL.) | | |
| | | Nearly | of the | | Never | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| | <u>Always</u> | <u>always</u> | <u>time</u> | <u>Seldom</u> | vote | <u>Other</u> | DK/Ref |
| Late October, 2000 | 52 | 30 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 54 | 27 | 10 | 6 | * | 3 | * |
| Early October, 2000 | 51 | 29 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 1 | * |
| September, 2000 | 61 | 21 | 9 | 7 | 2 | * | * |
| July, 2000 | 48 | 30 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * |
| June, 2000 | 58 | 26 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * |
| May, 2000 | 52 | 29 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 1 | * |
| April, 2000 | 50 | 30 | 12 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * |
| March, 2000 | 49 | 34 | 12 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| February, 2000 | 53 | 32 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 0 | * |
| January, 2000 | 50 | 34 | 12 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| October, 1999 | 39 | 47 | 9 | 2 | 1 | * | * |
| Late September, 1999 | 40 | 47 | 9 | 3 | 1 | * | * |
| Late October, 1998 | 56 | 28 | 10 | 5 | 1 | * | * |
| Early October, 1998 | 50 | 32 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 1 | * |
| Early September, 1998 | 53 | 33 | 9 | 4 | - | 1 | * |
| Late August, 1998 | 48 | 35 | 13 | 4 | * | 0 | * |
| June, 1998 | 49 | 33 | 12 | 5 | - | 1 | 0 |
| May, 1998 | 52 | 29 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 1 | * |
| November, 1997 | 42 | 44 | 10 | 3 | 1 | * | * |
| October, 1997 | 62 | 26 | 8 | 3 | 1 | * | * |
| June, 1997 | 54 | 30 | 10 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| November, 1996 | 55 | 28 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * |
| October, 1996 | 52 | 30 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 2 | * |
| Late September, 1996 | 52 | 31 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 1 | * |
| Early September, 1996 | 53 | 29 | 12 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| July, 1996 | 52 | 33 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 1 | * |
| June, 1996 | 52 | 33 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * |
| Late April, 1996 | 44 | 37 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| Early April, 1996 | 49 | 35 | 10 | 5 | 1 | * | * |
| February, 1996 | 42 | 41 | 11 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * |
| October, 1995 | 53 | 35 | 7 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| April, 1995 | 53 | 34 | 9 | 4 | * | * | * |
| November, 1994 | 58 | 28 | 8 | 5 | * | 1 | 0 |
| Late October, 1994 | 55 | 32 | 10 | 3 | * | * | * |
| July, 1994 | 52 | 34 | 10 | 4 | * | * | * |
| May, 1993 | 57 | 31 | 7 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * |
| Early October, 1992 | 54 | 33 | 8 | 4 | * | 1 | * |
| September, 1992 | 52 | 33 | 8 | 5 | 1 | 1 | * |
| June, 1992 | 60 | 29 | 7 | 3 | 1 | * | * |
| May, 1992 | 50 | 35 | 10 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| Early May, 1992 | 49 | 35 | 10 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| March, 1992 | 47 | 36 | 11 | 6 | * | * | * |
| February, 1992 | 50 | 36 | 9 | 4 | * | | 2 |
| January 1992 (GP) ⁶ | 40 | 35 | 11 | 11 | 4 | | * |
| November, 1991 | 46 | 41 | 9 | 4 | * | * | * |
| May, 1990 | 42 | 42 | 11 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| January, 1989 (GP) | 45 | 30 | 10 | 8 | 6 | 1 | * |
| Gallup: November, 1988 | 57 | 26 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 1 * | * |
| October, 1988 | 51 | 37 | 8 | 3 | 1 | | * |
| May, 1988 | 43 | 41 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 1 * | * |
| January, 1988 | 49 | 39 | 9 | 2 | 1 | т | ጥ |

6

Trends for January, 1992 and January, 1989 are based on general public.

OFTVOTE CONTINUED...

| | | | Part | | (VOL.) | | |
|-----------------|---------------|--------|-------------|---------------|--------|--------|--------|
| | | Nearly | of the | | Never | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| | <u>Always</u> | always | <u>time</u> | <u>Seldom</u> | vote | Other | DK/Ref |
| September, 1988 | 51 | 40 | 6 | 2 | * | 1 | * |
| May, 1987 | 43 | 43 | 9 | 3 | 1 | 1 | * |

Q.26 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Thinking about the next congressional elections that will be coming up about a year from now...

Q.B27 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

ASK IF 'OTHER' 'DON'T KNOW/REFUSED' (Q.B27=3,9): Q.B27a As of TODAY, would you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,681]:

| | Rep/ <u>Lean Rep</u> | Dem/ <u>Lean Dem</u> | (VOL.) Other/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| 2014 Election | | | 10 |
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| Dec 3-8, 2013 (U) | 44 | 48 | 8 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 43 | 49 | 8 |
| 2012 Election | 40 | 47 | 10 |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 43 44 | 47 | 10 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 44 | 48 | 8 |
| 2010 Election Oct 27-30, 2010 | 43 | 44 | 12 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 | 43 | 44 | 12 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 40 | 42 | 9 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 44 | 45 | 9 11 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 45 | 45 | 10 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 44 | 44 | 10 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 42 | 45 | 13 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 42 | 47 | 11 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 44 | 45 | 10 |
| 2008 Election | •• | 15 | 10 |
| June, 2008 | 37 | 52 | 11 |
| 2006 Election | | | |
| November, 2006 | 40 | 48 | 12 |
| Late October, 2006 | 38 | 49 | 13 |
| Early October, 2006 | 38 | 51 | 11 |
| September, 2006 | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| August, 2006 | 41 | 50 | 9 |
| June, 2006 | 39 | 51 | 10 |
| April, 2006 | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| February, 2006 | 41 | 50 | 9 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| 2004 Election | | | |
| June, 2004 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| 2002 Election | | | |
| Early November, 2002 | 42 | 46 | 12 |
| Early October, 2002 | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| Early September, 2002 | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| June, 2002 | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| February, 2002 | 46 | 45 | 9 |
| Early November, 2001 | 44 | 44 | 12 |

Q.B27/B27a CONTINUED...

| | | | (VOL.) |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|------------------|
| | Rep/ <u>Lean Rep</u> | Dem/ <u>Lean Dem</u> | Other/ DK/Ref |
| 2000 Election | | | |
| Early November, 2000 | 42 | 48 | 10 |
| Early October, 2000 | 43 | 47 | 10 |
| July, 2000 | 43 | 47 | 10 |
| February, 2000 | 44 | 47 | 9 |
| October, 1999 | 43 | 49 | 8 |
| June, 1999 | 40 | 50 | 10 |
| 1998 Election | | | |
| Late October, 1998 | 40 | 47 | 13 |
| Early October, 1998 | 43 | 44 | 13 |
| Early September, 1998 | 45 | 46 | 9 |
| Late August, 1998 | 44 | 45 | 11 |
| Early August, 1998 | 42 | 49 | 9 |
| June, 1998 | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| March, 1998 | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| February, 1998 | 41 | 50 | 9 |
| January, 1998 | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| August, 1997 | 45 | 48 | 7 |
| 1996 Election | | | |
| November, 1996 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| October, 1996 | 42 | 49 | 9 |
| Late September, 1996 | 43 | 49 | 8 |
| Early September, 1996 | 43 | 51 | 6 |
| July, 1996 | 46 | 47 | 7 |
| June, 1996 | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| March, 1996 | 44 | 49 | 7 |
| January, 1996 | 46 | 47 | 7 |
| October, 1995 | 48 | 48 | 4 |
| August, 1995 | 50 | 43 | 7 |
| 1994 Election | | | |
| November, 1994 | 45 | 43 | 12 |
| Late October, 1994 | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| Early October, 1994 | 52 | 40 | 8 |
| September, 1994 | 48 | 46 | 6 |
| July, 1994 | 45 | 47 | 8 |
| | | | |

QUESTIONS C28, A29 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO QUESTIONS 30-39

ASK ALL:

Q.40 Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs...[READ]?

| Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 50 29 14 6 1 Oct 27-30, 2010 (<i>RVs</i>) 56 29 10 5 * Oct 13-18, 2010 49 28 12 10 1 Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 ⁷ 52 25 13 10 1 | Oct 27-30, 2010 (<i>RVs</i>) Oct 13-18, 2010 | 56 49 | 29 21 27 23 26 28 29 29 29 28 | 10 12 | 9 3 9 4 4 8 6 5 10 | <u>DK/Ref</u> * 1 * 1 1 * 1 1 |
|--|---|----------|--|----------|--|---|
|--|---|----------|--|----------|--|---|

7

In the Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 survey, a wording experiment was conducted with one half of respondents asked the question wording shown above, and the other half was asked: "Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow

Q.40 CONTINUED...

| CONTINUED | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|
| | Most of | Some of | Only now | Hardly | (VOL.) |
| | <u>the time</u> | <u>the time</u> | <u>and then</u> | <u>at all</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| January, 2007 | 53 | 28 | 11 | 7 | 1 |
| November, 2006 (RVs) | 58 | 26 | 10 | 6 | * |
| Late October, 2006 (RVs) | 57 | 30 | 8 | 5 | * |
| December, 2005 | 50 | 28 | 14 | 8 | * |
| December, 2004 | 45 | 35 | 14 | 5 | 1 |
| November, 2004 (RVs) | 61 | 27 | 9 | 3 | * |
| Mid-October, 2004 (RVs) | 63 | 26 | 8 | 3 | * |
| June, 2004 | 44 | 34 | 15 | 7 | * |
| August, 2003 | 48 | 33 | 12 | 6 | 1 |
| November, 2002 | 49 | 27 | 14 | 9 | 1 |
| August, 2002 | 54 | 30 | 11 | 5 | * |
| March, 2001 | 49 | 27 | 13 | 10 | 1 |
| Early November, 2000 (RVs) | 51 | 32 | 12 | 5 | * |
| September, 2000 (RVs) | 51 | 34 | 10 | 4 | 1 |
| June, 2000 | 38 | 32 | 19 | 11 | * |
| Late September, 1999 | 39 | 32 | 20 | 9 | * |
| August, 1999 | 40 | 35 | 17 | 8 | * |
| November, 1998 | 46 | 27 | 14 | 13 | * |
| Late October, 1998 (RVs) | 57 | 29 | 10 | 4 | * |
| Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 51 | 33 | 11 | 5 | * |
| Early September, 1998 | 45 | 34 | 15 | 6 | * |
| June, 1998 | 36 | 34 | 21 | 9 | * |
| November, 1997 | 41 | 36 | 16 | 7 | * |
| November, 1996 (RVs) | 52 | 32 | 12 | 4 | * |
| October, 1996 (RVs) | 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | 1 |
| June, 1996 | 41 | 34 | 17 | 8 | * |
| October, 1995 | 46 | 35 | 14 | 5 | * |
| April, 1995 | 43 | 35 | 16 | 6 | |
| November, 1994 | 49 | 30 | 13 | 7 | 1 * |
| October, 1994 | 45 | 35 | 14 | 6 | * |
| July, 1994 | 46 | 33 | 15 | 6 | * |
| May, 1990 | 39 | 34 | 18 | 9 | |
| February, 1989 | 47 | 34 | 14 | 4 3 | 1 * |
| October, 1988 (RVs) | 52 37 | 33 | 12 17 | | 3 |
| May, 1988 | ÷. | 37 | | 6 8 | 2 |
| January, 1988 | 37 | 35 | 18 14 | 8 4 | 2 1 |
| November, 1987 | 49 41 | 32 35 | 14 15 | 4 7 | 1 2 |
| May, 1987 | 41 36 | 33 | 15 | 12 | 2 |
| July, 1985 | 20 | 22 | TO | 12 | Т |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B40a Some people say they are basically content with the federal government, others say they are frustrated, and others say they are angry. Which of these best describes how you feel?

| Feb 12-26, 2014 Oct 9-13, 2013 Sep 25-29, 2013 Jan 9-13, 2013 Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 Aug 17-21, 2011 Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | Basically <u>content</u> 17 12 17 20 17 11 22 | Frustrated 62 55 51 58 58 60 59 | <u>Angry</u> 19 30 26 19 21 26 14 | (VOL.) DK/Ref 2 3 5 3 3 3 3 5 |
|---|---|--|--|--|
| - | | | | - |

what's going on in government and public affairs ..." No significant differences were found between questions and the combined results are shown above. All surveys prior to Sep 2010 used the longer question wording.

