# Beyond Distrust: How Americans View 

 Their Government Broad criticism, but positive performance ratings in many areasFOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THIS REPORT:

Carroll Doherty, Director of Political Research Jocelyn Kiley, Associate Director, Research Alec Tyson, Senior Researcher
Bridget Jameson, Communications Associate
202.419.4372
www.pewresearch.org

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# Beyond Distrust: How Americans View Their Government 

Broad criticism, but positive performance ratings in many areas

## Overview

A year ahead of the presidential election, the American public is deeply cynical about government, politics and the nation's elected leaders in a way that has become quite familiar.

## Americans' overall views of the federal government are very negative ..

Currently, just 19\% say they can trust the government always or most of the time, among the lowest levels in the past half-century. Only 20\% would describe government programs as being well-run. And elected officials are held in such low regard that $55 \%$ of the public says "ordinary Americans" would do a better job of solving national problems.

Yet at the same time, most Americans have a lengthy to-do list for this object of their frustration: Majorities want the federal government to have a major role in addressing issues ranging from terrorism and disaster response to education and the environment.

And most Americans like the way the federal government handles many of these same issues, though they are broadly critical of its handling of others - especially poverty and immigration.

A new national survey by Pew Research Center, based on more than 6,000 interviews conducted between August 27 and October 4, 2015, finds that public attitudes about government and politics defy easy categorization. The study builds upon previous reports about the government's role and performance in $\underline{2010}$ and 1998. This report was
Trust the govt
always/most
of the time

... but views of government's role and performance are more mixed

|  | Major role <br> for govt | Govt doing <br> a good job |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Areas a majority/plurality say ... |  |  |
|  | $\boxed{y y y y}$ |  |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER made possible by The Pew Charitable Trusts, which received support for the survey from The William and Flora Hewlett Foundation.

The partisan divide over the size and scope of government remains as wide as ever: Support for smaller government endures as a Republican touchstone. Fully 80\% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say they prefer a smaller government with fewer services, compared with just $31 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners.

Yet both Republicans and Democrats favor significant government involvement on an array of specific issues. Among the public overall, majorities say the federal government should have a major role in dealing with 12 of 13 issues included in the survey, all except advancing space exploration.

There is bipartisan agreement that the federal government should play a major role in dealing with terrorism, natural disasters, food and medicine safety, and roads and infrastructure. And while the presidential campaign has exposed sharp partisan divisions over immigration policy, large majorities of both Republicans (85\%) and Democrats (80\%) say the government should have a major role in managing the immigration system.

## Republicans less likely to see a major role for government in most areas

$\%$ who say govt should play a major role ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q71.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER care (34\%), by far the lowest percentages for any of the 13 issues tested. Fully $72 \%$ of
Democrats and Democratic leaners say the government should have a major role in helping people out of poverty, and $83 \%$ say it should play a major role in ensuring access to health care.

Moreover, while majorities of Republicans favor a major government role in ensuring a basic income for people 65 and older (59\%), protecting the environment (58\%) and ensuring access to high-quality education ( $55 \%$ ), much larger shares of Democrats $-80 \%$ or more in each case favor a large government role.

However, these differences are a matter of degree. Overwhelming numbers of Republicans and Democrats say the federal government should have either a major or minor role on all 13 issues tested. Relatively few in either party want the government to have no role in these issues, though 20\% of Republicans say the government should have no role in ensuring health care.

# Why We Include "Leaners" in the Republican and Democratic Groups 

Throughout most of this report, Republicans and Democrats include independents and other non-partisans who lean toward the parties. In virtually all situations, these Republican and Democratic leaners have far more in common with their partisan counterparts than they do with each other if combined into a single "independent" group. See appendix A for more detail.

## Views of what government does well - and what it doesn't

At a general level, the public finds the government frustrating and badly managed. Just 20\% say the federal government runs its programs well, and $59 \%$ say it is in need of "very major reform," up 22 percentage points since 1997.

## How Democrats and Republicans rate government's performance

These assessments stand in contrast with the public's more mixed views of government performance at a specific level. In 10 of 13 areas included in the survey, the balance of opinion about government performance is more positive than negative.

In several areas, Democrats and Republicans give the federal government similar ratings: Large majorities of both Democrats and Republicans say it does a good job of responding to natural disasters ( $82 \%$ and $78 \%$, respectively) and setting fair and safe standards for workplaces ( $79 \%$ and $77 \%$, respectively).

Roughly half in each party say the federal government does well in maintaining roads, bridges and other infrastructure (52\% of Democrats, 50\% Republicans) and ensuring access to high-quality education (54\% of Republicans, $52 \%$ of Democrats).

However, there are substantial partisan differences in views of government performance on a pair of issues that are likely to be important in the 2016 campaign.
Republicans are half as likely as Democrats to say the government does a good job in strengthening the economy ( $34 \%$ vs. $68 \%$ ).
And the gap is as large in perceptions of government performance in ensuring access to health care ( $40 \%$ of Republicans vs. $74 \%$ of Democrats).

Notably, neither Democrats nor Republicans give the federal government positive ratings when it comes to helping people get out of poverty. Just 42\% of Democrats and 30\% of Republicans say the government does well in lifting people out of poverty. For Democrats, the low ratings come on an issue for which there is broad support for large-scale government involvement ( $72 \%$ of Democrats favor a major government role). By contrast, Republicans are highly critical of government performance on poverty, but just $36 \%$ say government should have a major role in addressing this issue.

The government gets very negative ratings from members of both parties for its management of the immigration system. Four-in-ten Democrats think the government does well on immigration, compared with $15 \%$ of Republicans - the lowest rating among Republicans for the government's handling of any issue.

## Are Republicans now 'angrier' at government?

For years, the public's general feelings about government have tended more toward frustration than anger.

Currently, 22\% say they are "angry" at the federal government; $57 \%$ are "frustrated," and $18 \%$ say they are "basically content." These sentiments have changed little over the past year, but two years ago - during the partial government shutdown - a record $30 \%$ expressed anger at government.

The share of Republicans and Republican leaners saying they are angry with the government is not as high as in October 2013 (32\% now, 38\% then). Nonetheless, Republicans are nearly three times as likely as Democrats (12\%) to say they are angry with the government. And among politically engaged Republicans and Democrats - those who vote frequently and follow politics on a regular basis - the gap is nearly four-to-one (42\% to 11\%).

Among both Democrats and Republicans, large majorities say they can seldom, if ever, trust the federal government (89\% of Republicans, 72\% of Democrats). While trust in government among Republicans has varied widely depending on whether a Republican or Democrat is in the White House, Democrats' views have shown far less change.

## Wide partisan cleavages in general perceptions of government

\% who say ...

|  | Democrat/ Republican/ Lean Dem Rean Rep |
| :---: | :---: |
| Angry with federal govt | 12\%-32\% |
| Trust govt only sometimes/never | $72-89$ |
| Govt needs major reform | 44 - 75 |
| Govt is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals | 29 - 71 |
| Govt is almost always wasteful and inefficient | $40-75$ |
| Federal govt does poor job running programs | $18-50$ |
|  | $0100 \%$ |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015.
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In Barack Obama's six years as president, $13 \%$ of Republicans, on average, have said they can trust the government always or most of the time - the lowest level of average trust among either party during any administration dating back 40 years. During George W. Bush's presidency, an average of $47 \%$ of Republicans said they could trust the government. By contrast, the share of Democrats saying they can trust the government has been virtually unchanged over the two administrations (28\% Bush, 29\% Obama).

Other general attitudes about the federal government have moved in a more negative direction over the past two decades. Nearly six-in-ten (59\%) say the government needs "very major reform," up from $37 \%$ in 1997 during the Clinton administration. Most of the change has come among Republicans - fully $75 \%$ say the government needs very major reform, up from $43 \%$ in 1997; among Democrats, $44 \%$ say the government needs sweeping reform, compared with $31 \%$ then.

Republicans also are far more likely than Democrats to say that the government is wasteful and inefficient ( $75 \%$ vs. $40 \%$ of Democrats) and to give the government a "poor" rating for how it operates its programs ( $50 \%$ vs. $18 \%$ ).

## In politics, most say 'their side' is losing

While overall views of the federal government are very negative, there also are several indications of widespread dissatisfaction with the current state of politics. In politics today, far more people say "their side" - however they perceive it - is losing more often than it is winning.

Overall, nearly two-thirds of Americans (64\%) say that on the issues that matter to them, their side loses more often than it wins. Just $25 \%$ say their side comes out ahead more often.

This sense of "losing" is more widely shared among Republicans than Democrats - large majorities of both conservative Republicans (81\%) and moderate and liberal Republicans ( $75 \%$ ) say their political side loses more often than it wins.

But while most Republicans feel like they lose more often than they win, most Democrats do not feel like "winners" either. Overall, $52 \%$ of Democrats say their side loses more often than it wins, while 40\% say it usually wins. Liberal Democrats are divided over whether their side wins or loses more often ( $46 \%$ winning vs. $44 \%$ losing) the only ideological group in which a majority does not think its side is losing.

## Most Americans feel like 'their side' loses more often than it wins in politics

On issues that matter to you in politics today, has your side been winning or losing more often? (\%)




Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q110.
Don't know responses not shown.
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Cynicism about politics also is reflected in the public's attitudes regarding money in politics. Fully $76 \%$ say that "money has a greater influence on politics and elected officials today than in the past." Just $22 \%$ say the influence of money in politics is little different than in the past.

And, as both parties' nominating contests continue, $64 \%$ of all Americans - including $68 \%$ of Democrats and $62 \%$ of Republicans - say that the high cost of a presidential campaign "discourages many good candidates from running." Just $31 \%$ overall say that the high cost of presidential campaigns does not discourage good candidates from running.

Increasingly, Americans even express less confidence in their own collective political wisdom. Just $34 \%$ say they have a very great deal or good deal of confidence in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions, while $63 \%$ have little or no confidence. In January 2007, these opinions were almost the reverse $-57 \%$ had at least a good deal of confidence in the political wisdom of the people, while $41 \%$ did not.

The loss of confidence cuts across the political spectrum: 36\% of Republicans have at least a great deal of confidence in the public's political wisdom; $61 \%$ did so in 2007. The decline has been about as large among Democrats ( $57 \%$ then, $37 \%$ now).

## Elected officials: 'intelligent,' not 'honest'

Negative views of elected officials are hardly a new phenomenon - for years, large majorities have faulted elected officials for losing touch with Americans and not caring about the views of average people. But with the election approaching, the criticisms of elected officials have taken on an especially sharp edge.

Just $22 \%$ of the public say that most elected officials put the interests of the country ahead of their own interests; $74 \%$ say they put their own interests ahead of the nation's.

When asked if certain traits apply to elected officials - as well as to business leaders and the typical American - most people do say the term "intelligent" describes elected officials very or fairly well (67\%). However, just as many view the "typical American" as intelligent. Somewhat more ( $83 \%$ ) say the term describes business leaders well.

And elected officials receive very low marks for honesty. Just 29\% say the term "honest" describes elected officials. That compares with $45 \%$ who say business leaders are honest and $69 \%$ who say the same about typical Americans.

A large majority of the public (72\%) also views elected officials as "selfish" - but that criticism is not unique to politicians.



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q90-92.
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Comparable percentages
also say the term applies to typical Americans (68\%) and business leaders (67\%).

Perhaps the most withering critique of elected officials is the belief - shared by a majority of the public - that "ordinary Americans" could do a better job than they could of solving the nation's problems.

Most Americans (56\%) acknowledge that the problems facing the country do not have clear solutions. Even so, most (55\%) also say ordinary Americans could do a better job of solving national problems than elected officials.

There are few meaningful partisan differences in views of elected officials. Nearly identical shares of Republicans and Democrats view elected officials as intelligent, honest and selfish.

How difficult are the problems facing the country, and could the public do a better job than elected officials?


However, Republicans are
somewhat more likely than Democrats to say that ordinary people are more capable of solving the nation's problems ( $62 \%$ vs. $49 \%$ ).

## Other important findings

## 'Anger' at government and views of GOP

candidates. Donald Trump is viewed more favorably by the nearly one-third of Republicans and leaners who are angry at government ( $64 \%$ favorable) than by those who are frustrated or content with government (48\%). Other GOP presidential candidates (Marco Rubio, Ted Cruz and Ben Carson) also get higher favorable ratings among Republicans who are angry at government than among nonangry Republicans, in part because they are better known among the "angry" group.

Jeb Bush viewed unfavorably by most Republicans 'angry' at government
$\%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners who say their view of each is ...

| Among those who are ... | Unfavorable | Favorable | Can't rate/ DK | Angry- <br> Not angry fav diff |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Rubio |  |  | +18 |
| Angry | 25 | 66 | 10 |  |
| Not angry | 24 | 48 | 27 |  |
|  | Trump |  |  | +16 |
| Angry | 32 | 64 | 4 |  |
| Not angry | 48 | 48 | 4 |  |
|  | Cruz |  |  | +12 |
| Angry | 25 | 58 | 17 |  |
| Not angry | 28 | 46 | 27 |  |
|  | Carson |  |  | +8 |
| AngryNot angry | 15 | 71 | 15 |  |
|  | 15 | 63 | 22 |  |
|  | Bush |  |  |  |
| Angry | 57 | 36 | 7 | -13 |
| Not angry | 39 | 49 | 12 |  |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015.
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Deep partisan divides among the politically
engaged. When it comes to the role of government in specific areas, already-wide partisan gaps grow even wider among politically engaged adults, particularly over government's role in health care, poverty assistance, education, environmental protection and the economy. For example, fully 90\% of politically engaged Democrats say the government should have a major role in ensuring access to health care; just $21 \%$ of politically engaged Republicans agree. Among less-engaged Democrats and Republicans the differences are not as dramatic ( $79 \%$ of Democrats vs. $47 \%$ of Republicans).

Views of government agencies. Most government agencies continue to be viewed favorably by majorities of the public. Fully $84 \%$ have a favorable view of the U.S. Postal Service - the highest rating among 17 agencies and departments tested. But just $39 \%$ have a favorable opinion of the scandal-plagued Department of Veterans Affairs, and its favorable rating has plummeted 29 percentage points since 2013.

Is politics a contest between right and wrong? Most Americans reject the idea that "politics is a struggle between right and wrong." However, $53 \%$ of conservative Republicans do see politics this way - the highest share of any ideological group.

## Opinions of the political parties and

governance. Similar shares of the public say the Democratic Party (52\%) and the Republican Party (49\%) could do a good job managing the federal government. Yet both also are criticized for their approaches to governance: $59 \%$ say the GOP is too willing to cut government programs, even when they work; an identical percentage (59\%) says the Democratic Party too often sees government as the only way to solve problems.

## Both parties receive criticism for approaches to government

\% who say each party ...

|  |  | Rep <br> Party | Dem <br> Party | Gap |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Asked about each party | $\%$ | $\%$ |  |  |
| Can do a good job Yes 49 52 | D+3 |  |  |  |
| managing the federal <br> government | No | 45 | 44 |  |

Asked about Rep Party
Is too willing to cut
govt programs, even

when they work $\quad$ Yes | 59 | 34 |
| :--- | :--- |

Asked about Dem Party

| Too often sees govt as <br> the only way to solve <br> problems | Yes | -- | 59 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
|  | No | -- | 36 |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB50, QB51. Don't know responses not shown.
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Views of other national institutions. The federal government is not the only national institution viewed negatively by the public. A majority (56\%) say large corporations have a negative impact on the country, while an identical percentage says the same about the entertainment industry. And nearly two-thirds ( $65 \%$ ) say the national news media has a negative effect on the country.

Opinions about taxes and government. While the public expresses a range of negative assessments of the government, there continues to be limited public outcry over personal tax burdens. Slightly more than half (54\%) say they think they pay about the right amount in taxes, considering what they get from the federal government. At the same time, $52 \%$ say that most Americans demand more from the government than they are willing to pay for in taxes.

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## 1. Trust in government: 1958-2015

The public's trust in the federal government continues to be at historically low levels. Only 19\% of Americans today say they can trust the government in Washington to do what is right "just about always" (3\%) or "most of the time" (16\%). Explore a Pew Research interactive on Public Trust in Government: 1958-2015.

Fewer than three-in-ten Americans have expressed trust in the federal government in every major national poll conducted since July 2007 - the longest period of low trust in government in more

Public trust in government: 1958-2015
Trust the federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. From 1976-2014 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

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The erosion of public trust in government began in the 1960s. The share saying they could trust the federal government to do the right thing nearly always or most of the time reached an all-time high of $77 \%$ in 1964. Within a decade - a period that included the Vietnam War, civil unrest and the Watergate scandal - trust had fallen by more than half, to $36 \%$. By the end of the 1970 s, only about a quarter of Americans felt that they could trust the government at least most of the time.

Trust in government rebounded in the 1980 os before falling in the early to mid-1990s. But as the economy boomed in the late 1990s, confidence in government increased. And in 2001, the 9/11 terror attacks on the United States transformed public attitudes on a range of issues - including trust in government.

In early October 2001, a month after the attacks, $60 \%$ said they could trust the government, roughly double the share earlier that year and the highest percentage expressing trust in government in more than 40 years. But the rise in government trust was short-lived - by the summer of 2002, the share saying they could trust the government had tumbled 22 percentage points.

Amid the war in Iraq and economic uncertainty at home, trust in government continued to decline. By July 2007, trust had fallen to $24 \%$. Since then, the share saying they can trust the federal government has generally fluctuated in a narrow range, between $20 \%$ and $25 \%$.

## Trust in government and partisanship

Currently, $26 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners say they can trust the federal government nearly always or most of the time, compared with $11 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners. Since Barack Obama took office in 2009, higher shares of Democrats than Republicans have expressed trust in government.

Since the 1970s, trust in government has been consistently higher among members of the party that controls the White House than among the opposition party. However, Republicans are much more reactive than Democrats to changes in political power. Republicans express much

## Trust in government by party: 1958-2015

Trust federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time ..


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup,
ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. From 1976-2014 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

[^0]higher levels of trust during Republican than during Democratic presidencies, while Democrats' attitudes tend to be more consistent, regardless of which party controls the White House.

During the eight years of George W. Bush's presidency, $47 \%$ of Republicans, on average, said they could trust the federal government just about always or most of the time. During Obama's presidency, average trust among Republicans has fallen to $13 \%$ - by far the

Republicans' trust in government is lower when Democrats are in the White House - especially Obama
Average percentage saying they trust the federal government just about always/most of the time, by presidency ...

|  | Total <br> $\%$ | Rep/ <br> Lean Rep <br> $\%$ | Dem/ <br> Lean Dem <br> $\%$ | Rep-Dem <br> diff |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Barack Obama | 21 | 13 | 29 | -16 |
| George W. Bush | 35 | 47 | 28 | +19 |
| Bill Clinton | 29 | 25 | 34 | -9 |
| George H.W. Bush | 35 | 43 | 30 | +13 |
| Ronald Reagan | 42 | 52 | 35 | +17 |
| Jimmy Carter | 29 | 26 | 34 | -8 |
| Nixon/Ford | 40 | 46 | 39 | +7 |
| Kennedy/Johnson | 68 | 62 | 72 | -10 |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Average of surveys conducted over the course of each administration. The Kennedy/Johnson and Nixon/Ford administrations are combined because relatively few surveys were conducted during those periods. Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, and selected Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times and CNN polls.

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lowest level of average trust among either party during any administration dating back to the 1960s.

Average trust among Democrats, by contrast, has remained more stable throughout the George W. Bush and Obama years. During the Obama administration, trust among Democrats has averaged $29 \%$, compared with $28 \%$ during the Bush administration.

Trust in government - among the public overall, and among both Republicans and Democrats was much higher during Bush's first term than his second. Among the public, trust on average fell from $43 \%$ in Bush's first term, which included the post-9/11 spike in trust, to $29 \%$ in his second. The decline came among both Republicans, whose average trust declined from $54 \%$ to $41 \%$, and Democrats (35\% to 21\%).

While the falloff in Republican trust in government between the Bush and Obama administrations has been striking, it continues a pattern that has persisted for decades. During Ronald Reagan's two terms, an average of $52 \%$ of Republicans expressed trust in government, and $43 \%$ did so during George H.W. Bush's single term. This compares with $26 \%$ average trust among Republicans during Jimmy Carter's presidency and 25\% during Bill Clinton's. Average trust among Democrats across all four of these presidencies - Carter's, Reagan's, Bush's and Clinton's - showed far less variance.

## Trust in recent times: A closer look

In January 2001, following the contentious 2000 presidential election, a CBS/New York Times poll found that only $31 \%$ of Americans said they could trust the government just about always or most of the time. In the wake of the $9 / 11$ terrorist attacks eight months later, however, trust rose to $60 \%$ among the general public, according to a Gallup poll conducted in early October.

This near-doubling from the start of the year crossed party lines: Fully $67 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners and $51 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners said they could trust the government nearly always or most of the time. But this spike in confidence was shortlived. By December 2001, about half of Americans (48\%) said they could trust the federal government; trust remained relatively high among Republicans (60\%), while falling to $39 \%$ among Democrats.

In July 2003, as opposition to the Iraq War grew, $36 \%$ of the public said they trusted government, according to a CBS/New York Times poll. About half of Republicans (51\%) trusted government compared with just $25 \%$ of Democrats.

As Bush began his second term in 2005, trust in government continued to be deeply divided along partisan lines. In a Pew Research Center survey conducted in September 2005, shortly after Hurricane Katrina struck the Gulf Coast, $49 \%$ of Republicans and just 19\% of Democrats said they could trust the federal government.

Public trust in the federal government declined, especially among Republicans, during the final years of Bush's presidency.
In January 2007, Republicans were almost twice as likely as Democrats to express trust in the federal government ( $43 \%$ vs. 22\%). By October 2008, during the financial crisis, just $19 \%$ of Republicans and $12 \%$ of Democrats trusted the government to do the right thing.

After Obama took office, Republican trust in government - already quite low - sank further. In a Pew Research Center survey in March 2010, amid the contentious debate over the Affordable Care Act, about a third of Democrats (32\%) said they could trust the government at least most of the time, compared with just $13 \%$ of Republicans.

The bitter debate over the debt ceiling in 2011 eroded Democratic trust in government. In a September 2011 CNN survey, just $20 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners expressed trust in the federal government. Even fewer Republicans (10\%) trusted the federal government.

With Obama's re-election in 2012, Democratic trust in government increased, reaching 37\% in January 2013; at that time, just 15\% of Republicans had confidence in the federal government. But by October 2013, amid a partial shutdown of the federal government, trust in government had fallen 10 percentage points among Democrats, to $27 \%$, and 5 points among Republicans (to 10\%).

Since then, trust in government has fluctuated, but the levels of government trust today are about the same as they were in fall 2013: Just $26 \%$ of Democrats and $11 \%$ of Republicans say they can trust the federal government just about always or most of the time.

## Low trust in government across demographic spectrum

Trust in government differs only modestly between demographic groups. No more than about a quarter in any group trusts the federal government just about always or most of the time.

Young people are somewhat more likely than older adults to say they can trust the federal government. About a quarter of adults younger than 30 ( $27 \%$ ) trust the government at least most of the time, compared with $19 \%$ of those ages 30 to 49 and $15 \%$ of those 50 and older.

## Modest age and education differences in trust in government

Trust the federal government to do what is right ...

|  | Always/ <br> Most of <br> the time <br> $\%$ | Only <br> some of <br> time | (voL.) <br> Never <br> $\%$ | DK <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 19 | 67 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| White | 15 | 69 | 15 | $1=100$ |
| Black | 23 | 66 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| Hispanic | 28 | 63 | 6 | $2=100$ |
| 18-29 | 27 | 63 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| 30-49 | 19 | 67 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| 50-64 | 15 | 67 | 17 | $1=100$ |
| 65+ | 15 | 70 | 13 | $2=100$ |
| Post grad | 23 | 68 | 8 | $1=100$ |
| College degree | 19 | 70 | 10 | $1=100$ |
| Some college | 18 | 66 | 15 | $1=100$ |
| HS or less | 19 | 66 | 14 | $1=100$ |
| Republican/Lean Rep | 11 | 71 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| Conservative | 9 | 70 | 20 | $*=100$ |
| Mod/Lib | 14 | 72 | 14 | $*=100$ |
| Democrat/Lean Dem | 26 | 65 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| Cons/Mod | 25 | 67 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| Liberal | 28 | 64 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| Among Rep/Lean Rep |  |  |  |  |
| Politically engaged (48\%) | 6 | 71 | 22 | $1=100$ |
| Less engaged (52\%) | 15 | 70 | 15 | $*=100$ |
| Among Dem/Lean Dem |  |  |  |  |
| Politically engaged (34\%) | 27 | 65 | 7 | $2=100$ |
| Less engaged (66\%) | 26 | 65 | 7 | $1=100$ |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
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And among all politically engaged
Republicans, just 6\% say they can trust the government; more than three times as many (22\%) volunteer they can "never" trust the government. There are no significant differences among Democrats by level of political engagement.

## Trust in government by generation

Historically, there have been only modest generational differences in trust in government. Over time, the trajectory of these attitudes has been similar across generations.

As noted, young people are slightly more trusting in the federal government than older people. Currently, $25 \%$ of Millennials (ages 18-34) say they can trust the federal government just about always or most of the time. That compares with $19 \%$ of Gen Xers (35-50), $14 \%$ of Boomers ( $51-$ 69 ) and $16 \%$ of Silents ( $70-87$ ).

In 2009 and 2010, the differences across generations were somewhat larger: In August 2009, the three-point moving average of trust in the federal government among Millennials was $36 \%$, compared with about 20\% across older generations.

In the early 1990s, Gen Xers - whose oldest members were then in their early $20 s$ - expressed somewhat greater trust in government than did Boomers and Silents, but these differences have diminished over time. Similarly, there were, at most, small differences in trust between Boomers and Silents in the 1970s and 1980s. Most important, the steep downward slide in trust in government that occurred in the 1970s was seen among both Boomers

## Trust in government by generation: 1958-2015

Trust government to do what is right just about always/most of the time ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. From 1976-2014 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

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## Trust in government and satisfaction with the nation

Trust in government often, though not always, moves in parallel with satisfaction in the overall state of the nation. The periods of especially low trust in the federal government - the late 1970 , the early 1990 , and the years since the financial crisis and Great Recession - have also been characterized by relatively low levels of satisfaction with national conditions.

But during recent periods of rapid economic growth, such as the mid-198os and late 1990s, national satisfaction increased more dramatically than did trust in the federal government.


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Trust trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. Trend line represents a three-survey moving average.
Satisfaction: Pew Research Center 1988-2015. Gallup 1979-1992. The trend line represents a three-survey moving average.
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Over the course of the 2000s, the two indicators moved in lockstep. Both reached a high in the aftermath of the 9/11 terror attacks and declined over the next several years.

After plunging in October 2013 with the government shutdown, satisfaction in the nation has rebounded somewhat. Currently, slightly more than a quarter of Americans (27\%) say they are satisfied in the country. Trust in government has so far lagged behind and remains at historically low levels.

## Erosion of trust and diminished belief in government fairness

The long-term erosion of public trust in the federal government has been mirrored by a steep decline in the belief that the government is run for the benefit of all Americans.

The 1960 s were a period in which Americans had highly favorable attitudes toward the federal government. In 1964, 64\% said that the government was "run for the benefit of all the people," according to the National Election Study. Just 29\% said that the government was "pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves."

At the same time, an overwhelming majority of the public ( $77 \%$ ) said they could trust the federal government just about always or most of the time.

Yet within a decade, trust had plummeted and the share of Americans who said the government was run for the benefit of all had fallen nearly 40 percentage points - from 64\% in 1964 to $25 \%$ in 1974 .

Over the course of the past half-century, the two measures have mapped very closely. Currently, just 19\% say the government is run

## Trust in government and perceptions of government fairness



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Trust trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. Trend line represents a three-survey moving average.
Government fairness trend sources: National Election Studies and CBS/New York Times polls. Annual means calculated for years with more than one poll.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER for the benefit of all - and an identical percentage says they can trust the federal government just about always or most of the time.

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## 2. General opinions about the federal government

Since the late 1990s, the public's feelings about the federal government have tended more toward frustration than either anger or contentment. That remains the case today: $57 \%$ feel frustrated with the government, while smaller shares either feel angry (22\%) or are basically content (18\%).

Yet while the public's sentiments about government have not changed dramatically, Americans increasingly believe the federal government is in need of sweeping reform. Fully $59 \%$ say the government needs "very major reform," up from $37 \%$ in 1997.

Overall attitudes about government - from the feelings it engenders to views of its performance and power - are deeply divided along partisan lines. And, like public trust in government, the partisan tilt of these opinions often changes depending on which party controls the White House. However, it is notable that on several measures, including perceptions of whether government is a "friend" or "enemy," Republicans are far more critical of government today than they were during the Clinton administration.

## More are frustrated than angry at government

Anger at government is more widespread today than it was in the 1990s. Only on rare occasions, however, do more than about a quarter of Americans express anger at the federal government.

## During the partial

 government shutdown in October 2013, 30\% said they were angry at the government - the highest percentage in nearly two decades of polling. Since then, the share expressing anger at government has declined; currently, 22\% say they are angry at the government.
## Continuing public frustration with government

Feeling toward the federal government (\%)


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q14. Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Since the late 1990s, majorities have expressed frustration with the federal government - with one notable exception. In November 2001, during the period of national unity that followed the 9/11 terrorist attacks, $53 \%$ said they were basically content with the federal government, while just $34 \%$ expressed frustration (and only $8 \%$ said they were angry).

Currently, 32\% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say they are angry at the federal government, compared with $12 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners. The share of Republicans who are angry at government has declined since the fall of 2013 (from $38 \%$ ); over the same period, anger among Democrats has fallen by about half (from 25\% to 12\%).

Throughout most of the Obama presidency, a quarter or more of Republicans have expressed anger at the government; during the George W. Bush administration, GOP anger was consistently no higher than $10 \%$. Conversely, Democratic anger at government peaked in October 2006, when $29 \%$ expressed anger at government.

## Anger at govt higher among Reps now, was higher among Dems in Bush years <br> \% saying anger best describes their feelings toward the federal government ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q14.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Currently, $37 \%$ of conservative Republicans express anger at the federal government, compared with $24 \%$ of moderate and liberal Republicans. There are no significant differences in the shares of liberal Democrats (11\%) and conservative and moderate Democrats (13\%) who are angry at the government.

Among demographic groups, whites and older Americans are especially likely to express anger at the government. A quarter of whites say they are angry at the federal government, compared with $17 \%$ of Hispanics and $12 \%$ of blacks.

Roughly three-in-ten adults ages 50 and older (29\%) say they are angry, about twice the share who say they are content with government (13\%). Among those younger than 30, the balance of opinion is reversed just $12 \%$ say they are angry with government, while $28 \%$ say they are basically content.

## Conservative Reps, whites, older adults more likely to be angry at government

Feeling toward the federal government

|  | Angry | Frustrated | Basically <br> content | DK |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| Total | 22 | 57 | 18 | $3=100$ |
| White | 25 | 60 | 13 | $2=100$ |
| Black | 12 | 58 | 26 | $4=100$ |
| Hispanic | 17 | 47 | 32 | $4=100$ |
| 18-29 | 12 | 57 | 28 | $4=100$ |
| $30-49$ | 20 | 59 | 20 | $2=100$ |
| 50-64 | 29 | 56 | 14 | $2=100$ |
| 65+ | 29 | 57 | 12 | $3=100$ |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 32 | 57 | 9 | $1=100$ |
| Conservative | 37 | 55 | 7 | $1=100$ |
| Mod/Lib | 24 | 61 | 13 | $2=100$ |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 12 | 59 | 27 | $2=100$ |
| Cons/Mod | 13 | 59 | 26 | $2=100$ |
| Liberal | 11 | 60 | 27 | $2=100$ |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q14. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
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## Biggest problem with government? Congress, politics cited most often

Asked to name in their own words the biggest problem with the government in Washington, 13\% specifically mention Congress, including $11 \%$ who cite gridlock or an inability to compromise within the institution. Nearly as many (11\%) name politics and partisanship, while $7 \%$ mention the size or scope of government and 6\% cite corruption.

Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents are more likely to name Congress than are Republicans: $17 \%$ of Democrats say this, compared with $10 \%$ of Republicans.

Among those who call out politics as the biggest problem, several specifically mention those in the opposing party: $9 \%$ of Republicans name Barack Obama, Democrats or a "liberal agenda" as the main problem, while $7 \%$ of Democrats point to Republicans or a "conservative agenda."

The size of government and corruption are mentioned more frequently by Republicans than Democrats: $11 \%$ of Republicans say government plays too big a role, compared with $4 \%$ of Democrats. And while 10\% of Republicans mention corruption, just 3\% of Democrats do so.

Overall, just $5 \%$ of the public cites debt or overspending as the biggest problem with the federal government, while $4 \%$ each mention the economy or jobs and health care.

More Republicans (8\%) than Democrats (4\%) name the deficit and fiscal irresponsibility as the leading problem, while Democrats are somewhat more likely to mention health care (6\% vs. $1 \%)$.

## Most say the government needs sweeping reforms

In 1997, most Americans (62\%) said the federal government was "basically sound" and needed only minor reforms or said it needed very little change. Far fewer (37\%) said it needed "very major reform." By 2010, those attitudes had flipped - more said the government needed major reform (53\%) than said it was sound or needed little change (45\%).

Today, $59 \%$ say it needs very major reform, while only $39 \%$ say the federal government needs little or no change.

Most of the change since the late 1990s has come among Republicans: Fully 75\% of Republicans and leaners now say the federal government needs very major reform, up from $43 \%$ in 1997 and 66\% five years ago. The share of Democrats saying the government is in need of sweeping reform has risen more modestly since 1997 $44 \%$ now, $31 \%$ then - and has barely changed since 2010 (42\%).

The public's overall rating of the government's performance also has become more negative. Most Americans now say the federal government is

## Growing share of Republicans say federal government needs 'very major reform'

\% saying the federal government needs ...

\% saying federal government does ___ job running its programs


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q23, Q24F1. Don't know responses not shown. PEW RESEARCH CENTER
doing either an only fair (44\%) or poor (33\%) job running its programs; just 20\% give it an excellent or good rating on this measure.

In 2010, 28\% gave the government a "poor" rating for handling programs and $20 \%$ did so in 1997. As is the case in views of government reform, the increase in poor ratings for government performance have come almost entirely among Republicans.

Half of Republicans and Republican leaners (50\%) now say the government does a poor job running its programs, compared with $46 \%$ who said this in 2010 and just $29 \%$ who did so in 1997. Conservative Republicans and Republican leaners are particularly likely to rate the government's performance as poor. About six-in-ten conservative Republicans (59\%) say this, compared with $36 \%$ of moderate and liberal Republicans. However, moderate and liberal Republicans are not particularly positive about government either: $49 \%$ rate its performance as only fair, and just $14 \%$ say it is doing an excellent or good job.

Among Democrats and leaners, only $18 \%$ currently say the federal government does a poor job running its programs, which reflects just a 7-percentage-point increase since 1997. Half of Democrats (50\%) rate government's performance as only fair, while 30\% say it does an excellent or good job.

## Is government a 'friend' or 'enemy?'

Asked to place themselves on a scale from 1 to 10 "where ' 1 ' means you think the federal government is your enemy and ' 10 ' means you think the federal government is your friend," $27 \%$ of registered voters say they think of government as an enemy (1-4), up 8 points since 1996. The share of voters who place themselves in the middle of the scale (5-6) has declined from $44 \%$ to $39 \%$. A third (33\%) currently say they view the government as a friend ( $7-10$ ), little changed from $36 \%$ in 1996.

