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# Beyond Distrust: How Americans View Their Government

Broad criticism, but positive performance ratings in many areas

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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.

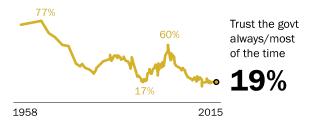
Currently, just 19% say they can trust the government always or most of the time, among the lowest levels in the past half-century. Only 20% would describe government programs as being well-run. And elected officials are held in such low regard that 55% of the public says "ordinary Americans" would do 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 2010 and 1998. This report was made possible by The Pew Charitable Trusts, which

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





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

Areas a majority/plurality say	Major role for govt	Govt doing a good job
Keeping country safe from terror	94%	72%
Responding to natural disasters	<b>√</b> 88	₹ 79
Ensuring safe food and medicine	<b>Ø</b> 87	<b>v</b> 72
Managing immigration system	<b>V</b> 81	<b>28</b>
Maintaining infrastructure	<b>v</b> 76	<b>√</b> 52
Protecting the environment	<b>√</b> 75	<b>v</b> 59
Strengthening the economy	74	<b>▼</b> 51
Ensuring access to high quality ed	d 🗹 70	<b>√</b> 52
Ensuring basic income for 65+	<b>√</b> 69	<b>48</b>
Setting workplace standards	€ 66	76
Ensuring access to health care	<b>√</b> 61	<b>√</b> 56
Helping people get out of poverty	<b>√</b> 55	<b>36</b>
Advancing space exploration	<b>47</b>	<b>√</b> 51
	_	

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015.

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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

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.

Democratic leaners.

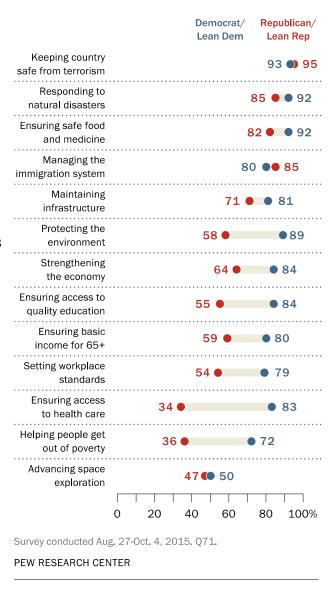
There is bipartisan agreement that the federal government should play a major role in dealing with terrorism, natural disasters, food and medicine safety, and roads and infrastructure. And while the presidential campaign has exposed sharp partisan divisions over immigration policy, large majorities of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

But the partisan differences over government's appropriate role are revealing – with the widest gaps on several issues relating to the social safety net.

Only about a third of Republicans and Republican leaners see a major role for the federal government in helping people get out of poverty (36%) and ensuring access to health care (34%), by far the lowest percentages for any of the 13 issues tested. Fully 72% of

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

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



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 <a href="mailto:appendix A">appendix A</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.

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.

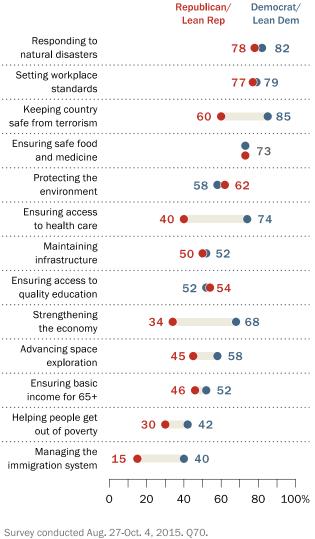
In several areas, Democrats and Republicans give the federal government similar ratings: Large majorities of both Democrats and Republicans say it does a good job of responding to natural disasters (82% and 78%, respectively) and setting fair and safe standards for workplaces (79% and 77%, respectively).

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%).

### **How Democrats and Republicans rate** government's performance

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



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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.

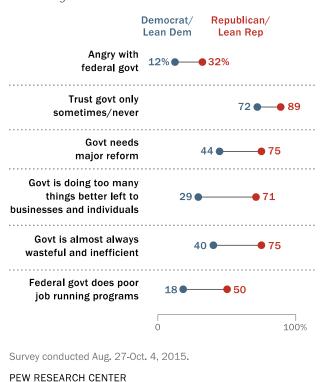
Currently, 22% say they are "angry" at the federal government; 57% are "frustrated," and 18% say they are "basically content." These sentiments have changed little over the past year, but two years ago – during the partial government shutdown – <u>a record 30% expressed anger at government</u>.

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 ...



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.

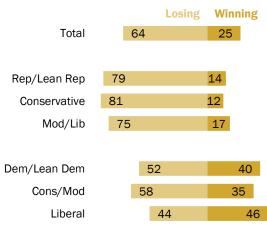
Overall, nearly two-thirds of Americans (64%) say that on the issues that matter to them, their side loses more often than it wins. Just 25% say their side comes out ahead more often.

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.

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.

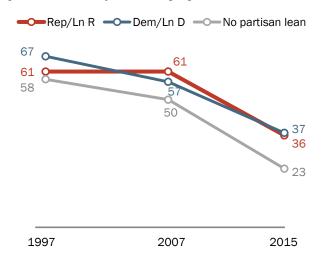
And, as both parties' nominating contests continue, 64% of all Americans – including 68% of Democrats and 62% of Republicans – say that the high cost of a presidential campaign "discourages many good candidates from running." Just 31% overall say that the high cost of presidential campaigns does not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

## Both parties have lost confidence and trust in public's political wisdom

% very great /good deal of trust and confidence in political wisdom of American people



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q12.

### 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.

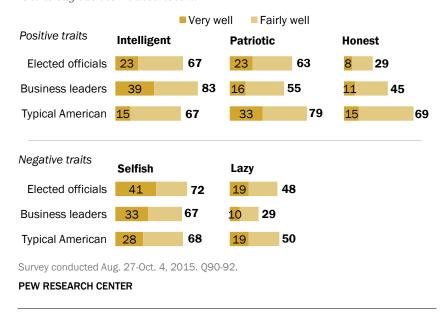
And elected officials receive very low marks for honesty. Just 29% say the term "honest" describes elected officials. That compares with 45% who say business leaders are honest and 69% who say the same about typical Americans.

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

Comparable percentages

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

% who say each term describes ...



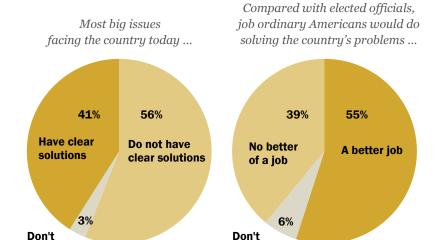
also say the term applies to typical Americans (68%) and business leaders (67%).

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. However, Republicans are

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



know

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q107t/u. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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know

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 non-angry Republicans, in part because they are better known among the "angry" group.

In contrast, Jeb Bush's favorable rating is 18 percentage points lower among "angry" than "non-angry" Republicans (57% vs 39%).

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

## Jeb Bush viewed unfavorably by most Republicans 'angry' at government

% of Republicans and Republican leaners who say their view of each is ...

			Can't	Angry- Not angry	
	Unfavorable	Favorable	DK	fav diff	
Among those who are	Rut	oio			
Angry	25	66	10	+18	
Not angry	24	48	27		
	Trur	mp			
Angry	32	64	4	+16	
Not angry	48	48	4		
Cruz					
Angry	25	58	17	+12	
Not angry	28	46	27		
Carson					
Angry	15	71	15	+8	
Not angry	15	63	22		
Bush					
Angry	57	36	7	-13	
Not angry	39	49	12		
Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015.  PFW RESEARCH CENTER					

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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 Party	Dem Party	Gap	
Asked about each part	%	%			
Can do a good job managing the federal government	Yes	49	52	D+3	
	No	45	44		
Asked about Rep Party	1				
ls too willing to cut govt programs, even when they work	Yes	59			
	No	34			
Asked about Dem Party					
Too often sees govt as the only way to solve problems	Yes		59		
	No	-	36		
0					

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

**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.

### **1. Trust in government: 1958-2015**

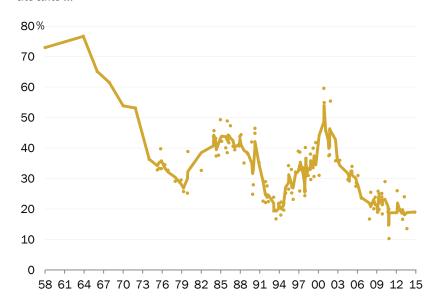
The public's trust in the federal government continues to be at historically low levels. Only 19% of Americans today say they can trust the government in Washington to do what is right "just

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
than 50 years. In 1958,
when the American
National Election Study
first asked this question,
73% said they could trust
the government just about
always or most of the time.

### 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 1970s, 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 1980s 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%.

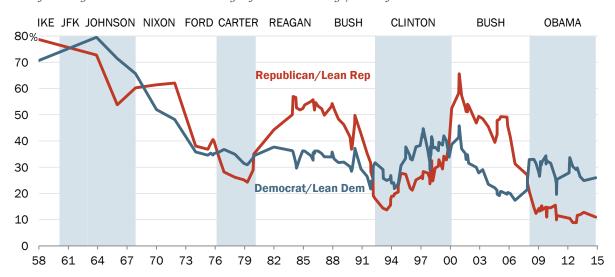
### Trust in government and partisanship

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.

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	Rep/ Lean Rep	Dem/ Lean Dem	Rep-Dem 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 short-lived. 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.

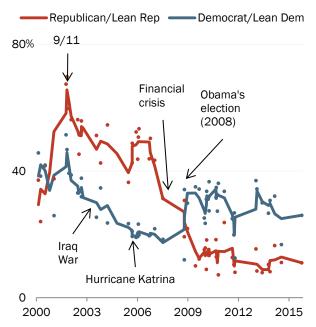
In July 2003, as opposition to the Iraq War grew, 36% of the public said they trusted government, according to a CBS/New York Times poll. About half of Republicans (51%) trusted government compared with just 25% of Democrats.

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.

## Trust in government by party: 2000-2015

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, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. Trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

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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. <u>In a Pew Research Center survey in March 2010</u>, 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.

Whites are slightly less trusting of government - only 15% feel they can always or mostly trust the government than blacks (23%) or Hispanics (28%). Trust in government among whites is also down from February 2014 when 22% reported largely trusting the government.

While Republicans and Republican leaners generally express very little trust in the federal government, trust is especially low among conservative Republicans. Just 9% say they can trust the government always or most of the time, compared with 14% of moderate and liberal Republicans. Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, comparable shares of liberals (28%) and moderates and conservatives (25%) express trust in government.

And among all politically engaged

### Modest age and education differences in trust in government

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

	Always/ Most of the time	Only some of the time	(VOL.) Never	DK
	%	%	%	%
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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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).

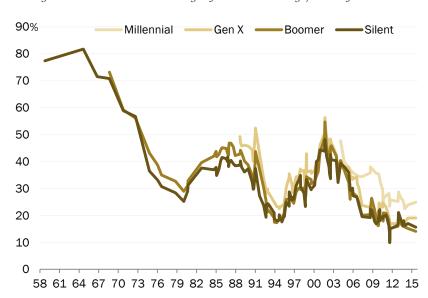
In 2009 and 2010, the differences across generations were somewhat larger: In August 2009, the three-point moving average of trust in the federal government among Millennials was 36%,

compared with about 20% across older generations.

### In the early 1990s, Gen Xers – whose oldest members were then in their early 20s – 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 and Silents.

#### Trust in government by generation: 1958-2015

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

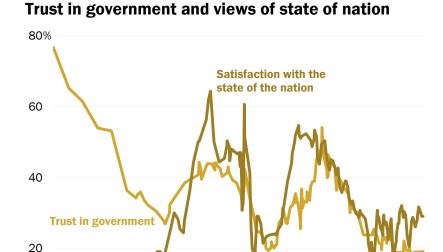


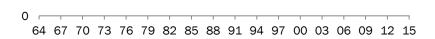
Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q15. Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN Polls. From 1976-2014 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.

### 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 1970s, the early 1990s, 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-1980s 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 1960s 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

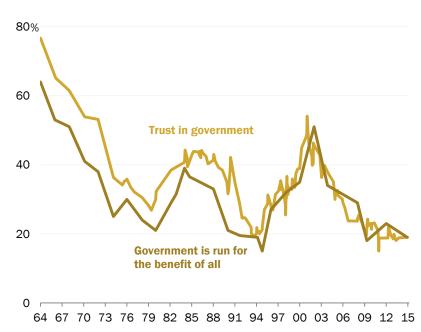
run by a few big interests looking out for themselves."

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 for the benefit of all – and

## 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.

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an identical percentage says they can trust the federal government just about always or most of the time.

### 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

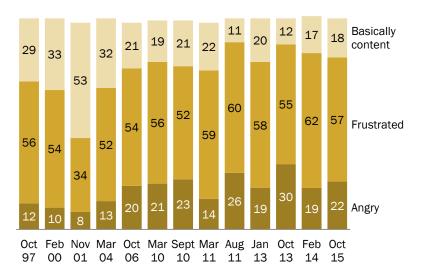
Anger at government is more widespread today than it was in the 1990s. Only on rare occasions, however, do more than

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.

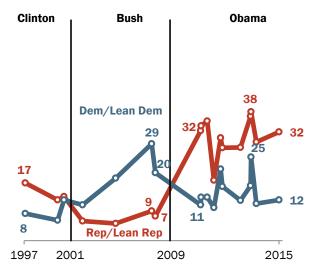
Since the late 1990s, majorities have expressed frustration with the federal government – with one notable exception. In November 2001, during the period of national unity that followed the 9/11 terrorist attacks, 53% said they were basically content with the federal government, while just 34% expressed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

% saying anger best describes their feelings toward the federal government  $\dots$ 



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q14.

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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 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.

### 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 partial partia

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

## Congress, politics viewed as biggest problems with federal government

What is the biggest problem with the federal government in Washington these days? (open-ended question)

	Total	Rep/ Lean Rep	Dem/ Lean Dem	R-D diff
	%	%	%	
Congress	13	10	17	-7
Gridlock/no compromise	11	8	14	-6
Politics	11	11	13	-2
Obama/Liberal agenda	5	9	2	+7
Republicans/Cons agenda	4	0	7	-7
Government's role too big	7	11	4	+7
Corruption	6	10	3	+7
Debt/Overspending	5	8	4	+4
Economy/jobs	4	2	5	-3
Health care	4	1	6	-5
Immigration	3	4	3	+1
Nothing gets done	3	3	4	-1
Money/corporate influence	3	3	3	0
Lies	3	4	3	+1
Tax system	3	2	2	0
Terms are too long	3	4	1	+3
No major problems	2	1	2	-1
Other	26	29	23	+6
Don't know	19	11	20	-9

Survey conducted Oct. 16-20, 2015. Open-ended question. Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses. See topline for additional details.

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the leading problem, while Democrats are somewhat more likely to mention health care (6% vs. 1%).

### Most say the government needs sweeping reforms

<u>In 1997</u>, 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.

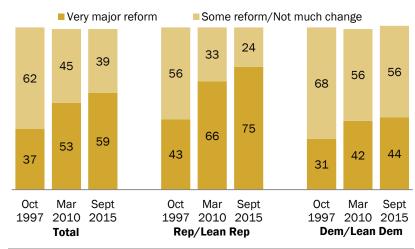
Most of the change since the late 1990s has come among Republicans: Fully 75% of Republicans and leaners now say the federal government needs very major reform, up from 43% in 1997 and 66% five years ago. The share of Democrats saying the government is in need of sweeping reform has risen more modestly 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.

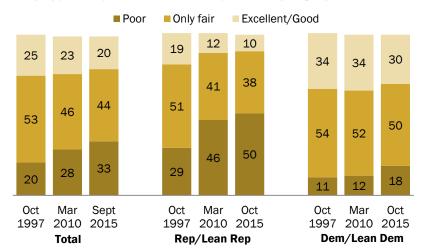
Most Americans now say the federal government is

## 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.

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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?'

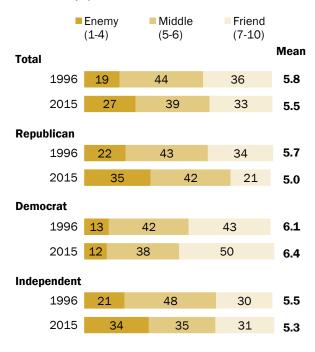
Asked to place themselves on a scale from 1 to 10 "where '1' means you think the federal government is your enemy and '10' means you think the federal government is your friend," 27% of registered voters say they think of government as an enemy (1-4), up 8 points since 1996. The share of voters who place 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. <sup>1</sup>

In 1996, Republicans were somewhat more likely to view the government as a friend (34%) than as an enemy (22%). Today, that balance of opinion is reversed: 21% say they see it as a friend, while 35% see it as an enemy.

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

Do you think of the government federal government more as a ... (%)



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.

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Half of all Democrats (50%) see the government as an enemy. These views are similar to opinions among Democrats in 1996.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> 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.

### 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

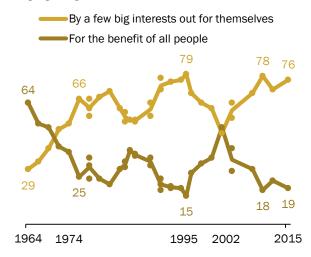
interests," while only 19% say the government "is run for the benefit of all the people." This view is little changed over the past five years, and is on par with views in the early 1990s.

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 ...



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.

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government, though this view is somewhat more widely held among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (81% say this) than among Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents (71%).

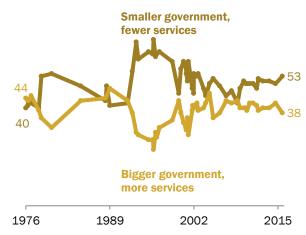
### Size and scope of government

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 1990s, 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 (80%) 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 ...

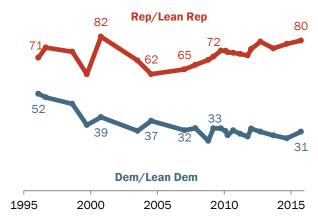


Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q6. Data prior to 1997 from LA Times, ABC/Washington Post, and CBS/New York Times surveys. Don't know responses not shown.

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.

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, fewer services	Bigger govt, more services	Depends/ DK
	%	%	%
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.

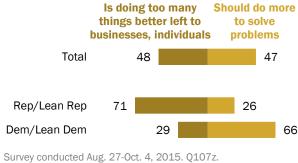
A separate question frames the issue of the scope of government somewhat differently: Should

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.

### **Americans split on whether government** should do more to solve problems

% who say the government ...



Don't know responses not shown.

#### 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.

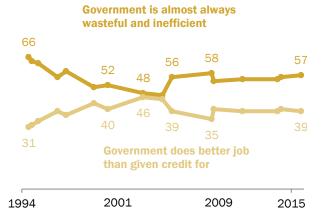
Overall, 57% of Americans say that "government is almost always wasteful and inefficient," while 39% say it "often does a better job than people give it credit for." This balance of opinion is largely unchanged over the past decade.

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.

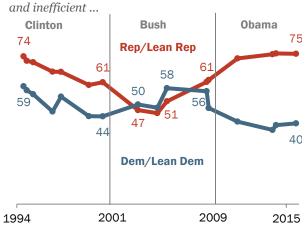
### Majority continues to say government is wasteful and inefficient

% who say ...



### Wider partisan gap in perceptions of wastefulness than during Bush era

% saying the government is almost always wasteful



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q42a.

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

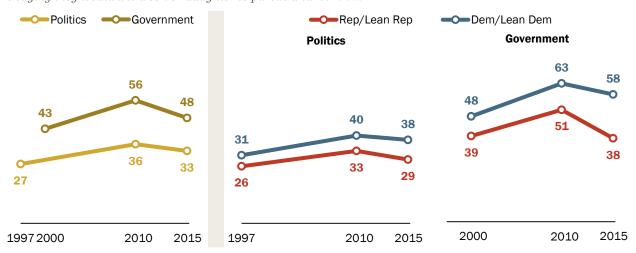
Though many Americans express anger or frustration about the federal government, nearly half (48%) say if they had a son or daughter finishing school they would like to see them pursue a career in government.