Q.B40a CONTINUED...

| | Basically | | | (VOL.) |
|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------|---------------|
| | <u>content</u> | Frustrated | <u>Angry</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 19 | 56 | 21 | 5 |
| Early January, 2007 | 21 | 58 | 16 | 5 |
| Early October, 2006 | 21 | 54 | 20 | 5 |
| March, 2004 | 32 | 52 | 13 | 3 |
| Mid November, 2001 | 53 | 34 | 8 | 5 |
| June, 2000 | 28 | 53 | 13 | 6 |
| February, 2000 | 33 | 54 | 10 | 3 |
| October, 1997 | 29 | 56 | 12 | 3 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.40b How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? Just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

| | Just about <u>always</u> | Most of <u>the time</u> | Only some <u>of the time</u> | (VOL.) <u>Never</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|----------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 3 | 21 | 68 | 7 | 1 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 3 | 16 | 68 | 12 | 1 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 3 | 23 | 67 | 6 | 2 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 3 | 17 | 72 | 7 | 2 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 3 | 16 | 72 | 8 | 1 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 4 | 25 | 65 | 4 | 2 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 3 | 21 | 65 | 10 | 1 |
| Apr 1-5, 2010 | 5 | 20 | 61 | 13 | 1 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 3 | 19 | 65 | 11 | 2 |
| January, 2007 | 3 | 28 | 63 | 5 | 1 |
| February, 2006 | 4 | 30 | 59 | 6 | 1 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 3 | 28 | 63 | 4 | 2 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 4 | 32 | 59 | 4 | 1 |
| February, 2000 | 5 | 35 | 56 | 3 | 1 |
| May, 1999 | 3 | 28 | 62 | 5 | 2 |
| February, 1999 | 4 | 27 | 64 | 4 | 1 |
| November, 1998 ⁸ | 4 | 22 | 61 | 11 | 2 |
| February, 1998 | 5 | 29 | 61 | 4 | 1 |
| October, 1997 | 3 | 36 | 59 | 2 | * |

ASK ALL:

Just as far as you know...

Q.41 Which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives [READ AND RANDOMIZE]? [IF NECESSARY: Just as far as you know] [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: DO NOT PROBE, PUNCH 9 IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW]

| | The Republican <u>Party</u> | The Democratic <u>Party</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 58 | 30 | 12 |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 ⁹ | 54 | 22 | 24 |
| Jun 8-28, 2010 | 12 | 70 | 19 |
| Oct 1-4, 2009 | 13 | 75 | 12 |
| Jun 18-21, 2009 | 12 | 76 | 12 |
| Mar 26-29, 2009 | 12 | 86 | 2 |
| Dec 4-7, 2008 | 11 | 82 | 7 |
| Feb 28-Mar 2, 2008 | 26 | 70 | 4 |
| Aug 16-19, 2007 | 19 | 78 | 3 |
| February, 2007 | 10 | 76 | 14 |

⁸ 9

The November, 1998 survey was conducted Oct. 26-Dec. 1, 1998. The question asked, "How much of the time do you trust the government in Washington to do the right thing? Just about always, most the time, or only some of the time?" In June 2012 and earlier, question read: "Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives? **[RANDOMIZE:** Democrats or Republicans]"

Q.41 TREND FOR COMPARISON¹⁰:

| REND FOR COMPARISON . | | | |
|-----------------------|----------------|----------------|---------------|
| | The Republican | The Democratic | (VOL.) |
| | <u>Party</u> | <u>Party</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| May, 2008 | 15 | 53 | 32 |
| Late October, 2006 | 58 | 4 | 38 |
| April, 2006 | 64 | 6 | 30 |
| April, 2004 | 56 | 8 | 36 |
| June, 2001 | 31 | 34 | 35 |
| August, 1999 | 55 | 8 | 37 |
| December, 1998 | 56 | 11 | 33 |
| June, 1997 | 50 | 6 | 44 |
| April, 1996 | 70 | 8 | 22 |
| June, 1995 | 73 | 5 | 22 |
| July, 1994 | 18 | 60 | 22 |
| February, 1994 | 42 | 58 | n/a |
| September, 1992 | 9 | 46 | 45 |
| June, 1992 | 12 | 44 | 44 |
| May, 1992 | 12 | 49 | 39 |
| May, 1989 | 16 | 68 | 16 |
| | | | |

Correct answers in bold.

ASK ALL:

Q.42 Which political party has a majority in the U.S. Senate [READ AND RANDOMIZE]? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: DO NOT PROBE, PUNCH 9 IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW]

| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | The Republican <u>Party</u> 30 | The Democratic <u>Party</u> 54 | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 16 |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|---|--------------------------------------|
| TREND FOR COMPARISON ¹¹ : | | | |
| June, 2003 | 63 | 10 | 27 |
| June, 2001 | 12 | 56 | 32 |
| September, 1992 | 10 | 57 | 33 |
| June, 1992 | 17 | 52 | 31 |
| May, 1992 | 17 | 55 | 28 |

Correct answers in bold.

ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q.43 Which political party is more in favor of raising taxes on higher income people [READ AND RANDOMIZE]? [IF NECESSARY: Just as far as you know] [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: DO NOT PROBE, PUNCH 9 IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW]

Jan 23-Feb 9

- <u>2014</u>
 - 21 The Republican Party [OR]
 - 70 The Democratic Party
 - 9 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

NO QUESTIONS 44-47

¹⁰ In May 2008 and from May 1992 through Late October 2006, this was asked as an open-ended question, without offering response options. In May 1989 the question was worded: "As a result of the election last year, which party now has the most members in the U.S. House of Representatives in Washington?"

¹¹ In June 2003 and earlier, question read: "Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. Senate?" The question was asked as an open-ended question, without offering response options.

RANDOMIZE Q.C48/Q.C49 ASK ALL PHASE C:

Now some questions about your views of the political parties... Q.C48 Do you think the Republican Party **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** or not?

| | | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----|--|------------|-----------|--------------------------------|
| a. | Is too extreme Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 52 | 43 | 5 |
| | Jul 17-21, 2013 | 48 | 46 | 6 |
| | Feb 13-18, 2013 | 52 | 42 | 5 |
| | TREND FOR COMPARISON <i>Please tell me whether you think each of the</i> <i>following description applies or does not apply to</i> <i>the Republican Party too extreme</i> <i>CNN/Collume Solution</i> 1000 | FC | 42 | 2 |
| | CNN/Gallup: February, 1999 | 56 | 42 | 3 |
| b. | Cares about the middle class Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 42 | 54 | 4 |
| с. | Is too willing to cut government programs, even when they work Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| | | | | |

RANDOMIZE Q.C48/Q.C49 ASK ALL PHASE C:

[Next,]

Q.C49 Do you think the Democratic Party [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] or not?

| | | <u>Yes</u> | <u>No</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|----|---|----------------|----------------|-------------------------|
| a. | Is too extreme Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 Jul 17-21, 2013 Feb 13-18, 2013 TREND FOR COMPARISON Please tell me whether you think each of the following descriptions applies or does not apply to the Democratic Party too extreme | 39 41 39 | 56 54 56 | 5 5 6 |
| | CNN/Gallup: February, 1999 | 39 | 57 | 3 |
| b. | Cares about the middle class Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 57 | 38 | 4 |
| c. | Too often sees government as the only way to solve problems Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 59 | 35 | 6 |

ASK ALL:

Q.50 Now I'm going to read a few more pairs of statements. Again, just tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is [READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS Q THRU Z FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS AA THRU HH; RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]. Next, [NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]

| q. | | This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment | This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect <u>the environment</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----|---------------------|---|--|---|
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 71 | 25 | 4 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 71 | 24 | 5 |
| | December, 2004 | 77 | 18 | 5 |
| | September, 2000 | 78 | 17 | 5 |
| | August, 1999 | 80 | 15 | 5 |
| | October, 1996 | 77 | 18 | 5 |
| | October, 1995 | 77 | 20 | 3 |
| | April, 1995 | 74 | 22 | 4 |
| | October, 1994 | 77 | 19 | 4 |
| | July, 1994 | 78 | 19 | 3 |

| r. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 November, 2007 July, 2006 March, 2006 December, 2005 December, 2004 September, 2000 August, 1999 October, 1995 April, 1995 | Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt <u>the economy</u> 39 39 27 31 29 37 31 31 31 28 30 35 39 | Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost 56 53 63 57 65 56 60 61 61 65 63 61 57 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 5 7 10 12 6 7 9 8 7 9 8 7 7 4 4 |
|----|--|---|--|---|
| | October, 1994 | 32 | 62 | 6 |
| | July, 1994 | 33 | 62 | 5 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

| | | There are no real limits to | People in this country | (VOL.) |
|----|--------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------|
| | | growth in this country | should learn to live with | Both/Neither/ |
| s. | | <u>today</u> | less | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Feb 12-26, 2014 | 49 | 46 | 5 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| | December, 2008 | 40 | 53 | 7 |
| | October, 2008 | 41 | 49 | 10 |
| | December, 2004 | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| | August, 1999 | 54 | 40 | 6 |
| | July, 1994 | 51 | 45 | 4 |

Q.50 CONTINUED... ASK ALL PHASE C:

| ASK | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------|--|--|---|
| t. | | As Americans, we can always find ways to solve our problems and get <u>what we want</u> | This country can't solve many of its important <u>problems</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Feb 27-Mar 16 2014 | 47 | 50 | 3 |
| | Dec 7-11, 2011 | 60 | 36 | 3 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 57 | 37 | 6 |
| | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> | 54 | 42 | 5 |
| | December, 2008 | 68 | 27 | 5 |
| | October, 2008 | 64 | 29 | 7 |
| | December, 2004 | 59 | 36 | 5 |
| | September, 2000 | 59 | 36 | 5 |
| | August, 1999 | 63 | 32 | 5 |
| | July, 1994 | 52 | 45 | 3 |
| | | | | |

ASK ALL:

| u. | Homosexuality should be accepted by society | Homosexuality should be <u>discouraged by society</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|-----------------------------|--|--|---|
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 62 | 31 | 7 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 60 | 31 | 8 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 57 | 36 | 7 |
| Jan 4-8, 2012 | 56 | 32 | 12 |
| Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 58 | 33 | 8 |
| October, 2006 ¹² | 51 | 38 | 11 |
| December, 2004 | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| June, 2003 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| September, 2000 | 50 | 41 | 9 |
| August, 1999 | 49 | 44 | 7 |
| October, 1997 | 46 | 48 | 6 |
| June, 1997 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| October, 1996 | 44 | 49 | 7 |
| April, 1996 | 44 | 49 | 7 |
| October, 1995 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| April, 1995 | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| October, 1994 | 46 | 48 | 6 |
| July, 1994 | 46 | 49 | 5 |

ASK ALL PHASE C:

| v. | Feb 27-Mar 16 2014 | It's not the government's job to protect people from <u>themselves</u> 34 | Sometimes laws to protect people from themselves <u>are necessary</u> 62 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 4 |
|-----|---|--|---|--|
| ASK | ALL PHASE A: | | | (VOL.) |
| w. | Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014 Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 December, 2004 | Religion is a very important part of my life 66 71 74 | Religion is not that important to me 33 27 24 | Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 1 2 2 |

12

In October, 2006 and earlier, both answer choices began: "Homosexuality is a way of life that should be..."

