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GOP Base Critical of Party's Washington Leadership

## Frustration with Congress Could Hurt Republican Incumbents

#### FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

#### **Andrew Kohut**

President, Pew Research Center

#### **Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock**

Associate Directors

#### **Scott Keeter**

Director of Survey Research

1615 L St, N.W., Suite 700 Washington, D.C. 20036 Tel (202) 419-4350 Fax (202) 419-4399 www.people-press.org

#### GOP Base Critical of Party's Washington Leadership

## Frustration with Congress Could Hurt Republican Incumbents

Public discontent with Congress has reached record levels, and the implications for incumbents in next year's elections could be stark. Two-in-three voters say most members of Congress should be voted out of office in 2012 – the highest on record. And the number who say their own member should be replaced matches the all-time high recorded in 2010, when fully 58 members of Congress lost reelection bids – the most in any election since 1948.

The Republican Party is taking more of the blame than the Democrats for a do-nothing Congress. A record-high 50% say that the current Congress has accomplished less than other recent Congresses, and by nearly two-to-one (40% to 23%) more blame Republican leaders than Democratic leaders for this. By wide margins, the GOP is seen as the party that is more extreme in its positions, less willing to work with the other side to get things done, and less honest and ethical in the way it governs. And for the first time in over two years, the Democratic Party has gained the edge as the party better able to manage the federal government.

To be sure, neither party's leadership is viewed positively right now. Just 31% approve of how Democratic congressional leaders have performed. But even fewer (21%) approve of the job Republican leaders have done. And a

#### **Record Anti-Incumbent Sentiment**

Want to see Most members	Feb 2006	Feb 2008	Feb 2010	Dec 2011
reelected	%	%	%	%
Yes	36	36	32	20
No	49	49	53	67
Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
Your representative reelected				
Yes	59	60	49	50
No	28	22	31	33
Other/Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100
# of incumbents who lost reelection bids	24	23	58	

#### GOP Leaders Blamed For "Do-Nothing" Congress

Compared to others, this Congress has accomplished	More % 8	<b>Less</b> % 50	<b>Same</b> % 37	<b>DK</b> % 5=100
If "less"	Rep	Dem		Other/
Who's more to	leaders	leaders		DK
blame for this?	40	23		4=100

## Republican Party Seen as Extreme and Uncompromising

Which party	Rep Party	Dem Party	Neither (vol.)	Other/ DK
Is more extreme in its positions	% 53	% 33	% 1	% 13=100
Is more willing to work with the other side	25	51	12	13=100
Can better manage gov't	35	41	13	12=100
Is more honest and ethical	28	45	16	11=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Incumbent reelection questions based on registered voters. Other questions based on general public.

good deal of this criticism is coming from within the GOP base. While Democrats approve of the job their party's leaders are doing by a 60% to 31% margin, only 49% of Republicans approve of the GOP leaders in Congress are doing, while 44% disapprove.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Dec. 7-11, 2011 among 1,521 adults, finds that Republicans are as eager to see big changes in Congress as they were two years ago. Despite their party's majority status in the House of Representatives, seven-in-ten Republicans say most members of

Congress should be replaced, as do 73% of independents and 60% of Democrats. This stands in stark contrast to the last several election cycles, when voters from the party with a House majority have said most members should keep their jobs.

## Public Sees Members of Congress, Not the Political System, as the Problem

Which comes closer to your view of Congress these days?	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %
The political system can work fine, it's the members that are the problem	55	58	56	53
Most members have good intentions, it's the political system that is broken	32	31	32	33
Other/Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Q43. Based on general public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

In fact, one of the few areas of bipartisan agreement

when it comes to views of Congress is that the problem with the institution is the members themselves, not the political system. In assessing Congress, 55% of the public says they think the system can work fine, it's the members that are the problem. Just 32% say they think most members have good intentions but the political system is broken. The balance of opinion is virtually identical across party lines.

Independents, who have expressed great frustration with Washington gridlock over the course of the past year, are particularly critical of the Republican Party. By a 54% to 30% margin they say the Republican Party, not the Democratic Party, is more extreme in its positions, and they are twice as likely to label the Republicans than the Democrats as the less honest and ethical party (42% vs. 21%).

Yet independents have few positive things to say about the Democratic Party either. Both parties' leaders get poor approval ratings from independents (14% approve of GOP leaders in Congress, 23% of Democratic leaders). And when independents are asked which party can best handle the most important problem facing the nation, as many volunteer "neither" as say the Democrats or the Republicans.

As a result, entering the 2012 election cycle independents are expressing more hostility toward congressional incumbents than usual. For the first time in nearly twenty years of polling, more than seven in ten (73%) independents want most members of Congress replaced next year. And just 37% think their own member should be returned to office, while 43% say he or she should be voted out.

#### **Views of Occupy Wall Street**

The arguments and concerns of the Occupy Wall Street movement are supported by many Americans, but most continue to reject the core

## Independents' Anti-Incumbent Mood

Want to see Most members	Feb 2006	Feb 2008	Feb 2010	Dec 2011
reelected	%	%	%	%
Yes	30	28	24	15
No	57	60	62	73
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
Your representative reelected				
Yes	51	53	43	37
No	36	29	37	43
Other/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Q18 & Q19. Based on independent registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

conclusion that America is divided into a nation of "haves" and "have-nots." Moreover, while the Occupy Wall Street movement draws more support than opposition, its tactics are criticized, with far more saying they disapprove than approve of the way the protests have been carried out.

By a 44% to 35% margin, more Americans support than oppose the Occupy Wall Street movement overall, and by 48% to 30%, more say they agree than disagree with the concerns the protests have raised. But when it comes to the way the protests are being conducted,

## Occupy Wall Street's Concerns Are Supported, But Tactics Are Rejected

The Occupy Wall Street movement	%	The concerns the protests have raised	%	The way the protests are be conducted	eing %
Support	44	Agree	48	Approve	29
Oppose	35	Disagree	30	Disapprove	49
Other/DK	<u>22</u>	Don't know	<u>22</u>	Don't know	<u>23</u>
	100		100		100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011 Q15; Dec. 8-11, 2011 Pew2a, Pew2b. Based on general public. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

significantly more disapprove (49%) than approve (29%).

Many of the themes of the Occupy Wall Street protests resonate with the public. About half (51%) say that Wall Street hurts the American economy more than it helps it; 36% are of the view that Wall Street helps more than it hurts. A 61% majority say the economic system in this country unfairly favors the wealthy, while 36% say it is generally fair to most Americans. And fully 77% say that a few rich people and corporations have

too much power in this country. While still a minority view, the current survey finds 40% saying that hard work and determination are no guarantee of success, higher than in any other survey conducted over the past 17 years.

But at the same time, most Americans (58%) continue to reject the notion that American society is divided into two groups, the "haves" and the "have-nots." And when pressed to choose, more Americans describe themselves as part of the "haves" (46%) than the "have-nots" (39%).

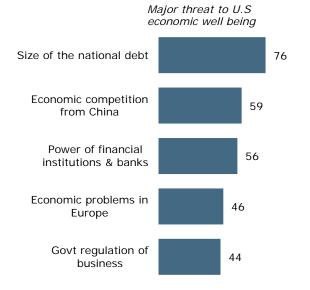
#### **Economic Outlook Remains Gloomy**

Public assessments of the American economy remain gloomy — about nine-in-ten say the economy is in only fair (38%) or poor (53%) shape. Looking forward, most say things will either be the same (50%) or worse (18%) a year from now. These assessments remain

unchanged from August despite the impression that economic news is less uniformly bad than it was over the summer. (See <u>"Many Fewer"</u> Hearing Mostly Bad Economic News," Dec. 7, 2011.)

About three-quarters (76%) see the size of the national debt as a major threat to the economic well being of the United States, the highest of five issues tested. A smaller majority (59%) sees economic competition from China as a major threat, and about as many (56%) say the same about the power of financial institutions and banks. Only about half (46%) say the economic problems in Europe pose a major threat to the U.S. economy, and 44% see government regulation of business as a major threat.