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 ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB130F1 & QB131F2. 2000 data from NPR/Kaiser/Harvard survey.

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.

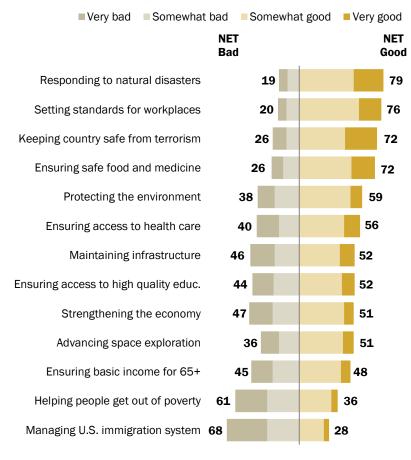
# 3. Views of government's performance and role in specific areas

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%).

### **Evaluating the performance of the federal government**

Job federal government is doing in each area ... (%)



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

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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.

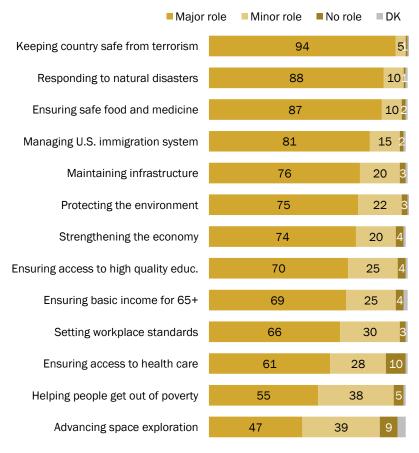
Overwhelming majorities say the government should have a role – either major or minor – in all 13. But there are clear differences in opinions about the extent of government involvement across these issues.

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,

### **Evaluating the role of the federal government**

Role federal government should play in each area ... (%)



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct 4, 2015. Q71. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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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.

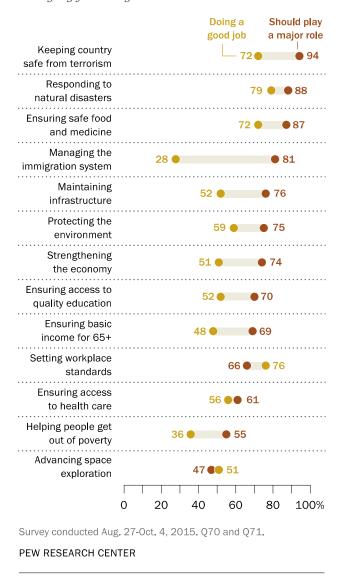
On several issues, relatively high performance ratings correspond with broad majorities who say the government should play a major role in that same area. For example, 79% say the government is doing a good job responding to natural disasters and 88% say it should play a major role in this area. Keeping 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 ...



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.

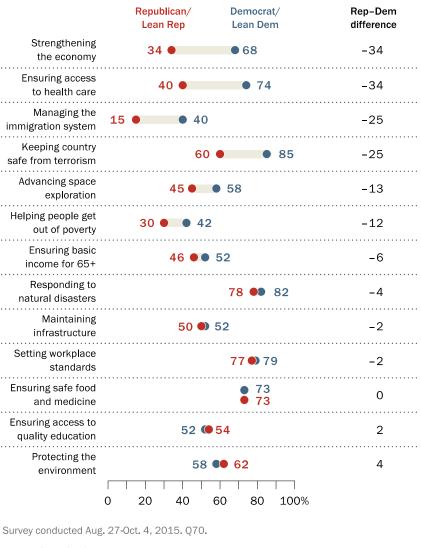
When it comes to the performance of the federal government, partisans hold opposing views of how the government is doing in strengthening the economy and ensuring access to health care.

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 ...



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%).

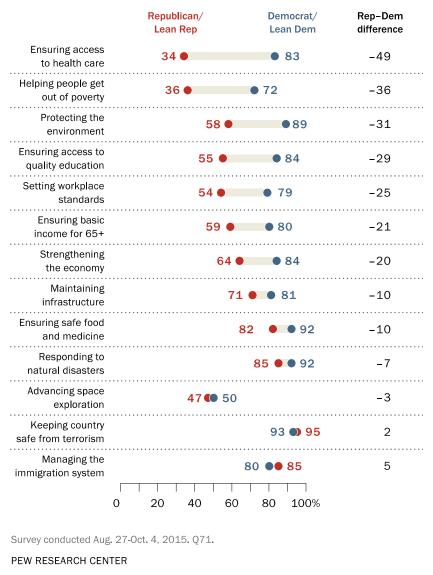
When it comes to the role of the federal government, there are large partisan differences in the share who think the federal government should play a "major role" across several high-profile issue areas, with Republicans more likely to see a limited role for government than Democrats. However, for all 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.

Ensuring access to health care is the issue area with the largest partisan divide in the share saying the government should play a major role.

Republicans and Republican leaners (34%) are 49 points less likely than Democrats and Democratic leaners (83%) to say the federal government should play a major role in

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

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



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

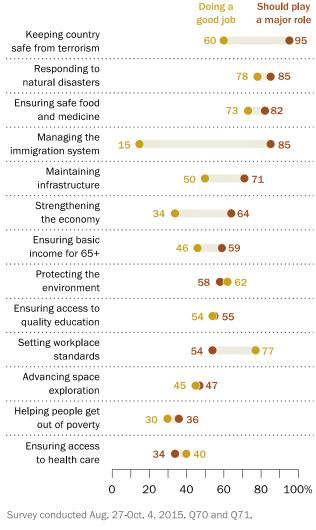
The widest gap among Republicans and Republican leaners in their views of government performance and role is seen on immigration. Just 15% of Republicans say the federal government is doing a good job managing the nation's immigration system. Fully 85% say the government should play a major role in managing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

## Republican views of government's role and performance

Among Republicans and Republican leaners, percent saying federal government ...



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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

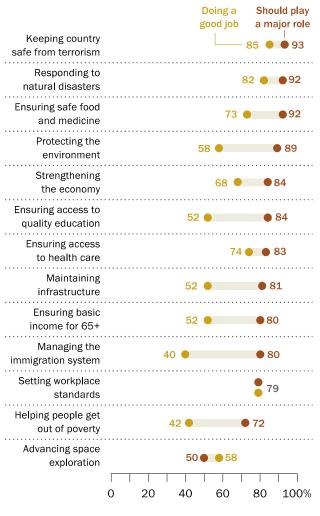
As with Republicans, Democratic views of government role and performance differ the most over the issue of immigration. Just four-in-ten Democrats and leaners say the federal government is doing a good job managing the nation's immigration system, among the lowest performance ratings Democrats give the 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.

### 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			Cons-
	A 11	0	Mod/	Mod/Lib
	All %	Cons %	Lib %	diff
Strengthening the economy	34	26	46	-20
Keeping country safe from terrorism	60	54	69	-15
Helping people get out of poverty	30	27	36	-9
Setting workplace standards	77	75	83	-8
Ensuring access to quality education	54	52	60	-8
Managing immigration system	15	12	20	-8
Advancing space exploration	45	43	49	-6
Ensuring access to health care	40	38	44	-6
Responding to natural disasters	78	77	81	-4
Ensuring basic income for 65+	46	45	48	-3
Ensuring safe food and medicine	73	73	74	-1
Protecting the environment	62	62	63	-1
Maintaining infrastructure	50	50	51	-1

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

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 to see a major role for government helping

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

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

Re	Cons-		
A.II	0	Mod/	Mod/Lib
			diff
%	%	%	
58	48	74	-26
55	49	66	-17
64	59	73	-14
36	31	45	-14
34	29	42	-13
54	52	59	-7
82	80	86	-6
85	83	88	-5
71	69	74	-5
59	57	62	-5
47	45	47	-2
95	96	95	+1
85	88	81	+7
	All % 58 55 64 36 34 54 82 85 71 59 47 95	All Cons % 58 48 55 49 64 59 36 31 34 29 54 52 82 80 85 83 71 69 59 57 47 45 95 96	All       Cons       Lib         %       %         58       48       74         55       49       66         64       59       73         36       31       45         34       29       42         54       52       59         82       80       86         85       83       88         71       69       74         59       57       62         47       45       47         95       96       95

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct 4, 2015. Q71.

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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			Lib-	
	AII	Mod/ Cons	Lib	Mod/Cons diff	
	%	%	%	uiii	
Strengthening the economy	68	66	70	+4	
Managing immigration system	40	38	42	+4	
Keeping country safe from terrorism	85	84	87	+3	
Setting workplace standards	79	78	78	0	
Responding to natural disasters	82	83	81	-2	
Ensuring access to health care	74	76	72	-4	
Ensuring safe food and medicine	73	75	70	-5	
Maintaining infrastructure	52	55	48	-7	
Ensuring basic income for 65+	52	55	47	-8	
Advancing space exploration	58	62	53	-9	
Helping people get out of poverty	42	45	36	-9	
Ensuring access to quality education	52	56	46	-10	
Protecting the environment	58	63	50	-13	

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

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 ...

	Den	n/Lean D	Lib-	
		Mod/		Mod/Cons
	All	Cons	Lib	diff
	%	%	%	
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

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct 4, 2015. Q71.

### 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 17 70 NASA FBI 19 68 64 **Homeland Security** 30 Dept. of Defense 29 63 27 57 55 Social Security Admin. 37 HHS 31 54 NSA 31 52 **EPA** 38 52 **FDA** 39 51 46 Dept. of Justice 47 Dept. of Education 44 50 IRS 42 52 Veterans Affairs 52 39 69 Congress Supreme Court 50 Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. 013.

Don't know responses not shown.

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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.

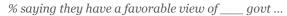
By about two-to-one, the public also has favorable views of the Department of Homeland Security (64% vs. 30% unfavorable), the Defense Department (63% vs. 29%) and the CIA (57% vs. 27%). The National Security Agency is viewed less positively – about half (52%) have a favorable impression of the NSA,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

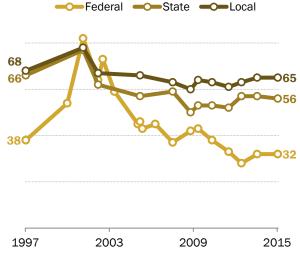
Of the 17 agencies and departments in the survey, the Department of Justice (46%), the Department of Education (44%), the IRS (42%) and the VA (39%) receive among the lowest favorability ratings. Roughly half have unfavorable impressions of all four organizations.

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 Democrats and Democratic leaners have a favorable view of the federal government,

Federal government viewed less favorably than state, local governments





Survey conducted Oct. 16-20, 2015. Q10.

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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 2010	0ct 2013	Sep 2015	'13-'15 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.

### 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%).

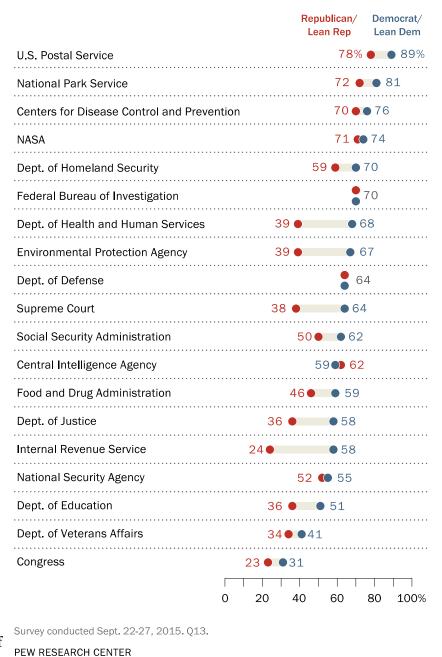
And more than twice as many Democrats (58%) as Republicans (24%) have a favorable opinion of the IRS.

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



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 October 2013.

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

% saying they have a favorable view of the Justice Dept.

	March 2010	0ct 2013	Sep 2015	'13-'15 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.

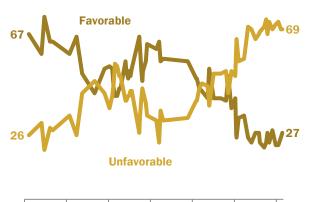
### Views of Congress and the Supreme Court

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**

% with a \_\_\_\_ view of Congress ...



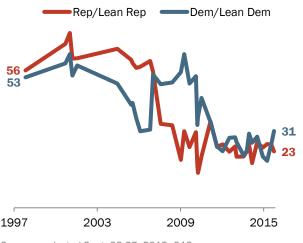
1985 1990 1995 2000 2005 2010 2015

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

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### **GOP Congress viewed less favorably by Republicans than Democrats**

% saying they have a favorable rating of Congress ...



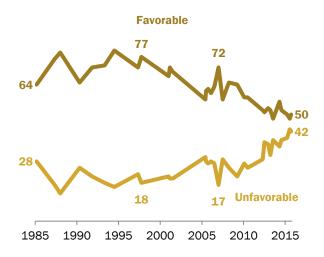
Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q13.

In July, <u>unfavorable opinions of the Supreme Court reached a 30-year high of 43%</u>, 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 ...

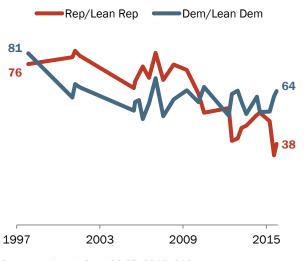


Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q13. Don't know responses not shown.

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

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



Survey conducted Sept. 22-27, 2015. Q13.

### 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

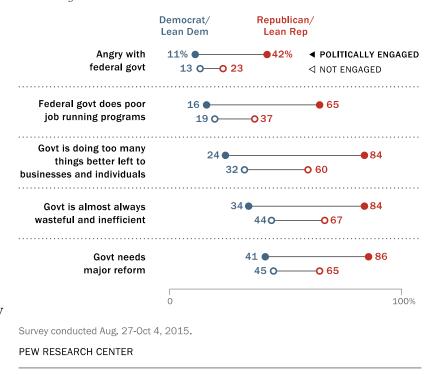
"government often does a better job than people give it credit for," while 40% say it is "almost always wasteful and inefficient." In contrast, Republicans say the government is wasteful by about three-to-one (75% vs. 22%).

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

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

## Partisan divides over government more pronounced among politically engaged

% who say ...



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%) less-engaged Republicans say this (a 46% plurality of the less-engaged rate the government's performance as "only fair").

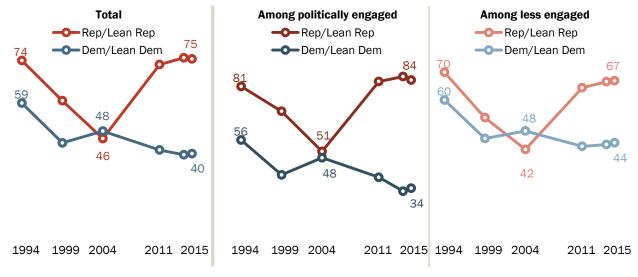
Similarly, though majorities of both engaged and less-engaged Republicans say the government is wasteful and inefficient (84% and 67%, respectively) and that it does "too many things better left to businesses and individuals" (84% and 60%, respectively), these views are more widely held among politically 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 <u>growing link</u> <u>between engagement and broader ideological polarization</u>.

#### **Engagement gap in views of government efficiency widens**

% who say government is wasteful and inefficient



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct 4, 2015. Q42a.

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 23-point 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 engag		
	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	7	59	62	+3R
Responding to natural disasters	82	76	6	82	80	2
Ensuring that food and medicine are safe	71	72	1	74	74	
Setting fair and safe workplace standards	75	74	1	80	78	2
Ensuring access to high quality education	47	47		54	59	5

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

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	8

Source: Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q71.

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.

# 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, <u>many cite Congress</u>, <u>politics</u>, <u>or a sense of corruption or undue outside influence</u>. 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 <u>ordinary Americans would do a better job at solving the nation's problems than their elected representatives.</u>

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.

A similar 74% say most elected officials "don't care what people like me think"; just 23% say elected officials care what they think.

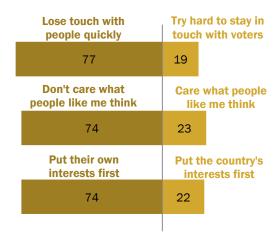
The public also casts doubt on the commitment of elected officials to put the country's interests ahead of their own.

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

## Elected officials widely viewed as out-of-touch, self-interested

% who say most elected officials ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q42j, Q106n, Q107w. Don't know responses not shown.

Republicans and Republican leaners are particularly likely to say elected officials are self-

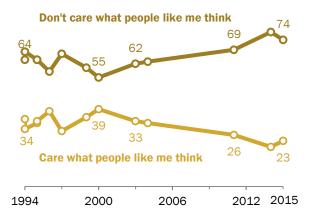
interested: 82% say this, compared with 71% of moderate and liberal Republicans, and similar proportions of conservative and moderate (69%) and liberal (73%) Democrats.

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 say this (78% vs. 69%). In 2004, when both

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

% who say most elected officials ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q106n. Don't know responses not shown.

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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/ Lean Ren	Dem/	R-D diff
%	%	%	<b>WIII</b>
16	17	16	+1
11	13	11	+2
10	12	7	+5
10	13	6	+7
9	7	14	-7
4	9	2	+7
3	4	2	+2
3	4	1	+3
3	3	2	+1
2	2	3	-1
2	2	3	-1
3	1	2	-1
18	17	20	-3
16	10	17	-7
	% 16 11 10 10 9 4 3 3 2 2 3 18	Total Lean Rep           %         %           16         17           11         13           10         12           10         13           9         7           4         9           3         4           3         4           3         2           2         2           3         1           18         17	Total         Lean Rep Lean Dem           %         %           16         17         16           11         13         11           10         12         7           10         13         6           9         7         14           4         9         2           3         4         2           3         4         1           3         2         2           2         2         3           2         2         3           3         1         2           18         17         20

Survey conducted Oct. 16-20, 2015. Open-end question. Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses. See topline for additional details.

### 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.

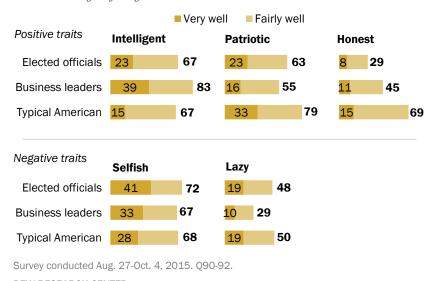
Two-thirds (67%) say that "intelligent" describes elected officials at least fairly well, the same share that says this about the typical American. Business leaders, by comparison, are seen as more intelligent (83% say this describes them at least fairly well).

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

But assessments of elected officials' honesty are far

## 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 ...



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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 of Rep/ Lean Rep I	Dem/	Business Rep/ Lean Rep	Dem/	Rep/	American Dem/ Lean Dem
Positive traits	%	%	%	%	%	%
Intelligent	65	70	87	82	70	66
Patriotic	60	68	66	48	77	82
Honest	25	34	55	39	70	72
Negative traits						
Selfish	76	70	63	72	69	69
Lazy	51	44	26	32	53	46

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q90-92.

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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 on 3-point scale

	0,,	o pomico	oaro	
	Positive (12%)	Mixed (31%)	Negative (57%)	Pos-Neg 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	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
	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	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	
	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.

### Compromising with the other party

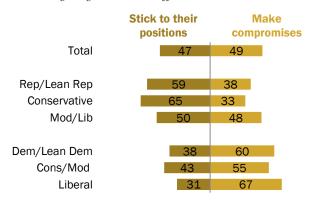
The public is also divided over the extent to which elected officials should make compromises with people with whom they disagree. While 49% of the public say they like elected officials who compromise, 47% say they prefer those who stick to their positions.

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.

### More people blame lawmakers than the political system

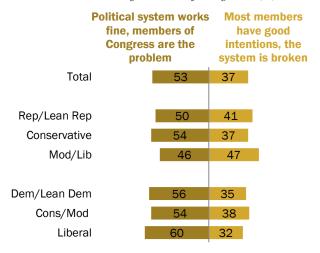
As was the case five years ago, more Americans blame problems with Congress on the members

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).