Q.50 CONTINUED....

| Q.50 | CONTINUED | | | <i></i> |
|------|---|--|---|---|
| | September, 2000 August, 1999 | Religion is a very <u>important part of my life</u> 75 75 | Religion is not that <u>important to me</u> 23 22 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 2 2 2 |
| NO I | тем х | | | |
| ASK | ALL: | T I II II C I | | |
| у. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially 51 47 | I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation 47 51 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 1 2 |
| | October, 2006 December, 2005 December, 2004 September, 2000 August, 1999 October, 1996 April 1006 | 59 56 59 59 64 57 | 40 42 39 39 34 41 | 1 2 2 2 2 2 |
| | April, 1996 July, 1994 | 57 56 | 42 43 | 1 1 |
| Z. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 December, 2005 December, 2004 September, 2000 August, 1999 July, 1994 | I often don't have enough money to make ends meet 40 43 40 35 37 29 36 | Paying the bills is generally not a problem <u>for me</u> 58 54 56 62 59 68 63 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 2 3 4 3 4 3 4 3 1 |
| aa. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 December, 2004 March, 2002 | It IS NOT necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good <u>values</u> 53 49 46 50 | It IS necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values 45 48 51 47 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 2 3 3 3 3 |
| bb. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 December, 2004 | Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism <u>around the world</u> 37 38 39 | Relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more <u>terrorism</u> 57 52 51 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 7 10 10 |

NO ITEM cc

Q.50 CONTINUED...

| Q.50 | CONTINUED | | | |
|------|-----------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------|
| | | The growing number of | | |
| | | newcomers from other | The growing number of | |
| | | countries threatens | newcomers from other | (VOL.) |
| | | traditional American | countries strengthens | Both/Neither/ |
| dd. | | customs and values | <u>American society</u> | DK/Ref |
| uu. | lan 22 Mar 16 2014 | 35 | 59 | 6 |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | | | |
| | Mar 13-17, 2013 | 43 | 52 | 6 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| | Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 38 | 49 | 13 |
| | Jun 16-20, 2010 | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| | November, 2007 | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| | March, 2006 | 48 | 45 | 7 |
| | | - | - | - |
| | December, 2004 | 40 | 50 | 10 |
| | | | | |
| | | This heat fair the future of | We should pay less | |
| | | It's best for the future of | attention to problems | (VOL.) |
| | | our country to be active in | overseas and concentrate | Both/Neither/ |
| ee. | | world affairs | <u>on problems here at home</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 35 | 60 | 5 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 33 | 58 | 8 |
| | December, 2004 | 44 | 49 | 7 |
| | | | | |
| | | Americans need to be | Americans shouldn't have | |
| | | willing to give up privacy | to give up privacy and | (VOL.) |
| | | and freedom in order to | freedom in order to be | Both/Neither/ |
| ff. | | be safe from terrorism | safe from terrorism | DK/Ref |
| | Jan 29-Mar 16, 2014 ¹³ | 22 | 74 | 4 |
| | - | | | |
| | Jan 15-19, 2014 (U) | 26 | 70 | 4 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 26 | 68 | 6 |
| | December, 2004 ¹⁴ | 35 60 | | 5 |
| | | | | |
| ASK | ALL PHASE B: | The sevenness table of de | Thursday, the province ant in | |
| | | The government should do | I worry the government is | (VOL.) |
| | | more to protect morality | getting too involved in the | Both/Neither/ |
| gg. | | <u>in society</u> | issue of morality | DK/Ref |
| | Feb 12-26, 2014 | 33 | 62 | 5 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 35 | 54 | 10 |
| | December, 2004 | 41 | 51 | 8 |
| | | | | |
| ASK | ALL: | | | |
| | | Our country has made the | Our country needs to | |
| | | changes needed to give | continue making changes | (VOL.) |
| | | blacks equal rights with | to give blacks equal rights | Both/Neither/ |
| hh. | | whites | with whites | DK/Ref |
| | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 49 | 46 | 5 |
| | Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 49 | 45 | 6 |
| | - | - | | |
| | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs) | 48 | 45 | 8 |
| | Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 | 47 | 43 | 10 |
| | | | | |

13

Item was asked Jan. 29-Mar 16, 2014 (N=9,459). In December 2004, both answer choices read "...to give up more privacy and freedom...." 14

ASK ALL:

Q.51 Next, [ASK ITEM ii FIRST, FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS jj THROUGH mm <u>AND</u> RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS WITHIN PAIRS]. [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"] Next, [NEXT PAIR]

ASK ALL PHASE A:

| ii. | Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014 Sep 12-16, 2012 Nov 4-7, 2010 Jun 8-28, 2010 Jan 14-27, 2010 (SDT) | Government should do more to solve problems 45 44 43 43 43 45 | Government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals 51 49 48 47 47 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 4 6 9 10 8 |
|-----|--|---|---|--|
| jj. | Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014 | Children are better off when a parent stays home to focus on the family 60 | Children are just as well off when their parents work outside the home 35 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 5 |
| ASK | ALL: | | Government aid to the | |
| kk. | Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Jan 15-19, 2014 (U) | Government aid to the poor does more harm than good, by making people too dependent on <u>government assistance</u> 48 44 | poor does more good than harm, because people can't get out of poverty until their basic needs are <u>met</u> 47 49 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 6 7 |
| ASK | ALL PHASE A: | - , | - | |
| ١١. | Jan 29-Feb 9, 2014 ¹⁵ | The economic system in this country unfairly <u>favors powerful interests</u> 62 | The economic system in this country is generally <u>fair to most Americans</u> 34 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 4 |
| mm. | Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014 Jan 15-19, 2014 ¹⁶ Jan 9-13, 2013 ¹⁷ Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> | I like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with 56 49 50 40 40 | I like elected officials who stick to their positions 39 48 44 54 55 | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 5 3 6 7 5 |

NO ITEM nn

¹⁵ Item was asked Jan. 29-Feb.9, 2014 (N=2,787). 16

In January 2014 and earlier, response items were not randomized. 17

In January 2013, question asked as a stand-alone item.

Q.51 CONTINUED... ASK ALL PHASE C:

| 00. | | The police should be allowed to stop and search anyone who fits the general description of a <u>crime suspect</u> | The police should not be able to search people just because they think they look suspicious | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|-----|-----------------------------|---|--|---|
| | Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 41 | 56 | 3 |
| pp. | | Wall Street HELPS the American economy more <u>than it hurts</u> | Wall Street HURTS the American economy more <u>than it helps</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| | Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 45 | 42 | 13 |
| | Jan 4-8, 2012 ¹⁸ | 36 | 48 | 16 |
| | Dec 7-11, 2011 | 36 | 51 | 13 |
| | Mar 8-14, 2011 | 38 | 47 | 15 |
| | | | | |

NO QUESTION 52

ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q.53 In your opinion, which is generally more often to blame if a person is poor? Lack of effort on his or her own part, or circumstances beyond his or her control?

| | Lack of <u>effort</u> | Circumstances beyond control | (VOL.) <u>Both</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-----------------------|-------------------------|
| Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014 | 39 | 50 | 8 | 3 |
| Jan 15-19, 2014 (U) | 35 | 50 | 11 | 4 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 38 | 46 | 11 | 5 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 32 | 49 | 14 | 5 |
| October, 1997 | 39 | 44 | 14 | 3 |
| <i>CBS/NYT:</i> 1995 | 35 | 42 | 18 | 4 |
| <i>CBS/NYT:</i> 1994 | 44 | 34 | 18 | 4 |
| <i>LAT:</i> 1992 | 27 | 52 | 18 | 3 |
| NYT: December, 1990 | 30 | 48 | 20 | 2 |
| <i>Gallup:</i> May, 1990 | 35 | 45 | 17 | 3 |
| Gallup: 1989 | 38 | 42 | 17 | 3 |
| Gallup: 1988 | 40 | 37 | 17 | 6 |
| Gallup: 1984 | 33 | 34 | 31 | 2 |
| <i>CBS/NYT:</i> 1982 | 37 | 39 | 17 | 7 |
| Gallup: 1967 | 42 | 19 | 36 | 3 |
| Gallup: 1965 | 40 | 29 | 28 | 3 |
| Gallup: November, 1964 | 31 | 31 | 34 | 5 |
| Gallup: September, 1964 | 34 | 25 | 38 | 3 |
| Gallup: March, 1964 | 34 | 29 | 32 | 6 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B54 Next, **[IF NECESSARY:** Which comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right]. **[READ DO NOT RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS]**

| | The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among <u>its believers</u> | The Islamic religion does not encourage violence <u>more than others</u> | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|--------------------|---|--|---|
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 38 | 50 | 12 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 42 | 46 | 13 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 40 | 42 | 18 |
| Aug 19-22, 2010 | 35 | 42 | 24 |

In January 2012 and earlier, response items were not randomized.

Q.B54 CONTINUED...

| | The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among | The Islamic religion does not encourage violence | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ |
|-----------------|---|---|-------------------------|
| | <u>its believers</u> | <u>more than others</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| Aug 11-17, 2009 | 38 | 45 | 16 |
| August, 2007 | 45 | 39 | 16 |
| July, 2005 | 36 | 47 | 17 |
| July, 2004 | 46 | 37 | 17 |
| Mid-July, 2003 | 44 | 41 | 15 |
| March, 2002 | 25 | 51 | 24 |
| | | | |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B55 Should the U.S. Supreme Court base its rulings on its understanding of what the U.S. Constitution meant as it was originally written, or should the court base its rulings on its understanding of what the US Constitution means in current times?

| | | | (VOL.) | |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------|------------------|-------------------|--------|
| | What it meant | What it means | Somewhere | (VOL.) |
| | as originally written | in current times | <u>in between</u> | DK/Ref |
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 46 | 49 | 2 | 3 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 45 | 50 | 2 | 4 |
| Kaiser/Harvard/WaPo: October, 2010 |) 50 | 46 | 1 | 3 |
| ABC News/WaPo: July, 2005 | 46 | 50 | 3 | 1 |

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C56 Which of these statements best describes your opinion about the United States? [READ IN ORDER; REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF OF SAMPLE]

| Feb 27-Mar 16 | | Mar 8-14 |
|---------------|--|-------------|
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2011</u> |
| 28 | The U.S. stands above all other countries in the world. | 38 |
| 58 | The U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others | 53 |
| 12 | There are other countries that are better than the U.S. | 8 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 2 |

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C57 From what you've read and heard, is there solid evidence that the average temperature on earth has been getting warmer over the past few decades, or not?

ASK IF EARTH IS GETTING WARMER (Q.C57=1):

Q.C58a Do you believe that the earth is getting warmer [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

| | | Mostly because of | evidence Mostly because of | | | (VOL.) Mixed/ | |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------|----|-------------------------|--------|
| | | human activity such r | natural patterns in the | (VOL.) | | some | (VOL.) |
| | <u>Total</u> | <u>as burning fossil fuels</u> | <u>earth's environment</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> | No | <u>evidence</u> | DK/Ref |
| Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 61 | 40 | 18 | 3 | 35 | 1 | 3 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 67 | 44 | 18 | 4 | 26 | 2 | 5 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 69 | 42 | 23 | 4 | 27 | 1 | 4 |
| Oct 4-7, 2012 | 67 | 42 | 19 | 6 | 26 | 1 | 6 |
| Nov 9-14, 2011 | 63 | 38 | 18 | 6 | 28 | 1 | 8 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 58 | 36 | 18 | 5 | 34 | 2 | 5 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 | 59 | 34 | 18 | 6 | 32 | 1 | 8 |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 57 | 36 | 16 | 6 | 33 | 2 | 8 |
| April, 2008 | 71 | 47 | 18 | 6 | 21 | 3 | 5 |
| January, 2007 | 77 | 47 | 20 | 10 | 16 | 1 | 6 |
| August, 2006 | 77 | 47 | 20 | 10 | 17 | 1 | 5 |
| July, 2006 | 79 | 50 | 23 | 6 | 17 | 1 | 3 |
| June, 2006 | 70 | 41 | 21 | 8 | 20 | 1 | 9 |

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C57 From what you've read and heard, is there solid evidence that the average temperature on earth has been getting warmer over the past few decades, or not?