Today, $35 \%$ of Republican voters view the federal government as an enemy, up from $22 \%$ in 1996. Similarly, $34 \%$ of independents take this view, a 13-point increase from 19 years ago. ${ }^{1}$

## More Republicans now view government as an 'enemy' than a 'friend'

|  | Enemy (1-4) | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Middle } \\ & (5-6) \end{aligned}$ | Friend (7-10) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total |  |  |  | Mean |
| 1996 | 19 | 44 | 36 | 5.8 |
| 2015 | 27 | 39 | 33 | 5.5 |
| Republican |  |  |  |  |
| 1996 | 22 | 43 | 34 | 5.7 |
| 2015 | 35 | 42 | 21 | 5.0 |
| Democrat |  |  |  |  |
| 1996 | 13 | 42 | 43 | 6.1 |
| 2015 | 12 | 38 | 50 | 6.4 |
| Independent |  |  |  |  |
| 1996 | 21 | 48 | 30 | 5.5 |
| 2015 | 34 | 35 | 31 | 5.3 |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q25F2. 1996 data from Knight-Ridder survey of registered voters. Self-placement on a scale from " 1 " (federal government is your enemy) to "10 (federal government is your friend). Based on registered voters.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
Half of all Democrats (50\%) see the government as a friend; only $12 \%$ see the government as an enemy. These views are similar to opinions among Democrats in 1996.

[^1]
## Few think the government is run 'for the benefit of all people'

About three-quarters of the public (76\%) say the federal government is "run by a few big interests," while only $19 \%$ say the government "is run for the benefit of all the people." This view is little changed over the past five years, and is on par with views in the early 1990 .

The sense that the government is run by a few big interests has long been the view of most Americans, with majorities consistently saying this for much of the past 15 years (one exception is in 2002, about a year after the Sept. 11 attacks, and a time of relatively high trust in government). Public views of the influence of big interests have largely tracked with movements in public trust in government.

The belief that government is run by a few big interests spans all demographic and partisan groups. Majorities in both parties now say that a few big interests run the

## About three-quarters of Americans say the government is run by big interests

\% saying the government is run ...
$\ldots$ By a few big interests out for themselves
$\longrightarrow$ For the benefit of all people


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q43. Data points indicate individual surveys, line shows yearly averages. Trend includes data from other organizations. See topline for full details.
Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER government, though this view is somewhat more widely held among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents ( $81 \%$ say this) than among Democrats and Democraticleaning independents (71\%).

## Size and scope of government

Currently, $53 \%$ favor a smaller government that provides fewer services, while $38 \%$ prefer a bigger government with more services. These opinions have changed little in recent years, but on several occasions in the 1990 , $60 \%$ or more favored smaller government.

The partisan divide over the size of government is not new, though it is particularly wide today. Eight-in-ten Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (8o\%) favor a smaller government, 15 points higher than did so in January 2007, while Democratic views have remained largely unchanged (31\% favor a smaller government, compared with $32 \%$ in 2007).

## Views of smaller vs. bigger government 1976-2015

```
\% who would rather have a ...
```



```
Bigger government, more services
```



Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q6. Data prior to 1997 from LA Times, ABC/Washington Post, and CBS/New York Times surveys. Don't know responses not shown.
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There also are ideological divisions within each party. Nearly nine-in-ten conservative Republicans ( $87 \%$ ) prefer a smaller government, while a smaller majority (71\%) of moderate and liberal Republicans say this. And among Democrats, two-thirds (67\%) of liberal Democrats prefer a bigger government with more services, but a narrower $53 \%$ majority of conservative and moderate Democrats say this ( $36 \%$ prefer a smaller government, with fewer services).

## Widening partisan gap over size of government

\% who prefer a smaller govt providing fewer services ...



Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q6. Data prior to 2007 from LA Times, ABC/Washington Post, and CBS/New York Times surveys.
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By more than two-to-one ( $62 \%$ to $27 \%$ ), whites prefer a smaller government that provides fewer services. A majority of blacks (59\%) - and an even larger share of Hispanics (71\%) - favor a larger government with more services.

About half of 18 - to 29-year-olds (52\%) would rather have a bigger government providing more services; only a quarter of those ages 65 and older ( $25 \%$ ) say this. The gap between older and younger people is seen within parties as well: $35 \%$ of younger Republicans favor a bigger government, compared with 6\% of Republicans 65 and older. Younger Democrats are more supportive of bigger government than older Democrats ( $65 \%$ vs. 48\%).

Lower-income households stand out for their support of bigger government: $49 \%$ of those with family incomes of less than \$30,000 prefer larger government, the highest share of any income category.

## Beyond party: race, age, family income gaps in views of size of government

\% who would rather have a ...

|  | Smaller govt, <br> fewer services <br> $\%$ | Bigger govt, <br> more services <br> $\%$ | Depends/ <br> DK <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 53 | 38 | $9=100$ |
| Men | 57 | 34 | $8=100$ |
| Women | 48 | 42 | $10=100$ |
| White | 62 | 27 | $11=100$ |
| Black | 32 | 59 | $9=100$ |
| Hispanic | 26 | 71 | $9=100$ |
| 18-29 | 41 | 52 | $7=100$ |
| 30-49 | 52 | 41 | $7=100$ |
| 50-64 | 57 | 33 | $10=100$ |
| 65+ | 62 | 25 | $13=100$ |
| \$100,000+ | 66 | 28 | $6=100$ |
| \$75k-\$99,999 | 62 | 33 | $5=100$ |
| \$30k-\$74,999 | 56 | 36 | $8=100$ |
| $<\$ 30,000$ | 38 | 49 | $13=100$ |

Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q6. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.

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A separate question frames the issue of the scope of government somewhat differently: Should government "do more to solve problems," or is it "doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals?" The public is evenly divided, as it has been since the question was first asked in 2010: 47\% say the government should do more to solve problems, while $48 \%$ say it is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals.

There is a wide partisan gap in views of how much the government should do. Two-thirds of Democrats (66\%) say the government should do more to solve problems; $71 \%$ of Republicans say it is doing too many things better left to others.


## Government viewed as 'wasteful and inefficient'

The perception of government as wasteful and inefficient has endured for decades. But partisan views of government wastefulness, like trust in government, change depending on which party controls the White House.

Overall, $57 \%$ of Americans say that "government is almost always wasteful and inefficient," while $39 \%$ say it "often does a better job than people give it credit for." This balance of opinion is largely unchanged over the past decade.

Currently, three-quarters of Republicans fault the government for being wasteful and inefficient. That is little changed from recent years, but higher than the share of Republicans who described government as wasteful during George W. Bush's administration. Republicans are now about as likely to criticize the government for being wasteful as they were in 1994, during Bill Clinton's administration (75\% now, 74\% then).

Just 40\% of Democrats view the government as wasteful and inefficient, which is in line with previous measures during Obama's presidency. Democrats were more likely to say government was wasteful during the Bush administration. However, Democrats were less likely to view the government as wasteful during Bush's presidency than Republicans have been during most of the Obama and Clinton administrations.

Majority continues to say government is wasteful and inefficient
\% who say ...
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient


Government does better job than given credit for


Wider partisan gap in perceptions of
wastefulness than during Bush era wastefulness than during Bush era
\% saying the government is almost always wasteful and inefficient ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q42a.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

As with other questions about the government's performance, there are internal ideological divisions within each party in views of government efficiency. Among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, there is a 15-percentage-point gap between the proportion of conservatives (81\%) and moderates and liberals (66\%) who say the government is always wasteful and inefficient. And liberal Democrats (64\%) are more likely than conservative and moderate Democrats (52\%) to say the government does a better job than it gets credit for.

## As a career, government viewed as more appealing than politics

Though many Americans express anger or frustration about the federal government, nearly half (48\%) say if they had a son or daughter finishing school they would like to see them pursue a career in government.

The share saying they would like a child to pursue a career in government is down 8 points since 2010, but careers in government continue to be seen as more appealing than careers in politics: Just $33 \%$ say they would like to see a child enter into politics as a career.

Since 1997, Democrats have viewed both political and governmental careers more favorably than Republicans. Though just $38 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners would like to see a son or daughter pursue a career in politics, that number falls to $29 \%$ among Republicans and Republican leaners.

## Politics viewed less favorably as career choice than government

\% saying they would like a son or daughter to pursue a career in ...


But partisans are further apart on views about a career in government. Today, a $58 \%$ majority of Democrats say they would like to see a child work in government, while just $38 \%$ of Republicans say this, a wider partisan divide on this question than in the past.

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# 3. Views of government's performance and role in specific areas 

Amid a climate of deep distrust and frustration with government, the public's ratings of the federal government's performance in a range of areas stand out for being relatively positive. In 10 of the 13 areas tested in the survey, half or more say the federal government is doing a very good or somewhat good job.

Large majorities say the federal government is doing a very or somewhat good job responding to natural disasters (79\%), setting fair and safe standards for workplaces (76\%), keeping the country safe from terrorism (72\%) and ensuring that food and medicine are safe ( $72 \%$ ).


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct 4, 2015. Q70. Don't know responses not shown. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

More also say the federal government is doing a good rather than a bad job protecting the environment ( $59 \%$ vs. $38 \%$ ), ensuring access to health care ( $56 \%$ vs. $40 \%$ ), maintaining roads, bridges and other infrastructure ( $52 \%$ vs. $46 \%$ ) and ensuring access to high quality education ( $52 \%$ vs. $44 \%$ ).

On the economy, evaluations are mixed: Slightly more say the federal government is doing a good (51\%) than a bad ( $47 \%$ ) job strengthening the economy. However, more emphatic ratings of government performance tilt negative: $22 \%$ say the federal government is doing a very bad job strengthening the economy, compared with just $9 \%$ who say they are doing a very good job.

The federal government receives low marks for its performance in two other key areas: managing the nation's immigration system and helping people get out of poverty. Overall, 68\% say that the government is doing either a very bad (38\%) or somewhat bad (30\%) job managing the nation's immigration system; just $28 \%$ say it is doing a good job.

Ratings are nearly as negative when it comes to the job the government is doing to help people get out of poverty: $61 \%$ say the government is doing a bad job, compared with far fewer (36\%) who say it is doing a good job.

The survey also asks people about the role the federal government should play in these 13 areas.
Overwhelming majorities say the government should have a role - either major or minor - in all 13. But there are clear differences in opinions about the extent of government involvement across these issues.

Americans are nearly unanimous in favoring a role for the federal government in keeping the country safe from terrorism: 94\% say it should play a major role, while $5 \%$ say it should play a minor role.

Overwhelming majorities of more than $90 \%$ also say the federal government should play a major or minor role in other areas, including responding to natural disasters (98\%), protecting the environment (96\%), managing the immigration system (96\%) and strengthening the economy (95\%). For each of these areas,
seven-in-ten or more say the federal government should play a "major" role, with far fewer saying it should play a "minor" role.

Yet there is less support for the federal government to have a large role in other areas - notably ensuring access to health care, helping people get out of poverty and advancing space exploration. About six-in-ten (61\%) say the government should have a major role in ensuring access to health care; $38 \%$ say it should have a minor role and $10 \%$ want it to have no role at all.

Fewer (55\%) want the government to have a major role in helping ameliorate poverty, and only about half ( $47 \%$ ) want the government to play a major role in advancing space exploration. About one-in-ten (9\%) say the government should have no role in advancing space exploration.

On several issues, relatively high performance ratings correspond with broad majorities who say the government should play a major role in that same area. For example, $79 \%$ say the government is doing a good job responding to natural disasters and $88 \%$ say it should play a major role in this area. Keeping the country safe from terrorism and ensuring that food and medicine are safe are two other areas where large majorities say the government is doing well and should play a major role.

For most measures, however, performance ratings lag the share saying the government should play a major role. Majorities of about seven-in-ten or more want the government to have a major role in maintaining infrastructure (76\%), protecting the environment (75\%), strengthening the economy ( $74 \%$ ), ensuring access to quality education (70\%) and ensuring a basic income for those 65 and older ( $69 \%$ ).

However, no more than about six-in-ten rate government performance positively in any of these areas ( $59 \%$ for protecting the environment). Only about half say the government is doing well in the other areas: infrastructure (52\%), economy (51\%), education (52\%) and ensuring a basic income for older adults (48\%).

## The public's views of government's role and performance

\% saying federal government ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q70 and Q71.
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The widest gap between public assessments of the federal government's performance and role is seen on the issue of immigration. Just $28 \%$ say the federal government is doing a good job in managing the immigration system - more than twice as many (68\%) say it is doing a bad job. Government involvement in immigration is widely seen as necessary. An $81 \%$ majority says the federal government should play a major role managing the nation's immigration system.

## Partisan gaps on performance and role of federal government

There are significant differences in how Republicans and Republican leaners and Democrats and Democratic leaners rate the performance and role of the federal government. On some key issues, Republicans offer more negative performance ratings and see less of a role for government than Democrats. But these differences do not extend across all issues, and there are notable areas of partisan consensus.

When it comes to the performance of the federal government, partisans hold opposing views of how the government is doing in strengthening the economy and ensuring access to health care.

Nearly three-quarters of Democrats (74\%) say the government is doing a very or somewhat good job ensuring access to health care. By contrast, Republicans are much more negative: Just $40 \%$ say the government is doing a good job.

A similar pattern is seen on the economy. Most Democrats and Democratic leaners say the federal government is doing a good job strengthening the economy (68\%), but just $34 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners agree.

## Wide party gaps on federal govt job performance on the economy, ensuring access to health care

\% who say govt is doing a very good/somewhat good job ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q70.
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On the issue of defense from terrorism, there is a 25-percentage-point gap between the performance ratings Republicans and Democrats give the government. Nevertheless, majorities in both parties say the government is doing a good job: Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, $85 \%$ say the government is doing a good job keeping the country safe from terrorism, compared with a smaller 60\%-majority of Republicans and Republican leaners.

Though Republicans hold particularly negative views, neither party thinks the government is doing a good job managing the nation's immigration system. Just $15 \%$ of Republicans and leaners say the federal government is doing a very or somewhat good job managing the immigration system, compared with $40 \%$ of Democrats and leaners.

On other issue areas, there are only modest differences between how Democrats and Republicans rate federal government performance. For example, Republicans and Democrats are about equally likely to say the federal government is doing a good job ensuring that food and medicine are safe ( $73 \%$ each), setting fair and safe workplace standards ( $77 \%$ of Republicans vs. $79 \%$ of Democrats) and responding to natural disasters ( $78 \%$ vs. $82 \%$ ).

There also are modest differences on performance ratings for some issues areas where partisans likely hold different policy preferences. For example, similar percentages of Republicans and Republican leaners and Democrats and Democratic leaners say the government is doing a good job protecting the environment ( $62 \%$ of Republicans vs. $58 \%$ of Democrats) and ensuring access to quality education ( $54 \%$ vs.52\%).

When it comes to the role of the federal government, there are large partisan differences in the share who think the federal government should play a "major role" across several high-profile issue areas, with Republicans more likely to see a limited role for government than Democrats. However, for all 13 areas tested, three-quarters or more of Republicans and Republican leaners say the federal government should have at least a minor role, with no more than $20 \%$ saying the federal government should play no role at all on any single issue.

## Republicans less likely than Democrats to see major role for govt on health care, poverty assistance

$\%$ who say govt should play a major role ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q71.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER should play a major role in this area. While just 34\% of Republicans want government to play a major role, $45 \%$ say it should play a minor role; just 20\% say it should play no role at all.

Helping people get out of poverty is another area where fewer than half of Republicans and leaners (36\%) say the government should play a major role, compared with a far larger majority of Democrats and leaners (72\%).

There are other large partisan differences over where the government should play a major role, on issues such as protecting the environment ( 31 points), ensuring access to quality education (29 points) and strengthening the economy ( 20 points); but on these issues, majorities of Republicans and Democrats alike see a major role for government, with the opinion gap reflecting how broadly the view is shared among the two groups.

There are several areas where Republicans and Democrats are unified in seeing a major role for the federal government. There is little to no disagreement between partisans that the federal government should play a major role keeping the country safe from terrorism, managing the immigration system and responding to natural disasters. Partisan opinion gaps also are relatively modest when it comes to the view that the government should play a major role keeping food and medicine safe and maintaining roads, bridges and other infrastructure.

## Republicans' views of government role and performance

The widest gap among Republicans and Republican leaners in their views of government performance and role is seen on immigration. Just $15 \%$ of Republicans say the federal government is doing a good job managing the nation's immigration system. Fully $85 \%$ say the government should play a major role in managing the nation's immigration system.

A similar pattern is seen when it comes to keeping the country safe from terrorism, strengthening the economy and maintaining the country's infrastructure. In all three areas, a sizable majority of Republicans say the government should play a major role, but far fewer say the government is currently doing a good job. For example, while $64 \%$ say the government should play a major role in strengthening the economy, just $34 \%$ give it good marks in this area.

The pattern is much different when it comes to the federal government helping people get out of poverty and ensuring access to health care. On these issues, low performance ratings correspond with small percentages of Republicans seeing a major role for the federal government. For example, just $30 \%$ of Republicans and leaners think the government is doing a good job helping people get out of poverty and a similarly small share (36\%) think the government should play a major role in this area. In only one area, setting workplace standards, do a greater share of Republicans rate the government's performance highly (77\%) than say it should play a major role (54\%).

## Democratic views of government role and performance

As with Republicans, Democratic views of government role and performance differ the most over the issue of immigration. Just four-in-ten Democrats and leaners say the federal government is doing a good job managing the nation's immigration system, among the lowest performance ratings Democrats give the federal government in a policy area. Yet a wide $80 \%$ majority sees a major role for government in this area.

This pattern generally holds across the issues where Democratic ratings of government performance are relatively low or mixed. For example, fewer than half (42\%) say the government is doing a good job helping people get out of poverty, but $72 \%$ say the government should play a major role in this area. Ensuring access to quality education and maintaining infrastructure are two other areas where Democratic evaluations of government performance are tepid but support for government playing a major role remains high.

Among Democrats, advancing space exploration stands out as the one issue for which there is not majority support for a major government role. Democratic performance ratings on this issue fall roughly in the middle of the 13 areas tested ( $58 \%$ say the federal government doing a good job); nonetheless, $50 \%$ say the government should play a major role, 22 points less than say the same about any other issue, and on par with Republican views.

## Democratic views of government's role and performance

Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, percent saying federal government ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q70 and Q71.
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## Republican ideological divides on government role and performance

Among Republicans and Republican leaners, those who describe themselves as conservative are more critical of government performance than those who describe their political views as moderate or liberal.

The largest ideological gap among Republicans is over the job the government is doing strengthening the economy. Overall, $46 \%$ of moderate and liberal Republicans and Republican leaners say the government is doing a good job strengthening the economy. By contrast, conservative Republicans and leaners are 20 points less likely to hold this view (26\%).

Conservative Republicans are less likely than moderates to say the government is doing a good job on a range of other issues, including keeping the country safe from terrorism ( 15 points), helping people get out of poverty (9 points) and managing the nation's immigration system (8 points). But on poverty and immigration, fewer than half of both groups say the government is doing a good job.

There are no issues for which moderate and liberal Republicans are more critical of government performance than conservatives. However, there are several issues for which there are hardly any ideological gaps among Republicans, including protecting the environment and ensuring safe food and medicine.

## Conservative Republicans more negative on government performance

Among Republicans and Republican leaners, \% saying federal government doing very/somewhat good job ...

|  | Rep/Lean Rep |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mod/ | Cons- <br> Mod//Lib <br> Libf |  |  |  |
| Strengthening <br> the economy | 34 | 26 | 46 | -20 |
| Keeping country <br> safe from terrorism | 60 | 54 | 69 | -15 |
| Helping people <br> get out of poverty | 30 | 27 | 36 | -9 |
| Setting workplace <br> standards | 77 | 75 | 83 | -8 |
| Ensuring access to <br> quality education | 54 | 52 | 60 | -8 |
| Managing <br> immigration system | 15 | 12 | 20 | -8 |
| Advancing space <br> exploration | 45 | 43 | 49 | -6 |
| Ensuring access <br> to health care | 40 | 38 | 44 | -6 |
| Responding to <br> natural disasters | 78 | 77 | 81 | -4 |
| Ensuring basic income <br> for 65+ | 46 | 45 | 48 | -3 |
| Ensuring safe food and <br> medicine | 73 | 73 | 74 | -1 |
| Protecting <br> the environment <br> Maintaining <br> infrastructure | 62 | 62 | 63 | -1 |
| Survey conducted Aug. 27-0ct $4,2015$. | Q70. | 50 | 51 | -1 |

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With regard to views of the federal government's role, across many issues, conservatives are less likely than moderates and liberals to say the government should play a major role. Though these ideological gaps over the government's role do not always correspond to the differences in performance ratings

Nearly three-quarters (74\%) of moderate and liberal Republicans say the federal government should play a major role protecting the environment, compared with about half (48\%) of conservative Republicans and leaners. This 26-point gap is the widest seen across issues among Republicans, despite the absence of an ideological gap within the GOP over the government's performance on the issue.

Ensuring access to quality education is another area where most moderate and liberal Republicans say the government should play a major role (66\%), but no more than about half ( $49 \%$ ) of conservatives say the same.

Conservative Republicans are at least 10 points less likely than liberals and moderates

## Fewer conservative Republicans see a major role for government in key areas

Among Republicans and Republican leaners, \% saying federal government should play major role ...

|  | Rep/Lean Rep |  |  | ConsMod/Lib diff |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | All | Cons | Mod/ Lib |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Protecting the environment | 58 | 48 | 74 | -26 |
| Ensuring access to quality education | 55 | 49 | 66 | -17 |
| Strengthening the economy | 64 | 59 | 73 | -14 |
| Helping people get out of poverty | 36 | 31 | 45 | -14 |
| Ensuring access to health care | 34 | 29 | 42 | -13 |
| Setting workplace standards | 54 | 52 | 59 | -7 |
| Ensuring safe food and medicine | 82 | 80 | 86 | -6 |
| Responding to natural disasters | 85 | 83 | 88 | -5 |
| Maintaining infrastructure | 71 | 69 | 74 | -5 |
| Ensuring basic income for 65+ | 59 | 57 | 62 | -5 |
| Advancing space exploration | 47 | 45 | 47 | -2 |
| Keeping country safe from terrorism | 95 | 96 | 95 | +1 |
| Managing immigration system | 85 | 88 | 81 | +7 |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER to see a major role for government helping people get out of poverty ( $31 \%$ vs. $45 \%$ among liberals, moderates) and ensuring access to health care ( $29 \%$ vs. $42 \%$ ).

Managing the nation's immigration system is the one issue for which a somewhat larger share of conservative Republicans and leaners (88\%) than of moderates and liberals (81\%) say the government should play a major - though this view is widely held among both groups.

## Democratic ideological divides on government role and performance

Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, liberals are more critical of government performance than moderates and conservatives on some issues central to the party, such as protecting the environment, ensuring access to education and helping people get out of poverty. On other key issues, such as strengthening the economy and managing immigration, there are no significant divides between the two groups.

Half of liberal Democrats and leaners (50\%) say the federal government is doing a good job protecting the environment, compared with a majority ( $63 \%$ ) of conservative and moderates who say the government is doing a good job.

Similarly, $46 \%$ of liberals rate the government positively for the job it is doing ensuring access to quality education, compared with a larger share of conservatives and moderates (56\%) who think the government is doing a good job.

Among Democrats and leaners, neither group thinks the federal government is doing a particularly good job helping people get out of poverty, but liberals are somewhat more negative ( $36 \%$ good job) than are conservatives and moderates ( $45 \%$ good job).

## Liberal Democrats give government mixed ratings on environment

Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, \% saying federal government doing very/somewhat good job ...

|  | Dem/Lean Dem |  | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Lib- } \\ \text { Mod/ } \\ \text { Cons } \\ \text { Mo }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Lib } \\ \text { Mod/Cons }\end{array}$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| diff |  |  |  |  |$]$| \% |
| :--- |

Seeing a major role for government across most issue areas is a defining view among Democrats and one that is held widely both by liberals and by conservatives and moderates in the party.

On ensuring access to health care and helping people get out of poverty, liberal Democrats and leaners (93\%) are more likely than moderates and conservatives ( $77 \%$ ) to say the federal government should play a major role; however, large majorities of both groups want major government involvement in these areas.

Across most other issues included in the survey, similar majorities of both liberal Democrats and conservatives and moderates say the federal government should play a major role. For example, $91 \%$ of liberals and $87 \%$ of conservatives and moderates say the federal government should play a major role in protecting the environment.

Advancing space exploration is one area where smaller shares of Democrats and leaners say the government should play a major role: $54 \%$ of liberals say this, as do $48 \%$ of conservatives and moderates.

Democrats united in seeing a major role for government across most issues

Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, \% saying federal government should play major role ...

|  | Dem/Lean Dem |  |  | LibMod/Cons diff |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | All | Mod/ Cons | Lib |  |
|  | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Ensuring access to health care | 83 | 77 | 93 | +16 |
| Helping people get out of poverty | 72 | 68 | 77 | +9 |
| Advancing space exploration | 50 | 48 | 54 | +6 |
| Protecting the environment | 89 | 87 | 91 | +4 |
| Setting workplace standards | 79 | 77 | 81 | +4 |
| Managing immigration system | 80 | 79 | 81 | +2 |
| Ensuring safe food and medicine | 92 | 92 | 93 | +1 |
| Responding to natural disasters | 92 | 92 | 93 | +1 |
| Ensuring access to quality education | 84 | 83 | 84 | +1 |
| Maintaining infrastructure | 81 | 80 | 81 | +1 |
| Strengthening the economy | 84 | 85 | 84 | -1 |
| Ensuring basic income for 65+ | 80 | 81 | 79 | -2 |
| Keeping country safe from terrorism | 93 | 95 | 91 | -4 |

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## 4. Ratings of federal agencies, Congress and the Supreme Court

As in the past, the public expresses favorable opinions of a wide range of federal agencies and departments, but there are some notable exceptions. Currently, majorities give favorable assessments of 13 of the 17 agencies and departments tested; by contrast, fewer than half express favorable opinions of the Justice Department, the Department of Education, the IRS and the Department of Veterans Affairs (VA).

Congress remains very unpopular with the public: Just $27 \%$ of the public views Congress favorably, while $69 \%$ have an unfavorable opinion. Favorable opinions of Congress have not surpassed $30 \%$ in more than four years.

Opinions of the Supreme Court have changed little since July, when negative opinions of the court reached a 30 -year
high. Currently, $50 \%$ view the court favorably, while $42 \%$ express an unfavorable opinion.

Among the government agencies and departments included in the survey, the U.S. Postal Service is viewed most favorably; fully $84 \%$ have a favorable opinion of the Postal Service, while just $14 \%$ have an unfavorable view.

| Most federal agencies viewed favorably |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| \% saying they have a | view of each .. |  |
|  | - Unfavorable | - Favorable |
| U.S. Postal Service | 14 | 84 |
| National Park Service | 11 | 75 |
| CDC | 19 | 71 |
| NASA | 17 | 70 |
| FBI | 19 | 68 |
| Homeland Security | 30 | 64 |
| Dept. of Defense | 29 | 63 |
| CIA | 27 | 57 |
| Social Security Admin. | 37 | 55 |
| HHS | 31 | 54 |
| NSA | 31 | 52 |
| EPA | 38 | 52 |
| FDA | 39 | 51 |
| Dept. of Justice | 47 | 46 |
| Dept. of Education | 50 | 44 |
| IRS | 52 | 42 |
| Veterans Affairs | 52 | 39 |
| Congress | 69 | 27 |
| Supreme Court | 42 | 50 |
| Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q13. Don't know responses not shown. |  |  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER |  |  |

Two-thirds or more also have favorable impressions of the National Park Service ( $75 \%$ ), the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, or CDC (71\%), NASA (70\%) and the FBI (68\%). No more than about one-in-five express negative views of any of these agencies.

By about two-to-one, the public also has favorable views of the Department of Homeland Security ( $64 \%$ vs. $30 \%$ unfavorable), the Defense Department ( $63 \%$ vs. 29\%) and the CIA (57\% vs. $27 \%$ ). The National Security Agency is viewed less positively - about half ( $52 \%$ ) have a favorable impression of the NSA, while $31 \%$ view it unfavorably.

Of the 17 agencies and departments in the survey, the Department of Justice (46\%), the Department of Education (44\%), the IRS (42\%) and the VA (39\%) receive among the lowest favorability ratings. Roughly half have unfavorable impressions of all four organizations.

In general, the federal government continues to be viewed less favorably than state and local governments. Currently $32 \%$ say they have a favorable impression of the federal government, while nearly twice as many (63\%) view it unfavorably. By contrast, majorities say they have favorable opinions of their own state government (56\%) and their local government (65\%). These attitudes have changed little in recent years. The last time the federal government was viewed as favorably as state and local governments was in the period after the 9/11 terrorist attacks and during the early phase of the Iraq War.

As with other attitudes toward the federal government, there continue to be deep partisan differences in favorability: $45 \%$ of

Federal government viewed less
favorably than state, local governments
\% saying they have a favorable view of ___ govt ...


Survey conducted Oct. 16-20, 2015. Q10.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Democrats and Democratic leaners have a favorable view of the federal government, compared with $18 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners.

But there are virtually no partisan differences in the public's assessments of local and state governments. More than half of Republicans and Republican leaners (57\%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (59\%) say they view their state governments favorably, while even larger majorities of both partisan groups say they view their local governments favorably ( $64 \%$ among Republicans and Republican leaners, 69\% among Democrats and Democratic leaners).

## VA's problems take a toll on its image

Favorable ratings for the IRS have changed little in recent years. But the VA's favorability has plummeted over the past two years, while several other agencies - including the Justice Department, Food and Drug Administration (FDA), Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), Defense Department and Department of Education - also are viewed less positively.

Currently, just $39 \%$ view the VA favorably - a decline of 29 percentage points since October 2013, during the partial government shutdown. The VA has faced intense criticism over problems with its health care services for veterans, and last year Gen. Eric Shinseki, the agency's embattled secretary, resigned under pressure.

The Justice Department is viewed less favorably than it was during the 2013 government shutdown: 64\% now view the department favorably, down 15 points from two years ago. However, the current measure is comparable to the department's favorable rating in 2010 (51\%). Favorable ratings for the FDA (down 14 points), EPA (10 points), Defense Department and Department of Education (9 points each) also have declined significantly since October 2013.

VA's favorability rating plummets
\% saying they have a favorable view of each ...

|  | March <br> $\mathbf{2 0 1 0}$ | Oct <br> $\mathbf{2 0 1 3}$ | Sep <br> $\mathbf{2 0 1 5}$ | '13-‘15 <br> change |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Veterans Affairs | 57 | 68 | 39 | -29 |
| Dept. of Justice | 51 | 61 | 46 | -15 |
| FDA | 58 | 65 | 51 | -14 |
| EPA | 57 | 62 | 52 | -10 |
| Dept. of Defense | 67 | 72 | 63 | -9 |
| Dept. of Education | 40 | 53 | 44 | -9 |
| HHS | -- | 61 | 54 | -7 |
| CDC | 67 | 75 | 71 | -4 |
| NASA | 61 | 73 | 70 | -3 |
| IRS | 47 | 44 | 42 | -2 |
| NSA | -- | 54 | 52 | -2 |
| Homeland Security | -- | 66 | 64 | -2 |
| FBI | 67 | -- | 68 | -- |
| U.S. Postal Service | 83 | -- | 84 | -- |
| Social Security Admin. | 49 | -- | 55 | -- |
| CIA | 52 | -- | 57 | -- |
| National Park Service | -- | -- | 75 | -- |
| Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q13. |  |  |  |  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER |  |  |  |  |

## Partisan differences in views of federal departments and agencies

There are substantial partisan gaps in the views of several federal departments and agencies. Roughly two-thirds of Democrats and Democratic leaners have favorable impressions of the Department of Health and Human Services, or HHS (68\%), and the EPA (67\%). Only about four-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners view these agencies favorably (both 39\%).

And more than twice as many Democrats (58\%) as
Republicans (24\%) have a favorable opinion of the IRS.

Democrats also view several other departments and agencies more favorably including the Department of Education (51\% of Democrats vs. $36 \%$ of Republicans), the FDA ( $59 \%$ vs. $46 \%$ ), the Social Security Administration (62\% vs. $50 \%$ ) and the Department of Homeland Security (70\% vs. $59 \%$ ).

Members of both parties view the Justice Department less favorably than in 2013: 36\% of Republicans and Republican leaners currently view the

## Wide partisan gaps in views of HHS, EPA, IRS, Justice Department

\% saying they have a favorable view of each


Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q13.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
department favorably, down from 50\% two years ago. Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, the decline has been comparable (to $58 \%$ from $71 \%$ ).

The shift in Republicans' views has come almost entirely among conservative Republicans. Just $28 \%$ now view the Justice Department favorably, down 21 percentage points from October 2013. By contrast, about half of moderate and liberal Republicans (52\%) have a favorable impression of the department, about the same as did so two years ago (54\%). Among Democrats, the decline in favorable opinions has come among both liberals ( 14 points) and the party's conservatives and moderates (9 points).

Notably, the steep decline in the VA's favorability ratings has come across the partisan and ideological spectrum. Today, just $41 \%$ of Democrats and $34 \%$ of
Republicans view the VA favorably, down 29 points and 34 points, respectively, since

## Sharp decline in favorable views of DOJ among conservative Republicans

|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { March } \\ & 2010 \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Oct } \\ 2013 \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Sep } \\ 2015 \end{gathered}$ | '13-‘‘ <br> Change |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Total | 51 | 61 | 46 | -15 |
| Republican/Lean Rep | 44 | 50 | 36 | -14 |
| Conservative Rep | -- | 49 | 28 | -21 |
| Moderate/Lib Rep | -- | 54 | 52 | -2 |
| Democrat/Lean Dem | 62 | 71 | 58 | -13 |
| Conserv/Mod Dem | -- | 71 | 60 | -9 |
| Liberal Dem | -- | 70 | 56 | -14 |
| Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q13. |  |  |  |  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER |  |  |  |  | October 2013.

## Views of Congress and the Supreme Court

Opinions about Congress remain overwhelmingly negative. Just $27 \%$ have a favorable opinion of Congress, while $69 \%$ have an unfavorable view. Views of Congress have changed little over the past four years. (This question was asked in late September, as John Boehner announced he was resigning as House speaker. Rep. Paul Ryan was elected speaker Oct. 29.)

Despite Republicans controlling both the House of Representatives and Senate, just $23 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners view Congress favorably, compared with 31\% of Democrats and Democratic leaners. This marks the first time - in data reaching back about two decades - that members of the party with a majority in both houses of Congress have expressed less favorable views of the institution than members of the minority party.

Views of Congress remain negative


Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q13.
Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

GOP Congress viewed less favorably by Republicans than Democrats


In July, unfavorable opinions of the Supreme Court reached a 30-year high of $43 \%$, following the court's contentious, end of-term rulings on the Affordable Care Act and same-sex marriage. Since then, opinions about the court are largely unchanged: $50 \%$ view the court favorably, while $42 \%$ view it unfavorably.

Just 38\% of Republicans and Republican leaners view the Supreme Court favorably, up slightly from an all-time low of $33 \%$ in July. By contrast, $64 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners have a favorable impression of the high court, little changed from July (61\%).

Views of the Supreme Court
$\%$ with a ___ view of the Supreme Court ...


Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q13.
Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Favorable views of court among Republicans still near all-time lows

\% saying they have a favorable rating of the Supreme Court ...


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## 5. Political engagement and views of government

As has been the case throughout the Obama presidency, Republicans hold considerably more critical views of government than Democrats across multiple measures. Today, $32 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners say they are angry with government; just 12\% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say the same. And while three-quarters (75\%) of Republicans say the federal government needs major reform, a much smaller share (44\%) of Democrats say this.

Similarly, on a core question about government performance, a $57 \%$ majority of Democrats say "government often does a better job than people give it credit for," while $40 \%$ say it is "almost always wasteful and inefficient." In contrast, Republicans say the government is wasteful by about three-to-one ( $75 \%$ vs. 22\%).

But these partisan divides over government, already wide, are particularly stark among those who are most politically engaged.

## Partisan divides over government more pronounced among politically engaged

\% who say ...

| Angry with federal govt | Democrat/ Republican/Lean Dem |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{array}{r} 11 \%-42 \% \\ 130-023 \end{array}$ | - POLITICALLY ENGAGED $\triangleleft$ NOT ENGAGED |
| Federal govt does poor job running programs | $160-037$ | $-65$ |
| Govt is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals | $320-060$ |  |
| Govt is almost always wasteful and inefficient | $34 \bigcirc-067$ |  |
| Govt needs major reform | $41-86$ |  |
|  | $0$ | 100\% |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct 4, 2015. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Across the board, politically engaged Republicans and Republican leaners - the nearly half (48\%) of Republicans who are registered to vote, do so regularly and say they follow politics most of the time - are far more critical of the government than are less politically engaged Republicans.