## Most say political system works fine, members of Congress are the problem

Which comes closer to your view of Congress? (%)



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

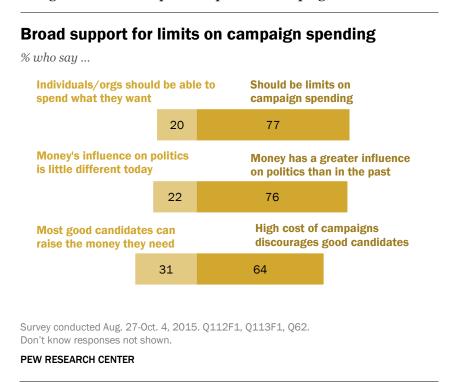
### Views of the role of money in politics

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 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	influence	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

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q112F1, Q113F1, Q62.

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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

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.

held.

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 ...

	ould not effectiv		_
Total	35	62	
Post grad	24	75	
College graduate	28	69	
Some college	35	60	
HS or less	40	57	
Republican/Lean Rep	39	58	
Conservative	40	57	
Mod/Lib	39	60	
Democrat/Lean Dem	27	71	
Cons/Mod	29	68	
Liberal	23	75	

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q114F1. Don't know responses not shown.

# 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.

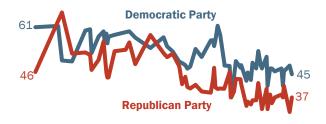
In addition, both parties are criticized for how they deal with the size and scope of government. Nearly six-in-ten (59%) say the Republican Party is too willing to cut government programs even when they work. An identical percentage says the Democratic Party too often sees government as the only way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

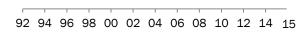
The favorable rating for the Democratic Party has changed little since the start of the year: Currently, 45% view the Democratic Party favorably, while 50% view it unfavorably. Meanwhile, the GOP's image has improved somewhat since July, when just 32% viewed the party favorably – among the lowest favorability 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 <u>unfavorable views of both parties</u> 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 ...



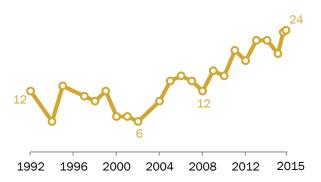


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q33.

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## 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.

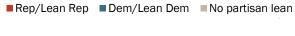
Most of the growth in unfavorable opinions of both parties has come among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, and among the 13% of the public that does not lean to either political party.

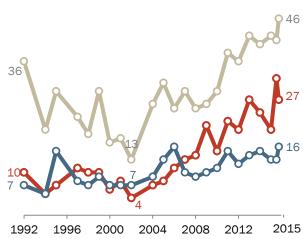
About a quarter of Republicans and Republican leaners (27%) say they have an unfavorable opinion of both parties. That is down slightly from July (32%) but one of the highest percentages since 1992. By comparison, just 16% of Democrats and Democratic leaners have a negative opinion of both parties.

Independents without partisan leanings are the group most likely to have negative views of both parties. Close to half (46%) of non-leaning 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

% 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.

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

### Predictably, those who have a favorable view of one party and an unfavorable one of the other are overwhelmingly

party.

## Republicans and Republican leaners make up biggest share of those who view both parties unfavorably

Combined views of Republican and Democratic parties

0/ who identify	Percent of public	Both <u>unfav</u> (24%)	Rep <u>fav/</u> Dem <u>unfav</u> (25%)	Dem <u>fav</u> / Rep <u>unfav</u> (33%)	Both <u>fav</u> (11%)
% who identify themselves as	%	%	%	%	%
Rep/Lean Rep	40	45	91	4	36
Dem/Lean Dem	46	30	5	92	48
No partisan lean	<u>13</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q33. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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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 Party	Dem Party	Gap
Asked about each part	ty	%	%	
Can do a good job	Yes	49	52	D+3
managing the federal government	No	45	44	
Is too extreme	Yes	54	39	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 Part	:у			
Too often sees gov't	Yes		59	
as the only way to solve problems	No	-	36	

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

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

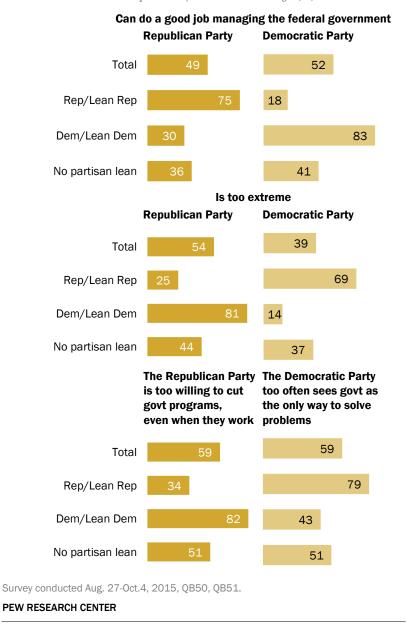
Most Democrats and
Democratic leaners (83%) say
the Democratic Party can do
a good job managing the
government, compared with
just 30% who say the
Republican Party could do a
good job. Among
Republicans, 75% say their
own party could manage the
government effectively, while
just 18% say the same about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



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).

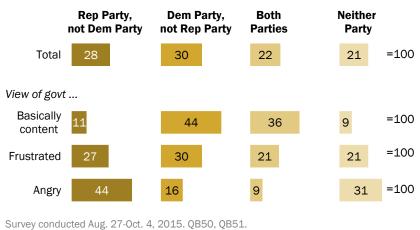
Among the 22% of the public that is angry with the federal government – a largely Republican group – 44% say, in effect, that only the GOP can do well in managing the government; they say the Republicans can do well and the Democrats cannot. Yet nearly a third of those angry at government (31%) say neither 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 ... (%)



Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

### Differences between the two major parties

The share of Americans who say there are major differences between the political parties, while

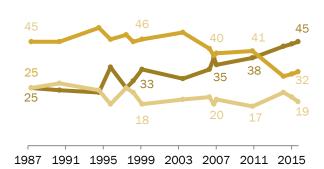
little changed from early last year, remains as high as it has ever been.

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





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

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 deal	A fair amount	Hardly any	DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	45	32	19	4=100
Rep/Lean Rep	47	32	18	3=100
Conservative	51	29	17	3=100
Mod/Lib	40	39	19	2=100
Dem/Lean Dem	47	34	16	3=100
Cons/Mod	44	36	17	3=100
Liberal	52	32	14	2=100
No partisan lean	31	25	33	11=100
Politically engaged	56	28	14	2=100
Less engaged	38	35	22	6=100

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q11. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

### 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.

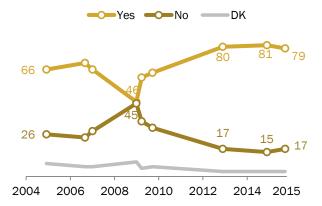
When asked to look five years ahead, 78% say that either the country will be just as politically divided as it is now (42%), or more divided (36%).

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.

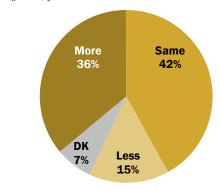
Comparable percentages of Republicans and Republican leaners (82%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (78%) say that the country is more politically divided than in the past. A slightly smaller share of those

### Public sees wider political divisions, most expect rift to continue

Country more politically divided than in past? (%)



In five years, political divisions will be ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB27, QB28. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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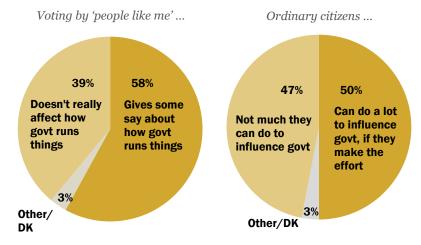
who do not lean toward either party (72%) say the same.

# 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 government runs things,"

## 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.

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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 ...

	Voting gives people like me some say in govt	Ordinary citizens can influence govt if they make an effort
Total	58	50
Men	56	49
Women	59	52
White	57	47
Black	58	58
Hispanic	59	57
•		
18-29	56	55
30-49	58	50
50-64	57	49
65+	59	49
Post grad	70	53
College grad	65	53
Some college	58	51
HS or less	51	48
Rep/Lean Rep	56	47
Conservative	59	49
Mod/lib	52	45
Dem/Lean Dem	63	55
Cons/mod	62	55
Liberal	65	56
No partisan lean	44	43
Politically engaged	1	
Rep/Lean Rep	61	49
Dem/Lean Dem	70	57

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. 042I & 0107v. 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

### Scale of political efficacy

(%) High Medium Low 28 Total Men 35 29 Women 27 White 33 30 Black Hispanic 18-29 34 26 32 30-49 29 50-64 33 27 65+ Post grad College grad 24 Some college 28 HS or less 30 Rep/Lean Rep 34 30 Conservative 34 28 32 Mod/Lib 36 Dem/Lean Dem 23 34 23 Cons/Mod Liberal No partisan lean Politically engaged 24

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

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Less engaged

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).

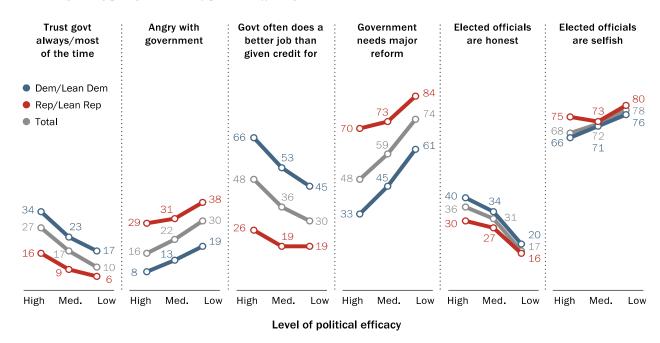
When it comes to the amount of reform the federal government needs, those with high levels of political efficacy (48%) are much less likely than those with medium (59%) or low (74%) efficacy to say the government is in need of very major reform. As many as 48% of those with high political efficacy say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

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

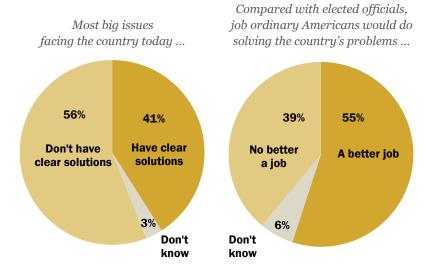
Amid high frustration with the government, most Americans see the challenges facing the

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 better job solving the country's problems than

## 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.

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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 <u>low regard in which officials are held</u> 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 ...

	Do not have clear solutions	Have clear solutions
Total	56	41
Men	51	47
Women	60	36
White	57	40
Black	56	40
Hispanic	50	47
18-29	61	37
30-49	56	42
50-64	51	47
65+	57	39
Post grad	56	42
College grad	59	39
Some college	56	42
HS or less	54	43
Rep/Lean Rep	52	46
Conservative	49	49
Mod/lib	57	41
Dem/Lean Dem	60	38
Cons/mod	61	38
Liberal	60	37
Politically engaged		
Rep/Lean Rep	43	56
Dem/Lean Dem	59	39

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.

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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 less-engaged 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 ...

5 1	33	
	No better	A better job
Total	39	55
Men	39	55
Women	39	54
White	39	55
Black	42	52
Hispanic	35	56
18-29	47	49
30-49	39	53
50-64	32	62
65+	39	54
Post grad	49	45
College graduate	44	50
Some college	38	55
HS or less	36	58
Rep/Lean Rep	32	62
Conservative	30	66
Mod/Lib	37	57
Dem/Lean Dem	45	49
Cons/Mod	43	51
Liberal	49	46
Politically engaged		
Rep/Lean Rep	28	68
Dem/Lean Dem	46	48

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.

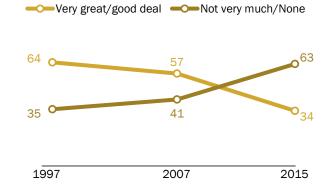
While most think ordinary Americans would do a better job than elected officials, independent assessments of the public's political wisdom are relatively negative, and have fallen in recent years.

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 (%)

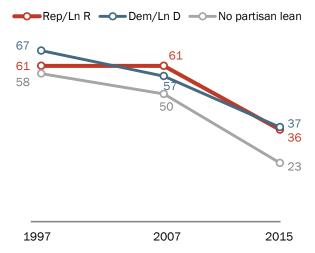


Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q12. Don't know responses not shown.

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### Both parties have lost confidence and trust in public's political wisdom

% very great /good deal of trust and confidence in political wisdom of American people



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q12.

### 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.

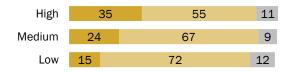
Among all Democrats and Democratic leaners, views are more mixed: 52% say their side has been losing more than winning on important political issues, while 40% say they've been winning more often.

### 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? (%)

	■Winning	Losing	■ Other/D	K
Total	25	64		11
18-29	32	5	9	10
30-49	29	60		11
50-64	21	69		10
65+	19	70		11
Post grad	35	5	56	9
College grad	32	5	9	9
Some college	24	66		10
HS or less	22	67		11
Rep/Lean Rep	14	79		8
Conservative	12	81		6
Mod/Lib	17	75		9
Dem/Lean Dem	40		52	9
Cons/Mod	35	í	58	7
Liberal	46		44	10

Political efficacy scale ...



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q110. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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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.

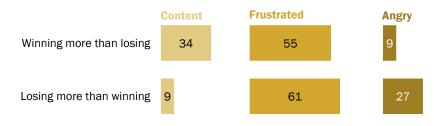
Across levels of educational attainment, the view that one's side has been losing more often than winning is particularly widespread among those with no more than a high school diploma (67%) and those with only some college experience (66%). Somewhat smaller majorities of college graduates (59%) and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

### Most say politics not a struggle between right and wrong

Although there has been a marked rise in <u>partisan antipathy</u> – 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.

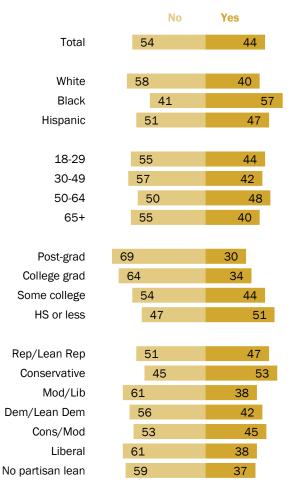
The view that politics is a struggle between right and wrong is more common among blacks (57%) than among Hispanics (47%) or whites (40%).

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.

# 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.

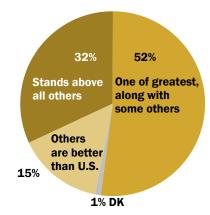
Most Americans are not highly confident in the nation's future. Fewer than half (45%) express quite a lot of confidence in the future of the U.S. Overall confidence in the future of the U.S. is at about the same level as it was 20 years ago, but is substantially lower than during the 1970s.

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.

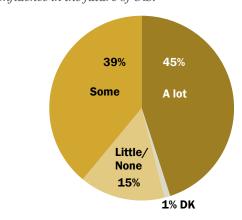
As recent Pew Research Center surveys have found, more Americans say immigrants strengthen the country (53%) than say they are a burden on the United States (38%). And most (57%) say the country's increasing ethnic diversity makes it a better place to live. Attitudes about immigrants and growing ethnic diversity also are linked to views about government: Anger with the federal

### Views 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.

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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%).

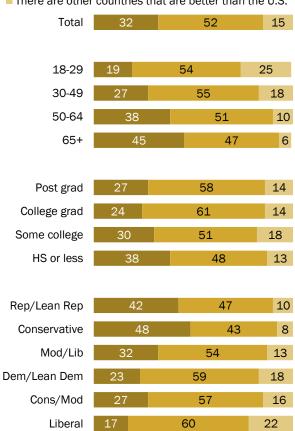
Nearly half of conservative Republicans and Republican leaners (48%) say the U.S. stands above all other nations – by far the highest share among ideological groups. No more than about a third of those in any other group (32% of moderate and liberal Republicans) view the United States' global standing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

Just 17% of liberal Democrats say the United States stands above all other nations, the lowest percentage among ideological groups. Most liberal Democrats (60%) say the U.S. is

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

Statement that best describes opinion of U.S. (%)

- The U.S. stands above all other countries
- The U.S. is one of greatest countries, along with others
- There are other countries that are better than the U.S.



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB45. Don't know responses not shown.

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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 a lot %	Some %	Little/ None %	<b>DK</b> %
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.

## 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.

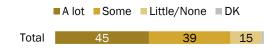
Among people with a relatively high degree of "political efficacy" – those who say their vote matters and that ordinary citizens have the capacity to affect government – 57% have quite a lot of confidence in the future of the U.S.

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.

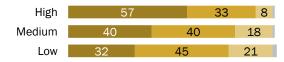
This pattern holds within both parties. Republicans and Republican leaners with high political efficacy are more likely to have quite a lot of confidence in the country's future (52%) than are those with medium (35%) or low (29%) levels of political efficacy.

# How feelings of political efficacy are linked to confidence in nation's future

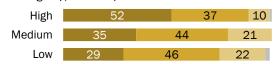
Confidence in the future of the U.S. (%)



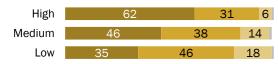




### Scale among Rep/Lean Rep ...



### Scale among Dem/Lean Dem ...



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

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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

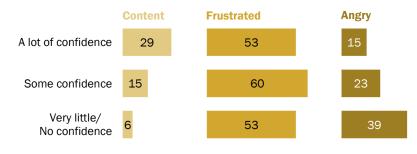
People who are most confident about the nation's future have much less animosity toward the federal government than do those who are less confident.

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

Feeling toward govt among those with \_\_\_\_\_confidence in future of U.S. (%)



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

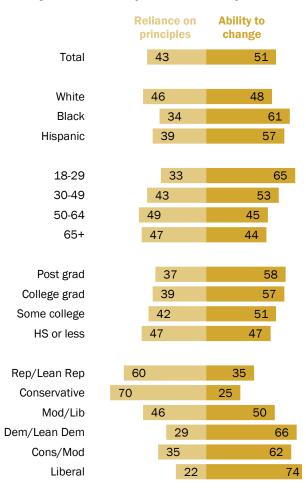
half say the U.S. has been successful more because of its ability to change, while 43% attribute the success of the United States more to its adherence to long-standing principles.

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.

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.

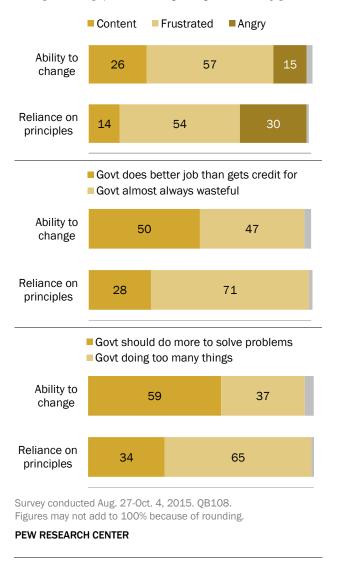
Among those who say the country has been successful because of its ability to change, more say they are basically content with government (26%) than say they are angry (15%); 57% say they are frustrated. By contrast, among those who say the country has been successful because of its reliance on principles,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



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 place	Worse place	Doesn't make diff	DK
	%	%	%	%
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.

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 (81%) say they think of immigrants as strengthening the country, while just 14%

# 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.

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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 increasing number of people of many different races, ethnic groups and nationalities make the U.S. a worse place to live.

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

Feeling toward government ...

	Content I	Frustrated %	Angry %	DK %
Total	18	57	22	3=100
Immigrants strengthen country	26	58	13	3=100
Immigrants burden country	10	55	34	2=100
Diversity makes U.S				
Better place to live	20	60	17	3=100
Not much different	13	60	24	3=100
Worse place to live	9	48	42	1=100

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

## 10. Government and taxes

While the public expresses a range of negative assessments of the government generally, there <u>continues to be</u> 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

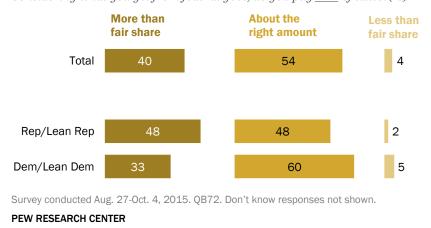
share, while just 4% say they pay less than their fair share.