ASK IF EARTH IS NOT GETTING WARMER (Q.C57=2):

Q.C58b Do you think that we just don't know enough yet about whether the Earth is getting warmer or do you think it's just not happening?

| Feb 27-Mar 16 | | Oct 9-13 |
|---------------|---|---------------------------|
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2013¹⁹ </u> |
| 35 | NET No solid evidence (Q.C57) | 26 |
| 17 | Just don't know enough yet | 12 |
| 17 | Just not happening | 13 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 1 |
| 65 | Solid evidence/Mixed/some evidence/Don't know (Q.C57) | 74 |

NO QUESTIONS 59-99

ASK ALL:

Q.100 Have you ever contributed money to a candidate running for public office or to a group working to elect a candidate?

ASK IF HAVE EVER CONTRIBUTED MONEY (Q.100=1):

Q.101 Have you done this over the last two years, that is, during or since the 2012 elections, or not? [IF NECESSARY: Have you contributed money to any candidates or political groups over the last two years, or not?]

| Jan 23-Mar 16 | | Jan 2-5 |
|---------------|----------------------------|-------------|
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2014</u> |
| 30 | Yes, have ever contributed | 24 |
| 15 | Yes, in last two years | 14 |
| 16 | No, not in last two years | 10 |
| * | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | * |
| 69 | No, have never contributed | 75 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 1 |
| | | |

ASK IF HAVE CONTRIBUTED MONEY DURING 2012/2013 (Q.101=1):

Q.102 Over the last two years, would you say all of those contributions added up to more than \$100 or less than that?

ASK IF MORE THAN \$100 (Q.102=1):

Q.102a And did they add up to more than \$250 or not?

BASED ON TOTAL:

| Jan 23-Mar 16 <u>2014</u> 8 4 4 * 6 | More than \$100 More than \$250 Less than \$250 Don't know/Refused (VOL.) Less than \$100 | Jan 2-5 <u>2014</u> 9 5 |
|---|--|--|
| 0 * | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | Э * |
| 85 | Haven't donated in last two years (Q.100=2,9 OR Q,101=2,9) | 86 |

NO QUESTIONS 103-104

19

Prior to October 2013, follow-up question was not asked of those who said there was no solid evidence.

ASK ALL:

Q.105 **[IF Q100=1:** And again,] just thinking about the last two years...Please tell me if you have done any of the following. First, over the last two years have you **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**, or not? And over the last two years have you **[INSERT NEXT ITEM]**, or not?

| | | Yes, have done this within last two years | No, have not done this within last two years | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|-------|---|---|---|-------------------------|
| a. | Worked or volunteered for a political candidate or campaign Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 8 | 92 | * |
| b. | Contacted any elected official Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 28 | 72 | * |
| NO IT | EM c | | | |
| d. | Attended a campaign event Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 15 | 84 | * |

ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q.106 And have you, yourself, ever run for federal, state, or local elected office, or not?

Jan 23-Feb 9

<u>2014</u>

- 2 Yes, have run for elected office
- 98 No, have not run for elected office

Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Next,

Q.B106 Do you favor or oppose legalized casino gambling in your state?

| | | <i>WP/Kaiser Family Foundation/Harvard</i> | NBC/AP |
|-------------|---------------------------|--|---------------------------|
| Feb 12-26 | | Jul 29-Aug 18 | Aug 7-8 |
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>1998</u> | <u>1978</u> ²⁰ |
| 61 | Favor | 47 | 48 |
| 33 | Oppose | 48 | 47 |
| 6 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 5 | 5 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B107 Right now, which ONE of the following do you think should be the more important priority for addressing America's energy supply? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

| 5-6 12 26 2014 | Developing alternative sources such as, wind, solar and hydrogen <u>technology</u> | Expanding exploration and production of oil, coal and natural gas | (VOL.) Both should be given equal <u>priority</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------------|---|--|---|-------------------------|
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 65 | 28 | 5 | 2 |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 | 58 | 34 | 6 | 3 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 54 | 34 | 7 | 4 |
| Oct 24-28, 2012 | 47 | 39 | 9 | 5 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 52 | 39 | 5 | 4 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 63 | 29 | 6 | 2 |

In 1978, NBC News and the Associated Press asked "Would you favor or oppose legalized casino gambling in your state?"

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B108 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

| | | Favor- | | | Oppose | | |
|-----------------------------|-------|----------|--------------|-------|---------------|---------------|--------|
| | | Strongly | | | Strongly | | (VOL.) |
| | Total | favor | <u>Favor</u> | Total | <u>oppose</u> | <u>Oppose</u> | DK/Ref |
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 54 | 24 | 30 | 39 | 19 | 20 | 7 |
| May 1-5, 2013 ²¹ | 51 | 21 | 30 | 42 | 19 | 22 | 8 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 49 | 22 | 27 | 44 | 22 | 21 | 8 |
| Oct 24-28, 2012 | 49 | 22 | 27 | 40 | 19 | 21 | 11 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 48 | 23 | 25 | 44 | 24 | 20 | 8 |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 48 | 23 | 25 | 44 | 23 | 21 | 9 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 47 | 22 | 25 | 43 | 22 | 21 | 11 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 46 | | | 44 | | | 9 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 45 | 20 | 25 | 46 | 25 | 21 | 9 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 43 | 16 | 27 | 47 | 26 | 22 | 10 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 41 | 17 | 24 | 48 | 24 | 24 | 10 |
| Aug 11-17, 2009 | 39 | 14 | 25 | 53 | 31 | 22 | 8 |
| Mid-April, 2009 | 35 | 14 | 21 | 54 | 31 | 23 | 11 |
| August, 2008 | 39 | 13 | 26 | 52 | 30 | 22 | 9 |
| June, 2008 | 40 | 15 | 25 | 52 | 31 | 21 | 8 |
| Late May, 2008 | 38 | 15 | 23 | 49 | 29 | 20 | 13 |
| November, 2007 | 36 | 12 | 24 | 54 | 29 | 25 | 10 |
| August, 2007 | 36 | 13 | 23 | 55 | 31 | 24 | 9 |
| Early January, 2007 | 37 | 13 | 24 | 55 | 33 | 22 | 8 |
| Early November, 2006 (RVs) | 30 | 10 | 20 | 57 | 31 | 26 | 13 |
| July, 2006 | 35 | 12 | 23 | 56 | 31 | 25 | 9 |
| June, 2006 | 33 | 13 | 20 | 55 | 32 | 23 | 12 |
| March, 2006 | 39 | 10 | 29 | 51 | 28 | 23 | 10 |
| July, 2005 | 36 | 13 | 23 | 53 | 31 | 22 | 11 |
| December, 2004 | 32 | 14 | 18 | 61 | 38 | 23 | 7 |
| August, 2004 | 29 | 8 | 21 | 60 | 35 | 25 | 11 |
| July, 2004 | 32 | 10 | 22 | 56 | 33 | 23 | 12 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 32 | 10 | 22 | 59 | 35 | 24 | 9 |
| Early February, 2004 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 63 | 42 | 21 | 7 |
| November, 2003 | 30 | 10 | 20 | 62 | 41 | 21 | 8 |
| October, 2003 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 58 | 33 | 25 | 12 |
| Mid-July, 2003 | 38 | 10 | 28 | 53 | 30 | 23 | 9 |
| March, 2001 | 35 | 8 | 27 | 57 | 34 | 23 | 8 |
| June, 1996 | 27 | 6 | 21 | 65 | 41 | 24 | 8 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B109 Thinking about our economic and trade policy toward China, which is more important **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

| Feb 12-26 <u>2014</u> | | Oct 4-7 <u>2012</u> | Mar 8-14 <u>2011</u> |
|--------------------------|--|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 51 | Building a stronger relationship with China on economic issues | 42 | 53 |
| 41 | Getting tougher with China on economic issues | 49 | 40 |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 9 | 7 |

²¹

In May 1-5, 2013, Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012, Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011, July 21-Aug 5, 2010, Aug 11-17, 2009, August 2008, August 2007, Early January 2007, Early November 2006, March 2006, July 2005, December 2004, Early February 2004, November 2003, Mid-July 2003, March 2001 and June 1996 the question was asked as part of a list of items. In Jun 7-17, 2012, Apr 4-15, 2012, August 2009, April 2009, May 2008 and June 2008, the question read "allowing gay and lesbian couples;" all other instances read "allowing gays and lesbians."

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B110 Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal, or not?

| | <u>Yes, legal</u> | <u>No, illegal</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|-----------------------|-------------------|--------------------|------------------|
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 54 | 42 | 3 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 52 | 45 | 3 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 41 | 52 | 7 |
| Gallup | | | |
| October, 2012 | 48 | 50 | 1 |
| October, 2011 | 50 | 46 | 3 |
| October, 2010 | 46 | 50 | 4 |
| October, 2009 | 44 | 54 | 2 |
| October 2005 | 36 | 60 | 4 |
| November, 2003 | 34 | 64 | 2 |
| August, 2001 | 34 | 62 | 4 |
| August, 2000 | 31 | 64 | 5 |
| August, 1995 | 25 | 73 | 2 |
| May, 1985 | 23 | 73 | 4 |
| June, 1980 | 25 | 70 | 5 |
| May, 1979 | 25 | 70 | 5 |
| April, 1977 | 28 | 66 | 6 |
| January, 1973 | 16 | 78 | 6 |
| March, 1972 | 15 | 81 | 4 |
| October, 1969 | 12 | 84 | 4 |
| General Social Survey | | | |
| 2012 | 43 | 49 | 8 |
| 2010 | 44 | 47 | 9 |
| 2008 | 35 | 57 | 8 |
| 2006 | 32 | 60 | 7 |
| 2004 | 33 | 59 | 9 |
| 2002 | 32 | 61 | 6 |
| 2000 | 31 | 63 | 6 |
| 1998 | 27 | 67 | 6 |
| 1996 | 25 | 70 | 5 |
| 1994 | 22 | 73 | 5 |
| 1993 | 22 | 73 | 5 |
| 1991 | 17 | 78 | 5 5 3 |
| 1990 | 16 | 81 | 3 |
| 1989 | 16 | 81 | 3 |
| 1988 | 17 | 79 | 4 |
| 1987 | 16 | 81 | 3 |
| 1986 | 17 | 80 | 2 |
| 1984 | 22 | 74 | 4 |
| 1983 | 19 | 77 | 3 |
| 1980 | 24 | 73 | 3 |
| 1978 | 30 | 66 | 4 |
| 1976 | 28 | 69 | 3 |
| 1975 | 20 | 74 | 5 2 |
| 1973 | 19 | 79 | 2 |
| | | | |

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C111 How much, if anything, have you read or heard about COMMON CORE, a set of education standards for students in grades K-12? Have you heard ... **[READ]**

Feb 27-Mar 16

2014

- 18 A lot
- 41 A little
- 40 Nothing at all
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK IF HEARD OF COMMON CORE (Q.C111=1,2) [N=2,139]:

Q.C112 From what you've read and heard, do you strongly favor, favor, oppose or strongly oppose the Common Core education standards?