#### More See U.S. Debt as Major Threat than Foreign Challenges



#### **Most Important Problem**

Most Americans (55%) continue to cite economic issues as the most important problem facing the country. But the percentage citing any economic issue has fallen 13 points since May, from 68%. At the same time, an increasing number cite problems with government, including dissatisfaction with government and politics, partisanship and lack of political leadership. Currently 15% mention a problem associated with government and politics, up from only 4% in May.

About one-in-five (21%) say that unemployment is the biggest problem facing the country, the top economic issue cited. About one-in-ten (9%) volunteer the debt or deficit, little changed since May (10%). Other economic issues, such as inequality (2%) and problems with Wall Street and banks (1%), receive very few mentions.

Nearly four-in-ten (38%) say the Democratic Party can do a better job of handling the issue they point to as the top national problem; 32% say the Republicans can better handle this problem. One-in-five (20%) say neither party can better handle the issue.

## **Economic Issues Dominate, But More Cite Politics, Partisanship**

Most important problem facing	May	Dec
the country today:	%	%
NET: Economic Issues	68	55
Unemployment/Lack of jobs	26	21
Economy (general)	28	19
Deficit/National debt	10	9
Finances/Money	5	2
Taxes	1	2
Distribution of wealth/Inequality		2
Financial crisis		1
Housing market/Foreclosures	1	1
Social Security	1	1
Jobs moving overseas/Trade	1	1
Inflation	2	1
Energy costs	7	1
Wall Street/Corp. America/Banks		1
NET: Government and Politics	4	15
Dissatisfaction with government/ politics/Obama	4	10
Partisanship/Parties/Gridlock		4
Lack of leadership		2
NET: Foreign Issues/International	9	6
War/War in Iraq/War in Afghanistan	5	4
National security	1	1
Too much foreign aid	1	1
Health care costs/Accessibility	6	4
Education/Schools	2	3
Morality/Ethics/Family values	1	2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011 Q12. Based on open-end question; multiple responses allowed. For full results, see topline.

#### SECTION 1: CONGRESS, THE PARTIES, AND THE ANTI-INCUMBENT MOOD

As voters look toward the 2012 congressional elections, anti-incumbent sentiment is running at or near record highs. Just 20% of voters say they would like to see most members of Congress reelected in the next congressional election. Two-thirds (67%) think most members of Congress should be replaced. This exceeds – by double digits – previous highs set in 2010, 2006 and 1994.

As is generally the case, voters are more positive about their own congressional representative. Half (50%) say they would like to see their own representative reelected while 33% say their representative should not be reelected. Still, this equals the level of antiincumbent sentiment in 2010, when 58 incumbents went on to lose reelection bids the most since 1948.

The level of anti-incumbent sentiment among Republican voters is particularly notable. Despite having won a majority in the House of Representatives – though not the Senate – last year, most Republicans continue to advocate a sweeping overhaul of congressional membership. Fully 70% say that most members should be replaced. This stands in stark contrast to how members of the party with a House majority have felt in recent elections. Republicans in 2006, and Democrats in 2008 and 2010, favored keeping most members in office, with only a few advocating a sweeping overhaul as Republicans do today. In

#### **Record High Say Most Members of Congress Should Not be Reelected**

	Want to see _		reelected?	
		our	Most	
			Represe	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
	%	%	%	%
Dec 2011	50	33	20	67
2010				
Oct 2010	49	32	35	51
June 2010	49	34	31	56
Feb 2010	49	31	32	53
Nov 2009	52	29	34	53
2008				
Feb 2008	60	22	36	49
2006				
Oct 2006	55	26	34	49
June 2006	51	32	29	57
Feb 2006	59	28	36	49
2002				
Oct 2002	58	19	39	38
June 2002	58	23	45	37
2000				
Oct 2000	60	17	40	34
July 1999	66	23	41	47
1998				
Oct 1998	64	19	41	37
Jan 1998	66	23	44	43
1996				
Oct 1996	62	19		
Sept 1996	62	19	43	43
1994				
Nov 1994	58	25	31	51
Early Oct 1994	49	29	28	56
1990				
Oct 1990*	62	22		

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Q18 & Q19. Based on registered voters. Figures read across. See topline for complete trends. \*1990 data from Gallup. those years, one party controlled both the House and Senate, unlike today.

Because of this Republican disgruntlement, there are only modest differences of opinion across party lines when it comes to reelecting incumbents. Seven-in-ten Republican voters (70%) say most members of Congress should not be reelected, as do 60% of Democrats. And when it comes to their own representative, an almost identical number of Republicans (28%) and Democrats (25%) want to see their member of Congress replaced next year.

Meanwhile, the level of anti-incumbent sentiment among independents is extensive. For the first time on record, more than seven-in-ten independents (73%) say most members of Congress should not be reelected. Just 37%

#### Even Republicans Want Most Members to be Replaced

Don't want to see <b>your</b>	Feb 2006	Feb 2008	Feb 2010	Dec 2011
representative reelected	%	%	%	%
Total	28	22	31	33
Republican	18	18	35	28
Democrat	31	19	23	25
Independent	36	29	37	43
Don't want to see <b>most</b> <b>members</b> reelected				
Total	49	49	53	67
Republican	35	55	65	70
Democrat	57	37	34	60
Independent	57	60	62	73
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec.	7-11, 20	011. Q1	8 & Q19	9.

of independent voters would like to see their representative reelected to Congress while 43% would not. By contrast, a majority of Republicans (57%) and Democrats (60%) say they would like to see their member of Congress reelected.

#### **Congress Viewed as Unproductive**

From the public's perspective, the first term of the 112th Congress has been distinctly unproductive. A record high 50% of Americans say that the current Congress has accomplished less than other recent Congresses; 37% think it has accomplished about the same amount and just 8% say Congress has accomplished more.

## Record Number Say This Congress Has Accomplished Less Than Others

Based on registered voters.

Compared to recent ones, this Congress	Oct 1994	Nov 1997			Oct 2006		Oct 2010	Dec 2011
has accomplished	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
More	10	23	24	11	6	5	20	8
Less	36	12	23	27	39	43	36	50
About the same amount	51	59	49	54	47	42	37	37
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Q41. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. \*Oct. 1998 and Nov. 2002 surveys of registered voters. Oct. 1994 data from Gallup.

To be sure, public criticism of Congress for lack of performance is not unusual. Even in 2010, when Congress had passed major health care and financial regulation bills, 36% said it had done less than most recent Congresses, 37% said it was no more or less productive than other recent Congresses, and 20% said it had done more. In October 2007, the last high point in negative views about congressional accomplishments, 43% said that they had accomplished less than recent Congresses while 42% said about the same amount.

By a wide margin, those who say Congress has accomplished less than usual this year blame Republican leaders in Congress (40%) rather than Democratic leaders (23%). But there is

## Independents More Likely to Fault GOP for Fewer Accomplishments

Current Congress	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
has accomplished	%	%	%	%
More	8	4	11	7
Less	50	55	48	51
Same amount	37	38	36	37
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
Among those who say le who's more to blame?	255,			
Republican leaders	40	4	76	38
Democratic leaders	23	64	2	15
Both (Vol.)	32	28	19	42
Neither/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Q41 & Q42 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

plenty of criticism to go around; 32% volunteer that both parties' leaders are to blame for the lack of accomplishments. Independents are especially likely to hold both parties responsible for Congress accomplishing less (42% volunteer this). Among independents who assign blame to one party, far more blame the GOP leadership than Democrats (38% to 15%).

Republicans and Democrats overwhelmingly blame the other party's leaders for Congress accomplishing less. But Republicans are more likely than Democrats to volunteer that both parties are to blame.

The leaders of both parties also continue to get very low approval ratings. Just 31% approve of the job Democratic leaders in Congress are doing. Even fewer (21%) approve of the performance of Republican congressional leaders.

Republicans are significantly less happy with their party's leadership in Congress than

#### Fewer Republicans Approve of the Job GOP Leaders are Doing

Approve of	Feb 2011	July 2011	Dec 2011	Feb-Dec change
Rep leaders	%	%	%	
Total	36	25	21	-15
Republican	66	54	49	-17
Democrat	17	10	9	-8
Independent	36	19	14	-22
Approve of Dem leaders				
Total	33	30	31	-2
Republican	10	8	9	-1
Democrat	62	58	60	-2
Independent	27	23	23	-4
PEW RESEARCH C	ENTER Dec	c. 7-11, 20	11. Q2.	