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

Among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, as many say they pay more than their fair share in taxes as say they pay about the right amount (both 48%), with

# 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?(%)



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 among those who say they pay about the right

# 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 than fair share	About the right amount	Less than fair share	DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	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.

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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 \_\_\_\_\_ share of federal taxes

	More than fair share	Less than fair share/ About right
Feeling toward fed govt	%	%
Content	13	25
Frustrated	54	57
Angry	31	17
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
Trust govt in Washington		
Always/Most of time	12	23
Only sometimes	66	65
Never (vol.)	21	9
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
Job government does running programs		
Excellent/Good	12	26
Only fair	39	47
Poor	48	25
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
View of government		
Almost always wasteful and inefficient	69	50
Often does a better job than people give it credit for	28	47
Other/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100
N	1,209	1,731

Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. Q14, Q15, Q23, Q42a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## 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 Americans demand more from the

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

On government and taxes, most Americans ... (%)

	Demand more from govt than willing to pay in taxes	Willing to pay taxes for service: they expect from govt
Total	52	44
White	54	42
Black	44	52
Hispanic	52	44
18-29	57	41
30-49	57	40
50-64	49	47
65+	42	50
\$100,000+	61	38
\$75,000-99,999	57	41
\$30,000-74,999	52	45
<\$30,000	47	49
Post grad	61	37
College grad	54	43
Some college	52	43
HS or less	50	46
Rep/Lean Rep	54	42
Dem/Lean Dem	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.

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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.

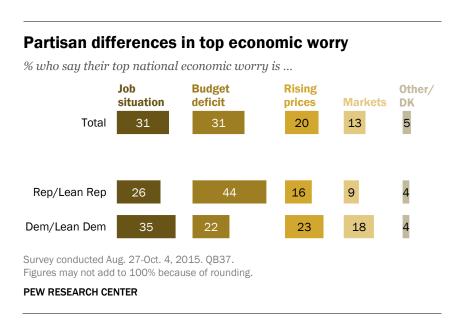
A majority (57%) of those under age 50 say the public demands more from government than they are willing to pay for; views are mixed among those ages 50-64 (49% demands more, 47% is willing to pay for what it expects), and those 65 and older are slightly more likely (50%) than not (42%) to say the public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



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	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	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	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	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
	4 000	4.00-
N	1,033	1,936

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

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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.

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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.

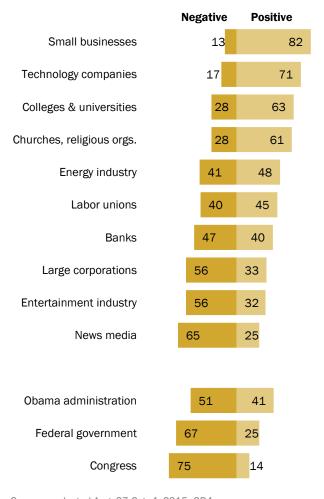
Of 10 nongovernmental institutions included in the survey, majorities say four are having a positive effect on the way things are going in the country: small businesses (82% positive), technology companies (71%), colleges and universities (63%) and churches and other religious institutions (61%).

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



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB4. Don't know responses not shown.

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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 viewed very positively in

# 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 2010	Feb 2012	0ct 2015	<b>'10-'15</b> change
	%	%	%	
Banks & financial institutions	22	22	40	+18
Labor unions	32	37	45	+13
Small businesses	71	75	82	+11
Large corporations	25	28	33	+8
Tech companies	68	70	71	+3
Colleges & universities	61	60	63	+2
Energy industry			48	
Entertainment industry	33	32	32	-1
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.

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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

	Total	Rep/ Lean Rep	Dem/ Lean Dem	R-D 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.

## Ideological divide over impact of churches, colleges

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

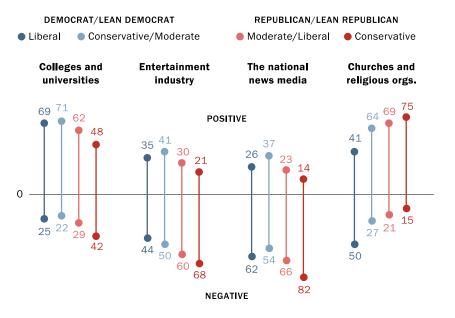
Just 41% of liberal Democrats say churches have a positive effect on the country; that compares with 64% of moderate and conservative Democrats, 69% of moderate and liberal Republicans and 75% of conservative Republicans.

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 14% say it has a positive impact.

# 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.

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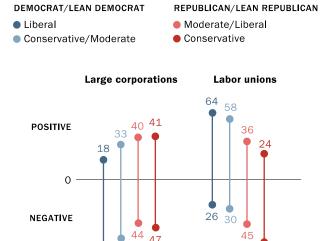
Republicans are also more critical of the entertainment industry than are Democrats: Majorities of moderate and liberal Republicans and Republican leaners (60%) and their conservative counterparts (65%) say that the entertainment industry has a negative effect on the United States. Half of conservative 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.

# Democrats critical of large corporations, conservative Republicans view labor unions' impact negatively

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



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB4.

59 75

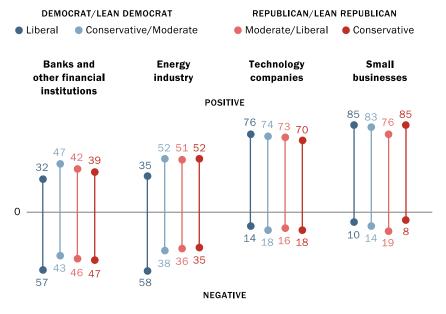
Democrats are ideologically divided over the impact of the energy industry, as well as of banks and other financial institutions.

Liberal Democrats are much more likely than the party's conservatives and moderates to view the effect of the energy industry negatively (58% vs. 38%).

And while 57% of liberal Democrats say banks have a negative effect on the country, a smaller share (43%) of conservative and moderate Democrats agree. Republicans express similar views of the impact of the energy industry and banks, regardless of ideology.

# 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



Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015. QB4.

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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	Content	Frustrated	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.

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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 27-October 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 <a href="http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/">http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/</a>

Data collection was divided equally into two phases (A and B) with independent samples, non-overlapping interview dates and separate weighting. The questionnaire for each phase contained a core set of measures of political attitudes and values, political engagement and demographic characteristics.

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 sample size	Plus or minus
Total sample	6,004	1.5 percentage points
Republican/Republican leaners	2,597	2.2 percentage points
Conservative	1,662	2.8 percentage points
Moderate and liberal	892	3.8 percentage points
Democrats/Democratic leaners	2,664	2.2 percentage points
Conservative and moderate	1,474	2.9 percentage points
Liberal	1,140	3.3 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.

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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 Total sample	Unweighted sample size 1,502	Plus or minus 2.9 percentage points
Republican/Republican leaners	665	4.4 percentage points
Conservative	406	5.6 percentage points
Moderate and liberal	237	7.3 percentage points
Democrats/Democratic leaners	673	4.3 percentage points
Conservative and moderate	364	5.9 percentage points
Liberal	292	6.6 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.

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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 Total sample	Unweighted sample size 1,018	Plus or minus 3.5 percentage points
Republican/Republican leaners	401	5.6 percentage points
Conservative	254	7.1 percentage points
Moderate and liberal	132	9.8 percentage points
Democrats/Democratic leaners	462	5.2 percentage points
Conservative and moderate	226	7.5 percentage points
Liberal	213	7.7 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 <u>increasingly say</u> 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 <u>political scientists</u> and other <u>political observers</u>, as well as in prior Pew Research Center studies (see <u>Appendix B</u> of Pew Research Center's 2014 study of <u>Political Polarization in the American Public</u> 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.

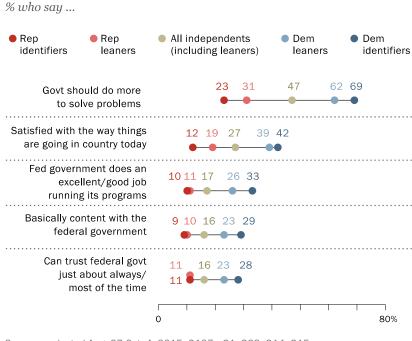
This is the case when it comes to attitudes about the federal government, evaluations of the government's job and views of the role government should play in key areas.

On many <u>evaluations of government</u>, 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.

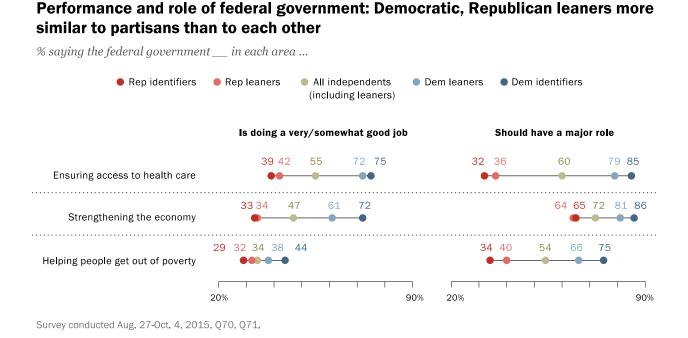
# On core attitudes about the federal government: leaners' views closely track those of partisans



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

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%)



vs. 72%, respectively) is far more modest than the 27-point difference between Republican leaners and Democratic leaners.

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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 N=6,004

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

Apr 1-5, 2010

31

63

6

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

	Satis-	Dis-	(VOL.)		Satis-	Dis-	(VOL.)
	fied	satisfied			fied	satisfied	
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	<u>1100</u> 27	67	5	Mar 11-21, 2010	<u> 25</u>	69	5
Jul 14-20, 2015	31	64	4	Mar 10-14, 2010	23	71	7
May 12-18, 2015	29	67	4	Feb 3-9, 2010	23	71	6
Mar 25-29, 2015	31	64	5	Jan 6-10, 2010	27	69	4
Feb 18-22, 2015	33	62	5	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7
Jan 7-11, 2015	31	66	4	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)	26	71	3	Sep 10-15, 2009 <sup>2</sup>	30	64	7
Nov 6-9, 2014	27	68	4	Aug 20-27, 2009	28	65	7
Oct 15-20, 2014	29	65	6	Aug 11-17, 2009	28	65	7
Sep 2-9, 2014	25	71	4	Jul 22-26, 2009	28	66	6
Aug 20-24, 2014	24	72	4	Jun 10-14, 2009	30	64	5
Jul 8-14, 2014	29	68	4	Apr 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8
Apr 23-27, 2014	29	65	6	Apr 14-21, 2009	23	70	7
Feb 12-26, 2014	28	66	6	Jan 7-11, 2009	20	70 73	7
Jan 15-19, 2014	26	69	5	December, 2008	13	83	4
'	20	75	3		11	86	3
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	14	81		Early October, 2008	25	69	6
Oct 9-13, 2013		67	5	Mid-September, 2008	_	74	
Jul 17-21, 2013	27 30		6	August, 2008	21 19	74 74	5 7
May 1-5, 2013		65 64	5	July, 2008	_	74 76	
Feb 13-18, 2013 (U)	31		5	June, 2008	19		5
Jan 9-13, 2013	30	66	4	Late May, 2008	18	76	6
Dec 17-19, 2012	25	68	7	March, 2008	22	72	6
Dec 5-9, 2012	33	62	5	Early February, 2008	24	70	6
Oct 18-21, 2012	32	61	8	Late December, 2007	27	66	7
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	31	64	5	October, 2007	28	66	6
Jun 7-17, 2012	28	68	5	February, 2007	30	61	9
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	29	64	7	Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7
Apr 4-15, 2012	24	69	6	Early January, 2007	30	63	7
Feb 8-12, 2012	28	66	6	December, 2006	28	65	7
Jan 11-16, 2012	21	75	4	Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	17	78	5	Early October, 2006	30	63	7
Aug 17-21, 2011	17	79	4	July, 2006	30	65	5
Jul 20-24, 2011	17	79	4	May, 2006*	29	65	6
Jun 15-19, 2011	23	73	4	March, 2006	32	63	5
May 5-8, 2011	30	62	8	January, 2006	34	61	5
May 2, 2011	32	60	8	Late November, 2005	34	59	7
Mar 8-14, 2011	22	73	5	Early October, 2005	29	65	6
Feb 2-7, 2011	26	68	5	July, 2005	35	58	7
Jan 5-9, 2011	23	71	6	Late May, 2005*	39	57	4
Dec 1-5, 2010	21	72	7	February, 2005	38	56	6
Nov 4-7, 2010	23	69	8	January, 2005	40	54	6
Sep 23-26, 2010	30	63	7	December, 2004	39	54	7
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	25	71	5				
Jun 24-27, 2010	27	64	9	2 To Comba 1 40 45 2000			and a second
May 13-16, 2010	28	64	7	<sup>2</sup> In September 10-15, 2009			
Apr 21-26, 2010	29	66	5	an asterisk, the question was satisfied or dissatisfied with			
Apr 1 E 2010	21	62	6	TELEVISION OF GROUNDS AND THE PROPERTY OF THE		90	5 00.

satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?"

#### Q.1F1 CONTINUED...

<b>Q</b> -22-00	Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref		Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Mid-October, 2004	<u> 36</u>	58	6	November, 1998	46	44	10
July, 2004	38	55	7	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
May, 2004	33	61	6	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
Late February, 2004*	39	55	6	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
Early January, 2004	45	48	7	February, 1998	59	37	4
December, 2003	44	47	9	January, 1998	46	50	4
October, 2003	38	56	6	September, 1997	45	49	6
August, 2003	40	53	7	August, 1997	49	46	5
April 8, 2003	50	41	9	January, 1997	38	58	4
January, 2003	44	50	6	July, 1996	29	67	4
November, 2002	41	48	11	March, 1996	28	70	2
September, 2002	41	55	4	October, 1995	23	73	4
Late August, 2002	47	44	9	June, 1995	25	73	2
May, 2002	44	44	12	April, 1995	23	74	3
March, 2002	50	40	10	July, 1994	24	73	3
Late September, 2001	57	34	9	March, 1994	24	71	5
Early September, 2001	41	53	6	October, 1993	22	73	5
June, 2001	43	52	5	September, 1993	20	75	5
March, 2001	47	45	8	May, 1993	22	71	7
February, 2001	46	43	11	January, 1993	39	50	11
January, 2001	55	41	4	January, 1992	28	68	4
October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7	November, 1991	34	61	5
September, 2000	51	41	8	Gallup: Late Feb, 1991	66	31	3
June, 2000	47	45	8	August, 1990	47	48	5
April, 2000	48	43	9	May, 1990	41	54	5
August, 1999	56	39	5	January, 1989	45	50	5
January, 1999	53	41	6	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?

			(VOL.)
	<u>Satisfied</u>	<b>Dissatisfied</b>	DK/Ref
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	45	48	7
Mar 11-21, 2010 <sup>3</sup>	38	57	5
Gallup: January, 20074	61	38	1
Gallup: January, 2005	59	39	2
Gallup: January, 2004	53	45	2
Gallup: January, 2001	65	33	2
Gallup: July, 1995	50	46	4

# 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?

			(VOL.)
	<u>Satisfied</u>	<b>Dissatisfied</b>	DK/Ref
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	67	27	5
Feb 12-26, 2014 <sup>5</sup>	66	31	3
Mar 11-21, 2010	62	34	4

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?"
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?"
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?"

#### Q.3F2B CONTINUED...

			(VOL.)
	<b>Satisfied</b>	<b>Dissatisfied</b>	DK/Ref
Gallup: January, 2007 <sup>1</sup>	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:**

O.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, RANDOMIZE] having a positive or negative effect on the way things are going in the country these days? How about [NEXT ITEM] [INTERVIEWER: 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]?

V & K D	PHASE B FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,491]:	<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	(VOL.) Neither/ No Influence/ Mixed	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.F1					
а.г і	The federal government Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	25	67	5	3
		22	66	6	
	Feb 8-12, 2012	22 25	65	4	6 5
	Mar 11-21, 2010	25	00	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
- 51	Laboriumiana				
e.F1	Labor unions	4.5	40	7	0
	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				
<i>y</i>	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
		<del>-</del> ·		-	-

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?"

#### Q.B4 CONTINUED...

				(VOL.) Neither/	
		<u>Positive</u>	<u>Negative</u>	No Influence/ <u>Mixed</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
	HASE B FORM 2 ONLY [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	The Obama Administration				
	Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	41	51	5	2
	Mar 11-21, 2010	45	45	4	6
NO IT	EM 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, 2015	40	47	8	5
	Feb 8-12, 2012	22	68	5	6
	Mar 11-21, 2010	22	69	4	6
m.F2	Technology companies				
	Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	71	17	7	4
	Feb 8-12, 2012	70	18	5	7
	Mar 11-21, 2010	68	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 QUESTIONS 5-9**

#### **ASK ALL:**

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

	Most of the time		Only now and then	Hardly <u>at all</u>	(VOL.) 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 <sup>2</sup>	52	25	13	10	1

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

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#### Q.10 CONTINUED...

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

	A great	A fair	Hardly	(VOL.)
	<u>deal</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>any</u>	DK/Ref
Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	45	32	19	4
Jan 7-11, 2015	44	31	21	4
Feb 12-26, 2014	43	30	23	4
Nov 4-7, 2010	38	41	17	4
January, 2007	35	40	20	5
Early October, 2006	38	39	18	5
April, 2006	33	42	21	4
June, 2003	29	49	20	2
February, 1999	33	46	18	3
March 1998	28	45	23	4

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

June, 1997	25	48	25	2
October, 1995	34	46	18	2
July, 1994	23	51	24	2
May, 1990	24	45	27	4
May, 1987	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
2015		<u>2007</u>	<u> 1997</u>	<u>1964</u>
9	Very great deal	13	11	14
26	Good deal	44	53	63
49	Not very much	34	32	19
14	None at all	8	3	1
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	3

# **NO QUESTION 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?

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

#### ASK ALL:

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?

	Just about <u>always</u>	Most of the time	Only some of the time	(VOL.) <u>Never</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Aug 27- Oct 4, 2015	3	16	67	13	1
Feb 12-26, 2014	3	21	68	7	1
Oct 9-13, 2013	3	16	68	12	1
Jan 9-13, 2013	3	23	67	6	2
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	3	17	72	7	2
Aug 17-21, 2011	3	16	72	8	1
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	4	25	65	4	2
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	3	21	65	10	1

#### Q.15 CONTINUED...

ON I I NOLD					
	Just about	Most of	Only some	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>always</u>	the time	of the time	<u>Never</u>	DK/Ref
Apr 1-5, 2010	5	20	61	13	1
Mar 11-21, 2010	3	19	65	11	2
January, 2007	3	28	63	5	1
February, 2006	4	30	59	6	1
Mid-September, 2005	3	28	63	4	2
Mid-March, 2004	4	32	59	4	1
February, 2000	5	35	56	3	1
May, 1999	3	28	62	5	2
February, 1999	4	27	64	4	1
November, 1998 <sup>3</sup>	4	22	61	11	2
February, 1998	5	29	61	4	1
October, 1997	3	36	59	2	*

#### **NO QUESTIONS 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
<u> 2015</u>		<u>2010</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u> 1997</u>
2	Excellent	2	2	2
18	Good	21	30	23
44	Only fair	46	51	53
33	Poor	28	16	21
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	1	1

# ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [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]?

	Mar 11-21	Oct
	<u>2010</u>	1997 <sup>4</sup>
The federal government needs very major reform	53	37
The federal government is basically sound and needs only some reform	ո 42	58
The federal government doesn't need much change at all	3	4
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	1
	The federal government is basically sound and needs only some reform The federal government doesn't need much change at all	The federal government needs very major reform 53 The federal government is basically sound and needs only some reform 42 The federal government doesn't need much change at all 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.