The differences between politically engaged Democrats and those who are less engaged are not as pronounced. However, in several cases politically engaged Democrats and leaners (who make up 34\% of all Democrats and Democratic leaners) are more positive about government than others in their party.

Fully $42 \%$ of politically engaged Republicans say they are angry with government (compared with $23 \%$ of the less engaged). And though about two-thirds ( $65 \%$ ) of engaged Republicans say the government does a poor job running its programs, only about half as many ( $37 \%$ ) lessengaged Republicans say this (a 46\% plurality of the less-engaged rate the government's performance as "only fair").

Similarly, though majorities of both engaged and less-engaged Republicans say the government is wasteful and inefficient ( $84 \%$ and $67 \%$, respectively) and that it does "too many things better left to businesses and individuals" ( $84 \%$ and $60 \%$, respectively), these views are more widely held among politically engaged Republicans than less-engaged Republicans

By contrast, while only $24 \%$ of politically engaged Democrats say government is "doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals," a slightly larger minority (32\%) of lessengaged Democrats say this. But on many measures there are, at most, modest differences between these two groups. For instance, just $11 \%$ of engaged Democrats, along with $13 \%$ of lessengaged Democrats, say they are angry with government.

The end result is that partisan cleavages over government are even more pronounced among those who are the most likely to participate in the political process, echoing a growing link between engagement and broader ideological polarization.

## Engagement gap in views of government efficiency widens



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This dynamic is not new - engaged Republicans have consistently been more critical of government than other Republicans - but it is as pronounced as ever. On the question of whether government is wasteful and inefficient or does a better job than people give it credit for, there is now a 50-percentage-point partisan gap among engaged partisans, compared with a 23point gap between less-engaged Democrats and Republicans.

## Politically engaged also divided over role and performance of government

In several opinions about the role and performance of government, the divisions between politically engaged Republicans and Democrats are substantial - and dwarf the differences among less-engaged partisans. In most cases, this larger gap is the result of far more negative evaluations of government's performance among engaged Republicans than less-engaged Republicans, with little difference in ratings between engaged Democrats and less-engaged Democrats.

For example, while $70 \%$ of politically engaged Democrats say the government is doing a good job strengthening the economy, just $23 \%$ of engaged Republicans say this, a 47-point gap.

## Partisan gaps on government performance larger among the politically engaged

\% who say govt is doing a very good/somewhat good job ...

|  | Politically engaged |  |  | Not engaged |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dem/Lean Dem | Rep/Lean Rep | Difference | Dem/Lean Dem | Rep/Lean Rep | Difference |
| Strengthening the economy | 70\% | 23 | +47D | 67\% | 43\% | +24D |
| Ensuring access to health care | 74 | 33 | 41 | 74 | 46 | 28 |
| Keeping the country safe from terrorism | 88 | 52 | 36 | 84 | 67 | 17 |
| Managing the nation's immigration system | 36 | 6 | 30 | 41 | 22 | 19 |
| Advancing space exploration | 55 | 37 | 18 | 60 | 52 | 8 |
| Helping people get out of poverty | 39 | 25 | 14 | 43 | 35 | 8 |
| Ensuring basic income for people 65+ | 54 | 43 | 11 | 51 | 48 | - 3 |
| Maintaining roads, bridges, infrastructure | 37 | 45 | +8R | 62 | 55 | 7 |
| Protecting the environment | 55 | 62 | $\square 7$ | 59 | 62 | - +3 R |
| Responding to natural disasters | 82 | 76 | $\square 6$ | 82 | 80 | $\mid 2$ |
| Ensuring that food and medicine are safe | 71 | 72 | \|1 | 74 | 74 |  |
| Setting fair and safe workplace standards | 75 | 74 | 1 | 80 | 78 | 12 |
| Ensuring access to high quality education | 47 | 47 |  | 54 | 59 | $\square 5$ |

Source: Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q70.

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Among those who are less engaged, that gap narrows to 24 points, largely the result of more positive assessments of government performance on this dimension among less-engaged Republicans.

Similar patterns are at work when it comes to government's performance on health care and terrorism. This is also seen, to a lesser extent, on views of the government's handling of immigration, space exploration, poverty and ensuring a basic income for older Americans.

Notably, ratings of the government's performance maintaining roads, bridges and other infrastructure follows a very different pattern, a result of much lower ratings of government performance among the politically engaged in both parties - particularly Democrats.

But the extent to which engaged partisans are more divided than those who are less engaged is even more apparent when it comes to the role the government should play in each of these 13 areas. In five of the 13 areas asked about in the survey, there are gaps of 40 percentage points or more between engaged Democrats and engaged Republicans.

By comparison, the largest gap between less-engaged partisans is a 32-point gap over ensuring

Partisan gaps on the role of government larger among the politically engaged
\% who say govt should play a major role ...

|  | Politically engaged |  |  | Not engaged |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Dem/Lean Dem | Rep/Lean Rep | Difference | Dem/Lean Dem | Rep/Lean Rep | Difference |
| Ensuring access to health care | 90\% | 21\% | +69 D | 79\% | 47\% | +32 D |
| Helping people get out of poverty | 73 | 26 | 47 | 71 | 46 | 25 |
| Ensuring access to high quality education | 85 | 38 | 47 | 83 | 68 | 15 |
| Protecting the environment | 93 | 47 | 46 | 87 | 68 | 19 |
| Setting fair and safe workplace standards | 87 | 47 | 40 | 75 | 59 | 16 |
| Ensuring basic income for people 65+ | 79 | 51 | 28 | 80 | 65 | 15 |
| Strengthening the economy | 84 | 57 | 27 | 85 | 71 | 14 |
| Ensuring that food and medicine are safe | 96 | 79 | 17 | 91 | 85 | 6 |
| Maintaining roads, bridges, infrastructure | 87 | 75 | 12 | 77 | 68 | 9 |
| Responding to natural disasters | 94 | 82 | 12 | 91 | 87 | - 4 |
| Advancing space exploration | 59 | 49 | 10 | 44 | 44 |  |
| Keeping the country safe from terrorism | 94 | 96 | \| + 2 R | 93 | 95 | \| +2 R |
| Managing the nation's immigration system | 89 | 88 | \| 1 | 75 | 83 | $\square 8$ |

Source: Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q71.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
access to health care ( $79 \%$ of less-engaged Democrats say the government should play a major role, while $47 \%$ of less-engaged Republicans say this). On this same issue, there is a 69-point partisan gap among the politically engaged: $90 \%$ of engaged Democrats vs. just $21 \%$ of engaged Republicans see a major role for government in health care.

Education, the environment and workplace standards also stand out as areas on which majorities of both Democrats and Republicans generally see a major role for government, but this is not the case among politically engaged partisans. For example, just $38 \%$ of engaged Republicans say government should play a major role in ensuring access to high-quality education (in contrast to $68 \%$ of less-engaged Republicans and more than $80 \%$ of both engaged and less-engaged Democrats). Similarly, 68\% of less-engaged Republicans say government should play a major role in protecting the environment, compared with $47 \%$ among politically engaged Republicans.

However, on several key areas of government activity, there is broad agreement even among engaged partisans that government should play a major role: Two-thirds or more of Republicans and Democrats, engaged and less-engaged alike, say government should play a major role in keeping the country safe from terrorism, managing the immigration system, responding to natural disasters, ensuring the safety of food and medicine and maintaining the nation's infrastructure.

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## 6. Perceptions of elected officials and the role of money in politics

A major factor in the public's negative attitudes about the federal government is its deep skepticism of elected officials. Unlike opinions about government performance and power, Republicans and Democrats generally concur in their criticisms of elected officials.

Asked to name the biggest problem with government today, many cite Congress, politics, or a sense of corruption or undue outside influence. At the same time, large majorities of the public view elected officials as out of touch, self-interested, dishonest and selfish. And a $55 \%$ majority now say that ordinary Americans would do a better job at solving the nation's problems than their elected representatives.

The 2016 campaign is on pace to break records for campaign spending. A large majority of Americans (76\%) - including identical shares of Republicans and Democrats - say money has a greater role on politics than in the past. Moreover, large majorities of both Democrats (84\%) and Republicans ( $72 \%$ ) favor limiting the amount of money individuals and organizations can spend on campaigns and issues.

## Few say elected officials put the country's interests before their own

Just $19 \%$ say elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters back home; $77 \%$ say elected officials lose touch with the people quickly.

Elected officials widely viewed as out-of-touch, self-interested
A similar $74 \%$ say most elected officials "don't care what people like me think"; just $23 \%$ say elected officials care what they think.

The public also casts doubt on the commitment of elected officials to put the country's interests ahead of their own. Roughly three-quarters (74\%) say elected officials put their own interests ahead of the country's, while just $22 \%$ say elected officials put the interests of the country first.

These views are widely held across the political spectrum, though conservative

Republicans and Republican leaners are particularly likely to say elected officials are selfinterested: 82\% say this, compared with $71 \%$ of moderate and liberal Republicans, and similar proportions of conservative and moderate (69\%) and liberal (73\%) Democrats.

Negative views of politicians on these measures are nothing new, though the sense that politicians don't care what people think is more widely held in recent years: Today, $74 \%$ say this, up from $69 \%$ in 2011, $62 \%$ in 2003, and a narrower $55 \%$ majority in 2000.

Majorities across party lines say politicians don't care much about what they think, though as has been the case since 2011, more Republicans than Democrats currently

## Growing share say elected officials don't care about people like them

\% who say most elected officials ...


1994200020062015
Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q106n.
Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER say this ( $78 \%$ vs. $69 \%$ ). In 2004, when both the presidency and Congress were held by the GOP, Democrats (71\%) were more likely than Republicans (54\%) to say elected officials in Washington didn't care much about them. Throughout much of the late 1990s, there were no significant partisan differences in these views.

## Top problems of elected officials

When asked to name in their own words the biggest problem they see with elected officials in Washington, many Americans volunteer issues with their integrity and honesty, or mention concerns about how they represent their constituents.

The influence of special interest money on elected officials tops the list of named problems; $16 \%$ say this. Another $11 \%$ see elected officials as dishonest or as liars. These concerns are named by similar proportions of Republicans and Democrats.

One-in-ten respondents (10\%) say elected officials are out of touch with Americans, and another $10 \%$ say they only care about their political careers. Republicans and Republican-leaning independents are slightly more likely than Democrats to name these as problems.

In contrast, Democrats are twice as likely as Republicans to volunteer that the biggest problem with elected officials is that they are not willing to compromise ( $14 \%$ vs. $7 \%$ ).

## What is the biggest problem with elected officials in Washington?

$\%$ who say ... (open-ended question)

|  | Total | Rep/ <br> Lean Rep | Dem/ ean Dem | $\begin{aligned} & \text { R-D } \\ & \text { diff } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% |  |
| Influenced by special interest money | 16 | 17 | 16 | +1 |
| Liars, dishonest | 11 | 13 | 11 | +2 |
| Out of touch with Americans | 10 | 12 | 7 | +5 |
| Care only about career | 10 | 13 | 6 | +7 |
| Not willing to compromise | 9 | 7 | 14 | -7 |
| Democrats violating the Constitution | 4 | 9 | 2 | +7 |
| Members are not qualified | 3 | 4 | 2 | +2 |
| Terms are too long | 3 | 4 | 1 | +3 |
| Don't do their jobs | 3 | 3 | 2 | +1 |
| Not careful with government money | 2 | 2 | 3 | -1 |
| Republican/ Conservative agenda | 2 | 2 | 3 | -1 |
| No major problems | 3 | 1 | 2 | -1 |
| Other | 18 | 17 | 20 | -3 |
| Don't know | 16 | 10 | 17 | -7 |
| Survey conducted Oct. 16-20, 2015. Open-end question. Total exceeds $100 \%$ because of multiple responses. See topline for additional details. |  |  |  |  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER |  |  |  |  |

## Elected officials seen as 'intelligent,' not 'honest'

To the general public, elected officials in Washington are not much different from the typical American when it comes to their intelligence or their work ethic, but they are viewed as considerably less honest, somewhat less patriotic and somewhat more selfish.

Two-thirds (67\%) say that "intelligent" describes elected officials at least fairly well, the same share that says this about the typical American. Business leaders, by comparison, are seen as more intelligent ( $83 \%$ say this describes them at least fairly well).

About half of Americans say elected officials (48\%) and average Americans (50\%) are lazy; just 29\% say this about business leaders.


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q90-92.
But assessments of elected

## Elected officials viewed as less honest, more selfish than typical Americans or business leaders

\% who say each term describes elected officials/business leaders/typical American very or fairly well ...
$\square$ Very well $\quad$ Fairly well


PEW RESEARCH CENTER officials' honesty are far more negative. Just $29 \%$ say that "honest" describes elected officials at least fairly well, while $69 \%$ say "honest" does not describe elected officials well. Business leaders are viewed more positively: $45 \%$ say they are honest. And nearly seven-in-ten ( $69 \%$ ) consider the typical American honest.

About six-in-ten ( $63 \%$ ) view elected officials as patriotic, a larger share than says this about business leaders (55\%). Still, far more (79\%) view ordinary Americans as patriotic than say this about elected officials.

And the public overwhelmingly thinks of elected officials as selfish: 72\% say this describes them at least fairly well, including $41 \%$ who say this trait describes them "very well." Though similar shares say the term "selfish" applies at least fairly well to both business leaders (67\%) and the typical American (68\%), fewer say it describes those groups very well.

Majorities of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, and Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents, see elected officials as intelligent, patriotic and selfish, though there are modest differences in the ratings of elected officials across party lines.

Only about a third of Democrats (34\%) and even fewer Republicans (25\%) say "honest" describes elected officials. Similarly modest gaps are seen on other traits, with Democrats consistently viewing elected officials more positively (and less negatively) than Republicans.

There are few differences between Democrats and Republicans on views of the typical American. Majorities in both parties rate the typical American as intelligent, honest and patriotic, albeit selfish.

## Modest partisan differences in views of elected officials

\% who say each term describes elected officials/business leaders/typical American very or fairly well ...

|  | Elected officials <br> Rep/ | Dem/ | Business leaders |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Rep/ | Dem/ | Typical American |  |
| Rep/ | Dem/ |  |  |

Republicans express more positive views of business leaders than do Democrats. More Republicans than Democrats say "patriotic" describes business leaders very or fairly well (66\% vs. $48 \%$ ). And while Democrats rate elected officials and business leaders similarly on honesty (respectively, $34 \%$ and $39 \%$ say each is honest), Republicans are twice as likely to call business leaders honest than to say this about elected officials ( $55 \%$ vs. $25 \%$ ).

## Views of elected officials and views of government

Just 12\% of Americans have attitudes across a variety of measures that suggest they view elected officials positively (tending to rate elected officials as honest, intelligent, in touch with and concerned about average Americans, and putting the country's interest above their own self-interest), while $57 \%$ largely view elected officials negatively (tending to take the opposing view on these measures); about three-in-ten (31\%) hold about an equal mix of positive and negative views of politicians.

These views of elected officials are strongly correlated with overall attitudes about government. Among those with positive views of politicians, $53 \%$ say they trust government all or most of the time; among those with negative views, just 7\% do. And while $42 \%$ of those with positive views say they are "basically content" with the federal government and just 4\% express anger, just $9 \%$ of those with negative views of elected officials say they are content and fully $29 \%$ express anger.

## Strong link between trust in government and views of elected officials

Views of government among those with positive, mixed or negative views of elected officials ...

|  | Views of elected officials <br> on 3-point scale |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Positive <br> $\mathbf{( 1 2 \% )}$ | Mixed <br> $\mathbf{( 3 1 \% )}$ | Negative <br> $\mathbf{( 5 7 \% )}$ | Pos-Neg <br> diff |
| Trust government | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |  |
| Always/most of time | 53 | 26 | 7 | +46 |
| Some of time | 44 | 67 | 74 | -30 |
| Never (vol.) | $*$ | 6 | 19 | -19 |
| Don't know | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{1}$ |  |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |

Feelings about govt

| Basically content | 42 | 22 | 9 | +33 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Frustrated | 49 | 59 | 60 | -11 |
| Angry | 4 | 15 | 29 | -25 |
| Don't know | $\underline{5}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{2}$ |  |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 |  |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Five-item scale of views of elected officials includes measures of their concern for ordinary people, whether they keep in touch with the public, place the public interest above their own, and whether they are viewed as intelligent and honest. Q42j, Q106n, Q107w, Q90a, Q90c.
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## Compromising with the other party

The public is also divided over the extent to which elected officials should make compromises with people with whom they disagree. While $49 \%$ of the public say they like elected officials who compromise, $47 \%$ say they prefer those who stick to their positions.

Among partisans and leaning independents, though, there is a clearer preference. Nearly six-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners (59\%) like elected officials who stick to their positions. The preference is especially strong among conservative Republicans, $65 \%$ of whom say this.

In contrast, $60 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners prefer elected officials who make compromises over those who stick to their positions. Two-thirds of liberal Democrats (67\%) agree. This ideological divide over compromise in principle is little different today from in recent years.

Republicans, Democrats continue to differ over political compromise
$\%$ who say they like elected officials who ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q107s.
Don't know responses not shown.
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## More people blame lawmakers than the political system

As was the case five years ago, more Americans blame problems with Congress on the members themselves, not a broken political system. Overall, $53 \%$ say the political system works just fine, and that elected officials are the root of the problems in Congress; 37\% say most members of Congress have good intentions, and it's the political system that is broken ( $37 \%$ ).

There are only modest partisan or demographic differences on this question, though moderate and liberal Republicans and leaners are somewhat more likely than other partisan and ideological groups to say problems are systemic ( $47 \%$ say this, compared with no more than $38 \%$ of those in other ideological groups).


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB73.
Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Views of the role of money in politics

The vast sums of money flowing into the 2016 presidential election have once again brought attention to the issue of campaign finance.

This issue resonates broadly with the public: $77 \%$ of Americans say there should be limits on the amount of money individuals and organizations can spend on political campaigns and issues. Just 20\% say that individuals and organizations should be able to spend freely on campaigns.

The perception that the influence of money on politics is greater today than in the past is also widely shared. Roughly three-quarters of the public (76\%) believe this is the case, while about a quarter (22\%) says that money's influence on politics and elected officials is little


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q112F1, Q113F1, Q62.
Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER different today than in the past.

And as the presidential campaign continues, nearly two-thirds of Americans (64\%) say that the high cost of running a presidential campaign discourages many good candidates from running. Only about three-in-ten (31\%) are confident that good candidates can raise whatever money they need.

Broad concerns about money in politics - and the specific worry that costly campaigns discourage worthy candidates - are not new. In a January 1988 face-to-face survey, $64 \%$ said the high cost of campaigns acts as a barrier to many good candidates.

Most Americans, including majorities in both parties, believe that new laws would be effective in reducing the role of money in politics. Roughly six-in-ten overall (62\%) say that new laws would be effective in limiting the role of money in politics; $35 \%$ say new laws would not be effective in achieving this goal.

## Bipartisan support for limiting campaign spending

Opinions on campaign finance and its effects on the political system are widely shared; majorities across demographic and partisan groups say there should be limits on campaign spending, that money's impact on politics has increased and that the high cost of campaigns is driving away good candidates.

Partisan differences on all three measures are modest. Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (72\%) are less likely than Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents ( $84 \%$ ) to say that there should be limits on campaign spending. However, support for spending limits is high even among conservative Republicans and leaners -roughly two-thirds (68\%) think there should be limits on how much individuals and organizations can spend.

## Concern about money's influence on politics crosses partisan lines

Opinions on role of money in politics ...

|  | Should be limits on campaign spending | Money has a greater influence on politics today than before | High cost of campaigns discourages good candidates |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| Total | 77 | 76 | 64 |
| Republican/Lean Rep | 72 | 76 | 62 |
| Conservative | 68 | 77 | 61 |
| Mod/Lib | 80 | 75 | 62 |
| Democrat/Lean Dem | 84 | 76 | 68 |
| Cons/Mod | 81 | 73 | 64 |
| Liberal | 87 | 82 | 75 |

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Democrats and leaners are somewhat more likely to say that the high cost of campaigns today discourages good candidates: $68 \%$ say this compared with $62 \%$ of Republicans and leaners.

While most Americans believe that new laws would be effective in reducing the role of money in politics, there are educational and partisan differences in how widely these views are held.

Fully three-quarters of those with postgraduate degrees say new laws would be effective in this regard, compared with $57 \%$ of those with no more than a high school education.

More Democrats and leaners ( $71 \%$ ) than Republicans and leaners (58\%) say that new laws would be effective in limiting the influence of money in politics. Nonetheless, majorities across all educational and partisan categories say that new laws could be written that would effectively reduce the role of money in politics.

## Widespread belief that new laws would curb role of money in politics

$\%$ who say new laws ___ in reducing the role of money in politics ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q114F1.
Don't know responses not shown.
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## 7. Views of the political parties and how they manage government

The public continues to view the Democratic Party more favorably than the Republican Party. But neither party has a significant advantage when it comes to opinions about which could better manage the federal government.

In addition, both parties are criticized for how they deal with the size and scope of government. Nearly six-in-ten (59\%) say the Republican Party is too willing to cut government programs even when they work. An identical percentage says the Democratic Party too often sees government as the only way to solve problems.

The favorable rating for the Democratic Party has changed little since the start of the year: Currently, $45 \%$ view the Democratic Party favorably, while $50 \%$ view it unfavorably. Meanwhile, the GOP's image has improved somewhat since July, when just $32 \%$ viewed the party favorably among the lowest favorability ratings in two decades of polling. Still, in the current survey, just $37 \%$ view the Republican Party favorably, while $58 \%$ view it unfavorably.

The percentage saying they have unfavorable views of both parties has been growing in recent years. Fully $24 \%$ now say they have unfavorable views of both parties, up from $12 \%$ in 2008 and just $6 \%$ in 2002.

## Democratic Party viewed more favorably than GOP

\% who have a favorable view of the ...
 $\begin{array}{llllllllllll}92 & 94 & 96 & 98 & 00 & 02 & 04 & 06 & 08 & 10 & 12 & 14\end{array} 15$ Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q33. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Growing share has unfavorable view of both parties

\% who view both political parties unfavorably


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct.4, 2015. Data for 1992-2014 based on yearly averages. Data for 2015 based on individual polls. Q33.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Most of the growth in unfavorable opinions of both parties has come among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, and among the $13 \%$ of the public that does not lean to either political party.

About a quarter of Republicans and Republican leaners (27\%) say they have an unfavorable opinion of both parties. That is down slightly from July (32\%) but one of the highest percentages since 1992. By comparison, just $16 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners have a negative opinion of both parties.

Independents without partisan leanings are the group most likely to have negative views of both parties. Close to half (46\%) of nonleaning independents now say they have an unfavorable view of both the Republican and Democratic parties. That is almost double the percentage who said this in 2008 (25\%).

## More non-leaning independents view both parties unfavorably



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct.4, 2015. Data for 1992-2014 based on yearly averages. Data for 2015 based on individual polls. Q33.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Nonetheless, Republicans and Republican leaners make up the largest share of those who view both parties unfavorably. Close to half (45\%) of those who have unfavorable views of both parties are
Republicans or Republican leaners; 30\% are Democrats or Democratic leaners, while $25 \%$ are independents who do not lean toward either party.

Predictably, those who have a favorable view of one party and an unfavorable one of the other are overwhelmingly partisans and partisan leaners. Among the small share of the public (11\%) that sees both parties favorably, Democrats make up the largest share (48\%).

## Views of the parties' approaches to government

The public has similar views of each party's ability to manage the federal government. About half (52\%) say the Democratic Party can do a good job managing the federal government, while $44 \%$ say it cannot. A comparable percentage (49\%) says the Republican Party can do a good job of managing the government, while $45 \%$ disagree.

As in the past, more Americans view the Republican Party as "too extreme" (54\%) than say that description applies to the Democratic Party (39\%).

The survey also asks about specific criticisms of the parties' approaches to governing. A majority (59\%) says that the Democratic Party "too often sees government as the only way to solve problems," while an identical percentage says that the Republican Party "is too willing to cut government programs, even when they work."

## Both parties receive criticism for approaches to government

\% who say each party ...

|  |  | Rep <br> Party <br> $\%$ | Dem <br> Party <br> $\%$ | Gap |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Asked about each party | $\%$ | $\%$ |  |  |
| Can do a good job | Yes | 49 | 52 | D+3 |
| managing the federal <br> government | No | 45 | 44 |  |
| Is too extreme | Yes | 54 | 39 | $\mathrm{R}+15$ |
|  | No | 41 | 56 |  |

## Asked about Rep Party

| Is too willing to cut | Yes | 59 | - |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| gov't programs, even |  |  |  |
| when they work | No | 34 | - |

## Asked about Dem Party

| Too often sees gov't | Yes | - | 59 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| as the only way to | No | -- | 36 |
| solve problems |  |  |  |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB50, QB51.
Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

As might be expected, Republicans and Democrats in large numbers give their own party positive ratings for dealing with the federal government.

Most Democrats and
Democratic leaners (83\%) say the Democratic Party can do a good job managing the government, compared with just $30 \%$ who say the Republican Party could do a good job. Among Republicans, 75\% say their own party could manage the government effectively, while just $18 \%$ say the same about the Democratic Party.

However, Republicans are more likely to view the GOP as "too extreme" than Democrats are to say the same about their own party. A quarter of Republicans say the GOP is too extreme; $14 \%$ of Democrats say the same of their party.

When asked if the
Democratic Party too often sees government as the solution to problems, $43 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners say this is the case. When asked to judge whether the GOP is too quick to cut working programs, a somewhat smaller share of

## Partisans rate their own party - and the opposition on managing the government

Does each describe the Republican/Democratic Party? (\%)


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct.4, 2015, QB50, QB51.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Republicans and Republican leaners (34\%) say this is true of their party.

To be sure, much larger proportions of Republicans and Democrats are critical of the other party in assessing these characteristics. About seven-in-ten Republicans (69\%) say that the Democratic Party is too extreme and an overwhelming majority of Democrats say that the GOP is too extreme (81\%). Similarly, about eight-in-ten Republicans (79\%) say that the Democratic Party too often relies on government solutions, while $82 \%$ of Democrats say that the Republican Party is too quick to cut effective programs.

For their part, independents who do not lean to either party offer similar assessments of the Republican and Democratic parties on all of the items tested. On the critiques of each party's approach to government, for instance, non-leaning independents are as likely to say that the GOP is too quick to cut effective government programs as they are to say that the Democratic Party is too reliant on government to solve problems ( $51 \%$ each).

Among the $22 \%$ of the public that is angry with the federal government - a largely Republican group $-44 \%$ say, in effect, that only the GOP can do well in managing the government; they say the Republicans can do well and the Democrats cannot. Yet nearly a third of those angry at government (31\%) say neither party can do well in managing the federal government. Relatively few say the Democratic Party, but not the Republican Party, can do a good job managing the government (16\%).

Among the majority of the public (57\%) that is frustrated with government, there is no clear preference about which party can do better in management. Among those who are "basically content" with the government (18\% of the public), $44 \%$ say the Democratic Party, but not the Republicans, can do well in managing the government, while $36 \%$ say both parties can do a good job and just 11\% say the Republican Party, but not the Democratic Party, can do a good job running the government.

> Who can govern well? Those angry at government prefer the Republican Party, but many say 'neither'

Can do a good job managing the federal government ... (\%)

|  | Rep Party, <br> not Dem Party | Dem Party, <br> not Rep Party | Both <br> Parties | Neither <br> Party |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 28 | 30 | 22 | 21 | $=100$ |



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB50, QB51.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Differences between the two major parties

The share of Americans who say there are major differences between the political parties, while little changed from early last year, remains as high as it has ever been.

Currently, $45 \%$ say there is "a great deal" of difference in what the parties stand for; $32 \%$ say there is a "fair amount" of difference and $19 \%$ say there is "hardly any difference" between the Republican and Democratic parties. The share saying there are wide differences between the parties is as high as it has been in the past three decades.

## Growing number sees 'great deal' of difference between the political parties

$\%$ saying there is ___ difference in what the Republican and Democratic parties stand for
$\longrightarrow$ A great deal $\longrightarrow$ A fair amount $\leadsto$ Hardly any


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q11.
Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Conservative Republicans and Republican leaners (51\%) are more likely than the party's moderates and liberals (40\%) to see a great deal of difference between the parties. Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, $52 \%$ of liberals say there are big differences between the parties, compared with $44 \%$ of moderate and conservative Democrats.

Among independents who do not lean to a party, just $31 \%$ say there are big differences between the parties; nearly as many (33\%) say there are hardly any differences.

Overall, a majority (56\%) of politically engaged adults say there are substantial differences between the parties, compared with $38 \%$ of those who are less politically engaged.

## More liberal Dems, conservative Reps see big differences between the parties

\% saying there is ___ difference in what the Republican and Democratic parties stand for

|  | A great <br> deal <br> $\%$ | A fair <br> amount <br> $\%$ | Hardly <br> any <br> $\%$ | DK <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 45 | 32 | 19 | $4=100$ |
| Total | 47 | 32 | 18 | $3=100$ |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 51 | 29 | 17 | $3=100$ |
| Conservative | 40 | 39 | 19 | $2=100$ |
| Mod/Lib | 47 | 34 | 16 | $3=100$ |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 44 | 36 | 17 | $3=100$ |
| Cons/Mod | 52 | 32 | 14 | $2=100$ |
| Liberal | 31 | 25 | 33 | $11=100$ |
| No partisan lean |  | 28 | 14 | $2=100$ |
| Politically engaged | 56 | 28 | 22 | $6=100$ |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q11.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
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## Most see a politically divided nation

An overwhelming majority of Americans say that the country is now more politically divided than in the past - and few expect these divisions to go away anytime soon.

Currently, $79 \%$ view the country as more politically divided, little different from surveys in 2013 (81\%) and 2012 (80\%), but as high as at any point since the question was first asked more than 10 years ago. In January 2009, shortly before Barack Obama took office, just $46 \%$ said the country was more politically divided than it had been in the past.

When asked to look five years ahead, $78 \%$ say that either the country will be just as politically divided as it is now (42\%), or more divided (36\%).

There is broad agreement across partisan and demographic groups that the country is more politically divided, and that these divisions will persist - or deepen - over the next five years.
Comparable percentages of Republicans and Republican leaners (82\%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (78\%) say that the

Public sees wider political divisions, most expect rift to continue


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB27, QB28.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER country is more politically divided than in the past. A slightly smaller share of those who do not lean toward either party (72\%) say the same.

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## 8. Perceptions of the public's voice in government and politics

Though the public is unhappy with government generally, Americans are largely divided on key measures of their ability to influence how it runs, including the impact of voting on government and the ability of motivated individuals to influence the way government works.

When asked which statement comes closer to their own views, most Americans (58\%) say that "voting gives people like me some say about how

Views on the impact of voting and people's ability to influence the government


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q42I \& Q107v. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding .
PEW RESEARCH CENTER government runs things," while fewer (39\%) say "voting by people like me doesn't really affect how government runs things."

The public is somewhat more skeptical when it comes to the ability of ordinary citizens to influence the government in Washington. Half (50\%) say ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the government in Washington, if they are willing to make the effort, while about as many ( $47 \%$ ) say there's not much ordinary citizens can do to influence the government.

## Can ordinary people have an impact?

Majorities of Democrats and Democratic leaners as well as of Republicans and Republican leaners say that voting gives people some say in government, though this view is somewhat more widely held among Democrats (63\%) than Republicans (56\%).

Democrats are similarly more likely than Republicans to say ordinary citizens can influence the government in Washington: $55 \%$ of Democrats say ordinary citizens can make an impact, while $42 \%$ say there is not much ordinary people can do. About as many Republicans and leaners say ordinary citizens can influence the government in Washington (47\%) as say there's not much ordinary citizens can do (51\%).

Among the $13 \%$ of the public that does not identify or lean toward either party - a group that is far less likely to be

Those with more education are more likely to say voting gives them a voice in government
\% who say ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q42I \& Q107v. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

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registered to vote - just 44\% say voting gives people some say in how government runs things, while $49 \%$ say it doesn't really affect how government runs things.

Seven-in-ten of those with a post-graduate degree (70\%) and 65\% of those with a college degree say voting gives people some say in government; somewhat smaller shares of those with only some college experience (58\%) or those with no more than a high school diploma ( $51 \%$ ) say the same.

Unlike views on voting, there are no educational differences in the shares saying ordinary people can influence government if they make the effort.

Blacks (58\%) and Hispanics (57\%) are more likely than whites (47\%) to say that ordinary citizens can influence the government in Washington, if they're willing to make the effort. There are no racial differences in views of the impact of voting.

These two measures of opinion on the impact of voting and on ordinary citizens' ability to influence the government in Washington can be combined to create a scale of political efficacy. Those who rank "high" on the scale say both that voting gives people some say in how government runs things and that ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the government in Washington, if they are willing to make the effort. "Medium" political efficacy includes those who hold only one of the two views, while "low" political efficacy describes those who do not hold either view.

Overall, $39 \%$ of the public falls into the high political efficacy category, while $33 \%$ have medium political efficacy and $28 \%$ have low political efficacy.

Political efficacy is higher among those with more education. For example, $47 \%$ of those with a post-graduate degree rank high on


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
the scale of political efficacy, compared with $33 \%$ of those with no more than a high school diploma.

Across political groups, Democrats and leaners are somewhat more likely to have high political efficacy (44\%) than Republicans and Republican leaners (36\%)

And high political efficacy is somewhat more widespread among the politically engaged (registered voters who vote regularly and follow news about government) than among the less engaged ( $43 \%$ vs. 36\%).

Having high political efficacy - the feeling that voting and individuals can influence government - is associated with more positive views of government across realms.

While trust in government is low across all groups, those with high political efficacy (27\%) are more likely than those with medium (17\%) or low (10\%) levels of efficacy to say they trust the government to do what's right always or most of the time.

Similarly, just $16 \%$ of those with high political efficacy are angry with government, compared with $22 \%$ of those with medium political efficacy and $30 \%$ of those with low levels of efficacy.

On other overall assessments of government, those with high political efficacy stand out for holding the least negative views. For example, among those with high political efficacy, as many say the government often does a better job than people give it credit for (48\%) as say it is almost always wasteful and inefficient (48\%). Among those with lower levels of political efficacy, more describe the government as almost always wasteful and inefficient ( $60 \%$ of those with medium political efficacy and $67 \%$ of those with low efficacy).

When it comes to the amount of reform the federal government needs, those with high levels of political efficacy (48\%) are much less likely than those with medium (59\%) or low (74\%) efficacy to say the government is in need of very major reform. As many as $48 \%$ of those with high political efficacy say the federal government is basically sound and needs only some reform.

Levels of political efficacy also are tied to views of elected officials. While the public is broadly critical of elected officials on several key character traits, those with high levels of political efficacy hold the least-negative views. For example, those with high political efficacy are 19 percentage points more likely than those with low political efficacy to say that elected officials are honest; nonetheless, just $36 \%$ of those with high political efficacy say the term honest describes elected officials.

A similar pattern is evident within partisan groups: Among Republicans and Republican leaners, as well as Democrats and Democratic leaners, those with a higher sense of political efficacy tend to be less critical of government and elected officials, though in many cases views remain quite negative.

## Those with higher levels of political efficacy hold more positive views of govt

\% who say $\qquad$ by party and level of political efficacy ...


Survey conducted August 27-October 4, 2015. Political efficacy is a three-point scale based on respondents' view of the ability of ordinary citizens to influence government and the impact of voting.

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## Public's assessment of country's problems, own ability to address them

Amid high frustration with the government, most Americans see the challenges facing the country as difficult to solve, but most also say that ordinary Americans would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials.

Overall, $56 \%$ say that most big issues facing the country today do not have clear solutions; 41\% say there are clear solutions to most big issues facing the country today.

At the same time, $55 \%$
think that ordinary
Americans would do a

# How difficult are the problems facing the country today and could public do better job than elected officials? 



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q107t/u.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER better job solving the country's problems than elected officials, while $39 \%$ say they would do no better than those currently in elected office.