Democrats are with their leaders. Republicans' approval ratings of their leaders' performance have declined from 66% earlier this year to 49% in the current survey. Nearly as many Republicans now disapprove of the job their leaders are doing (44%). Democrats give more positive ratings to their party's leaders -60% approve, little changed from earlier this year.

Independents take a dim view of both parties' leaders. Only 23% approve of the job the Democratic leaders are doing, virtually unchanged from earlier this year. And independents' views of the job the GOP leaders are doing has dropped from 36% in February to just 14% now.

#### Republican Party Seen as More Extreme

Democrats have a substantial lead over Republicans on several traits, such as willingness to work with political opponents and governing in an honest and ethical way. They also have an edge over the GOP as the party that can better manage the federal government. And far more continue to say the Republican Party is more extreme in its positions than say that about the Democratic Party.

By a two-to-one margin (51% to 25%) the public sees the Democratic Party as more willing to work with political leaders from the other party than the Republican Party. A majority (53%) says the GOP holds more extreme positions while 33% say the Democratic Party.

Over the past year, the Democratic Party has opened a 17-point lead over the GOP as the party that governs in a more honest and ethical way. Currently, just 28% rate the GOP as the more honest and ethical party, down from 35%

## Democratic Party Gains Edge in Management, Honesty

Which party Is more willing to	Dem Party	Rep Party	Both/ Neither DK	Diff
work w/opponents	%	%	%	
December 2011	51	25	25 = 100	D+26
July 2011	51	26	22=100	D+25
April 2011	49	32	18=100	D+17
Governs in more honest & ethical way				
December 2011	45	28	27 = 100	D+17
July 2011	42	30	29=100	D+12
April 2011	42	33	25 = 100	D+9
October 2010	35	35	29=100	0
Can better manage the government				
December 2011	41	35	25 = 100	D+6
July 2011	38	40	23=100	R+2
April 2011	39	41	19=100	R+2
October 2010	36	43	21=100	R+7
Is more extreme in its positions				
December 2011	33	53	14 = 100	R+20
October 2011	38	50	11 = 100	R+12
July 2011	35	50	15=100	R+15

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Q46. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

last October. The share picking the Democratic Party is up 10 points, to 45% from 35%.

Currently, the Democrats have an edge over Republicans as the party better able to manage the federal government – 41% say the Democratic Party while 35% say the Republican Party. In recent years, the public has generally been divided in this evaluation, though the GOP held a slight advantage in October 2010.

Independents' views of the parties' effectiveness and credibility have shifted notably over just the past six months. In July, independents gave Republicans the edge as the party better able to manage the federal government, but the GOP has now lost that advantage. And where independents were divided as to which party was more honest and ethical in July, they now pick the Democratic Party over the Republican Party by two-to-one (42% vs. 21%).

## Republican Image Suffers among Independents

	Among independents	
Which party	July	Dec
Can better manage gov't	%	%
Republican Party	42	32
Democratic Party	30	38
Neither (vol.)	17	17
Both/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100
	R+12	D+6
Governs in a more honest and ethical way		
Republican Party	28	21
Democratic Party	32	42
Neither (vol.)	29	23
Both/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100
	D+4	D+21

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Q46c-d. Based on independents. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

#### SECTION 2: OCCUPY WALL STREET AND INEQUALITY

Nearly three months after protests began in New York and later expanded to cities around the country, 44% support the Occupy Wall Street movement and 35% oppose it. Americans are much more likely to agree with the concerns raised by the movement than to approve of its tactics. By 48% to 30%, more Americans agree than disagree with the concerns the protests have highlighted. However, by a nearly identical margin (49% to 29%), more disapprove of the way the Occupy Wall Street protests are being conducted. Even those who say they agree with the concerns raised by the movement are somewhat divided over its tactics: 50% approve, while 40% disapprove.

The public is overwhelmingly critical of the fairness of the economic system. Most (77%) agree that there is too much power in the hands of a few rich people and corporations. And while a majority of Americans (58%) still say that "most people who want to get ahead can make it if they are willing to work hard," this is lower than at any point since the question was first asked in 1994.

Nevertheless, most Americans continue to reject the idea that the United States is a country divided between the "haves" and the "have-nots." Just 38% say they think of America this way. And there is little change in public optimism about the country's ability to solve its problems; 60% say the country can.

#### **Occupy Tactics Split Democrats**

Views of the Occupy movement split along party lines. About six-in-ten Democrats (62%) agree with the concerns it has raised, compared with 50% of independents and 31% of Republicans. And while Democrats are divided about the way the protests are being conducted (43% approve, 37% disapprove), few independents (29%) or Republicans (14%) approve of the methods.

## Occupy Wall Street: Far More Support for Concerns than Tactics

					R-D
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	diff
OWS overall	%	%	%	%	
Support	44	21	60	46	-39
Oppose	35	59	21	34	+38
Neither (Vol.)	6	5	4	7	
Don't know	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
Concerns raised by OWS protests					
Agree	48	31	62	50	-31
Disagree	30	47	19	27	+28
Don't know	<u>22</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>23</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
Way OWS protests are conducted					
Approve	29	14	43	29	-29
Disapprove	49	67	37	49	+30
Don't know	<u>23</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>22</u>	
	100	100	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011 Q15; Dec. 8-11, 2011 Pew2a, Pew2b. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Republicans overall oppose the movement by nearly three-to-one (59% oppose, 21% support). Yet while conservative Republicans oppose Occupy Wall Street by a wide margin (68% to 14%), moderate and liberal Republicans are more evenly divided (43% oppose, 38% support).

Nearly three-quarters of liberal Democrats (72%) support Occupy Wall Street, compared with more modest support (55%) among conservative and moderate Democrats.

Younger Americans back the Occupy Wall Street protests more than others: A plurality of those younger than 50 supports the movement (47% support, 30% oppose), 50-to-64 year-olds are more divided (45% support, 38% oppose), and opposition is highest among those 65 and older (33% support, 47% oppose).

The Occupy movement, which has been focused on income and wealth divisions in the country, garners more support than opposition from Americans with annual family incomes of

## Opposition to Occupy Wall Street Higher Among Older, Affluent

	Support	Oppose	Neither/ DK
	%	%	%
Total	44	39	22=100
Conservative Rep	14	68	18=100
Mod/Lib Rep	38	43	19=100
Independent	46	34	20=100
Cons/Mod Dem	55	25	20=100
Liberal Dem	72	17	11 = 100
18-29	49	27	24=100
30-49	45	32	23=100
50-64	45	38	17 = 100
65+	33	47	20=100
College grad+	48	40	12=100
Some college	50	33	17 = 100
HS or less	39	33	28=100
Family income			
\$75,000 or more	45	43	12=100
\$150k+	36	55	10=100
\$100k-\$149,999	46	43	11=100
\$75k-\$99,999	49	37	14=100
\$30,000-\$74,999	48	34	18=100
Less than \$30,000	43	30	27=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011 Q15. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

less than \$75,000, while those earning more are about equally likely to support as oppose it (45% vs. 43%). But within that income group there are substantial internal divisions on this question: A majority of those with incomes of \$150,000 or more (55%) oppose it, compared with fewer (40%) of those with incomes between \$75,000 and \$149,999.

Notably, among Democrats and Democratic leaning independents, those with incomes of \$75,000 or more are substantially more supportive more of Occupy Wall Street than those with incomes of less than \$30,000 (71% vs. 56%). Among Republicans and Republican leaning independents the pattern is reversed: Those with incomes of \$75,000 and higher oppose the movement by nearly five-to-one (72% oppose, 15% support), views among Republicans with incomes of less than \$30,000 are more divided (41% oppose, 30% support).

#### Views of Inequality, Fairness, Wall Street

Roughly three-quarters of the public (77%) say that they think there is too much power in the hands of a few rich people and large corporations in the United States. In a 1941 Gallup poll, six-in-ten (60%) Americans expressed this view. About nine-in-ten (91%) Democrats and eight-in-ten (80%) of independents assert that power is too concentrated among the rich and large corporations, but this view is shared by a much narrower majority (53%) of Republicans.