Feb 27-Mar 16

- <u>2014</u>
 - 9 Strongly favor
 - 37 Favor
 - 24 Oppose
- 15 Strongly oppose
- 16 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

NO QUESTIONS 113-114

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C115 In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

| Feb 27-Mar 16 | i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i i | Feb 22-Mar 1 | Mar 31-Apr 21 |
|---------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|---------------|
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2011</u> | <u>2009</u> |
| 59 | Good thing | 48 | 52 |
| 30 | Bad thing | 41 | 34 |
| 10 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 12 | 14 |

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA and the policies of the World Trade Organization have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

| | | | (VOL.) |
|------------------------------|------------|-----------|--------|
| | Good thing | Bad thing | DK/Ref |
| Nov 4-7, 2010 | 35 | 44 | 21 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 43 | 32 | 25 |
| Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009 | 44 | 35 | 21 |
| April, 2008 | 35 | 48 | 17 |
| November, 2007 | 40 | 40 | 20 |
| December, 2006 ²² | 44 | 35 | 21 |
| Late October, 2005 | 44 | 34 | 22 |
| December, 2004 | 47 | 34 | 19 |
| July, 2004 | 47 | 34 | 19 |
| March, 2004 | 44 | 37 | 19 |
| December, 2003 | 34 | 33 | 33 |
| Early September, 2001 | 49 | 29 | 22 |
| November, 1997 | 45 | 34 | 21 |
| September, 1997 | 47 | 30 | 23 |
| | | | |

22

In December 2006, December 2004, July 2004 and March 2004, the question wording asked about: "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization," and did not mention "policies of" the World Trade Organization. In October 2005 the question asked: "So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?" In December 2003 the question wording asked about "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the WTO;" full names of the organizations were read out only if the respondent was uncertain. In Early September 2001 and earlier the question asked about: "...NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement..."

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C116 Do you approve or disapprove of the health care law passed by Barack Obama and Congress in 2010?

ASK IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (Q.C116=1,2):

Q.C116a Do you [approve/disapprove] very strongly, or not so strongly?

| | Approve | | <u>strongly</u> | | Dis- approve | Very <u>strongly</u> | | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------------------|---------|----|-----------------|---|-----------------|-------------------------|----|--------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | | 26 | 14 | * | 53 | 41 | 12 | * | 5 |
| Dec 3-8, 2013 (U) | 41 | | | | 54 | | | | 5 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 41 | | | | 52 | | | | 7 |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 (U) | 42 | 26 | 16 | 1 | 53 | 41 | 12 | * | 5 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 ²³ | 47 | 31 | 15 | 1 | 43 | 33 | 10 | * | 9 |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 43 | 26 | 17 | 1 | 48 | 35 | 13 | * | 9 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 41 | | | | 49 | | | | 10 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 47 | | | | 45 | | | | 8 |
| Jan 5-9, 2011 | 41 | | | | 48 | | | | 11 |
| Nov 4-7, 2010 | 43 | | | | 47 | | | | 10 |
| Sep 9-12, 2010 | 38 | | | | 45 | | | | 17 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 44 | | | | 46 | | | | 10 |
| Jul 8-11, 2010 | 35 | | | | 47 | | | | 17 |
| Apr 1-5, 2010 | 40 | | | | 44 | | | | 16 |

Q.C116/C116a TREND FOR COMPARISON:

As of right now, do you generally favor or generally oppose the health care bills being discussed in Congress?

IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE: Do you (favor/oppose) these health care bills very strongly, or not so strongly?

| | Generall | y Very | Not so | (VOL.) | Generally | v Very | Not so | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
|------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|---------------|---------------|
| | <u>favor</u> | <u>strongly</u> | <u>strongly</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> | <u>oppose</u> | <u>strongly</u> | <u>strongly</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> | <u>DK/Ref</u> |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 40 | | | | 47 | | | | 13 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 38 | | | | 48 | | | | 13 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 38 | | | | 50 | | | | 12 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 39 | 23 | 14 | 2 | 48 | 36 | 11 | 1 | 13 |
| Dec 9-13, 2009 ²⁴ | 35 | | | | 48 | | | | 17 |
| Nov 12-15, 2009 | 42 | | | | 39 | | | | 19 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 38 | | | | 47 | | | | 15 |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 34 | 20 | 13 | 1 | 47 | 35 | 11 | 1 | 19 |
| Sep 10-15, 2009 | 42 | 29 | 11 | 2 | 44 | 34 | 10 | * | 14 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 39 | 25 | 13 | 1 | 46 | 34 | 12 | 1 | 15 |
| Jul 22-26, 2009 | 38 | | | | 44 | | | | 18 |

²³

Prior to September 2013, the question asked about "the health care legislation." In addition, the reference to when the law was passed has changed over time: January 2011 referenced the legislation passed "last year," November 2010 used "earlier this year," September through July, 2010 used "in March," and April 2010 used "last month." From December 9-13, 2009 and earlier, questions asked about "health care proposals" rather than "health care bills."

²⁴

ASK IF 'DISAPPROVE' (Q.C116=2):

Q.C117 What do you think elected officials who oppose the health care law should do now that the law has started to take effect? Should they **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]** or should they **[ITEM]**?

BASED ON TOTAL PHASE C:

| | | (U) | (U) |
|---------------|---|----------------|-------------|
| Feb 27-Mar 16 | | Dec 3-8 | Sep 4-8 |
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2013</u> 25 | <u>2013</u> |
| 53 | NET Disapprove of health care law (Q.C116) | 54 | 53 |
| 30 | Do what they can to make the law work as well as possible | 29 | 27 |
| 19 | Do what they can to make the law fail | 19 | 23 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 6 | 4 |
| 47 | Approve of health care law/ Don't know (Q.C116) | 46 | 47 |

NO QUESTIONS 118-120

QUESTION 121/121a/121b PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

RANDOMIZE IN BLOCKS: Q121/121a/b, Q122/122a/b, Q123/a/b, Q124/a/b, Q125/a/b, Q126/a/b

ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q.122 Which comes closer to your view about how to handle immigrants who are now living in the U.S. illegally? Should they **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

ASK IF NOT ELIGIBLE FOR CITIZENSHIP (Q122=1):

Q.122a Do you think there should be a national law enforcement effort to deport all immigrants who are now living in the U.S. illegally, or should that not be done?

ASK IF BE ELIGIBLE FOR CITIZENSHIP (Q122=2):

Q.122b And if immigrants meet these requirements, should they be eligible for citizenship? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

Jan 23-Feb 9

25

- 2014 23 Not be eligible for citizenship
 - 17 Should be national law enforcement effort to deport
 - 5 Should not be national law enforcement effort to deport
 - 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 76 Be eligible for citizenship if they meet certain requirements
- 20 Right away
- 54 Only after a period of time
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

In December 2013 and September 2013, question was not asked immediately after Q.C116.

RANDOMIZE IN BLOCKS: Q121/121a/b, Q122/122a/b, Q123/a/b, Q124/a/b, Q125/a/b, Q126/a/b ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q.123 What do you think is more important – to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

ASK IF MORE IMPORTANT TO PROTECT OWNERSHIP (Q123=1):

Q.123a And do you think there should be [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

ASK IF MORE IMPORTANT TO CONTROL OWNERSHIP (Q123=2):

Q.123b And do you think [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

- Jan 23-Feb 9
 - <u>2014</u>

49 Protect the right of Americans to own guns

- 38 Some restrictions on gun ownership
- 11 No restrictions on gun ownership
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 48 Control gun ownership
- 35 Most Americans should be able to own guns with certain limits in place
- 12 Only law enforcement and security personnel should be able to own guns
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Q.123 TREND:

| | Protect right of Americans | Control | (VOL.) |
|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------|--------|
| | <u>to own guns</u> | <u>gun ownership</u> | DK/Ref |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 48 | 50 | 2 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 46 | 50 | 4 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 45 | 51 | 5 |
| Dec 17-19, 2012 | 42 | 49 | 9 |
| July 26-29, 2012 | 46 | 47 | 6 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 49 | 45 | 6 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 47 | 49 | 5 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 48 | 47 | 6 |
| Jan 13-16, 2011 | 49 | 46 | 6 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 46 | 50 | 4 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 46 | 46 | 7 |
| Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009 | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| April, 2008 | 37 | 58 | 5 |
| November, 2007 | 42 | 55 | 3 |
| April, 2007 | 32 | 60 | 8 |
| February, 2004 | 37 | 58 | 5 |
| June, 2003 | 42 | 54 | 4 |
| May, 2000 | 38 | 57 | 5 |
| April, 2000 | 37 | 55 | 8 |
| March, 2000 | 29 | 66 | 5 |
| June, 1999 | 33 | 62 | 5 |
| May, 1999 | 30 | 65 | 5 |
| December, 1993 | 34 | 57 | 9 |

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER

RANDOMIZE IN BLOCKS:

Q121/121a/b, Q122/122a/b, Q123/a/b, Q124/a/b, Q125/a/b, Q126/a/b ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q.124 Do you think abortion should be [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

ASK IF LEGAL IN ALL/MOST (Q124=1):

Q.124a Do you think there are any situations in which abortion should be restricted, or should there be no restrictions at all on abortion?

ASK IF ILLEGAL IN ALL/MOST (Q124=2):

Q.124b Do you think there are any situations in which abortion should be allowed, or should there be no situations at all where abortion is allowed?

Jan 23-Feb 9

<u>2014</u>

- 51 LEGAL in all or most cases
- 31 Situations in which abortion should be restricted
- 19 No restrictions at all on abortion
- * Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 43 ILLEGAL in all or most cases
- 28 Situations in which abortion should be allowed
- 14 No situations where abortion should be allowed
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 6 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

TREND FOR COMPARISON²⁶:

| | Legal | Legal | Illegal | Illegal | | NET | NET |
|---------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | in all | in most | in most | in all | (VOL.) | Legal in | Illegal in |
| | <u>cases</u> | <u>cases</u> | <u>cases</u> | cases | DK/Ref | <u>all/most</u> | <u>all/most</u> |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 20 | 34 | 24 | 15 | 7 | 54 | 40 |
| Oct 24-28, 2012 | 23 | 32 | 25 | 13 | 7 | 55 | 39 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 23 | 31 | 23 | 16 | 7 | 53 | 39 |
| Nov 9-14, 2011 | 20 | 31 | 26 | 17 | 6 | 51 | 43 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 19 | 35 | 25 | 16 | 5 | 54 | 41 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 18 | 36 | 26 | 16 | 4 | 54 | 42 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 17 | 33 | 27 | 17 | 7 | 50 | 44 |
| August 11-27, 2009 | 16 | 31 | 27 | 17 | 8 | 47 | 45 |
| April, 2009 | 18 | 28 | 28 | 16 | 10 | 46 | 44 |
| Late October, 2008 | 18 | 35 | 24 | 16 | 7 | 53 | 40 |
| Mid-October, 2008 | 19 | 38 | 22 | 14 | 7 | 57 | 36 |
| August, 2008 | 17 | 37 | 26 | 15 | 5 | 54 | 41 |
| June, 2008 | 19 | 38 | 24 | 13 | 6 | 57 | 37 |
| November, 2007 | 18 | 33 | 29 | 15 | 5 | 51 | 44 |
| October, 2007 | 21 | 32 | 24 | 15 | 8 | 53 | 39 |
| August, 2007 | 17 | 35 | 26 | 17 | 5 | 52 | 43 |
| AP/Ipsos-Poll: February, 2006 | 19 | 32 | 27 | 16 | 6 | 51 | 43 |
| ABC/WaPo: December, 2005 | 17 | 40 | 27 | 13 | 3 | 57 | 40 |
| ABC/WaPo: April, 2005 | 20 | 36 | 27 | 14 | 3 | 56 | 41 |
| ABC/WaPo: December, 2004 | 21 | 34 | 25 | 17 | 3 | 55 | 42 |
| <i>ABC/WaPo:</i> May, 2004 | 23 | 31 | 23 | 20 | 2 | 54 | 43 |
| ABC/WaPo: January, 2003 | 23 | 34 | 25 | 17 | 2 | 57 | 42 |
| ABC/WaPo: August, 2001 | 22 | 27 | 28 | 20 | 3 | 49 | 48 |
| ABC/BeliefNet: June, 2001 | 22 | 31 | 23 | 20 | 4 | 53 | 43 |
| ABC/WaPo: January, 2001 | 21 | 38 | 25 | 14 | 1 | 59 | 39 |
| ABC/WaPo: September, 2000 (RVs) | 20 | 35 | 25 | 16 | 3 | 55 | 41 |
| ABC/WaPo: July, 2000 | 20 | 33 | 26 | 17 | 4 | 53 | 43 |
| ABC/WaPo: September, 1999 | 20 | 37 | 26 | 15 | 2 | 57 | 41 |
| ABC/WaPo: March, 1999 | 21 | 34 | 27 | 15 | 3 | 55 | 42 |
| <i>ABC/WaPo:</i> July, 1998 | 19 | 35 | 29 | 13 | 4 | 54 | 42 |

26

Trend for comparison question is worded: "Do you think abortion should be legal in all cases, legal in most cases, illegal in most cases, with the categories read in reverse order for half the sample.