The public's view that ordinary Americans would do a better job than elected officials likely reflects the low regard in which officials are held and is not entirely an endorsement of the public's competency. A separate measure included in the survey finds that just $34 \%$ say they have either a very great deal or good deal of confidence in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions, significantly lower than in 2007 (57\%) and 1997 (64\%).

Among the $41 \%$ of the public who say there are clear solutions to the big issues facing the country, fully $63 \%$ say they think ordinary Americans would do a better job than elected officials solving the country's problems. By comparison, about half (49\%) of those who say there are not clear solutions to the county's problems think regular Americans could do a better job than elected officials.

Across most demographic and political groups, majorities reject the view that the country's problems have easy solutions.

Just 38\% of Democrats and leaners say there are clear solutions to most big issues; $60 \%$ say there are not. Republicans and leaners are somewhat more likely to see clear solutions ( $46 \%$ say there are, $52 \%$ say there are not).

Politically engaged Republicans are one of the few groups in which a majority says the country's problems have clear solutions ( $56 \%$ vs. $43 \%$ ). As a result, the partisan difference on this question is significantly larger among the politically engaged public (17 points, compared with 8 points overall).

By a $60 \%-36 \%$ margin, women say most big issues facing the country today do not have clear solutions. Among men, opinions are more divided: $51 \%$ say most issues do not have clear solutions, while $47 \%$ say they do.

There are only modest differences on this question across levels of educational attainment, with narrow majorities of all groups saying there are not clear solutions to the country's top problems.

By nearly two-to-one, more Republicans and GOP leaners say that ordinary Americans would do a better job than elected officials solving the country's problems (62\%) than say ordinary people would not do a better job (32\%). Democrats have less confidence that the public would have more success

Majority says solutions to major problems facing U.S. are not clear
$\%$ who say most big issues facing the country today ...


Total

Men
White
Black
Hispanic

18-29
30-49
50-64
65+
Post grad
College grad
Some college
HS or less

Rep/Lean Rep
Conservative
Mod/lib
Dem/Lean Dem
Cons/mod
Liberal

Politically engaged
Rep/Lean Rep
Dem/Lean Dem

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q107t. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER than politicians: $49 \%$ of Democrats and leaners say ordinary Americans would do better, while nearly as many ( $45 \%$ ) say they would not.

The view that ordinary people could do a better job is particularly prevalent among politically engaged Republicans: Nearly seven-in-ten (68\%) say this. Views among engaged Democrats and leaners on this question ( $48 \%$ better job) are little different from those of lessengaged Democrats.

Those with higher levels of education are more skeptical that ordinary Americans would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials: Among those with a post-graduate degree, $45 \%$ say the public would do better than politicians, while $49 \%$ say they would not. Those with a college degree are slightly more likely to say ordinary Americans would do better than elected officials ( $50 \%$ vs. $44 \%$ ). Clear majorities of those with only some college experience ( $55 \%-38 \%$ ) and those with no more than a high school diploma (58\%$36 \%$ ) say ordinary Americans would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials.

Among adults under age 30, about as many say ordinary Americans would do a better job than elected officials (49\%) as say they would not (47\%). Among those in older age cohorts, larger percentages say the public would do a better job solving problems than elected officials. For example, $62 \%$ of those ages 50-64 say this, compared with just $32 \%$ who say the public would not do better than elected officials.

## Most Republicans think ordinary people would do better than politicians

$\%$ who say ordinary Americans would do ___ solving the country's problems than elected officials ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q107u. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.
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While most think ordinary Americans would do a better job than elected officials, independent assessments of the public's political wisdom are relatively negative, and have fallen in recent years.

Overall, just $34 \%$ say they generally have a very great deal or a good deal of confidence in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions; a far greater share (63\%) say they have not very much confidence or none at all. Confidence in the public's political wisdom is down 23 points from 2007, when it stood at $57 \%$. In 1997, nearly two-thirds (64\%) said they had confidence in the public's political wisdom.

There is no difference in views of the public's political wisdom across party lines: Just $37 \%$ of Democrats and leaners and $36 \%$ of Republicans and leaners express at least a good deal of confidence. Similarly, the decline in confidence in the public's ability to make political decisions over the past 18 years has occurred about equally among Republicans and Democrats.

## Trust in public political wisdom declines

Trust and confidence in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions (\%)

- Very great/good deal $\quad$ Not very much/None


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q12.
Don't know responses not shown.
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## Both parties have lost confidence and trust in public's political wisdom



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## On important political issues, most see their side as 'losing'

For many Americans, generally negative feelings toward government are accompanied by the view that on the important issues of the day their side has been losing more often than winning.

Overall, $64 \%$ say that on the issues that matter to them in politics today, their side has been losing more often than it's been winning. Only a quarter (25\%) say they feel their side has been winning more often than losing; $11 \%$ volunteer that their side has been winning as often as losing, that they don't think about politics in this way, or that they don't know.

The feeling that one's side has been losing on the issues is widespread across demographic and political groups. In fact, clear majorities of nearly all groups - with the exception of liberal Democrats and leaners - say they feel like their side has been losing more than winning.

About eight-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners (79\%) say they feel their side has been losing on the important political issues, while just $14 \%$ feel they've been winning. Comparably large majorities of conservative (81\%) and moderate and liberal (75\%) Republicans feel their side has been losing more than winning.

Among all Democrats and Democratic leaners, views are more mixed: $52 \%$ say their side has been losing more than winning on important political issues, while

## Across most groups, majorities say their side is losing on important issues

On issues that matter to you in politics today, would you say your side has been winning or losing more? (\%)



Political efficacy scale ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q110.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER $40 \%$ say they've been winning more often.
Among Democrats, there is a significant divide in views across ideological lines. By a $58 \%-35 \%$
margin, more conservative and moderate Democrats say their side has been losing more than winning on the issues that matter to them. Liberal Democrats are as likely to say their side has been winning ( $46 \%$ ) as losing ( $44 \%$ ) more often. This mixed rating among liberal Democrats is the most positive view of any group in the survey.

Across levels of educational attainment, the view that one's side has been losing more often than winning is particularly widespread among those with no more than a high school diploma (67\%) and those with only some college experience (66\%). Somewhat smaller majorities of college graduates ( $59 \%$ ) and post graduates ( $56 \%$ ) also say their side has been losing more often than winning on important issues.

Views on winning and losing in politics are tied to overall feelings toward government. Among the share who say their side has been winning on issues more often than losing, more say they are content with the federal government (34\%) than say they are angry (9\%), while $55 \%$ say they are frustrated. Among those who say their side has been losing more often than winning, a greater share is angry with government (27\%) than content (9\%), while $61 \%$ say they are frustrated.

## Those who say their side has been losing more are angrier at government

Feeling toward government among those who say their side has been winning/losing more often (\%)


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q110. Don't know responses not shown.
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## Most say politics not a struggle between right and wrong

Although there has been a marked rise in partisan antipathy - the dislike of the opposing party - in recent years, most Americans do not go so far as to say they view politics as a struggle between right and wrong.

Overall, while $44 \%$ say they think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong, $54 \%$ say they do not see politics this way.

The view that politics is a struggle between right and wrong is more common among blacks (57\%) than among Hispanics (47\%) or whites (40\%).

Those with higher levels of educational attainment are particularly unlikely to see politics in these stark terms: Just $30 \%$ of those with post-graduate degrees and $34 \%$ of those with college degrees, say politics is a struggle between right and wrong. By comparison, $51 \%$ of those with no more than a high school diploma and $44 \%$ of those with some college experience say this.

Conservative Republicans and leaners are more likely than those in other partisan groups to say they view politics as a struggle between right and wrong: $53 \%$ say this, compared with just $38 \%$ of moderate and liberal Republicans, $45 \%$ of conservative and moderate Democrats, and $37 \%$ of liberal Democrats.

## Most do not think of politics as a struggle between right and wrong

Think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong ... (\%)


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB135. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.
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## 9. Views of the nation, how it's changing and confidence in the future

The public continues to express mixed opinions about the United States' standing in the world. About half (52\%) say the U.S. is "one of" the world's greatest nations, while $32 \%$ say it "stands above" all others. Relatively few (15\%) say there are countries that are better than the United States.

Most Americans are not highly confident in the nation's future. Fewer than half (45\%) express quite a lot of confidence in the future of the U.S. Overall confidence in the future of the U.S. is at about the same level as it was 20 years ago, but is substantially lower than during the 1970 .

Opinion about the United States and its future prospects are associated with other attitudes about government. The small minority of Americans who have little or no confidence in the nation's future ( $15 \%$ of the public) are more likely to feel angry with the federal government than are those who feel more optimistic about the future of the U.S.

## As recent Pew Research Center surveys have

 found, more Americans say immigrants strengthen the country ( $53 \%$ ) than say they are a burden on the United States (38\%). And most (57\%) say the country's increasing ethnic diversity makes it a better place to live. Attitudes about immigrants and growing ethnic diversity also are linked to views aboutViews of U.S. global standing and
confidence in the nation's future
View of U.S. as a country, relative to others in world


Confidence in the future of U.S.


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB45, QB46. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER government: Anger with the federal government is more widespread among those with negative views of immigrants and increased diversity than among those with more positive attitudes.

## U.S. standing in the world, confidence in the future of the country

As in the past, there are wide age and ideological differences in views of the United States' world standing.

While roughly half or more across age categories take a middle-ground view - that the U.S. is one of the greatest countries older adults are more likely than younger people to say that the U.S. stands above all other nations.

Among those 65 and older, $45 \%$ say the U.S. stands above other nations, the highest share of any age group. Just $19 \%$ of those under 30 say the same. By contrast, young people are much more likely than those 65 and older to say there are other nations better than the United States ( $25 \%$ vs. $6 \%$ ).

Nearly half of conservative Republicans and Republican leaners (48\%) say the U.S. stands above all other nations - by far the highest share among ideological groups. No more than about a third of those in any other group ( $32 \%$ of moderate and liberal Republicans) view the United States' global standing so positively.

Just $17 \%$ of liberal Democrats say the United States stands above all other nations, the lowest percentage among ideological groups.

Wide age and partisan differences in views of U.S. standing in the world


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB45.
Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Most liberal Democrats (60\%) say the U.S. is among the world's greatest nations, while $22 \%$ say other nations are better than the United States.

Confidence in the future of the U.S. is lower today than it was in the mid-1970s. For example, a 1975 survey by Gallup found that $60 \%$ had quite a lot of confidence in the future of the U.S. The share expressing a lot of confidence in the future of the U.S. fell to $48 \%$ in 1994 and is at about the same level today (45\%).

More Republicans than Democrats view the United States as "exceptional" - standing above all other nations - but fewer Republicans express strong confidence in the nation's future.

Half of Democrats and leaners say they have quite a lot of confidence in the nation's future, compared with 40\% of Republicans and leaners.

Young adults - who have a less positive view of the U.S.'s global standing than do older adults - are also less likely to have a high degree of confidence in the nation's future. Just $38 \%$ of those younger than 30 have quite a lot of confidence in the future of the U.S., the lowest of any age group. Among those 50 and older, about half have a lot of confidence in the nation's future.

## Young adults less likely to have 'quite a lot' of confidence in U.S. future

Amount of confidence in future of United States

|  | Quite <br> a lot <br> $\%$ | Some <br> $\%$ | Little/ <br> None <br> $\%$ | DK <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 45 | 39 | 15 | $1=100$ |
| Men | 47 | 37 | 15 | $1=100$ |
| Women | 43 | 40 | 15 | $1=100$ |
| White | 43 | 41 | 15 | $1=100$ |
| Black | 46 | 35 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| Hispanic | 54 | 29 | 15 | $2=100$ |
| 18-29 | 38 | 45 | 17 | $*=100$ |
| 30-49 | 43 | 38 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| 50-64 | 49 | 37 | 13 | $2=100$ |
| 65+ | 53 | 34 | 11 | $2=100$ |
| Post grad | 55 | 37 | 8 | $*=100$ |
| College grad | 51 | 37 | 11 | $1=100$ |
| Some college | 41 | 41 | 16 | $1=100$ |
| HS or less | 43 | 38 | 18 | $2=100$ |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 40 | 42 | 17 | $1=100$ |
| Conservative | 40 | 40 | 18 | $1=100$ |
| Mod/Lib | 39 | 45 | 15 | $1=100$ |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 50 | 37 | 12 | $1=100$ |
| Cons/Mod | 51 | 35 | 13 | $1=100$ |
| Liberal | 49 | 40 | 9 | $1=100$ |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB46. Whites and black include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
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## Feelings of political efficacy and confidence in the nation's future

Overall, people who feel like they can influence politics and government express greater confidence in the nation's future than do those who say they have less ability to influence government.

Among people with a relatively high degree of "political efficacy" - those who say their vote matters and that ordinary citizens have the capacity to affect government $-57 \%$ have quite a lot of confidence in the future of the U.S.

Among those who respond affirmatively to only one of the political efficacy questions that is, they say either that voting matters or that citizens can influence government, but not both $-40 \%$ have a high degree of confidence in the nation's future. And among those with low efficacy (those who respond negatively to both questions), just $32 \%$ have quite a lot of confidence.

This pattern holds within both parties. Republicans and Republican leaners with high political efficacy are more likely to have quite a lot of confidence in the country's future (52\%) than are those with medium (35\%) or low (29\%) levels of political


How feelings of political efficacy are



Scale among Dem/Lean Dem ...


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB46.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
$\qquad$

Similarly, $62 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners with high political efficacy have a lot of confidence in the country's future compared with $46 \%$ of those with medium levels of efficacy and $35 \%$ of those with low political efficacy.

## Views of the nation's future and opinions about government

People who are most confident about the nation's future have much less animosity toward the federal government than do those who are less confident.

Frustration is the public's dominant feeling toward government, irrespective of people's confidence about the nation's future.

Nonetheless, among those highly confident in the future of the U.S., $29 \%$ are "basically content" with the federal government, while only about half as many feel "angry" (15\%).

## Those less confident in U.S. future far more likely to express anger toward federal government



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB46.
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The most intensely
negative feelings toward government are seen among those with little or no confidence in the country's future ( $15 \%$ of the public): Just $6 \%$ in this group say they are content with the federal government, while $39 \%$ say they are angry. This level of anger is more than twice the level seen among those who have a lot of confidence in the country's future (15\%).

## Views of the roots of the country's success

There are substantial differences of opinion about the factors behind the nation's success. About half say the U.S. has been successful more because of its ability to change, while $43 \%$ attribute the success of the United States more to its adherence to long-standing principles.

There are wide partisan differences on this question. Six-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners ( $60 \%$ ) say the country's success has more to do with its reliance on principles than its ability to change (including 70\% of conservative Republicans and leaners). By contrast, a $66 \%$ majority of Democrats and Democratic leaners say the country has been successful more because of its ability to change; this view is even more widely held among liberal Democrats and leaners (74\%).

These attitudes also differ sizably by age. By nearly two-to-one ( $65 \%$ to $33 \%$ ), those younger than 30 say the U.S. has been successful more because of its ability to change. Those 50 and older are divided: $48 \%$ attribute the country's success more to its reliance on principles, while $44 \%$ link it more to its ability to change.

## Country's success based on ability to change or reliance on principles?

Country has been successful more because of ... (\%)


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB108.
Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Views on the reasons for the country's success are tied to a range of opinions toward the federal government. In general, those who see the country's ability to change as the bigger reason for its success are more likely to hold positive views of government than those who say reliance on principles is the bigger reason why the U.S. has been successful.

Among those who say the country has been successful because of its ability to change, more say they are basically content with government (26\%) than say they are angry (15\%); $57 \%$ say they are frustrated. By contrast, among those who say the country has been successful because of its reliance on principles, more express anger toward the federal government (30\%) than say they are basically content ( $14 \%$ ), while $54 \%$ say they are frustrated.

Half of those who cite change as the bigger reason for the country's success say the government often does a better job than people give it credit for, while $47 \%$ say it is almost always wasteful and inefficient. Views are much more negative among those who cite reliance on principles as the bigger reason for the country's success: Fully $71 \%$ in this group say the government is almost always wasteful and inefficient, and just $28 \%$ say government does a better job than it gets credit for.

A similar pattern is seen on a general question about the scope of government. Most (59\%) of those who credit the ability to change for the country's success say government should do more to solve problems. Those who say reliance on principles is the main reason the country

## Views on reasons for U.S. success tied to attitudes toward government

Among those who say U.S. successful more because of its ability to change/reliance on principles, views of govt ...

■ Content $\quad$ Frustrated ■ Angry



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB108.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
has been successful take the opposite view: About two-thirds (65\%) say government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals.

The relationship between views of the country's success and views of government are statistically significant within both political parties.

## Views of diversity, immigrants and government

On balance, the public takes a positive view on immigrants and increasing diversity in the United States.

Overall, $57 \%$ say having an increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities makes the United States a better place to live, compared with just $8 \%$ who say it makes the country a worse place to live and $34 \%$ who say it doesn't make much difference either way.

About two-thirds of Democrats and Democratic leaners (65\%) say diversity makes the U.S. a better place to live, while $30 \%$ say it doesn't make much difference and just $5 \%$ say it makes the country a worse place to live. Republicans and Republican leaners are less positive: Most (52\%) say diversity makes the country a better place to live, compared with $35 \%$ who say it doesn't make much difference and $10 \%$ who say it makes the U.S. a worse place to live.

Across demographic groups, those with a post-graduate degree (76\%), college graduates ( $72 \%$ ), Hispanics ( $63 \%$ ) and younger adults under age 50 ( $61 \%$ ) are among the most likely to say diversity makes the U.S. a better place to live.

## Most say racial, ethnic diversity makes U. S. a better place to live

Increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities in U.S. make country a ...

|  | Better <br> place <br> $\%$ | Worse <br> place <br> $\%$ | Doesn't <br> make diff <br> $\%$ | DK <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 57 | 8 | 34 | $2=100$ |
| White | 57 | 8 | 33 | $1=100$ |
| Black | 50 | 9 | 40 | $*=100$ |
| Hispanic | 63 | 5 | 30 | $2=100$ |
| 18-29 | 59 | 3 | 38 | $*=100$ |
| 30-49 | 62 | 5 | 31 | $2=100$ |
| 50-64 | 55 | 11 | 32 | $1=100$ |
| 65+ | 50 | 12 | 35 | $3=100$ |
| Post grad | 76 | 4 | 19 | $2=100$ |
| College grad | 72 | 6 | 20 | $2=100$ |
| Some college | 59 | 6 | 34 | $2=100$ |
| HS or less | 45 | 10 | 43 | $2=100$ |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 52 | 10 | 35 | $2=100$ |
| Conservative | 51 | 13 | 34 | $2=100$ |
| Mod/Lib | 55 | 6 | 37 | $2=100$ |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 65 | 5 | 30 | $1=100$ |
| Cons/Mod | 57 | 6 | 37 | $1=100$ |
| Liberal | 76 | 3 | 20 | $1=100$ |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q44. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
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Views also tilt positive when it comes to overall assessments of immigrants' impact on the country today. Overall, $53 \%$ say that immigrants today strengthen the country because of their hard work and talents, while fewer (38\%) say that immigrants today are a burden on the country because they take jobs, housing and health care.

There are wide differences on this question across partisan and ideological lines. Nearly eight-in-ten (79\%) liberal Democrats and leaners and $63 \%$ of conservative and moderate Democrats and leaners say that immigrants strengthen the country through their hard work and talents, rather than burdening the country.

Among conservative Republicans and Republican leaners, more say that immigrants today are a burden on the country ( $57 \%$ ) than say they strengthen it (31\%). Moderate and liberal Republicans and leaners are divided: $45 \%$ say they think immigrants today are a burden, while about as many (44\%) say they strengthen the country.

There also are wide differences across age groups. Those ages 18-29 are more likely to say immigrants strengthen rather than burden the country by a $69 \%-26 \%$ margin. Among those 65 and older, slightly more view immigrants as a burden (47\%) than say they strengthen the country ( $42 \%$ ).

Hispanics hold highly positive views of immigrants. About eight-in-ten Hispanics

## More see immigrants as a strength rather than a burden for the country

Which comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right: Immigrants today___the country (\%)

|  | Burden | Strengthen | Other/ DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 38 | 53 | 10 |
| Men | 37 | 54 | 10 |
| Women | 39 | 52 | 9 |
| White | 44 | 46 | 10 |
| Black | 40 | 52 | 8 |
| Hispanic | 14 | 81 | 5 |
| 18-29 | 26 | 69 | 5 |
| 30-49 | 33 | 56 | 11 |
| 50-64 | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| 65+ | 47 | 42 | 11 |
| Post grad | 19 | 73 | 7 |
| College grad | 25 | 64 | 11 |
| Some college | 38 | 50 | 12 |
| HS or less | 47 | 45 | 7 |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 53 | 36 | 12 |
| Conservative | 57 | 31 | 12 |
| Mod/Lib | 45 | 44 | 10 |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 24 | 69 | 6 |
| Cons/Mod | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| Liberal | 17 | 79 | 5 |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q42g. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER (81\%) say they think of immigrants as strengthening the country, while just $14 \%$ say they are a burden. Views of immigrants are much more mixed among blacks ( $52 \%$ strengthen vs. $40 \%$ burden) and whites ( $46 \%$ vs. $44 \%$ ).

These overall assessments on how diversity and immigrants impact the country are connected to feelings toward government.

Those who view the impact of diversity and immigrants on the country negatively are more likely to express anger toward the federal government.

Among those who say immigrants strengthen the country, just $13 \%$ say they are angry with government. Anger is more than twice as high among those who view immigrants as a burden on the country: $34 \%$ say they are angry with the federal government.

A similar pattern is seen in views of diversity. Among those who say diversity makes the country a better place to live, just $17 \%$ say they are angry with the federal government. This percentage rises to $24 \%$ among those who say diversity doesn't make much difference in the country either way and reaches $42 \%$ among those who say an

## Anger at government higher among those who view immigrants as a burden

Feeling toward government ...

|  | ContentFrustrated <br> $\%$ |  |  | Angry |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | DK |  |  |  |
| $\%$ | 18 | 57 | 22 | $3=100$ |
| Total | 26 | 58 | 13 | $3=100$ |
| Immigrants strengthen <br> country |  |  |  |  |
| Immigrants burden <br> country | 10 | 55 | 34 | $2=100$ |
| Diversity makes U.S. ... | 20 | 60 | 17 | $3=100$ |
| Better place to live | 13 | 60 | 24 | $3=100$ |
| Not much different | 9 | 48 | 42 | $1=100$ |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities make the U.S. a worse place to live.

## 10. Government and taxes

While the public expresses a range of negative assessments of the government generally, there continues to be limited public outcry over personal tax burdens. At the same time, a majority say that most Americans want more from the government than they are willing to pay for in taxes.

## Paying their 'fair share'

Slightly more than half (54\%) say they think they pay about the right amount in taxes, considering what they get from the federal government; 40\% say they pay more than their fair share, while just $4 \%$ say they pay less than their fair share.

There are significant demographic and political differences when it comes to assessments of individual tax burdens.

## Republicans are more likely to say they pay 'more than fair share' in taxes

Considering what you get from federal govt, do you pay___ of taxes?(\%)

|  | More than <br> fair share | About the <br> right amount | Less than <br> fair share |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 40 | 54 | 4 |

 they pay more than their fair share in taxes as say

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB72. Don't know responses not shown. PEW RESEARCH CENTER they pay about the right amount (both 48\%), with no significant differences in views between conservatives and moderates and liberals.

Among Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents, $60 \%$ say that they pay about the right amount in taxes, considering what they get from the federal government, while only about half as many say they pay more than their fair share (33\%).

Across age groups, the oldest and youngest adults are more likely than others to say they pay about the right amount of taxes. Two-thirds of those 65 and older ( $66 \%$ ) and $58 \%$ of those ages 18-29 say they pay about the right amount of taxes. By contrast, fewer of those ages 30-49 (50\%) or 50-64 (47\%) say they pay the right amount.

Those with greater family incomes are somewhat more likely than others to say they pay more than their fair share. About half ( $51 \%$ ) of those with annual family incomes of $\$ 100,000$ or more and $48 \%$ of those with incomes between $\$ 75,000$ and $\$ 99,999$ say this, compared with $40 \%$ of those with incomes between $\$ 30,000$ and $\$ 74,999$ and just $34 \%$ of those with lower incomes. Similarly, those with post-graduate (45\%) or college degrees (44\%) are more likely than those who have not attended college (36\%) to say they pay more than their fair share.

Among blacks, $49 \%$ say they pay more than their fair share, while about the same proportion (46\%) say they pay about the right amount. Both Hispanics and whites are more likely to say they pay about the right amount than to say they pay more than their fair share.

Those who say they pay more than their fair share in taxes are somewhat more angry with government, and less trusting, than those who say they pay about the right amount or less than their share in taxes. Wider attitudinal differences emerge between the two groups over general assessments of government performance and impressions of government waste.

Among those who say they pay more than their fair share of taxes, considering what they get from the federal government, more say they are angry with government (31\%) than content (13\%), while $54 \%$ say they are frustrated. Views are less intensely negative

## High-income earners more likely to say they pay 'more than fair share' in taxes

Considering what you get from federal government, your taxes are ...

|  | More <br> than fair <br> share <br> $\%$ | About <br> the right <br> amount <br> $\%$ | Less <br> than fair <br> share | DK |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dotal | 40 | 54 | 4 | $2=100$ |
| White | 40 | 54 | 3 | $2=100$ |
| Black | 49 | 46 | 2 | $3=100$ |
| Hispanic | 31 | 59 | 7 | $2=100$ |
| 18-29 | 35 | 58 | 4 | $3=100$ |
| 30-49 | 45 | 50 | 3 | $1=100$ |
| 50-64 | 48 | 47 | 4 | $2=100$ |
| 65+ | 27 | 66 | 4 | $4=100$ |
| Post grad | 45 | 51 | 3 | $1=100$ |
| College graduate | 44 | 51 | 4 | $1=100$ |
| Some college | 42 | 52 | 4 | $2=100$ |
| HS or less | 36 | 57 | 4 | $3=100$ |
| Family income |  |  |  |  |
| \$100,000+ | 51 | 44 | 5 | $1=100$ |
| \$75,000-\$99,999 | 48 | 48 | 4 | $*=100$ |
| \$30,000-\$74,999 | 40 | 56 | 2 | $1=100$ |
| <\$30,000 | 34 | 58 | 5 | $3=100$ |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB72. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic: Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to 100\% because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER among those who say they pay about the right amount or less than their share in taxes: just $17 \%$ of this group says they are angry with government compared with $25 \%$ who are content and $57 \%$ who are frustrated.

Similarly, the percentage who volunteer that they never trust the government to do what's right is somewhat higher among those who think they pay more than their share in taxes (21\%) than among those who say they pay the right amount or too little (9\%).

When it comes to an overall assessment of how well the federal government runs its programs, nearly half of those who say they pay more than their share of taxes (48\%) say the government does a poor job running its programs, while $39 \%$ say they do an only fair job and just $12 \%$ say they do an excellent or good job. By contrast, $47 \%$ of those who say they pay about the right amount or less than their share in taxes say the government does an only fair job running programs; about as many say they do an excellent or good job (26\%) as a poor job ( $25 \%$ ).

Nearly seven-in-ten (69\%) of those who say they pay more than their share in taxes view the government as almost always wasteful and inefficient, while just $28 \%$ say government often does a better job than people give it credit for. Views are much less negative among those who say they pay about the right amount or less than their fair share in taxes: $50 \%$ say the government is almost always wasteful and inefficient, while $47 \%$ say it often does a better job than people give it credit for.

Among both Republicans and Republican leaners and Democrats and Democratic leaners, the patterns on these questions are significant: Those who feel they pay more than their fair share in taxes are more critical of government than those who do not.

## Views of personal tax burden and attitudes toward government

Attitudes toward government among those who say they pay $\qquad$ share of federal taxes

|  | More than <br> fair share | Less than <br> fair share/ <br> About right |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Feeling toward fed govt ... | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| Content | 13 | 25 |
| Frustrated | 54 | 57 |
| Angry | 31 | 17 |
| Don't know | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 |


| Trust govt in Washington ... |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Always/Most of time | 12 | 23 |
| Only sometimes | 66 | 65 |
| Never (vol.) | 21 | 9 |
| Don't know | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{2}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 |


| Job government does <br> running programs ... <br> Excellent/Good | 12 | 26 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Only fair | 39 | 47 |
| Poor | 48 | 25 |
| Don't know | $\underline{1}$ | $\underline{2}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 |


| View of government ... |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Almost always wasteful <br> and inefficient | 69 | 50 |
| Often does a better job <br> than people give it credit for | 28 | 47 |
| Other/Don't know | $\underline{3}$ | $\underline{3}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1,209 | 1,731 | lon

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q14, Q15, Q23, Q42a. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
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## Does public demand more from government than it is willing to pay for?

When it comes to taxes and government services, many say Americans aren't willing to pay for all the things they want government to do.

Overall, $52 \%$ say that most Americans demand more from the government than they are willing to pay taxes for, while somewhat fewer (44\%) say most Americans are willing to pay the taxes needed to fund the services they expect government to provide.

There is general partisan agreement on this question: Most Republicans and leaners (54\%) and Democrats and leaners (52\%) say the public demands more from government than they are willing to pay for, with only modest differences across ideological lines within each party.

There are wider differences in these views by education, income, and race and ethnicity. In general, those with higher levels of education or higher incomes are among the most likely to say the public expects more from government than they are willing to pay for, while those with lower levels of education and income are more divided. For example, among those with family incomes of $\$ 100,000$ a year or more, $61 \%$ say most

## Many say public wants more from government than it is willing to pay for

On government and taxes, most Americans ... (\%)
Demand more Willing to pay
from govt than taxes for service:
willing to pay they expect
in taxes from govt
$52 \quad 44$




| 61 |
| :---: |


| 54 | 42 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 52 | 45 |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q107z. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic: Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Americans demand more from the government than they are willing to pay taxes for, while just $37 \%$ say most Americans are willing to pay taxes for the services they expect. By contrast, those earning less than \$30,000 a year are divided, with about as many ( $49 \%$ ) as not ( $47 \%$ ) saying the public is willing to pay taxes to fund the services they expect.

Across racial and ethnic groups, whites (54\%) and Hispanics (52\%) are somewhat more likely than blacks (44\%) to say the public is not willing to pay for the government services they demand.

A majority (57\%) of those under age 50 say the public demands more from government than they are willing to pay for; views are mixed among those ages 50-64 (49\% demands more, 47\% is willing to pay for what it expects), and those 65 and older are slightly more likely (50\%) than not $(42 \%)$ to say the public is willing to pay for the services it expects from government.

## Public's top economic concerns

Overall, $31 \%$ say the federal budget deficit is the national economic issue that worries them most, while an equal share says the job situation is their top economic worry. Fewer consider rising prices (20\%) or the condition of the financial and housing markets (13\%) to be their top economic concern.

Partisans have differing perspectives on the most important national economic issue. A 44\% plurality of Republicans and leaners say the budget deficit is their top economic worry, while $26 \%$ cite the job situation; relatively few say prices (16\%) or the financial and housing markets (9\%) are their top concern.

Democrats and leaners are far less likely than Republicans to name the job deficit as their biggest worry: Just $22 \%$ say this, about as many say rising prices are their top economic worry (23\%). The job situation is cited more frequently (named by $35 \%$ ), while $18 \%$ say the condition of the financial and housing markets is their top economic concern.

Partisan differences in top economic worry
\% who say their top national economic worry is ...

|  | Job <br> situation | Budget <br> deficit | Rising <br> prices | Markets | Other/ <br> DK |
| ---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Total | 31 | 31 | 20 | 13 | 5 |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB37.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Those who say the budget deficit is their top national economic worry are less likely to say the government should do more to solve problems and offer more negative views of the social safety net than those who cite other economic concerns.

Those most concerned with the deficit are about twice as likely to see government as doing too much that is better left to businesses and individuals (65\%) as to say government should do more to solve problems (32\%). By contrast, a $55 \%$ majority of those who more concerned about other economic worries say the government should do more to solve problems, while $42 \%$ say it is doing too much.

When it comes to how much government should do for needy Americans, those whose top economic concern is the deficit are far more likely to say the government can't afford to do much more to help the needy (65\%) than to say it should do more to help even if it means going deeper into debt (29\%). By contrast, $55 \%$ of those who name issues other than the deficit as their top economic worry say the government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt, while $40 \%$ say government can't afford to do much more.

Those most worried about the deficit are more likely to say "poor people have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return" (57\%) than to say "poor people have hard lives because

## Those most concerned about deficit take a more limited view of government, aid to poor and needy

Attitudes toward government, social safety net among those whose top economic worry is ...

| Which comes closer to your view, even if neither | Fed budget deficit | All other concerns |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| is exactly right ... | \% | \% |
| Govt should do more to solve problems | 32 | 54 |
| Govt is doing too much better left to business, individuals | 65 | 42 |
| Other/Don't know | $\underline{3}$ | 4 |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| Govt should do more for needy, even if it means deeper debt | 29 | 55 |
| Govt can't afford to do much more to help the needy | 65 | 40 |
| Other/Don't know | 6 | 5 |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| Poor people have it easy because can get govt benefits without doing anything in return | 57 | 36 |
| Poor people have hard lives because govt benefits don't go far enough to help live decently | 33 | 55 |
| Other/Don't know | 10 | 10 |
|  | 100 | 100 |
| N | 1,033 | 1,936 |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q42c. Q42d. Q107r. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently" (33\%). The balance of opinion is roughly the reverse among those who cite other issues as their top economic worry: $55 \%$ of this group says poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently, while fewer (36\%) say poor people have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return.

While those who cite the budget deficit as their top economic worry are more Republican than the public overall - and those who cite other economic issues are more Democratic - the relationships between these views persist among both Republicans and Democrats.

Those most concerned about the deficit are modestly more likely to express anger at government. While $22 \%$ of the public overall is angry with government, that rises to $28 \%$ of those who say the deficit is their top economic worry (compared with $20 \%$ of those who name a different top worry). This is also the case among Republicans: $37 \%$ of those most concerned about the deficit express anger at government, compared with $31 \%$ of Republicans who name another top concern.

## 11. How government compares with other national institutions

The public expresses mixed opinions about the effect of several major nongovernmental institutions on the country. But in nearly all cases, the influence of these institutions is viewed more positively than that of the federal government - and especially Congress.

Of 10 nongovernmental institutions included in the survey, majorities say four are having a positive effect on the way things are going in the country: small businesses ( $82 \%$ positive), technology companies ( $71 \%$ ), colleges and universities ( $63 \%$ ) and churches and other religious institutions (61\%).

The public is more divided over the impact of three other institutions - the energy industry ( $48 \%$ positive), labor unions ( $45 \%$ ) and banks and financial institutions (40\%).

And three others are viewed as having decidedly negative influence on the country. Just $33 \%$ say large corporations have a positive impact, $32 \%$ say that about the entertainment industry, and just $25 \%$ say the national news media has a positive effect. Majorities say all three have a negative effect on the way things are going in the U.S.

## Views of how the government, other major institutions affect the country

$\%$ saying each has a__ effect on the way things are going in the country


By comparison, $41 \%$ view the impact of the Obama administration positively and only a quarter (25\%) say the federal government has a positive effect. Just $14 \%$ say Congress has a positive effect on the way things are going in the country, while $75 \%$ say its impact is negative.

In some cases, opinions about national institutions have become more positive since the previous study of attitudes toward
government in March 2010,
conducted when economic
conditions were much worse
than they are today.
The share of Americans who say banks and financial institutions have a positive impact, which stood at $22 \%$ in 2010 (and 2012), has increased to $40 \%$. The percentage saying labor unions have a positive effect on the country has risen 13 points (from $32 \%$ to $45 \%$ ). And small businesses, whose impact was already

Public views impact of banks, labor unions more positively than in 2010
\% saying each has a positive effect on the way things are going in the country

|  | Mar <br> $\mathbf{2 0 1 0}$ | Feb <br> $\mathbf{2 0 1 2}$ <br> $\%$ | $\mathbf{0 c t}$ <br> $\mathbf{2 0 1 5}$ | '10-‘15 <br> change |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\%$ | $\%$ | 40 | +18 |
| Banks \& financial institutions | 22 | 22 | 40 | +13 |
| Labor unions | 32 | 37 | 45 | +11 |
| Small businesses | 71 | 75 | 82 | +8 |
| Large corporations | 25 | 28 | 33 | +3 |
| Tech companies | 68 | 70 | 71 | +2 |
| Colleges \& universities | 61 | 60 | 63 | - |
| Energy industry | - | -- | 48 | -1 |
| Entertainment industry | 33 | 32 | 32 | -2 |
| Churches \& religious orgs. | 63 | 57 | 61 | -2 |
| National news media | 31 | 26 | 25 | -6 |
| Federal government | 25 | 22 | 25 | 0 |
| Obama administration | 45 | -- | 41 | -4 |
| Congress | 24 | 15 | 14 | -10 |
| Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB4. |  |  |  |  |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER |  |  |  |  |

viewed very positively in 2010, is viewed even more positively today ( $82 \%$ positive, up from $71 \%$ ).