# ASK PHASE A FORM 2 ONLY [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 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,147]:

		Knight-Ridder
Aug 27-		(RVs)
Sep 13		Jan
2015		<u>1996</u>
9	1-2 (Enemy)	6
18	3-4	12
39	5-6 (Neutral)	44
26	7-8	30
8	9-10 (Friend)	7
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1
5.5	Mean response	5.8

# NO QUESTION 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?

	Yes, more	No, not more	(VOL.)
	politically divided	<u>divided</u>	DK/Ref
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	79	17	3
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)	81	15	3
Dec 5-9, 2012	80	17	3
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	64	30	6
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	61	34	5
Jan 7-11, 2009	46	45	9
Jan, 2007	66	28	6
Sep, 2006	70	24	6
Dec, 2004	66	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-		(U)
Oct 4		Dec 3-7
<u> 2015</u>		<u>2014</u>
36	More politically divided	36
15	Less politically divided	17
42	About as politically divided as it is now	41
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5

#### **NO QUESTIONS 29-32**

#### **ASK ALL:**

Q.33 Next, would you say your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."] How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Just in general, is your overall opinion of [ITEM] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

				ole <u>Mostly</u>	Ui <u>Total</u>	nfavora <u>Very</u>	ble <u>Mostly</u>	(VOL.) Never ( heard of	<b>(VOL.)</b> Can't rate/ <u>Ref</u>
a.	The Republican Party			<u></u>					
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	37	6	31	58	26	32	*	5
	Jul 14-20, 2015	32	7	26	60	28	32	*	7
	Jan 7-11, 2015	41	9	32	53	24	29	*	6
	Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)	37	9	28	57	26	32	*	6
	Oct 14-20, 2014	38	7	31	54	25	29	*	8
	Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	37	7	30	55	24	31	*	7
	Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	35	8	<i>27</i>	59	28	31	0	6
	Oct 9-13, 2013	38	5	32	58	26	32	*	4
	Jul 17-21, 2013	33	7	<i>25</i>	58	<i>25</i>	34	*	9
	Jun 12-16, 2013	40	8	<i>32</i>	55	23	33	*	5
	Jan 9-13, 2013	33	6	28	58	27	31	1	8
	Dec 5-9, 2012	36	7	28	59	23	36	*	5
	Sep 12-16, 2012	42	12	30	50	<i>25</i>	26	*	8
	Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	36	9	<i>27</i>	56	28	28	*	8
	Mar 7-11, 2012	36	7	30	56	27	29	*	8
	Jan 11-16, 2012	35	7	<i>27</i>	58	28	30	*	7
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	36	7	29	55	27	28	*	9
	Aug 17-21, 2011	34	5	29	59	27	32	*	7
	Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	42	9	32	51	22	28	1	7
	Feb 2-7, 2011	43	8	35	48	19	29	*	9
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	8	35	49	21	28	*	8
	July 1-5, 2010	39	10	29	49	24	25	*	12
	April 1-5, 2010	37	8	29	53	26	27	*	9
	Mar 18-21, 2010	37	5	32	51	20	31	*	12
	Feb 3-9, 2010	46	5	41	46	14	32	0	8
	Aug 20-27, 2009	40	6	34	50	19	31	*	10
	Aug 11-17, 2009	40	7	33	50	18	32	*	10
	Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	40	7	33	51	17	34	0	9
	Jan 7-11, 2009	40	5	35	55	21	34	*	5
	Late October, 2008	40	10	30	50	23	27	*	10
	Mid-September, 2008	47	11	36	46	22	24	*	7
	August, 2008	43	9	34	49	18	31	1	7
	Late May, 2008	39	7	32	53	20	33	*	8
	July, 2007	39	7	32	53	22	31	0	8
	Early January, 2007	41	9	32	48	21	27	1	10
	Late October, 2006	41	9	32	50	20	30	*	9
	July, 2006	40	10	30	52	23	29	1	7
	April, 2006	40	10	30	50	21	29	*	10
	February, 2006	44	11	33	50	24	26	*	6
	Late October, 2005	42	12	30	49	24	25	*	9
	July, 2005	48	13	35	43	18	25	*	9
	June, 2005	48	11	37	44	20	24	0	8
	December, 2004	52	15	37	42	17	25	0	6
	June, 2004	51	12	39	40	14	26	0	9
	Early February, 2004	52	14	38	42	16	26	*	6
	June, 2003	58	14	44	33	10	23	0 *	9
	April, 2003	63	14	49	31	10	21	*	6
	December, 2002	59	18	41	33	11 15	22	*	8
	July, 2001	48	11	37	42	15	27	^	10

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# Q.33 CONTINUED...

Q.33 CONTINUED								
	_		l a			la I a	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
			le Mostly	Total		ble Mostly	never heard of	Can't rate/
January, 2001	<u>10tai</u> 56	13	43	35	<u>Very</u> 13	22	*	<u>Ref</u> 9
September, 2000 (RVs)	53	11	42	40	12	28	0	7
August, 1999	53	8	45	43	12	31	*	4
February, 1999	44	7	37	51	15	36	0	5
January, 1999	44	10	34	50	23	27	Ö	6
Early December, 1998	46	11	35	47	20	27	*	7
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	9	43	42	14	28	0	6
Early September, 1998	56	9	47	37	11	26	*	7
March, 1998	50	10	40	43	12	31	*	7
August, 1997	47	9	38	47	11	36	*	6
June, 1997	51	8	43	42	11	31	1	6
January, 1997	52	8	44	43	10	33	*	5
October, 1995	52	10	42	44	16	28	*	4
December, 1994	67	21	46	27	8	19	*	6
July, 1994	63	12	51	33	8	25	*	4
May, 1993	54	12	42	35	10	25	0	11
July, 1992	46	9	37	48	17	31	*	6
b. The Democratic Party								
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	45	10	35	50	24	26	*	5
Jul 14-20, 2015	48	12	36	47	22	25	0	5
Jan 7-11, 2015	46	12	34	48	21	28	*	6
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)	41	11	30	54	26	28	*	5
Oct 15-20, 2014	47	11	35	46	21	25	*	7
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	46	12	34	47	23	24	*	7
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	47	15	32	48	24	24	*	5
Oct 9-13, 2013	47	9	39	48	22	27	0	4
Jul 17-21, 2013	41	10	31	50	23	28	*	9
Jun 12-16, 2013	51	14	37	45	19	26	0	5
Jan 9-13, 2013	47	13	34	46	18	28	*	7
Dec 5-9, 2012	48	11	37	47	23	25	1	4
Sep 12-16, 2012	53	21	32	40	18	22	*	7
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	47	14	33	45	21	24	*	8
Mar 7-11, 2012	49	14	36	43	18	25	*	7
Jan 11-16, 2012	43	13	29	51	23	28	*	7
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	46	13	32	45 50	19 21	<i>26</i>	*	9
Aug 17-21, 2011	43	9	34	50	21 10	<i>29</i>	*	7
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	48 47	14 13	34 35	45 46	18 17	27 29	*	6 6
Feb 2-7, 2011 Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	50	13	36	44	20	29 24	*	7
July 1-5, 2010	44	12	31	45	22	23	*	, 11
April 1-5, 2010	38	9	29	52	27	25	*	9
Mar 18-21, 2010	40	8	32	49	25	24	*	, 11
Feb 3-9, 2010	48	9	39	44	17	27	*	8
Aug 20-27, 2009	48	11	37	43	19	24	*	10
Aug 11-17, 2009	49	12	37	40	16	25	*	10
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	59	15	44	34	13	21	*	7
Jan 7-11, 2009	62	19	43	32	12	20	*	6
Late October, 2008	57	19	38	33	15	18	*	10
Mid-September, 2008	55	18	37	39	14	25	*	6
August, 2008	57	16	41	37	13	24	*	6
Late May, 2008	57	14	43	37	14	23	*	6
July, 2007	51	13	38	41	14	27	0	8
Early January, 2007	54	15	39	35	12	23	*	11
Late October, 2006	53	13	40	36	11	25	*	11
July, 2006	47	13	34	44	13	31	2	7
April, 2006	47	12	35	42	14	28	*	11

#### Q.33 CONTINUED...

							(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	F	avorak	ole	U	nfavora	ble	Never	Can't rate/
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	Ref
February, 2006	48	14	34	44	17	27	0	8
Late October, 2005	49	14	35	41	15	26	*	10
July, 2005	50	15	35	41	14	27	*	9
June, 2005	52	12	40	39	13	26	*	9
December, 2004	53	13	40	41	14	27	*	6
June, 2004	54	12	42	36	11	25	0	10
Early February, 2004	58	14	44	37	9	28	*	5
June, 2003	54	11	43	38	10	28	0	8
April, 2003	57	13	44	36	11	25	*	7
December, 2002	54	15	39	37	10	27	*	9
July, 2001	58	18	40	34	10	24	*	8
January, 2001	60	18	42	30	9	21	1	9
September, 2000 (RVs)	60	16	44	35	12	23	*	5
August, 1999	59	14	45	37	9	28	*	4
February, 1999	58	11	47	37	11	26	0	5
January, 1999	55	14	41	38	12	26	0	7
Early December, 1998	59	18	41	34	10	24	0	7
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	56	11	45	38	9	29	*	6
Early September, 1998	60	13	47	33	8	25	*	7
March, 1998	58	15	43	36	10	26	*	6
August, 1997	52	11	41	42	10	32	0	6
June, 1997	61	10	51	33	8	25	*	6
January, 1997	60	13	47	35	7	28	*	5
October, 1995	49	9	40	48	11	37	0	3
December, 1994	50	13	37	44	13	31	*	6
July, 1994	62	13	49	34	7	27	*	4
May, 1993	57	14	43	34	9	25	0	9
July, 1992	61	17	44	33	9	24	*	6

#### **ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B34 And is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; 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?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

								(VOL.)	(VOL.)
			Favorab	le	U	nfavora	ble	Never (	Can't rate/
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	<u>Ref</u>
a.	Barack Obama								
	Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	49	22	27	49	33	16	*	2
	Mar 25-29, 2015	51	18	33	46	27	19	*	3
	Dec 3-7, 2014	48	19	29	49	28	20	0	3
	Jul 8-14, 2014	50	19	32	48	30	18	0	2
	Jan 15-19, 2014	51	19	32	45	24	22	*	4
	Oct 9-13, 2013	47	17	31	50	32	18	*	3
	Jan 9-13, 2013	59	28	31	38	20	18	*	3
	Dec 5-9, 2012	59	26	33	40	24	16	*	2
	Oct 4-7, 2012	50	24	26	45	26	19	*	5
	Sep 12-16, 2012	57	27	30	40	23	17	*	4
	Jul 16-26, 2012	51	24	26	42	27	15	0	8
	Jun 7-17, 2012	53	20	33	44	22	21	0	4
	Mar 7-11, 2012	56	24	32	41	25	16	*	3
	Feb 8-12, 2012	54	22	<i>32</i>	42	26	16	*	5
	Jan 11-16, 2012	51	23	28	45	24	21	0	4
	Nov 9-14, 2011	52	21	31	45	24	21	*	3
	Mar 8-14, 2011	58	22	36	39	20	19	*	3

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# Q.B34 CONTINUED...

Q.E	534 CONTINUED							(1/01.)	(1/01.)
								(VOL.)	(VOL.)
				ole			ble		Can't rate/
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	<u>Ref</u>
	Dec 2-5, 2010	54	26	29	43	25	18	*	2
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	53	21	<i>32</i>	43	23	20	*	5
	Jun 10-13, 2010	56	27	30	39	20	19	0	4
	Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	65	33	<i>32</i>	30	16	14	*	5
	Jun 10-14, 2009	72	37	35	25	11	14	*	3
	Apr 14-21, 2009	73	38	35	24	10	14	*	3
	Jan 7-11, 2009	79	40	39	15	4	11	0	6
	Mid-October, 2008	66	33	33	28	13	15	*	6
			33	<i>32</i>		11	19	*	
	Late September, 2008	65			30			*	5
	Mid-September, 2008	62	28	34	34	15	19		4
	Late May, 2008	51	23	28	40	21	19	*	9
	April, 2008	52	21	31	42	21	21	*	6
	March, 2008	56	21	35	34	18	16	1	9
	Late February, 2008	57	24	33	34	16	18	1	8
	Early February, 2008	58	19	39	30	13	17	2	10
	January, 2008	56	20	36	33	13	20	3	8
	Late December, 2007	54	16	38	30	12	18	5	11
	August, 2007	48	14	34	26	10	16	13	13
	raguet, 200.	.0		0,					. •
b.	Donald Trump								
	Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	32	11	21	64	42	22	1	4
C.	Hillary Clinton								
	Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	43	14	29	53	34	19	1	3
	May 12-18, 2015	49	21	29	47	29	18	1	3
	Jul 7-Aug 4, 2014 (ATP)	58	22	36	41	19	22		1
	Oct 9-13, 2013	56	23	<i>32</i>	39	19	20	0	5
	Dec 5-9, 2012	65	30	35	29	15	15	1	5
	Jun 7-17, 2012	63	24	39	28	11	17	1	8
	Jan 11-16, 2012	62	26	36	31	16	15	1	6
	Dec 2-5, 2010	59	24	35	34	15	20	2	4
	Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	66	26	40	28	11	17	1	6
	Late May, 2008	48	17	31	44	22	22	*	8
	April, 2008	49	16	33	47	23	24	0	4
	March, 2008	50	16	34	44	23	21	*	6
	Late February, 2008	51	19	32	44	23	21	0	5
	Early February, 2008	52	20	32	42	24	18	*	6
	January, 2008	52	20	32	44	25	19	*	4
	Late December, 2007	50	21	29	44	26	18	*	6
		55	21	34	39	20 21	18	2	4
	August, 2007							*	
	December, 2006	56	22	34	39	21	18		5
	April, 2006	54	20	34	42	21	21	1	3
	Late October, 2005	56	20	36	38	19	19	1	5
	Late March, 2005	57	22	35	36	17	19	*	7
	December, 2002	47	15	32	44	23	21	1	8
	July, 2001	53	20	33	42	23	19	1	4
	January, 2001	60	25	35	35	16	19	*	5
	May, 2000	49	15	34	42	22	20	1	8
	Early December, 1998	66	32	34	31	15	16	*	3
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	58	24	34	36	18	18	*	6
	Early September, 1998	64	24	40	31	13	18	0	5
	Late August, 1998	63	25 25	38	34	13	21	*	3
	March, 1998	65	26	39	31	14	2 i 17	*	4
								*	
	January, 1997	57 52	17 12	40 40	40	17 17	23	*	3
	June, 1996	53	13	40	43	17	26		4
	April, 1996	49	12	37	46	19	27	0	5
	February, 1996	42	14	28	54	27	27	0	4

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O.	<b>B34</b>	CON	JTIP	NUE	D

C.Bo4 continuoeb							(VOL.)	(VOL.)
January, 1996	 <u>Total</u> 42	Favorak <u>Very</u> 10	Mostly 32	L <u>Total</u> 54	Jnfavora <u>Very</u> 26	ble <u>Mostly</u> 28	Never <u>heard of</u> 0	Can't rate/ <u>Ref</u> 4
October, 1995	58	14	44	38	14	24		4
August, 1995	49	16	33	47	22	25	*	4
December, 1994	50	17	33	45	20	25	1	4
July, 1994	57	19	38	40	18	22	1	2
May, 1993	60	19	41	29	11	18	1	10
d. Jeb Bush								
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	34	7	27	54	23	32	3	8
May 12-18, 2015	34	7	27	51	24	27	8	7
e. Ted Cruz								
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	30	7	23	41	21	20	16	14
May 12-18, 2015	28	6	21	41	23	18	21	10
Oct 9-13, 2013	26	8	19	33	18	16	25	16
Rep/Lean only:								
Jul 17-21, 2013	33	9	24	14	2	11	34	19
NO ITEM f								
ASK PHASE B FORM 1 ONLY [Ng.F1 Marco Rubio	=1,491	]:						
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	48	14	34	21	3	17	19	12
h.F1 Bernie Sanders								
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	37	11	26	33	16	17	15	15
ASK PHASE B FORM 2 ONLY [I	N=1,51	1]:						
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	45	14	31	42	19	23	4	9
May 12-18, 2015	39	8	31	48	23	24	6	7
Oct 9-13, 2013	46	9	37	41	17	23	3	10
Jan 9-13, 2013	42	14	28	42	20	21	8	8
Oct 24-28, 2012	44	17	27	42	26	16	5	10
Oct 4-7, 2012	38	13	24	46	26	21	5	11
Sep 12-16, 2012	41	15	26	43	22	21	4	11
Jun 7-17, 2012	40	10	30	37	18	19	6	17
Jan 11-16, 2012	38	10	28	41	18	22	9	12
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	50	13	36	29	13	16	8	13
Mid-Apr 2009	51	14	37	28	10	18	8	13
Jan 2009	63	22	41	20	7	13	6	11
Mid-October, 2008	55	20	34	35	10	19	6	10
Early Oct, 2008 (callback)	61	20	41	30	10	20	1	8
Late September, 2008	49	15	34	30	10	20	8	13
Mid-September, 2008	48	14	34	30	11	19 15	8	14
April, 2006	28	7	21 17	20	5	15 1.4	38	14
Late October, 2005	21	4	17 10	20 15	6	14 11	43 25	16
September, 1987	22	4	18	15	4	11	25	38

# Q.B34 CONTINUED...

2.554 00M11N0L5							(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		Favorak	ole	U	nfavora	ble	Never (	Can't rate/
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	<u>Ref</u>
j.F2 Ben Carson								
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	41	14	27	28	11	17	18	13

# **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?

	Excellent	Good	Only <u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	3	21	43	33	*
May 12-18, 2015	3	24	43	30	*
Feb 18-22, 2015	2	23	43	31	*
Jan 7-11, 2015	4	23	48	24	*
Oct 15-20, 2014	2	19	45	33	1
Aug 20-24, 2014	1	19	48	31	1
Jul 8-14, 2014	2	17	46	35	*
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)	2	15	43	40	1
Jan 15-19, 2014 (U)	1	15	45	39	1
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	1	14	48	36	1
Oct 9-13, 2013	1	12	39	48	*
Sep 4-8, 2013	2	17	48	32	*
Jul 17-21, 2013	2	15	45	37	1
Jun 12-16, 2013	2	21	47	29	*
Mar 13-17, 2013	1	15	43	40	1
Jan 9-13, 2013	2	11	38	49	1
Dec 5-9, 2012	1	14	50	35	1
Oct 24-28, 2012	1	12	42	44	1
Sep 12-16, 2012	1	12	43	44	1
Jun 7-17, 2012	1	9	47	42	1
Mar 7-11, 2012	1	9	38	51	1
Feb 8-12, 2012	1	10	46	43	1
Jan 11-16, 2012	2	9	42	47	1
Dec 7-11, 2011	*	8	38	53	1
Aug 17-21, 2011	1	6	37	56	1
Jun 15-19, 2011	*	8	45	46	1
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	1	7	38	53	1
Feb 2-7, 2011	1	11	45	42	1
Dec 1-5, 2010	1	8	44	45	1
Oct 13-18, 2010	1	7	38	54	1
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	1	7	43	48	1
Jun 3-6, 2010	1 *	8	48	43	1
Apr 21-26, 2010		11	39	49	1
Mar 10-14, 2010	1	6	39	53	1
Feb 3-9, 2010	1	7	38	53	1
Dec 9-13, 2009	1 *	7	41	50	1
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009		8	41	50	1
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	1 *	8	43	48	1
Aug 11-17, 2009		8	38	52 52	2
Jun 10-14, 2009	1 *	8	39	52	1
Mar 9-12, 2009	*	6	25	68 71	1
Feb 4-8, 2009	*	4	24	71 50	1
December, 2008	1	7	33	59	1
November, 2008	 *	6 7	28	64 67	1
Late October, 2008	1	7	25 22	67 50	1
Early October, 2008	 *	8 7	32 27	58 65	1 1
Late September, 2008		,	27	65	I

Q.B35 CONTINUED				Only	(VOL.)
	<b>Excellent</b>	Good	<u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	DK/Ref
July, 2008	1	9	39	50	1
April, 2008	1	10	33	56	*
March, 2008	1	10	32	56	1
Early February, 2008	1	16	36	45	2
January, 2008	3	23	45	28	1
November, 2007	3	20	44	32	1
September, 2007	3	23	43	29	2
June, 2007	6	27	40	25	2
February, 2007	5	26	45	23	1
December, 2006	6	32	41	19	2
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	9	35	37	17	2
Late October, 2006	6	27	40	25	2
September, 2006	5	32	41	20	2
March, 2006	4	29	44	22	1
January, 2006	4	30	45	19	2
Early October, 2005	2	23	45	29	1
Mid-September, 2005	3	28	44	24	1
Mid-May, 2005	3	29	47	20	1
January, 2005	3	36	45	15	1
December, 2004	3	33	43	20	1
Early November, 2004 (RVs)	5	31	37	26	1
Mid-September, 2004	4	34	40	20	2
August, 2004	3	30	45	21	1
Late April, 2004	4	34	38	22	2
Late February, 2004 <sup>5</sup>	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?

				(VOL.)
	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Same</u>	DK/Ref
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	23	21	53	3
May 12-18, 2015	25	20	53	2
Feb 18-22, 2015	27	20	52	1
Jan 7-11, 2015	31	17	51	1
Oct 15-20, 2014	27	21	50	3
Aug 20-24, 2014	22	22	54	2
Jul 8-14, 2014	26	22	51	1
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)	25	24	49	2
Jan 15-19, 2014 (U)	27	22	50	1
Oct 9-13, 2013	25	28	44	3
Sep 4-8, 2013	28	25	46	1
Jun 12-16, 2013	33	19	47	1
Mar 13-17, 2013	25	32	41	1
Jan 9-13, 2013	33	25	40	2
Dec 5-9, 2012	37	25	36	2
Sep 12-16, 2012	43	8	42	8
Jun 7-17, 2012	34	11	50	5
Mar 7-11, 2012	44	14	38	4
Feb 8-12, 2012	44	10	42	3
Jan 11-16, 2012	34	16	46	3
Dec 7-11, 2011	28	18	50	4
Aug 17-21, 2011	29	18	50	2
Jun 15-19, 2011	29	23	46	2
Oct 13-18, 2010	35	16	45	4

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Earlier trends available from Gallup.

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# Q.B36 CONTINUED...

				(VOL.)
	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Same</u>	DK/Ref
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
January, 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
January, 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
January, 2003	30	20	44	6
January, 2002	44	17	36	3
Newsweek: January, 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
January, 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 RANDOMIZE]**

				The			
			The	condition of		(VOL.)	
			federal	the financial		None/not	
	The job	Rising	budget	and housing	(VOL.)	worried	(VOL.)
	situation	prices	deficit	markets	<u>Other</u>	about any	DK/Ref
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	31	20	31	13	3	1	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	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	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 INSTRUCTION: DO NOT PROBE, PUNCH 9 IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW]

#### Correct answers in bold.

	The Republican <u>Party</u>	The Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	68	23	10
Oct 20-14, 2014	53	31	16
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	58	30	12
May 9-Jun 3, 2012 <sup>6</sup>	54	22	24
Jun 8-28, 2010	12	70	19
Oct 1-4, 2009	13	75	12
Jun 18-21, 2009	12	76	12
Mar 26-29, 2009	12	86	2
Dec 4-7, 2008	11	82	7
Feb 28-Mar 2, 2008	26	70	4
Aug 16-19, 2007	19	78	3
February, 2007	10	76	14
TREND FOR COMPARISON7:			
May, 2008	15	53	32
Late October, 2006	58	4	38
April, 2006	64	6	30
April, 2004	56	8	36

In June 2012 and earlier, question read: "Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives? [RANDOMIZE: Democrats or Republicans]"
In May 2008 and from May 1992 through Late October 2006, this was asked as an open-ended question, without offering

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?"

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Q.B38 CONTINUED	The Republican	The Democratic	(VOL.)
	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	DK/Ref
June, 2001	31	34	35
August, 1999	55	8	37
December, 1998	56	11	33
June, 1997	50	6	44
April, 1996	70	8	22
June, 1995	73	5	22
July, 1994	18	60	22
February, 1994	42	58	n/a
September, 1992	9	46	45
June, 1992	12	44	44
May, 1992	12	49	39
May, 1989	16	68	16

# ASK ALL PHASE B:

Q.B39 Which political party, has a majority in the U.S. Senate [READ AND RANDOMIZE]? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: DO NOT PROBE, PUNCH 9 IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW]

Correct answers in bold.

	The Republican	The Democratic	(VOL.)
	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	DK/Ref
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	57	29	14
Oct 15-20, 2014	28	51	20
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	30	54	16
TREND FOR COMPARISON8:			
June, 2003	63	10	27
June, 2001	12	56	32
September, 1992	10	57	33
June, 1992	17	52	31
May, 1992	17	55	28

# **NO QUESTIONS 40-41**

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.

#### 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 RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]. Next, [NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]

a.		Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	Government often does a better job than people give it credit for	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>
Д	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	<u> </u>	39	4
J	an 23-Mar 16, 2014	56	40	4
	Dec 3-8, 2013	55	39	6
F	eb 22-Mar 14, 2011	55	39	6
A	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	61	35	4
	December, 2008	53	40	7
C	October, 2008	57	35	8
S	September, 2005	56	39	5
	December, 2004	47	45	8
J	une, 2003	48	46	6
S	September, 2000	52	40	8
Α	August, 1999	51	43	6
J	une, 1997	59	36	5
C	October, 1996	56	39	5
A	April, 1995	63	34	3
C	October, 1994	64	32	4
J	uly, 1994	66	31	3

L		Government regulation of business is necessary to	Government regulation of business usually does	(VOL.) Both/Neither/
b.		protect the public interest	more harm than good	DK/Ref
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	45	50	5
	Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	47	47	5
	Feb 8-12, 2012 <sup>9</sup>	40	52	7
	Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	47	45	8
	December, 2008	47	43	10
	October, 2008	50	38	12
	January, 2008	41	50	9
	December, 2004	49	41	10
	July, 2002	54	36	10
	February, 2002	50	41	9
	August, 1999	48	44	8
	October, 1996	45	46	9
	October, 1995	45	50	5
	April, 1995	43	51	6
	October, 1994	38	55	7
	July, 1994	41	54	5

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

Q.42 CONTINUED		Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits	Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far	(VOL.)	
		without doing anything in	enough to help them live	Both/Neither/	
C.	A 07 Oct 4 0045	<u>return</u>	<u>decently</u>	DK/Ref	
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	42	48	11	
	Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	44	47	9	
	Dec 3-8, 2013	43	43	14	
	May 1-5, 2013	45	44	11	
	Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	41	47	12	
	January, 2008	34	52	14	
	December, 2005	35	51	14	
	September, 2005	38	51	11	
	December, 2004	34	52	14	
	June, 2003	34	55	11	
	August, 1999	45	42	13	
	June, 1997	45	42	13	
	October, 1996	46	40	14	
	October, 1995	54	36	10	
	April, 1995	52	39	9	
	October, 1994	48	41	11	
	July, 1994	53	39	8	
		The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into	The government today can't afford to do much	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/	
d.		<u>debt</u>	more to help the needy	DK/Ref	
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	46	47	7	
	Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	43	51	6	
	Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	41	51	8	
	December, 2008	55	35	10	
	October, 2008	51	37	12	
	April, 2007	63	28	9	
	December, 2004	57	33	10	
	August, 1999	57	35	8	
	October, 1996	46	44	10	
	April, 1996	49	44	7	
	October, 1995	47	47	6	
	April, 1995	46	47	7	
	October, 1994	50	43	7	
	July, 1994	48	47	5	
NO I	ТЕМ е				
f		Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for	(VOL.) Both/Neither/	

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ahead these days

30

27

21

26

18

26

f.

Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015

Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014

Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011

Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009

September, 2005

Jan 4-8, 2012

their own condition

58

63

60

60

67

59

DK/Ref

12

10

19

14

15

15

Q.42 CONTINUED		Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get	Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for	(VOL.) Both/Neither/	
	December 2004	ahead these days	their own condition	DK/Ref	
	December, 2004	27	60	13	
	June, 2003	24	64	12 15	
	September, 2000	31	54	15	
	August, 1999	28	59	13	
	October, 1997	25	61	14	
	June, 1997	33	54	13	
	October, 1996	28	58	14	
	October, 1995	37	53	10	
	April, 1995	34	56	10	
	October, 1994	34	54	12	
	July, 1994	32	59	9	
g.		Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>	
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	53	38	10	
	May 12-18, 2015	51	41	8	
	Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	57	35	8	
	Dec 3-8, 2013	53	35	11	
	Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	49	40	11	
	Mar 13-17, 2013	49	41	10	
	Jan 4-8, 2012	48	37	15	
	Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	45	44	12	
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	44	42	14	
	Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	42	45	13	
	Jun 16-20, 2010	39	50	11	
	Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009			14	
	October, 2006	41	41	18	
	March, 2006	41	52	7	
	December, 2005	45	44	11	
	December, 2004	45	44	11	
	June, 2003	46	44	10	
	September, 2000	50	38	12	
	August, 1999	46	44	10	
	October, 1997	41	48	11	
	June, 1997	41	48	11	
	April, 1997	38	52	10	
	June, 1996	37	54	9	
	July, 1994	31	63	6	
	July, 1774	31	03	O	
h.		The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>	
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	36	56	9	
	Jul 14-20, 2015	30	58	12	
	Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	30	62	8	
	Dec 3-8, 2013	31	57	12	
	Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	31	58	11	
	October, 2006	28	57	15	

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Q.42 CONTINUED		The best way to ensure peace is through military	Good diplomacy is the	(VOL.) Both/Neither/	
		strength	best way to ensure peace	DK/Ref	
December,	2004	30	55	15	
August, 199		33	55	12	
October, 19		36	53	11	
October, 19		36	59	5	
April, 1995		35	58	7	
October, 19	94	40	52	8	
July, 1994		36	58	6	
i.		Business corporations make too much profit	Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>	
Aug 27-Oct	4, 2015	57	38	5	
Jan 23-Mar	16, 2014	56	39	4	
Mar 13-17,	2013	53	41	6	
Feb 22-Mar	14, 2011	54	39	7	
	6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i>	54	39	6	
December,	2008	58	35	7	
October, 20	800	59	33	8	
December,	2005	61	33	6	
December,	2004	53	39	8	
June, 2003		51	42	7	
July, 2002		58	33	9	
February, 2	002	54	39	7	
September,	2000	54	38	8	
August, 199	99	52	42	6	
June, 1997		51	43	6	
October, 19	96	51	42	7	
October, 19	95	53	43	4	
April, 1995		51	44	5	
October, 19	94	50	44	6	
July, 1994		52	43	5	
ASK ALL PHASE	Δ.				
j.	•••	Elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly	Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters <u>back home</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>	

j.		Elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty <u>quickly</u>	Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters <u>back home</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	77	19	4
	Feb 12-26, 2014	79	17	4
	Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	72	22	5
	December, 2004	66	26	8
	September, 2000	66	27	7
	August, 1999	68	26	6
	October, 1996	69	25	6
	April, 1996	72	23	5
	October, 1995	73	24	3
	April, 1995	76	21	3
	October, 1994	74	22	4
	July, 1994	71	25	4
	•			4

# NO ITEM k

#### Q.42 CONTINUED...

# VCK VII.

ASK	ALL:			
I.	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 <i>Knight-Ridder:</i> January, 1996 <sup>10</sup> ( <i>RVs</i> )	Ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the government in Washington if they are willing to make the effort 50	There's not much ordinary citizens can do to influence the government in Washington 47	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 3
	1770 (KV3)	36	41	1
m.		Homosexuality should be accepted by society	Homosexuality should be discouraged by society	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	60	30	9
	May 12-18, 2015	63	30	6
	Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	62	31	7
	May 1-5, 2013	60	31	8
	Mar 13-17, 2013	57	36	7
	Jan 4-8, 2012	56	32	12
	Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	58	33	8
	October, 2006 <sup>11</sup>	51	38	11
	December, 2004	49	44	7
	June, 2003	47	45	8
	September, 2000	50	41	9
	August, 1999	49	44	7
	October, 1997	46	48	6
	June, 1997	45	50	5
	October, 1996	44	49	7
	April, 1996	44	49	7
	October, 1995	45	50	5
	April, 1995	47	48	5
	October, 1994	46	48	6
	July, 1994	46	49	5

#### **ASK ALL PHASE A:**

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?

	Few big <u>interests</u>	Benefit <u>of all</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	76	19	4
CBS/NYT: Feb 5-10, 2010 <sup>12</sup>	78	18	4
CBS/NYT: July, 2004	64	28	8
CBS/NYT: August, 1995	79	15	6
CBS/NYT: March, 1992	75	19	5
CBS/NYT: Late October, 1990	77	18	5
CBS/NYT: Early October, 1990	71	21	8
CBS/NYT: November, 1988	57	35	8

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."

In October, 2006 and earlier, both answer choices began: "Homosexuality is a way of life that should be..." 10

<sup>12</sup> Selected trend points excluded due to context concerns.

Q.43 CONTINUED			(VOL.)
	Few big	Benefit	Don't know/
	<u>interests</u>	<u>of all</u>	Refused
NYT: December, 1985	54	37	9
CBS/NYT: February, 1985	55	36	9
NYT: November, 1983	59	30	11
<i>NYT</i> : 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:**

O.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
Aug 27-		(RVs)
Sep 13,		January
<u> 2015</u>		<u>1996</u>
57	A better place to live	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]

		One of the		
	Stands above	greatest countries	There are other	
	all other countries	in the world,	countries better than	(VOL.)
	in the world	along with some others	s the U.S.	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]?

	Quite		Very	None	(VOL.)
	<u>a lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>little</u>	<u>at all</u>	DK/Ref
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	45	39	12	3	1
PSRA/Newsweek: August, 1994	48	33	15	3	1
Gallup: May, 1991	59	34	5	1	1
Gallup: March, 1976 <sup>13</sup>	57	30	9	1	2
Gallup: August, 1975	60	23	13	3	2
Gallup: August, 1974	64	24	8	2	2
Gallup: April, 1974	68	19	10	2	1
Gallup: May, 1991 Gallup: March, 1976 <sup>13</sup> Gallup: August, 1975 Gallup: August, 1974	57 60 64	30 23 24	9 13 8	1 1 3 2 2	1 2 2 2 1

#### ASK ALL:

Next,

INT1 Do you use the internet, at least occasionally?

ASK IF DOES NOT USE THE INTERNET (INT1=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?

	Jan 23-
	Mar 16
	<u>2014</u>
Yes to any	89
No/Don't know/Refused to all	11
	3

Gallup June 1986 poll not included in trend due to differences in question context.

# ASK ALL:

OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote... **[READ]**?

# BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,654]:

			Part of		(VOL.)		
		Nearly	the		Never	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Always</u>	<u>always</u>	<u>time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>vote</u>	<u>Other</u>	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	*	*	*
January, 2004	54	30	10	4	2	1	*
August, 2003	53	30	10	5	1	*	*
June, 2003	48	36	11	3	1	*	0
Early November, 2002	52	30	11	6	1	0	1
Early October, 2002	50	33	11	4	*	1	1

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OFTVOTE CONTINUED		Nearly	Part of the		(VOL.) Never	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Always</u>	<u>always</u>	<u>time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>vote</u>	<u>Other</u>	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	Ö	*
January, 2000	50	34	12	4	1	*	*
October, 1999	39	47	9	2	1	*	*
	39 40	47 47	9	3	1	*	*
Late September, 1999						*	*
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	*
	52	33	8	5	1	1	*
September, 1992					1	I ★	*
June, 1992	60	29	7	3		*	*
May, 1992	50	35	10	4	1	*	*
Early May, 1992	49	35	10	4	1		
March, 1992	47	36	11	6	*	*	*
February, 1992	50	36	9	4	*		2
January 1992 <i>(GP)</i> <sup>14</sup>	40	35	11	11	4		*
November, 1991	46	41	9	4	*	*	*
May, 1990	42	42	11	4	1	*	*
January, 1989 <i>(GP)</i>	45	30	10	8	6	1	*
Gallup: November, 1988	57	26	10	4	2	1	*

\_

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

OFTVOTE CONTINUED			Part of		(VOL.)		
		Nearly	the		Never	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Always</u>	<u>always</u>	<u>time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>vote</u>	<u>Other</u>	DK/Ref
October, 1988	51	37	8	3	1	*	*
May, 1988	43	41	11	3	2	1	*
January, 1988	49	39	9	2	1	*	*
September, 1988	51	40	6	2	*	1	*
May, 1987	43	43	9	3	1	1	*

# **NO QUESTIONS 47-49**

# RANDOMIZE Q.B50 AND Q.B51 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 [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] or not?

				(VOL.)
		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	DK/Ref
a.	Is too extreme			
	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/Ġallup: February, 1999	56	42	3
b.	Is too willing to cut government programs, even when			
	they work			
	Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	59	34	7
	Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014	57	35	8
NO IT	EMS c-d			
e.	Can do a good job managing the federal government Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	49	45	6

# RANDOMIZE 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; RANDOMIZE] or not?

	le tee eutreme	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.	Is too extreme	0.0	<b>-</b> /	_
	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	6
	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			
	CNN/Gallup: February, 1999	39	57	3

#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# Q.B51 CONTINUED...

b.	Too often sees government as the only way to solve problems	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
	Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014	59 59	36 35	5 6
NO IT	EMS c-d			
e.	Can do a good job managing the federal government Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	52	44	4

# **NO QUESTIONS 52-61**

# ASK ALL PHASE A:

Q.62 Do you think [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] or do you think [NEXT ITEM]?

Aug 27- Sep 13, <u>2015</u>		TREND FOR COMPARISON:  January 1988
64	The high cost of running a presidential campaign discourages	64
	many good candidates from running	
31	That most good presidential candidates can raise whatever	29
	money they need	
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7

# **NO QUESTIONS 63-69**

Interviews in January 1988 were conducted in person. The question in 1988 did not randomize the response options.

# 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]?]

		 <u>Total</u>		Job <u>Somewhat</u>	 <u>Total</u>		Job Somewhat	<b>(VOL.)</b> Not gov't <u>iob</u>	(VOL.) DK/ Ref
a.	Strengthening the	<u>rotar</u>	very	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>rotar</u>	<u>very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>IXCI</u>
	economy Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	51	9	42	47	22	25	*	2
b.	Keeping the country safe from terrorism Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	72	30	43	26	13	12	*	2
NO IT	ЕМ с								
d.	Helping people get out of poverty Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	36	6	30	61	30	30	2	2
NO IT	ЕМ е								
f.	Protecting the environmer Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	nt 59	11	48	38	16	23	*	2
NO IT	EMS g-h								
i.	Responding to natural disasters Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	79	28	51	19	8	11	*	2
j.	Ensuring that food and	, ,	20	0,7	.,	Ü			-
J.	medicine are safe Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	72	22	49	26	11	15	*	2
ASK P k.F1	HASE A FORM 1 ONLY [N Ensuring access to	=1,505	5]:						
	health care Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	56	15	42	40	21	19	1	3
I.F1	Maintaining roads, bridges and other infrastructure Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015		14	38	46	23	23	1	1
m.F1	Advancing space explorati Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015		10	41	36	17	19	2	11
ASK P n.F2	HASE A FORM 2 ONLY [N Ensuring a basic income	=1,499	)]:						
	for people 65 and older Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	48	9	39	45	20	25	1	5
o.F2	Ensuring access to high quality education Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	52	12	40	44	20	24	1	3
	7.0g 27 3cp 13, 2013	52	12	70	-7-7	20	<u>~</u> T	1	3

#### Q.70 CONTINUED...

		 <u>Total</u>		Job <u>Somewhat</u>	 <u>Total</u>		Job <i>Somewhat</i>	<b>(VOL.)</b> Not gov't <u>job</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Ref</u>
p.F2	Managing the nation's immigration system Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	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 [INSERT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Should the federal government play a major role, a minor role, or no role at all [ITEM]?]

		Major <u>role</u>	Minor <u>role</u>	No role <u>at all</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.	Strengthening the economy Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	74	20	4	1
b.	Keeping the country safe from terrorism Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	94	5	1	1
NO ITE	ЕМ с				
d.	Helping people get out of poverty Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	55	38	5	1
NO ITE	ЕМ е				
f.	Protecting the environment Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	75	22	3	1
NO ITE	EMS g-h				
i.	Responding to natural disasters Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	88	10	1	1
j.	Ensuring that food and medicine are safe Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	87	10	2	1
	HASE A FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,505]:				
k.F1	Ensuring access to health care Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	61	28	10	1
I.F1	Maintaining roads, bridges and other infrastructure Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	76	20	3	1
m.F1	Advancing space exploration Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	47	39	9	4

#### Q.71 CONTINUED...

Q.71 C	CONTINUED				(VOL.)
		Major <u>role</u>	Minor role	No role at all	Don't know/ Refused
ASK P n.F2	HASE A FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,499]: Ensuring a basic income for people 65 and older				
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	69	25	4	2
o.F2	Ensuring access to high quality education Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	70	25	4	1
	5 1	, 0	20	·	•
p.F2	Managing the nation's immigration system Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	81	15	2	1
q.F2	Setting fair and safe standards for workplaces Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	66	30	3	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	More than fair share 40	Less than fair share 4	About the right amount 54	(VOL.) Don't know/ Refused 2
Dec 7-11, 2011	38	5	52	5
Feb 18-22, 2015	40	4	53	2
Mar 11-21, 2010	43	3	50	3
Feb, 2000	55	1	41	3
Oct, 1997	52	2	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 shar or about your fair share?	e,			
NPR/Kaiser/Harvard: May, 2000	55	2	42	1

# **ASK ALL PHASE B:**

Q.B73 Which comes closer to your view of Congress these days? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

Sep 16-					
Oct 4		Oct 9-13	Jan 9-13	Dec 7-11	Mar 11-21
<u> 2015</u>		<u>2013</u>	<u>2013</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2010</u>
	Most members of Congress have good intentions,				
37	it's the political system that is broken	32	32	32	38
	The political system can work fine, it's the				
53	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 QUESTIONS 74-89**

#### RANDOMIZE Q.90/Q.91F1/Q.92F2 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 [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] 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?]

a.	Intelligent Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	Very <u>well</u> 23	Fairly <u>well</u> 45	Not too well 21	Not at all well 9	(VOL.) Don't know/ <u>Refused</u> 2
NO IT	EM 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 IT	EM f					
g.	Patriotic Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	23	40	24	11	3

# RANDOMIZE Q.90/Q.91F1/Q.92F2 ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [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 [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] 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 <u>well</u>	Fairly <u>well</u>	Not too well	Not at all well	(VOL.) Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.	Intelligent Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	15	51	27	4	2
NO IT	<sup>-</sup> ЕМ b					
C.	Honest Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	15	55	24	5	2
d.	Lazy Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	19	31	34	13	3
e.	Selfish Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	28	40	22	7	3
NO IT	EM f					
g.	Patriotic Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	33	45	16	3	2

#### RANDOMIZE Q.90/Q.91F1/Q.92F2 ASK PHASE A FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,499]:

Q.92F2 [As I name some traits, please tell me how well each generally describes/And thinking about] business leaders. Does [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] 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?]

		Very <u>well</u>	Fairly <u>well</u>	Not too well	Not at <u>all well</u>	(VOL.) Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.	Intelligent Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	39	44	9	4	3
NO IT	ЕМ b					
C.	Honest Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	11	33	36	16	3
d.	Lazy Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	10	19	35	32	4
e.	Selfish Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	33	34	20	9	4
NO IT	EM f					
g.	Patriotic Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	16	39	26	13	6

# **NO QUESTIONS 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 RANDOMIZE; RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]. Next, [NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]

# **ASK ALL PHASE A:**

			Most elected officials don't	(VOL.)
n.		Most elected officials care what people like me think	care what people like me think	Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	23	74	3
	Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014	20	78	2
	Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	26	69	5
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	29	68	4
	December, 2004	32	63	5
	June, 2003	33	62	5
	September, 2000	39	55	6
	August, 1999	35	60	5
	June, 1997	28	67	5
	October, 1996	38	58	4
	October, 1995	33	64	3
	April, 1995	32	64	4
	October, 1994	29	68	3
	July, 1994	34	64	2

#### Q.106 CONTINUED...

#### **ASK ALL:**

0.	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	36	59	4
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	39	56	5
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	39	53	7
November, 2007	27	63	10
July, 2006	31	57	12
March, 2006	29	65	6
December, 2005	37	56	7
December, 2004	31	60	9
September, 2000	31	61	8
August, 1999	28	65	7
October, 1996	30	63	7
October, 1995	35	61	4
April, 1995	39	57	4
October, 1994	32	62	6
July, 1994	33	62	5

# NO ITEMS p-q

# **ASK ALL:**

Q.107 Next, [READ AND RANDOMIZE <u>AND</u> RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS WITHIN PAIRS]. [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"] Next, [NEXT PAIR]

		Government should do	Government is doing too many things better left to	(VOL.) Both/Neither/
r.		more to solve problems	businesses and individuals	DK/Ref
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	47	48	4
	Nov 6-9, 2014	49	46	6
	Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014	45	51	4
	Sep 12-16, 2012	44	49	6
	Nov 4-7, 2010	43	48	9
	Jun 8-28, 2010	43	47	10
	Jan 14-27, 2010 (SDT)	45	47	8

# ASK ALL PHASE B:

S.		I like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with	I like elected officials who stick to their positions	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	49	47	3
	Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014	56	39	5
	Jan 15-19, 2014 <sup>16</sup>	49	48	3
	Jan 9-13, 2013 <sup>17</sup>	50	44	6
	Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	40	54	7
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	40	55	5

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

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> In January 2013, question asked as a stand-alone item.

# Q.107 CONTINUED...

ASK	ALL PHASE A:			
t.	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	There are clear solutions to most big issues facing the country today 41	Most big issues facing the country today don't have clear solutions  56	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 3
u.	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	Ordinary Americans would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials 55	Ordinary Americans would do no better solving the country's problems than elected officials 39	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 6
ASK	ALL:			
V.	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things 58	Voting by people like me doesn't really affect how government runs things  39	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 3
ASK	ALL PHASE A:			
W.	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	Most elected officials put the interests of the country ahead of their own 22	Most elected officials put their own interests ahead of the country's interests 74	<b>(VOL.)</b> Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 4
ASK	PHASE A AND PHASE B FO	RM 2 ONLY [N=3,008]:		
x.F2	Aug 27-Oct 4 Feb 18-22, 2015 Jan 29-Feb 9, 2014	The economic system in this country unfairly favors powerful interests  65  62  62	The economic system in this country is generally fair to most Americans  31  33  34	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 3 4 4
y.F2	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014 Jan 4-8, 2012 <sup>18</sup> Dec 7-11, 2011 Mar 8-14, 2011	Wall Street HELPS the American economy more than it hurts 45 45 36 36 38	Wall Street HURTS the American economy more than it helps 42 42 48 51 47	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 13 13 16 13 15
ASK	ALL PHASE B:			
Z.	Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015 <i>Gallup:</i> Sep 13-16, 2010	Most Americans demand more from the government than they are willing to pay taxes for 52 56	Most Americans are willing to pay the taxes needed to fund services they expect government to provide  44 41	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 4 3

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

#### **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		Feb 12-26
<u>2015</u>		<u>2014</u>
51	Ability to change	51
43	Reliance on long-standing principles	44
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5

#### **NO QUESTION 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,	
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 QUESTION 111**

#### ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,505]:

Q.112F1 Thinking about spending on political campaigns and issues, which comes closer to your view **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

Aug 27-	
Sep 13,	
2015	
20	Individuals and organizations should be able to spend as much money as they want [OR]
77	There should be limits on the amount of money individuals and organizations can spend
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

#### ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,505]:

Q.113F1 Which comes closer to your view on the influence of money on politics and elected officials **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

Aug 27-	
Sep 13,	
2015	
76	Money has a greater influence on politics and elected officials today than in the past [OR]
22	Money's influence on politics and elected officials today is little different than it's been in the
	past
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

#### ASK PHASE A FORM 1 ONLY [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?

#### TRENDS FOR COMPARISON: 19

						Center for
						Responsive
Aug 27-						Politics
Sep 13,		Oct	Feb	Feb	Sep	April
<u>2015</u>		<u>2006</u>	2002	2000	<u> 1997</u>	<u> 1997</u>
62	Yes, new laws would be effective	51	55	59	62	62
35	No, new laws would not be effective	37	34	34	32	32
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	12	11	7	6	6

#### NO QUESTIONS 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?

			(VOL.)
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	DK/Ref
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	33	62	4
Mar 11-21, 2010	36	55	10
October, 1997 <sup>20</sup>	27	67	6
Gallup: 1973	24	64	13
Gallup: 1965	36	54	10
Gallup: 1962	23	69	8
Gallup: 1955	26	60	14
Gallup: 1945	21	68	11
NORC <sup>21</sup> : 1943	17	69	14

#### ASK PHASE B FORM 2 ONLY [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
<u> 2015</u>		<u>2010</u>	<u>2000</u>
48	Yes	56	43
49	No	35	51
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	9	6

#### NO QUESTIONS 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 16Oct 4,
2015
44 Think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong
54 Don't think about politics in this way
2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

The question was asked in very different contexts in earlier surveys that warrant caution when making comparisons. 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.

#### **NO QUESTIONS 136-298**

#### ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?

ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)			
				No	Other	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	preference	party	DK/Ref	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015		29	41	4	*	2	17	17
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
Aug 20-24, 2014	24	31	37	4	1	4	15	16
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
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 IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT (PARTY=1,2):

PARTYSTR Do you consider yourself a STRONG [Republican/Democrat] or NOT a strong [Republican/Democrat]?

	Strong	Not strong/	Strong	Not strong/
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>DK</u>
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	13	10=24%	17	12=29%
Jan 28-Mar 16, 2014	11	11=22%	17	13=31%
Apr 4-15, 2012	14	10=24%	20	11=31%

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#### PARTYSTR CONTINUED...

	Strong	Not strong/	Strong	Not strong/
	Republican	<u>DK</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>DK</u>
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%
January, 2007	12	11=23%	17	14=31%
Mid-November, 2006	14	11=25%	22	14=36%
Late October, 2006	14	12=26%	18	14=32%
Early October, 2006	15	12=27%	19	15=34%
September, 2006	17	13=30%	18	16=34%
December, 2005	16	13=29%	20	14=34%
December, 2004	18	13=31%	19	15=34%
July, 2004	17	12=29%	20	13=33%
August, 2003	14	13=27%	15	16=31%
September, 2000	14	13=27%	19	15=34%
Late September, 1999	10	14=24%	15	16=31%
August, 1999	11	14=25%	15	18=33%
November, 1997	11	14=25%	14	18=32%
October, 1995	11	19=30%	14	16=30%
April, 1995	15	15=30%	14	15=29%
October, 1994	16	15=31%	18	14=32%
July, 1994	13	16=29%	15	18=33%
June, 1992	11	17=28%	14	18=32%
May, 1990	13	15=28%	16	17=33%
February, 1989	15	16=31%	17	21=38%
May, 1988	13	15=28%	19	19=38%
January, 1988	12	15=27%	19	20=39%
May, 1987	11	14=25%	18	19=37%

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?

				(VOL.)		Not
			No opinion	Haven't	(VOL.)	heard of/
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	either way	heard of	Refused	<u>DK</u>
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 CONTINUED...**

INTIZ CONTINUED				(VOL.)		Not
			No opinion	Haven't	(VOL.)	heard of/
	Agree	Disagree	either way		Refused	DK
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	16	25	54	2	3	<u> </u>
Apr 4-15, 2012	20	26	50	3	2	
Mar 7-11, 2012	19	29	48	2	2	
Feb 8-12, 2012	18	25	53	2	2	
Jan 11-16, 2012	20	24	52	2	2	
Jan 4-8, 2012	18	25	52	2	3	
Dec 7-11, 2011	19	27	50	2	2	
Nov 9-14, 2011	20	27	51	1	1	
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 <sup>22</sup>	22	22	53	2	2	
Jan 5-9, 2011	24	22	50	2	1	
Dec 1-5, 2010	22	26	49	2	2	
Nov 4-7, 2010	27	22	49	1	1	
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	29	25	32		1	13
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)	28	24	30		1	16
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i>	29	26	32		1	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	22	18	37		1	21
Jun 16-20, 2010	24	18	30		*	27
May 20-23, 2010	25	18	31		1	25
Mar 11-21, 2010	24	14	29		1	31

#### ASK PHASE B REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN 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 REPUBLICAN AND REPUBLICAN LEANING INDEPENDENTS [N=1,283]:

Sep 16-	
Oct 4,	
<u>2015</u>	
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

In the February 2-7, 2011, survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May 2010 through October 2010, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March 2010 it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."

# PEW RESEARCH CENTER SEPTEMBER 2015 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE SEPTEMBER 22-27, 2015 N=1,502

#### **QUESTIONS 1-2, 5 PREVIOUSLY 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?

	Smaller government, fewer services	Bigger government, more services	(VOL.)  Depends	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Sep 22-27, 2015	53	38	<u>Depends</u>	6
Sep 2-9, 2014	50	42	3	5
Sep 4-8, 2013	51	40	2	7
Sep 12-16, 2012	51	40	4	6
Jan 4-8, 2012	52	39	2	7
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	48	41	2	8
Mar 8-14, 2011	50	42	3	5
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	50	42	3	5
Apr 1-5, 2010	50	39	4	8
Feb 3-9, 2010	50	40	3	7
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	51	40	4	6
Mar 9-12, 2009	48	40	3	9
Late October 2008	42	43	4	11
November 2007	47	42	4	7
January 2007	45	43	4	8
LA Times/Bloomberg: January 2006	49	38		13
LA Times: January 2005	52	36		12
ABC/Wash Post: June 2004	50	46		4
CBS/NYT: November 2003	45	42	4	9
CBS/NYT: July 2003	48	40	5	7
ABC: November 2002 (Likely voters,		35		5
Wash Post: September 2002	54	39		7
ABC/Wash Post: July 2002	53	42		6
ABC/Wash Post: January 2002	54	41		5
CBS/NYT: January 2002	46	40	3	11
LA Times: November 2001	48	41		11
CBS/NYT: October 2001	48	39	3	11
LA Times: March 2001	59	29		12
CBS: January 2001	51	36	5	8
CBS: November 2000	54	31	5	10
CBS: October 2000	57	32	5	6
ABC/Wash Post: October 2000 (RV) ABC/Wash Post: Early October 2000	58 (DV) = 0	32 33		10 9
LA Times: September 2000 (RV)	(RV) 58 59	33 26		9 15
ABC/Wash Post: July 2000	59 59	34		7
ABC/Wash Post: April 2000	56	38		7
CBS: September 1999	46	43	5	6
ABC/Wash Post: August 1998	59	35		6
ABC/Wash Post: August 1996	63	32		5
LA Times: April 1996	62	28		10
CBS/NYT: February 1996	61	30	4	5
LA Times: October 1995	68	23		9
LA Times: September 1995	62	27		11
LA Times: January 1995	63	27		10
LA Times: June 1993	60	29		11

	Smaller government,	Bigger government,	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	fewer services	more services	<u>Depends</u>	DK/Ref
ABC/Wash Post: February 1993	67	30		2
ABC/Wash Post: July 1992	55	38		7
CBS/NYT: October 1991	42	43	7	8
CBS/NYT: January 1989 <sup>23</sup>	41	48	4	7
CBS/NYT: October 1988 (Likely votes	rs) 47	37	7	9
ABC/Wash Post: July 1988	49	45		6
CBS/NYT: May 1988	43	44	5	8
ABC/Wash Post: July 1984	49	43		7
CBS/NYT: March 1980	54	32		14
CBS/NYT: June 1978	53	36		11
Wash Post: January 1978	40	39		21
CBS/NYT: November 1976	42	45		13
CBS/NYT: October 1976 (RV)	49	37		14
CBS/NYT: September 1976 (RV)	48	41		11
CBS/NYT: June 1976	42	43		15
CBS/NYT: May 1976	41	43		16
CBS/NYT: April 1976	40	44		16

#### **QUESTIONS 7-9, 11 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

#### NO QUESTIONS 10, 12

#### **ASK ALL:**

Next,

Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THROUGH b. FOLLOWED BY Q.13 RANDOMIZED 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 DISTINGUISH BETWEEN

"NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

		Favorable Unfavor				nfavora	ble	(VOL.) Never	(VOL.) Can't rate/
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Total	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	<u>Ref</u>
a.	Congress								
	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
	Jan 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

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?"

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b.

13 CONTINUED							(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	_	avorak	ole	116	nfavora	ble		Can't rate/
Man 21 Ann / 2000			<u>Mostly</u>	Total	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of *	<u>Ref</u>
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	50	10	40	43	15	28	*	7
Jan 7-11, 2009	40	5	35	52	20	32		8
Late May, 2008	41	6	35	51	17	34	0	8
July, 2007	41	6	35	51	16	35	0	8
Early January, 2007	53	11	42	38	9	29	1	8
Late October, 2006	41	5	36	46	15	31	*	13
February, 2006	44	6	38	47	14	33	0	9
Late October, 2005	45	7	38	45	13	<i>32</i>	*	10
July, 2005	49	6	43	40	11	29	*	11
June, 2005	49	6	43	40	10	30	*	11
June, 2004	56	7	49	33	7	26	*	11
July, 2001	57	7	50	32	8	24	*	11
March, 2001	56	6	50	36	10	26	1	7
January, 2001	64	10	54	23	5	18	1	12
September, 2000 (RVs)	61	8	53	32	5	27	*	7
August, 1999	63	8	55	34	7	27	*	3
June, 1999	56	9	47	39	9	30	*	5
February, 1999	52	4	48	44	8	36	0	4
January, 1999	48	7	41	45	15	30	0	7
Early December, 1998	52	11	41	41	12	29	0	7
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	62	7	55 50	33	8	<i>25</i>	0	5
Early September, 1998	66	7	59	27	5	22	0	7
October, 1997	53	5	48	44	11	33	0	3
August, 1997	50	6	44	44	11	33	0	6
June, 1997	52	4	48	42	8	34	0 *	6
May, 1997	49	5	44	42	10	32		9
February, 1997	52	6	46	40	9	31	*	8
January, 1997	56	6	50	40	8	32	*	4
June, 1996	45	6	39	50	12	38	*	5
April, 1996	45	6	39	50	13	37	0	5
January, 1996	42	4	38	54	16	38	*	4
October, 1995	42	4	38	55	13	42	0	3
August, 1995	45	5	40	47	13	34	*	7
June, 1995	53	8	45	42	11	31	*	5
February, 1995	54	10	44	37	10	27	0	9
July, 1994	53	7	46	43	9	34	*	4
May, 1993	43	8	35	48	13	35	0	9
November, 1991	51	7	44	43	9	34	0	6
March, 1991	66	16	50	26	7	19	0	8
May, 1990	59	6	53	34	9	25	1	6
May, 1988	64	8	56	28	5	23	0	8
January, 1988	64	6	58	29	4	25	0	7
May, 1987	74	10	64	20	4	16	*	6
January, 1987	59	7	52	31	8	23	0	10
July, 1985	67	9	58	26	5	21	*	7
The Supreme Court								
Sep 22-27, 2015	50	8	42	42	17	25	1	7
Jul 14-20, 2015	48	9	39	43	17	26	*	9
Mar 25-29, 2015	50	8	42	39	12	26	1	11
Jul 8-14, 2014	52	8	44	38	14	24	1	9
Apr 23-27, 2014	56	11	44	35	12	23	*	9
Jul 17-21, 2013	48	7	41	38	14	24	1	13
Mar 13-17, 2013	52	7	45	31	10	21	2	15
Dec 5-9, 2012	53	8	45	36	12	24	1	10
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	51	10	41	37	14	23	1	11
Apr 4-15, 2012	52	11	41	29	10	20	*	18
		-			-	-		-

Q.13	CONTINUED							(1/01.)	()(0)
		Favorable		Unfavorable			(VOL.) Never	(VOL.) Can't rate/	
				Mostly	Total <u>Very</u> <u>Mostly</u>			heard of	Ref
	July 1-5, 2010	58	9	49	25	8	17	1	16
	Feb 3-9, 2010	58	8	50	27	8	19	*	15
	Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	64	8	56	21	6	15	0	15
	April, 2008	65	15	50	25	7	18	*	10
	July, 2007	57	12	45	29	9	20	0	14
	January, 2007	72	18	54	17	3	14	2	9
	July, 2006	63	7	56	27	8	19	_ 1	9
	February, 2006	60	16	44	28	10	18	*	12
	Late October, 2005	62	12	50	27	10	17	*	11
	July, 2005	61	12	49	28	10	18	*	11
	June, 2005	57	8	49	30	8	22	*	13
	July, 2001	70	15	55	20	6	14	*	10
	March, 2001	72	15	57	20	5	15	*	8
	January, 2001	68	18	50	21	8	13	1	10
	October, 1997	77	13	64	18	6	12	*	5
	May, 1997	72	16	56	22	5	17	0	6
	July, 1994	80	18	62	16	3	13	*	4
	May, 1993	73	17	56	18	4	14	0	9
	November, 1991	72	18	54	21	5	16	0	7
	May, 1990	65	10	55	25	7	18	1	9
	January, 1988	79	14	65	13	2	11	*	8
	May, 1987	76	13	63	17	2	15	*	7
	Roper: March 1985	64	17	47	28	7	21		8
ASK c.F1	FORM 1 ONLY [N=756]: The Department of Health and Human Services, the HHS Sep 22-27, 2015 Oct 9-13, 2013	54 61	13 14	41 47	31 30	14 12	17 19	3 2	12 7
d.F1	The Federal Bureau of Investigation, the FBI Sep 22-27, 2015 Mar 18-21, 2010 July, 2001 June, 1999 October, 1997 May, 1997 August, 1995	68 67 61 71 67 60 64	18 16 16 17 13 12 16	49 51 45 54 54 48 48	19 14 29 20 25 28 28	8 8 9 7 8 7 9	11 7 20 13 17 21 19	1 * * * * *	13 19 10 9 8 12 8
	ABC/Wash. Post, May 1995 <sup>24</sup> Roper, August 1987 <sup>25</sup> Roper, August 1986 Roper, August 1985 Roper, August 1984 Roper, August 1983	82 78 75 72 77 75	34 28 25 24 30 29	48 50 50 48 47 46	9 17 17 20 19	6 3 4 5 5 5	3 14 13 15 14	*   	9 5 8 8 4 6
e.F1	The Environmental Protection Agency, the EPA Sep 22-27, 2015 Jan 7-11, 2015 Feb 12-Feb 26, 2014	52 59 57	13 18 14	39 40 43	38 32 33	18 15 14	20 18 19	2 1 2	8 8 8

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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?"