Reflecting a parallel sentiment, 61% of Americans now say the economic system in this country unfairly favors the wealthy and just 36% say the system is generally fair to most Americans. About three-quarters (76%) of Democrats and 61% of independents say the economic system is tilted in favor of the wealthy; a majority (58%) of Republicans say that the system is generally fair to most Americans.

#### Wide Partisan Gap in Opinions about Inequality, Wall Street

Too much power in hands of a few rich people and large	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	R-D diff
corporations?	%	%	%	%	
Yes	77	53	91	80	-38
No	19	41	8	17	+33
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
Country's economic system					
Unfairly favors the wealthy	61	39	76	61	-37
Is generally fair to most Americans	36	58	22	35	+36
Other/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
Wall Street					
Helps economy more than it hurts	36	49	29	37	+20
Hurts economy more than it helps	51	38	60	54	-22
Other/Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011 Q44 & Q45. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.					

The public also views Wall Street negatively, little changed from opinions in March. Currently, just 36% say Wall Street helps the American economy more than it hurts— 51% say it hurts more than helps. Majorities of both Democrats (60%) and independents (54%) say Wall Street hurts more than helps, while nearly half of Republicans say Wall Street helps the economy (49%).

Americans with annual family incomes of \$75,000 or more are less critical of Wall Street than others. Half (50%) of higher income people say Wall Street does more good than harm, compared with just 31% of those with lower incomes.

#### More Are Skeptical that Hard Work Leads to Success

On the whole, Americans continue to say hard work leads to success; 58% agree with the statement that "most people who want to get ahead can make it if they are willing to work hard," but this is substantially lower than the proportion expressing this view in previous surveys. Today, 40% agree that "Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people," which is up six points since March.

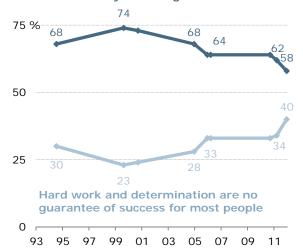
Democrats are now evenly divided over whether hard work leads to success: 47% say most people who work hard can get ahead, while 50% say hard work is no guarantee of success for most people. In March, 56% said hard work leads to people getting ahead while 40% said it is no guarantee of success.

Independents also are more likely to express skepticism about the value of hard work than they were nine months ago (36% then, 42% now). Nonetheless, a majority of independents (56%) agree that most people can get ahead through hard work.

Republican views on this question are virtually unchanged over this period. Currently, 75% say most people who want to get ahead can make it if they are willing to work hard; just 24% say hard work is no guarantee of success for most people.

#### **Does Hard Work Lead to Success?**

#### Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec 7-11, 2011. Q44a.

## Fewer Democrats, Independents Say Hard Work Leads to Success

	Mar 2011	Dec 2011	Mar-Dec change
Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success			
for most people	%	%	
Total	34	40	+6
Republican	24	24	0
Democrat	40	50	+10
Independent	36	42	+6

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec 7-11, 2011. Q44d. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

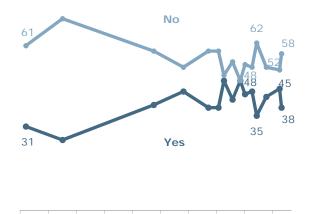
#### Most Say Country Not Divided Into "Haves," "Have-Nots"

Even as they express frustration with the fairness of economic system, most of the public rejects the notion that the nation is divided into two groups: the "haves" and the "have-nots." Nearly six-in-ten (58%) say they do not think of America in these terms, while just 38% say they do. Although opinions on this question have varied over the course of its more than 25-year history, for most of this period majorities have rejected characterizing the country in this way. And, as is the case today, if forced to choose between the options, pluralities have consistently identified themselves as "haves," rather than "have-nots" (46% vs. 39% today).

Most Republicans (72%) and independents (60%) say they do not think of America in these terms. Democrats are more divided; 52% say the country is divided along these lines, while 46% say it is not.

#### Public Rejects Idea of "Haves" vs. "Have-Nots" Society

Is American society divided into two groups, the 'haves' and the 'have-nots?'



99

02

05

08 11

If you had to choose, which group are you in?

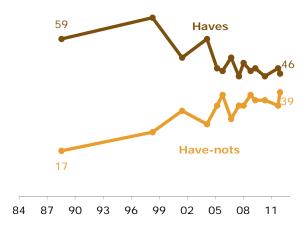
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84

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90

93



## SECTION 3: VIEWS OF NATIONAL ECONOMY, MAJOR ECONOMIC THREATS

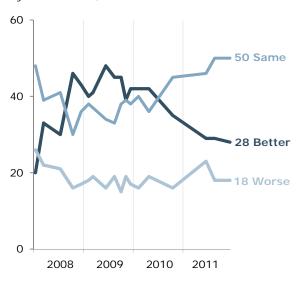
The vast majority of Americans rate U.S. economic conditions as only fair (38%) or poor (53%) and most expect more of the same – or worse – over the course of the next year. Half (50%) expect the economy to be unchanged a year from now, while 18% expect things to get worse. Just 28% expect the economy to improve.

These grim expectations come even as fewer Americans say they are hearing mostly bad news about the economy. In a separate survey conducted Dec. 1-4, 36% said the economic news these days is mostly bad, down from 67% four months ago.

The public's economic outlook has soured over the past two years. In June 2009 nearly half (48%) were optimistic about the economy, and

#### Most Foresee No Economic Improvement Next Year

A year from now, economic conditions will be...



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as recently as April 2010, a 42% plurality expected economic conditions in the country to improve over the next year. That figure fell to 29% in June and August of this year and remains low, at 28% today.

Democrats are more optimistic than either Republicans or independents; 39% of

Democrats think the economy will improve over the coming year compared with 21% and 23% of Republicans and independents, respectively. Yet Democratic expectations have declined sharply over the past few years. As recently as April 2010, 61%

#### Across Party Lines, Few See Economy Improving

Economic conditions will be <b>better</b> a year	Jun 2009	Apr 2010	Oct 2010	Jun 2011	Aug 2011	Dec 2011
from now	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	48	42	35	29	29	28
Republican	31	27	23	16	22	21
Democrat	63	61	52	45	42	39
Independent	44	36	32	24	24	23

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Q33.

of Democrats thought the economy was on track to improve.

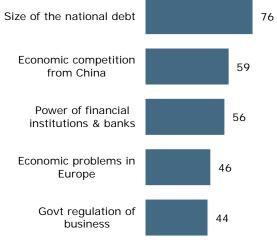
#### Threats to America's Economic Well-Being

Asked to rate several possible threats to the country's economic well being, 76% say the size of the national debt is a major threat, while smaller majorities cite economic competition from China (59%) and the power of financial institutions and banks (56%). Fewer than half say Europe's economic problems (46%) and government regulation of business (44%) are major threats to the nation's economic wellbeing.

Large majorities across partisan groups see the national debt as a major threat, but Republicans (88%) are more likely than Democrats (67%) to express this view; 77% of independents say the size of the national debt represents a major threat to U.S. well-being.

#### National Debt Seen as Top Economic Threat

% saying each is major threat to economic wellbeing...



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D\_D

The partisan gap is even wider in views of whether government regulation of business is a major economic threat. More than six-in-ten Republicans (63%) say government regulation is a major threat; just 42% of independents and 33% of Democrats agree.

## Partisans Differ in Concern about Regulation, Financial Institutions

				R-D
% saying poses a major threat	Rep	Dem	Ind	Diff
to U.S. economic well being	%	%	%	
Government regulation of business	63	33	42	+30
Size of the national debt	88	67	77	+21
Economic competition from China	66	53	62	+13
Europe's economic problems	49	43	49	+6
Power of financial institutions, banks	45	62	59	-17
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011.	Q36a-e.			

Most Democrats (62%) and independents (59%) say the power of financial institutions is a major threat to the nation's economic well-being, compared with 45% of Republicans.

Europe's economic problems are not widely seen as a danger to the U.S. economy. Only about half of Republicans and independents (49% each) say Europe's problems represent a major threat to the economic well-being of the United States. Similarly, 43% of Democrats see the situation in Europe as a major threat.