Q.124 TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

| | Legal | Legal | Illegal | Illegal | | NET | NET |
|-------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|--------|-----------------|-----------------|
| | in all | in most | in most | in all | (VOL.) | Legal in | Illegal in |
| | <u>cases</u> | <u>cases</u> | <u>cases</u> | <u>cases</u> | DK/Ref | <u>all/most</u> | <u>all/most</u> |
| ABC/WaPo: August, 1996 | 22 | 34 | 27 | 14 | 3 | 56 | 41 |
| ABC/WaPo: June, 1996 | 24 | 34 | 25 | 14 | 2 | 58 | 39 |
| ABC/WaPo: October, 1995 | 26 | 35 | 25 | 12 | 3 | 61 | 37 |
| ABC: September, 1995 | 24 | 36 | 25 | 11 | 4 | 60 | 36 |
| ABC/WaPo: July, 1995 | 27 | 32 | 26 | 14 | 1 | 59 | 40 |

RANDOMIZE IN BLOCKS:

Q121/121a/b, Q122/122a/b, Q123/a/b, Q124/a/b, Q125/a/b, Q126/a/b

ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q.125 Thinking about the long term future of Social Security, do you think **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**? **ASK IF ACCEPTABLE (Q125=1):**

Q.125a Should Social Security be [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

ASK IF UNACCEPTABLE (Q125=2):

Q.125b Should Social Security [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

Jan 23-Feb 9

<u>2014</u>

- 31 Some reductions in benefits for future retirees need to be considered
 - 6 Phased out as a government program ²⁷
- 24 Maintained at a reduced level
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 67 Social Security benefits should not be reduced in any way
- 27 Cover more people, with greater benefits
- 37 Be kept about as it is
- 3 Don't know/Refused (**VOL.**)
- 3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

RANDOMIZE IN BLOCKS:

Q121/121a/b, Q122/122a/b, Q123/a/b, Q124/a/b, Q125/a/b, Q126/a/b ASK ALL:

Q.126 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the government's collection of telephone and internet data as part of anti-terrorism efforts?

| | | (U) | | (U) |
|---------------|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|
| Jan 23-Mar 16 | | Jan 15-19 | Jul 17-21 | Jun 12-16 |
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2014</u> | <u>2013</u> | <u>2013</u> |
| 42 | Approve | 40 | 50 | 48 |
| 54 | Disapprove | 53 | 44 | 47 |
| 5 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 6 | 6 | 4 |

From Jan. 23 to Jan. 29, 2014, item read: "Phased out completely."

RANDOMIZE IN BLOCKS:

Q121/121a/b, Q122/122a/b, Q123/a/b, Q124/a/b, Q125/a/b, Q126/a/b ASK ALL:

Q.126 Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the government's collection of telephone and internet data as part of anti-terrorism efforts?

ASK IF APPROVE IN PHASE A (Q126=1):

Q.126a Do you think the National Security Agency should be allowed to collect whatever data it needs, or should there be limits on what it collects?

ASK IF DISAPPROVE IN PHASE A (Q126=2):

Q.126b Do you think the National Security Agency should be prevented from collecting any data about U.S. citizens, or should it be allowed to collect some limited information?

Jan 23-Feb 9

<u>2014²⁸ </u>

- 41 Approve
- 15 NSA should be allowed to collect whatever data it needs
- 26 Should be limits on what NSA collects
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 54 Disapprove
- 15 NSA prevented from collecting any data on citizens
- 38 NSA should be allowed to collect some limited information
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C127 In general, do you think affirmative action programs designed to increase the number of black and minority students on college campuses are a good thing or a bad thing?

| Feb 27-Mar 16 | 5 | May |
|---------------|---------------------------|----------------|
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2003</u> 29 |
| 63 | Good thing | 60 |
| 30 | Bad thing | 30 |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 10 |

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Q.C128 Do you favor or oppose building the Keystone XL pipeline that would transport oil from Canada's oil sands region through the Midwest to refineries in Texas?

| Feb 27-Mar 16 | 5 | Sep 4-8 | Mar 13-17 |
|---------------|---------------------------|---------------------------|-------------|
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2013</u> ³⁰ | <u>2013</u> |
| 61 | Favor | 65 | 66 |
| 27 | Oppose | 30 | 23 |
| 12 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 5 | 11 |

NO QUESTIONS 129-134

²⁸ Q126a and Q126b asked in Phase A (Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014) only. Q126 data in this table is based only on interviews conducted in this period.

²⁹ In May 2003, question appeared after a series of questions about affirmative action.

³⁰ In September 2013 and March 2013, question was asked as part of a list.

ASK ALL PHASE C:

Next, Q.C135 Which comes closer to your view? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]** ASK IF EVOLVED (Q.C135=1): Q.C135a And do you think that **[READ OPTIONS AND RANDOMIZE]**?

Q.C135a And do you think that...[READ OPTIONS AND RANDOMIZE]?

| Feb 27-Mar 16 Mar 21-Apr 8 Apr 28-May 1 2014 2013 2009 |
|--|
| <u>2014</u> <u>2013</u> <u>2009</u> |
| |
| 61 Humans and other living things have evolved over time 60 61 |
| Humans and other living things have evolved due to natural |
| 34processes such as natural selection3232 |
| A supreme being guided the evolution of living things for the |
| purpose of creating humans and other life in the form it exists |
| 23 today 24 22 |
| 4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.) 4 7 |
| Humans and other living things have existed in their present |
| 34 form since the beginning of time 33 31 |
| 5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.) 7 8 |

Q.C135/Q.135a TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Some people think that humans and other living things **[INSERT; RANDOMIZE]**. Others think that humans and other living things **[INSERT; RANDOMIZE]**. Which of these comes closest to your view?

IF VED, ASK: And do you think that...[READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

| July | | July |
|-------------|---|-------------|
| <u>2006</u> | | <u>2005</u> |
| 51 | Evolved over time | 48 |
| | Humans and other living things have evolved due to natural | |
| 26 | processes such as natural selection | 26 |
| | A supreme being guided the evolution of living things for the | |
| 21 | purpose of creating humans and other life in the form it exists today | 18 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 4 |
| 42 | Existed in their present form since the beginning of time | 42 |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 10 |

NO QUESTIONS 136-138

ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B139 Which comes closest to your view? [READ IN ORDER]

[Holy book: If Christian or no religion (RELIG =1-4, 9, 10, 12, 13 OR CHR=1) insert "the Bible"; If Jewish (RELIG =5), insert "the Torah"; If Muslim (RELIG=6), insert, "the Koran"; If other non-Christian affiliations (RELIG=7,8,14 OR (RELIG=11 AND CHR=2,9)), insert "the Holy Scripture"; IF DK/REF IN RELIGION (RELIG=99) AND CHR=2,9, insert "the Bible"]

ASK IF BELIEVE HOLY BOOK IS WORD OF GOD (Q.B139=1):

Q.B139a And would you say that **[READ IN ORDER]**?

| Feb 12-26 <u>2014</u> | | Jul 21-Aug 5 <u>2010</u> | August <u>2009</u> |
|--------------------------|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------|
| 65 | [Holy book] is the word of God | 68 | 69 |
| | [Holy book] is to be taken literally, | | |
| 33 | word for word [OR] | 34 | 34 |
| | Not everything in [Holy book] should | | |
| 32 | be taken literally, word for word/Other/DK | 33 | 35 |
| 30 | [Holy book] is a book written by men and is not the word of Goo | d 23 | 23 |
| 5 | Other/Don't know (VOL.) | 9 | 8 |

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent? ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

| | | | | (VOL.) No | (VOL.) Other | (VOL.) | Lean | Lean |
|---------------------|-------------------|--------------|--------------|---------------------|-----------------|------------|--------------|--------------|
| F | <u>Republican</u> | Democrat | Independent | | party | DK/Ref | Rep | Dem |
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 22 | 31 | 41 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 17 | 17 |
| Feb 14-23, 2014 | 22 | 32 | 39 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 14 | 17 |
| Jan 15-19, 2014 | 21 | 31 | 41 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 18 | 16 |
| Dec 3-8, 2013 | 24 | 34 | 37 | 3 | * | 2 | 17 | 15 |
| Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013 | 24 | 32 | 38 | 4 | * | 2 | 16 | 14 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 25 | 32 | 37 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 16 | 18 |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 | 26 | 32 | 38 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 17 | 15 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 19 | 29 | 46 | 3 | * | 2 | 19 | 18 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 23 | 33 | 39 | 3 | * | 2 | 17 | 15 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 25 | 32 | 37 | 2 | 1 | 3 | 14 | 16 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 26 | 33 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 14 | 15 |
| Yearly Totals | 22.0 | 22.4 | 20.2 | 2.0 | - | ~ ~ | 10.0 | 10.0 |
| 2013 | 23.9 | 32.1 | 38.3 | 2.9 | .5 | 2.2 | 16.0 | 16.0 |
| 2012 | 24.7 | 32.6 | 36.4 | 3.1 | .5 | 2.7 | 14.4 | 16.1 |
| 2011 | 24.3 25.2 | 32.3 32.7 | 37.4 35.2 | 3.1 | .4 | 2.5 2.8 | 15.7 | 15.6 |
| 2010 2009 | 23.2 | 32.7 34.4 | 35.2 | 3.6 3.4 | .4 .4 | 2.8 | 14.5 13.1 | 14.1 15.7 |
| 2009 | 25.9 | 34.4 | 31.5 | 3.4 | .4 .3 | 2.8 3.0 | 10.6 | 15.7 |
| 2008 | 25.3 | 32.9 | 34.1 | 4.3 | .3 .4 | 2.9 | 10.0 | 17.0 |
| 2007 | 27.8 | 33.1 | 30.9 | 4.4 | .4 | 3.4 | 10.5 | 15.1 |
| 2005 | 29.3 | 32.8 | 30.2 | 4.5 | .3 | 2.8 | 10.3 | 14.9 |
| 2003 | 30.0 | 33.5 | 29.5 | 3.8 | .4 | 3.0 | 11.7 | 13.4 |
| 2003 | 30.3 | 31.5 | 30.5 | 4.8 | .5 | 2.5 | 12.0 | 12.6 |
| 2002 | 30.4 | 31.4 | 29.8 | 5.0 | .7 | 2.7 | 12.4 | 11.6 |
| 2001 | 29.0 | 33.2 | 29.5 | 5.2 | .6 | 2.6 | 11.9 | 11.6 |
| 2001 Post-Sept 11 | 30.9 | 31.8 | 27.9 | 5.2 | .6 | 3.6 | 11.7 | 9.4 |
| 2001 Pre-Sept 11 | 27.3 | 34.4 | 30.9 | 5.1 | .6 | 1.7 | 12.1 | 13.5 |
| 2000 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 29.1 | 5.5 | .5 | 3.6 | 11.6 | 11.7 |
| 1999 | 26.6 | 33.5 | 33.7 | 3.9 | .5 | 1.9 | 13.0 | 14.5 |
| 1998 | 27.9 | 33.7 | 31.1 | 4.6 | .4 | 2.3 | 11.6 | 13.1 |
| 1997 | 28.0 | 33.4 | 32.0 | 4.0 | .4 | 2.3 | 12.2 | 14.1 |
| 1996 | 28.9 | 33.9 | 31.8 | 3.0 | .4 | 2.0 | 12.1 | 14.9 |
| 1995 | 31.6 | 30.0 | 33.7 | 2.4 | .6 | 1.3 | 15.1 | 13.5 |
| 1994 | 30.1 | 31.5 | 33.5 | 1.3 | | 3.6 | 13.7 | 12.2 |
| 1993 | 27.4 | 33.6 | 34.2 | 4.4 | 1.5 | 2.9 | 11.5 | 14.9 |
| 1992 | 27.6 | 33.7 | 34.7 | 1.5 | 0 | 2.5 | 12.6 | 16.5 |
| 1991 | 30.9 | 31.4 | 33.2 | 0 | 1.4 | 3.0 | 14.7 | 10.8 |
| 1990 | 30.9 | 33.2 | 29.3 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 12.4 | 11.3 |
| 1989 | 33 | 33 | 34 | | | | | |
| 1987 | 26 | 35 | 39 | | | | | |