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". 25

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Q. 13	CONTINUED							(1/01.)	(1/01.)
	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			Mostly 47 46 55 43 41 39 41 35	Total 30 32 27 30 31 31 26 34	nfavora <u>Very</u> 12 12 7 7 7 11 9 12	ble <u>Mostly</u> 19 20 20 23 24 20 17 22	(VOL.)  Never  heard of  2  1	(VOL.) Can't rate/ Ref 6 10 3 8 10 11 6 10
f.F1	The Postal Service Sep 22-27, 2015 Mar 18-21, 2010 October, 1997 Roper, April 1987 Roper, April 1986 Roper, April 1985 Roper, April 1984 Roper, April 1983	84 83 89 76 74 70 69	33 30 28 33 27 23 24 25	51 53 61 43 47 47 45	14 14 11 22 24 27 28 27	6 6 3 8 8 11 10	8 8 8 14 16 16 18	* 1 0	2 3 * 2 2 3 3 3
g.F1	The Social Security Administration Sep 22-27, 2015 Mar 18-21, 2010 October, 1997	55 49 62	13 9 11	42 40 51	37 39 34	16 17 10	20 22 24	1 0 0	7 12 4
h.F1	The Department of Veterans Affairs, the VA Sep 22-27, 2015 Jan 7-11, 2015 Oct 9-13, 2013 Mar 18-21, 2010 February, 1998 Roper, August 1986 Roper, August 1985 Roper, August 1984	39 52 68 57 59 75 68 77	14 21 24 19 15 30 26 37	25 31 44 38 44 45 42 40	52 38 25 22 26 15 22	24 15 7 5 7 4 6 4	28 24 18 17 19 11 16	1 1 * 2 1 	8 9 7 20 14 9 10 9
i.F1	The Department of Education Sep 22-27, 2015 Oct 9-13, 2013 Mar 18-21, 2010 October, 1997 Roper, April 1987 Roper, April 1986 Roper, April 1985 Roper, April 1984 Roper, April 1983	44 53 40 61 60 63 61 56	11 16 8 12 14 16 14 14	33 37 32 49 46 47 47 42 39	50 42 53 37 35 32 34 38 45	20 16 22 11 11 10 11 13	30 27 31 26 24 22 23 25 27	* 6 0   	5 4 8 2 5 5 5 6 6
j.F1	The National Security Agency, the NSA Sep 22-27, 2015 Jan 7-11, 2015 Oct 9-13, 2013	52 51 54	12 14 12	40 37 42	31 37 35	14 15 13	17 22 22	4 3 2	13 8 8
k.F1	The Department of Homeland Security Sep 22-27, 2015 Oct 9-13, 2013	64 66	16 12	48 54	30 30	12 12	18 18	* 1	6 3

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#### PEW RESEARCH CENTER

#### Q.13 CONTINUED...

Q.13	CONTINUED								
				le <u>Mostly</u>	Ui <u>Total</u>	nfavoral <u>Very</u>	ble <u>Mostly</u>	(VOL.) Never heard of	(VOL.) Can't rate/ <u>Ref</u>
ASK	FORM 2 ONLY [N=746]:								
I.F2	The Food and Drug								
	Administration, the FDA								
	Sep 22-27, 2015	51	12	39	39	14	25	1	9
	Oct 9-13, 2013	65	15	50	29	14	15	1	6
	Mar 18-21, 2010	58 75	10	48	30 22	10 4	20 18	1 *	11 3
	October, 1997 Roper, August 1987	75 74	12 23	63 51	20	4	16 16		ა 6
	Roper, August 1986	75	25 25	50	18	3	15		7
	Roper, August 1985	74	27	47	19	5	14		7
	Roper, August 1984	78	32	46	17	4	13		5
	Roper, August 1983	73	31	42	20	5	15		7
m F2	The Defense Department								
=	Sep 22-27, 2015	63	18	45	29	10	19	1	7
	Jan 7-11, 2015	65	20	44	26	8	18	1	9
	Oct 9-13, 2013	72	21	50	23	9	14	1	5
	Mar 18-21, 2010	67	21	46	21	8	13	*	12
	Late October, 2005	56	14	42	32	13	19	1	11
	October, 1997	76	18	58	19	4	15	*	5
	Roper, April 1987	57	16	41	36	14	22		7
	Roper, April 1986 Roper, April 1985	66 54	22 15	44 39	29 37	10 15	19 22		5 9
	Roper, April 1984	54	15 15	39	39	15 15	22 24		7
	Roper, April 1983	54	14	40	38	15	23		8
n.F2	The Central Intelligence Agency, the CIA Sep 22-27, 2015 Jan 7-11, 2015 Mar 18-21, 2010 June, 1999 February, 1998 Roper, August 1987 Roper, August 1986	57 54 52 49 51 52 61	12 14 11 9 7 12 14	45 41 42 40 44 40 47	27 33 21 33 32 38 26	9 13 8 10 7 9 6	18 20 13 23 25 29 20	1 1 2 1 1 	15 12 25 17 16 10
	Roper, August 1985	53	15	38	33	11	22		15
	Roper, August 1984	58	17	41	30	8	22		11
o.F2	The Internal Revenue Service, the IRS								
	Sep 22-27, 2015 Jan 7-11, 2015	42 45	9 10	32 35	52 48	24 24	28 25	*	6 6
	Oct 9-13, 2013	44	9	35	51	23	28	*	5
	Mar 18-21, 2010 October, 1997	47 38	6 5	41 33	40 60	17 25	23 35	10 *	13 2
	Roper, August 1987	49	10	3 <i>9</i>	46	23 19	27		5
	Roper, August 1986	51	10	41	45	19	26		4
	Roper, August 1985	48	8	40	47	19	28		5
	Roper, August 1984	60	13	47	34	11	23		6
	Roper, August 1983	50	12	38	44	16	28		6
p.F2	The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, the CDC	71	22	40	10	Z.	12	2	C
	Sep 22-27, 2015 Jan 7-11, 2015	71 70	23 25	48 44	19 23	6 10	13 13	2 2	9 5
	Oct 9-13, 2013	75	25 27	44 47	23 14	5	13 8	2	9
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·					-	-	_	•

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								(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		F	avorak	ole	U	nfavora	ble	Never	Can't rate/
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Total	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	Ref
	Mar 18-21, 2010	67	15	52	16	5	10	2	15
	February, 1998	79	20	59	11	2	9	1	9
q.F2	The Justice Department								
-	Sep 22-27, 2015	46	10	37	47	18	29	*	6
	Oct 9-13, 2013	61	9	52	33	14	19	1	5
	Mar 18-21, 2010	51	6	44	33	11	23	1	15
	February, 1998	56	7	49	39	12	27	0	5
	Roper, April 1987	53	10	43	39	15	24		8
	Roper, April 1986	52	10	42	39	15	24		8
	Roper, April 1985	53	10	43	39	17	22		9
r.F2	The National Aeronautic and								
	Space Administration, NASA								
	Sep 22-27, 2015	70	23	47	17	4	13	1	12
	Jan 7-11, 2015	68	24	43	17	6	11	1	15
	Oct 9-13, 2013	73	22	51	15	3	12	*	12
	Mar 18-21, 2010	61	19	41	17	5	12	1	21
	February, 1998	73	23	50	20	5	15	1	6
	Roper, August 1987	66	23	43	24	5	19		10
	Roper, March 1986	61	23	38	30	11	19		9
s.F2	The National Park Service								
	Sep 22-27, 2015	75	27	47	11	4	7	2	12
	Feb 19-22, 1998	84	26	58	9	7	2	2	4
	Roper, 1987	80	37	43	11	8	3		9
	Roper, 1986	74	32	42	9	7	2		17
	Roper, 1985	79	39	40	7	5	2		15
	Roper, 1984	84	44	40	6	5	1		9

QUESTIONS 20, 27-28, 33-36, 39, 45-47, 51-52, 54-59, 62-64, 77-79 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED NO QUESTIONS 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?

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#### PARTY CONTINUED...

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)			
				No	Other	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	Independent	preference	<u>party</u>	DK/Ref	Rep	<u>Dem</u>
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 REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN 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 REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS [N=406]:

				(VOL.)		Not
			No opinion	Haven't	(VOL.)	heard of/
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	either way	heard of	Refused	<u>DK</u>
Sep 25-27, 2015 <sup>26</sup>	28	11	58	2	1	
May 12-18, 2015	34	13	51	1	*	
Mar 25-29, 2015	35	11	52	1	1	
Feb 18-22, 2015	36	9	54	*	*	
Jan 7-11, 2015	34	9	54	1	2	
Dec 3-7, 2014	34	9	55	2	1	
Nov 6-9, 2014	31	10	57	1	1	
Oct 15-20, 2014	32	8	56	2	2	
Sep 2-9, 2014	38	10	50	1	1	
Aug 20-24, 2014	34	10	53	*	2	
Jul 8-14, 2014	35	12	50	2	1	
Apr 23-27, 2014	33	11	54	1	1	
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	37	11	50	1	1	
Feb 14-23, 2014	36	9	54	1	1	
Jan 15-19, 2014	35	12	52	1	*	
Dec 3-8, 2013	32	9	57	1	1	
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	40	9	48	2	1	
Oct 9-13, 2013	41	11	45	2	1	

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Question asked September 25-27, N=406.

#### **TEAPARTY3 CONTINUED...**

			(VOL.)		Not
		•			heard of/
<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>			<u>Refused</u>	<u>DK</u>
				1	
	-				
					9
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48	4	26		I	21
	Agree 35 37 44 41 28 43 36 43 35 37 40 38 39 40 42 36 42 37 40 41 37 43 40 42 37 45 37 41 43 45 48 51 58 54 66 66 53 48	35 9 37 10 44 9 41 7 28 8 43 7 36 9 43 9 35 10 37 11 40 8 38 9 39 7 40 9 42 8 36 9 42 8 36 9 42 8 38 10 40 7 42 8 37 8 40 9 41 9 37 11 43 7 40 7 42 9 37 7 41 9 43 8 45 6 48 5 51 5 58 5 54 5 56 6 66 5 53 4	35       9       54         37       10       50         44       9       46         41       7       48         28       8       61         43       7       47         36       9       52         43       9       45         35       10       51         37       11       51         40       8       49         38       9       50         39       7       52         40       9       47         42       8       48         36       9       53         42       8       48         38       10       49         40       7       51         42       8       47         37       8       52         40       9       48         41       9       49         37       11       51         43       7       49         40       7       51         42       9       47         37       7       52	Agree         Disagree         No opinion either way         Haven't heard of either way           35         9         54         1           37         10         50         2           44         9         46         1           41         7         48         1           28         8         61         2           43         7         47         1           36         9         52         1           43         9         45         1           35         10         51         2           37         11         51         1           40         8         49         1           38         9         50         1           39         7         52         1           40         9         47         2           42         8         48         1           36         9         53         1           42         8         48         1           36         9         53         1           42         8         47         1           41         9 <td>Agree         Disagree         No opinion either way         Haven't heard of perfused         (VOL.)           35         9         54         1         1           37         10         50         2         1           44         9         46         1         2           41         7         48         1         3           28         8         61         2         1           43         7         47         1         1           43         7         47         1         1           36         9         52         1         3           43         9         45         1         2           35         10         51         2         2           37         11         51         1         2           40         8         49         1         2           38         9         50         1         3           39         7         52         1         1           40         9         47         2         1           42         8         48         1         1</td>	Agree         Disagree         No opinion either way         Haven't heard of perfused         (VOL.)           35         9         54         1         1           37         10         50         2         1           44         9         46         1         2           41         7         48         1         3           28         8         61         2         1           43         7         47         1         1           43         7         47         1         1           36         9         52         1         3           43         9         45         1         2           35         10         51         2         2           37         11         51         1         2           40         8         49         1         2           38         9         50         1         3           39         7         52         1         1           40         9         47         2         1           42         8         48         1         1

#### Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

(U) Pew Research Center/USA Today polls

In the February 2-7, 2011, survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May 2010 through October 2010, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March 2010 it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER October 16-20, 2015 OMNIBUS FINAL TOPLINE N=1,018

#### **ASK FORM 1 ONLY [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].

October 16-20 2015		March 18-21 2010
2013	Influenced by special interest manay/	2010
16	Influenced by special interest money/ 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 compromis	e 12
	Obama/Democrats/Liberal agenda/	
4	Violating the Constitution	3
	General members are the problem/	
3	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 [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		March 18-21
<u>2015</u> <b>13</b>	NET Congress	<u>2010</u> <b>19</b>
13 11	NET Congress Gridlock/unwillingness to compromise	19 10
2		9
11	Other issues with Congress NET Politics	13
5		
5	Obama/Democrats/Liberal/Socialist agenda	6
4	Republicans/Conservative/Right-wing/	2
4	Religious agenda	2
2	Partisanship/Politics (unspecified)	5
7	NET Govt has too big a role	10
6	The govt is too big and powerful	7
1	The govt interferes too much in people's live	
6	Corruption (unspecified)	3
5	Debt/Overspending/Fiscal responsibility	9
4	The economy/jobs	7
4	Health care	9 *
3	Immigration/immigrants	
3	Nothing gets done	2
	Money/big corporation money have too	
3	much influence in politics	2
3	Lies (unspecified)	1
3	Tax system/taxes	*
_	They've been there too long/Term limits/	
3	They're too old	*
2	Wars and foreign problems	5
	The govt doesn't do enough to help average	
1	Americans	4
1	Out of touch (unspecified)	4
1	Don't turn to faith/religion enough	*
1	The govt is wasteful and inefficient	1
1	Incompetent (unspecified)	1
2	No major problems	0
18	Other	13
19	Don't know	8

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

#### **NO QUESTIONS 3-9**

#### ASK ALL:

Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE] 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 DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."] Q.10

			Favoral	ole	Ui	nfavoral	ole	(VOL.) Never	(VOL.) Can't rate/
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	Ref
a.	The federal government				, <u></u>				
	in Washington								
	October 16-20, 2015	32	6	26	63	28	34	*	5
	April 23-27, 2014	32	7	26	62	27	36	*	5
	March 13-17, 2013	28	4	24	65	30	35	2	5
	April 4-15, 2012	33	7	26	62	25	37	*	5
	February 2-7, 2011	38	6	32	57	19	37	*	5
	February 3-9, 2010	43	6	38	50	16	34	*	7
	July 22-26, 2009	42	4	38	50	18	31	*	8
	April, 2008	37	6	31	58	21	37	1	4
	January, 2007	45	7	38	46	15	31	1	8
	February, 2006	43	6	37	50	16	34	*	7
	December, 2005	46	7	39	49	18	31	*	5
	Late October, 2005	45	6	39	48	16	32	*	7
	February, 2004	59	10	49	36	11	25	*	5
	April, 2003	73	14	59	22	5	17	0	5
	December, 2002	64	11	53	27	7	20	*	9
	Mid-November, 2001	82	17	65	15	3	12	0	3
	Late October, 2000 (RVs)	54	7	47	40	10	30	*	6
	October, 1997	38	4	34	59	18	41	0	3
b.	Your STATE government								
	October 16-20, 2015	56	11	46	38	13	25	*	5
	April 23-27, 2014	57	13	45	39	17	22	*	3
	March 13-17, 2013	57	10	47	38	16	22	*	5
	April 4-15, 2012	52	11	42	42	15	27	*	6
	February 2-7, 2011	53	10	42	42	14	28	*	5
	February 3-9, 2010	53	9	44	41	14	27	0	6
	July 22-26, 2009	50	6	44	44	16	28	*	6
	April, 2008	59	9	50	37	16	21	0	4
	December, 2005	57	8	49	37	11	26	*	6
	December, 2002	62	15	47	31	10	21	1	7
	Mid-November, 2001	77	15	62	18	4	14	*	5
	October, 1997	66	10	56	29	7	22	*	5
C.	Your LOCAL government								
0.	October 16-20, 2015	65	13	52	30	10	20	*	5
	April 23-27, 2014	65	16	49	31	12	19	*	4
	March 13-17, 2013	63	12	51	32	12	20	*	5
	April 4-15, 2012	61	13	48	31	9	22	*	7
	February 2-7, 2011	63	15 15	48	32	10	22	1	5
	February 3-9, 2010	64	11	53	30	10	20	*	6
	July 22-26, 2009	60	8	52	32	9	23	0	8
	April, 2008	63	11	52 52	33	12	23 21	1	3
	December, 2005	66	12	52 54	28	10	2 i 18	1 *	6
	December, 2002	67	12 16	54 51	25 25	9	16 16	*	7
	Mid-November, 2001	78	15 15	63	25 17	4	13	*	5
	October, 1997	68	13 12	56	25	7	13 18	*	7
	OCTODEL, 1991	00	12	50	23	,	10		,

#### ASK ALL:

PARTY Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as [RANDOMIZE ITEMS 1 AND 2 WITH ITEM 3 ALWAYS LAST] a Republican, a Democrat, or an independent? [INTERVIEWERS: IF RESPONDENT GIVES ANSWER SUCH AS "CONSERVATIVE, LIBERAL, 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.)					
				Other	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>party</u>	DK/Ref	Rep	<u>Dem</u>
Oct 16-20, 2015	19	29	43	6	3	17	18