#### Personal Finances: Not Great Now, But Expected to Improve

Americans' assessments of their own finances have remained steady, if not especially positive. About four-in-ten call their personal financial situations excellent (6%) or good (32%), while more say they are in only fair (37%) or poor (24%) shape financially.

At the same time, most Americans remain optimistic about their financial futures: 58% expect their own financial situations to improve over the next year. This has varied little in recent years, and financial hope has a long history: Since the question was first asked almost 20 years ago, a majority always has said their own financial situations would improve over the next year.

Republicans are more likely to say their current economic situations are excellent or good (54%) than are independents (36%) or Democrats (32%). Democrats are slightly more likely than Republicans to expect their personal finances to improve over the next

## Personal Financial Ratings and Outlook Unchanged

Current personal	Feb 2009	Dec 2009	Oct 2010	Jun 2011	Dec 2011
financial situation:	%	%	%	%	%
Excellent/Good	38	35	39	38	38
Only fair/Poor	61	63	59	61	61
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Over the next year, situation will					
Improve a lot/some	54	53	57	56	58
Stay the same (Vol.)	13	15	17	13	15
Worsen a lot/some	29	27	22	28	22
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Dec. 7-11, 2011. Q.30-31. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

year (62% versus 54%); 60% of independents also express optimism about their finances.

#### **About the Surveys**

Most of the analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted December 7-11, 2011 among a national sample of 1,521 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (914 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 607 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 284 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. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <a href="http://people-press.org/methodology/">http://people-press.org/methodology/</a>

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2010 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2010 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 within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the 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	Sample Size	Plus or minus
Total sample	1,521	3.5 percentage points
Republicans	380	6.5 percentage points
Democrats	489	5.5 percentage points
Independents	569	5.0 percentage points
Registered voters	1,211	3.5 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.

Some of the analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted December 8-11, 2011, among a national sample of 1,008 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (608 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 400 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 188 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. 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://people-press.org/methodology/">http://people-press.org/methodology/</a>.

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Group	Sample Size	Plus or minus
Total sample	1,008	4.0 percentage points
Republicans	283	7.0 percentage points
Democrats	318	7.0 percentage points
Independents	313	7.0 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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# PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS DECEMBER 2011 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE December 7-11, 2011 N=1521

#### **QUESTION 1 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

#### ASK ALL:

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] are doing? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the [ITEM] are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]. [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: REPEAT FULL QUESTION FOR NEXT ITEM]

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a. I	Republican leaders in Congress			
	Dec 7-11, 2011	21	68	11
	Nov 9-14, 2011	23	67	10
	Aug 17-21, 2011	22	69	9
	Jul 20-24, 2011	25	66	10
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	30	61	9
	Feb 24-27, 2011	36	45	19
	Jan 5-9, 2011 <sup>1</sup>	34	43	22
	Nov 4-7, 2010	41	37	22
	Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010	24	60	16
	Jul 22-25, 2010	33	53	14
	Jun 16-20, 2010	31	55	14
	Apr 8-11, 2010	30	56	14
	Mar 10-14, 2010	25	59	16
	Jan 6-10, 2010	27	57	16
	Dec 9-13, 2009	29	51	20
	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	24	60	17
	Jun 10-14, 2009	29	56	15
	Mar 9-12, 2009	28	51	21
	Feb 4-8, 2009	34	51	15
	Early October, 2006	33	56	11
	June, 2006	30	53	17
	March, 2006	32	50	18
	January, 2006	33	52	15
	Early November, 2005	33	50	17
	Early October, 2005	32	52	16
	Mid-September, 2005	36	49	15
	Mid-May, 2005	35	50	15
	Mid-March, 2005	39	44	17
	Early February, 2004	41	42	17
	January, 2003	48	37	15
	June, 2002	50	34	16
	May, 2002	49	34	17
	February, 2002	56	24	20
	Early September, 2001	43	39	18
	June, 2001	40	40	20
	May, 2001	45	36	19
	April, 2001	45	30	25
	January, 2001	43	36	21
	July, 2000	36	46	18
	May, 2000	40	42	18
	March, 2000	38	43	19
	February, 2000	40	43	17

Question wording for Nov. 4-7, 2010, and Jan. 5-9, 2011, was: "Do you approve or disapprove of Republican congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?"

Q.2 C	ONTINUED	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
	January, 2000	39	<u>ызарргоче</u> 41	20
	December, 1999	38	42	20
	October, 1999	34	50	16
	Late September, 1999	34	46	20
	August, 1999	40	44	16
	July, 1999	36	45	19
	June, 1999	37	46	17
	May, 1999	38	44	18
	March, 1999	38	47	15
	February, 1999	37	51	12
	January, 1999	38	50	12
	Early December, 1998	38	49	13
	November, 1998	41	48	11
	Early September, 1998	44	37	19
	Early August, 1998	43	37	20
	June, 1998	42	38	20
	May, 1998	40	41	19
	April, 1998	41	40	19
	March, 1998	43	39	18
	January, 1998	43	41	16
	November, 1997	41	43	16
	August, 1997	42	44	14
	June, 1997	33	50	17
	May, 1997	40	44	16
	April, 1997	40	44	16
	February, 1997	44	42	14
	January, 1997	38	47	15
	December, 1996 <sup>2</sup>	40	43	17
	July, 1996	38	48	14
	June, 1996	36	50	14
	April, 1996	39	46	15
	March, 1996	35	51	14
	February, 1996	33	53	14
	January, 1996	36	54	10
	October, 1995	36	51	13
	September, 1995	36	50	14
	August, 1995	38	45	17
	June, 1995	41	45	14
	April, 1995	44	43	13
	March, 1995	43	39	18
	December, 1994	52	28	20
	emocratic leaders in Congress			
	Dec 7-11, 2011	31	58	11
	Nov 9-14, 2011	30	61	9
	Aug 17-21, 2011	29	63	9
	Jul 20-24, 2011	30	60	10
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	31	60	9
	Feb 24-27, 2011	33	48	19
	Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010	30	53	17
	Jul 22-25, 2010	35	56	10
	Jun 16-20, 2010	35	53	12
	Apr 8-11, 2010	38	51	11
	Mar 10-14, 2010	31	57	12
	Jan 6-10, 2010	35	53	11
	Dec 9-13, 2009	36	47	17
	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	33	53	15

From December, 1994, through December, 1996, the question was worded: "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress?".

23

#### Q.2 CONTINUED.

CONTINUED			(VOL.)
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	DK/Ref
Jun 10-14, 2009	42	45	13
Mar 9-12, 2009	47	35	18
Feb 4-8, 2009	48	38	14
August, 2008	31	58	11
January, 2008	31	53	16
November, 2007	35	50	15
October, 2007	31	54	15
July, 2007	33	54	13
June, 2007	34	49	17
April, 2007	36	43	21
March, 2007 <sup>3</sup>	37	42	21
February, 2007	41	36	23
Mid-January, 2007	39	34	27
November, 2006 <sup>4</sup>	50	21	29
Early October, 2006	35	53	12
June, 2006	32	50	18
March, 2006	34	46	20
January, 2006	34	48	18
Early November, 2005	36	44	20
Early October, 2005	32	48	20
Mid-September, 2005	36	45	19
Mid-May, 2005	39	41	20
Mid-March, 2005	37	44	19
Early February, 2004	38	42	20
June, 2002	47	36	17
May, 2002	42	37	21
February, 2002	49	30	21
Early September, 2001	49	30	21
June, 2001	50	28	22
December, 1994	52	28	20

#### NO QUESTIONS 3, 10-11

#### **QUESTIONS 4-9 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

In March 2007 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Democratic

leaders in Congress?". Question wording in November, 2006, and December, 1994, was: "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of Democratic congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?".