ASK IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT (PARTY=1,2):

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG [Republican/Democrat] or NOT a strong [Republican/Democrat]?

| | Strong <u>Republican</u> | Not strong/ <u>DK</u> | Strong <u>Democrat</u> | Not strong/ <u>DK</u> |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|---------------------------|--------------------------|
| Jan 28-Mar 16, 2014 ³ | 1 11 | 11=22% | 17 | 13=31% |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 14 | 10=24% | 20 | 11=31% |
| Mar 8-14, 2011 | 12 | 12=24% | 20 | 13=33% |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 14 | 10=24% | 18 | 15=33% |

31

Item was asked Jan. 28-Mar 16, 2014 (N=9,569). Party totals shown here may differ from PARTY because of this.

PARTYSTR CONTINUED...

| | Strong | Not strong/ | Strong | Not strong/ |
|----------------------|-------------------|-------------|----------|-------------|
| | <u>Republican</u> | DK | Democrat | DK |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 14 | 10=24% | 19 | 13=32% |
| Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 | 13 | 12=25% | 20 | 11=32% |
| April, 2009 | 12 | 10=22% | 20 | 13=33% |
| October, 2007 (SDT) | 13 | 12=25% | 19 | 14=33% |
| August, 2007 | 14 | 12=26% | 18 | 14=32% |
| July, 2007 | 16 | 11=27% | 19 | 13=32% |
| June, 2007 | 13 | 12=25% | 19 | 15=34% |
| April, 2007 | 14 | 11=25% | 15 | 13=28% |
| January, 2007 | 12 | 11=23% | 17 | 14=31% |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 14 | 11=25% | 22 | 14=36% |
| Late October, 2006 | 14 | 12=26% | 18 | 14=32% |
| Early October, 2006 | 15 | 12=27% | 19 | 15=34% |
| September, 2006 | 17 | 13=30% | 18 | 16=34% |
| December, 2005 | 16 | 13=29% | 20 | 14=34% |
| December, 2004 | 18 | 13=31% | 19 | 15=34% |
| July, 2004 | 17 | 12=29% | 20 | 13=33% |
| August, 2003 | 14 | 13=27% | 15 | 16=31% |
| September, 2000 | 14 | 13=27% | 19 | 15=34% |
| Late September, 1999 | ə 10 | 14=24% | 15 | 16=31% |
| August, 1999 | 11 | 14=25% | 15 | 18=33% |
| November, 1997 | 11 | 14=25% | 14 | 18=32% |
| October, 1995 | 11 | 19=30% | 14 | 16=30% |
| April, 1995 | 15 | 15=30% | 14 | 15=29% |
| October, 1994 | 16 | 15=31% | 18 | 14=32% |
| July, 1994 | 13 | 16=29% | 15 | 18=33% |
| June, 1992 | 11 | 17=28% | 14 | 18=32% |
| May, 1990 | 13 | 15=28% | 16 | 17=33% |
| February, 1989 | 15 | 16=31% | 17 | 21=38% |
| May, 1988 | 13 | 15=28% | 19 | 19=38% |
| January, 1988 | 12 | 15=27% | 19 | 20=39% |
| May, 1987 | 11 | 14=25% | 18 | 19=37% |
| | | | | |

QUESTIONS B140/B140b, B141/B141b HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL PHASE C REGISTERED VOTERS (REG=1) [N=2,653]:

Q.C142 Thinking about the elections you have voted in over the past several years, including national and statewide elections. Would you say you [READ IN ORDER; REVERSE ORDER FOR RANDOM HALF OF SAMPLE]?

Feb 27-Mar 16

2014

- 10 Always vote Republican
- Usually vote Republican 23
- Vote about equally for both parties 23
- 21 Usually vote Democratic [OR]
- 18 Always vote Democratic
- 1 Have never voted (VOL.)
- Don't vote for either party/vote for other parties (VOL.) Don't know/Refused(VOL.) 2
- 2

NO QUESTIONS 143-147

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REG=1) [N=7,999]:

Q.148 As you may know, primary elections, where parties select their nominees, take place in the months before general elections. Thinking about the primary elections for Congress this year, do you happen to know in what month your state's primary will be held? [OPEN END; SINGLE PUNCH; DO NOT READ, USE PRECODES, IF RESPONDENT IS NOT SURE, DO NOT PROBE, ENTER AS DON'T KNOW]

Jan 23-Mar 16

- <u>2014</u>
- 12 Correct month given
- 17 Incorrect month given
- 69 Don't know/Refused
- 2 Lives in Louisiana³²

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REG=1) [N=7,999]:

Q.149 And how often would you say you vote in Congressional PRIMARY elections? Would you say you vote in Congressional primary elections **[READ IN ORDER]**?

| | | TR | END FOR CO | MPARISON ³ | 3 |
|---------------|--------------------------------|-------------|---------------------------|-----------------------|-------------|
| Jan 23-Mar 16 | • | Jan 15-19 | Oct 9-13 | Sep 4-8 | Jul 17-21 |
| <u>2014</u> | | <u>2014</u> | <u>2013³⁴ </u> | <u>2013</u> | <u>2013</u> |
| 35 | Always | 42 | 52 | 50 | 46 |
| 22 | Nearly always | 22 | 18 | 24 | 23 |
| 17 | Part of the time | 16 | 16 | 13 | 13 |
| 24 | Seldom or never | 18 | 11 | 11 | 14 |
| | Not registered with party/ | | | | |
| 1 | Can't vote in primaries (VOL.) | | | | |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 2 | 3 | 2 | 4 |
| | | | | | |

ASK ALL:

TEAPARTY2

2 From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

| | Agree | Disagree | No opinion <u>either way</u> | (VOL.) Haven't <u>heard of</u> | (VOL.) Refused | Not heard of/ <u>DK</u> |
|--------------------------|-------|----------|---------------------------------|---|-------------------|-------------------------------|
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 18 | 28 | <u>either way</u> 51 | <u>1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 </u> | 2 | <u>DR</u> |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 19 | 32 | 46 | 2 | 2 | |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 18 | 25 | 52 | 4 | 1 | |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 22 | 29 | 46 | 2 | 2 | |
| May 23-26, 2013 | 17 | 20 | 56 | 3 | 4 | |
| Feb 14-17, 2013 | 19 | 26 | 52 | 2 | 1 | |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 18 | 29 | 50 | 2 | 1 | |
| Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 (RVs) | 19 | 29 | 47 | 1 | 3 | |
| Oct 4-7, 2012 | 19 | 25 | 52 | 2 | 2 | |
| Sep 12-16, 2012 | 18 | 26 | 53 | 2 | 2 | |
| Jul 16-26, 2012 | 16 | 27 | 54 | 2 | 1 | |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 19 | 27 | 49 | 3 | 2 | |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 21 | 25 | 52 | 2 | 1 | |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 | 16 | 25 | 54 | 2 | 3 | |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 20 | 26 | 50 | 3 | 2 | |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 19 | 29 | 48 | 2 | 2 | |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 18 | 25 | 53 | 2 | 2 | |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 20 | 24 | 52 | 2 | 2 | |
| Jan 4-8, 2012 | 18 | 25 | 52 | 2 | 3 | |
| Dec 7-11, 2011 | 19 | 27 | 50 | 2 | 2 | |
| Nov 9-14, 2011 | 20 | 27 | 51 | 1 | 1 | |

³² In Louisiana, a congressional primary election is not held. ³³ In Jap. 15-19, 2014 survey and earlier, question did not be

³⁴ In October 2013 and earlier, the fourth answer choice was "Seldom" instead of "Seldom or never."

In Jan. 15-19, 2014 survey and earlier, question did not have the word "Congressional."

TEAPARTY2 CONTINUED...

| ARTYZ CONTINUED | | | | | | |
|---------------------------------|--------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------|-----------|
| | | | | (VOL.) | | Not |
| | | | No opinion | Haven't | (VOL.) | heard of/ |
| | <u>Agree</u> | <u>Disagree</u> | <u>either way</u> | <u>heard of</u> | <u>Refused</u> | <u>DK</u> |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 19 | 27 | 51 | 2 | 1 | |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 20 | 27 | 50 | 1 | 1 | |
| Jul 20-24, 2011 | 20 | 24 | 53 | 1 | 1 | |
| Jun 15-19, 2011 | 20 | 26 | 50 | 3 | 2 | |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 18 | 23 | 54 | 2 | 2 | |
| Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 22 | 29 | 47 | 1 | 1 | |
| Mar 8-14, 2011 | 19 | 25 | 54 | 1 | 1 | |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 20 | 25 | 52 | 2 | 2 | |
| Feb 2-7, 2011 ³⁵ | 22 | 22 | 53 | 2 | 2 | |
| Jan 5-9, 2011 | 24 | 22 | 50 | 2 | 1 | |
| Dec 1-5, 2010 | 22 | 26 | 49 | 2 | 2 | |
| Nov 4-7, 2010 | 27 | 22 | 49 | 1 | 1 | |
| Oct 27-30, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> | 29 | 25 | 32 | | 1 | 13 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> | 28 | 24 | 30 | | 1 | 16 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i> | 29 | 26 | 32 | | 1 | 13 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 22 | 18 | 37 | | 1 | 21 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 24 | 18 | 30 | | * | 27 |
| May 20-23, 2010 | 25 | 18 | 31 | | 1 | 25 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 24 | 14 | 29 | | 1 | 31 |
| | | | | | | |

Q.150 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

| Key to Pew Researc | h tren | ds no | ted in t | he to | pline: | |
|--------------------|--------|-------|----------|-------|--------|--|
| () | _ | _ | | | | |

| (SDT) | Pew Research Social and Demographic Trends |
|-------|--|
| (U) | Pew Research Center/USA Today polls |
| (WP) | Pew Research Center/Washington Post polls |
| (RPL) | Pew Research Religion and Public Life |

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³⁵

In the February 2-7, 2011, survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May 2010 through October 2010, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March 2010 it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."