Opinions about the impact of other nongovernmental institutions have shown less change. There also has been no change in assessments of the federal government's impact. Meanwhile, views of Congress's effect on the country have become less positive: Just $14 \%$ say it has a positive effect on the country, which is little changed from 2012 ( $15 \%$ ), but down 10 percentage points from 2010 (24\%).

## Partisan differences in views of impact of institutions

Democrats and Democratic leaners are far more likely than Republicans and Republican leaners to say labor unions have a positive impact on the country, and these differences have widened since 2010.

Currently, $59 \%$ of Democrats and just $28 \%$ of Republicans say unions have a positive impact. The share of Democrats who view unions' impact in positive terms has increased 16 percentage points since 2010 (from 43\%). Republicans' views have shown less change ( $22 \%$ then, $28 \%$ now).

As in the past, higher percentages of Democrats (70\%) than Republicans (54\%) say colleges and universities have a positive impact. The partisan differences over the effect of the national news media and the entertainment industry are comparable though majorities in both parties say these institutions have a negative effect on the country.

Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say that churches positively impact the country ( $72 \%$ vs. $54 \%$ ). And while $41 \%$ of Republicans view the impact of large corporations positively, just 27\% of Democrats agree.

Wide partisan gaps over impact of unions, churches, colleges, media
$\%$ saying each has a positive effect on the way things are going in the country

|  | Rep/al <br> Tean <br> Lep <br> Rep <br> $\%$ | Dem/ <br> Lean <br> Dem <br> $\%$ | R-D <br> diff |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Labor unions | 45 | 28 | 59 | -31 |
| Colleges and universities | 63 | 54 | 70 | -16 |
| National news media | 25 | 17 | 33 | -16 |
| Entertainment industry | 32 | 25 | 38 | -13 |
| Technology companies | 71 | 72 | 74 | -2 |
| Small businesses | 82 | 81 | 83 | -2 |
| Banks and other financial inst. | 40 | 40 | 41 | -1 |
| Energy industry | 48 | 52 | 45 | +7 |
| Large corporations | 33 | 41 | 27 | +14 |
| Churches and religious orgs. | 61 | 72 | 54 | +18 |
| Obama administration | 41 | 11 | 71 | -60 |
| Federal government | 25 | 12 | 35 | -23 |
| Congress | 14 | 11 | 18 | -7 |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB4.
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## Ideological divide over impact of churches, colleges

Among ideological groups, the impact of churches and religious organizations is viewed positively, except among liberal Democrats.

Just $41 \%$ of liberal Democrats say churches have a positive effect on the country; that compares with $64 \%$ of moderate and conservative Democrats, $69 \%$ of moderate and liberal Republicans and $75 \%$ of conservative Republicans.

Conservative Republicans are more skeptical of the influence of colleges and universities. Only about half (48\%) say they have a positive impact on the country; majorities in other ideological groups view their impact positively.

Majorities of adults, regardless of partisan and ideological affiliation, say the national news media is having a negative effect on how things are going in the country today. However, conservative Republicans and Republican leaners are particularly critical: 82\% say the national news media has a negative impact, while just

## Large differences between liberal Democrats and conservative Republicans over churches, colleges

\% saying each has a positive/negative effect on the way things are going in the country


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB4.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER $14 \%$ say it has a positive impact.

Republicans are also more critical of the entertainment industry than are Democrats: Majorities of moderate and liberal Republicans and Republican leaners ( $60 \%$ ) and their conservative counterparts (65\%) say that the entertainment industry has a negative effect on the United States. Half of conservative and moderate Democrats and 44\% of the party's liberals view its impact negatively.

Majorities of both conservative and moderate Democrats (59\%) and liberal Democrats (75\%) say large corporations have a negative impact. Among Republicans, $47 \%$ of conservatives and $44 \%$ of moderates and liberals say they affect the country negatively.

Conservative Republicans are the only ideological group in which a majority (63\%) says that labor unions have a negative effect on the country. Moderate and liberal Republicans express more mixed views ( $36 \%$ positive, $45 \%$ negative), while majorities of both Democratic groups say unions have a positive impact.


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB4.
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Democrats are ideologically divided over the impact of the energy industry, as well as of banks and other financial institutions.

## Democrats ideologically divided over impact of the energy industry, banks and financial institutions

\% saying each has a positive/negative effect on the way things are going in the country


While there are partisan and ideological differences in views of the impact of most institutions, there is broad agreement that technology companies and small businesses have a positive effect on the way things are going in the country.

## Feelings toward government and views of impact of institutions

People who say they are "basically content" with the federal government $-18 \%$ of the overall public - have a more positive view of nongovernmental institutions than do those who feel "frustrated" or "angry" with government.

Those who are content with government are mostly made up of Democrats and Democratic leaners. Nonetheless, the "content" group is positive toward nearly all institutions - even some, such as banks and financial organizations - that are viewed negatively by all Democrats.

In contrast, people who are angry at government ( $22 \%$ of the public) are more critical of some institutions than are those who express frustration or are content with government. For instance, just $41 \%$ of the "angry" group - who are largely Republicans and Republican leaners - say that colleges and universities have a positive impact; overall, Republicans (54\%) view their impact positively.

## Feelings about the federal government - and views of other institutions

\% saying each has a positive effect on the way things are going in the country

|  |  | Feeling about fed govt ... |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total <br> Content <br> $\%$ <br> $\%$ | Frustrated <br> Angry |  |  |
| Small businesses | 82 | 82 | 83 | 79 |
| Technology companies | 71 | 86 | 71 | 60 |
| Colleges, universities | 63 | 80 | 66 | 41 |
| Churches, religious orgs. | 61 | 70 | 60 | 57 |
| Energy industry | 48 | 62 | 47 | 40 |
| Labor unions | 45 | 65 | 43 | 31 |
| Banks | 40 | 59 | 37 | 31 |
| Large corporations | 33 | 50 | 28 | 30 |
| Entertainment industry | 32 | 53 | 28 | 23 |
| National news media | 25 | 48 | 22 | 14 |
| Obama administration | 41 | 77 | 40 | 13 |
| Federal government | 25 | 72 | 17 | 5 |
| Congress | 14 | 39 | 9 | 7 |
| Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB4. |  |  |  |  |

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB4.
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This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

## Primary researchers

Carroll Doherty, Director, Political Research<br>Jocelyn Kiley, Associate Director, Political Research<br>Alec Tyson, Senior Researcher

## Research team

Rob Suls, Research Associate Baxter Oliphant, Research Associate Meredith Dost, Research Assistant Samantha Smith, Research Assistant Hannah Fingerhut, Research Assistant Shiva Maniam, Research Assistant Sofi Sinozich, Research Intern

# Editorial and graphic design 

Peter Bell, Information Graphics Designer David Kent, Copy Editor

Communications and web publishing
Dana Page, Senior Communications Manager Bridget Jameson, Communications Associate Ben Wormald, Associate Web Developer

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## Methodology

## Survey conducted August 27-October 4, 2015

Most of the analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted August 27October 4, 2015 among a national sample of 6,004 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia ( 2,113 respondents were interviewed on a landline, and 3,891 were interviewed on a cellphone, including 2,227 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 is now at home. 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://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/

Data collection was divided equally into two phases (A and B) with independent samples, nonoverlapping 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.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the 2013 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status (landline only, cell phone only, or both landline and cell phone), based on extrapolations from the 2014 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. 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.

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 survey:

| Group | Unweighted <br> sample size | Plus or minus ... <br> Total sample <br> 6,004 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Republican/Republican leaners | 2,597 | 1.5 percentage points |
| Conservative | 1,662 | 2.2 percentage points |
| Moderate and liberal | 892 | 2.8 percentage points |
| Democrats/Democratic leaners | 2,664 | 3.8 percentage points |
| Conservative and moderate | 1,474 | 2.2 percentage points |
| Liberal | 1,140 | 2.9 percentage points |

## Survey conducted September 22-27, 2015

Some of the analysis in this report is also based on telephone interviews conducted September 22-27, 2015 among a national sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia ( 525 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 977 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 560 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone 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 is now at home. 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.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the 2013 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status (landline only, cell phone only, or both landline and cell phone), based on extrapolations from the 2014 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. 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.

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 survey:

| Group | Unweighted <br> sample size | Plus or minus ... <br> Total sample <br> 1,502 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Republican/Republican leaners | 665 | 2.9 percentage points |
| Conservative | 406 | 4.4 percentage points |
| Moderate and liberal | 237 | 5.6 percentage points |
| Democrats/Democratic leaners | 673 | 7.3 percentage points |
| Conservative and moderate | 364 | 4.3 percentage points |
| Liberal | 292 | 5.9 percentage points |

## Survey conducted October 16-20, 2015

Additionally, some of the analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted October 16-20, 2015 among a national sample of 1,018 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in the continental United States ( 510 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 508 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 329 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted under the direction of Social Science Research Solutions (SSRS). A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Marketing Systems Group. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender by age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity, marital status and region by gender to parameters from the March 2014 supplement of the U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status (landline only, cell phone only, or both landline and cell phone), based on the 2014 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample, adjusts for the number of landlines and cellphones the respondent answers and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. 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.

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 survey:
\(\left.$$
\begin{array}{lcc}\hline \text { Group } & \begin{array}{c}\text { Unweighted } \\
\text { sample size }\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}\text { Plus or minus ... } \\
\text { Total sample }\end{array}
$$ <br>

Republican/Republican leaners \& 401 \& 3.5 percentage points\end{array}\right]\)| 5.6 percentage points |
| :--- |
| Conservative |
| Moderate and liberal |
| Democrats/Democratic leaners |
| Conservative and moderate |
| Liberal | 132 | 7.1 percentage points |
| :--- |

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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## Appendix A: Why partisans include 'leaners’

Discussions of partisans throughout this report combine both those who identify with a party and those who lean toward one of the two major parties. Though Americans increasingly say they are politically independent, most of those who do not affiliate with a party lean Republican or Democratic. These partisan "leaners" tend to have attitudes and behaviors that are very similar to those of partisans, a dynamic long observed by political scientists and other political observers, as well as in prior Pew Research Center studies (see Appendix B of Pew Research Center's 2014 study of Political Polarization in the American Public for more examples). In many cases, the attitudes of "all independents" can be misleading, since this tends to obscure real partisan differences within the group.

This is the case when it comes to attitudes about the federal government, evaluations of the government's job and views of the role government should play in key areas.

On many evaluations of government, independents who lean to the Democratic Party differ greatly from those who lean to the Republican Party; moreover, leaners have very similar views as partisans of their party.

For example, at least six-inten Democratic identifiers (69\%) and leaners (62\%) say the government should do more to solve problems, compared with no more than a third of Republican leaners (31\%) and identifiers (23\%).

A similar pattern exists when it comes to overall evaluations of government performance: $33 \%$ of Democratic identifiers, along with $26 \%$ of leaners rate the government's job of running its programs as excellent or good, while just one-in-ten Republican leaners (11\%) and identifiers (10\%) say the same.

## On core attitudes about the federal government: leaners' views closely track those of partisans



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q107r, Q1, Q23, Q14, Q15.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

And on evaluations of the performance and role of the federal government in specific areas, the views of leaners closely map those of partisans, and are distinctly different from those who lean toward the other party. For instance, about four-in-ten of both Republican leaners (42\%) and identifiers (39\%) say the government is doing a good job ensuring access to health care; by comparison, $75 \%$ of Democratic identifiers and $72 \%$ of Democratic leaners say this. And while roughly a third of Republicans (32\%) and GOP leaners (36\%) say the government should play a major role in health care, among Democrats (85\%) and Democratic leaners (79\%) those proportions rise to around eight-in-ten.

Though Democratic leaners are somewhat less likely than identifiers to evaluate the government positively when it comes to the economy, the 9-percentage-point difference in these views ( $61 \%$

## Performance and role of federal government: Democratic, Republican leaners more similar to partisans than to each other

\% saying the federal government __ in each area ...
Rep identifiers Rep leaners All independents Dem leaners Dem identifiers


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q70, Q71.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
vs. $72 \%$, respectively) is far more modest than the 27-point difference between Republican leaners and Democratic leaners.

In each of these cases, reporting on a single "independent" category would have provided a contrast with Republicans and Democrats (those data points are plotted in the middle of the above graphics). But, since more than three-quarters of independents lean toward a party (to date in 2015, $37 \%$ lean to the GOP, $41 \%$ lean Democratic and $22 \%$ do not lean to either party), reporting on an independent group that is primarily the combination of these two dramatically different groups would be misleading; these are two groups that have little in common with each other, and far more in common with self-identified partisans.

In some cases throughout this report, those who lean neither to the Republican Party nor to the Democratic Party are discussed when they differ markedly from other groups.

## Appendix B: Topline questionnaire

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2015 GOVERNANCE SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE

Phase A: August 27-September 13, 2015 N=3,004
Phase B: September 16-October 4, 2015 N=3,000
Combined $\mathrm{N}=6,004$

## ASK PHASE A AND PHASE B FORM 1 ONLY [N=2,996]:

Q.1F1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Jul 14-20, 2015
May 12-18, 2015
Mar 25-29, 2015
Feb 18-22, 2015
Jan 7-11, 2015
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)
Nov 6-9, 2014
Oct 15-20, 2014
Sep 2-9, 2014
Aug 20-24, 2014
Jul 8-14, 2014
Apr 23-27, 2014
Feb 12-26, 2014
Jan 15-19, 2014
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013
Oct 9-13, 2013
Jul 17-21, 2013
May 1-5, 2013
Feb 13-18, 2013 (U)
Jan 9-13, 2013
Dec 17-19, 2012
Dec 5-9, 2012
Oct 18-21, 2012
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012
Jun 7-17, 2012
May 9-Jun 3, 2012
Apr 4-15, 2012
Feb 8-12, 2012
Jan 11-16, 2012
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011
Aug 17-21, 2011
Jul 20-24, 2011
Jun 15-19, 2011
May 5-8, 2011
May 2, 2011
Mar 8-14, 2011
Feb 2-7, 2011
Jan 5-9, 2011
Dec 1-5, 2010
Nov 4-7, 2010
Sep 23-26, 2010
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Jun 24-27, 2010
May 13-16, 2010
Apr 21-26, 2010
Apr 1-5, 2010

| Satis- | Dis- | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| fied | satisfied | DK/Ref |
| 27 | 67 | 5 |
| 31 | 64 | 4 |
| 29 | 67 | 4 |
| 31 | 64 | 5 |
| 33 | 62 | 5 |
| 31 | 66 | 4 |
| 26 | 71 | 3 |
| 27 | 68 | 4 |
| 29 | 65 | 6 |
| 25 | 71 | 4 |
| 24 | 72 | 4 |
| 29 | 68 | 4 |
| 29 | 65 | 6 |
| 28 | 66 | 6 |
| 26 | 69 | 5 |
| 21 | 75 | 3 |
| 14 | 81 | 5 |
| 27 | 67 | 6 |
| 30 | 65 | 5 |
| 31 | 64 | 5 |
| 30 | 66 | 4 |
| 25 | 68 | 7 |
| 33 | 62 | 5 |
| 32 | 61 | 8 |
| 31 | 64 | 5 |
| 28 | 68 | 5 |
| 29 | 64 | 7 |
| 24 | 69 | 6 |
| 28 | 66 | 6 |
| 21 | 75 | 4 |
| 17 | 78 | 5 |
| 17 | 79 | 4 |
| 17 | 79 | 4 |
| 23 | 73 | 4 |
| 30 | 62 | 8 |
| 32 | 60 | 8 |
| 22 | 73 | 5 |
| 26 | 68 | 5 |
| 23 | 71 | 6 |
| 21 | 72 | 7 |
| 23 | 69 | 8 |
| 30 | 63 | 7 |
| 25 | 71 | 5 |
| 27 | 64 | 9 |
| 28 | 64 | 7 |
| 29 | 66 | 5 |
| 31 | 63 | 6 |


|  | Satis- <br> fied | Dis- <br> satisfied | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 25 | 69 | 5 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 23 | 71 | 7 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 23 | 71 | 6 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 27 | 69 | 4 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 25 | 67 | 7 |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 25 | 67 | 7 |
| Sep 10-15, 2009 |  | 30 | 64 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| Aug 11-17, 2009 | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| Jul 22-26, 2009 | 28 | 66 | 6 |
| Jun 10-14, 2009 | 30 | 64 | 5 |
| Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 34 | 58 | 8 |
| Apr 14-21, 2009 | 23 | 70 | 7 |
| Jan 7-11, 2009 | 20 | 73 | 7 |
| December, 2008 | 13 | 83 | 4 |
| Early October, 2008 | 11 | 86 | 3 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 25 | 69 | 6 |
| August, 2008 | 21 | 74 | 5 |
| July, 2008 | 19 | 74 | 7 |
| June, 2008 | 19 | 76 | 5 |
| Late May, 2008 | 18 | 76 | 6 |
| March, 2008 | 22 | 72 | 6 |
| Early February, 2008 | 24 | 70 | 6 |
| Late December, 2007 | 27 | 66 | 7 |
| October, 2007 | 28 | 66 | 6 |
| February, 2007 | 30 | 61 | 9 |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 32 | 61 | 7 |
| Early January, 2007 | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| December, 2006 | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 28 | 64 | 8 |
| Early October, 2006 | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| July, 2006 | 30 | 65 | 5 |
| May, 2006* | 29 | 65 | 6 |
| March, 2006 | 32 | 63 | 5 |
| January, 2006 | 34 | 61 | 5 |
| Late November, 2005 | 34 | 59 | 7 |
| Early October, 2005 | 29 | 65 | 6 |
| July, 2005 | 35 | 58 | 7 |
| Late May, 2005* | 39 | 57 | 4 |
| February, 2005 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| January, 2005 | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| December, 2004 | 39 | 54 | 7 |
|  |  |  |  |

[^2]
## Q.1F1 CONTINUED...

|  | Satis- <br> fied | Dis- <br> satisfied | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-October, 2004 | $\frac{36}{}$ | 58 | 6 |
| July, 2004 | 38 | 55 | 7 |
| May, 2004 | 33 | 61 | 6 |
| Late February, 2004* | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | 7 |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | 9 |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | 7 |
| April 8, 2003 | 50 | 41 | 9 |
| January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| November, 2002 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| September, 2002 | 41 | 55 | 4 |
| Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| March, 2002 | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| Late September, 2001 | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| Early September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | 6 |
| June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | 5 |
| March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| January, 2001 | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| October, 2000 (RVs) | 54 | 39 | 7 |
| September, 2000 | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| June, 2000 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| April, 2000 | 48 | 43 | 9 |
| August, 1999 | 56 | 39 | 5 |
| January, 1999 | 53 | 41 | 6 |


|  | Satis- <br> fied | Dis- <br> satisfied | (VOL.) |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| DK/Ref |  |  |  |
| November, 1998 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| Early September, 1998 | 54 | 42 | 4 |
| Late August, 1998 | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| Early August, 1998 | 50 | 44 | 6 |
| February, 1998 | 59 | 37 | 4 |
| January, 1998 | 46 | 50 | 4 |
| September, 1997 | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| August, 1997 | 49 | 46 | 5 |
| January, 1997 | 38 | 58 | 4 |
| July, 1996 | 29 | 67 | 4 |
| March,1996 | 28 | 70 | 2 |
| October,1995 | 23 | 73 | 4 |
| June, 1995 | 25 | 73 | 2 |
| April, 1995 | 23 | 74 | 3 |
| July, 1994 | 24 | 73 | 3 |
| March,1994 | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| October, 1993 | 22 | 73 | 5 |
| September, 1993 | 20 | 75 | 5 |
| May, 1993 | 22 | 71 | 7 |
| January, 1993 | 39 | 50 | 11 |
| January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | 4 |
| November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | 5 |
| Gallup: Late Feb, 1991 | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | 5 |
| January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | 5 |

## ASK PHASE A AND PHASE B FORM 2A ONLY [N=1,521]:

Q.2F2A All in all, are you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your state today?

|  | Satisfied |  | Dissatisfied |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | (VOL.) |
| :---: |
| AK/Ref |

## ASK PHASE A AND PHASE B FORM 2B ONLY [N=1,487]:

Q.3F2B All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your local community today?

|  | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 | 67 | 27 | 5 |
| Feb 12-26, $2014{ }^{5}$ | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 62 | 34 | 4 |

[^3]
## Q.3F2B CONTI NUED...

|  | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gallup: January, $2007{ }^{1}$ | 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 Next, please tell me if you think each of the following is having a POSITIVE or NEGATIVE effect on the way things are going in this country today? First, (is/are) [INSERT ITEM,
RANDOMI ZE] having a positive or negative effect on the way things are going in the country these days? How about [ NEXT ITEM] [I NTERVI EWER: IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: "Overall do you think (it is/they are) having a POSITIVE or NEGATIVE effect on the way things are going in this country today?" IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]?

|  |  | Positive | Negative | (VOL.) <br> Neither/ No Influence/ Mixed | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ASK PHASE B FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,491$ ]: |  |  |  |  |  |
| a.F1 | The federal government |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 25 | 67 | 5 | 3 |
|  | Feb 8-12, 2012 | 22 | 66 | 6 | 6 |
|  | Mar 11-21, 2010 | 25 | 65 | 4 | 5 |
| b.F1 | Large corporations |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 33 | 56 | 7 | 4 |
|  | Feb 8-12, 2012 | 28 | 57 | 7 | 7 |
|  | Mar 11-21, 2010 | 25 | 64 | 4 | 8 |
| c.F1 | The energy industry |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 48 | 41 | 6 | 5 |
| d.F1 | Small businesses |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 82 | 13 | 3 | 2 |
|  | Feb 8-12, 2012 | 75 | 18 | 3 | 5 |
|  | Mar 11-21, 2010 | 71 | 19 | 3 | 7 |
| e.F1 | Labor unions |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 45 | 40 | 7 | 8 |
|  | Feb 8-12, 2012 | 37 | 45 | 5 | 14 |
|  | Mar 11-21, 2010 | 32 | 49 | 4 | 14 |
| f.F1 | Churches and religious organizations |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 61 | 28 | 8 | 3 |
|  | Feb 8-12, 2012 | 57 | 26 | 8 | 9 |
|  | Mar 11-21, 2010 | 63 | 22 | 7 | 8 |
| g.F1 | Colleges and universities |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 63 | 28 | 6 | 3 |
|  | Feb 8-12, 2012 | 60 | 26 | 5 | 8 |
|  | Mar 11-21, 2010 | 61 | 26 | 4 | 9 |

[^4]
## Q.B4 CONTI NUED...

| (1) | Positive | Negative | (VOL.) <br> Neither/ No Influence/ Mixed | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ASK PHASE B FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,509$ ]: |  |  |  |  |
| h.F2 Congress |  |  |  |  |
| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 14 | 75 | 6 | 5 |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 15 | 75 | 4 | 5 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 24 | 65 | 4 | 8 |
| i.F2 $\begin{aligned} & \text { The Obama Administration } \\ & \text { Sep 16-Oct 4, } 2015 \\ & \text { Mar 11-21, } 2010\end{aligned}$ |  |  |  |  |
|  | 41 | 51 | 5 | 2 |
|  | 45 | 45 | 4 | 6 |

## NO ITEM $\mathbf{j}$.

k.F2 The entertainment industry

| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 32 | 56 | 9 | 3 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 32 | 50 | 10 | 7 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 33 | 51 | 8 | 8 |

I.F2 Banks and other financial institutions

Sep 16-Oct 4, 201540
Feb 8-12, 201222
Mar 11-21, 201022

| 47 | 8 | 5 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 68 | 5 | 6 |
| 69 | 4 | 6 |

m.F2 Technology companies

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
Feb 8-12, 2012
Mar 11-21, 2010
71
70

| 17 | 7 | 4 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 18 | 5 | 7 |
| 18 | 4 | 10 |

n.F2 The national news media

| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 25 | 65 | 7 | 3 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 26 | 61 | 7 | 5 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 31 | 57 | 6 | 6 |

## NO QUESTI ONS 5-9

ASK ALL:
Q. 10 Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs [READ]?

|  | the time | the time | and then | at all | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 | 51 | 26 | 14 | 8 | 1 |
| Oct 15-20, 2014 | 50 | 27 | 12 | 10 | 1 |
| Sep 2-9, 2014 | 51 | 25 | 14 | 9 | 1 |
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 48 | 29 | 14 | 9 | * |
| Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 (RVs) | 69 | 21 | 7 | 3 | * |
| Oct 24-28, 2012 | 51 | 27 | 13 | 9 | 1 |
| Oct 4-7, 2012 (RVs) | 65 | 23 | 8 | 4 | * |
| Sep 12-16, 2012 (RVs) | 60 | 26 | 10 | 4 | * |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 47 | 28 | 15 | 8 | 1 |
| Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 50 | 29 | 14 | 6 | 1 |
| Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs) | 56 | 29 | 10 | 5 | * |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 | 49 | 28 | 12 | 10 | 1 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, $2010{ }^{2}$ | 52 | 25 | 13 | 10 | 1 |

[^5]
## Q. 10 CONTI NUED...

January, 2007
November, 2006 (RVs)
Late October, 2006 (RVs)
December, 2005
December, 2004
November, 2004 (RVs)
Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)
June, 2004
August, 2003
November, 2002
August, 2002
March, 2001
Early November, 2000 (RVs)
September, 2000 (RVs)
June, 2000
Late September, 1999
August, 1999
November, 1998
Late October, 1998 (RVs)
Early October, 1998 (RVs)
Early September, 1998
June, 1998
November, 1997
November, 1996 (RVs)
October, 1996 (RVs)
June, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
November, 1994
October, 1994
July, 1994
May, 1990
February, 1989
October, 1988 (RVs)
May, 1988
January, 1988
November, 1987
May, 1987
July, 1985

| Most of the time | Some of the time | Only now and then | Hardly at all | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 53 | 28 | 11 | 7 | 1 |
| 58 | 26 | 10 | 6 | * |
| 57 | 30 | 8 | 5 | * |
| 50 | 28 | 14 | 8 | * |
| 45 | 35 | 14 | 5 | 1 |
| 61 | 27 | 9 | 3 | * |
| 63 | 26 | 8 | 3 | * |
| 44 | 34 | 15 | 7 | * |
| 48 | 33 | 12 | 6 | 1 |
| 49 | 27 | 14 | 9 | 1 |
| 54 | 30 | 11 | 5 | * |
| 49 | 27 | 13 | 10 | 1 |
| 51 | 32 | 12 | 5 | * |
| 51 | 34 | 10 | 4 | 1 |
| 38 | 32 | 19 | 11 | * |
| 39 | 32 | 20 | 9 | * |
| 40 | 35 | 17 | 8 | * |
| 46 | 27 | 14 | 13 | * |
| 57 | 29 | 10 | 4 | * |
| 51 | 33 | 11 | 5 | * |
| 45 | 34 | 15 | 6 | * |
| 36 | 34 | 21 | 9 | * |
| 41 | 36 | 16 | 7 | * |
| 52 | 32 | 12 | 4 | * |
| 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | 1 |
| 41 | 34 | 17 | 8 | * |
| 46 | 35 | 14 | 5 | * |
| 43 | 35 | 16 | 6 | * |
| 49 | 30 | 13 | 7 | 1 |
| 45 | 35 | 14 | 6 | * |
| 46 | 33 | 15 | 6 | * |
| 39 | 34 | 18 | 9 | * |
| 47 | 34 | 14 | 4 | 1 |
| 52 | 33 | 12 | 3 | * |
| 37 | 37 | 17 | 6 | 3 |
| 37 | 35 | 18 | 8 | 2 |
| 49 | 32 | 14 | 4 | 1 |
| 41 | 35 | 15 | 7 | 2 |
| 36 | 33 | 18 | 12 | 1 |

ASK ALL PHASE A:
Q. 11 Thinking about the Democratic and Republican parties, would you say there is a great deal of difference in what they stand for, a fair amount of difference, or hardly any difference at all?

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
Jan 7-11, 2015

| A great <br> deal | A fair <br> amount | Hardly <br> any | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 44 | 32 | 19 | 4 |
| 43 | 31 | 21 | 4 |
| 38 | 30 | 23 | 4 |
| 35 | 41 | 17 | 4 |
| 38 | 30 | 20 | 5 |
| 33 | 42 | 18 | 5 |
| 29 | 49 | 21 | 4 |
| 33 | 46 | 18 | 2 |
| 28 | 45 | 23 | 3 |

combined results are shown above. All surveys prior to Sep 2010 used the longer question wording.

June, 1997
October, 1995
July, 1994
May, 1990
May, 1987

| 25 | 48 | 25 | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 34 | 46 | 18 | 2 |
| 23 | 51 | 24 | 2 |
| 24 | 45 | 27 | 4 |
| 25 | 45 | 25 | 5 |

## ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q. 12 In general, how much trust and confidence do you have in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions? A very great deal, a good deal, not very much, or none at all?

| Aug 27- |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sep 13 |  | Jan | Oct | Gallup |
| $\underline{2015}$ |  | $\underline{2007}$ | $\underline{1997}$ | $\underline{1964}$ |
| 9 | Very great deal | 44 | 11 | 14 |
| 26 | Good deal | 34 | 33 | 63 |
| 49 | Not very much | 8 | 3 | 19 |
| 14 | None at all | 1 | 1 |  |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 1 | 1 | 3 |

## NO QUESTI ON 13

ASK ALL:
Q. 14 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?

| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 | Basically <br> content | Frustrated |  | Angry | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feb 12-26, 2014 | 18 | 57 | 22 | 3 |  |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 17 | 62 | 19 | 2 |  |
| Sep 25-29, 2013 | 12 | 55 | 30 | 3 |  |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 17 | 51 | 26 | 5 |  |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 20 | 58 | 19 | 3 |  |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 17 | 58 | 21 | 3 |  |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 11 | 60 | 26 | 3 |  |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 22 | 59 | 14 | 5 |  |
| Apr 1-5, 2010 | 21 | 52 | 23 | 4 |  |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 23 | 52 | 21 | 4 |  |
| Early January, 2007 | 19 | 56 | 21 | 5 |  |
| Early October, 2006 | 21 | 58 | 16 | 5 |  |
| March, 2004 | 21 | 54 | 20 | 5 |  |
| Mid November, 2001 | 32 | 52 | 13 | 3 |  |
| June, 2000 | 53 | 34 | 8 | 5 |  |
| February, 2000 | 28 | 53 | 13 | 6 |  |
| October, 1997 | 33 | 54 | 10 | 3 |  |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 15 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?

Aug 27- Oct 4, 2015
Feb 12-26, 2014
Oct 9-13, 2013

| Just about <br> always | Most of <br> the time | Only some <br> of the time | (VOL.) <br> Never | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3 | 16 | 67 | 13 | 1 |
| 3 | 21 | 68 | 7 | 1 |
| 3 | 16 | 68 | 12 | 1 |
| 3 | 23 | 67 | 6 | 2 |
| 3 | 17 | 72 | 7 | 2 |
| 4 | 16 | 72 | 8 | 1 |
| 3 | 25 | 65 | 4 | 2 |
| 3 | 21 | 65 | 10 | 1 |

## Q. 15 CONTI NUED...

Apr 1-5, 2010
Mar 11-21, 2010
January, 2007
February, 2006

| Just about <br> always | Most of <br> the time | Only some <br> of the time | (VOL.) <br> Never | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3 | 19 | 61 | 13 | 1 |
| 3 | 28 | 65 | 11 | 2 |
| 4 | 30 | 63 | 5 | 1 |
| 3 | 28 | 59 | 6 | 1 |
| 4 | 32 | 63 | 4 | 2 |
| 5 | 35 | 59 | 4 | 1 |
| 3 | 28 | 56 | 3 | 1 |
| 4 | 27 | 62 | 5 | 2 |
| 4 | 22 | 64 | 4 | 1 |
| 5 | 29 | 61 | 11 | 2 |
| 3 | 36 | 61 | 4 | 1 |
|  |  | 59 | 2 | $*$ |

## NO QUESTI ONS 16-22

## ASK ALL:

Q. 23 All in all, how good a job does the federal government do running its programs? An excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job?

Aug 27-

| Oct 4 |  | Mar 11-21 | Feb | Oct |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{2015}{2}$ | Excellent | $\underline{2010}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\frac{1998}{2}$ |
| 18 | Good | 21 | $\frac{1997}{2}$ |  |
| 44 | Only fair | 46 | 30 | 23 |
| 33 | Poor | 28 | 51 | 53 |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 2 | 16 | 21 |

## ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,505$ ]:

Q.24F1 And which of these statements comes closest to your view [READ; READ CATEGORIES IN REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF THE SAMPLE]?

Aug 27-

| Sep 13 <br> $\underline{2015}$ |  | Mar 11-21 | Oct |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\mathbf{5 9}$ | The federal government needs very major reform | $\underline{2010}$ | $\underline{1997}^{4}$ |
| 36 | The federal government is basically sound and needs only some reform | 42 | 57 |
| 3 | The federal government doesn't need much change at all | 3 | 4 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 2 | 1 |

[^6]
## ASK PHASE A FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=1,499$ ]:

Q.25F2 Some people think of the federal government as a friend or protector. Others see it as a bother, or even an enemy. On a scale of 1 to 10 - where " 1 " means you think the federal government is your enemy and " 10 " means you think the federal government is your friend - where on this scale would you place yourself? Keep in mind you can name ANY number between 1 and 10.

BASED ON REGI STERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N}=1,147$ ]:

| Aug 27- | Knight-Ridder <br> (RVs) |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Sep 13 |  | Jan <br> $\underline{2015}$ <br> 9 |
| 18 | $1-2$ (Enemy) | $\frac{1996}{6}$ |
| 39 | $5-4$ (Neutral) | 12 |
| 26 | $7-8$ | 44 |
| 8 | $9-10$ (Friend) | 30 |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 7 |
|  |  | 1 |
| 5.5 | Mean response | 5.8 |

## NO QUESTI ON 26

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B27 What's your view... Do you think the country is more politically divided these days than in the past, or not?

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
Yes, more politically divided

Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)
79
No, not more
divided
(VOL.)
DK/Ref
17
3
Dec 5-9, 2012
81
15
3
Sep 30-Oct 4, $2009 \quad 64$
Mar 31-Apr 6, $2009 \quad 61 \quad 34$
Jan 7-11, 2009
$\begin{array}{lll}46 & 45 & 9 \\ 66 & 28 & 6\end{array}$
Jan, $2007 \quad 66$
Sep, $2006 \quad 70 \quad 24$
Dec, 200466
26
8

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B28 And thinking about five years from now, do you think the country will be [RANDOMIZE

ITEMS 1 AND 2 WITH ITEM 3 ALWAYS LAST]?

| Sep 16- <br> Oct 4 |  | (U) |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| $\underline{2015}$ |  | Dec 3-7 |
| 36 | More politically divided | $\underline{2014}$ |
| 15 | Less politically divided | 36 |
| 42 | About as politically divided as it is now | 17 |
| 7 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 41 |

NO QUESTI ONS 29-32

## ASK ALL:

Q. 33 Next, would you say your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMI ZE] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [I NTERVI EWERS: PROBE TO DISTI NGUI SH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."] How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: J ust in general, is your overall opinion of [ITEM] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [I NTERVI EWERS: PROBE TO DISTI NGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]
a. The Republican Party Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 Jul 14-20, 2015 J an 7-11, 2015 Dec 3-7, 2014 (U) Oct 14-20, 2014 Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 Dec 3-8, 2013 (U) Oct 9-13, 2013 Jul 17-21, 2013 Jun 12-16, 2013 J an 9-13, 2013
Dec 5-9, 2012
Sep 12-16, 2012 Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012
Mar 7-11, 2012
J an 11-16, 2012
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011
Aug 17-21, 2011
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011
Feb 2-7, 2011
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
July 1-5, 2010
April 1-5, 2010
Mar 18-21, 2010
Feb 3-9, 2010
Aug 20-27, 2009
Aug 11-17, 2009
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009
J an 7-11, 2009
Late October, 2008
Mid-September, 2008
August, 2008
Late May, 2008
July, 2007
Early J anuary, 2007
Late October, 2006
July, 2006
April, 2006
February, 2006
Late October, 2005
July, 2005
June, 2005
December, 2004
June, 2004
Early February, 2004
June, 2003
April, 2003
December, 2002
July, 2001
----- Favorable ----Total Very Mostly

| 37 | 6 | 31 | 58 | 26 | 32 | $*$ | 5 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 32 | 7 | 26 | 60 | 28 | 32 | $*$ | 7 |
| 41 | 9 | 32 | 53 | 24 | 29 | $*$ | 6 |
| 37 | 9 | 28 | 57 | 26 | 32 | $*$ | 6 |
| 38 | 7 | 31 | 54 | 25 | 29 | $*$ | 8 |
| 37 | 7 | 30 | 55 | 24 | 31 | $*$ | 7 |
| 35 | 8 | 27 | 59 | 28 | 31 | 0 | 6 |
| 38 | 5 | 32 | 58 | 26 | 32 | $*$ | 4 |
| 33 | 7 | 25 | 58 | 25 | 34 | $*$ | 9 |
| 40 | 8 | 32 | 55 | 23 | 33 | $*$ | 5 |
| 33 | 6 | 28 | 58 | 27 | 31 | 1 | 8 |
| 36 | 7 | 28 | 59 | 23 | 36 | $*$ | 5 |
| 42 | 12 | 30 | 50 | 25 | 26 | $*$ | 8 |
| 36 | 9 | 27 | 56 | 28 | 28 | $*$ | 8 |
| 36 | 7 | 30 | 56 | 27 | 29 | $*$ | 8 |
| 35 | 7 | 27 | 58 | 28 | 30 | $*$ | 7 |
| 36 | 7 | 29 | 55 | 27 | 28 | $*$ | 9 |
| 34 | 5 | 29 | 59 | 27 | 32 | $*$ | 7 |
| 42 | 9 | 32 | 51 | 22 | 28 | 1 | 7 |
| 43 | 8 | 35 | 48 | 19 | 29 | $*$ | 9 |
| 43 | 8 | 35 | 49 | 21 | 28 | $*$ | 8 |
| 39 | 10 | 29 | 49 | 24 | 25 | $*$ | 12 |
| 37 | 8 | 29 | 53 | 26 | 27 | $*$ | 9 |
| 37 | 5 | 32 | 51 | 20 | 31 | $*$ | 12 |
| 46 | 5 | 41 | 46 | 14 | 32 | 0 | 8 |
| 40 | 6 | 34 | 50 | 19 | 31 | $*$ | 10 |
| 40 | 7 | 33 | 50 | 18 | 32 | $*$ | 10 |
| 40 | 7 | 33 | 51 | 17 | 34 | 0 | 9 |
| 40 | 5 | 35 | 55 | 21 | 34 | $*$ | 5 |
| 40 | 10 | 30 | 50 | 23 | 27 | $*$ | 10 |
| 47 | 11 | 36 | 46 | 22 | 24 | $*$ | 7 |
| 43 | 9 | 34 | 49 | 18 | 31 | 1 | 7 |
| 39 | 7 | 32 | 53 | 20 | 33 | $*$ | 8 |
| 39 | 7 | 32 | 53 | 22 | 31 | 0 | 8 |
| 41 | 9 | 32 | 48 | 21 | 27 | 1 | 10 |
| 41 | 9 | 32 | 50 | 20 | 30 | $*$ | 9 |
| 40 | 10 | 30 | 52 | 23 | 29 | 1 | 7 |
| 40 | 10 | 30 | 50 | 21 | 29 | $*$ | 10 |
| 44 | 11 | 33 | 50 | 24 | 26 | $*$ | 6 |
| 42 | 12 | 30 | 49 | 24 | 25 | $*$ | 9 |
| 48 | 13 | 35 | 43 | 18 | 25 | $*$ | 9 |
| 48 | 11 | 37 | 44 | 20 | 24 | 0 | 8 |
| 52 | 15 | 37 | 42 | 17 | 25 | 0 | 6 |
| 51 | 12 | 39 | 40 | 14 | 26 | 0 | 9 |
| 52 | 14 | 38 | 42 | 16 | 26 | $*$ | 6 |
| 58 | 14 | 44 | 33 | 10 | 23 | 0 | 9 |
| 63 | 14 | 49 | 31 | 10 | 21 | $*$ | 6 |
| 59 | 18 | 41 | 33 | 11 | 22 | $*$ | 8 |
| 48 | 11 | 37 | 42 | 15 | 27 | $*$ | 10 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## Q. 33 CONTI NUED...

J anuary, 2001
September, 2000 (RVs)
August, 1999
February, 1999
J anuary, 1999
Early December, 1998
Early October, 1998 (RVs)
Early September, 1998
March, 1998
August, 1997
June, 1997
J anuary, 1997
October, 1995
December, 1994
July, 1994
May, 1993
July, 1992

| Total | Very | Mostly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 56 | 13 | 43 |
| 53 | 11 | 42 |
| 53 | 8 | 45 |
| 44 | 7 | 37 |
| 44 | 10 | 34 |
| 46 | 11 | 35 |
| 52 | 9 | 43 |
| 56 | 9 | 47 |
| 50 | 10 | 40 |
| 47 | 9 | 38 |
| 51 | 8 | 43 |
| 52 | 8 | 44 |
| 52 | 10 | 42 |
| 67 | 21 | 46 |
| 63 | 12 | 51 |
| 54 | 12 | 42 |
| 46 | 9 | 37 |


| ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total Very | Mostly |  |
|  | 13 | 22 |
| 40 | 12 | 28 |
| 43 | 12 | 31 |
| 51 | 15 | 36 |
| 50 | 23 | 27 |
| 47 | 20 | 27 |
| 42 | 14 | 28 |
| 37 | 11 | 26 |
| 43 | 12 | 31 |
| 47 | 11 | 36 |
| 42 | 11 | 31 |
| 43 | 10 | 33 |
| 44 | 16 | 28 |
| 27 | 8 | 19 |
| 33 | 8 | 25 |
| 35 | 10 | 25 |
| 48 | 17 | 31 |


| (VOL.) <br> Never <br> heard of | (VOL.) <br> Can't rate/ |
| :---: | :---: |
| $*$ | $\frac{\text { Ref }}{}$ |
| 0 | 7 |
| $*$ | 7 |
| 0 | 4 |
| 0 | 6 |
| $*$ | 7 |
| 0 | 6 |
| $*$ | 7 |
| $*$ | 7 |
| $*$ | 6 |
| 1 | 6 |
| $*$ | 5 |
| $*$ | 4 |
| $*$ | 6 |
| $*$ | 4 |
| 0 | 11 |
| $*$ | 6 |

b. The Democratic Party

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Jul 14-20, 2015
J an 7-11, 2015
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)
Oct 15-20, 2014
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)
Oct 9-13, 2013
Jul 17-21, 2013
Jun 12-16, 2013
J an 9-13, 2013
Dec 5-9, 2012
Sep 12-16, 2012
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012
Mar 7-11, 2012
J an 11-16, 2012
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011
Aug 17-21, 2011
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011
Feb 2-7, 2011
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
July 1-5, 2010
April 1-5, 2010
Mar 18-21, 2010
Feb 3-9, 2010
Aug 20-27, 2009
Aug 11-17, 2009
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009
J an 7-11, 2009
Late October, 2008
Mid-September, 2008
August, 2008
Late May, 2008
July, 2007
Early J anuary, 2007
Late October, 2006
July, 2006
April, 2006

| 45 | 10 | 35 | 50 | 24 | 26 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 48 | 12 | 36 | 47 | 22 | 25 |
| 46 | 12 | 34 | 48 | 21 | 28 |
| 41 | 11 | 30 | 54 | 26 | 28 |
| 47 | 11 | 35 | 46 | 21 | 25 |
| 46 | 12 | 34 | 47 | 23 | 24 |
| 47 | 15 | 32 | 48 | 24 | 24 |
| 47 | 9 | 39 | 48 | 22 | 27 |
| 41 | 10 | 31 | 50 | 23 | 28 |
| 51 | 14 | 37 | 45 | 19 | 26 |
| 47 | 13 | 34 | 46 | 18 | 28 |
| 48 | 11 | 37 | 47 | 23 | 25 |
| 53 | 21 | 32 | 40 | 18 | 22 |
| 47 | 14 | 33 | 45 | 21 | 24 |
| 49 | 14 | 36 | 43 | 18 | 25 |
| 43 | 13 | 29 | 51 | 23 | 28 |
| 46 | 13 | 32 | 45 | 19 | 26 |
| 43 | 9 | 34 | 50 | 21 | 29 |
| 48 | 14 | 34 | 45 | 18 | 27 |
| 47 | 13 | 35 | 46 | 17 | 29 |
| 50 | 13 | 36 | 44 | 20 | 24 |
| 44 | 12 | 31 | 45 | 22 | 23 |
| 38 | 9 | 29 | 52 | 27 | 25 |
| 40 | 8 | 32 | 49 | 25 | 24 |
| 48 | 9 | 39 | 44 | 17 | 27 |
| 48 | 11 | 37 | 43 | 19 | 24 |
| 49 | 12 | 37 | 40 | 16 | 25 |
| 59 | 15 | 44 | 34 | 13 | 21 |
| 62 | 19 | 43 | 32 | 12 | 20 |
| 57 | 19 | 38 | 33 | 15 | 18 |
| 55 | 18 | 37 | 39 | 14 | 25 |
| 57 | 16 | 41 | 37 | 13 | 24 |
| 57 | 14 | 43 | 37 | 14 | 23 |
| 51 | 13 | 38 | 41 | 14 | 27 |
| 54 | 15 | 39 | 35 | 12 | 23 |
| 53 | 13 | 40 | 36 | 11 | 25 |
| 47 | 13 | 34 | 44 | 13 | 31 |
| 47 | 12 | 35 | 42 | 14 | 28 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |



## Q. 33 CONTI NUED...

February, 2006
Late October, 2005
July, 2005
June, 2005
December, 2004
June, 2004
Early February, 2004
J une, 2003
April, 2003
December, 2002
July, 2001
J anuary, 2001
September, 2000 (RVs)
August, 1999
February, 1999
J anuary, 1999
Early December, 1998
Early October, 1998 (RVs)
Early September, 1998
March, 1998
August, 1997
June, 1997
J anuary, 1997
October, 1995
December, 1994
July, 1994
May, 1993
July, 1992

| Favorable ----- |  |  | ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  | (VOL.) Never | (VOL.) <br> Can't rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly | heard of | Ref |
| 48 | 14 | 34 | 44 | 17 | 27 | 0 | 8 |
| 49 | 14 | 35 | 41 | 15 | 26 | * | 10 |
| 50 | 15 | 35 | 41 | 14 | 27 | * | 9 |
| 52 | 12 | 40 | 39 | 13 | 26 | * | 9 |
| 53 | 13 | 40 | 41 | 14 | 27 | * | 6 |
| 54 | 12 | 42 | 36 | 11 | 25 | 0 | 10 |
| 58 | 14 | 44 | 37 | 9 | 28 | * | 5 |
| 54 | 11 | 43 | 38 | 10 | 28 | 0 | 8 |
| 57 | 13 | 44 | 36 | 11 | 25 | * | 7 |
| 54 | 15 | 39 | 37 | 10 | 27 | * | 9 |
| 58 | 18 | 40 | 34 | 10 | 24 | * | 8 |
| 60 | 18 | 42 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 1 | 9 |
| 60 | 16 | 44 | 35 | 12 | 23 | * | 5 |
| 59 | 14 | 45 | 37 | 9 | 28 | * | 4 |
| 58 | 11 | 47 | 37 | 11 | 26 | 0 | 5 |
| 55 | 14 | 41 | 38 | 12 | 26 | 0 | 7 |
| 59 | 18 | 41 | 34 | 10 | 24 | 0 | 7 |
| 56 | 11 | 45 | 38 | 9 | 29 | * | 6 |
| 60 | 13 | 47 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | 7 |
| 58 | 15 | 43 | 36 | 10 | 26 | * | 6 |
| 52 | 11 | 41 | 42 | 10 | 32 | 0 | 6 |
| 61 | 10 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | 6 |
| 60 | 13 | 47 | 35 | 7 | 28 | * | 5 |
| 49 | 9 | 40 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 0 | 3 |
| 50 | 13 | 37 | 44 | 13 | 31 | * | 6 |
| 62 | 13 | 49 | 34 | 7 | 27 | * | 4 |
| 57 | 14 | 43 | 34 | 9 | 25 | 0 | 9 |
| 61 | 17 | 44 | 33 | 9 | 24 | * | 6 |

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B34 And is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMI ZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT NAME]? [IF NECESSARY: Just in general, is your overall opinion of [NAME] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [I NTERVI EWERS: PROBE TO DISTI NGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]
a. Barack Obama

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
Mar 25-29, 2015
Dec 3-7, 2014
Jul 8-14, 2014
Jan 15-19, 2014
Oct 9-13, 2013
J an 9-13, 2013
Dec 5-9, 2012
Oct 4-7, 2012
Sep 12-16, 2012
Jul 16-26, 2012
Jun 7-17, 2012
Mar 7-11, 2012
Feb 8-12, 2012
Jan 11-16, 2012
Nov 9-14, 2011
Mar 8-14, 2011

| -------Favorable------- |
| :---: |
| Total $\quad$ Very Mostly Total Vnfavorable------ |

(VOL.) (VOL.)
Total Very Mostly Total Very Mostly
Never Can't rate/

| 49 | 22 | 27 | 49 | 33 | 16 | $*$ | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 51 | 18 | 33 | 46 | 27 | 19 | $*$ | 3 |
| 48 | 19 | 29 | 49 | 28 | 20 | 0 | 3 |
| 50 | 19 | 32 | 48 | 30 | 18 | 0 | 2 |
| 51 | 19 | 32 | 45 | 24 | 22 | $*$ | 4 |
| 47 | 17 | 31 | 50 | 32 | 18 | $*$ | 3 |
| 59 | 28 | 31 | 38 | 20 | 18 | $*$ | 3 |
| 59 | 26 | 33 | 40 | 24 | 16 | $*$ | 2 |
| 50 | 24 | 26 | 45 | 26 | 19 | $*$ | 5 |
| 57 | 27 | 30 | 40 | 23 | 17 | $*$ | 4 |
| 51 | 24 | 26 | 42 | 27 | 15 | 0 | 8 |
| 53 | 20 | 33 | 44 | 22 | 21 | 0 | 4 |
| 56 | 24 | 32 | 41 | 25 | 16 | $*$ | 3 |
| 54 | 22 | 32 | 42 | 26 | 16 | $*$ | 5 |
| 51 | 23 | 28 | 45 | 24 | 21 | 0 | 4 |
| 52 | 21 | 31 | 45 | 24 | 21 | $*$ | 3 |
| 58 | 22 | 36 | 39 | 20 | 19 | $*$ | 3 |

## Q.B34 CONTI NUED...

Dec 2-5, 2010
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Jun 10-13, 2010
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009
Jun 10-14, 2009
Apr 14-21, 2009
Jan 7-11, 2009
Mid-October, 2008
Late September, 2008
Mid-September, 2008
Late May, 2008
April, 2008
March, 2008
Late February, 2008
Early February, 2008
January, 2008
Late December, 2007
August, 2007
b. Donald Trump

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
c. Hillary Clinton

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015

$$
3
$$

May 12-18, 2015
Jul 7-Aug 4, 2014 (ATP)
Oct 9-13, 2013
Dec 5-9, 2012
Jun 7-17, 2012
J an 11-16, 2012
Dec 2-5, 2010
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009
Late May, 2008
April, 2008
March, 2008
Late February, 2008
Early February, 2008
January, 2008
Late December, 2007
August, 2007
December, 2006
April, 2006
Late October, 2005
Late March, 2005
December, 2002
July, 2001
January, 2001
May, 2000
Early December, 1998
Early October, 1998 (RVs)
Early September, 1998
Late August, 1998
March, 1998
January, 1997
June, 1996
April, 1996
February, 1996

| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 54 | 26 | 29 | 43 | 25 | 18 |
| 53 | 21 | 32 | 43 | 23 | 20 |
| 56 | 27 | 30 | 39 | 20 | 19 |
| 65 | 33 | 32 | 30 | 16 | 14 |
| 72 | 37 | 35 | 25 | 11 | 14 |
| 73 | 38 | 35 | 24 | 10 | 14 |
| 79 | 40 | 39 | 15 | 4 | 11 |
| 66 | 33 | 33 | 28 | 13 | 15 |
| 65 | 33 | 32 | 30 | 11 | 19 |
| 62 | 28 | 34 | 34 | 15 | 19 |
| 51 | 23 | 28 | 40 | 21 | 19 |
| 52 | 21 | 31 | 42 | 21 | 21 |
| 56 | 21 | 35 | 34 | 18 | 16 |
| 57 | 24 | 33 | 34 | 16 | 18 |
| 58 | 19 | 39 | 30 | 13 | 17 |
| 56 | 20 | 36 | 33 | 13 | 20 |
| 54 | 16 | 38 | 30 | 12 | 18 |
| 48 | 14 | 34 | 26 | 10 | 16 |
| 32 | 11 | 21 | 64 | 42 | 22 |
| 43 | 14 | 29 | 53 | 34 | 19 |
| 49 | 21 | 29 | 47 | 29 | 18 |
| 58 | 22 | 36 | 41 | 19 | 22 |
| 56 | 23 | 32 | 39 | 19 | 20 |
| 65 | 30 | 35 | 29 | 15 | 15 |
| 63 | 24 | 39 | 28 | 11 | 17 |
| 62 | 26 | 36 | 31 | 16 | 15 |
| 59 | 24 | 35 | 34 | 15 | 20 |
| 66 | 26 | 40 | 28 | 11 | 17 |
| 48 | 17 | 31 | 44 | 22 | 22 |
| 49 | 16 | 33 | 47 | 23 | 24 |
| 50 | 16 | 34 | 44 | 23 | 21 |
| 51 | 19 | 32 | 44 | 23 | 21 |
| 52 | 20 | 32 | 42 | 24 | 18 |
| 52 | 20 | 32 | 44 | 25 | 19 |
| 50 | 21 | 29 | 44 | 26 | 18 |
| 55 | 21 | 34 | 39 | 21 | 18 |
| 56 | 22 | 34 | 39 | 21 | 18 |
| 54 | 20 | 34 | 42 | 21 | 21 |
| 56 | 20 | 36 | 38 | 19 | 19 |
| 57 | 22 | 35 | 36 | 17 | 19 |
| 47 | 15 | 32 | 44 | 23 | 21 |
| 53 | 20 | 33 | 42 | 23 | 19 |
| 60 | 25 | 35 | 35 | 16 | 19 |
| 49 | 15 | 34 | 42 | 22 | 20 |
| 66 | 32 | 34 | 31 | 15 | 16 |
| 58 | 24 | 34 | 36 | 18 | 18 |
| 64 | 24 | 40 | 31 | 13 | 18 |
| 63 | 25 | 38 | 34 | 13 | 21 |
| 65 | 26 | 39 | 31 | 14 | 17 |
| 57 | 17 | 40 | 40 | 17 | 23 |
| 53 | 13 | 40 | 43 | 17 | 26 |
| 49 | 12 | 37 | 46 | 19 | 27 |
| 42 | 14 | 28 | 54 | 27 | 27 |

(VOL.) (VOL.)
Never Can't rate/ $\frac{\text { heard of }}{*} \quad \frac{\text { Ref }}{2}$

| * | $\frac{\text { Ref }}{2}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| * | 5 |
| 0 | 4 |
| * | 5 |
| * | 3 |
| * | 3 |
| 0 | 6 |
| * | 6 |
| * | 5 |
| * | 4 |
| * | 9 |
| * | 6 |
| 1 | 9 |
| 1 | 8 |
| 2 | 10 |
| 3 | 8 |
| 5 | 11 |
| 13 | 13 |

1

$$
4
$$


Q.B34 CONTI NUED...
anuary, 1996
October, 1995
August, 1995
December, 1994
July, 1994
May, 1993
--------Favorable-------

| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 42 | 10 | 32 | 54 | 26 | 28 |
| 58 | 14 | 44 | 38 | 14 | 24 |
| 49 | 16 | 33 | 47 | 22 | 25 |
| 50 | 17 | 33 | 45 | 20 | 25 |
| 57 | 19 | 38 | 40 | 18 | 22 |
| 60 | 19 | 41 | 29 | 11 | 18 |

(VOL.) (VOL.) Never Can't rate/ heard of Ref

| $\frac{\text { heard of }}{0}$ | $\frac{\text { Ref }}{4}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| -- | 4 |
| * | 4 |
| 1 | 4 |
| 1 | 2 |
| 1 | 10 |

d. Jeb Bush

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
May 12-18, 2015

| 34 | 7 | 27 | 54 | 23 | 32 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 34 | 7 | 27 | 51 | 24 | 27 |


| 3 | 8 |
| :--- | :--- |
| 8 | 7 |

e. Ted Cruz

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
May 12-18, 2015
Oct 9-13, 2013
Rep/Lean only:
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { Jul 17-21, } 2013 & 33 & 9 & 24 & 14 & 2 & 11 & 34 & 19\end{array}$

## NO ITEM f

ASK PHASE B FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,491$ ]:
g.F1 Marco Rubio

| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 35 | 8 | 27 | 35 | 14 | 21 | 17 | 13 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | ---: |
| May 12-18, 2015 | 31 | 9 | 22 | 35 | 15 | 20 | 21 | 14 |
| Feb 14-17, 2013 | 26 | 10 | 16 | 29 | 15 | 14 | 31 | 15 |
| Rep/Lean only: |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## ASK PHASE B FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,511$ ]:

i.F2 Joe Biden

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
May 12-18, 2015
Oct 9-13, 2013
J an 9-13, 2013
Oct 24-28, 2012
Oct 4-7, 2012
Sep 12-16, 2012
Jun 7-17, 2012
Jan 11-16, 2012
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009
Mid-Apr 2009
Jan 2009
Mid-October, 2008
Early Oct, 2008 (callback)
Late September, 2008
Mid-September, 2008
April, 2006
Late October, 2005
September, 1987

| 45 | 14 | 31 | 42 | 19 | 23 | 4 | 9 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 39 | 8 | 31 | 48 | 23 | 24 | 6 | 7 |
| 46 | 9 | 37 | 41 | 17 | 23 | 3 | 10 |
| 42 | 14 | 28 | 42 | 20 | 21 | 8 | 8 |
| 44 | 17 | 27 | 42 | 26 | 16 | 5 | 10 |
| 38 | 13 | 24 | 46 | 26 | 21 | 5 | 11 |
| 41 | 15 | 26 | 43 | 22 | 21 | 4 | 11 |
| 40 | 10 | 30 | 37 | 18 | 19 | 6 | 17 |
| 38 | 10 | 28 | 41 | 18 | 22 | 9 | 12 |
| 50 | 13 | 36 | 29 | 13 | 16 | 8 | 13 |
| 51 | 14 | 37 | 28 | 10 | 18 | 8 | 13 |
| 63 | 22 | 41 | 20 | 7 | 13 | 6 | 11 |
| 55 | 20 | 34 | 35 | 10 | 19 | 6 | 10 |
| 61 | 20 | 41 | 30 | 10 | 20 | 1 | 8 |
| 49 | 15 | 34 | 30 | 10 | 20 | 8 | 13 |
| 48 | 14 | 34 | 30 | 11 | 19 | 8 | 14 |
| 28 | 7 | 21 | 20 | 5 | 15 | 38 | 14 |
| 21 | 4 | 17 | 20 | 6 | 14 | 43 | 16 |
| 22 | 4 | 18 | 15 | 4 | 11 | 25 | 38 |

## Q.B34 CONTI NUED...



## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Thinking about the nation's economy...
Q.B35 How would you rate economic conditions in this country today... as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
May 12-18, 2015
Feb 18-22, 2015
J an 7-11, 2015
Oct 15-20, 2014
Aug 20-24, 2014
Jul 8-14, 2014
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)
Jan 15-19, 2014 (U)
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)
Oct 9-13, 2013
Sep 4-8, 2013
Jul 17-21, 2013
Jun 12-16, 2013
Mar 13-17, 2013
J an 9-13, 2013
Dec 5-9, 2012
Oct 24-28, 2012
Sep 12-16, 2012
Jun 7-17, 2012
Mar 7-11, 2012
Feb 8-12, 2012
Jan 11-16, 2012
Dec 7-11, 2011
Aug 17-21, 2011
Jun 15-19, 2011
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011
Feb 2-7, 2011
Dec 1-5, 2010
Oct 13-18, 2010
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Jun 3-6, 2010
Apr 21-26, 2010
Mar 10-14, 2010
Feb 3-9, 2010

| Excellent | Good | Only fair | Poor | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 3 | 21 | 43 | 33 | * |
| 3 | 24 | 43 | 30 | * |
| 2 | 23 | 43 | 31 | * |
| 4 | 23 | 48 | 24 | * |
| 2 | 19 | 45 | 33 | 1 |
| 1 | 19 | 48 | 31 | 1 |
| 2 | 17 | 46 | 35 | * |
| 2 | 15 | 43 | 40 | 1 |
| 1 | 15 | 45 | 39 | 1 |
| 1 | 14 | 48 | 36 | 1 |
| 1 | 12 | 39 | 48 | * |
| 2 | 17 | 48 | 32 | * |
| 2 | 15 | 45 | 37 | 1 |
| 2 | 21 | 47 | 29 | * |
| 1 | 15 | 43 | 40 | 1 |
| 2 | 11 | 38 | 49 | 1 |
| 1 | 14 | 50 | 35 | 1 |
| 1 | 12 | 42 | 44 | 1 |
| 1 | 12 | 43 | 44 | 1 |
| 1 | 9 | 47 | 42 | 1 |
| 1 | 9 | 38 | 51 | 1 |
| 1 | 10 | 46 | 43 | 1 |
| 2 | 9 | 42 | 47 | 1 |
| * | 8 | 38 | 53 | 1 |
| 1 | 6 | 37 | 56 | 1 |
| * | 8 | 45 | 46 | 1 |
| 1 | 7 | 38 | 53 | 1 |
| 1 | 11 | 45 | 42 | 1 |
| 1 | 8 | 44 | 45 | 1 |
| 1 | 7 | 38 | 54 | 1 |
| 1 | 7 | 43 | 48 | 1 |
| 1 | 8 | 48 | 43 | 1 |
| * | 11 | 39 | 49 | 1 |
| 1 | 6 | 39 | 53 | 1 |
| 1 | 7 | 38 | 53 | 1 |
| 1 | 7 | 41 | 50 | 1 |
| * | 8 | 41 | 50 | 1 |
| 1 | 8 | 43 | 48 | 1 |
| * | 8 | 38 | 52 | 2 |
| 1 | 8 | 39 | 52 | 1 |
| * | 6 | 25 | 68 | 1 |
| * | 4 | 24 | 71 | 1 |
| * | 7 | 33 | 59 | 1 |
| 1 | 6 | 28 | 64 | 1 |
| * | 7 | 25 | 67 | 1 |
| 1 | 8 | 32 | 58 | 1 |
| * | 7 | 27 | 65 | 1 |

Q.B35 CONTI NUED...

July, 2008
April, 2008
March, 2008
Early February, 2008
J anuary, 2008
November, 2007
September, 2007
June, 2007
February, 2007
December, 2006
Early November, 2006 (RVs)
Late October, 2006
September, 2006
March, 2006
J anuary, 2006
Early October, 2005
Mid-September, 2005
Mid-May, 2005
January, 2005
December, 2004
Early November, 2004 (RVs)
Mid-September, 2004
August, 2004
Late April, 2004
Late February, $2004{ }^{5}$

| Excellent | Good |  | fair | Only <br> Poor | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 9 |  | 39 | 50 | 1 |
| 1 | 10 | 33 | 56 | $*$ |  |
| 1 | 10 |  | 32 | 56 | 1 |
| 1 | 16 |  | 36 | 45 | 2 |
| 3 | 23 | 45 | 28 | 1 |  |
| 3 | 20 | 44 | 32 | 1 |  |
| 3 | 23 | 43 | 29 | 2 |  |
| 6 | 27 | 40 | 25 | 2 |  |
| 5 | 26 | 45 | 23 | 1 |  |
| 6 | 32 | 41 | 19 | 2 |  |
| 9 | 35 | 37 | 17 | 2 |  |
| 6 | 27 | 40 | 25 | 2 |  |
| 5 | 32 | 41 | 20 | 2 |  |
| 4 | 29 | 44 | 22 | 1 |  |
| 4 | 30 | 45 | 19 | 2 |  |
| 2 | 23 | 45 | 29 | 1 |  |
| 3 | 28 | 44 | 24 | 1 |  |
| 3 | 29 | 47 | 20 | 1 |  |
| 3 | 36 | 45 | 15 | 1 |  |
| 3 | 33 | 43 | 20 | 1 |  |
| 5 | 31 | 37 | 26 | 1 |  |
| 4 | 34 | 40 | 20 | 2 |  |
| 3 | 30 | 45 | 21 | 1 |  |
| 4 | 34 | 38 | 22 | 2 |  |
| 2 | 29 | 42 | 26 | 1 |  |

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B36 A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
May 12-18, 2015
Feb 18-22, 2015
Jan 7-11, 2015
Oct 15-20, 2014
Aug 20-24, 2014
Jul 8-14, 2014
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)
Jan 15-19, 2014 (U)
Oct 9-13, 2013
Sep 4-8, 2013
Jun 12-16, 2013
Mar 13-17, 2013
Jan 9-13, 2013
Dec 5-9, 2012
Sep 12-16, 2012
J un 7-17, 2012
Mar 7-11, 2012
Feb 8-12, 2012
J an 11-16, 2012
Dec 7-11, 2011
Aug 17-21, 2011
Jun 15-19, 2011
Oct 13-18, 2010

| Better | Worse | Same | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 23 | 21 | 53 | 3 |
| 25 | 20 | 53 | 2 |
| 27 | 20 | 52 | 1 |
| 31 | 17 | 51 | 1 |
| 27 | 21 | 50 | 3 |
| 22 | 22 | 54 | 2 |
| 26 | 22 | 51 | 1 |
| 25 | 24 | 49 | 2 |
| 27 | 22 | 50 | 1 |
| 25 | 28 | 44 | 3 |
| 28 | 25 | 46 | 1 |
| 33 | 19 | 47 | 1 |
| 25 | 32 | 41 | 1 |
| 33 | 25 | 40 | 2 |
| 37 | 25 | 36 | 2 |
| 43 | 8 | 42 | 8 |
| 34 | 11 | 50 | 5 |
| 44 | 14 | 38 | 4 |
| 44 | 10 | 42 | 3 |
| 34 | 16 | 46 | 3 |
| 28 | 18 | 50 | 4 |
| 29 | 18 | 50 | 2 |
| 29 | 23 | 46 | 2 |
| 35 | 16 | 45 | 4 |

[^7]
## Q.B36 CONTI NUED...

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Apr 21-26, 2010 | 42 | 19 | 36 | 3 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 42 | 16 | 40 | 3 |
| Dec 9-13, 2009 | 42 | 17 | 38 | 3 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 39 | 19 | 39 | 2 |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 45 | 15 | 38 | 3 |
| Aug 11-17, 2009 | 45 | 19 | 33 | 3 |
| Jun 10-14, 2009 | 48 | 16 | 34 | 2 |
| Mar 9-12, 2009 | 41 | 19 | 37 | 3 |
| Feb 4-8, 2009 | 40 | 18 | 38 | 4 |
| December, 2008 | 43 | 17 | 36 | 4 |
| Early October, 2008 | 46 | 16 | 30 | 8 |
| July, 2008 | 30 | 21 | 41 | 8 |
| March, 2008 | 33 | 22 | 39 | 6 |
| January, 2008 | 20 | 26 | 48 | 6 |
| September, 2007 | 19 | 23 | 53 | 5 |
| June, 2007 | 16 | 24 | 55 | 5 |
| February, 2007 | 17 | 20 | 58 | 5 |
| December, 2006 | 22 | 18 | 56 | 4 |
| September, 2006 | 16 | 25 | 55 | 4 |
| J anuary, 2006 | 20 | 22 | 55 | 3 |
| Early October, 2005 | 20 | 32 | 45 | 3 |
| Mid-September, 2005 | 18 | 37 | 43 | 2 |
| Mid-May, 2005 | 18 | 24 | 55 | 3 |
| J anuary, 2005 | 27 | 18 | 52 | 3 |
| August, 2004 | 36 | 9 | 47 | 8 |
| Late February, 2004 | 39 | 12 | 41 | 8 |
| September, 2003 | 37 | 17 | 43 | 3 |
| May, 2003 | 43 | 19 | 35 | 3 |
| Late March, 2003 | 33 | 23 | 37 | 7 |
| J anuary, 2003 | 30 | 20 | 44 | 6 |
| J anuary, 2002 | 44 | 17 | 36 | 3 |
| Newsweek: J anuary, 2001 | 18 | 33 | 44 | 5 |
| June, 2000 | 15 | 24 | 55 | 6 |
| Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 16 | 22 | 57 | 5 |
| Early September, 1998 | 18 | 17 | 61 | 4 |
| May, 1990 | 18 | 31 | 45 | 6 |
| February, 1989 | 25 | 22 | 49 | 4 |
| September, 1988 (RVs) | 24 | 16 | 51 | 9 |
| May, 1988 | 24 | 20 | 46 | 10 |
| J anuary, 1988 | 22 | 26 | 45 | 7 |
| Newsweek: January, 1984 (RVs) | 35 | 13 | 49 | 3 |

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B37 Which of the following national economic issues worries you most? [READ AND RANDOMI ZE]

|  | The job situation | Rising prices | The federal budget deficit | The condition of the financial and housing markets | (VOL.) Other | (VOL.) <br> None/not worried about any | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 31 | 20 | 31 | 13 | 3 | , | 1 |
| Oct 15-20, 2014 | 37 | 22 | 25 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Sep 4-8, 2013 | 40 | 22 | 24 | 10 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 40 | 22 | 25 | 10 | 2 | * | 1 |
| Sep 12-16, 2012 | 40 | 19 | 27 | 10 | 2 |  | 1 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 39 | 22 | 24 | 11 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Nov 9-14, 2011 | 47 | 13 | 22 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Sep 1-4, 2011 | 43 | 17 | 22 | 11 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Jul 20-24, 2011 | 39 | 15 | 29 | 11 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| May 25-30, 2011 | 38 | 20 | 28 | 10 | 2 | * | 2 |
| Mar 8-14, 2011 | 34 | 28 | 24 | 10 | 3 | * | 1 |
| Feb 2-7, 2011 | 44 | 23 | 19 | 10 | 1 |  | 3 |
| Dec 1-5, 2010 | 47 | 15 | 19 | 14 | 1 | 1 | 3 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 49 | 15 | 19 | 12 | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| Jun 3-6, 2010 | 41 | 16 | 23 | 13 | 3 | 1 | 2 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 45 | 17 | 22 | 11 | 2 | * | 2 |

ASK ALL PHASE B:
Just as far as you know...
Q.B38 Which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives [READ AND

RANDOMIZE]? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTI ON: DO NOT PROBE, PUNCH 9 IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW]

Correct answers in bold.

|  | The Republican <br> Party | The Democratic <br> Party | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | $\mathbf{6 8}$ | 23 | 10 |
| Oct 20-14, 2014 | $\mathbf{5 3}$ | 31 | 16 |
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | $\mathbf{5 8}$ | 30 | 12 |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 | $\mathbf{5 4}$ | 22 | 24 |
| Jun 8-28, 2010 | 12 | $\mathbf{7 0}$ | 19 |
| Oct 1-4, 2009 | 13 | $\mathbf{7 5}$ | 12 |
| Jun 18-21, 2009 | 12 | $\mathbf{7 6}$ | 12 |
| Mar 26-29, 2009 | 12 | $\mathbf{8 6}$ | 2 |
| Dec 4-7, 2008 | 11 | $\mathbf{8 2}$ | 7 |
| Feb 28-Mar 2, 2008 | 26 | $\mathbf{7 0}$ | 4 |
| Aug 16-19, 2007 | 19 | $\mathbf{7 8}$ | 3 |
| February, 2007 | 10 | $\mathbf{7 6}$ | 14 |
| TREND FOR COMPARI SON ${ }^{7}:$ |  |  |  |
| May, 2008 | 15 | $\mathbf{5 3}$ | 32 |
| Late October, 2006 | $\mathbf{5 8}$ | 4 | 38 |
| April, 2006 | $\mathbf{6 4}$ | 6 | 30 |
| April, 2004 | $\mathbf{5 6}$ | 8 | 36 |

[^8]161
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

| Q.B38 CONTI NUED... | The Republican <br> Party | The Democratic <br> Party | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| June, 2001 | $\mathbf{3 1}$ | 34 | 35 |
| August, 1999 | $\mathbf{5 5}$ | 8 | 37 |
| December, 1998 | $\mathbf{5 6}$ | 11 | 33 |
| June, 1997 | $\mathbf{5 0}$ | 6 | 44 |
| April, 1996 | $\mathbf{7 0}$ | 8 | 22 |
| June, 1995 | $\mathbf{7 3}$ | 5 | 22 |
| July, 1994 | 18 | $\mathbf{6 0}$ | 22 |
| February, 1994 | 42 | $\mathbf{5 8}$ | n/a |
| September, 1992 | 9 | $\mathbf{4 6}$ | 45 |
| June, 1992 | 12 | $\mathbf{4 4}$ | 44 |
| May, 1992 | 12 | $\mathbf{4 9}$ | 39 |
| May, 1989 | 16 | $\mathbf{6 8}$ | 16 |

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B39 Which political party, has a majority in the U.S. Senate [READ AND RANDOMI ZE]? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: DO NOT PROBE, PUNCH 9 IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW]

Correct answers in bold.

| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | $\mathbf{5 7}$ | $\mathbf{2 9}$ | 14 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Oct 15-20, 2014 | 28 | $\mathbf{5 1}$ | 20 |
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 30 | $\mathbf{5 4}$ | 16 |
| TREND FOR COMPARI SON |  |  |  |
| J une, 2003 |  |  |  |
| June, 2001 | $\mathbf{6 3}$ | 10 | 27 |
| September, 1992 | 12 | $\mathbf{5 6}$ | 32 |
| June, 1992 | 10 | $\mathbf{5 7}$ | 33 |
| May, 1992 | 17 | $\mathbf{5 2}$ | 31 |

NO QUESTI ONS 40-41

[^9]
## ASK ALL:

Q. 42 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 RANDOMI ZE PAI RS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]. Next, [NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]
a.

Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014
Dec 3-8, 2013
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)
December, 2008
October, 2008
September, 2005
December, 2004
June, 2003
September, 2000
August, 1999
June, 1997
October, 1996
April, 1995
October, 1994
July, 1994
b.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014
Feb 8-12, 2012 ${ }^{9}$
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
July, 1994

Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest

## 45

47
40
47
47
50
41
49

## 54

50
48
45
45
43
38
41

Government often does a
better job than people give it credit for 39

## 40 <br> 40 39

39
39
35
40
35
39
45
46
40
43
36

36
39
34
32

31
 more harm than good
50

47
52
45
43
38
$50 \quad 9$
$41 \quad 10$
$36 \quad 10$
$41 \quad 9$
$44 \quad 8$
$46 \quad 9$
$50 \quad 5$
$51 \quad 6$
$55 \quad 7$
$54 \quad 5$

[^10]
## Q. 42 CONTI NUED...

c.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014
Dec 3-8, 2013
May 1-5, 2013
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011
January, 2008
December, 2005
September, 2005
December, 2004
June, 2003
August, 1999
June, 1997
October, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
October, 1994
July, 1994
d.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
J an 23-Mar 16, 2014
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011
December, 2008
October, 2008
April, 2007
December, 2004
August, 1999
October, 1996
April, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
October, 1994
July, 1994
NO ITEM e
f.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014
Jan 4-8, 2012
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009
September, 2005

Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in

## return <br> 42

44
43
45
41
34
35
38
34
34
45
45
46
54
52
48
53
The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt
46
43
41
55
51
63
57

## 57

46
49
47
46
50
48

Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live $\frac{\text { decently }}{48}$

47
43
44
47
52
51
51
52
55
42
42
40
36
39
41
39

The government today
can't afford to do much more to help the needy

47
51
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/ DK/Ref

7
6
8
$35 \quad 10$
$37 \quad 12$
$28 \quad 9$
$33 \quad 10$
$35 \quad 8$
$44 \quad 10$
$44 \quad 7$
$47 \quad 6$
$47 \quad 7$
$43 \quad 7$
$47 \quad 5$

|  | Racial discrimination is the <br> main reason why many <br> black people can't get <br> ahead these days | Blacks who can't get <br> ahead in this country are <br> mostly responsible for <br> their own condition | (VOL.) <br> Both/Neither/ <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| f. | 30 | 58 | 12 |
|  | 27 | 63 | 10 |
| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 21 | 60 | 19 |
| Jan 4-8, 2012 | 26 | 60 | 14 |
| Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 18 | 67 | 15 |
| Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 | 26 | 59 | 15 |
| September, 2005 |  |  |  |

## Q. 42 CONTI NUED...

December, 2004
June, 2003
September, 2000
August, 1999
October, 1997
June, 1997
October, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
October, 1994
July, 1994
g.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
May 12-18, 2015
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014
Dec 3-8, 2013
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013
Mar 13-17, 2013
Jan 4-8, 2012
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010
Jun 16-20, 2010
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009
October, 2006
March, 2006
December, 2005
December, 2004
June, 2003
September, 2000
August, 1999
October, 1997
June, 1997
April, 1997
June, 1996
July, 1994
h.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Jul 14-20, 2015
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014
Dec 3-8, 2013
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011
October, 2006
Racial discrimination is the
main reason why many
black people can't get
ahead these days
27
24
31
28
25
33
28
37
34
34
32

Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents

53
51
57
53
49
49
48
45
44
42
39
46
41
41
45
45
46
50
46
41
41
38
37
31
The best way to ensure
peace is through military strength

36
30
30
31
31
28

Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition 60
64

## 54

59
61
54
58
53
56
54
59
Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health

| $\frac{\text { care }}{38}$ | Both/Neith <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: |
| 41 | 10 |
| 35 | 8 |
| 35 | 8 |
| 40 |  |

(VOL.)
Both/Neither/
DK/Ref
13
12
15
13
14
13
14
10
10
12
9
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/
DK/Ref
10
8
11

11
10
15
12
14
13
11
14
18
7
11
11
10
12
10
11
11
10
9
6
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/
DK/Ref
9
12
Good diplomacy is the
best way to ensure peace

## 56

58
62
8
$57 \quad 12$
$58 \quad 11$
$57 \quad 15$

## Q. 42 CONTI NUED...

December, 2004
August, 1999
October, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
October, 1994
July, 1994
i.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
J an 23-Mar 16, 2014
Mar 13-17, 2013
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)
December, 2008
October, 2008
December, 2005
December, 2004
June, 2003
July, 2002
February, 2002
September, 2000
August, 1999
June, 1997
October, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
October, 1994
July, 1994

## ASK ALL PHASE A:

j.

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
Feb 12-26, 2014
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011
December, 2004
September, 2000
August, 1999
October, 1996
April, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
October, 1994
July, 1994

| The best way to ensure peace is through military strength | Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace | (VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 30 | 55 | 15 |
| 33 | 55 | 12 |
| 36 | 53 | 11 |
| 36 | 59 | 5 |
| 35 | 58 | 7 |
| 40 | 52 | 8 |
| 36 | 58 | 6 |
| Business corporations make too much profit | Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit | (VOL.) <br> Both/Neither/ DK/Ref |
| 57 | 38 | 5 |
| 56 | 39 | 4 |
| 53 | 41 | 6 |
| 54 | 39 | 7 |
| 54 | 39 | 6 |
| 58 | 35 | 7 |
| 59 | 33 | 8 |
| 61 | 33 | 6 |
| 53 | 39 | 8 |
| 51 | 42 | 7 |
| 58 | 33 | 9 |
| 54 | 39 | 7 |
| 54 | 38 | 8 |
| 52 | 42 | 6 |
| 51 | 43 | 6 |
| 51 | 42 | 7 |
| 53 | 43 | 4 |
| 51 | 44 | 5 |
| 50 | 44 | 6 |
| 52 | 43 | 5 |

Elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly
77
79
72
66
66
68
69
72
73
76
74
71

Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters back home

19
17
22
26
27
26
25
23
24
21
22
25
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/ DK/Ref

4
4
5
8
7
6

6
5
3
3

4
4

## NO ITEM k

## Q. 42 CONTI NUED...

## ASK ALL:

I.
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Knight-Ridder: J anuary,
$1996^{10}$ (RVs)

| Ordinary citizens can do a |
| :---: |
| lot to influence the |
| government in |
| Washington if they are |
| willing to make the effort |

50
58

| There's not much ordinary <br> citizens can do to <br> influence the government <br> in Washington | (VOL.) <br> Both/Neither/ <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: |
| 47 | 3 |
| 41 | 1 |

(VOL.)
m.

|  | accepted by society |
| :--- | :---: |
| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 | 60 |
| May 12-18, 2015 | 63 |
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 62 |
| May 1-5, 2013 | 60 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 57 |
| Jan 4-8, 2012 | 56 |
| Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011 | 58 |
| October, 2006 |  |
| December, 2004 | 51 |
| June, 2003 | 49 |
| September, 2000 | 47 |
| August, 1999 | 50 |
| October, 1997 | 49 |
| June, 1997 | 46 |
| October, 1996 | 45 |
| April, 1996 | 44 |
| October, 1995 | 44 |
| April, 1995 | 45 |
| October, 1994 | 47 |
| July, 1994 | 46 |

## ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q. 43 Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
CBS/NYT: Feb 5-10, 2010 ${ }^{12}$
CBS/NYT: July, 2004
CBS/NYT: August, 1995
CBS/NYT: March, 1992
CBS/NYT: Late October, 1990

| Few big <br> interests |
| :---: |
| 76 |
| 78 |
| 64 |
| 79 |
| 75 |
| 77 |
| 71 |
| 57 |

CBS/NYT: Early October, 1990
CBS/NYT: November, 1988

| Benefit <br> of all | (VOL.) <br> Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| :---: | :---: |
| 19 | 4 |
| 18 | 4 |
| 28 | 8 |
| 15 | 6 |
| 19 | 5 |
| 18 | 5 |
| 21 | 8 |
| 35 | 8 |

[^11]| Q. 43 CONTI NUED... |  |  |  | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Few big interests | Benefit of all | Don't know/ Refused |
|  | NYT: December, 1985 | 54 | 37 | 9 |
|  | CBS/NYT: February, 1985 | 55 | 36 | 9 |
|  | NYT: November, 1983 | 59 | 30 | 11 |
|  | NYT: June, 1983 | 54 | 33 | 12 |
|  | CBS/NYT: Late October, 1976 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
|  | CBS/NYT: Early October, 1976 | 61 | 31 | 9 |
| TRENDS FOR COMPARISON: |  |  |  |  |
| NES | 2012 | 71 | 23 | 6 |
|  | 2008 | 69 | 29 | 2 |
|  | 2004 | 56 | 40 | 4 |
|  | 2002 | 48 | 51 | 2 |
|  | 2000 | 61 | 35 | 5 |
|  | 1998 | 64 | 32 | 4 |
|  | 1996 | 69 | 27 | 3 |
|  | 1994 | 76 | 19 | 5 |
|  | 1992 | 75 | 20 | 4 |
|  | 1990 | 71 | 24 | 5 |
|  | 1988 | 64 | 31 | 5 |
|  | 1984 | 55 | 39 | 6 |
|  | 1982 | 61 | 29 | 10 |
|  | 1980 | 70 | 21 | 9 |
|  | 1978 | 67 | 24 | 9 |
|  | 1976 | 66 | 24 | 10 |
|  | 1974 | 66 | 25 | 9 |
|  | 1972 | 53 | 38 | 9 |
|  | 1970 | 50 | 41 | 9 |
|  | 1968 | 40 | 51 | 9 |
|  | 1966 | 33 | 53 | 13 |
|  | 1964 | 29 | 64 | 7 |

## ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q. 44 On balance, do you think having an increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities in the United States makes this country a better place to live, a worse place to live, or doesn't make much difference either way?

|  | Knight-Ridder <br> (RVs) |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Aug 27-  <br> Sep 13,  | January |  |
| $\frac{2015}{57}$ | A better place to live | $\frac{1996}{48}$ |
| 8 | A worse place to live | 11 |
| 34 | Doesn't make much difference either way | 38 |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 3 |

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B45 Which of these statements best describes your opinion about the United States? [READ IN ORDER; REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF OF SAMPLE]

|  | Stands above all other countries in the world | One of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others | There are other countries better than the U.S. | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 32 | 52 | 15 | 1 |
| Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 28 | 58 | 12 | 1 |
| Mar 8-14, 2011 | 38 | 53 | 8 | 2 |

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B46 How much confidence do you have in the future of the United States [READ IN ORDER]?

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
PSRA/Newsweek: August, 1994

| Quite <br> a lot | $\frac{\text { Some }}{35}$ | Very <br> little | None <br> at all | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 48 | 33 | 15 | 3 | 1 |
| 59 | 34 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| 57 | 30 | 9 | 1 | 1 |
| 60 | 23 | 13 | 1 | 2 |
| 64 | 24 | 8 | 2 | 2 |
| 68 | 19 | 10 | 2 | 1 |

## ASK ALL:

Next,
INT1 Do you use the internet, at least occasionally?
ASK IF DOES NOT USE THE I NTERNET (I NT1=2,9):
INT2 Do you send or receive email, at least occasionally?
ASK IF DOES NOT USE THE INTERNET OR EMAIL (INT2=2,9):
INT3M Do you access the internet on a cell phone, tablet or other mobile handheld device, at least occasionally?

| Aug 27- | Jan 23- |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Oct 4 |  | Mar 16 |
| $\underline{2015}$ |  | $\underline{2014}$ |
| 89 | Yes to any | 89 |
| 11 | No/Don't know/Refused to all | 11 |

[^12]ASK ALL:
OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote... [READ]?
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathrm{N}=4,654$ ]:

|  | Always | always | time | Seldom | vote | Other | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 | 61 | 22 | 9 | 5 | 2 | * | * |
| Oct 15-20, 2014 | 58 | 25 | 9 | 6 | 2 | * | * |
| Sep 2-9, 2014 | 58 | 27 | 10 | 4 | 2 | * | * |
| Jul 8-14, 2014 | 58 | 25 | 10 | 4 | 2 | * | * |
| 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 | 54 | 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 | * | * |
| November, 2006 | 58 | 26 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 1 | * |
| Late October, 2006 | 58 | 27 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * |
| Early October, 2006 | 47 | 36 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| September, 2006 | 56 | 28 | 9 | 6 | 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 | * | * | * |
| J anuary, 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 |


| OFTVOTE CONTI NUED... | Always | Nearly always | Part of the time | Seldom | (VOL.) <br> Never vote | (VOL.) Other | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 | * |
| 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 |
| J anuary 1992 (GP) ${ }^{14}$ | 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 | * |

[^13]

## NO QUESTI ONS 47-49

## RANDOMIZE Q.B50 AND Q.B51 <br> \section*{ASK ALL PHASE B:}

Now I have a few questions about the political parties...
[First]
Q.B50 The Republican Party. Do you think the Republican Party [I NSERT ITEM; RANDOMI ZE] or not?

| Is too extreme | $\underline{\text { Yes }}$ | No | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: |
| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 54 | 41 | 5 |
| Feb 18-22, 2015 | 50 | 46 | 4 |
| 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

Please tell me whether you think each of the following description applies or does not apply to the Republican Party ... too extreme CNN/Gallup: February, 19995642
b. Is too willing to cut government programs, even when they work
$\begin{array}{llll}\text { Sep 16-Oct 4, } 2015 & 59 & 34 & 7\end{array}$
Feb 27-Mar 16, $2014 \quad 57 \quad 35 \quad 8$
NO ITEMS c-d
e. Can do a good job managing the federal government Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015

4945
6

## RANDOMI ZE Q.B50 AND Q.B51

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

[Now thinking about...]
Q.B51 The Democratic Party. Do you think the Democratic Party [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMI ZE] or not?

|  |  |  |  | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Yes | No | DK/Ref |
| a. | Is too extreme |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | 39 | 56 | 5 |
|  | Feb 18-22, 2015 | 36 | 59 | 4 |
|  | Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 | 39 | 56 | 5 |
|  | Jul 17-21, 2013 | 41 | 54 | 5 |
|  | Feb 13-18, 2013 | 39 | 56 |  |

## 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
(VOL.)
DK/Ref

5
4
5
5
6

CNN/Gallup: February, 1999

## Q.B51 CONTI NUED...



## NO QUESTI ONS 52-61

## ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q. 62 Do you think [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMI ZE] or do you think [NEXT ITEM]?

| Aug 27- <br> Sep 13, <br> $\frac{2015}{64}$ | The high cost of running a presidential campaign discourages <br> COMPARISON: |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 31 | Thany good candidates from running <br> That most good presidential candidates can raise whatever <br> money they need | $\mathbf{1 9 8 8}^{15}$ |
| 5 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 29 |

## NO QUESTI ONS 63-69

## ASK ALL:

Q. 70 Now thinking about the job the federal government is doing in some different areas. Is the federal government doing a very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad job [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Is the federal government doing a very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad job [ITEM]?]
-------- Good Job --------
Total Very Somewhat
a. Strengthening the economy
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { Aug 27-Oct 4, } 2015 & 51 & 9 & 42 & 47 & 22 & 25 & * & 2\end{array}$
b. Keeping the country safe from terrorism
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { Aug 27-Oct 4, } 2015 & 72 & 30 & 43 & 26 & 13 & 12 & * & 2\end{array}$

## NO ITEM c

d. Helping people get out of poverty

| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 | 36 | 6 | 30 | 61 | 30 | 30 | 2 | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

## NO ITEM e

f. Protecting the environment

| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 | 59 | 11 | 48 | 38 | 16 | 23 | $*$ | 2 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

## NO ITEMS g-h

i. Responding to natural disasters
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { Aug 27-Oct 4, } 2015 & 79 & 28 & 51 & 19 & 8 & 11 & * & 2\end{array}$
j. Ensuring that food and medicine are safe
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { Aug 27-Oct 4, } 2015 & 72 & 22 & 49 & 26 & 11 & 15 & * & 2\end{array}$

## ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,505$ ]:

k.F1 Ensuring access to health care
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { Aug 27-Sep 13, } 2015 & 56 & 15 & 42 & 40 & 21 & 19 & 1 & 3\end{array}$
I.F1 Maintaining roads, bridges
and other infrastructure
$\begin{array}{llllllllll}\text { Aug 27-Sep 13, } 2015 & 52 & 14 & 38 & 46 & 23 & 23 & 1 & 1\end{array}$
m.F1 Advancing space exploration
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { Aug 27-Sep 13, } 2015 & 51 & 10 & 41 & 36 & 17 & 19 & 2 & 11\end{array}$
ASK PHASE A FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,499$ ]:
n.F2 Ensuring a basic income for people 65 and older
$\begin{array}{lllllllll}\text { Aug 27-Sep 13, } 2015 & 48 & 9 & 39 & 45 & 20 & 25 & 1 & 5\end{array}$
o.F2 Ensuring access to high quality education

| Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 52 | 12 | 40 | 44 | 20 | 24 | 1 | 3 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

## Q. 70 CONTI NUED...

| p.F2 | Managing the nation's immigration system Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | Good J ob -------- |  |  | --------- Bad Job -------- |  |  | (VOL.) <br> Not gov't <br> job | $\begin{gathered} \text { (VOL.) } \\ \text { DK/ } \\ \text { Ref } \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Total | Very | Somewhat | Total | Very | Somewhat |  |  |
|  |  | 28 | 5 | 23 | 68 | 38 | 30 | * | 4 |
| q.F2 | Setting fair and safe standards for workplaces Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 76 | 21 | 56 | 20 | 8 | 12 | 1 | 3 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 71 For each of these same areas, please tell me how much of a role, if any, the federal government should play. Should the federal government play a major role, a minor role, or no role at all [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? How about [I NSERT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Should the federal government play a major role, a minor role, or no role at all [ITEM]?]
(VOL.)

| Major <br> role | Minor <br> role | No role <br> at all | Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 74 | 20 | 4 |  |

b. Keeping the country safe from terrorism

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
94
5

## NO ITEM C

d. Helping people get out of poverty Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015

55
38

## NO ITEM e

f. Protecting the environment

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
75
22

## NO ITEMS g-h

i. Responding to natural disasters

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
88
10
j. Ensuring that food and medicine are safe
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Aug 27-Oct 4, } 2015 & 87 & 10 & 2 & 1\end{array}$
ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,505$ ]:
k.F1 Ensuring access to health care

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
61
28
10
I.F1 Maintaining roads, bridges and other infrastructure
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Aug 27-Sep 13, } 2015 & 76 & 20 & 3 & 1\end{array}$
m.F1 Advancing space exploration

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
47
39
9
4

## Q. 71 CONTI NUED...

| ASK PHASE A FORM 2 ONLY [ N=1,499]: |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| n.F2Ensuring a basic income for <br> people 65 and older <br> Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | Major <br> role | Minor <br> role | No role <br> at all | (VOL.) <br> Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| o.F2Ensuring access to high <br> quality education <br> Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 69 | 25 | 4 | 2 |
| p.F2Managing the nation's <br> immigration system <br> Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 70 | 25 | 4 | 1 |

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B72 Considering what you get from the federal government, do you think you pay more than your fair share of taxes, less than your fair share, or about the right amount?

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
Dec 7-11, 2011
Feb 18-22, 2015
Mar 11-21, 2010
Feb, 2000
Oct, 1997

| More than <br> fair share | Less than <br> fair share | About the <br> right amount | (VOL.) <br> Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 38 | 5 | 54 | 2 |
| 40 | 5 | 52 | 5 |
| 43 | 3 | 53 | 2 |
| 55 | 1 | 50 | 3 |
| 52 | 2 | 41 | 3 |
|  |  | 45 | 1 |

## TREND FOR COMPARISON

Considering what you get from the FEDERAL government, do you think you pay more than your fair share of federal taxes, less than your fair share, or about your fair share?
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { NPR/Kaiser/Harvard: May, } 2000 & 55 & 2 & 42 & 1\end{array}$

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B73 Which comes closer to your view of Congress these days? [READ AND RANDOMI ZE]

Sep 16-

| Oct 4 |  | Oct 9-13 | Jan 9-13 | Dec 7-11 | Mar 11-21 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{2015}$ |  | $\underline{2013}$ | 2013 | 2011 | 2010 |
| 37 | Most members of Congress have good intentions, it's the political system that is broken | 32 | 32 | 32 | 38 |
| 53 | The political system can work fine, it's the members of Congress that are the problem | 58 | 56 | 55 | 52 |
| 5 | Both (VOL.) | 5 | 4 | 6 | 3 |
| 1 | Neither (VOL.) | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 5 | 6 | 7 | 6 |

NO QUESTI ONS 74-89

## RANDOMI ZE Q.90/ Q.91F1/ Q.92F2 <br> ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q. 90 [As I name some traits, please tell me how well each generally describes/ And thinking about] elected officials in Washington. Does [I NSERT ITEM; RANDOMI ZE] describe elected officials in Washington very well, fairly well, not too well or not at all well? What about [ NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Does [ITEM] describe elected officials in Washington very well, fairly well, not too well or not at all well?]

|  | Very <br> well | Fairly <br> well | Not too <br> well | Not at <br> all well | Intelligent <br> Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 know/ <br> Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 23 | 45 | 21 | 9 | 2 |

NO ITEM b

| c. | Honest Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 8 | 21 | 40 | 29 | 2 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| d. | Lazy |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 19 | 29 | 33 | 15 | 4 |
| e. | Selfish |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 41 | 31 | 17 | 8 | 3 |

## NO ITEM f

g. Patriotic

| Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 23 | 40 | 24 | 11 | 3 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

RANDOMI ZE Q.90/ Q.91F1/ Q.92F2
ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,505$ ]:
Q.91F1 [As I name some traits, please tell me how well each generally describes/ And thinking about] the typical American. Does [I NSERT ITEM; RANDOMI ZE] describe the typical American very well, fairly well, not too well or not at all well? What about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Does [ITEM] describe the typical American very well, fairly well, not too well or not at all well?]

|  | Very <br> well | Fairly <br> well | Not too <br> well | Not at <br> all well | Intelligent <br> Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | 15 | 51 | 27 | 4 | 2 |

## NO ITEM b

c. Honest

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
$15 \quad 5$
55
24
5
2
d. Lazy

Aug 27-Sep 13, 201
19
31
34
13
3
e. Selfish

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
28
40
22
7
3

## NO ITEM f

g. Patriotic
$45 \quad 16$
3
2

## RANDOMI ZE Q.90/ Q.91F1/ Q.92F2

ASK PHASE A FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,499$ ]:
Q.92F2 [As I name some traits, please tell me how well each generally describes/ And thinking about] business leaders. Does [I NSERT ITEM; RANDOMI ZE] describe business leaders very well, fairly well, not too well or not at all well? What about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Does [ITEM] describe business leaders very well, fairly well, not too well or not at all well?]
(VOL.)

|  |  | Very well | Fairly well | Not too well | Not at all well | Don't know/ Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | Intelligent |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 39 | 44 | 9 | 4 | 3 |

## NO ITEM b

c. Honest
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Aug 27-Sep 13, } 2015 & 11 & 33 & 36 & 16 & 3\end{array}$
d. Lazy
$\begin{array}{lllllll}\text { Aug 27-Sep 13, } 2015 & 10 & 19 & 35 & 32 & 4\end{array}$
e. Selfish
$\begin{array}{llllll}\text { Aug 27-Sep 13, } 2015 & 33 & 34 & 20 & 9 & 4\end{array}$

## NO ITEM f

g. Patriotic

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
16
39
26
13
6

NO QUESTI ONS 93-105

## ASK ALL:

Q. 106 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. First [READ AND RANDOMI ZE; RANDOMI ZE PAI RS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHI N EACH PAIR]. Next, [ NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]

## ASK ALL PHASE A:

n.

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)
December, 2004
June, 2003
September, 2000
August, 1999
June, 1997
October, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
October, 1994
July, 1994
Ju,


## 23

20
26
29
32
33
39
35
28
38

## 33

## 32

29
34
Most elected officials don't
care what people like me
$\frac{\text { think }}{74}$
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/
DK/Ref
3
$78 \quad 2$
$69 \quad 5$
68 4
$63 \quad 5$
6
62
5
$\begin{array}{ll}55 & 5 \\ 60\end{array}$
$60 \quad 5$
$67 \quad 5$
$58 \quad 4$
$64 \quad 3$
$64 \quad 4$

| 64 |
| :--- |
| 68 |

## Q. 106 CONTI NUED...

## ASK ALL:

o.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
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, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
October, 1994
July, 1994

| Stricter environmental <br> laws and regulations cost <br> too many jobs and hurt <br> the economy | Stricter environmental <br> laws and regulations are <br> worth the cost | (VOL.) <br> Both/Neither/ <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 36 | 59 | 4 |
| 39 | 56 | 5 |
| 27 | 53 | 7 |
| 31 | 63 | 10 |
| 29 | 57 | 12 |
| 37 | 65 | 6 |
| 31 | 56 | 7 |
| 31 | 60 | 9 |
| 28 | 61 | 8 |
| 30 | 65 | 7 |
| 35 | 63 | 7 |
| 39 | 61 | 4 |
| 32 | 57 | 4 |
| 33 | 62 | 6 |
|  | 62 | 5 |

## NO ITEMS p-q

## ASK ALL:

Q. 107 Next, [READ AND RANDOMI ZE AND RANDOMI ZE STATEMENTS WITHIN PAI RS]. [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"] Next, [NEXT PAI R]
r.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Nov 6-9, 2014
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 47
49
45
44
43
43
45

Government is doing too many things better left to businesses and individuals 48
46
51
49
48
47
47

| I like elected officials who <br> make compromises with <br> people they disagree with |
| :--- |
| 49 |
| 56 |
| 49 |
| 50 |
| 40 |
| 40 |

40

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
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 (RVs)

| I like elected officials who <br> stick to their positions | (VOL.) <br> Both/Neither/ <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | 3 |
| 39 | 5 |
| 48 | 3 |
| 44 | 6 |
| 54 | 7 |
| 55 | 5 |

[^14]
## Q. 107 CONTI NUED...

## ASK ALL PHASE A:

t.

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015
u.

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015

## ASK ALL:

v.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015

## ASK ALL PHASE A:

w.

Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015

There are clear solutions to most big issues facing the country today 41

> Ordinary Americans would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials 55

Most big issues facing the country today don't have clear solutions 56

Ordinary Americans would do no better solving the country's problems than $\frac{\text { elected officials }}{39}$

Voting by people like me
doesn't really affect how
government runs things $\frac{39}{}$
Voting by people like me
doesn't really affect how
government runs things
39
Most elected officials put
their own interests ahead
of the country's interests
74

| The economic system in <br> this country is generally <br> fair to most Americans |
| :--- |
| 31 |
| 33 |
| 34 |

Wall Street HURTS the American economy more than it helps

42
42
48
51
47
(VOL.)

## Both/Neither/

DK/Ref
3
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/


6
(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 3

## (VOL.)

Both/Neither/ DK/Ref

4
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/
$\frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{3}$
3
4
4
(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 13 13
16
13
15


Most Americans demand more from the government than they are z.

Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
Gallup: Sep 13-16, 2010

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

\(\left.\begin{array}{c}Most Americans demand <br>

more from the\end{array}\right\}\)| government than they are |
| :---: |
| willing to pay taxes for |

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B108 And in your view, has this country been successful more because of its [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] or more because of its [ITEM]?

Sep 16-
Oct 4
2015
51
Ability to change
Feb 12-26

43 Reliance on long-standing principles
2014 51

## NO QUESTI ON 109

## ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q. 110 Thinking about the way things are going in politics today ... on the issues that matter to you would you say your side has been winning more often than it's been losing, or losing more often than it's been winning?

Aug 27-
Sep 13,
$\underline{2015}$
25 Winning more often than losing
64 Losing more often than winning
3 Winning as often as losing (VOL.)
3 Don't think about politics in this way (VOL.)
5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## NO QUESTI ON 111

ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,505$ ]:
Q.112F1 Thinking about spending on political campaigns and issues, which comes closer to your view [READ AND RANDOMI ZE]?

Aug 27-
Sep 13,
$\underline{2015}$

## ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=1,505$ ]:

Q.113F1 Which comes closer to your view on the influence of money on politics and elected officials [READ AND RANDOMI ZE]?

Aug 27-
Sep 13, $\underline{2015}$

76
22
2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

181

## ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=1,505$ ]:

Q.114F1 In general, do you think new laws COULD BE written that would be effective in reducing the role of money in politics, OR don't you think any new laws would be effective?


## NO QUESTI ONS 115-129

ASK PHASE B FORM 1 ONLY [ $N=1,491$ ]:
Q.B130F1 If you had a son or daughter just getting out of school, would you like to see him or her pursue a career in politics, or not?

| Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 | $\frac{\text { Yes }}{33}$ | $\frac{\text { No }}{}$ | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 36 | 55 | 4 |
| October, $1997^{20}$ | 27 | 67 | 10 |
| Gallup: 1973 | 24 | 64 | 6 |
| Gallup: 1965 | 36 | 54 | 13 |
| Gallup: 1962 | 23 | 69 | 10 |
| Gallup: 1955 | 26 | 60 | 8 |
| Gallup: 1945 | 21 | 68 | 14 |
| NORC $^{21}: 1943$ | 17 | 69 | 11 |

## ASK PHASE B FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=1,509$ ]:

Q.B131F2

If you had a son or daughter just getting out of school, would you like to see him or her pursue a career in government, or not?

| Sep 16- |  | NPR/Kaiser/Harvard |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Oct 4 |  | Mar 11-21 | May |
| $\underline{2015}$ |  | $\underline{2010}$ | $\underline{2000}$ |
| 48 | Yes | 56 | 43 |
| 49 | No | 35 | 51 |
| 4 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 9 | 6 |

## NO QUESTI ONS 132-134

## ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B135 In general, do you think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong or don't you think about politics in this way?

Sep 16-
Oct 4,
$\underline{2015}$
44
54
Think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong
Don't think about politics in this way
2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

[^15]
## NO QUESTI ONS 136-298

ASK ALL:
PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?
ASK IF I NDEP/ 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?


ASK IF REPUBLI CAN OR DEMOCRAT (PARTY=1,2):
PARTYSTR
Do you consider yourself a STRONG [Republican/Democrat] or NOT a strong [Republican/Democrat]?

|  | Strong <br> Republican | Not strong/ <br> DK | Strong <br> Democrat | Not strong/ <br> DK 27-Oct 4, 2015 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 13 $10=24 \%$ | 17 <br> Jan 28-Mar 16, 2014 | 11 | $11=22 \%$ | 17 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 14 | $10=24 \%$ | 20 | $13=31 \%$ |

## PARTYSTR CONTI NUED...

| , | Strong Republican | Not strong/ DK | Strong Democrat | Not strong DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar 8-14, 2011 | 12 | $12=24 \%$ | 20 | 13=33\% |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 14 | $10=24 \%$ | 18 | 15=33\% |
| 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\% |
| J anuary, 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 | 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\% |
| J anuary, 1988 | 12 | 15=27\% | 19 | 20=39\% |
| May, 1987 | 11 | 14=25\% | 18 | 19=37\% |

## ASK PHASE A FORM A AND ALL PHASE B [N=4,502]:

TEAPARTY2 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 either way | (VOL.) <br> Haven't heard of | (VOL.) <br> Refused | Not heard of/ DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 | 15 | 28 | 52 | 2 | 3 | -- |
| Jul 14-20, 2015 | 15 | 27 | 55 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| Jan 7-11, 2015 | 17 | 27 | 52 | 2 | 1 | -- |
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 18 | 28 | 51 | 1 | 2 | -- |
| 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 | -- |

TEAPARTY2 CONTI NUED...

|  | Agree | Disagree | No opinion either way | (VOL.) <br> Haven't heard of | (VOL.) <br> Refused | Not heard of/ DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 | -- |
| J an 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 | -- |
| 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 ${ }^{22}$ | 22 | 22 | 53 | 2 | 2 | -- |
| J an 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 (RVs) | 29 | 25 | 32 | -- | 1 | 13 |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs) | 28 | 24 | 30 | -- | 1 | 16 |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs) | 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 |

ASK PHASE B REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLI CAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1): Q.B299 Overall, do you think Donald Trump running for the Republican nomination for President is good for the Republican Party, bad for the Republican Party, or doesn't make much difference either way?

## BASED ON REPUBLI CAN AND REPUBLI CAN LEANI NG INDEPENDENTS [N=1,283]:

Sep 16-
Oct 4,
$\underline{2015}$
45 Good for the Republican Party
28 Bad for the Republican Party
25 Doesn't make much difference either way
2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

| (U) | Pew Research Center/USA Today polls |
| :--- | :--- |
| (SDT) | Pew Research Center Social and Demographic Trends |
| (ATP) | Pew Research Center American Trends Panel, phone survey |

[^16]
# PEW RESEARCH CENTER SEPTEMBER 2015 POLI TI CAL SURVEY <br> FI NAL TOPLI NE <br> SEPTEMBER 22-27, 2015 <br> $\mathrm{N}=1,502$ 

## QUESTI ONS 1-2, 5 PREVI OUSLY RELEASED

## NO QUESTIONS 3-4

ASK ALL:
Q. 6 If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?

Sep 22-27, 2015
Sep 2-9, 2014
Sep 4-8, 2013
Sep 12-16, 2012
Jan 4-8, 2012
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011
Mar 8-14, 2011
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Apr 1-5, 2010
Feb 3-9, 2010
Smaller government, Bigger government, $\frac{\text { fewer services }}{53} \quad \frac{\text { more services }}{38}$

| (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: |
| Depends | DK/Ref |

Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009
Mar 9-12, 2009
Late October 2008
November 2007
J anuary 2007
LA Times/Bloomberg: January 2006
LA Times: January 2005
50
51
51
52

48

ABC/Wash Post: June 2004
CBS/NYT: November 2003
CBS/NYT: July 2003
ABC: November 2002 (Likely voters)
Wash Post: September 2002
ABC/ Wash Post: July 2002
42
40
40

| (VOL.) (V |
| :--- |
| Depends |

D/R
$\begin{array}{ll}3 & 5 \\ 2 & 7\end{array}$

ABC/Wash Post: January 2002
CBS/NYT: J anuary 2002
LA Times: November 2001
CBS/NYT: October 2001
LA Times: March 2001
CBS: January 2001
CBS: November 2000
CBS: October 2000
ABC/Wash Post: October 2000 (RV)
ABC/Wash Post: Early October 2000 (RV)
LA Times: September 2000 (RV) 50 50
50

51
48
42
39
41
2

## Q. 6 CONTI NUED...

ABC/Wash Post: February 1993 ABC/Wash Post: July 1992

| Smaller government, fewer services | Bigger government, more services | (VOL.) <br> Depends | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 67 | 30 | -- | 2 |
| 55 | 38 | -- | 7 |
| 42 | 43 | 7 | 8 |
| 41 | 48 | 4 | 7 |
| rs) 47 | 37 | 7 | 9 |
| 49 | 45 | -- | 6 |
| 43 | 44 | 5 | 8 |
| 49 | 43 | -- | 7 |
| 54 | 32 | -- | 14 |
| 53 | 36 | -- | 11 |
| 40 | 39 | -- | 21 |
| 42 | 45 | -- | 13 |
| 49 | 37 | -- | 14 |
| 48 | 41 | -- | 11 |
| 42 | 43 | -- | 15 |
| 41 | 43 | -- | 16 |
| 40 | 44 | -- | 16 |

## QUESTI ONS 7-9, 11 PREVI OUSLY RELEASED

NO QUESTI ONS 10, 12

## ASK ALL:

Next,
Q. 13 Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMI ZE ITEMS a. THROUGH b. FOLLOWED BY RANDOMI ZED ITEMS c. THROUGH s.; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [ITEM] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTI NGUISH BETWEEN
"NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

| a. Congress | ----- Favorable ----- |  |  | ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  | (VOL.) <br> Never heard of | (VOL.) <br> Can't rate/ Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Sep 22-27, 2015 | 27 | 4 | 23 | 69 | 29 | 40 | 0 | 4 |
| Jul 14-20, 2015 | 25 | 5 | 20 | 69 | 31 | 38 | * | 5 |
| Mar 25-29, 2015 | 22 | 4 | 18 | 72 | 34 | 38 | * | 5 |
| Dec 3-7, 2014 (U) | 22 | 4 | 18 | 71 | 34 | 37 | * | 7 |
| Jul 8-14, 2014 | 28 | 5 | 23 | 69 | 28 | 41 | * | 4 |
| Feb 12-Feb 26, 2014 | 23 | 5 | 18 | 72 | 35 | 37 | * | 5 |
| Dec 3-8, 2013 (U) | 27 | 6 | 21 | 67 | 32 | 35 | * | 6 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 23 | 4 | 19 | 73 | 32 | 42 | 0 | 4 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 21 | 3 | 18 | 70 | 33 | 37 | * | 9 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 23 | 4 | 19 | 68 | 32 | 36 | * | 9 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 27 | 4 | 22 | 67 | 24 | 43 | 1 | 6 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 27 | 5 | 22 | 65 | 30 | 35 | * | 8 |
| J an 11-16, 2012 | 23 | 5 | 18 | 69 | 33 | 36 | * | 8 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 25 | 4 | 21 | 70 | 30 | 40 | 4 | 6 |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 | 34 | 4 | 30 | 57 | 21 | 36 | 1 | 8 |
| July 1-5, 2010 | 33 | 6 | 27 | 56 | 23 | 33 | * | 11 |
| April 1-5, 2010 | 25 | 3 | 22 | 65 | 30 | 36 | * | 9 |
| Mar 18-21, 2010 | 26 | 3 | 23 | 62 | 23 | 39 | * | 12 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 41 | 3 | 38 | 50 | 17 | 34 | 0 | 9 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 37 | 4 | 33 | 52 | 20 | 32 | * | 11 |

[^17]
## Q. 13 CONTI NUED...

Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009
J an 7-11, 2009
Late May, 2008
July, 2007
Early J anuary, 2007
Late October, 2006
February, 2006
Late October, 2005
July, 2005
June, 2005
June, 2004
July, 2001
March, 2001
J anuary, 2001
September, 2000 (RVs)
August, 1999
June, 1999
February, 1999
J anuary, 1999
Early December, 1998
Early October, 1998 (RVs)
Early September, 1998
October, 1997
August, 1997
June, 1997
May, 1997
February, 1997
J anuary, 1997
June, 1996
April, 1996
J anuary, 1996
October, 1995
August, 1995
June, 1995
February, 1995
July, 1994
May, 1993
November, 1991
March, 1991
May, 1990
May, 1988
J anuary, 1988
May, 1987
J anuary, 1987
July, 1985

| ----- Favorable ----- |  |  | ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |
| 50 | 10 | 40 | 43 | 15 | 28 |
| 40 | 5 | 35 | 52 | 20 | 32 |
| 41 | 6 | 35 | 51 | 17 | 34 |
| 41 | 6 | 35 | 51 | 16 | 35 |
| 53 | 11 | 42 | 38 | 9 | 29 |
| 41 | 5 | 36 | 46 | 15 | 31 |
| 44 | 6 | 38 | 47 | 14 | 33 |
| 45 | 7 | 38 | 45 | 13 | 32 |
| 49 | 6 | 43 | 40 | 11 | 29 |
| 49 | 6 | 43 | 40 | 10 | 30 |
| 56 | 7 | 49 | 33 | 7 | 26 |
| 57 | 7 | 50 | 32 | 8 | 24 |
| 56 | 6 | 50 | 36 | 10 | 26 |
| 64 | 10 | 54 | 23 | 5 | 18 |
| 61 | 8 | 53 | 32 | 5 | 27 |
| 63 | 8 | 55 | 34 | 7 | 27 |
| 56 | 9 | 47 | 39 | 9 | 30 |
| 52 | 4 | 48 | 44 | 8 | 36 |
| 48 | 7 | 41 | 45 | 15 | 30 |
| 52 | 11 | 41 | 41 | 12 | 29 |
| 62 | 7 | 55 | 33 | 8 | 25 |
| 66 | 7 | 59 | 27 | 5 | 22 |
| 53 | 5 | 48 | 44 | 11 | 33 |
| 50 | 6 | 44 | 44 | 11 | 33 |
| 52 | 4 | 48 | 42 | 8 | 34 |
| 49 | 5 | 44 | 42 | 10 | 32 |
| 52 | 6 | 46 | 40 | 9 | 31 |
| 56 | 6 | 50 | 40 | 8 | 32 |
| 45 | 6 | 39 | 50 | 12 | 38 |
| 45 | 6 | 39 | 50 | 13 | 37 |
| 42 | 4 | 38 | 54 | 16 | 38 |
| 42 | 4 | 38 | 55 | 13 | 42 |
| 45 | 5 | 40 | 47 | 13 | 34 |
| 53 | 8 | 45 | 42 | 11 | 31 |
| 54 | 10 | 44 | 37 | 10 | 27 |
| 53 | 7 | 46 | 43 | 9 | 34 |
| 43 | 8 | 35 | 48 | 13 | 35 |
| 51 | 7 | 44 | 43 | 9 | 34 |
| 66 | 16 | 50 | 26 | 7 | 19 |
| 59 | 6 | 53 | 34 | 9 | 25 |
| 64 | 8 | 56 | 28 | 5 | 23 |
| 64 | 6 | 58 | 29 | 4 | 25 |
| 74 | 10 | 64 | 20 | 4 | 16 |
| 59 | 7 | 52 | 31 | 8 | 23 |
| 67 | 9 | 58 | 26 | 5 | 21 |

(VOL.)
Never
Can't rate $\frac{\text { heard of }}{*} \quad \frac{\text { Ref }}{7}$

The Supreme Court
Sep 22-27, 2015
Jul 14-20, 2015
Mar 25-29, 2015
Jul 8-14, 2014
Apr 23-27, 2014
Jul 17-21, 2013
Mar 13-17, 2013
Dec 5-9, 2012
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012
Apr 4-15, 2012

| 50 | 8 | 42 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 48 | 9 | 39 |
| 50 | 8 | 42 |
| 52 | 8 | 44 |
| 56 | 11 | 44 |
| 48 | 7 | 41 |
| 52 | 7 | 45 |
| 53 | 8 | 45 |
| 51 | 10 | 41 |
| 52 | 11 | 41 |


| 42 | 17 | 25 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 43 | 17 | 26 |
| 39 | 12 | 26 |
| 38 | 14 | 24 |
| 35 | 12 | 23 |
| 38 | 14 | 24 |
| 31 | 10 | 21 |
| 36 | 12 | 24 |
| 37 | 14 | 23 |
| 29 | 10 | 20 |

7
9
11
9
9
13
15
10
11
18

## Q. 13 CONTI NUED...

July 1-5, 2010
Feb 3-9, 2010
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009
April, 2008
July, 2007
J anuary, 2007
July, 2006
February, 2006
Late October, 2005
July, 2005
June, 2005
July, 2001
March, 2001
J anuary, 2001
October, 1997
May, 1997
July, 1994
May, 1993
November, 1991
May, 1990
J anuary, 1988
May, 1987
Roper: March 1985

| Favorable ----- |  |  | ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  | (VOL.) <br> Never | (VOL.) <br> Can't rate |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly | $\underline{\text { heard of }}$ | Ref |
| 58 | 9 | 49 | 25 | 8 | 17 | 1 | 16 |
| 58 | 8 | 50 | 27 | 8 | 19 | * | 15 |
| 64 | 8 | 56 | 21 | 6 | 15 | 0 | 15 |
| 65 | 15 | 50 | 25 | 7 | 18 | * | 10 |
| 57 | 12 | 45 | 29 | 9 | 20 | 0 | 14 |
| 72 | 18 | 54 | 17 | 3 | 14 | 2 | 9 |
| 63 | 7 | 56 | 27 | 8 | 19 | 1 | 9 |
| 60 | 16 | 44 | 28 | 10 | 18 | * | 12 |
| 62 | 12 | 50 | 27 | 10 | 17 | * | 11 |
| 61 | 12 | 49 | 28 | 10 | 18 | * | 11 |
| 57 | 8 | 49 | 30 | 8 | 22 | * | 13 |
| 70 | 15 | 55 | 20 | 6 | 14 | * | 10 |
| 72 | 15 | 57 | 20 | 5 | 15 | * | 8 |
| 68 | 18 | 50 | 21 | 8 | 13 | 1 | 10 |
| 77 | 13 | 64 | 18 | 6 | 12 | * | 5 |
| 72 | 16 | 56 | 22 | 5 | 17 | 0 | 6 |
| 80 | 18 | 62 | 16 | 3 | 13 | * | 4 |
| 73 | 17 | 56 | 18 | 4 | 14 | 0 | 9 |
| 72 | 18 | 54 | 21 | 5 | 16 | 0 | 7 |
| 65 | 10 | 55 | 25 | 7 | 18 | 1 | 9 |
| 79 | 14 | 65 | 13 | 2 | 11 | * | 8 |
| 76 | 13 | 63 | 17 | 2 | 15 | * | 7 |
| 64 | 17 | 47 | 28 | 7 | 21 | -- | 8 |

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=756$ ]:
c.F1 The Department of Health an Human Services, the HHS

| Sep 22-27, 2015 | 54 | 13 | 41 | 31 | 14 | 17 | 3 | 12 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 61 | 14 | 47 | 30 | 12 | 19 | 2 | 7 |

d.F1 The Federal Bureau of

Investigation, the FBI

| Sep 22-27, 2015 | 68 | 18 | 49 | 19 | 8 | 11 | 1 | 13 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar 18-21, 2010 | 67 | 16 | 51 | 14 | 8 | 7 | $*$ | 19 |
| July, 2001 | 61 | 16 | 45 | 29 | 9 | 20 | $*$ | 10 |
| June, 1999 | 71 | 17 | 54 | 20 | 7 | 13 | $*$ | 9 |
| October, 1997 | 67 | 13 | 54 | 25 | 8 | 17 | $*$ | 8 |
| May, 1997 | 60 | 12 | 48 | 28 | 7 | 21 | 0 | 12 |
| August, 1995 | 64 | 16 | 48 | 28 | 9 | 19 | $*$ | 8 |
| ABC/Wash. Post, May $1995^{24}$ | 82 | 34 | 48 | 9 | 6 | 3 | $*$ | 9 |
| Roper, August 1987 | 78 | 28 | 50 | 17 | 3 | 14 | -- | 5 |
| Roper, August 1986 | 75 | 25 | 50 | 17 | 4 | 13 | -- | 8 |
| Roper, August 1985 | 72 | 24 | 48 | 20 | 5 | 15 | -- | 8 |
| Roper, August 1984 | 77 | 30 | 47 | 19 | 5 | 14 | -- | 4 |
| Roper, August 1983 | 75 | 29 | 46 | 19 | 5 | 14 | -- | 6 |

e.F1 The Environmental Protection

Agency, the EPA

| Sep 22-27, 2015 | 52 | 13 | 39 | 38 | 18 | 20 | 2 | 8 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Jan 7-11, 2015 | 59 | 18 | 40 | 32 | 15 | 18 | 1 | 8 |
| Feb 12-Feb 26, 2014 | 57 | 14 | 43 | 33 | 14 | 19 | 2 | 8 |

[^18]
## Q. 13 CONTI NUED...

Oct 9-13, 2013
Mar 18-21, 2010
October, 1997
Roper, August 1987
Roper, August 1986
Roper, August 1985
Roper, August 1984
Roper, August 1983

|  |  | ----- Favorable ----- |  |  | ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  | Never heard of | Can't rate/ Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |
|  | 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 | 43 | 30 | 7 | 23 | -- | 8 |
|  | Roper, August 1986 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 31 | 7 | 24 | -- | 10 |
|  | Roper, August 1985 | 58 | 19 | 39 | 31 | 11 | 20 | -- | 11 |
|  | Roper, August 1984 | 68 | 27 | 41 | 26 | 9 | 17 | -- | 6 |
|  | Roper, August 1983 | 56 | 21 | 35 | 34 | 12 | 22 | -- | 10 |
| f. 11 | The Postal Service |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 22-27, 2015 | 84 | 33 | 51 | 14 | 6 | 8 | * | 2 |
|  | Mar 18-21, 2010 | 83 | 30 | 53 | 14 | 6 | 8 | 1 | 3 |
|  | October, 1997 | 89 | 28 | 61 | 11 | 3 | 8 | 0 | * |
|  | Roper, April 1987 | 76 | 33 | 43 | 22 | 8 | 14 | -- | 2 |
|  | Roper, April 1986 | 74 | 27 | 47 | 24 | 8 | 16 | -- | 2 |
|  | Roper, April 1985 | 70 | 23 | 47 | 27 | 11 | 16 | -- | 3 |
|  | Roper, April 1984 | 69 | 24 | 45 | 28 | 10 | 18 | -- | 3 |
|  | Roper, April 1983 | 70 | 25 | 45 | 27 | 10 | 17 | -- | 3 |
| g.F1 | The Social Security Administration |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 22-27, 2015 | 55 | 13 | 42 | 37 | 16 | 20 | 1 | 7 |
|  | Mar 18-21, 2010 | 49 | 9 | 40 | 39 | 17 | 22 | 0 | 12 |
|  | October, 1997 | 62 | 11 | 51 | 34 | 10 | 24 | 0 | 4 |
| h.F1 | The Department of Veterans Affairs, the VA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 22-27, 2015 | 39 | 14 | 25 | 52 | 24 | 28 | 1 | 8 |
|  | J an 7-11, 2015 | 52 | 21 | 31 | 38 | 15 | 24 | 1 | 9 |
|  | Oct 9-13, 2013 | 68 | 24 | 44 | 25 | 7 | 18 | * | 7 |
|  | Mar 18-21, 2010 | 57 | 19 | 38 | 22 | 5 | 17 | 2 | 20 |
|  | February, 1998 | 59 | 15 | 44 | 26 | 7 | 19 | 1 | 14 |
|  | Roper, August 1986 | 75 | 30 | 45 | 15 | 4 | 11 | -- | 9 |
|  | Roper, August 1985 | 68 | 26 | 42 | 22 | 6 | 16 | -- | 10 |
|  | Roper, August 1984 | 77 | 37 | 40 | 15 | 4 | 11 | -- | 9 |
| i. F1 | The Department of Education |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 22-27, 2015 | 44 | 11 | 33 | 50 | 20 | 30 | * | 5 |
|  | Oct 9-13, 2013 | 53 | 16 | 37 | 42 | 16 | 27 | * | 4 |
|  | Mar 18-21, 2010 | 40 | 8 | 32 | 53 | 22 | 31 | 6 | 8 |
|  | October, 1997 | 61 | 12 | 49 | 37 | 11 | 26 | 0 | 2 |
|  | Roper, April 1987 | 60 | 14 | 46 | 35 | 11 | 24 | -- | 5 |
|  | Roper, April 1986 | 63 | 16 | 47 | 32 | 10 | 22 | -- | 5 |
|  | Roper, April 1985 | 61 | 14 | 47 | 34 | 11 | 23 | -- | 5 |
|  | Roper, April 1984 | 56 | 14 | 42 | 38 | 13 | 25 | -- | 6 |
|  | Roper, April 1983 | 49 | 10 | 39 | 45 | 18 | 27 | -- | 6 |
| j.F1 | The National Security Agency, the NSA |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 22-27, 2015 | 52 | 12 | 40 | 31 | 14 | 17 | 4 | 13 |
|  | J an 7-11, 2015 | 51 | 14 | 37 | 37 | 15 | 22 | 3 | 8 |
|  | Oct 9-13, 2013 | 54 | 12 | 42 | 35 | 13 | 22 | 2 | 8 |
| k.F1 | The Department of Homeland Security |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Sep 22-27, 2015 | 64 | 16 | 48 | 30 | 12 | 18 | * | 6 |
|  | Oct 9-13, 2013 | 66 | 12 | 54 | 30 | 12 | 18 | 1 | 3 |

(VOL.) (VOL.)

## Q. 13 CONTI NUED...

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=746]:
I.F2 The Food and Drug

Administration, the FDA
Sep 22-27, 2015
Oct 9-13, 2013
Mar 18-21, 2010
October, 1997
Roper, August 1987
Roper, August 1986
Roper, August 1985
Roper, August 1984
Roper, August 1983

| 51 | 12 | 39 | 39 | 14 | 25 | 1 | 9 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 65 | 15 | 50 | 29 | 14 | 15 | 1 | 6 |
| 58 | 10 | 48 | 30 | 10 | 20 | 1 | 11 |
| 75 | 12 | 63 | 22 | 4 | 18 | $*$ | 3 |
| 74 | 23 | 51 | 20 | 4 | 16 | -- | 6 |
| 75 | 25 | 50 | 18 | 3 | 15 | -- | 7 |
| 74 | 27 | 47 | 19 | 5 | 14 | -- | 7 |
| 78 | 32 | 46 | 17 | 4 | 13 | -- | 5 |
| 73 | 31 | 42 | 20 | 5 | 15 | -- | 7 |

m.F2 The Defense Department

Sep 22-27, 2015
J an 7-11, 2015
Oct 9-13, 2013
Mar 18-21, 2010
Late October, 2005
October, 1997
Roper, April 1987
Roper, April 1986
Roper, April 1985
Roper, April 1984
Roper, April 1983

| 63 | 18 | 45 | 29 | 10 | 19 | 1 | 7 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 65 | 20 | 44 | 26 | 8 | 18 | 1 | 9 |
| 72 | 21 | 50 | 23 | 9 | 14 | 1 | 5 |
| 67 | 21 | 46 | 21 | 8 | 13 | $*$ | 12 |
| 56 | 14 | 42 | 32 | 13 | 19 | 1 | 11 |
| 76 | 18 | 58 | 19 | 4 | 15 | $*$ | 5 |
| 57 | 16 | 41 | 36 | 14 | 22 | -- | 7 |
| 66 | 22 | 44 | 29 | 10 | 19 | -- | 5 |
| 54 | 15 | 39 | 37 | 15 | 22 | -- | 9 |
| 54 | 15 | 39 | 39 | 15 | 24 | -- | 7 |
| 54 | 14 | 40 | 38 | 15 | 23 | -- | 8 |

n.F2 The Central Intelligence

Agency, the CIA
Sep 22-27, 2015

| 57 | 12 | 45 | 27 | 9 | 18 | 1 | 15 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 54 | 14 | 41 | 33 | 13 | 20 | 1 | 12 |
| 52 | 11 | 42 | 21 | 8 | 13 | 2 | 25 |
| 49 | 9 | 40 | 33 | 10 | 23 | 1 | 17 |
| 51 | 7 | 44 | 32 | 7 | 25 | 1 | 16 |
| 52 | 12 | 40 | 38 | 9 | 29 | -- | 10 |
| 61 | 14 | 47 | 26 | 6 | 20 | -- | 13 |
| 53 | 15 | 38 | 33 | 11 | 22 | -- | 15 |
| 58 | 17 | 41 | 30 | 8 | 22 | -- | 11 |

o.F2 The Internal Revenue Service,
the IRS
Sep 22-27, 2015
J an 7-11, 2015
Oct 9-13, 2013
Mar 18-21, 2010
October, 1997
Roper, August 1987
Roper, August 1986
Roper, August 1985
Roper, August 1984
Roper, August 1983

| 42 | 9 | 32 | 52 | 24 | 28 | $*$ | 6 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 45 | 10 | 35 | 48 | 24 | 25 | $*$ | 6 |
| 44 | 9 | 35 | 51 | 23 | 28 | $*$ | 5 |
| 47 | 6 | 41 | 40 | 17 | 23 | 10 | 13 |
| 38 | 5 | 33 | 60 | 25 | 35 | $*$ | 2 |
| 49 | 10 | 39 | 46 | 19 | 27 | -- | 5 |
| 51 | 10 | 41 | 45 | 19 | 26 | - | 4 |
| 48 | 8 | 40 | 47 | 19 | 28 | -- | 5 |
| 60 | 13 | 47 | 34 | 11 | 23 | -- | 6 |
| 50 | 12 | 38 | 44 | 16 | 28 | -- | 6 |

p.F2 The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the CDC

| Sep 22-27, 2015 | 71 | 23 | 48 | 19 | 6 | 13 | 2 | 9 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jan 7-11, 2015 | 70 | 25 | 44 | 23 | 10 | 13 | 2 | 5 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 75 | 27 | 47 | 14 | 5 | 8 | 2 | 9 |

## Q. 13 CONTI NUED...

Mar 18-21, 2010
February, 1998

| Favorable ----- |  |  | ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  | (VOL.) <br> Never | (VOL.) <br> Can't rate/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly | heard of | Ref |
| 67 | 15 | 52 | 16 | 5 | 10 | 2 | 15 |
| 79 | 20 | 59 | 11 | 2 | 9 | 1 | 9 |
| 46 | 10 | 37 | 47 | 18 | 29 | * | 6 |
| 61 | 9 | 52 | 33 | 14 | 19 | 1 | 5 |
| 51 | 6 | 44 | 33 | 11 | 23 | 1 | 15 |
| 56 | 7 | 49 | 39 | 12 | 27 | 0 | 5 |
| 53 | 10 | 43 | 39 | 15 | 24 | -- | 8 |
| 52 | 10 | 42 | 39 | 15 | 24 | -- | 8 |
| 53 | 10 | 43 | 39 | 17 | 22 | -- | 9 |
| 70 | 23 | 47 | 17 | 4 | 13 | 1 | 12 |
| 68 | 24 | 43 | 17 | 6 | 11 | 1 | 15 |
| 73 | 22 | 51 | 15 | 3 | 12 | * | 12 |
| 61 | 19 | 41 | 17 | 5 | 12 | 1 | 21 |
| 73 | 23 | 50 | 20 | 5 | 15 | 1 | 6 |
| 66 | 23 | 43 | 24 | 5 | 19 | -- | 10 |
| 61 | 23 | 38 | 30 | 11 | 19 | -- | 9 |
| 75 | 27 | 47 | 11 | 4 | 7 | 2 | 12 |
| 84 | 26 | 58 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| 80 | 37 | 43 | 11 | 8 | 3 | -- | 9 |
| 74 | 32 | 42 | 9 | 7 | 2 | -- | 17 |
| 79 | 39 | 40 | 7 | 5 | 2 | -- | 15 |
| 84 | 44 | 40 | 6 | 5 | 1 | -- | 9 |

QUESTI ONS 20, 27-28, 33-36, 39, 45-47, 51-52, 54-59, 62-64, 77-79 PREVI OUSLY RELEASED
NO QUESTI ONS 14-19, 21-26, 29-32, 37-38, 40-44, 48-50, 53, 60-61, 65-76
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?

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | (VOL.) <br> No preference | (VOL.) Other party | (VOL.) DK/Ref | Lean Rep | Lean Dem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Sep 22-27, 2015 | 26 | 30 | 40 | 2 | * | 2 | 15 | 16 |
| Jul 14-20, 2015 | 22 | 32 | 41 | 4 | * | 1 | 15 | 19 |
| May 12-18, 2015 | 24 | 32 | 38 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 18 |
| Mar 25-29, 2015 | 25 | 30 | 39 | 4 | * | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| Feb 18-22, 2015 | 24 | 31 | 38 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 18 | 17 |
| Jan 7-11, 2015 | 21 | 30 | 44 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 19 | 18 |
| Dec 3-7, 2014 | 24 | 31 | 39 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 17 | 17 |
| Nov 6-9, 2014 | 27 | 32 | 36 | 2 | * | 1 | 15 | 16 |
| Oct 15-20, 2014 | 24 | 33 | 38 | 4 | * | 1 | 13 | 17 |
| Sep 2-9, 2014 | 24 | 33 | 38 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 15 |
| Yearly Totals |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2014 | 23.2 | 31.5 | 39.5 | 3.1 | . 7 | 2.0 | 16.2 | 16.5 |
| 2013 | 23.9 | 32.1 | 38.3 | 2.9 | . 5 | 2.2 | 16.0 | 16.0 |

PARTY CONTI NUED...

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | (VOL.) <br> No preference | (VOL.) Other party | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref | Lean <br> Rep | Lean Dem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2012 | 24.7 | 32.6 | 36.4 | 3.1 | . 5 | 2.7 | 14.4 | 16.1 |
| 2011 | 24.3 | 32.3 | 37.4 | 3.1 | . 4 | 2.5 | 15.7 | 15.6 |
| 2010 | 25.2 | 32.7 | 35.2 | 3.6 | . 4 | 2.8 | 14.5 | 14.1 |
| 2009 | 23.9 | 34.4 | 35.1 | 3.4 | . 4 | 2.8 | 13.1 | 15.7 |
| 2008 | 25.7 | 36.0 | 31.5 | 3.6 | . 3 | 3.0 | 10.6 | 15.2 |
| 2007 | 25.3 | 32.9 | 34.1 | 4.3 | . 4 | 2.9 | 10.9 | 17.0 |
| 2006 | 27.8 | 33.1 | 30.9 | 4.4 | . 3 | 3.4 | 10.5 | 15.1 |
| 2005 | 29.3 | 32.8 | 30.2 | 4.5 | . 3 | 2.8 | 10.3 | 14.9 |
| 2004 | 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 REPUBLI CANS AND REPUBLI CAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):
TEAPARTY3
From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

BASED ON REPUBLI CANS AND REPUBLI CAN LEANERS [ $N=406$ ]:

Sep 25-27, $2015^{26}$
May 12-18, 2015
Mar 25-29, 2015
Feb 18-22, 2015
Jan 7-11, 2015
Dec 3-7, 2014
Nov 6-9, 2014
Oct 15-20, 2014
Sep 2-9, 2014
Aug 20-24, 2014
Jul 8-14, 2014
Apr 23-27, 2014
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014
Feb 14-23, 2014
Jan 15-19, 2014
Dec 3-8, 2013
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013
Oct 9-13, 2013

| Agree | Disagree | No opinion <br> either way |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 38 | 11 | 58 |
| 34 | 13 | 51 |
| 35 | 11 | 52 |
| 36 | 9 | 54 |
| 34 | 9 | 54 |
| 34 | 9 | 55 |
| 31 | 10 | 57 |
| 32 | 8 | 56 |
| 38 | 10 | 50 |
| 34 | 10 | 53 |
| 35 | 12 | 50 |
| 33 | 11 | 54 |
| 37 | 11 | 50 |
| 36 | 9 | 54 |
| 35 | 12 | 52 |
| 32 | 9 | 57 |
| 40 | 9 | 48 |
| 41 | 11 | 45 |


| (VOL.) <br> Haven't <br> heard of | (VOL.) <br> Refused | Not <br> heard of/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2 |  | DK |
| 1 | $*$ | -- |
| 1 | 1 | -- |
| $*$ | $*$ | -- |
| 1 | 2 | -- |
| 2 | 1 | -- |
| 1 | 1 | -- |
| 2 | 2 | -- |
| 1 | 1 | -- |
| $*$ | 2 | -- |
| 2 | 1 | -- |
| 1 | 1 | -- |
| 1 | 1 | -- |
| 1 | 1 | -- |
| 1 | $*$ | -- |
| 1 | 1 | -- |
| 2 | 1 | -- |
| 2 | 1 | -- |

[^19]
## TEAPARTY3 CONTI NUED...

| (VOL.) |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  | Not |
| (VOL.) |  |  |  |  |  | heard of/

## Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

 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

October 16-20, 2015 OMNI BUS
FI NAL TOPLI NE
$\mathbf{N = 1 , 0 1 8}$

## ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=517$ ]:

Q.1F1 In your own words, what do you see as the BIGGEST problem with elected officials in Washington D.C. these days? [OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE].

| $\begin{gathered} \text { October 16-20 } \\ \underline{2015} \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { March } 18-21 \\ \underline{2010} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |
|  | Influenced by special interest money/ |  |
| 16 | Corrupt | 18 |
|  | Liars / Dishonest / Don't keep promises/ |  |
| 11 | Personal morality | 7 |
| 10 | Out of touch with regular Americans | 12 |
| 10 | Care only about their political careers | 14 |
| 9 | Not willing to work together and compromise | e 12 |
|  | Obama/Democrats/Liberal agenda/ |  |
| 4 | Violating the Constitution | 3 |
| 3 | General members are the problem/ not qualified/bad managers/idiots | 4 |
|  | They've been there too long/Term limits / |  |
| 3 | They're too old | 3 |
| 3 | Do nothing/All talk/Don't do their jobs | 4 |
| 2 | Not careful with the government's money | 3 |
| 2 | Republicans/Conservative agenda | 1 |
| 1 | Health care | 5 |
| 1 | Don't turn to faith/religion enough | 2 |
| 1 | The economy/Jobs | 4 |
| 1 | Too focused on wars \& foreign problems | 2 |
| 3 | No major problems | 1 |
| 14 | Other | 8 |
| 16 | Don't know | 9 |

Total exceeds $100 \%$ because of multiple responses.

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=501$ ]:

Q.2F2 In your own words, what do you see as the BIGGEST problem with the federal government in Washington D.C. these days? [OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW." ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE].

October 16-20
$\underline{2015}$
13 NET Congress
11
2
11
5
4
2
7

3 Nmigration/immigrants
Nothing gets done 2
Money/big corporation money have too much influence in politics
Lies (unspecified) 1
Tax system/taxes
They've been there too long/Term limits/ They're too old
Wars and foreign problems 5
The govt doesn't do enough to help average

Americans

Out of touch (unspecified) 4
Don't turn to faith/religion enough *
The govt is wasteful and inefficient 1
Incompetent (unspecified) 1
No major problems 0
Other 13
Don't know 8
Total exceeds $100 \%$ because of multiple responses.

## NO QUESTI ONS 3-9

## ASK ALL:

Q. 10 Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMI ZE] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [ITEM] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTI NGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]


## ASK ALL:

PARTY Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as [RANDOMI ZE ITEMS 1 AND 2 WITH ITEM 3 ALWAYS LAST] a Republican, a Democrat, or an independent? [I NTERVIEWERS: IF RESPONDENT GI VES ANSWER SUCH AS "CONSERVATI VE, LI BERAL, VOTE FOR BEST MAN," PROBE: Would that be Republican, Democrat, or independent?]
ASK IF INDEP/ NO PREF/ OTHER/ DK/ REF (PARTY=3,4,9):
PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

|  |  |  | (VOL.) <br> Other | (VOL.) | Lean | Lean |  |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |
| Oct $16-20,2015$ | $\frac{\text { Republican }}{19}$ | $\frac{\text { Democrat }}{29}$ | $\frac{\text { Independent }}{43}$ | $\frac{\text { party }}{6}$ | $\frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{3}$ | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{17}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{18}$ |


[^0]:    PEW RESEARCH CENTER

[^1]:    ${ }^{1}$ The 1996 Knight-Ridder survey did not include a question asking independents which party they lean toward; Republicans and Democrats do not include leaners in the analysis of this question, to allow for comparisons over time.

[^2]:    ${ }^{2}$ 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?"

[^3]:    3 In March 2010, question read, "And thinking about the state where you live, are you are satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your state today?"
    4 For July 7-9, 1995 through January 15-18, 2007 the Gallup question read, "In general, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in your state at this time?"
    $5 \quad$ For February 2014 and March 2010 question read, "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?"

[^4]:    1
    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?"

[^5]:    2 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 what's going on in government and public affairs ..." No significant differences were found between questions and the

[^6]:    3 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 October, 1997 response options were read in same order to all respondents.

[^7]:    $5 \quad$ Earlier trends available from Gallup.

[^8]:    $6 \quad$ 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? [RANDOMI ZE: Democrats or Republicans]"
    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?"

[^9]:    8 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.

[^10]:    9 In Feb 8-12, 2012 survey, question was asked as a stand-alone item.

[^11]:    10 The January 1996 Knight-Ridder question stem read, "Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about the government in Washington. After I read each pair, tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes CLOSER to your opinion -- even if neither is exactly right."
    11 In October, 2006 and earlier, both answer choices began: "Homosexuality is a way of life that should be..."
    Selected trend points excluded due to context concerns.

[^12]:    13 Gallup June 1986 poll not included in trend due to differences in question context.

[^13]:    14 Trends for January 1992 and January 1989 are based on general public.

[^14]:    16
    In J anuary 2014 and earlier, response items were not randomized. In J anuary 2013, question asked as a stand-alone item.

[^15]:    19 The question was asked in very different contexts in earlier surveys that warrant caution when making comparisons. 20 In October 1997, question asked: "If you had a son or daughter, would you like to see him or her go into politics as a life's work when he or she gets out of school?" Gallup and NORC asked only about sons.
    National Opinion Research Center at the University of Chicago.

[^16]:    22 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."

[^17]:    23 In 1989 and earlier, CBS/NYT question read, "In general, government grows bigger as it provides more services. If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing less services or a bigger government providing more services?"

[^18]:    24 Question was worded: "Please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of...the FBI (Federal Bureau of Investigation)...Is that a very favorable/unfavorable impression, or just somewhat favorable/unfavorable?"
    25 Question wording for all favorability trends from the ends from the Roper Organization was: "Let me ask you about a few specific federal agencies [ITEM]-Is your opinion of them highly favorable, or moderately favorable, or not too favorable, or rather unfavorable?" In these surveys, those who could not rate were not distinguished from those who had never heard of the agency; both were entered as "don't know" and are shown here as "can't rate".

[^19]:    26 Question asked September 25-27, N=406.