#### ASK ALL:

Q.12 What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today? [RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY – DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD IN ORDER OF MENTION]

Dec								Early				
7-11		May	Jan	Aug	Feb	Aug		Oct	Jul	Jan	Sep	Jan
2011		11 <sup>5</sup>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	10	09	09	80	80	80	<u>07</u>	07
21	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	26	35	27	31	19	31	9	5	5	3	5
19	Economy (general)	28	27	35	24	27	53	55	39	20	10	5
	Dissatisfaction with gov't/politics/											
10	Obama	4	9	9	5	5	5	4	3	6	7	8
	Deficit/National debt/Balanced											
9	budget/Gov't spending	10	11	3	11	6	4	1	1	2	1	1
4	Partisanship/Parties/Gridlock											
4	Health care/costs/accessibility	6	9	4	13	20	3	4	3	10	7	8
4	War/War in Iraq/War in Afghan.	5	3	3	4	5	3	11	17	27	37	42
	Education/schools/affording											
3	education	2	3	1	1	2	1		4	4	3	4
2	Morality/Ethics/Family values	1	2	4	3	3	1	1	3	2	3	3
2	Finances/money	5	2	2				4				
2	Poverty/Hunger/Starvation	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3
2	Lack of leadership											
2	Taxes	1	1	1	1			1		2	1	
2	Distribution of wealth/inequality		1					1	1			
1	Greed											
1	Immigration	1	2	2	1	1	1	1	2	6	6	5
1	Financial crisis			4	4	7	16	26				
1	Housing market/foreclosures	1	1	2				5				
1	Social Security	1				1		1		1	1	1
1	National security	1	1		1	1	1	1	3	3	3	1
1	Defense/national security	1	1		1	1	1	1	3	3	3	1
1	Jobs moving overseas/Trade	1	1		2	1	1	1	1	1		
1	Inflation	2	2	1			2	5	6	3	1	
1	Energy costs	7	2					5	19	3	2	2
1	Crime/Violence	1	1		1	1	1		1	1	2	2
1	Drugs/Alcohol		1	1						1	1	1
1	Race relations/Racism			1					1	1		
	Environment/Pollution/											
1	Global warming		1	1	1		1	1	3	1	1	1
1	Too much foreign aid/Spend at hom	e 1						1			1	
1	Wall St/Corporate America/banks		1									
8	Other											
6	Don't know/No answer	7	5	7	6	5	3	4	4	5	5	7
	(NET) FOREIGN ISSUES/											
6	INTERNATIONAL	9	6	4	11	10	7	18	25	36	48	50
55	(NET) ECONOMIC	68	62	65	65	55	80	75	61	34	20	15

Total exceeds 100% due to multiple responses

<sup>5</sup> Complete trend for Q12 not shown; trends available to 1987.

#### ASK IF ANSWER GIVEN IN Q.12 (Q.12=1) [N=1443]:

Q.13 Which political party do you think can do a better job of handling the problem you just mentioned – the Republican Party or the Democratic Party? [IF NECESSARY: thinking about what you see as the most important problem ...]

	Republican	Democratic	(VOL.) No	(VOL.)
	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>difference</u>	DK/Ref
Dec 7-11, 2011	32	38	20	11
Feb 3-9, 2010	31	38	19	12
Aug 27-30, 2009	23	38	28	11
January, 2007	24	42	21	13
January, 2006	27	41	19	13
January, 2005	36	35	18	11
Mid-January, 2004	35	35	14	16
March, 2002	38	27	21	14
Gallup: January, 1999 <sup>6</sup>	33	43	n/a	24
Gallup: April, 1998	40	42	10	8
July, 1996	36	35	18	11
April, 1995	42	32	17	9
July, 1994	36	33	16	15
June, 1993	28	35	23	14
January, 1992	32	41	12	15
May, 1990 (RVs)	29	30	31	10
May, 1988	26	38	22	14
January, 1988	30	35	24	11
May, 1987	28	38	24	10

#### **NO QUESTION 14**

#### **ASK ALL:**

Q.15 From what you've read and heard about the Occupy Wall Street movement involving demonstrations in cities around the country, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the Occupy Wall Street Movement?

	Support				Oppose		(VOL.)	
			Some-			Some-	(VOL.)	DK/
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>Ref</u>
Dec 7-11, 2011	44	15	29	35	19	16	6	16
Oct 20-23, 2011 <sup>7</sup>	39	16	23	35	16	19	6	20

#### NO QUESTION 16-17

REGIST/REGICERT PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

-

In January 1999, the "no difference" and "don't know" categories are combined.

<sup>7</sup> In October 2011 question read "From what you've read and heard do you strongly support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the Occupy Wall Street movement" and was asked as part of a list.

#### ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Thinking about another topic...

Q.18 Would you like to see your representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

#### BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1211]:

			(VOL.)	
			Representative	(VOL.)
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	not running	DK/Ref
Dec 7-11, 2011	50	33	1	16
2010 Election				
Oct 27-30, 2010	49	32	2	18
Oct 13-18, 2010	47	32	1	20
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	49	33	1	17
Jun 16-20, 2010	49	34	1	16
Mar 11-21, 2010	43	32	1	24
Feb 3-9, 2010	49	31	*	19
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	52	29	1	18
2008 Election				
Late February, 2008	60	22	1	17
2006 Election				
November, 2006	55	25	1	19
Late October, 2006	55	26	1	18
Early October, 2006	50	27	1	22
September, 2006	53	27	1	19
August, 2006	51	30	*	19
June, 2006	51	32	1	16
April, 2006	57	28	1	14
February, 2006	59	28	1	12
September, 2005	57	25	1	17
2002 Election				
Early October, 2002	58	19	2	21
June, 2002	58	23	1	18
2000 Election				
Early November, 2000	59	16	2	23
October, 2000	60	17	1	22
July, 1999	66	23	*	11
1998 Election				
Late October, 1998	64	19	1	16
Early October, 1998	58	20	2	20
Early September, 1998	63	20	1	16
March, 1998	63	21	1	15
January, 1998	66	23	0	11
August, 1997	66	22	0	12
1996 Election				
Early November, 1996	60	16	3	21
October, 1996	62	19	2	17
Late September, 1996	55	17	2	26
Early September, 1996	62	19	2	17
1994 Election				
November, 1994	58	25	1	16
Late October, 1994	55	30	2	13
Early October, 1994	49	29	2	20
1990 Election			_	
Gallup: October, 1990	62	22	2	14
1.			_	- •

#### ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.19 Regardless of how you feel about your own representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

#### BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1211]:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Dec 7-11, 2011	20	67	13
2010 Election			
Oct 27-30, 2010	35	51	13
Oct 13-18, 2010	33	54	13
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	33	56	11
Jun 16-20, 2010	31	56	13
Mar 11-21, 2010	27	57	15
Feb 3-9, 2010	32	53	15
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	34	53	13
2008 Election			
Late February, 2008	36	49	15
2006 Election			
November, 2006	37	46	17
Late October, 2006	34	49	17
Early October, 2006	32	48	20
September, 2006	35	49	16
August, 2006	36	49	15
June, 2006	29	57	14
April, 2006	34	53	13
February, 2006	36	49	15
September, 2005	36	48	16
2002 Election			
Early October, 2002	39	38	23
June, 2002	45	37	18
2000 Election			
October, 2000	40	34	26
July, 1999	41	47	12
1998 Election			
Late October, 1998	41	37	22
Early October, 1998	39	39	22
Early September, 1998	46	37	17
March, 1998	45	41	14
January, 1998	44	43	13
August, 1997	45	42	13
1996 Election			
Early September, 1996	43	43	14
1994 Election			
November, 1994	31	51	18
Late October, 1994	31	56	13
Early October, 1994	28	56	16

**NO QUESTIONS 20-24** 

**QUESTIONS 25-29 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED** 

#### RANDOMIZE Q.30/Q.31 IN BLOCK WITH Q.32/Q.33 BLOCK ASK ALL:

Thinking now about your own personal finances...

Q.30 How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape financially?