PEW RESEARCH CENTER AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 1 **FINAL TOPLINE** MARCH 19-APRIL 29, 2014 TOTAL N=3,308 WEB RESPONDENTS N=2,901 PHONE RESPONDENTS N=407³⁶

ASK ALL:

Below is a list of topics that some people are interested in, and others are not. Click on the topics Q.1 that you are interested in. You can click anywhere in each of the boxes to check the button. [RANDOMIZE] [ALLOW MULTIPLE ANSWERS]

| <u>Mar 19-Ap</u> | <u>r 29, 2014³⁷ </u> | |
|------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Based on | Based on web | |
| total | respondents | |
| [N=3,308] | [N=2,901] | |
| 70 | 66 | Health and medicine |
| 61 | 57 | Events in your community |
| 59 | 58 | Science and technology |
| 58 | 57 | Government and politics |
| 53 | 48 | Religion and spirituality |
| 46 | 44 | Entertainment and celebrities |
| 44 | 41 | Sports |
| 43 | 40 | Business and finance |
| 41 | 40 | Art and theater |

ASK WEB RESPONDENTS ONLY:

ASK IF INTERESTED IN MORE THAN THREE TOPICS (Q1=1):

Of the topics you are interested in, which ones are you most interested in? Choose up to three. Q.2 [KEEP TOPICS IN SAME ORDER AND POSITION AS Q1]

BASED ON TOTAL:

Mar 19-Apr 29 2014 Based on web respondents [N=2,901]³⁸ 37

- Health and medicine
- 36 Government and politics
- 32 Science and technology
- 28 Religion and spirituality
- 23 Sports
- 22 Events in your community
- 20 Entertainment and celebrities
- Business and finance 16
- 14 Art and theater

NO QUESTIONS 3-6, 11-15, 26-29, 37-40 **QUESTION 7-10, 16-25, 30-36 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE QUESTION 41 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

36

Question wording in this topline is that from the web version of the survey. For those guestions asked on the phone, wording was adapted slightly so that it could be asked over the phone. Question wording for the phone version of the survey is available on request. 37

Percentages add up to more than 100% because multiple answers were accepted.

³⁸ Percentages add up to more than 100% because up to three responses were accepted. These percentages also include the responses of those who selected three or fewer topics in Q1, and thus were not asked Q2.

ASK ALL:

Q.42 How much do you enjoy talking about government and politics with friends and family?

| <u>Mar 19-Ap</u> | r <u>29, 2014</u> | |
|------------------|-------------------|------------|
| Based on | Based on web | |
| total | respondents | |
| [N=3,308] | [N=2,901] | |
| 16 | 15 | A lot |
| 38 | 39 | Some |
| 31 | 31 | Not much |
| 15 | 14 | Not at all |
| * | 0 | No answer |

NO QUESTION 43

ASK ALL:

Q.44 Which of the following statements best describes you?

| <u>Mar 19-Apr</u> Based on total | • <u>29, 2014</u> Based on web respondents | |
|--|--|---|
| [N=3,308] | [N=2,901] | |
| | | Most of my close friends share my views on government and |
| 35 | 36 | politics |
| 39 | 41 | Some of my close friends share my views, but many do not |
| | | I don't really know what most of my close friends think about |
| 26 | 23 | government and politics |
| * | * | No answer |

NO QUESTIONS 45, 49-52 QUESTIONS 46-48, 53-60 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

PEW RESEARCH CENTER AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 3 FINAL TOPLINE April 29-May 27, 2014 TOTAL N=3,243 WEB RESPONDENTS N=2,906 MAIL RESPONDENTS N=337³⁹

SELECTED QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF BLOCK FAVPOL1 AND FAVPOL2; RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS IN EACH BLOCK. ASK ALL:

ASK ALL:

FAVPOL 1 What is your overall opinion of each of the following?

| Apr 29-May 27, 2014 Never Favorable Unfavorable heard of/ <u>Total Very Mostly</u> Total Very Mostly Not sure No answer ITEM a HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE | | | | | | | | | |
|---|------------------|----|----|----|----|----|----|----|---|
| b. | Paul Ryan | 32 | 8 | 24 | 36 | 19 | 17 | 31 | 1 |
| c. | Elizabeth Warren | 22 | 10 | 13 | 22 | 11 | 11 | 54 | 2 |
| d. | Mitch McConnell | 16 | 2 | 15 | 34 | 17 | 17 | 47 | 2 |
| e. | Rand Paul | 29 | 7 | 22 | 34 | 17 | 18 | 35 | 2 |
| f. | Hillary Clinton | 54 | 21 | 33 | 41 | 25 | 15 | 4 | 1 |

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF BLOCK FAVPOL1 AND FAVPOL2; RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS IN EACH BLOCK.

ASK ALL:

FAVPOL 2 What is your overall opinion of each of the following?

| | | l <u>Total</u> | ⁻ avorat <u>Verv</u> | | 29-May 2 U <u>Total</u> | | | Never heard of/ Not sure | No answer |
|----|--------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------------------|----|-------------------------------|----|----|--------------------------------|-----------|
| a. | Ted Cruz | 23 | 7 | 16 | 32 | 20 | 12 | 44 | 2 |
| IT | ITEM b HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE | | | | | | | | |
| c. | Nancy Pelosi | 29 | 6 | 23 | 47 | 31 | 16 | 24 | 1 |
| d. | Marco Rubio | 27 | 6 | 20 | 28 | 14 | 14 | 44 | 1 |
| e. | Jeb Bush | 31 | 5 | 26 | 42 | 19 | 23 | 26 | 1 |
| f. | Chris Christie | 32 | 5 | 27 | 41 | 17 | 24 | 25 | 2 |

39

Question wording in this topline is that from the web version of the survey. Question wording and format was adapted for the paper questionnaire delivered by mail; this questionnaire is available on request.

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF BLOCK (ME1 AND ME2 1st vs. ME3 and ME4 1st); RANOMIZE ORDER OF SET WITHIN BLOCK (e.g., ME1 1st vs ME2 1st)RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS IN EACH SET. ASK ALL:

ME1 Which of these describes you well? (Check all that apply) [RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

| | | Apr 29-May 27, 2014 | | |
|----|------------------------------|---------------------|---------------|--|
| | | | Not selected/ | |
| | | <u>Applies</u> | No answer | |
| a. | Hunter, fisher, or sportsman | 24 | 76 | |
| b. | Trusting person | 65 | 35 | |
| с. | Spiritual person | 52 | 48 | |
| d. | Fast-food lover | 18 | 81 | |
| e. | Upbeat and optimistic | 59 | 41 | |

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF BLOCK (ME1 AND ME2 1st vs. ME3 and ME4 1st); RANOMIZE ORDER OF SET WITHIN BLOCK (e.g., ME1 1st vs ME2 1st)RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS IN EACH SET. ASK ALL:

ME2 Which of these describes you well? (*Check all that apply*) **[RANDOMIZE ITEMS]**

| | | Apr 29-Ma | ay 27, 2014 Not selected/ |
|----|--|----------------|------------------------------|
| | | <u>Applies</u> | No answer |
| a. | Couldn't vacation without my smart phone | 22 | 78 |
| b. | Honor and duty are my core values | 52 | 48 |
| с. | Am sometimes uncomfortable being around | | |
| | people not of my race | 8 | 92 |
| d. | Think of myself as a typical American | 65 | 34 |
| e. | Recycle and reuse as a daily habit | 49 | 51 |

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF AGREE1 AND AGREE2

ASK ALL:

AGREE1 Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

I enjoy challenging the opinions of others.

Apr 29-May 27 <u>2014</u> 22 50

| 22 | Strongly agree |
|----|-------------------|
| 50 | Somewhat agree |
| 21 | Somewhat disagree |
| 7 | Strongly disagree |
| * | No answer |

ASK ALL:

AGREE2 Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

It makes me uncomfortable when people argue about politics.

Apr 29-May 27 2014

| 2014 | |
|------|-------------------|
| 12 | Strongly agree |
| 32 | Somewhat agree |
| 34 | Somewhat disagree |
| 21 | Strongly disagree |
| * | No answer |
| | |

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF AGREE3 AND AGREE4

ASK ALL:

AGREE3 Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

Elected officials would help the country more if they would stop talking and just take action on important problems.

Apr 29-May 27

| <u>2014</u> | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 65 | Strongly agree |
| 27 | Somewhat agree |
| 7 | Somewhat disagree |
| 2 | Strongly disagree |
| * | No answer |

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF AGREE3 AND AGREE4 ASK ALL:

AGREE4 Do you agree or disagree with this statement?

I would vote against any elected official who voted to raise taxes.

Apr 29-May 27

| <u>2014</u> | |
|-------------|-------------------|
| 32 | Strongly agree |
| 28 | Somewhat agree |
| 26 | Somewhat disagree |
| 13 | Strongly disagree |
| 1 | No answer |

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF BLOCK (ME1 AND ME2 1st vs. ME3 and ME4 1st); RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SET WITHIN BLOCK (e.g., ME1 1st vs ME2 1st) RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS IN EACH SET ASK ALL:

ME3 Which of these describes you well? [Check all that apply] [RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

| | | Apr 29-May 27, 2014 | | |
|----|-------------------------------|---------------------|------------------|--|
| | | - | Not selected/ | |
| | | <u>Applies</u> | <u>No answer</u> | |
| a. | Video or Computer Gamer | 21 | 79 | |
| b. | Outdoor person | 57 | 42 | |
| с. | Libertarian | 14 | 86 | |
| d. | Religious person | 46 | 54 | |
| e. | Focused on health and fitness | 42 | 57 | |

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF BLOCK (ME1 AND ME2 1st vs. ME3 and ME4 1st); RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SET WITHIN BLOCK (e.g., ME1 1st vs ME2 1st) RANDOMIZE ORDER OF ITEMS IN EACH SET ASK ALL:

ME4 Which of these describes you well? [*Check all that apply*] [**RANDOMIZE ITEMS**]

| | | Apr 29-May 27, 2014 | | |
|----|--|---------------------|------------------|--|
| | | | Not selected/ | |
| | | Applies | <u>No answer</u> | |
| a. | Sports fan | 36 | 64 | |
| b. | Rarely worry what others think of me | 52 | 48 | |
| с. | Compassion and helping others are my core values | 74 | 26 | |
| d. | Often feel proud to be American | 56 | 44 | |
| e. | Skeptical of medical experts' recommendations | 23 | 77 | |

ASK ALL:

TRANSPORT Thinking about a typical month, how often, if ever, do you use public transportation? (That is a bus, subway or rail system.)

Apr 29-May 27

| 2014 | |
|------|-----------------------|
| 9 | More than once a week |
| 3 | Once a week |
| 10 | Once or twice a month |
| 78 | Never |
| 1 | No answer |

ASK ALL:

INVEST Which of the following best describes your own level of investment in the stock market? [RANDOMIZE OR ROTATE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 3]

Apr 29-May 27

| 2014 | |
|------|---|
| 3 | I trade stocks and other funds pretty regularly |
| | I have some long-term investments like retirement accounts, |
| 42 | but don't trade stocks regularly |
| 54 | I don't have any money in the stock market |
| 1 | No answer |

ASK ALL:

GUN1 Do you happen to have any guns, rifles or pistols in your home?

Apr 29-May 27

| <u>2014</u> | |
|-------------|-----------|
| 34 | Yes |
| 63 | No |
| 3 | No answer |

ASK ALL: UNIONHH

Are you or is anyone in your household a member of a labor union?

Apr 29-May 27

| <u>2014</u> | |
|-------------|-----------------------------------|
| 8 | Yes, I am |
| 6 | Yes, someone else in household |
| 2 | Yes, both myself and someone else |
| 83 | No, nobody in household |
| 1 | No answer |