			Only		(VOL.)
	<u>Excellent</u>	Good	<u>fair</u>	Poor	DK/Ref
Dec 7-11, 2011	6	32	37	24	1
Jun 15-19, 2011	5	33	40	21	1
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	7	29	36	26	2
Feb 2-7, 2011	7	29	41	22	1
Dec 1-5, 2010	5	30	40	23	2
Oct 13-18, 2010	6	33	36	23	1
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	6	30	40	23	1
Jun 3-6, 2010	6	32	38	20	4
Mar 10-14, 2010	6	31	39	22	2
Dec 9-13, 2009	7	28	39	24	2
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	5	30	40	25	1
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	6	32	38	22	1
Aug 11-17, 2009	6	31	36	26	2
Jun 10-14, 2009	6	32	39	22	1
Feb 4-8, 2009	5	33	41	20	1
December, 2008	6	32	40	21	1
Early October, 2008	6	35	40	18	1
July, 2008	9	33	37	19	2
April, 2008	8	35	39	16	2
March, 2008	8	39	34	17	2
Early February, 2008	9	36	37	16	2
January, 2008	10	39	34	15	2
November, 2007	9	41	34	15	1
September, 2007	10	38	34	16	2
February, 2007	8	41	36	14	1
December, 2006	8	40	35	16	1
Late October, 2006	9	40	33	16	2
March, 2006	9	39	36	15	1
January, 2006	7	39	37	15	2
Mid-May, 2005	7	37	39	16	1
January, 2005	10	41	34	14	1
August, 2004	9	42	34	14	1
September, 2003	10	38	36	15	1
Late March, 2003	10	43	31	12	4
January, 2003	7	38	39	15	1
Early October, 2002	7	39	37	16	1
June, 2002	5	40	37	16	2
Late September, 2001	7	40	37	14	2
June, 2001	6	38	39	16	1
June, 2000	9	43	35	11	2
August, 1999	6	43	41	9	1
May, 1997	7	43	38	11	1
September, 1996 (RVs)	8	47	34	10	1
February, 1995	8	39	38	14	1
March, 1994	5	41	40	13	1
December, 1993	5	34	45	15	1
U.S. News: January, 1993	4	33	46	16	1
U.S. News:October, 1992	6	34	40	19	1
<i>U.S. News:</i> August, 1992	5	30	47	17	1
U.S. News:May, 1992	4	35	45	15	1
<i>U.S. News:</i> January, 1992	4	32	45	18	1
5.5. Nov. 3. Julian y, 17/2	<b>-T</b>	52	7.5	. 0	

## RANDOMIZE Q.30/Q.31 IN BLOCK WITH Q.32/Q.33 BLOCK ASK ALL:

Q.31 Over the course of the next year, do you think the financial situation of you and your family will improve a lot, improve some, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

					(VOL.)	
	Improve	Improve	Get a	Get a lot	Stay the	(VOL.)
	<u>a lot</u>	<u>some</u>	little worse	worse	same	DK/Ref
Dec 7-11, 2011	9	49	17	5	15	4
Jun 15-19, 2011	7	49	21	7	13	3
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	7	44	23	10	13	3
Dec 1-5, 2010	7	49	20	6	14	4
Oct 13-18, 2010	9	48	16	6	17	5
Mar 10-14, 2010	9	52	15	8	12	4
Dec 9-13, 2009	9	44	19	8	15	4
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	6	50	19	8	13	4
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	10	49	17	6	13	4
Aug 11-17, 2009	8	47	17	8	15	5
Jun 10-14, 2009	9	54	17	7	9	4
Feb 4-8, 2009	7	47	22	7	13	4
December, 2008	7	49	21	6	13	4
Early October, 2008	8	51	20	6	9	6
July, 2008	7	44	21	7	14	7
March, 2008	10	45	20	7	13	5
January, 2008	11	49	16	6	14	4
September, 2007	10	52	14	4	16	4
February, 2007	11	52	12	3	19	3
December, 2006	10	57	13	3	14	3
January, 2006	10	51	14	5	16	4
Mid-May, 2005	10	51	15	5	15	4
January, 2005	10	54	14	4	15	3
August, 2004	13	57	9	3	12	6
September, 2003	11	53	15	4	14	3
Late March, 2003	12	51	15	4	11	7
January, 2003	9	51	18	5	13	4
Early October, 2002	10	54	13	5	12	6
June, 2002	11	55	15	4	11	4
January, 2002	12	53	15	5	11	4
Late September, 2001	9	46	16	4	17	8
June, 2001	11	52	15	4	14	4
January, 2001	11	46	18	9	12	4
January, 1999	17	55	7	3	14	4
May, 1997	12	56	10	2	17	3
February, 1995	11	53	13	3	17	3
March, 1994	10	57	11	3	16	3
U.S. News: October, 1992	9	51	14	3	15	8
U.S. News: August, 1992	6	50	20	5	14	5
U.S. News: May, 1992	8	49	22	4	13	4
U.S. News: January, 1992	9	46	19	5	16	5
<b>3</b> ·						

## RANDOMIZE Q.30/Q.31 IN BLOCK WITH Q.32/Q.33 BLOCK ASK ALL:

Thinking now about the nation's economy...

Q.32 How would you rate economic conditions in this country today... as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

			Only		(VOL.)
	<u>Excellent</u>	Good	<u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	DK/Ref
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

#### Q.32 CONTINUED...

			Only		(VOL.)
	<u>Excellent</u>	Good	<u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	DK/Ref
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	2
Jun 10-14, 2009	1	8	39	52	1
Mar 9-12, 2009	*	6	25	68	1
Feb 4-8, 2009	*	4	24	71	1
December, 2008	*	7	33	59	1
November, 2008	1	6	28	64	1
Late October, 2008	*	7	25	67	1
Early October, 2008	1	8	32	58	1
Late September, 2008	*	7	27	65	1
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>8</sup>	2	29	42	26	1

## RANDOMIZE Q.30/Q.31 IN BLOCK WITH Q.32/Q.33 BLOCK ASK ALL:

Q.33 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
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>8</sup> Earlier trends available from Gallup.

#### Q.33 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 50	5
February, 2007	17	20	58	5
December, 2006	22	18	56	4
September, 2006	16	25	55 55	4 3
January, 2006	20 20	22 32	55 45	3
Early October, 2005	20 18	32 37	43	2
Mid-September, 2005 Mid-May, 2005	18	24	55	3
January, 2005	27	24 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:

And a different kind of question...

Q.34 Some people think of American society as divided into two groups, the "haves" and the "have-nots," while others think it's incorrect to think of America that way. Do you, yourself, think of America as divided into haves and have-nots, or don't you think of America that way?

			(VOL.)
	Yes, divided	<u>No</u>	DK/Ref
Dec 7-11, 2011	38	58	4
Sep 22-25, 2011	45	52	2
Apr 21-26, 2010	42	53	5
Apr 14-21, 2009	35	62	3
Early October, 2008	44	53	3
January, 2008	43	54	3
July, 2007	48	48	4
September, 2006	41	55	4
Early October, 2005	48	50	2

#### Q.34 CONTINUED...

			(VOL.)
	<u>Yes, divided</u>	<u>No</u>	DK/Ref
Late March, 2005	38	59	3
Late February, 2004	38	59	3
June, 2001	44	53	3
Gallup: April, 1998	39	59	2
Gallup: July, 1988	26	71	3
CBS/NY Times: Aug, 1984	31	61	8

#### ASK ALL:

Q.35 If you had to choose, which of these groups are you in, the haves or the have-nots?

			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Haves</u>	Have-nots	<u>Neither</u>	DK/Ref
Dec 7-11, 2011	46	39	7	9
Sep 22-25, 2011	48	34	11	7
Apr 21-26, 2010	45	36	9	10
Apr 14-21, 2009	48	36	7	9
Early October, 2008	47	38	8	7
January, 2008	50	34	10	6
July, 2007	45	34	13	8
September, 2006	52	29	10	9
Early October, 2005	47	38	11	4
Late March, 2005	48	34	8	10
Late February, 2004	59	27	7	7
June, 2001	52	32	10	6
Gallup: April, 1998	67	24	6	3
Gallup: July, 1988	59	17	15	9

#### **ASK ALL:**

Q.36 Now, thinking about some possible economic concerns for the country. First, do you think that **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** poses a major threat, a minor threat, or no threat to the economic well being of the-U.S.? What about **[INSERT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY:** Is **[ITEM]** a major threat, a minor threat, or no threat to the economic well being of the U.S.?]

		<u>Major threat</u>	Minor threat	No threat	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.	Economic problems in Europe Dec 7-11, 2011	46	33	8	13
b.	Economic competition from China Dec 7-11, 2011	59	27	7	7
C.	The power of financial institutions and b Dec 7-11, 2011	oanks 56	29	8	7
d.	The size of the national debt Dec 7-11, 2011	76	16	4	4
e.	Government regulation of business Dec 7-11, 2011	44	34	13	9

#### **NO QUESTIONS 37-40**

## Next, **ASK ALL:**

## Q.41 Compared to recent Congresses, would you say THIS Congress has accomplished more, accomplished less, or accomplished about the same amount?

			Same	(VOL.)
	<u>More</u>	Less	<u>amount</u>	DK/Ref
Dec 7-11, 2011	8	50	37	5
Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010	20	36	37	7
Jun 16-20, 2010	18	33	44	6
October, 2007	5	43	42	10
October, 2006	6	39	47	8
Early September, 2006	7	37	49	7
June, 2006	7	43	42	8
April, 2006	8	38	48	6
Early November, 2002 (RVs)	11	27	54	8
June, 2002	16	22	56	6
July, 2000	21	15	55	9
August, 1999	15	20	60	5
Early October, 1998(RVs)	24	23	49	4
Early September, 1998	25	15	55	5
Early August, 1998	18	15	60	7
November, 1997	23	12	59	6
April, 1997	10	22	59	9
Gallup: October, 1994	10	36	51	3

#### [IF "2" IN Q.41, ASK]:

Q.42 Who do you think is most to blame for this **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]** 

#### BASED ON THOSE WHO SAY CONGRESS ACCOMPLISHED LESS [N=861]:

				(VOL.)	
	Republican	Democratic	(VOL.)	Neither/	(VOL.)
	<u>leaders</u>	<u>leaders</u>	<u>Both</u>	Someone else	DK/Ref
Dec 7-11, 2011	40	23	32	1	3
Jun 16-20, 2010	16	49	28	5	3
October, 2007	30	26	34	5	5
October, 2006	59	10	21	4	6
June, 2006	56	16	22	2	4
April, 2006	58	13	21	4	4

#### ASK ALL:

Q.43 Which comes closer to your view of Congress these days? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

Dec 7-11 2011		Mar 11-21 2010
32	Most members of Congress have good intentions, it's the political system that is broken The political system can work fine, it's the members	38
55	of Congress that are the problem	52
6	Both (VOL.)	3
1	Neither (VOL.)	1
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6

#### **ASK ALL:**

Q.44 I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. 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]. The next pair is [NEXT PAIR]...

a.	Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard	Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people	(VOL.) Neither/DK
Dec 7-11, 2011	58	40	3
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	62	34	4
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	64	33	3
March, 2006	64	33	3
December, 2005	64	33	3
December, 2004	68	28	4
September, 2000	73	24	3
August, 1999	74	23	3
July, 1994	68	30	2

#### NO ITEM b

C.	As Americans, we can always find ways to solve our problems and get what we want	This country can't solve many of its important problems	(VOL.) Neither/DK
Dec 7-11, 2011	60	36	3
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	57	37	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	54	42	5
December, 2008	68	27	5
October, 2008	64	29	7
December, 2004	59	36	5
September, 2000	59	36	5
August, 1999	63	32	5
July, 1994	52	45	3
d.	Wall Street helps the American economy more than it hurts	Wall Street hurts the American economy more than it helps	<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
Dec 7-11, 2011	36	51	13
Mar 8-14, 2011	38	47	15
e.	The economic system in this country unfairly favors the wealthy	The economic system in this country is generally fair to most Americans	(VOL.) Neither/DK
Dec 7-11, 2011	61	36	3

Next...

#### **ASK ALL:**

Q.45 Do you think there is too much power in the hands of a few rich people and large corporations in the United States, or don't you think so?

Dec 7-11		Gallup
<u>2011</u>		April 19419
77	Yes, think a few rich people and corporations have too much power	60
19	No, do not think a few rich people and corporations have too much power	26
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	14

In April 1941, question read "Do you think there is too much power in the hands of a few rich men and large corporations in the United States?"

Thinking about the political parties ...

#### ASK ALL:

Q.46 Please tell me if you think each phrase I read better describes the REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or the DEMOCRATIC Party and its leaders (First,) which party do you think is better described by the phrase... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE.] Which party [NEXT ITEM]?

		Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic Party	(VOL.) Both equally	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.	Is more extreme in its positions	-				
	Dec 7-11, 2011	53	33	4	1	9
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	50	38	3	1	7
	Jul 20-24, 2011	50	35	4	2	9
b.	Is more willing to work with political leaders from the other party					
	Dec 7-11, 2011	25	51	3	12	10
	Jul 20-24, 2011	26	51	1	12	9
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	32	49	2	10	6
C.	Can better manage the federal government					
	Dec 7-11, 2011	35	41	3	13	9
	Jul 20-24, 2011	40	38	2	14	7
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	41	39	2	8	9
	Oct 13-18, 2010	43	36	2	11	8
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	41	41	3	8	7
	Jun 16-20, 2010	41	37	3	12 9	7
	Feb 3-9, 2010	40 34	40 38	4 4	9 14	8 10
	Aug 27-30, 2009 October, 2007	34 32	30 44	5	9	10
	March, 2007	31	47	3	8	11
	Early October, 2006	34	44	3	9	10
	April, 2006 <sup>10</sup>	35	39	3	15	8
	January, 2006	34	40	4	12	10
	Early October, 2005	35	41	3	13	8
	July, 2004	37	40	4	9	10
	Early September, 1998	37	32	8	12	11
	August, 1997	39	33	4	16	8
	July, 1996	45	32	4	12	7
	April, 1995	49	30	3	13	5
	July, 1994	43	31	4	17	5
	May, 1993	36	32	2	17	13
	July, 1992	30	36	1	23	10
	May, 1990	28	20	12	31	9
	May, 1988	33 30	30 28	10 12	17 20	10 10
	January, 1988 May, 1987	24	26 25	13	28	10
d.	Governs in a more honest and ethical	way				
	Dec 7-11, 2011	28	45	2	16	9
	Jul 20-24, 2011	30	42	2	20	7
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	33	42	3	14	8
	Oct 13-18, 2010	35	35	4	16	9
	Jun 16-20, 2010	31	41	4	18	6
	August 27-30, 2009	26	42	4	20	9
	October, 2007	26	40	6	19	9
	March, 2007	25 27	43	4	18 10	10 10
	Early October, 2006	27	41	4	18	10

In April 2006 and earlier, the item was worded: "Able to manage the federal government well."

Q.46 CONTINUED			(VOL.)		
	Republican	Democratic	Both	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	DK/Ref
April, 2006 <sup>11</sup>	28	36	4	23	9
January, 2006	30	37	4	19	10
Early October, 2005	30	40	6	18	6
July, 2004	34	37	5	15	9
Early September, 1998	31	28	6	23	12
March, 1998	28	32	7	24	9
August, 1997	28	33	5	26	8
July, 1996	38	37	2	18	5
April, 1995	35	36	4	19	6
July, 1994	32	35	6	21	6

#### **NO QUESTION 47**

#### **QUESTIONS 48-52 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

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In April 2006 and earlier, the item was worded: "Governs in an honest and ethical way."

# PEW RESEARCH CENTER DECEMBER 8-11, 2011 OMNIBUS FINAL TOPLINE N=1,008

#### PEW1, PEW2, PEWWP1 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

Now thinking about the Occupy Wall Street movement...

#### **RANDOMIZE PEW.2A AND PEW.2B**

#### **ASK ALL:**

PEW.2A Do you agree or disagree with the concerns the Occupy Wall Street movement protests have raised?

Dec 8-11	
<u>2011</u>	
48	Agree
30	Disagree
22	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

#### **RANDOMIZE PEW.2A AND PEW.2B**

#### **ASK ALL:**

PEW.2b Do you approve or disapprove of the way the Occupy Wall Street movement protests are being conducted?

Dec 8-11	
<u>2011</u>	
29	Approve
49	Disapprove
23	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

#### PEW3 AND PEW4 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE