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## Beyond Red vs. Blue

# POLITICAL TYPOLOGY



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# BEYOND RED VS. BLUE: THE POLITICAL TYPOLOGY

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## Beyond Red vs. Blue: The Political Typology

With the economy still struggling and the nation involved in multiple military operations overseas, the public's political mood is fractious. In this environment, many political attitudes have become more doctrinaire at both ends of the ideological spectrum, a polarization that reflects the current atmosphere in Washington.

Yet at the same time, a growing number of Americans are choosing not to identify with either political party, and the center of the political spectrum is increasingly diverse. Rather than being moderate, many of these independents hold extremely strong ideological positions on issues such as the role of government, immigration, the environment and social issues. But they combine these views in ways that defy liberal or conservative orthodoxy.

For political leaders in both parties, the challenge is not only one of appeasing ideological and moderate "wings" within their coalitions, but rather holding together remarkably disparate groups, many of whom have strong disagreements with core principles that have defined each party's political character in recent years.

The most visible shift in the political landscape since Pew Research's previous political typology in early 2005 is the emergence of a single bloc of across-the-board conservatives. The long-standing divide between economic, pro-business conservatives and social conservatives has blurred. Today, **Staunch Conservatives** take extremely conservative positions on nearly all issues – on the size and role of government, on economics, foreign policy, social issues and moral concerns. Most agree with the Tea Party and even more very strongly disapprove of

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### The New Typology: Ideological Extremes, Diverse Center

	Percent of...	
	General public	Regist voters
<b>Mostly Republican</b>		
Staunch Conservatives <i>Highly engaged Tea Party supporters</i>	9	11
Main Street Republicans <i>Conservative on most issues</i>	11	14
<b>Mostly Independent</b>		
Libertarians <i>Free market, small gov't seculars</i>	9	10
Disaffecteds <i>Downscale and cynical</i>	11	11
Post-Moderns <i>Moderates, but liberal on social issues</i>	13	14
<b>Mostly Democratic</b>		
New Coalition Democrats <i>Upbeat, majority-minority</i>	10	9
Hard-Pressed Democrats <i>Religious, financially struggling</i>	13	15
Solid Liberals <i>Across-the-board liberal positions</i>	14	16
Bystanders <i>Young, politically disengaged</i>	10	0
	100	100

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

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Barack Obama's job performance. A second core group of Republicans – **Main Street Republicans** – also is conservative, but less consistently so.

On the left, **Solid Liberals** express diametrically opposing views from the Staunch Conservatives on virtually every issue. While Solid Liberals are predominantly white, minorities make up greater shares of **New Coalition Democrats** – who include nearly equal numbers of whites, African Americans and Hispanics – and **Hard-Pressed Democrats**, who are about a third African American. Unlike Solid Liberals, both of these last two groups are highly religious and socially conservative. New Coalition Democrats are distinguished by their upbeat attitudes in the face of economic struggles.

Independents have played a determinative role in the last three national elections. But the three groups in the center of the political typology have very little in common, aside from their avoidance of partisan labels. **Libertarians** and **Post-Moderns** are largely white, well-educated and affluent. They also share a relatively secular outlook on some social issues, including homosexuality and abortion. But Republican-oriented Libertarians are far more critical of government, less supportive of environmental regulations, and more supportive of business than are Post-Moderns, most of whom lean Democratic.

**Disaffecteds**, the other main group of independents, are financially stressed and cynical about politics. Most lean to the Republican Party, though they differ from the core Republican groups in their support for increased government aid to the poor. Another group in the center, **Bystanders**, largely consign themselves to the political sidelines and for the most part are not included in this analysis.

These are the principal findings of the political typology study by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, which sorts Americans into cohesive groups based on values, political beliefs, and party affiliation. The new study is based on two surveys with a combined sample of 3,029 adults, conducted Feb. 22-Mar. 14, 2011 and a smaller callback survey conducted April 7-10, 2011 with 1,432 of the same respondents.

This is the fifth typology created by the Pew Research Center since 1987. Many of the groups identified in the current analysis are similar to those in past typologies, reflecting the continuing importance of a number of key beliefs and values. But there are a number of critical differences as well.

The new groupings underscore the substantial political changes that have occurred since the spring of 2005, when the [previous typology](#) was released. Today, there are two core Republican groups, compared with three in 2005, to some extent reflecting a decline in GOP party affiliation. However, Democrats have not made gains in party identification. Rather, there has been a sharp rise in the percentage of independents – from 30% in 2005 to 37% currently. Today, there are three disparate groups of independents, compared with two in 2005.

While Republicans trail the Democrats in party affiliation, they enjoy advantages in other areas: The two core GOP groups are more homogenous – demographically and ideologically – than are the three core Democratic groups. And socioeconomic differences are more apparent on the left: Nearly half of Solid Liberals (49%) are college graduates, compared with 27% of New Coalition Democrats and just 13% of Hard-Pressed Democrats.

The GOP still enjoys an intensity advantage, which proved to be a crucial factor in the Republicans' victories in the 2010 midterm elections. For example, the GOP's core groups – Staunch Conservatives and Main Street Republicans – express strongly negative opinions about last year's health care legislation, while reactions among the Democratic groups are more mixed. Even Solid Liberals offer only tepid support for the bill – 43% say it will have a mostly positive impact on the nation's health care, while somewhat more (51%) say it will have a mixed effect.

However, maintaining solid support among the GOP-oriented groups in the center of the typology represents a formidable challenge for Republicans. The cross-pressured Disaffecteds highlight this challenge. They were an important part of the GOP coalition in 2010, but were lackluster supporters of John McCain two years earlier.

Like the core GOP groups, most Disaffecteds (73%) view government as nearly always wasteful and inefficient. At the same time, a solid majority of Disaffecteds (61%) say the government should do more to help needy Americans even if that means going deeper into debt.

Libertarians, the other Republican-leaning group, overwhelmingly oppose expanding aid for the poor if it means increasing the nation's debt. Yet on immigration and homosexuality, Libertarians' views differ markedly from those of the core Republican groups. Fully 71% of Libertarians say homosexuality should be accepted by society; nearly as many Staunch Conservatives (68%) say it should be discouraged.

Many of the political values and attitudes of Post-Moderns, young, Democratically-oriented independents, fit awkwardly with those of core Democratic groups. Post-Moderns overwhelmingly voted for Obama in 2008, but their turnout fell off dramatically last fall, which contributed to the Democrats' poor showing in the midterms. Compared with the core Democratic groups, Post-Moderns are less supportive of increased aid for the needy and are far less likely to view racial discrimination as the main obstacle to African American progress.

### Partisan Dividing Line: Views of Government

The new typology finds a deep and continuing divide between the two parties, as well as differences within both partisan coalitions. But the nature of the partisan divide has changed substantially over time.

More than in the recent past, attitudes about government separate Democrats from Republicans, and it is these beliefs that are most correlated with political preferences looking ahead to 2012. In 2005, at the height of the Iraq war and shortly after an election in which national security was a dominant issue, opinions about assertiveness in foreign affairs almost completely distinguished Democrats from Republicans. Partisan divisions over national security remain, but in an era when the public's focus is more inward-looking, they are less pronounced.

As in recent years, beliefs about the environment, business, immigration and the challenges faced by African Americans are important fissures between the parties, though to some extent within them as well.

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### Independents in the Typology - A Study in Contrasts

	Post-Moderns	Disaffecteds	Liberarians
	%	%	%
<i>Ideology</i>			
Conservative	19	42	53
Moderate	56	38	37
Liberal	21	12	7
<i>Political attitudes</i>			
Prefer bigger gov't, more services	35	42	10
Government should do more to help needy	27	61	10
Homosexuality should be accepted by society	91	48	71
Business corporations make too much profit	52	73	13
The country should do whatever it takes to protect environment	91	69	29
I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	12	83	26

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

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In general, there is far more agreement across the two core GOP groups than the three core Democratic groups. Staunch Conservatives and Main Street Republicans express highly critical opinions about government performance and are both deeply skeptical of increased government aid to the poor if it means adding to the debt.

Yet Staunch Conservatives have much more positive opinions about business than do Main Street Republicans. Attitudes about the environment also divide the two core GOP groups: 92% of Staunch Conservatives say that stricter environmental laws cost too many jobs and hurt the economy; just 22% of Main Street Republicans agree.

The differences among core Democratic groups show up across a wider range of fundamental political values. Social and moral issues divide Solid Liberals, who are more secular, from other Democratic groups who are much more religious.

Opinions about business, immigration and the economic impact of environmental laws and regulations also divide the Democratic groups. For instance, more than half of Hard-Pressed Democrats (54%) say that stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy; just 22% of New Coalition Democrats and 7% of Solid Liberals share this view.

### GOP Groups Differ on Attitudes toward Business, Environment

	Staunch Cons	Main St. Reps
<i>Where they generally agree...</i>	%	%
Religion is a very important part of my life	90	91
Immigrants today are a burden on our country	68	60
The gov't can't afford to do much more to help the needy	87	75
<i>Where they differ ...</i>		
Business corporations make too much profit	13	58
Environmental laws cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	92	22

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

### Democrats Divided over Social Issues, Immigration

	Solid Liberals	Hard-Pressed Dems	New Coalition Dems
<i>Where they generally agree...</i>	%	%	%
The best way to ensure peace is through diplomacy	89	56	74
Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights	77	62	69
<i>Where they differ ...</i>			
Homosexuality should be accepted by society	92	49	43
Business corporations make too much profit	77	79	38
Immigrants today strengthen our country	82	13	70
Environmental laws cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	7	54	22

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

Race and ethnicity are factors in some of the opinion differences among Democrats. New Coalition Democrats, who are roughly a quarter Hispanic, have positive views of immigrants. Fully 70% say immigrants strengthen the country because of their hard work and talents.

Hard-Pressed Democrats – who are mostly white and African American – take a dim view of immigrants’ contributions. Just 13% say immigrants strengthen the country, while 76% say they are a burden because they take jobs and health care.

Age also is a factor in partisanship and political values. Younger people are more numerous on the left, and older people on the right. However, many young

people think of themselves as independents rather than as Democrats. Post-Moderns, Democratic-oriented independents, are by far the youngest group in the typology, but they often deviate from traditional Democratic orthodoxy and are not consistent voters.

Older people, who have increasingly voted Republican in recent years, are found disproportionately in the Staunch Conservative bloc – 61% are 50 or older. And this group is highly politically engaged; 75% say they follow government and public affairs most of the time.

Staunch Conservatives also include by far the largest share of Tea Party supporters – 72% of Staunch Conservatives agree with the movement. The Tea Party’s appeal is deeper than it is wide. There is no other typology group in which a majority agrees with the Tea Party. Aside from Staunch Conservatives, Libertarians are most supportive (44% agree).

### GOP Typology Groups Older, Much Less Diverse

	Race			Age		
	White	Black	Hispanic	Under 30	Under 50	50 or older
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	68	12	13	22	57	43
Staunch Conservs	92	*	3	8	39	61
Main Street Reps	88	2	4	15	55	43
Libertarians	85	1	7	19	53	46
Disaffecteds	77	8	9	16	50	50
Post-Moderns	70	6	14	32	67	33
New Coalition Dems	34	30	26	21	58	40
Hard-Pressed Dems	53	35	6	12	47	52
Solid Liberals	72	9	11	22	58	42

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Figures read across. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

The survey suggests that while the Tea Party is a galvanizing force on the right, strong disapproval of Barack Obama is an even more powerful unifying factor among fervent conservatives. No fewer than 84% of Staunch Conservatives strongly disapprove of Obama's job performance and 70% rate

him very unfavorably personally. Ardent support for Obama on the left is no match for this – 64% of Solid Liberals strongly approve of him, and 45% rate him very favorably.

More than two years into office, Obama's personal image is positive though his job approval ratings are mixed. Yet doubts about Obama's background and biography persist. More than one-in-five Americans (23%) say, incorrectly, that Obama was born outside the United States; another 22% are not sure where Obama was born. Nearly half of Staunch Conservatives (47%) and 35% of Main Street Republicans say that Obama was born in another country. Only among Solid Liberals is there near total agreement that Obama was, in fact, born in the United States (95%). (NOTE: The survey was conducted before President Obama released his long-form birth certificate on April 27.)

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### Intensity Gap Between the Ideological Bases

	<b>Staunch Conservatives</b>	<b>Solid Liberals</b>
<i>Obama job performance</i>	<b>84%</b> Strongly disapprove	<b>64%</b> Strongly approve
<i>Obama favorability</i>	<b>70%</b> Very unfavorable	<b>45%</b> Very favorable
<i>Who has the better approach to the deficit?</i>	<b>73%</b> Republican leaders	<b>58%</b> Barack Obama
<i>Impact of health care law will be mostly...</i>	<b>80%</b> Bad for the country	<b>43%</b> Good for the country

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

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### Other Major Findings

- Majorities in most typology groups say the country will need both to cut spending and raise taxes to reduce the budget deficit. Staunch Conservatives are the exception – 59% say the focus should only be on cutting spending.
- Core GOP groups largely prefer elected officials who stick to their positions rather than those who compromise. Solid Liberals overwhelmingly prefer officials who compromise, but the other two Democratic groups do not.
- For Staunch Conservatives it is still “Drill, Baby, Drill” – 72% say that expanding exploration for and production of oil, coal and natural gas is the more important energy priority. In most other typology groups, majorities say developing alternatives is more important.

- Republican groups say the Supreme Court should base rulings on its interpretation of the Constitution “as originally written.” Democratic groups say the Court should base its rulings on what the Constitution means today.
- Main Street Republicans and GOP-oriented Disaffecteds are far more likely than Staunch Conservatives or Libertarians to favor a significant government role in reducing childhood obesity.
- Solid Liberals are the only typology group in which a majority (54%) views democracy as more important than stability in the Middle East. Other groups say stable governments are more important or are divided on this question.
- New Coalition Democrats are more likely than the other core Democratic groups to say that most people can make it if they are willing to work hard.
- More Staunch Conservatives regularly watch Fox News than regularly watch CNN, MSNBC and the nightly network news broadcasts *combined*.
- There are few points on which all the typology groups can agree, but cynicism about politicians is one. Majorities across all eight groups, as well as Bystanders, say elected officials lose touch with the people pretty quickly.
- Staunch Conservatives overwhelmingly want to get tougher with China on economic issues. Across other typology groups, there is far more support for building stronger economic relations with China.
- The allied airstrikes in Libya divide Democratic groups. Solid Liberals and New Coalition Democrats favor the airstrikes, but about as many Hard-Pressed Democrats favor as oppose the operation.
- Michelle Obama is popular with Main Street Republicans, as well as most other typology groups. But Staunch Conservatives view the first lady unfavorably – and 43% view her very unfavorably.

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## Making the Typology

The 2011 typology divides the public into eight politically engaged groups, along with a ninth group of less engaged Bystanders. It is the fifth of its kind, following on previous studies in 1987, 1994, 1999 and 2005.

Using a statistical procedure called cluster analysis, individuals are assigned to one of the eight core typology groups based on their position on nine scales of social and political values – each of which is determined by responses to two or three survey questions – as well as their party identification. Several different cluster solutions were evaluated for their effectiveness in producing cohesive groups that are distinct from one another, substantively meaningful and large enough in size to be analytically practical. The final solution selected to produce the political typology was judged to be strongest from a statistical point of view and to be most persuasive from a substantive point of view. As in past typologies, a measure of political attentiveness and voting participation was used to extract the “Bystander” group, people who are largely not engaged or involved in politics, before performing the cluster analysis.

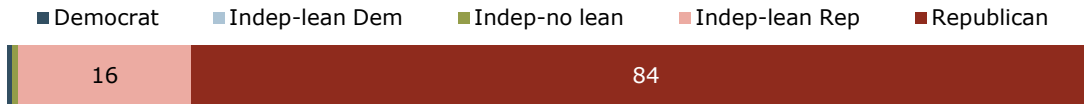
For a more complete description of the methodology used to create the typology, see *About the Political Typology* (pg. 97). For more information about the survey methodology seen *About the Surveys* (pg.101).

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## **TPOLOGY GROUP PROFILES**

## STAUNCH CONSERVATIVES

9% OF ADULT POPULATION /11% OF REGISTERED VOTERS



**BASIC DESCRIPTION:** This extremely partisan Republican group is strongly conservative on economic and social policy and favors an assertive foreign policy. They are highly engaged in politics, most (72%) agree with the Tea Party, 54% regularly watch Fox News, and nearly half (47%) believe that President Obama was born outside the U.S.

**DEFINING VALUES:** Extremely critical of the federal government and supportive of sharply limited government. Pro-business and strongly opposed to environmental regulation. Believe that military strength is the best way to ensure peace. Highly religious; most say homosexuality should be discouraged by society.

### KEY BELIEFS

	General Public	Staunch Conservatives
	%	%
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	55	90
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	31	76
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable profit	39	78
Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	39	92
The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	51	87
New health care law will have a mostly bad effect on U.S. health care	27	80
Religion is a very important part of my life	71	90
The U.S. stands above all other countries in the world	38	67
The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values	39	68

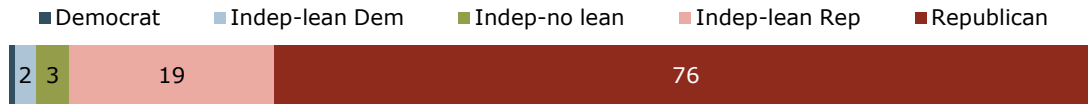
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

**WHO THEY ARE:** More than nine-in-ten (92%) non-Hispanic white and 56% male. The oldest of the groups (61% ages 50 and older). Married (79%), Protestant (72%, including 43% white evangelical), and financially comfortable (70% say paying the bills is not a problem).

**LIFESTYLE NOTES:** Many are gun owners (57%) and regular churchgoers (57% attend weekly or more often), and fully 81% are homeowners. More watch Glenn Beck (23%) and listen to Rush Limbaugh (21%) than any other group.

## MAIN STREET REPUBLICANS

11% OF ADULT POPULATION / 14% OF REGISTERED VOTERS



**BASIC DESCRIPTION:** Concentrated in the South and Midwest. Main Street Republicans differ from Staunch Conservatives in the degree of their conservatism and in their skepticism about business. They are socially and fiscally conservative but supportive of government efforts to protect the environment.

**DEFINING VALUES:** Highly critical of government. Very religious and strongly committed to traditional social values. Generally negative about immigrants and mostly opposed to social welfare programs. But much less enamored of business than Staunch Conservatives, and less supportive of an assertive foreign policy.

KEY BELIEFS	General Public	Main Street Republicans
	%	%
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	55	72
The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	51	75
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable profit	39	34
Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	39	22
Homosexuality should be discouraged by society	33	60
Religion is a very important part of my life	71	91
The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values	39	56
The best way to ensure peace is through military strength	31	39

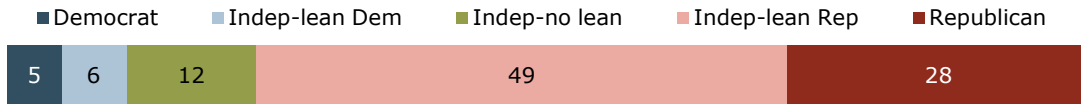
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

**WHO THEY ARE:** Predominantly non-Hispanic white (88%), with two-thirds living in the South (40%) or Midwest (27%). A majority are Protestant (65%, including 38% white evangelical). A large majority (69%) are generally satisfied financially.

**LIFESTYLE NOTES:** Most (84%) are homeowners. About half are gun owners (51%) and regular churchgoers (53% attend weekly or more often). Nearly a quarter (24%) follow NASCAR racing. About half (51%) watch network evening news.

## LIBERTARIANS

9% OF ADULT POPULATION /10% OF REGISTERED VOTERS



**BASIC DESCRIPTION:** This Republican-oriented, predominantly male group mostly conforms to the classic profile of the libertarian in its combination of strong economic conservatism and relatively liberal views on social issues. Much less religious than other GOP-oriented groups, Libertarians are relatively comfortable financially– nearly half (46%) say they are professional or business class, among the highest of the typology groups.

**DEFINING VALUES:** Highly critical of government. Disapprove of social welfare programs. Pro-business and strongly opposed to regulation. Accepting of homosexuality. Moderate views about immigrants compared with other Republican-oriented groups.

KEY BELIEFS	General Public	Libertarians
	%	%
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	55	82
The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy	51	85
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable profit	39	83
Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy	39	79
Homosexuality should be discouraged by society	33	19
Religion is a very important part of my life	71	53
The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values	39	37
Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard	62	80

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

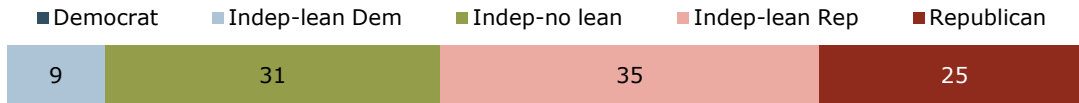
**WHO THEY ARE:** Most (85%) are non-Hispanic white and two-thirds (67%) are male. Well educated (71% have attended college) and affluent (39% have incomes of \$75,000 or more).

**LIFESTYLE NOTES:** Less likely than other GOP groups to attend church weekly (26%). More than half (56%) use social networking sites, and 46% have a gun in the household. 54% currently have a U.S. passport. 36% trade stocks. 38% regularly watch Fox News and 17% regularly listen to NPR.



## DISAFFECTEDS

11% OF ADULT POPULATION / 11% OF REGISTERED VOTERS



**BASIC DESCRIPTION:** The most financially stressed of the eight typology groups, Disaffecteds are very critical of both business and government. They are sympathetic to the poor and supportive of social welfare programs. Most are skeptical about immigrants and doubtful that the U.S. can solve its current problems. They are pessimistic about their own financial future.

**DEFINING VALUES:** A majority believe that the government is wasteful and inefficient and that regulation does more harm than good. But nearly all say too much power is concentrated in a few companies. Religious and socially conservative.

### KEY BELIEFS

	General Public	Disaffecteds
	%	%
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	55	73
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable profit	39	21
I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	43	83
Religion is a very important part of my life	71	84
The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	41	61
Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care	44	64
This country can't solve many of its important problems	37	56
We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home	58	73

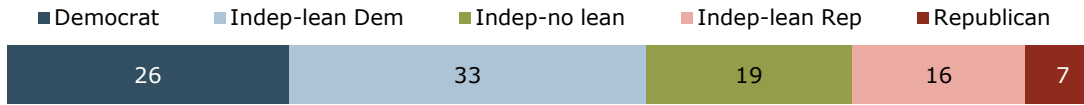
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

**WHO THEY ARE:** About three-quarters (77%) are non-Hispanic white and two-thirds (66%) have only a high school education or less. Compared with the national average, more are parents (44%). Fully 71% have experienced unemployment in their household in the past 12 months. About half (48%) describe their household as “struggling.”

**LIFESTYLE NOTES:** Only 26% have a U.S. passport. 23% follow NASCAR. 41% did not vote in 2010.

## POST-MODERNS

13% OF ADULT POPULATION /14% OF REGISTERED VOTERS



**BASIC DESCRIPTION:** Well-educated and financially comfortable. Post-Moderns are supportive of many aspects of government though they take conservative positions on questions about racial policy and the social safety net. Very liberal on social issues. Post-Moderns were strong supporters of Barack Obama in 2008, but turned out at far lower rates in 2010.

**DEFINING VALUES:** Strongly supportive of regulation and environmental protection. Favor the use of diplomacy rather than military force to ensure peace. Generally positive about immigrants and their contributions to society.

KEY BELIEFS	General Public	Post-Moderns
	%	%
This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment	71	91
The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	41	27
Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites	45	25
Religion is a very important part of my life	71	42
Homosexuality should be accepted by society	58	91
Wall Street helps the American economy more than it hurts	38	56
Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace	58	76
The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society	52	71

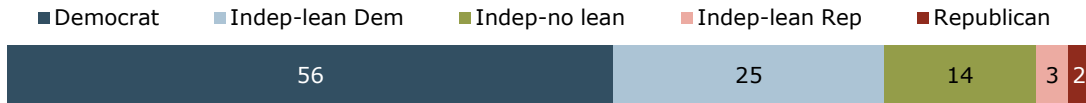
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

**WHO THEY ARE:** The youngest of the typology groups (32% under age 30); a majority are non-Hispanic white (70%) and have at least some college experience (71%). Nearly a third (31%) are unaffiliated with any religious tradition. Half live in either the Northeast (25%) or the West (25%). A majority (58%) lives in the suburbs.

**LIFESTYLE NOTES:** 63% use social networking. One-in-five (20%) regularly listen to NPR, 14% regularly watch The Daily Show, 10% read the *New York Times*. 31% trade stocks and 53% have a passport.

## NEW COALITION DEMOCRATS

10% OF ADULT POPULATION /9% OF REGISTERED VOTERS



**BASIC DESCRIPTION:** This majority-minority group is highly religious and financially stressed. They are generally upbeat about both the country’s ability to solve problems and an individual’s ability to get ahead through hard work.

**DEFINING VALUES:** Generally supportive of government, but divided over expanding the social safety net. Reflecting their own diverse makeup, they are pro-immigrant. Socially conservative, about as many say homosexuality should be discouraged as say it should be accepted.

KEY BELIEFS	General Public	New Coalition Democrats
	%	%
Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest	47	77
Would rather have a bigger government providing more services	42	65
The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society	52	78
Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites	45	69
Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace	58	74
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable profit	39	53
Homosexuality should be discouraged by society	33	47
Religion is a very important part of my life	71	92

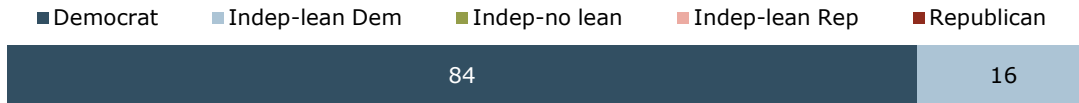
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

**WHO THEY ARE:** Nearly equal proportions white (34%), black (30%) and Latino (26%); about three in ten (29%) are first- or second-generation Americans. 55% have only a high school education or less. Nearly a quarter (23%) are not registered to vote.

**LIFESTYLE NOTES:** Half (50%) are regular volunteers for charity or non-profit groups. More than a quarter (27%) are looking for work or would prefer a full-time job to the part-time job they currently hold. Only 34% read a daily newspaper. 25% regularly listen to NPR. 34% buy organic foods.

## HARD-PRESSED DEMOCRATS

13% OF ADULT POPULATION /15% OF REGISTERED VOTERS



**BASIC DESCRIPTION:** This largely blue-collar Democratic group is struggling financially and is generally cynical about government. Nearly half (47%) expect that they will not earn enough to lead the kind of life they want. Socially conservative and very religious.

**DEFINING VALUES:** Critical of both business and government. View immigrants as an economic burden and a cultural threat. Supportive of environmental protection in general but concerned about the economic impact of environmental laws and regulations.

KEY BELIEFS	General Public	Hard-Pressed Democrats
	%	%
Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient	55	68
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable profit	39	16
The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	41	60
Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites	45	62
Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care	44	76
I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	43	68
It is necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values	48	75
This country can't solve many of its important problems	37	48

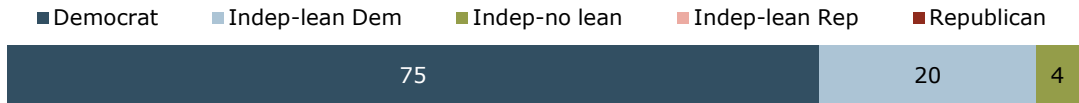
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

**WHO THEY ARE:** A sizable number are non-Hispanic African American (35%), while 53% are non-Hispanic white. About seven-in-ten live in the South (48%) or Midwest (23%). Most (61%) are female. Two-thirds (68%) have only a high school education or less.

**LIFESTYLE NOTES:** Only 28% have a U.S. passport. More than four-in-ten (43%) describe their household as “struggling.” About one-in-five (21%) are currently out of work and seeking a job. 23% follow NASCAR. 61% regularly watch network evening news and 44% watch CNN.

## SOLID LIBERALS

14% OF ADULT POPULATION /16% OF REGISTERED VOTERS



**BASIC DESCRIPTION:** Politically engaged, Solid Liberals are strongly pro-government and hold liberal positions across the full range of political issues. They are one of the most secular groups. Two-thirds (67%) say they disagree with the Tea Party.

**DEFINING VALUES:** Very supportive of regulation, environmental protection and government assistance to the poor. Socially tolerant, supportive of the growing racial and ethnic diversity of the country. A majority (59%) say that religion is not that important to them.

KEY BELIEFS	General Public	Solid Liberals
	%	%
Government often does a better job than people give it credit for	39	74
The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt	41	74
Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest	47	86
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable profit	39	17
Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites	45	77
Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace	58	89
The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society	52	84
Homosexuality should be accepted by society	58	92

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

**WHO THEY ARE:** Compared with the general public, more live in the Northeast (25%) and the West (28%). About half (49%) are college graduates , including 27% with post-graduate experience, the most of any group. 57% are female.

**LIFESTYLE NOTES:** Less likely than any other group to watch Fox News. About a third (34%) regularly listen to NPR, 21% regularly watch The Daily Show, 18% regularly read the *New York Times*. Six-in ten(60%) use social networking sites. 59% have a U.S. passport; 21% are first- or second-generation Americans. Many (42%) regularly buy organic foods.

## BYSTANDERS

10% OF ADULT POPULATION / 0% OF REGISTERED VOTERS



**BASIC DESCRIPTION:** Defined by their disengagement from the political process, either by choice or because they are ineligible to vote. They are highly unlikely to vote (61% say they seldom vote, and 39% volunteer that they never vote; none are currently registered to vote). Most follow government and public affairs only now and then (42%) or hardly at all (23%).

**WHO THEY ARE:** Bystanders are overwhelmingly young (51% are under 30) and nearly half are Latino (38%) or black (9%). A third (33%) are first- or second-generation Americans. They are diverse in their political views though they lean Democratic, and their values more often align with the Democratic than the Republican groups. They also have much more favorable attitudes about the Democratic Party and its political figures than about the Republican Party. More than half (54%) have incomes under \$30,000 annually. Nearly two-thirds (64%) report that they or someone in their household were unemployed in the past year; 72% have only a high school education or less.

**LIFESTYLE NOTES:** Only 24% regularly read a daily newspaper. About a third (35%) regularly watch network evening news. Only 33% own their home, while 36% are looking for work or would prefer a full-time job to a part-time job they currently hold. Compared with most other groups, relatively few (25%) have a gun in the household, trade stocks in the market (8%), or have a labor union member in the household (5%).

## SECTION 1: THE POLITICAL TYPOLOGY

The 2011 Political Typology is the fifth of its kind, following on previous studies in [1987](#), [1994](#), [1999](#) and [2005](#). The events of the past six years have resulted in a substantial shift in the political landscape, producing new alignments within each of the two parties and in the middle. In particular, views about the role of government increasingly separate the Republican and Democratic groups, which represents a change from 2005 when national security was more strongly associated with partisanship. This is partly a result of the public's attention turning more to domestic and economic issues. Other core values also continue to divide the public, including views of business, helping the poor, environmentalism and immigration.

One of the dominant trends in American politics over the past decade has been the continuing polarization of American politics. The political chasm between “Red” and “Blue” America that opened in the latter half of the Bush presidency has further widened since Barack Obama took office. Yet to view American politics solely through the lens of partisan strife overlooks significant differences within these partisan bases, as well as within the political center. While we are seeing more doctrinaire ideological consistency at each end of the spectrum, there is, if anything, even more diversity of values in the political center.

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### The Political Typology Groups: 1987-2011

1987	1994	1999	2005	2011
<b>Republican Groups</b>				
Enterprisers	Enterprisers	Staunch Conservatives	Enterprisers	Staunch Conservatives
Moralists	Moralists	Moderate Reps	Social Conservatives	Main Street Reps
	Libertarians	Populist Reps	Pro-Gov't Conserv	
<b>Middle Groups</b>				
Upbeats	New Economy Inds	New Prosperity Inds	Upbeats	Libertarians
Disaffecteds	The Embittered	Disaffecteds	Disaffecteds	Disaffecteds
Followers				Post-Moderns
Seculars				
<b>Democratic Groups</b>				
New Dealers	New Dealers	Socially Cons Dems	Conserv Democrats	New Coalition Dems
Partisan Poor	Partisan Poor	Partisan Poor	Disadvantaged Dems	Hard-Pressed Dems
Passive Poor	New Democrats	New Democrats	Liberals	Solid Liberals
60s Democrats	Seculars	Liberal Democrats		

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Bystanders have been included in every typology since 1987.

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The typologies developed by the Pew Research Center are designed to provide a more complete and detailed description of the political landscape, classifying people on the basis of a broad range of value orientations rather than just on the basis of party identification or self-reported political ideology. As in the past, the new typology reveals substantial political and social differences within as well as across the two political parties. It also provides insights into the political and social values of independents, a growing part of the American electorate, but one that is far from unified in terms of values and ideological beliefs.

Some of the groups in this year's typology share characteristics with those identified in previous typologies, reflecting the continued importance of key ideological positions among some segments of the electorate. Other groups are distinctly new and partly reflect the influx of younger voters and racial and ethnic minorities who are now influencing the political alignments. As new groups have emerged and the political and economic climate has changed, some groups identified in previous typologies have disappeared entirely.

### **An Evolving Landscape: The 2011 Typology**

Perhaps the most notable change in the new typology is the realignment of the political right over the past six years. In 2005, and most previous studies, the Republican coalition was a sometimes uneasy mix of two main groups – one characterized by its economic conservatism and another by its social conservatism. Six years ago, there also was a third Republican group, “Pro-Government Conservatives,” who were critical to George W. Bush's reelection in 2004. Pro-Government Conservatives were aligned with the other Republican groups on foreign policy and social issues. As their name suggests, they also were supporters of government programs, including the social safety net, environmental protection, and regulation of business.

Today, the classic division between economic and social conservatives is blurred, as Americans who are deeply conservative across the board have coalesced into a single, highly activated group of **Staunch Conservatives**. A second group of **Main Street Republicans** has nearly as strong a partisan identity, but is less politically active, and differs from the Staunch Conservatives on key dimensions such as business and the environment. A new Republican-oriented group of **Libertarians** believe in the same economically conservative principles as the Staunch Conservatives, but its members



differ when it comes to social issues, where they are very secular. **Disaffecteds**, another GOP-leaning group, has been a part of Pew Research typologies since 1987.

The left side of the political spectrum has also seen realignment, most notably because of the diversity of views among minorities and younger Americans, who represent the growing segment of the Democratic Party's base. As was the case in 2005, the foundation of the Democratic Party's base is composed of **Solid Liberals**, who are mostly white and liberal across the board, and **Hard-Pressed Democrats**, a group that includes many minorities and whose members have generally lower incomes and more socially conservative views.

Coupled with these, past typology studies found a third group of socially conservative Democrats who were older, mostly white, and held traditional social values while supporting New Deal-type policies. This year, however, the balance has tipped toward a group of **New Coalition Democrats**, who are defined not only by their social conservatism, but by their ethnic diversity and optimism in the face of the recession. The appearance of the New Coalition Democrats is further evidence that while African-Americans and Hispanic-Americans continue to overwhelmingly align with the Democratic Party, they are hardly unified blocks in terms of ideology and values.

A group of independently-minded **Post-Moderns**, who have voted overwhelmingly Democratic in the past two elections, are the youngest of all the typology groups. This mostly secular group agrees with Solid Liberals on social issues, immigration and the environment, but is not engaged with the traditional liberal rallying cries of the New Deal or Great Society. Instead, this group tends to be more supportive of Wall Street and business interests, and skeptical of broad-based social justice programs aimed at helping African-Americans and the poor.

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## Key Changes in the 2011 Typology

### Republicans:

Old divide between economic and social conservatives blurs as those who are *Staunch Conservatives* coalesce.

### Democrats:

*New Coalition Democrats* have an optimistic, pro-business and socially conservative outlook within a majority-minority, Democratic group.

### The Middle:

*Libertarians* lean Republican as policy debate focuses on economy and government. *Post-Moderns* lean Democratic and are liberal on the environment, immigration and social issues.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

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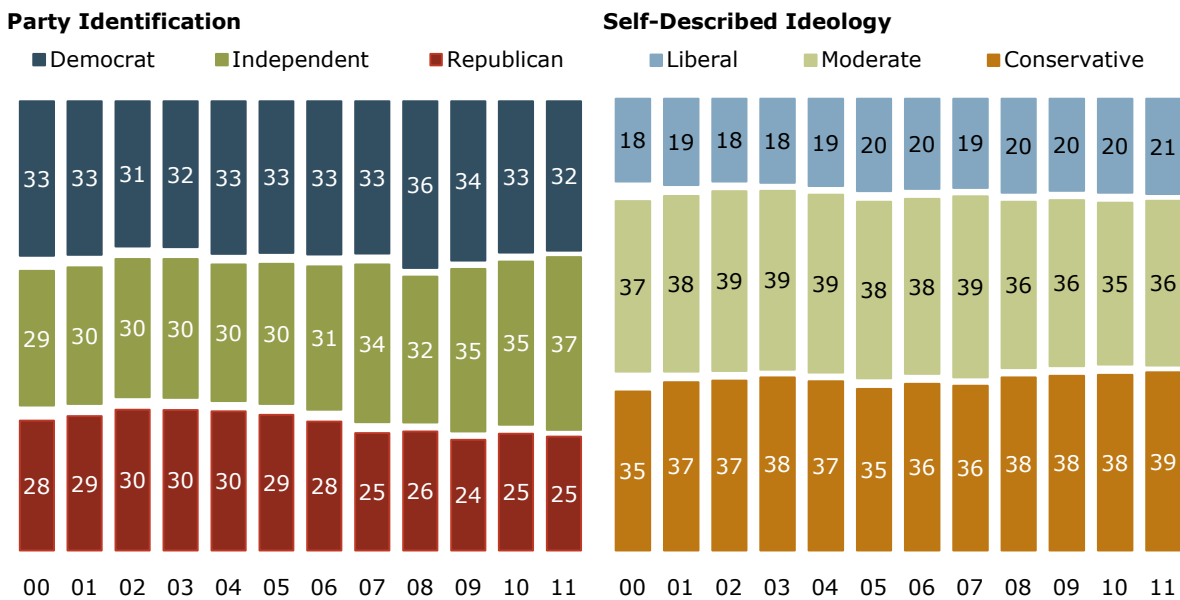
### More Independent, But Not More Moderate

In recent years, the public has become increasingly averse to partisan labels. Pew Research Center polling over the first quarter of 2011 finds 37% of Americans identifying as independents, up from 30% in 2005 and 35% last year. Over the past 70 years, the only other time that independent identification reached a similar level was in 1992, the year when Ross Perot was a popular independent presidential candidate.

The growing rejection of partisan identification does not imply a trend toward political moderation, however. In fact, the number of people describing their political ideology as moderate has, if anything, been dropping. So far in 2011, 36% say they are moderate politically, which is unchanged from 2008 but slightly lower than in 2005 (38%).

Meanwhile, conservatives outnumber liberals by nearly two-to-one. The number identifying as conservative has edged up to 39% this year from 35% in 2005, while the number of liberals is little changed (21% now, 20% then).

### Shedding Party Labels, but Not Ideology



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Based on total population. Figures add to less than 100% because some do not identify as Republican, Democrat or independent or as conservative, moderate or liberal and are not shown here. Figures for 2011 are based on polls conducted from January through March with 5,917 respondents. Figures for other years based on all polls conducted in that year.

### Party Affiliation and the Typology Groups

The new political typology finds two groups that are clearly Republican in their political orientation, three that are predominantly Democratic, and – reflecting the growing number of independents – four in which majorities eschew party labels. Within this broad political center are two Republican-leaning groups and one Democratic-leaning group, along with the politically uninvolved Bystanders.

On the right, **Staunch Conservatives** and **Main Street Republicans** overwhelmingly identify as Republicans. Similarly, on

the left large majorities of **Solid Liberals** and **Hard-Pressed Democrats** consider themselves Democrats. While a majority of **New Coalition Democrats** identify with the Democratic Party, many consider themselves independents (though most say they lean toward the Democratic Party).

The middle is far more diverse. Although majorities in all of these groups identify as political independents, 77% of **Libertarians** and 60% of **Disaffecteds** lean to the GOP while 58% of **Post-Moderns** lean to the Democratic Party. The politically disengaged **Bystanders** – who do not vote or follow politics – lean somewhat to the Democratic Party.

#### Party Affiliation and the Typology Groups

	Rep	Dem	Ind*		Rep/ lean R	Dem/ lean D
	%	%	%	=100	%	%
Total	24	33	43	=100	40	49
Staunch Conservatives	<b>84</b>	*	16	=100	<b>100</b>	*
Main Street Republicans	<b>76</b>	*	24	=100	<b>95</b>	2
Libertarians	28	5	<b>67</b>	=100	<b>77</b>	11
Disaffecteds	25	0	<b>75</b>	=100	<b>60</b>	9
Post-Moderns	7	26	<b>67</b>	=100	23	<b>58</b>
New Coalition Dems	2	<b>56</b>	42	=100	5	<b>81</b>
Hard-Pressed Dems	0	<b>84</b>	16	=100	0	<b>100</b>
Solid Liberals	*	<b>75</b>	24	=100	1	<b>96</b>
Bystanders	13	25	<b>62</b>	=100	29	49

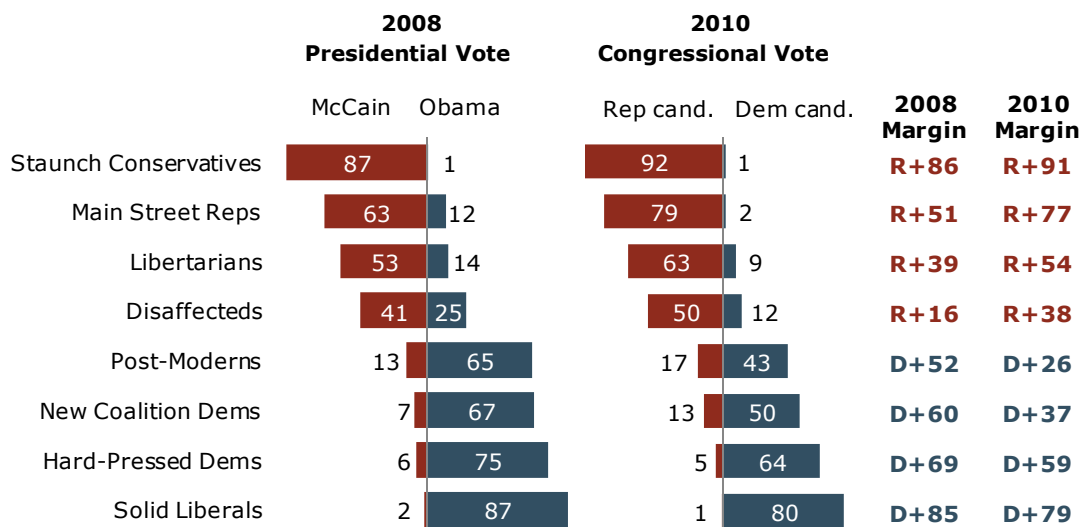
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.  
 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.  
 \* Independent includes those who say they have no preference, volunteered another party, said they don't know or refused to answer the party identification question.

## Lessons from 2008 and 2010

The voting behavior of the typology groups in the past two election cycles is consistent with each group's underlying partisan leanings, but also reveals how tenuously each party's winning coalition depends on candidates and circumstances.

Barack Obama won the 2008 presidential election by solidifying the backing of not only the Solid Liberal and Hard-Pressed Democratic groups, but also by activating and appealing to New Coalition Democrats and Post-Moderns. Fully 87% of Obama's votes came from these four key coalition sources, though he attracted a respectable 13% of his overall vote total by reaching out to Disaffecteds, Libertarians and Main Street Republicans as well. (Obama won virtually no support from Staunch Conservatives.)

### How the Typology Groups Voted



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Based on registered voters.

The 2010 midterms revealed the fragility of this electoral base. While both Solid Liberals and Hard-Pressed Democrats remained solidly behind Democratic congressional candidates in 2010, support slipped substantially among New Coalition Democrats and Post-Moderns – not because Republicans made overwhelming gains in these groups, but because their turnout dropped so substantially. Where two-thirds of New Coalition Democrats came out to vote for Obama in 2008, just 50% came out to back Democrats in 2010. The drop-off in the Democratic vote was even more severe among Post-Moderns,

65% of whom backed Obama, but just 43% of whom came to the polls for Democrats in 2010.

Equally important was the shoring up of center groups by the GOP in 2010. In particular, Disaffecteds favored McCain over Obama by a 16-point margin (41% to 25%) in 2008, but backed Republicans by nearly five-to-one (50% to 12%) in 2010. Libertarians, too, were more likely to back GOP candidates in 2010 (63%), than McCain in 2008 (53%).

And while Staunch Conservatives voted solidly Republican in both years, the 2010 midterm was a far more crystallizing election for Main Street Republicans, with 79% backing Republican Congressional candidates compared with the 63% who came out to vote for McCain two years earlier. Overall, 89% of Republican votes cast in 2010 came from the four Republican-oriented voting blocs.

Looking toward 2012, these past two election cycles serve as a model of what the core party coalitions look like. The following sections will show how challenging the maintenance of these winning coalitions will be for political leaders on both sides of the aisle.

## Creating the Typology

The 2011 typology divides the public into eight politically engaged groups, in addition to the Bystanders. These groups are defined by their attitudes toward government and politics and a range of other social, economic and religious beliefs. In addition to partisan affiliation and leaning, the typology is based on nine value orientations, each of which is reflected on a scale derived from two or more questions in the survey. The scales are as follows:

- *Government Performance.* Views about government waste and efficiency and regulation of business.
- *Religion and Morality.* Attitudes concerning the importance of religion in people's lives, whether it is necessary to believe in God to be moral and views about homosexuality.
- *Business.* Attitudes about the influence of corporations and the profits they make.
- *Environmentalism.* Opinions on environmental protection and the cost and benefits of environmental laws and regulations.

- *Immigration*. Views about the impact of immigrants on American culture, jobs and social services.
- *Race*. Attitudes concerning racial discrimination and whether the country has made changes to give blacks equal rights with whites.
- *Social Safety Net*. Opinions on the role of government in providing for the poor and needy.
- *Foreign Policy Assertiveness*. Opinions on the efficacy of military strength vs. diplomacy and the use of force to defeat terrorism.
- *Financial Security*. Level of satisfaction with current economic status and whether struggling to pay the bills.

These measures are based on broadly oriented values designed to measure a person's underlying belief about what is right and wrong, acceptable or unacceptable, or what the government should or should not be involved in. The scales are *not* based on a person's opinions about political leaders and parties or current issues.

## SECTION 2: VALUE DIVIDES WITHIN PARTY COALITIONS

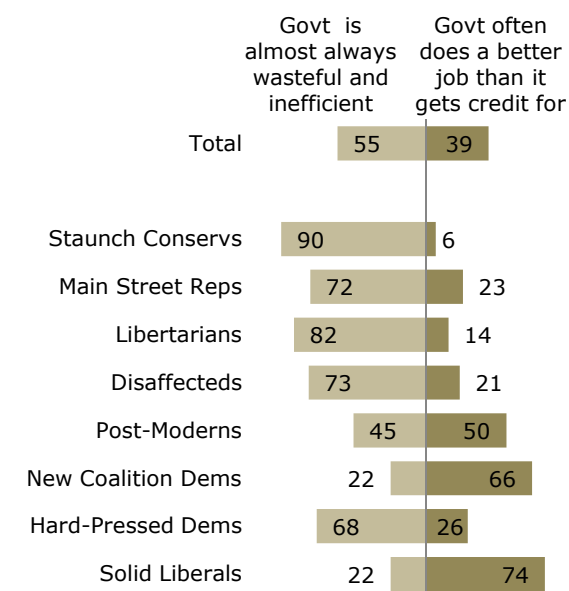
The new political typology provides further evidence of deep and enduring partisan divisions over political attitudes and preferences. Yet an analysis of the typology groups' fundamental political values also shows significant cleavages within both parties' core groups and their broader coalitions over attitudes toward business, immigration, religion, the environment and other issues.

Looking at the broad Republican coalition, the core GOP groups and Republican-oriented independent groups are strongly critical of government. But the core Republican groups – Staunch Conservatives and Main Street Republicans – differ sharply in their opinions about business, the environment and foreign assertiveness. Republican-leaning Libertarians hold much more tolerant views on immigration and homosexuality, while Disaffecteds stand out for their support for government aid to the poor.

On the Democratic side, Solid Liberals and Post-Moderns are less religious than the Hard-Pressed and New Coalition Democrats and are more accepting of homosexuality. Hard-Pressed Democrats stand out for their critical views of government and negative attitudes about immigrants. The Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns are far less supportive of government help for the poor and of making more changes to give blacks equal rights with whites.

Fully 68% of Hard-Pressed Democrats – financially struggling Democratic loyalists – say that government is almost always wasteful and inefficient. On this measure, Hard-Pressed Democrats find more in common with the GOP coalition than with other Democratic groups and the Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns.

### Hard-Pressed Democrats Are Critical of Government



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology, Q17a.

Large majorities of both Solid Liberals (74%) and New Coalition Democrats (66%) say that government often does a better job than people give it credit for. Just 22% in each group say that government is usually wasteful and inefficient. Post-Moderns are divided, with about as many saying government deserves more credit (50%) as say it is often wasteful and inefficient (45%).

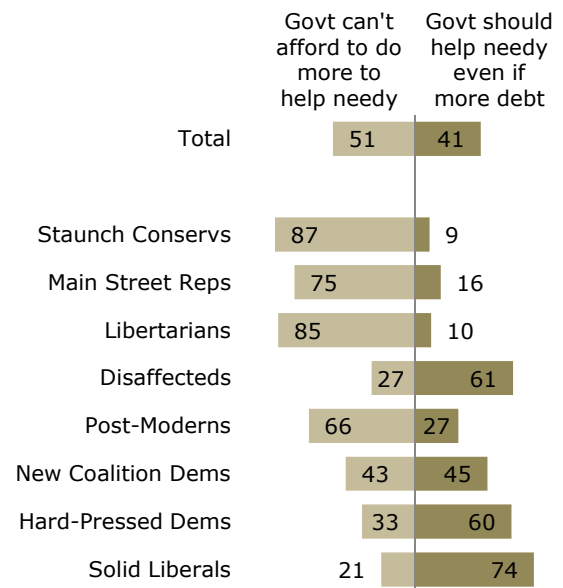
All four groups in the broad GOP coalition express overwhelmingly negative opinions about government performance. While the Republican groups agree on the government's performance, they differ over government's role – specifically when it comes to aiding the poor and needy. On this issue, the Disaffecteds – by far the lowest-income group in the GOP coalition – break with other Republican and Republican-oriented groups.

A majority of Disaffecteds (61%) say that the government should do more to help needy Americans even if means going deeper into debt; 27% say the government today cannot afford to do much more to help the needy. Three-quarters or more in the other three groups in the Republican coalition say the government cannot afford to provide more help for the poor.

Among groups in the Democratic coalition, Post-Moderns stand out for their negative view of increased government help for the poor – fully 66% say the government cannot afford to do more. This is consistent with the Post-Moderns' support for smaller government – 55% prefer a smaller government with fewer services, a higher proportion than in any of the Democratic groups.

Moreover, Post-Moderns are the only group within the broad Democratic coalition in which a majority (54%) thinks that poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return. And just as Disaffecteds break from other groups in the Republican coalition in their support for increased aid to the needy, so too do they diverge in their view of the poor's reliance on the government.

### Both Partisan Coalitions Split Over Increased Aid to the Needy



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q17d.



Large majorities in the two core Republican groups, as well as among the GOP-leaning Libertarians, say the poor have it easy, but just 22% of Disaffecteds agree.

### Views of Business Divide GOP

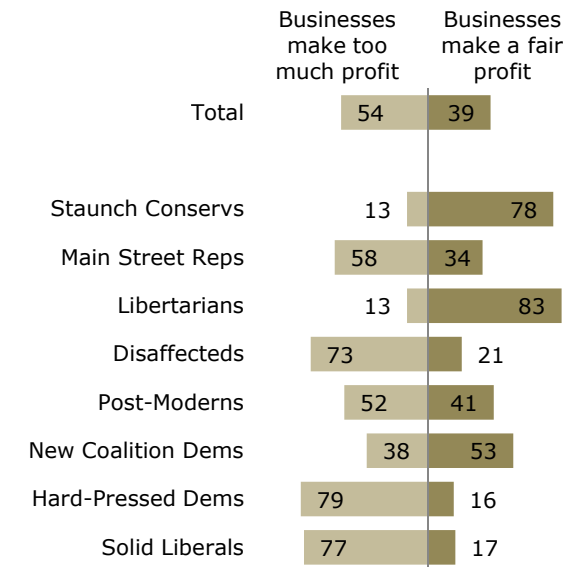
Solid Liberals and Hard-Pressed Democrats overwhelmingly say that business corporations make too much profit. On the right, large proportions of Staunch Conservatives and Libertarians disagree.

Yet the other typology groups divide over this issue. Among GOP groups, 73% of Disaffecteds view corporate profits as excessive, as do 58% of Main Street Republicans. This is a rare instance where Main Street Republicans fundamentally disagree with Staunch Conservatives.

New Coalition Democrats differ with other Democratic groups in opinions about corporate profits. A majority (53%) says corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit, while 38% say profits are too high.

There is greater agreement across the typology that a few large businesses have too much power. Large majorities in six of the eight main typology groups say there is too much power concentrated in the hands of a few large companies. This view is not as prevalent among Staunch Conservatives and Libertarians; still about half of each group says that a few huge companies have amassed too much power (51% of Staunch Conservatives, 50% of Libertarians).

### Main Street Republicans Critical of Business Profits



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q17n.

## Democratic Coalition Divides Over Race

The Democratic coalition is deeply divided over political values relating to race. Solid Liberals and Post-Moderns – both mostly white and relatively upscale – have very different attitudes about the factors limiting black progress and whether further efforts are needed to achieve racial equality.

Most Solid Liberals (61%) say that racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days; they are the only typology group in which a majority expresses this view.

By contrast, Post-Moderns overwhelmingly reject the idea that racial discrimination is the main barrier to black progress (just 9% say this). Nearly eight-in-ten (79%) say that blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition. On this measure, the opinions of Post-Moderns are close to those of the four groups in the GOP coalition, where majorities say that blacks who cannot get ahead are responsible for their own condition.

## Democrats Diverge Over Race, Immigration

	Democrat			Indep
	Solid Liberals	Hard-Pressed Dems	New Coalition Dems	Post-Moderns
<i>Which comes closer to your view?</i>	%	%	%	%
Racial discrimination is the main reason many blacks can't get ahead	61	37	33	9
Blacks who can't get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition	23	50	51	79
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Our country...</i>				
Needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites	77	62	69	25
Has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights	19	34	22	69
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Immigrants today...</i>				
Are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care	12	76	16	34
Strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents	82	13	70	54
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Growing number of newcomers from other countries...</i>				
Threaten traditional American customs and values	9	68	10	23
Strengthens American society	84	20	78	71
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q17f-g, Q37dd, Q37hh. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Hard-Pressed Democrats and New Coalition Democrats also say on balance that blacks who are unable to get ahead are responsible for their fate. About half in each group expresses this view, while fewer think racial discrimination is the biggest reason that many blacks cannot get ahead.

Post-Moderns are the only group in the Democratic coalition who reject the idea that the country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites. Nearly seven-in-ten Post-Moderns (69%) say the country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites. By contrast, clear majorities of Solid Liberals (77%), New Coalition Democrats (69%) and Hard-Pressed Democrats (62%) say that more changes are needed in order to achieve racial equality.

### Immigration Divides Both Partisan Coalitions

Opinions about immigrants and their impact on the country divide both partisan coalitions. On the Democratic side, Hard-Pressed Democrats are the only group in which a majority views immigrants as a “burden” because of their impact on jobs and social services, and says that the growing number of newcomers to the U.S. threaten traditional customs and values. The three other groups in the Democratic coalition express much more positive views of immigrants’ impact on the country.

#### Among GOP Groups, Libertarians Have More Positive Views of Immigrants

	Republican		Independent	
	Staunch Cons	Main St. Reps	Libertarians	Disaffecteds
<i>Immigrants today...</i>	%	%	%	%
Are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care	<b>68</b>	<b>60</b>	40	<b>64</b>
Strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents	18	27	<b>45</b>	23
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Growing number of newcomers from other countries...</i>				
Threaten traditional American customs and values	<b>68</b>	<b>56</b>	37	<b>55</b>
Strengthens American society	22	37	<b>52</b>	34
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q17g, Q37dd. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Among GOP-oriented groups, Libertarians express more positive opinions about immigrants. A majority (52%) of Libertarians say the growing number of newcomers strengthen American society; Libertarians are divided over whether immigrants

strengthen the United States or are a burden. Majorities in the other GOP groups express more negative views of immigrants; most say that the increasing number of newcomers threaten traditional customs and values, and that immigrants are a burden because of their impact on jobs, housing and health care.

### Libertarians Break From GOP on Religion, Homosexuality

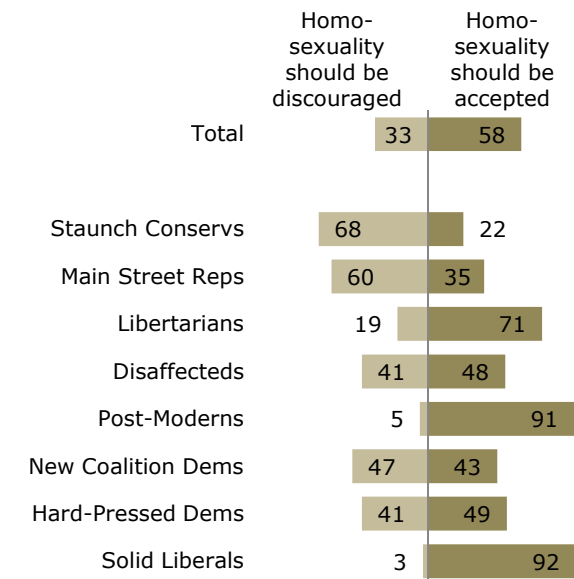
As was the case in 2005, social and religious issues continue to divide the core Democratic groups more sharply than the core Republican groups. But looking at the broader GOP coalition, Libertarians stand out for their more moderate views on social issues and relatively low level of religiosity.

About half (53%) of Libertarians say that religion is a very important part of their life. That compares with 91% of Main Street Republicans, 90% of Staunch Conservatives and 84% of Disaffecteds, the other group of GOP-leaning independents.

Moreover, a large majority of Libertarians (71%) say that homosexuality should be accepted by society. By contrast, 68% of Staunch Conservatives and 60% of Main Street Republicans say that homosexuality should be discouraged by society. Disaffecteds are divided; 48% say society should accept homosexuality and 41% say it should be discouraged.

The core Democratic groups are split over the importance of religion and in their acceptance of homosexuality. Nine-in-ten New Coalition Democrats (92%) and nearly as many Hard-Pressed Democrats (86%) say religion is very important personally, compared with just 38% of Solid Liberals. Democratic-oriented Post-Moderns are closer to Solid Liberals than the other two groups – 42% say religion is very important in their life.

### Both Party Coalitions Divide Over Acceptance of Homosexuality



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37u.

The differences are nearly as wide in views of societal acceptance of homosexuality. While 92% of Solid Liberals favor acceptance of homosexuality, just 49% of Hard-Pressed Democrats and 43% of New Coalition Democrats agree.

Post-Moderns also are in sync with Solid Liberals in views of homosexuality; 91% of the Post-Moderns say homosexuality should be accepted by society. These two groups also stand out for their overwhelming support of same-sex marriage: 85% of Solid Liberals and 80% of Post-Moderns say gays and lesbians should be allowed to marry legally, by far the highest proportions among the typology groups.

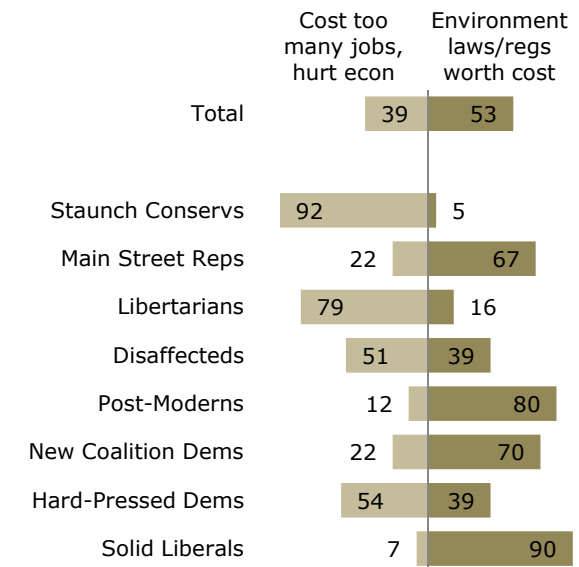
### Little Consensus on Environmental Regulation

Republican groups in the political typology have long been divided in their views of the environment and that remains the case today. Staunch Conservatives and Libertarians are the only groups in which majorities say the U.S. has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment. In all other groups – including Main Street Republicans and the GOP-leaning Disaffecteds – most say that this country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment.

The question of how far to go in protecting the environment becomes more complicated when the potential economic costs of environmental protection are mentioned. Three of four groups in the broad GOP coalition, including a slight majority of Disaffecteds, say that stricter environmental laws cost too many jobs and hurt the economy. But Main Street Republicans overwhelmingly disagree– 67% say that stricter environmental laws are worth the cost.

In three of the four groups in the broad Democratic coalition, large majorities say that tougher environmental laws are worth the economic cost. But just 39% of Hard-Pressed

### GOP Groups Deeply Split Over Cost of Environmental Regulations



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37r.

Democrats agree, while 54% say such laws and regulations cost too many jobs and harm economic growth.

## Views of Military Assertiveness

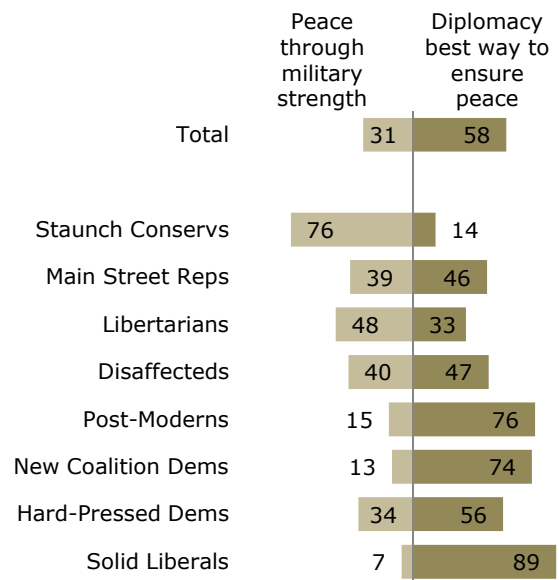
The 2005 typology survey, which was conducted amid contentious debates over the Iraq war, found greater differences *between* the partisan coalitions in opinions about military assertiveness than *within* them. But today, the Republican groups in the political typology differ over a fundamental precept in security policy – whether military strength or good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace.

Roughly three-quarters (76%) of Staunch Conservatives say the best way to ensure peace is through military strength, but only 39% of Main Street Republicans agree. Among the other two groups in the broad Republican coalition, 48% of Libertarians and 40% of Disaffecteds say that military strength is the best way to guarantee peace.

Democrats are more unified in their belief that good diplomacy provides the best way to ensure peace. Majorities in the three core Democratic groups – as well as 76% of Post-Moderns – say that peace is best ensured through effective diplomacy rather than military strength.

There also are differences in opinions about whether using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world or whether relying too much on military force creates hatred that leads to more terrorism. Fully 88% of Staunch Conservatives say that overwhelming force is the best way to defeat terrorism. A narrow majority (53%) of Main Street Republicans agree as do 48% of Libertarians and 45% of Disaffecteds.

### Democratic Groups Say Diplomacy Ensures Peace



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q17i.

As is often the case, Solid Liberals express the opposite view from Staunch Conservatives: 90% say that relying too much on the use of force creates hatred that leads to more terrorism. Smaller majorities of Post-Moderns (69%), New Coalition Democrats (57%) and Hard-Pressed Democrats (52%) express this view.





## SECTION 3: DEMOGRAPHICS AND NEWS SOURCES

The nine typology groups differ not just in the defining components of the typology—their values and attitudes—but also in their demographic makeup. In many cases, groups with similar ideological and political interests are fundamentally different when it comes to demographics, while other groups with differing beliefs share key demographic markers.

Staunch Conservatives stand out as the oldest group in the typology (61% are 50 or older) and also are the most likely to be married. By contrast, Post-Moderns are distinguished by their youth: 67% are younger than 50, including 32% who are younger than 30. (Bystanders, who are defined by characteristics strongly associated with age, also are very young—80% are younger than 50.) And while Libertarians are overwhelmingly male (67%), Hard-Pressed Democrats (61%) and Solid Liberals (57%) are majority female.

### Profiles of the Typology Groups: Gender, Age, Race, Ethnicity & Education

	Total	Solid Liberals	Hard-Pressed Dems	New Coalition Dems	Post-Moderns	Disaffecteds	Libertarians	Main Street Reps	Staunch Cons	By-standers
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Men	49	43	39	44	53	46	<b>67</b>	50	<b>56</b>	49
Women	<u>51</u>	<b>57</b>	<b>61</b>	<u>56</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>54</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>51</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
18-29	22	22	12	21	<b>32</b>	16	19	15	8	<b>51</b>
30-49	35	35	35	37	35	34	34	40	31	29
50-64	26	26	<b>33</b>	23	22	<b>34</b>	27	24	<b>33</b>	14
65+	16	16	19	17	11	15	19	19	<b>28</b>	5
White	68	72	53	34	70	<b>77</b>	<b>85</b>	<b>88</b>	<b>92</b>	44
Black	12	9	<b>35</b>	<b>30</b>	6	8	1	2	*	9
Hispanic	13	11	6	<b>26</b>	14	9	7	4	3	<b>38</b>
Post graduate	12	<b>27</b>	7	11	<b>19</b>	3	15	10	12	3
College grad	16	<b>23</b>	7	17	22	7	22	18	22	6
Some college	25	27	19	18	30	23	<b>33</b>	26	28	17
HS or less	47	23	<b>68</b>	<b>55</b>	29	<b>66</b>	29	45	37	<b>72</b>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Don't know/refused not shown; Other/mixed race not shown. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

Though there is little racial or ethnic variation among Republican groups (each is three-quarters or more white non-Hispanic), Democratic groups differ considerably in their

ethnic composition. Solid Liberals are overwhelmingly white (72%), while Hard-Pressed Democrats are more racially mixed—53% are white and 35% are African American. New Coalition Democrats are majority-minority: 34% white, 30% black and 26% Hispanic. This group also consists of more first- or second-generation Americans than most other groups: 29% of New Coalition Democrats are either themselves immigrants or are the children of immigrants. Overall, 18% of Americans say they are immigrants or children of immigrants.

Educational experiences of groups within the same partisan coalitions also are varied. For instance, half of Solid Liberals (50%), the most educated group, have college degrees. They are joined in the Democratic base by one of the groups with the least amount of educational experience, Hard-Pressed Democrats (68% of whom have a high school degree or less). And the two Republican-oriented independent groups are another study in contrasts when it comes to education—66% of Disaffecteds have no more than a high school education, while 70% of Libertarians have attended at least some college.

## Where They Live

Individuals from all typology groups can be found in regions and communities across the country, but some groups are more concentrated than others. For example, Hard-Pressed Democrats are particularly likely to live in the South (48% live there), while very few Staunch Conservatives can be found in the Northeast (just 12% live there).

Most Solid Liberals (53%) live in either the Northeast or the West, as do half (50%) of Post-Moderns (compared with 40% of the public overall). Fully two-thirds (67%) of Main Street Republicans live in either the Midwest or the South; few live in the West (14%).

Four-in-ten (40%) Solid Liberals live in urban areas, significantly more than any group other than New Coalition Democrats (35% urban) and Bystanders (34%). Hard-Pressed Democrats are the Democratic group most likely to be found in rural areas (where 23%

### Region of the Country

	North- east	Mid- west	South	West	
	%	%	%	%	
Total	19	23	37	21	=100
Staunch Conservs	12	26	38	24	=100
Main Street Reps	19	27	40	14	=100
Libertarians	18	28	28	27	=100
Disaffecteds	17	24	41	18	=100
Post-Moderns	25	20	31	25	=100
New Coalition Dems	23	18	40	19	=100
Hard-Pressed Dems	15	23	48	14	=100
Solid Liberals	25	21	26	28	=100
Bystanders	19	18	40	23	=100

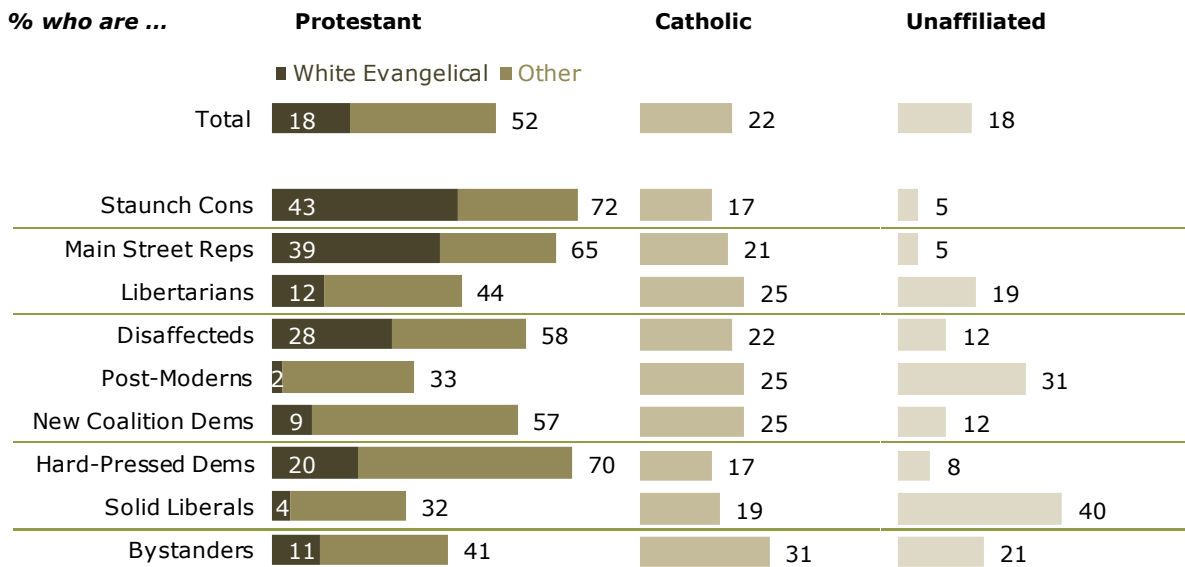
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.  
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

live). And Post-Moderns are the only majority suburban group – 58% live in suburban areas.

### Religion and the Typology Groups

Just more than half of Americans say they are Protestants (52%), but substantially more Staunch Conservatives (72%), Main Street Republicans (65%) and Hard-Pressed Democrats (70%) are Protestants. Solid Liberals, Post-Moderns and Libertarians are less likely than the general public to be Protestant.

#### Major Religious Groups



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. White Evangelicals are white, non-Hispanic Protestants who describe themselves as “born again or evangelical Protestants.”

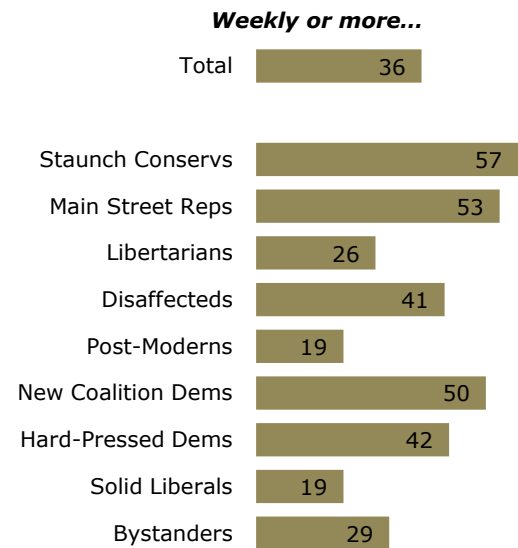
Roughly 18% of Americans are white evangelical Protestants, but this doubles to roughly four-in-ten of the two core Republican groups. The Republican-leaning Disaffecteds also are more likely to be white evangelicals than the general public, but this does not hold true for Libertarians, just 12% of whom are white evangelicals.

Very few Solid Liberals (4%) or Post-Moderns (2%) are white evangelical Protestants. Instead, these two groups are the most likely to be religiously unaffiliated (atheist, agnostic, or no religious affiliation) – 40% of Solid Liberals and 31% of Post-Moderns, compared with 18% of Americans overall.

Accordingly, these groups also are the least likely – along with Libertarians – to attend religious services regularly. Just 19% of Solid Liberals and Post-Moderns, and 26% of Libertarians do so. In contrast, Staunch Conservatives (57%), Main Street Republicans (53%) and New Coalition Democrats (50%) stand out for their high levels of religious attendance.

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### Attend Religious Services



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. 2011 Political Typology.

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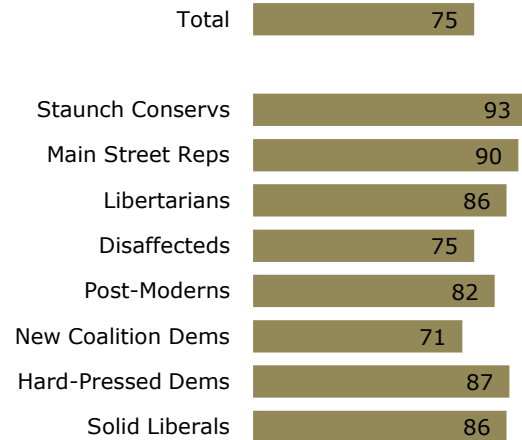
## Voting and Political Activity

Voter registration rates are particularly high among Staunch Conservatives (93% say they are registered to vote) and Main Street Republicans (90%). Two Democratic groups (Hard-Pressed Democrats and Solid Liberals) also have high levels of registration; New Coalition Democrats are less likely than other Democrats to be registered (just 71% are registered). Among the independent groups, Disaffecteds are the least likely to be registered (75%).

But even among those who are registered, groups differ in their voting rates in recent elections. Nearly all Staunch Conservatives (96%) and 91% of Main Street Republicans who are registered to vote say they voted in the 2010 midterms, on par with reported turnout in the 2008 presidential election. Solid Liberals turned out at similar rates to Staunch Conservatives in 2008, but in 2010 their participation rates lagged behind those of their ideological opposites.

Lower turnout rates in 2010 compared with 2008 were seen among Hard-Pressed Democrats, Disaffecteds, and Post-Moderns.

### Registered Voters



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. 2011 Political Typology. Note: By definition, 0% of Bystanders are registered voters.

### Turnout in Recent Elections

	<i>Percent of registered voters who report having voted in...</i>		
	2008	2010	Diff
Total	88	82	
Staunch Conservs	92	96	+4
Main Street Reps	87	91	+4
Libertarians	90	86	-4
Disaffecteds	81	69	-12
Post-Moderns	87	73	-14
New Coalition Dems	83	78	-5
Hard-Pressed Dems	91	76	-15
Solid Liberals	91	85	-6

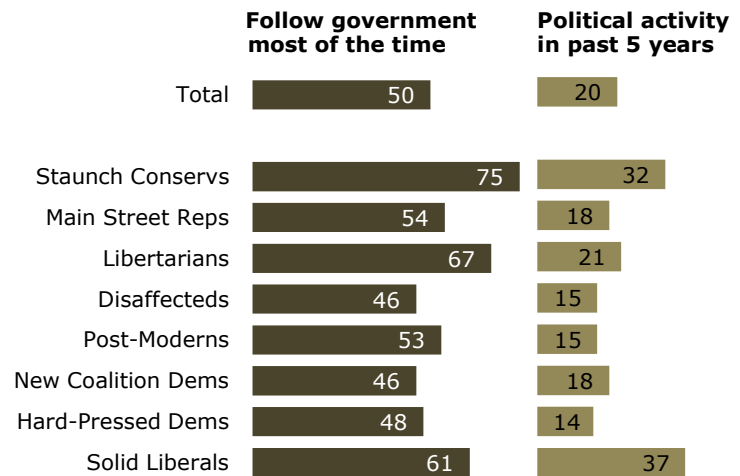
PEW RESEARCH CENTER. 2011 Political Typology. Based on registered voters.

Though different in nearly every aspect of their political beliefs, Solid Liberals and Staunch Conservatives together stand out as the most politically attentive and active typology groups.

Three-quarters of Staunch Conservatives (75%), two-thirds of Libertarians (67%) and about six-in-ten Solid Liberals (61%) say they follow what is going on in government and public affairs most of the time.

Nearly four-in-ten (37%) Solid Liberals and 32% of Staunch Conservatives say they have participated in a political campaign, meeting, or rally over the past five years, far more than in other typology groups.

### Political Interest and Activism



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. 2011 Political Typology. Note: By definition, 0% of Bystanders follow government most of the time.

### News Habits of the Typology Groups

Pew Research Center [news consumption studies](#) have consistently found that television remains the most widely used source of news about national and international events. In the current survey, 43% say they regularly watch network evening news, 30% say they regularly watch Fox News Channel, 24% say they regularly watch CNN and 16% report regularly watching MSNBC. The typology groups have sharply different TV news preferences.

Staunch Conservatives stand out for their use of Fox News for much of their news consumption. Roughly half (54%) say they regularly watch Fox News, and 81% watch at least sometimes. Staunch Conservatives are among the least likely to regularly watch Fox News' competitors: CNN (8%) and MSNBC (6%).

By comparison, about four-in-ten of those in the other Republican and Republican-leaning groups watch Fox News regularly, though not nearly as exclusively, as a number also watch the other cable channels, as well as network evening news, regularly.

CNN is most popular with Hard-Pressed Democrats (44% watch regularly), many of whom also watch Fox News (35%). New Coalition Democrats and Post-Moderns are more varied in their cable news diets: Those in these groups are about equally likely to watch CNN or Fox News but are somewhat less likely to watch MSNBC. About a quarter of Solid Liberals say they are regular CNN viewers (27%), while 19% say they regularly watch MSNBC and 11% say they watch Fox News regularly.

### Wide Variance in Typology Groups' News Choices

<i>% who regularly read, watch or listen to...</i>	Total	Solid Liberals	Hard-Pressed Dems	New Coalition Dems	Post-Moderns	Disaffecteds	Libertarians	Main Street Reps	Staunch Cons	By-standers
%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Network news	43	38	<b>61</b>	47	38	<b>52</b>	35	<b>51</b>	30	35
Fox News	30	11	35	31	20	<b>40</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>54</b>	17
CNN	24	27	<b>44</b>	28	27	29	15	21	8	16
MSNBC	16	19	<b>23</b>	20	15	19	13	18	6	10
NPR	16	<b>34</b>	6	<b>25</b>	20	10	17	11	8	6
Daily newspaper	46	51	<b>57</b>	34	47	49	50	<b>55</b>	44	24
The NY Times	6	<b>18</b>	3	8	10	3	1	4	1	4
The Daily Show	8	<b>21</b>	8	3	14	3	3	3	1	6
Glenn Beck	6	1	5	6	1	5	9	8	<b>23</b>	1
Rush Limbaugh	5	2	1	4	1	4	9	7	<b>21</b>	1

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA18. **Bold** figures are significantly higher than the national average.

While half-or-more Hard-Pressed Democrats (61%), Disaffecteds (52%) and Main Street Republicans (51%) say they regularly watch the nightly network news on CBS, ABC, or NBC, far fewer Solid Liberals (38%), Post-Moderns (38%), Bystanders (35%), Libertarians (35%) or Staunch Conservatives (30%) get regular news from the broadcast networks' flagship news programs. Almost half of New Coalition Democrats (47%) say they regularly watch evening network news.

That just 30% of Staunch Conservatives regularly watch the "big three" newscasts is particularly noteworthy because of their age profile. The network news audience is relatively older than other news audiences, and Staunch Conservatives are the oldest typology group.

About one-in-six (16%) Americans regularly get their news from NPR. Solid Liberals (34% regularly listen) and New Coalition Democrats (25%) stand out for their reliance on NPR. Notably, 17% of Republican-leaning Libertarians also are regular listeners. By comparison, relatively few Hard-Pressed Democrats (6%) and Staunch Conservatives (8%) listen to NPR regularly.

Local daily newspapers are a regular source of news for about half in most typology groups. New Coalition Democrats diverge significantly from other groups; just 34% regularly read a daily paper. And Solid Liberals read *The New York Times* at higher rates than other groups; 18% say they are regular readers. By contrast, just 1% of Staunch Conservatives, and 1% of Libertarians, say they read the *Times* regularly.

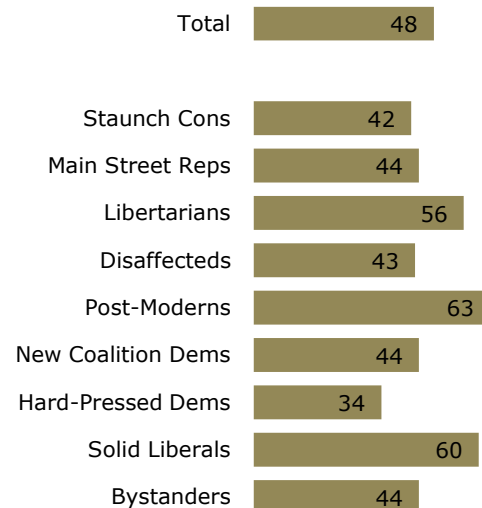
Some of the broadest gulfs between typology groups in terms of media consumption can be found for specific programs. Staunch Conservatives are more than twice as likely as any other typology group to say they regularly watch or listen to Glenn Beck (23%) and Rush Limbaugh (21%). At the same time, 21% of Solid Liberals and 14% of Post-Moderns are regular viewers of the Daily Show with Jon Stewart, the highest percentages among any typology groups.

## Social Networking

About six-in-ten Post-Moderns (63%) and Solid Liberals (60%) use social networking sites like Facebook or Twitter, as do 56% of Libertarians.

Typology groups with higher proportions of older people, particularly the less affluent Hard-Pressed Democrats, are less likely to use these sites (just 34% of Hard-Pressed Democrats are social networkers).

### Use Social Networking Sites Like Facebook or Twitter?



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. 2011 Political Typology. QA19d.



## SECTION 4: THE RECESSION, ECONOMIC STRESS AND OPTIMISM

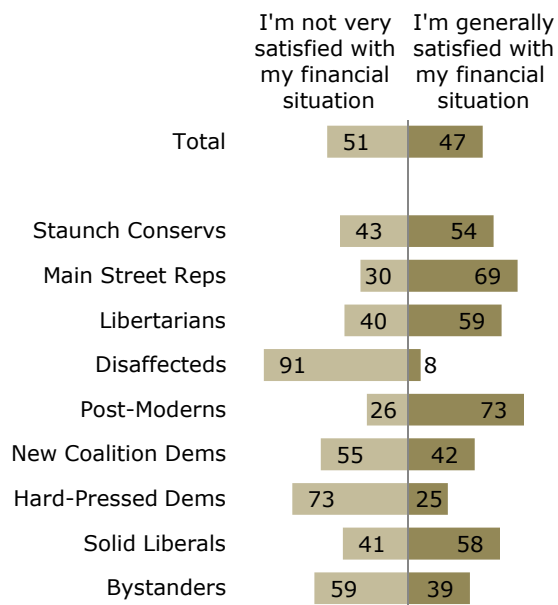
The Great Recession has had a major impact on certain segments of the political typology. The varying levels of financial stress that different groups face play a role in shaping their views on issues and policy debates. Beyond the recession's tangible impact, there are differences in the economic outlook of different segments of the electorate. New Coalition Democrats were hit hard by the recession, but remain fundamentally upbeat about their personal financial situation and future. Others, like the Disaffecteds and Hard-Pressed Democrats, have a far more skeptical outlook.

### Financial Stress and the Recession

Disaffecteds, Hard-Pressed Democrats and New Coalition Democrats stand out from the other groups in their level of personal financial stress. Fully 83% of Disaffecteds, 68% of Hard-Pressed Democrats, and 57% of New Coalition Democrats say they often don't have enough money to make ends meet. The other groups do not generally struggle to make ends meet. Two-thirds or more in the five other typology groups say paying the bills is generally not a problem.

In particular, the predominantly independent Post-Moderns have emerged from the recession largely unscathed. Only 15% of Post-Moderns say the recession had a major effect on their finances that they have not yet recovered from, well below the 40% of Americans overall who say this. Four-in-ten Post-Moderns say they have mostly recovered from the recession, and 44% say the recession didn't really have a major effect on their financial situation.

### Financial Stress Among the Typology Groups



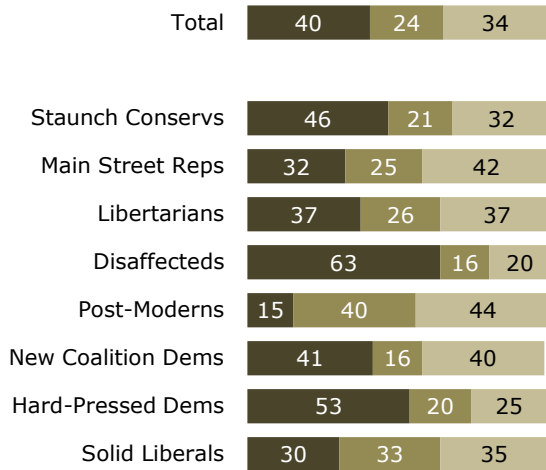
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37z.

Two of the groups were hit particularly hard by the recession and are still struggling. Majorities of Disaffecteds (63%) and Hard-Pressed Democrats (53%) say the recession had a major effect on their personal economic situation and their finances have still not recovered. Further evidence of the recession’s impact on these typology groups is in their reported experiences with unemployment; 71% of Disaffecteds and 63% of Hard-Pressed Democrats say they or someone else in their household has been out of work and looking within the past year.

While most New Coalition Democrats live on tight budgets, and more than half have faced unemployment in their household this past year, they are far less likely than these other financially pressed groups to see the recession as a major factor. Just 41% – about the national average – say the economy had a major effect on their finances that they haven’t recovered from. Most say they either got through the recession unscathed (40%) or were hit hard but have recovered (16%).

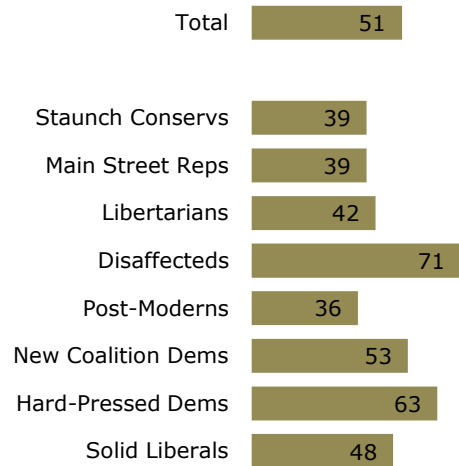
**Effect of Recession on Finances**

■ Major effect and not recovered  
 ■ Major effect but mostly recovered  
 ■ Didn't have a major effect



**Experienced a Job Loss**

Someone in household unemployed in the past year



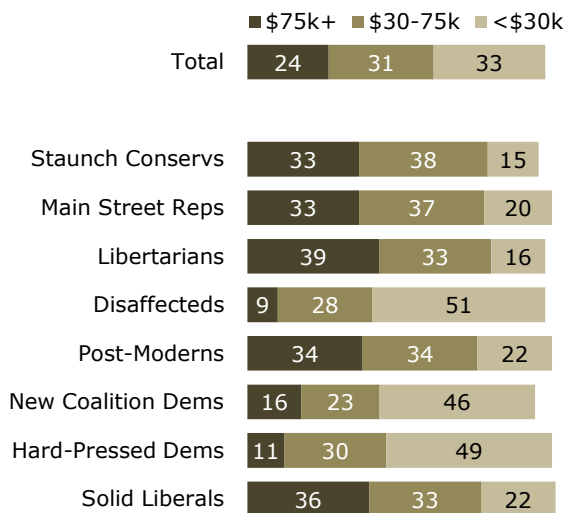
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB15, QB92.

## Income and Employment

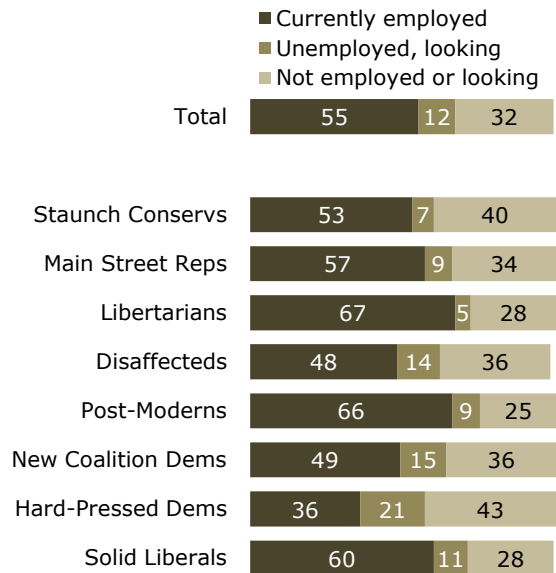
Roughly half of Disaffecteds, New Coalition Democrats and Hard-Pressed Democrats have household incomes below \$30,000 a year. Fewer than a quarter in any of the other five groups are in this income range.

But the employment situation across the three lower-income groups differs widely. Just 36% of Hard-Pressed Democrats are currently employed – fewer than in any other typology group; one-in-five (21%) are currently unemployed and looking for work. By comparison, roughly half in the other financially stressed typology groups – the New Coalition Democrats and Disaffecteds – are working. Libertarians and Post-Moderns have the highest employment levels among typology groups, with roughly two-thirds of each group currently working.

### Family Income



### Employment Status



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

## The Optimism Gap

While three of the typology groups – Disaffecteds, Hard-Pressed Democrats and New Coalition Democrats – face significantly higher economic stress than the others, what sets New Coalition Democrats apart is their financial optimism. About a third (35%) of New Coalition Democrats say they currently have enough income to lead the kind of lives they want, compared with just 10% of Disaffecteds and 19% of Hard-Pressed Democrats.

This contrast is just as stark in terms of pessimism about the future: Roughly half of Disaffecteds (51%) and Hard-Pressed Democrats (47%) say that they will probably never have enough income to lead the kind of lives that they want. Only a quarter (26%) of New Coalition Democrats are so pessimistic.

Half or more in each of the five typology groups with higher household incomes say that they currently have enough income to live the kind of life they want. Among these groups, Post-Moderns are the most optimistic about their long term economic outlook. Three-in-ten (30%) Post-Moderns say they will someday have enough income to live the kind of life they want; while just 15% say they won't have enough in the future. Among the other four groups, this balance is more even, if not negative.

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### Financial Satisfaction and Optimism

*Do you now, or will you, have enough income to lead the kind of life you want?*

	<b>Currently have enough</b>	<b>Will have enough in the future</b>	<b>Won't have enough in the future</b>	<b>Don't know</b>
	%	%	%	%
Total	40	27	28	5=100
Staunch Conservatives	<b>54</b>	17	26	3=100
Main Street Republicans	<b>55</b>	16	27	2=100
Libertarians	<b>53</b>	20	25	2=100
Disaffecteds	10	33	<b>51</b>	7=100
Post-Moderns	<b>53</b>	30	15	3=100
New Coalition Dems	35	<b>34</b>	26	5=100
Hard-Pressed Dems	19	28	<b>47</b>	6=100
Solid Liberals	<b>51</b>	24	18	7=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QCB2/2a.

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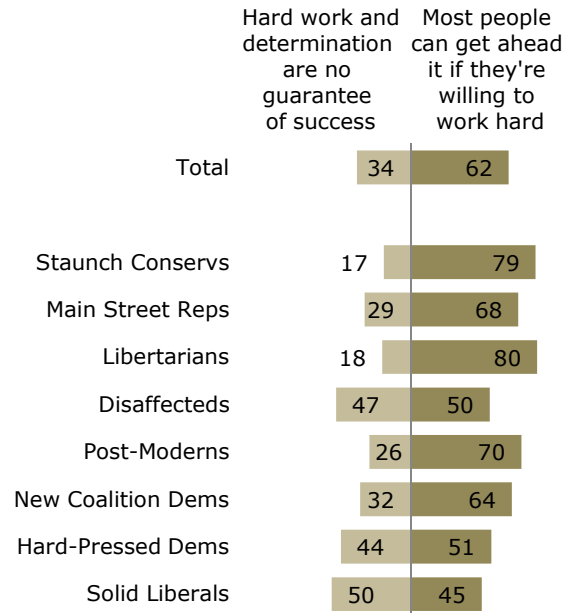
## The American Dream

A majority of the public (62%) says most people can get ahead if they're willing to work hard while 34% say hard work and determination are no guarantee of success. A clear majority of the core Republican groups as well as Libertarians and Post-Moderns think that most people can get ahead if they are willing to work hard.

New Coalition Democrats also are more likely than Hard-Pressed Democrats and Disaffecteds to say that people who work hard can get ahead. By a two-to-one margin more New Coalition Democrats say people can get ahead if they work hard (64%) than say hard work and determination do not guarantee success (32%). Hard-Pressed Democrats and Disaffecteds have a much more divided view with only about half saying hard work can guarantee success.

Solid Liberals are among the most skeptical that everyone has it in their power to succeed in life. Half say hard work and determination are no guarantee of success, while 45% say most people can get ahead if they are willing to work hard.

### Hard Work and Success



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q17k.



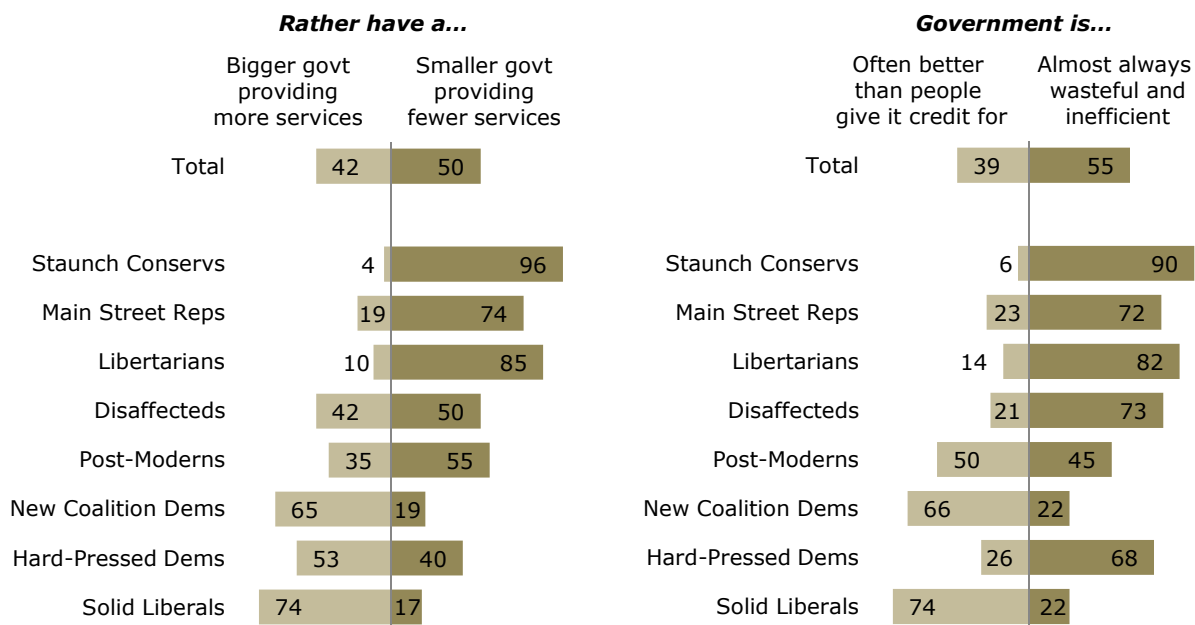
## SECTION 5: VIEWS OF GOVERNMENT, THE CONSTITUTION, AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM

The public continues to favor smaller government and remains critical of government performance. However, some of the anger at government that was evident during the 2010 election campaign has subsided.

Overall, 50% say they want a smaller government providing fewer services, while 42% say they would rather have a bigger government providing more services. A majority (55%) also says the government is almost always wasteful and inefficient, compared with 39% who think that government often does a better job than people give it credit for.

Not surprisingly, feelings about government divide sharply along party lines, yet there are substantive divisions within the two parties' broad electoral coalitions as well. And while preferences about the scope of government often correlate with beliefs about the efficiency of government, this is not always the case.

### Typology Groups Differ Over Government's Role and Performance



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q17a, QB47.

## Divergent Perspectives on Government

Most groups on the right (Staunch Conservatives, Main Street Republicans, and Libertarians) both want to see the size of government shrink and say government is almost always wasteful. Conversely, most Solid Liberals and New Coalition Democrats say they would rather have a bigger government providing more services, and say that government often does a better job than people give it credit for.

In contrast to other groups in the Republican constituency, however, Disaffecteds are more divided on the question of size of government. Like other Republican-oriented groups, they overwhelmingly say the government is nearly always wasteful and inefficient (73%). But when it comes to the size of government, they are nearly as likely to favor bigger government as smaller government (42% vs. 50%).

These questions also highlight some key distinctions between Hard-Pressed Democrats and other Democratic groups. In stark contrast to these other groups, about two-thirds of Hard-Pressed Democrats (68%) say the government is wasteful, and while a slim majority favors a bigger government (53%), they are more divided about government's size than their co-partisans.

Among Democratic and Democratic-leaning groups, Post-Moderns are the only one in which a majority (55%) favors a smaller government providing fewer services. However, Post-Moderns are not highly critical of government performance: 50% say the government often does a better job than people give it credit for while 45% say it is almost always wasteful and inefficient.



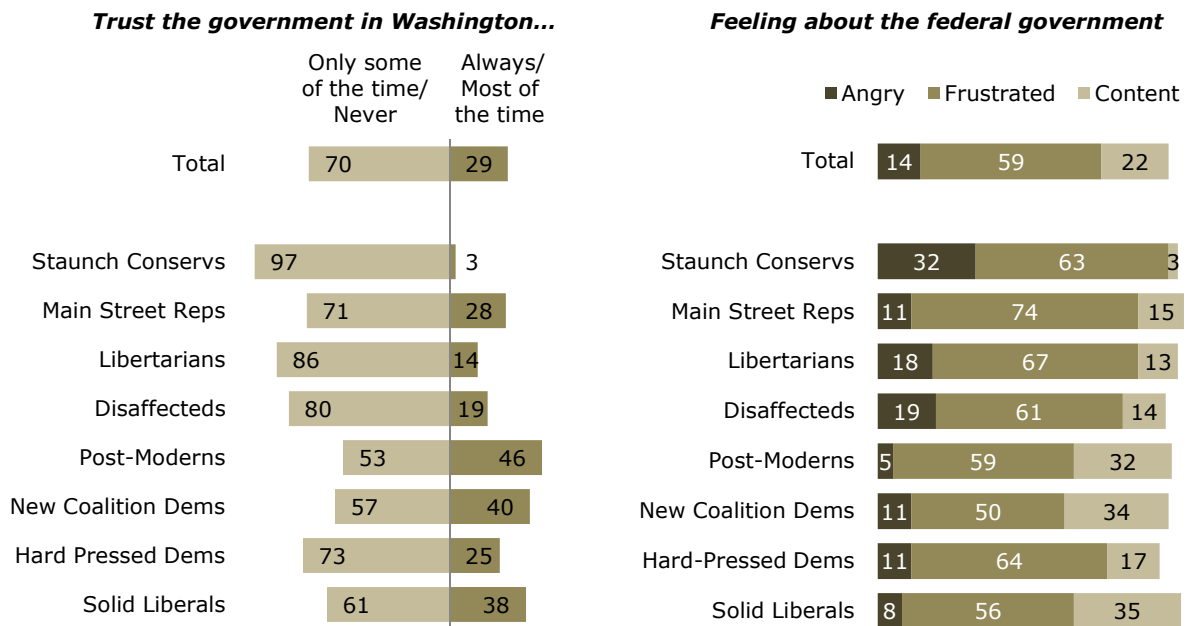
### Most Groups Distrustful of Government

The anger with government that marked the tone of the 2010 elections has ebbed to some extent: Currently, 14% say they are angry with the federal government, down from 23% in September 2010. (See [“Fewer Are Angry at Government, But Discontent Remains High,” March 3, 2011.](#))

Still, high percentages across all typology groups say they are distrustful of government. Levels of trust vary considerably across the typology. While Post-Moderns are no fans of bigger government, they are relatively trusting: They are the only group in which nearly half (46%) say they trust the government in Washington to do what is right always or most of the time.

At the other extreme, nearly all Staunch Conservatives (97%) say they trust the government only some of the time or never. Trust in government is also relatively low among other groups on the right: Just 14% of Libertarians and 19% of Disaffecteds trust the federal government always or most of the time. Main Street Republicans’ views of government are somewhat less negative, but only 28% say they trust the government at least most of the time.

### Widespread Distrust of Government, but Anger Limited



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA24, QA25.

On the left, Hard-Pressed Democrats diverge from other Democratic groups in their relatively low level of trust in the federal government; 25% trust government most or all of the time, compared with 40% of New Coalition Democrats and 38% of Solid Liberals.

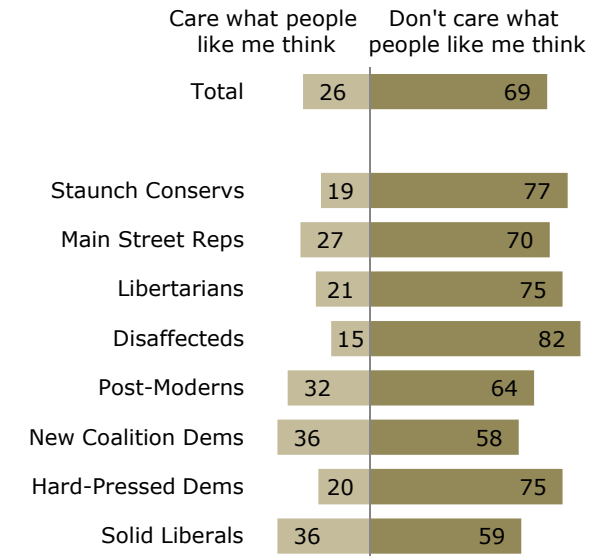
Feelings about the federal government follow a similar pattern, with Staunch Conservatives significantly more likely than any other group to say they are angry with the federal government (32% say this). At the same time Post-Moderns, New Coalition Democrats and Solid Liberals are the most likely to say they are basically content with the federal government (about a third of each group says this). Hard-Pressed Democrats are distinguished from other Democratic groups by their lower levels of contentment with the government.

### Negative Views of Politicians, Congress

As a whole, Americans are cynical about elected officials, with most saying politicians don't care what average Americans think (69%) and that they lose touch with voters back home quickly (72%). As with trust and anger, most Democratic and Democratic-leaning groups are less cynical than the Republican groups. There are few significant differences across the Republican and Republican-leaning groups.

There is broad agreement about Congress – most groups view it negatively. Across seven of the eight groups, clear majorities give the institution an unfavorable rating. New Coalition Democrats are an exception in their slightly more favorable opinions; they are about equally likely to have a favorable (42%) as an unfavorable (44%) view of Congress.

#### Do Elected Officials Care?

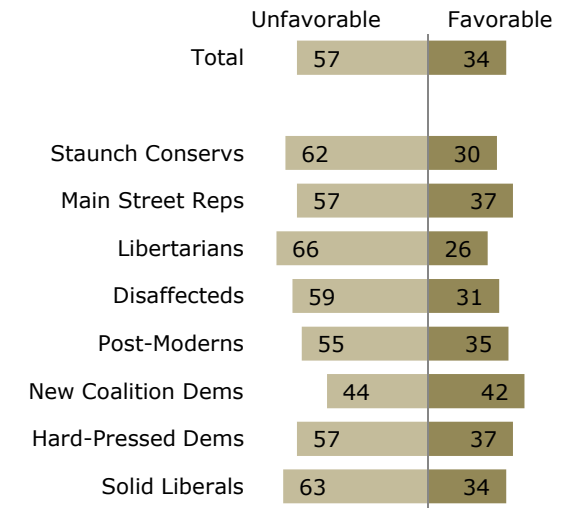


PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q17p.

The intensity of negative opinions of Congress varies across groups. Main Street Republicans are more temperate in their criticism than other groups on the right; 16% have a very unfavorable impression of Congress compared with a quarter or more of those in the other three Republican and GOP-leaning groups.

Among groups on the left, Hard-Pressed Democrats are the most likely to have very unfavorable views of Congress (27% compared with 17% or less among the other three Democratic and Democratic leaning groups).

### Opinions of Congress



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA4c.

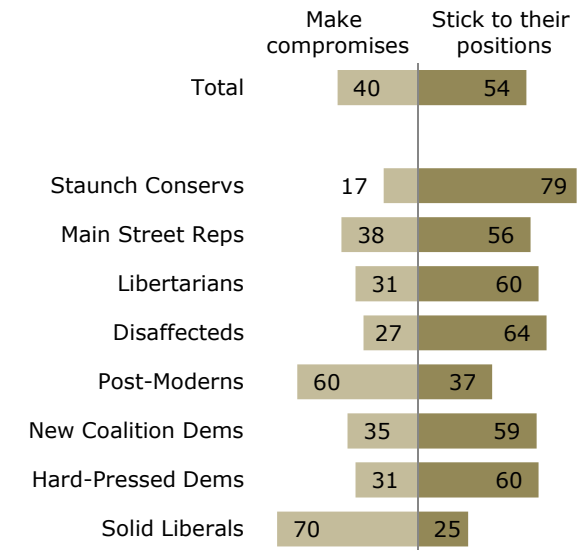
### Compromise Finds Little Support on the Right

Solid majorities in six of the eight typology groups say they prefer elected officials who stick to their positions over those who make compromises with people they disagree with. Not surprisingly, this is the overwhelming view of Staunch Conservatives who favor politicians with conviction over those who compromise by a 79%-to-17% margin.

In pronounced contrast to other groups, clear majorities of both Solid Liberals (70%) and Post-Moderns (60%) say they prefer politicians willing to compromise over those who stick to their positions.

### Solid Liberals, Post-Moderns Like Officials Who Compromise

*I like elected officials who...*



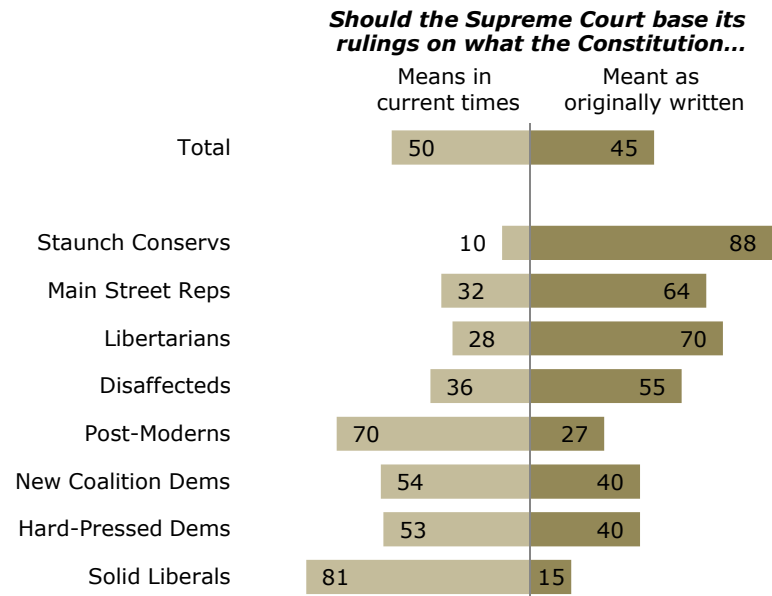
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA45b.

## Approach to the Constitution

While Americans as a whole are divided over whether the Supreme Court should base its rulings on what the Constitution means in current times (50%) or what it meant as originally written (45%), most typology groups have a clear preference for one of these approaches.

To varying degrees, all Republican and Republican-leaning groups favor an originalist approach. By more than eight-to-one, Staunch Conservatives say the Court should base its rulings on its understanding of the Constitution as originally written (88% vs. 10%). Most Main Street Republicans (64%) and Libertarians (70%) also clearly favor this position, although with less consensus. Disaffecteds are somewhat more divided; 55% favor an originalist approach while 36% say the Court should base its rulings on current understanding.

### Interpreting the Constitution



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA46.

On the Democratic side of the political spectrum, Solid Liberals are the strongest proponents of the Court basing its rulings on its understanding of what the Constitution means in current times (81% say this; just 15% favor an originalist approach). The Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns also overwhelmingly favor interpreting the Constitution in the context of current times (70% vs. 27% originally written). New Coalition and Hard-Pressed Democrats are more divided. Slim majorities of both groups say the nation's highest court should base its decisions on current understanding of the Constitution.

## American Exceptionalism

The view that the United States is a great nation is widely held across all typology groups. About nine-in-ten Americans say the United States either stands above all other countries in the world (38%) or is one of the greatest along with some others (53%). Just 8% say there are other countries that are better than the U.S.

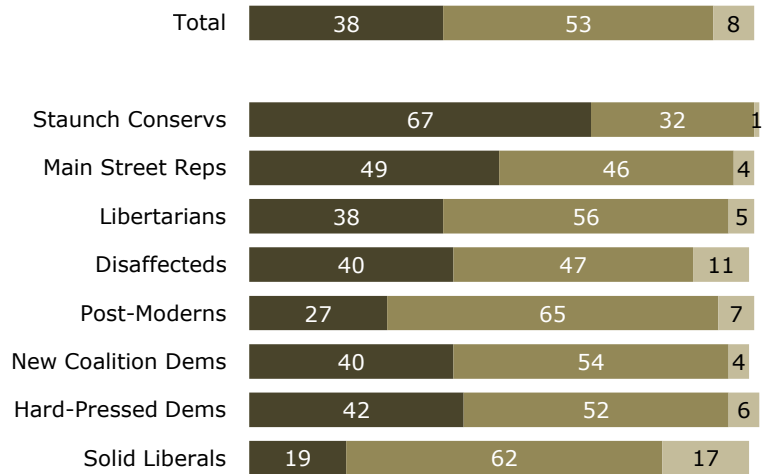
But Staunch Conservatives differ from other typology groups in their view that the United States is superior to all other countries. Two-thirds of Staunch Conservatives (67%) say the U.S. stands above all other nations; they are the only group in which a majority expresses this view.

Smaller percentages of Solid Liberals (19%) and Post-Moderns (27%) than those in other groups say the U.S. stands above all other countries. Still, majorities in both groups (62% of Solid Liberals and 65% of Post-Moderns) say the U.S. is one of the greatest countries along with some others.

For the most part, the public believes that as Americans we can always find ways to solve our problems and get what we want; 57% express this view. About four-in-ten (37%) say

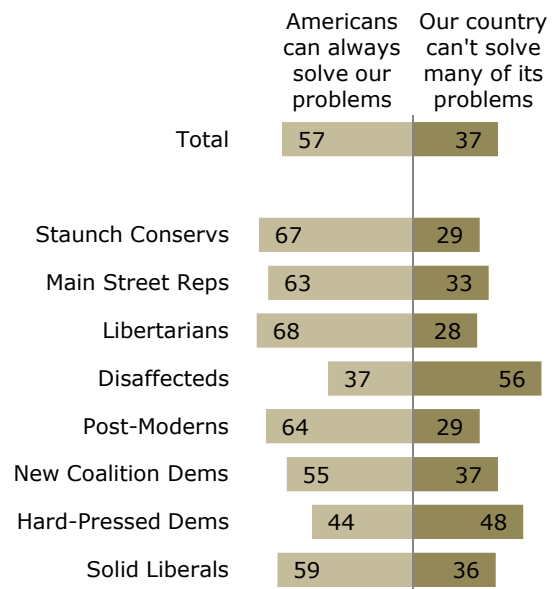
### U.S. Standing in the World

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



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB38.

### Most Are Optimistic that Nation Can Solve Problems



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37t.

this country cannot solve many of its important problems.

Most groups are optimistic about Americans' abilities to solve their problems, but Disaffecteds are particularly pessimistic: 56% say Americans cannot solve their problems while 37% say they can. Hard-Pressed Democrats also stand out; they are about equally likely to say that Americans cannot solve their problems (48%) as to say they can (44%).

## SECTION 6: OBAMA, 2012, AND THE TEA PARTY

The typology groups divide sharply along partisan lines in their views of Barack Obama. The core Republican groups and GOP-oriented independent groups are highly critical of Barack Obama and would prefer to see a Republican defeat him next year. Democratic and Democratic-leaning groups largely support the president and favor his reelection.

Opinions about some other political matters are less clear-cut. At this early stage in the Republican nomination contest, there is no clear favorite among any of the GOP typology groups. And the Republican groups' views of the Tea Party are far from uniform: The Tea Party draws extensive support from Staunch Conservatives, but that is the only typology group in which a majority agrees with the Tea Party.

### Polarized Views of Obama

Nearly all (97%) Staunch Conservatives say they disapprove of Barack Obama's job performance, with the vast majority (84%) saying that they disapprove strongly. Main Street Republicans are also critical of Obama, but this group's disapproval is less pronounced – 65% disapprove, including a slim majority (51%) who do so strongly. About a quarter (27%) of Main Street Republicans approve of the job Obama is doing.

Notably, more Republican-leaning Libertarians (76%) than Main Street Republicans (65%) disapprove of the way Obama is handling his job. Disaffecteds are the group most divided in their assessments; this Republican-leaning independent group disapproves of Obama by about two-to-one (57% to 28%).

### Obama Job Approval

	Disapprove	Approve	Strongly disapprove	Strongly approve
Total	39	51	29	32
Staunch Conservs	97	1	84	1
Main Street Reps	65	27	51	7
Libertarians	76	16	62	6
Disaffecteds	57	28	43	11
Post-Moderns	19	65	10	35
New Coalition Dems	12	83	6	61
Hard-Pressed Dems	22	69	13	55
Solid Liberals	7	90	2	64

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA1/1a.

Obama's strongest support can be found among two of the core Democratic groups: Solid Liberals (90% approve) and New Coalition Democrats (83% approve). Nonetheless, there is far more intense opposition to Obama on the right than there is strong support for him on the left. Whereas 84% of Staunch Conservatives say they strongly disapprove of the way Obama is handling his job, a more modest 64% of Solid Liberals strongly approve.

Hard-Pressed Democrats also approve of Obama's job performance, but are more muted in their assessments (69% approve, 55% strongly). Nearly two-thirds of Post-Moderns (65%) approve of Obama's job performance and 35% strongly approve.

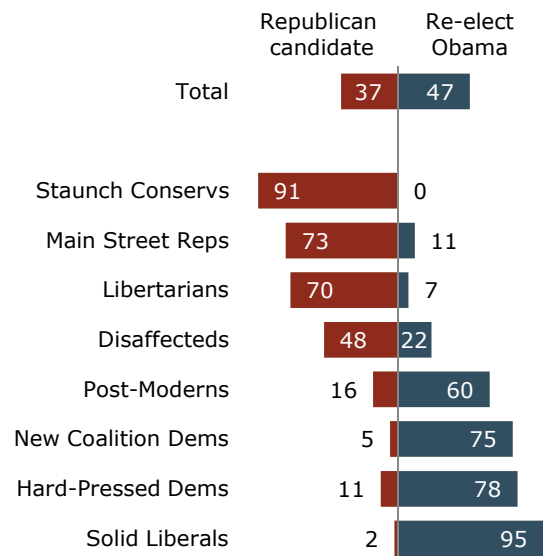
## Looking Ahead to 2012

In the 2012 presidential race, Barack Obama holds a 47%-to-37% lead over a generic Republican opponent among all registered voters, and preferences largely mirror Obama's overall job approval ratings. A year-and-a-half ahead of Election Day, nearly every group either solidly backs or opposes Obama by substantial margins.

Solid Liberals are Obama's strongest supporters: 95% say they would like to see the president reelected. Obama also enjoys overwhelming support from the other majority Democratic groups (78% among Hard-Pressed Democrats and 75% among New Coalition Democrats), and substantial support among the Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns (60% reelect Obama, 16% prefer a Republican).

Staunch Conservatives support a generic GOP candidate by about as wide a margin as Solid Liberals back Obama; 91% support a Republican candidate. Somewhat smaller majorities of Main Street Republicans (73%) and Republican-leaning Libertarians (70%) also prefer a Republican over Obama. The GOP-oriented Disaffecteds favor a GOP nominee over Obama by roughly two-to-one (48% vs. 22%).

### The 2012 Presidential Race



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB20.  
Based on registered voters.



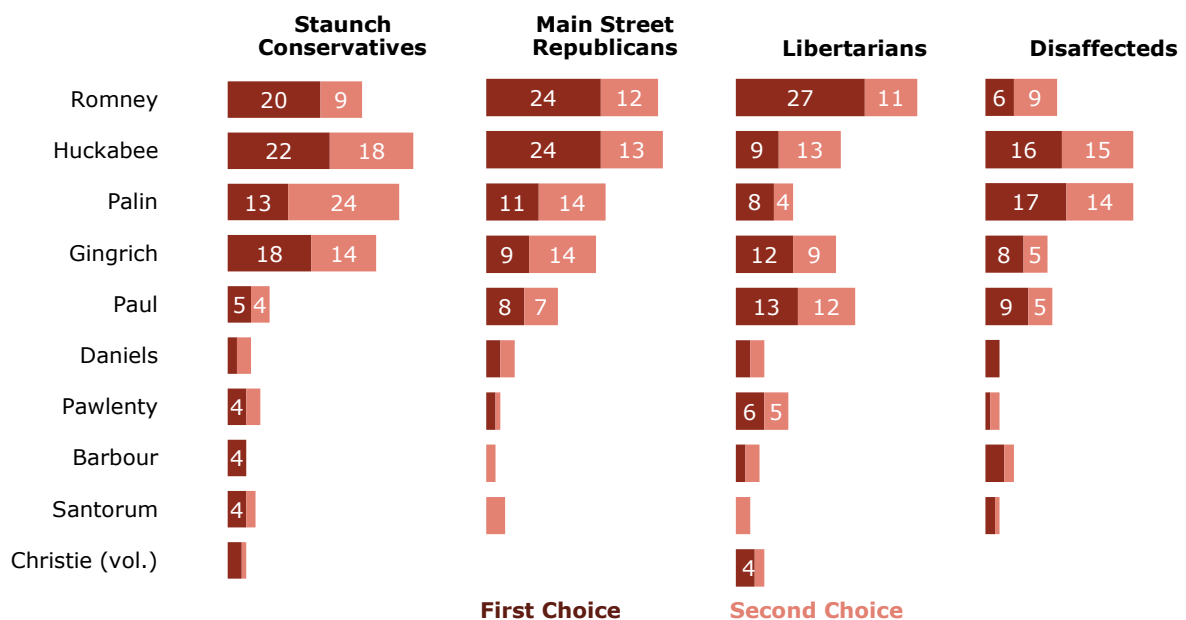
In most cases, these early 2012 preferences mirror the way each of these groups voted in the Obama-McCain matchup in 2008. For example, Staunch Conservatives backed McCain over Obama by 87% to 1%, while Solid Liberals backed Obama over McCain by 87% to 2%. *(For more on how typology groups voted in recent elections, see Section 1: The Political Typology.)*

But there is one key independent voting bloc that has moved more firmly into the Republican camp since 2008: Libertarians. This group backed McCain over Obama by a 39-point margin in 2008 (53% to 14%), but prefer a generic Republican over Obama today by a 63-point margin (70% to 7%).

## Evaluating the Possible GOP Field

In the race for the GOP nomination, several of the leading Republican contenders fare well across most –but not all – GOP groups. Mitt Romney’s weakest support is among Disaffecteds, while Libertarians are less likely than other groups to back Mike Huckabee or Sarah Palin. Newt Gingrich does his best among Staunch Conservatives but his support wavers within other groups; and support for Ron Paul is concentrated among Libertarians.

### Republican Groups’ Preferences for 2012 GOP Field



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB21, QB22. Based on registered voters. Data labels not shown for categories less than 4%.

While Staunch Conservatives are the most firmly committed to voting Obama out of office, they have yet to agree on a preferred candidate: 22% say Huckabee would be their first choice, 20% Romney, 18% Gingrich, and 13% Palin. Palin and Gingrich garner less support among Main Street Republicans, 24% of whom name either Romney or Huckabee as their preferred nominee at this point.

To win in 2012, a Republican nominee will need to reach beyond these base groups and appeal to the Republican-leaning Libertarians and Disaffecteds as well. No GOP candidate at this point has broad appeal among both of these voting blocs. Romney leads among Libertarians (27% first choice), with Ron Paul also garnering significant support.

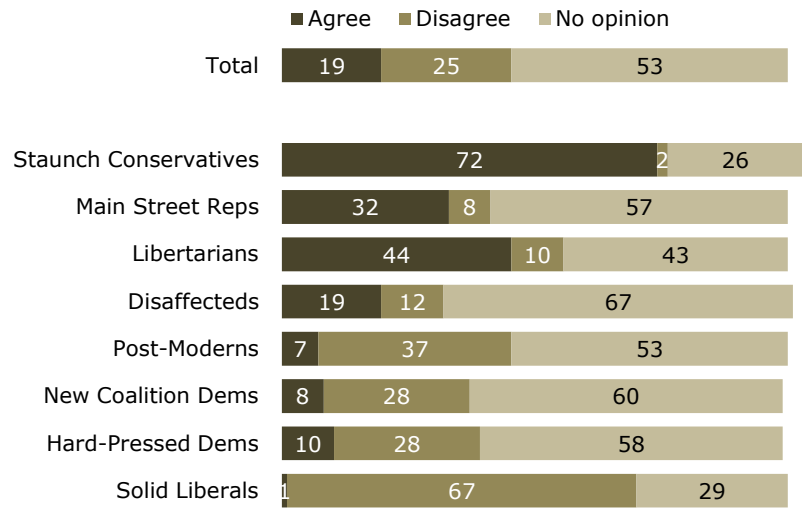
By comparison, Disaffecteds prefer Palin or Huckabee over Romney and other potential Republican candidates.

### Views of Tea Party

The Tea Party elicits strong reactions from the typology groups at either end of the spectrum: 72% of Staunch Conservatives agree with the Tea Party, while 67% of Solid Liberals disagree.

Among other groups, opinions about the Tea Party are more mixed. This is the case even among other Republican and GOP-leaning groups: the Tea Party draws support from fewer than half of Libertarians (44%) and Main Street Republicans (32%), and very few Disaffecteds (19%), who were a critical component of the GOP's 2010 victory.

#### Modest Support for Tea Party among Main Street Republicans, Disaffecteds



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.

Aside from Solid Liberals, most of those in the other Democratic and Democratic-oriented groups express no opinion of the Tea Party. Among those who do, the balance is much more negative than positive.

## Presidential Favorability

When it comes to opinions of Barack Obama, George W. Bush and Bill Clinton, the clearest differences across typology groups fall out along partisan lines, with views of Barack Obama and George W. Bush particularly polarized. Notably, Democratic and Democratic-leaning groups view Obama and Clinton similarly, while Republican and Republican-leaning groups have more positive views of Clinton than they do of Obama.

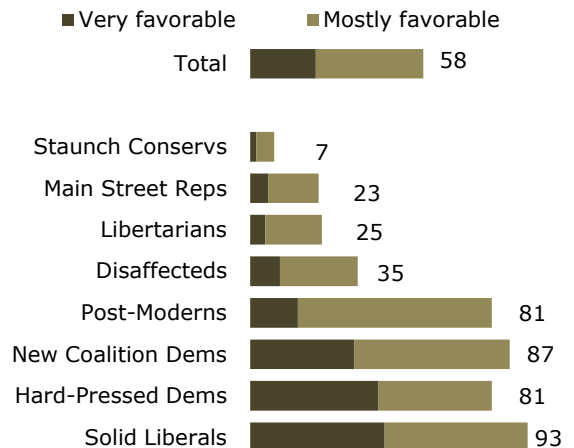
Staunch Conservatives and Solid Liberals stand out for their diametrically opposed opinions about Obama and Bush. While about nine-in-ten Solid Liberals view Obama (93%) favorably, just 7% have a favorable opinion of Bush. Conversely, 84% of Staunch Conservatives rate Bush highly and only 7% have a favorable view of Obama. Clinton performs slightly better among Staunch Conservatives (26% favorable); still, he garners his lowest ratings from this group.

Main Street Republicans and Libertarians have less positive views of Obama than Clinton. In each group, about a quarter view Obama favorably, while roughly half view Clinton favorably. Large majorities of Main Street Republicans (77%) and Libertarians (67%) view Bush favorably.

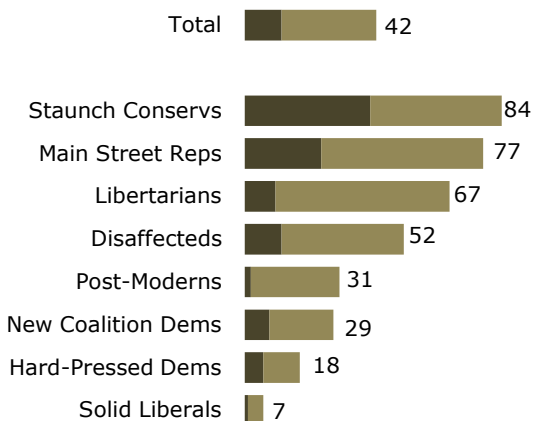
Although Obama does better among Disaffecteds than among other groups in the Republican coalition, just 35% of Disaffecteds have a favorable opinion of the president. By comparison, six-in-ten (60%) view Clinton

## Favorability of Recent Presidents

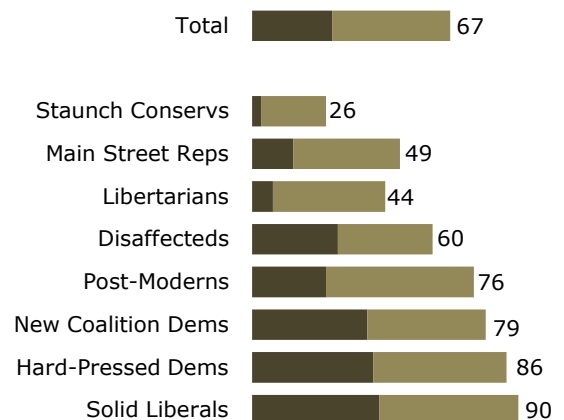
### Barack Obama



### George W. Bush



### Bill Clinton



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB14a,c,d.

favorably and 52% have a positive opinion of Bush.

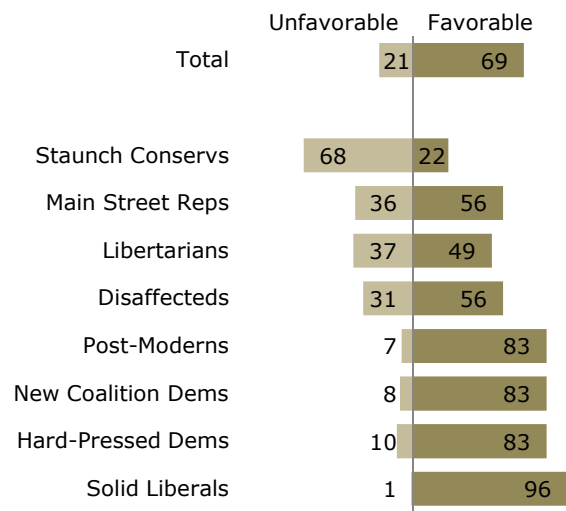
Both Obama and Clinton are seen positively by three-quarters or more of Post-Moderns, New Coalition Democrats and Hard-Pressed Democrats. About three-in-ten Post-Moderns (31%) and New Coalition Democrats (29%) view Bush positively. Hard-Pressed Democrats are more negative toward Bush: Just 18% give him a favorable rating.

### Michelle Obama

As they have for the last two years, Americans continue to view Michelle Obama positively: 69% have a favorable opinion, 21% an unfavorable one. But among the typology groups, there is one group – Staunch Conservatives – in which opinion runs the other way. Just 22% of Staunch Conservatives view Michelle Obama favorably, while 68% say they have an unfavorable opinion, including 43% who say they have a very unfavorable opinion. Among each of the other Republican and Republican-leaning groups, only about half as many offer an unfavorable opinion of the first lady.

Nearly all (96%) Solid Liberals rate Michelle Obama positively, and 61% say their opinion is very favorable. Positive views are also prevalent among Hard-Pressed Democrats, New Coalition Democrats, and Post-Moderns (83% of each group favorable).

### Michelle Obama Viewed Favorably



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB14b.

## Obama's Birthplace

Controversy about Barack Obama's birthplace, a subject of continued media attention, divides many of the typology groups. When asked if Obama was born in the United States or in another country, nearly a quarter (23%) say the latter. This includes nearly half (47%) of Staunch Conservatives, and about a third of both Main Street Republicans (35%) and Disaffecteds (34%).<sup>1</sup>

But misunderstandings about Obama's birthplace are not limited to those who oppose him politically. In fact, 24% of New Coalition Democrats, and 21% of Hard-Pressed Democrats also say Obama was born in another country. Only among Solid Liberals is there uniform clarity about Obama's birthplace: 95% say he was born in the United States, and less than 1% say elsewhere.

The fact that confusion about Obama's origins exists beyond those who dislike him is apparent in the views of those who say he was born in another country. Nearly three-in-ten (29%) people who say Obama was not born in the United States approve of the job he is doing as president, and roughly a quarter (23%) say they would like to see him reelected in 2012.

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### Where Was Barack Obama Born?

	<b>In the United States</b>	<b>In another country</b>	<b>DK</b>
	%	%	%
Total	55	23	22=100
Staunch Conservs	24	47	29=100
Main Street Reps	34	35	31=100
Libertarians	45	19	36=100
Disaffecteds	37	34	29=100
Post-Moderns	71	9	20=100
New Coalition Dems	66	24	10=100
Hard-Pressed Dems	56	21	24=100
Solid Liberals	95	*	5=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology.  
QCB6. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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<sup>1</sup> The survey was conducted before President Obama released his long-form birth certificate on April 27.

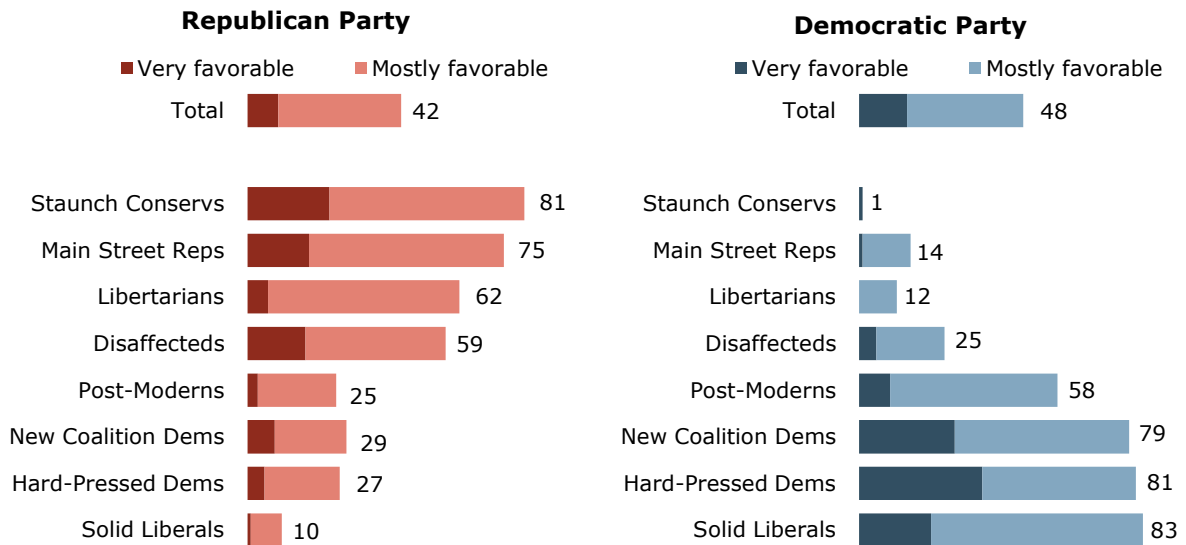
## Rating the Parties

Not surprisingly, the two core Republican groups and the three core Democratic groups mostly confer positive ratings on their own party while rating the opposing party negatively. Though more muted, views within the independent groups also reflect underlying partisan leanings.

Three-quarters or more of both Staunch Conservatives (81%) and Main Street Republicans (75%) have favorable opinions of the GOP. Views of the Democratic Party among both groups are clearly negative, but Main Street Republicans are slightly less critical (14% favorable vs. just 1% favorable among Staunch Conservatives).

Within independent groups, about six-in-ten Libertarians (62%) and Disaffecteds (59%) have a positive opinion of the GOP. But just 6% of Libertarians have a very favorable opinion of the Republican Party compared with 17% of Disaffecteds. While few in either group give the Democratic Party good ratings, Democrats fare better among Disaffecteds (25% favorable vs. 12% of Libertarians). The Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns have a largely favorable view of the Democratic Party (58%), while just 25% view the GOP favorably.

## Party Favorability



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA4a,b.

Among each of the three core Democratic groups, about eight-in-ten hold favorable views of the Democratic Party. But Hard-Pressed Democrats are more likely than Solid Liberals to give the highest marks to their party (36% very favorable vs. 21% very favorable). Few among any of these groups have a positive assessment of the GOP, but Solid Liberals are more negative toward the opposition party than are those in either of the other core groups.



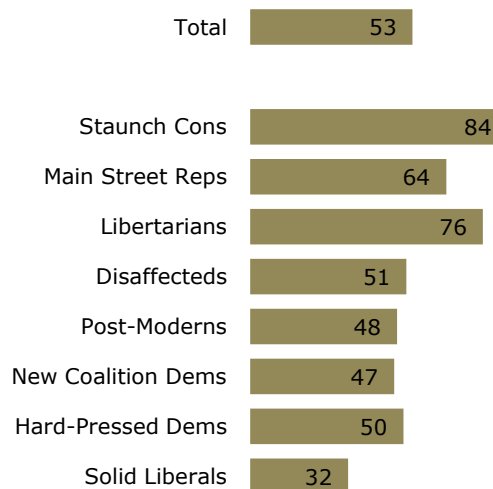
## SECTION 7: THE BUDGET DEFICIT, TAXES, SPENDING AND ENTITLEMENTS

With Republicans winning a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives on a wave of anti-government sentiment, the political focus in Washington has turned to government spending and deficit reduction. Yet while most Americans agree that deficit reduction should be a top priority this year, it is not universally seen as the most pressing economic problem. In particular, since the impact of the recession was not felt evenly across the typology groups, those who are still struggling to get back on their feet see the job situation and inflation as bigger concerns.

And there are even more substantial gaps over how deficit reduction should be pursued, both across party lines as well as within the partisan coalitions. On the right, there is an alignment of opinion between Staunch Conservatives and Libertarians that deficit reduction is the priority, and dramatic cuts, including changes to entitlement programs, should be the focus. But Main Street Republicans are less enthusiastic about these changes, and more willing to see tax increases included in a plan to reduce the deficit. Disaffecteds, who were a critical factor in the 2010 GOP gains, are even more deeply skeptical of deep spending cuts and entitlement reform, and both Main Street Republicans and Disaffecteds see little difference between the Republican Party and Obama when it comes to offering a deficit-reduction plan.

On the left there is more consensus that jobs and prices are a bigger worry than the deficit, with Solid Liberals, in particular, expressing the view that deficit reduction is not a top public policy priority this year. And while Democratic-oriented groups tend to agree that any deficit solution will need to include a combination of spending cuts and tax increases, they differ over whether the cuts should focus on domestic or defense spending, and how willing they are to see taxes rise. One stand-out group is the Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns, who are far more supportive of across-the-board

### Reducing the Budget Deficit is a Top Priority this Year



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB71.

spending cuts than most core Democratic groups, and see little difference between Obama and the GOP in terms of who is offering the best approach to the issue.

### More Concern about Jobs and Prices than Deficit

While most see addressing the deficit as a top priority, concern about jobs and prices remains more widespread among the general public. In fact, only among Staunch Conservatives and Libertarians do even half rate the budget deficit as the economic issue that worries them most (50% and 49%, respectively).

While 34% of Main Street Republicans rate the deficit as their top concern – which is higher than the national average – about half cite either jobs (24%) or rising prices (26%) as their top concern.

Not surprisingly, given how hard they were hit by the recession, Disaffecteds are mostly concerned about the job situation (43%) and

rising prices (36%) – just 9% cite the deficit as their top concern. Similarly, nearly as many Hard-Pressed Democrats say the job situation (33%) worries them most as say rising prices (42%). New Coalition Democrats and Solid Liberals are more worried about the job situation than other national economic issues (42% and 46%, respectively).

#### What Economic Issue Worries You Most?

	Job situation	Rising prices	Budget deficit	Financial/housing markets	Other/None/DK
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	34	28	24	10	4=100
Staunch Conservatives	17	15	50	10	8=100
Main Street Reps	24	26	34	11	5=100
Libertarians	23	12	49	11	4=100
Disaffecteds	43	36	9	8	4=100
Post-Moderns	32	24	28	14	2=100
New Coalition Dems	42	27	12	13	6=100
Hard-Pressed Dems	33	42	14	8	3=100
Solid Liberals	46	21	19	13	2=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB16.  
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## Reducing the Budget Deficit

Nearly two-thirds (64%) of Americans say that the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit would include a combination of both cutting major programs and increasing taxes. Just 20% say the focus should be mostly on spending cuts, and just 6% say it should be mostly on tax increases.

Staunch Conservatives are the only group where a majority (59%) says the approach to deficit reduction should focus mostly on

cutting major programs. Nearly half (47%) of Libertarians agree that spending cuts should be the focus, while about as many (45%) think a combination of cuts and tax hikes are in order. Clear majorities in all other groups say the best way to reduce the deficit is through a combination of cutting major programs and increasing taxes.

At the other end of the spectrum, the only group where a substantial number want to see a focus on tax increases is Solid Liberals. But even here only 23% are of this opinion, while 70% believe a combination of spending cuts and tax increases should be the focus.

## Spending, Entitlements and Taxes

While most Americans are willing to accept that tax increases may need to be part of a successful deficit reduction strategy, few explicitly favor tax hikes when offered as a specific option. While 61% of Americans favor lowering domestic spending as a way to reduce the budget deficit and 49% favor reducing defense spending, only 30% say they are in favor of raising taxes to reduce the deficit. And changes to Social Security and Medicare are equally unpopular (30% favor).

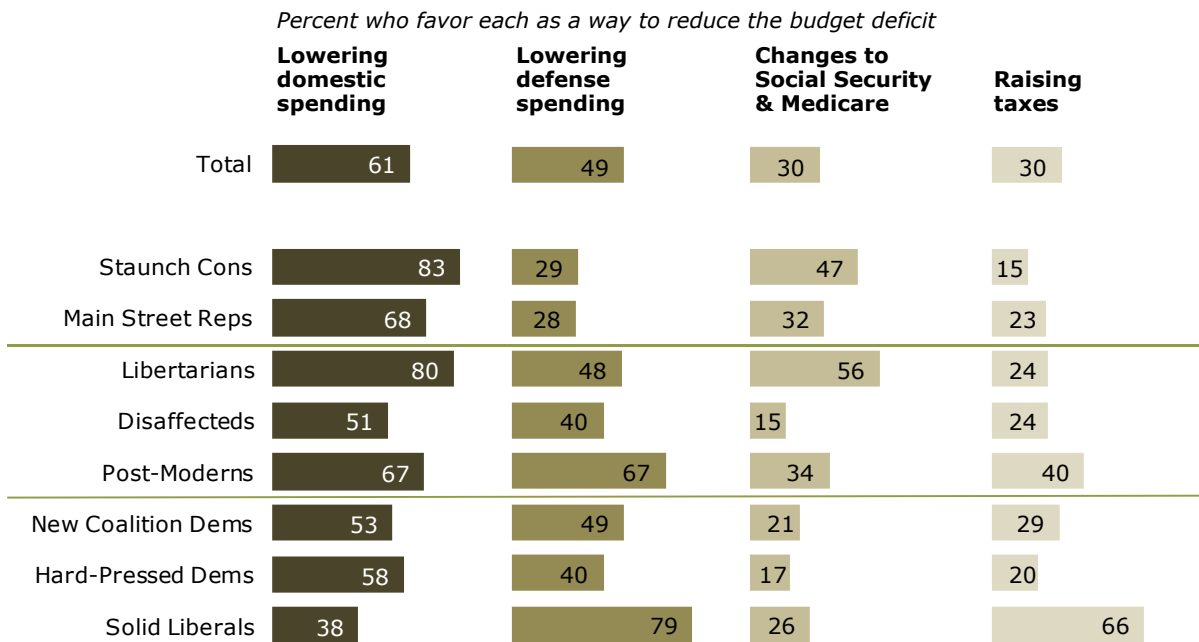
### Most Say Reducing Deficit Will Involve both Spending Cuts and Tax Increases

<i>Deficit reduction should focus on...</i>	<b>Major program cuts</b> %	<b>Tax increases</b> %	<b>Combination of both</b> %	<b>Don't focus on deficit/Don't know</b> %
Total	20	6	64	9=100
Staunch Cons	<b>59</b>	0	34	7=100
Main Street Reps	35	1	<b>59</b>	6=100
Libertarians	47	2	45	6=100
Disaffecteds	17	3	<b>65</b>	15=100
Post-Moderns	8	2	<b>84</b>	6=100
New Coalition Dems	7	9	<b>71</b>	13=100
Hard-Pressed Dems	10	4	<b>70</b>	16=100
Solid Liberals	2	23	<b>70</b>	4=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QCB4.  
 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.  
**Bold** figures show majority position within each group.

The ideological ends of the typology have strong opinions about deficit reduction. Staunch Conservatives overwhelmingly favor domestic spending cuts, and nearly half favor changes to entitlement programs as well. And they are overwhelmingly opposed to cutting defense spending and raising taxes. By contrast, Solid Liberals overwhelmingly favor defense cuts and tax increases, and oppose changing entitlements and cutting domestic spending.

## Ways to Reduce the Deficit



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Beyond these ideological extremes, there are widely diverse views on deficit reduction strategies. In keeping with the priority they place on the issue, Libertarians are open to nearly all approaches, except tax hikes. They align with Staunch Conservatives on domestic spending cuts (80% favor) and changes to Social Security and Medicare (56% favor), but nearly half (48%) also support cuts to defense spending. Main Street Republicans are substantially less committed to some of the GOP deficit reduction strategies – with 68% backing domestic spending cuts and 32% in favor of changes to entitlements.

Post-Moderns, too, back a relatively broad array of deficit strategies. They are the only group in which a majority backs both domestic *and* defense spending cuts (67% favor each), and a relatively high 40% favor increasing taxes as well.

On the left, both Hard-Pressed and New Coalition Democrats differ substantially from Solid Liberals in how they would like to see the deficit addressed. More than half of each supports domestic spending cuts, which a broad majority of Liberals oppose, and conversely where Solid Liberals overwhelmingly favor tax increases, both other Democratic groups overwhelmingly oppose this.

And reflecting their economic stress and the low priority they place on the issue, Disaffecteds offer relatively little support for any of the deficit reduction strategies tested compared with the general public.

### Who Has a Better Approach?

The prevailing view, held by 52% of Americans, is that neither Obama nor Republicans in Congress have a clearly better approach to dealing with the federal budget deficit. The survey was conducted before the mid-April shutdown debate and before the release of deficit reduction plans by Rep. Paul Ryan and President Obama.

This is the opinion not only of predominantly independent groups like Disaffecteds and Post-Moderns, but also the view of 57% of Main Street Republicans and 63% of Hard-Pressed Democrats.

#### Most See No Difference Between Republicans and Obama on Deficit

*Who has the better approach to the budget deficit?*

	Obama	Republicans in Congress	Not much difference	DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	20	21	52	7=100
Staunch Cons	0	<b>73</b>	27	0=100
Main Street Reps	3	35	<b>57</b>	6=100
Libertarians	3	43	49	6=100
Disaffecteds	4	18	<b>68</b>	9=100
Post-Moderns	22	10	<b>59</b>	9=100
New Coalition Dems	32	10	<b>50</b>	9=100
Hard-Pressed Dems	29	5	<b>63</b>	3=100
Solid Liberals	<b>58</b>	1	35	6=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB73. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. **Bold** figures show majority opinion within each group.

On the right, only Staunch Conservatives clearly believe the Republican approach to deficit reduction is better (73%). Many Libertarians (43%) agree, though they are equally likely to say there is no difference (49%). On the left, only among Solid Liberals does a majority (58%) say Obama has the better approach to deficit reduction.

By roughly two-to-one (34% to 18%) more Americans think making major cuts in government spending this year would hurt, rather than help, the job situation, with another 41% saying spending cuts won't affect jobs. Only Staunch Conservatives are more likely to say that spending cuts will help the job situation than hurt it. By contrast, Solid Liberals are the only group where a plurality says that spending cuts will hurt the job situation.

But Solid Liberals are not the only ones to think that, if there is an effect, spending cuts would do more harm than good with respect to jobs. Among both Hard-Pressed and New Coalition Democrats, as well as among the predominantly independent Post-Moderns and Disaffecteds, at least twice as many say major spending cuts will hurt the job situation than say such cuts will help.

### Impact on Job Situation if Government Cuts Spending to Reduce Deficit

	Help	Hurt	Not much of an effect	Mixed/DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	18	34	41	7=100
Staunch Cons	<b>42</b>	16	38	4=100
Main Street Reps	20	26	<b>48</b>	6=100
Libertarians	24	24	44	8=100
Disaffecteds	12	37	45	6=100
Post-Moderns	13	33	46	8=100
New Coalition Dems	14	39	33	14=100
Hard-Pressed Dems	17	40	38	5=100
Solid Liberals	14	<b>47</b>	30	8=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB74.

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

**Bold** indicates figures that are significantly higher than the national total.

## SECTION 8: DOMESTIC ISSUES AND SOCIAL POLICY

Across a range of social policy and domestic issues, the broader Republican and Democratic coalitions often find themselves at odds – and, at times, poles apart. But there are also notable divides within coalitions on issues such as abortion, marijuana, and energy. And while less common, consensus across groups also emerges on some questions of social and domestic policy.

### Health Care Law

Not surprisingly, the deep divisions over the passage of major health care reform legislation last year are clearly visible in the 2011 political typology groups. Fully 80% of Staunch Conservatives say the health care law passed by Obama and Congress last year will have a mostly bad effect on health care in the U.S., and not a single Staunch Conservative interviewed thinks it will have a good effect. Opinion is nearly as negative among Libertarians, 60% of whom think the health care law will do more harm than good. While about half (47%) of Main Street Republicans also take a negative view of the law, an equal number say the effect of the law will be mixed.

By contrast, there is no comparable unanimity that the law will have a mostly good effect among Democratic groups. Even among Solid Liberals, just 43% say the health care law will have a mostly good effect, while 51% say it will have a mix of good and bad effects on health care in the U.S.

Hard-Pressed Democrats, in particular, are not convinced that the new health care law

has clear benefits – a 61% majority says the law will have a mix of good and bad effects on health care in the country, and among the rest, as many say the impact will be mostly

### Impact of Last Year's Law on Health Care in U.S.

	Mostly Good %	Mostly Bad %	Mix of Good and Bad %	DK %
Total	17	27	51	5=100
Staunch Conservs	0	<b>80</b>	19	1=100
Main Street Reps	4	<b>47</b>	47	3=100
Libertarians	3	<b>60</b>	34	2=100
Disaffecteds	8	33	54	5=100
Post-Moderns	16	16	<b>65</b>	3=100
New Coalition Dems	<b>34</b>	5	56	6=100
Hard-Pressed Dems	16	16	<b>61</b>	7=100
Solid Liberals	<b>43</b>	1	51	5=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA59.

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

**Bold** indicates figures that are significantly higher than the national total.

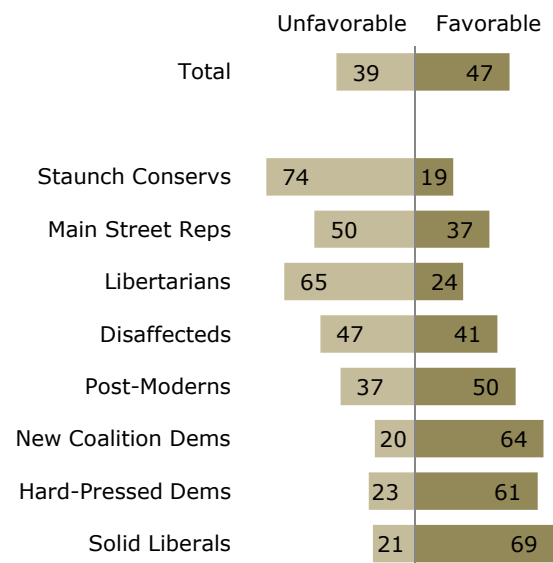
bad as mostly good (16% each). Post-Moderns offer, on balance, the same assessment of the law's impact, while New Coalition Democrats are somewhat more positive – while 56% think the law will have a mixed effect, more say it will make things better rather than worse by a 34%-to-5% margin.

## Labor Unions and Wall Street

While more Americans express a favorable view of labor unions (47%) than an unfavorable one (39%), there is a deeply partisan cast to these evaluations. Equally wide majorities in all three core Democratic groups view labor unions favorably, as do about half of the mostly independent Post-Moderns. The vast majority of Staunch Conservatives and Libertarians hold an unfavorable opinion of labor unions, as do about half of Main Street Republicans. The depth of negative sentiment toward unions is particularly notable among Staunch Conservatives. Not only do 74% view them unfavorably, but 44% say they have a “very unfavorable” opinion of labor unions.

The public has a deeply ambivalent view of the impact Wall Street has on the American economy. Overall, 47% say Wall Street hurts the American economy more than helps it while 38% say it helps more than it hurts. Libertarians and Post-Moderns are the only groups where a majority says that Wall Street helps the economy more than it hurts. The groups that are the most likely to say that Wall Street hurts the economy more than it helps are Disaffecteds, Hard-Pressed Democrats and Solid Liberals – a majority in each group expresses this opinion. Views among Staunch Conservatives, Main Street Republicans and New Coalition Democrats are more divided.

### Views of Labor Unions



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA4e.



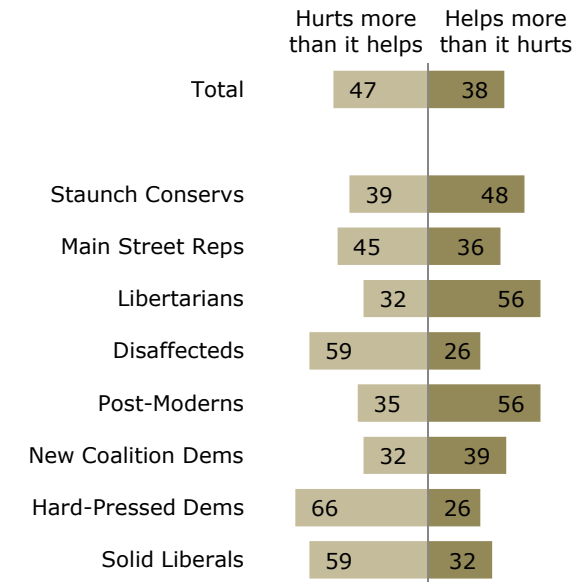
The division of opinion on Wall Street’s impact among Staunch Conservatives stands in stark contrast to their overwhelmingly pro-business attitudes more generally. In a separate question, fully 78% of Staunch Conservatives say businesses make a fair and reasonable amount of profit, and Staunch Conservatives, along with Libertarians, are the least likely to say that there is too much power in the hands of large companies these days. *(For more on views of business, see Section 2: Value Divides Within Party Coalitions.)*

The reverse is true for Post-Moderns, who, along with Libertarians, are one of only two groups who have a predominantly positive view of Wall Street’s impact. Yet Post-Moderns tend to have negative views of business more generally, with 82% believing that large companies hold too much power in this country.

### Abortion Divisive

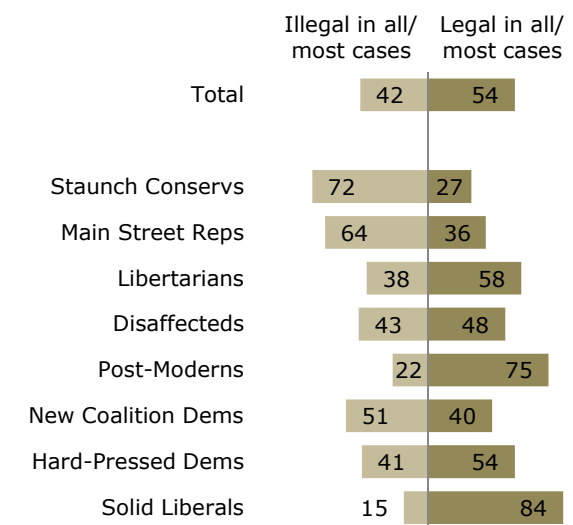
A 54%-majority supports legal abortion in all or most cases, while slightly fewer (42%) say abortion should be illegal in all or most cases. There is agreement in the two predominantly Republican typology groups on this issue, with majorities of both Staunch Conservatives (72%) and Main Street Republicans (64%) saying abortion should be illegal in all or most cases. But the two Republican-leaning independent groups take differing views: Libertarians are more likely to say abortion should be legal in all or most cases (58%) than illegal (38%), while Disaffecteds are divided in their views (48% legal, 43% illegal).

### How Wall Street Affects the American Economy



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37ii.

### Abortion Should Be ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA62.

Solid Liberals overwhelmingly support legal abortion in all or most cases (84%), as do three-quarters (75%) of Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns. But Hard-Pressed Democrats (54% legal, 41% illegal) and New Coalition Democrats (40% legal, 51% illegal) are much more divided in their views.

## Gay Marriage

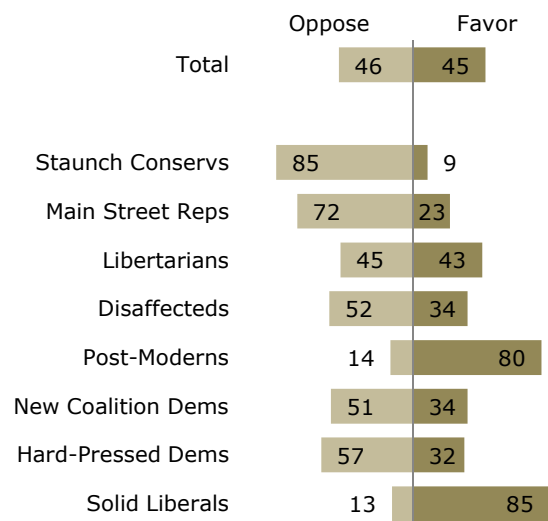
Gay marriage divides the public, with 45% in favor of allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally and 46% opposed. And as with abortion, there are significant divisions within the Democratic base, as well as between Republican and Republican-leaning groups.

Only one of the core Democratic groups – Solid Liberals – favors gay marriage (85% to 13%), while most New Coalition Democrats and Hard-Pressed Democrats are opposed (51%-34% and 57%-32%, respectively). The Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns favor gay marriage by a wide 80%-14% margin, aligning themselves with Solid Liberals on this issue.

### Broad majorities of both Staunch

Conservatives (85% oppose) and Main Street Republicans (72% oppose) oppose gay marriage. By a less one-sided margin, more Disaffecteds also oppose (52%) than favor (34%) gay marriage. Libertarians are divided in their views; as many favor (43%) as oppose (45%) allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally.

### Allowing Gays and Lesbians to Marry Legally



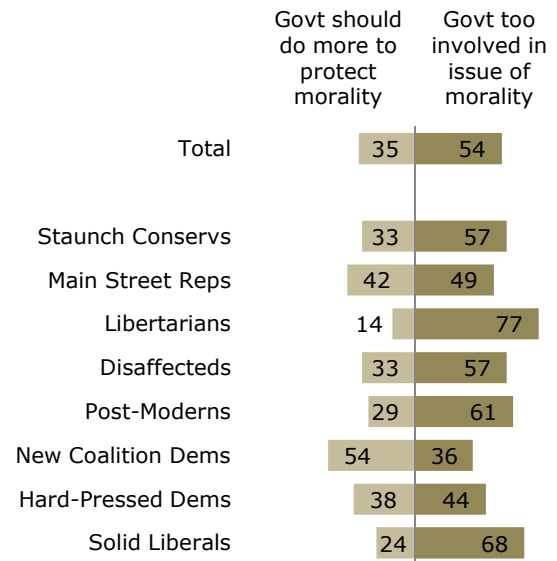
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## Government and Morality

The question of the government's role in protecting morality in society cuts across partisan typology groups. Overall, 54% of the public says the government is too involved in the issue of morality while 35% say the government should do more to protect morality in society. Just 11 points separate the views of Solid Liberals and Staunch Conservatives on this question; on balance, both groups say the government is too involved in morality (68% and 57%, respectively). Among all three independent-leaning groups, more say the government is too involved in the issue of morality than say it should be doing more to protect morality – including an overwhelming 77% of Libertarians.

By contrast, New Coalition Democrats are the only group in which a greater percentage say the government should to do more to protect morality (54%) than say it is too involved (36%).

### Government Role in Protecting Morality



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37gg.

## Social Trends in Marriage, Family and Religion

In evaluating how three social trends – more gay and lesbian couples raising children, interracial marriage, and the practice of religions other than Christianity – affect the country, the two Republican typology groups show more cohesion than do the three Democratic groups. Staunch Conservatives and Main Street Republicans are united in viewing these changes as either a bad thing for society or as not making much difference – very few call these changes a good thing. Among the Democratic groups, Solid Liberals stand out for being more likely than New Coalition and Hard-Pressed Democrats to call these changes a good thing. In general, the three independent groups say most of these changes do not make much difference in American society.

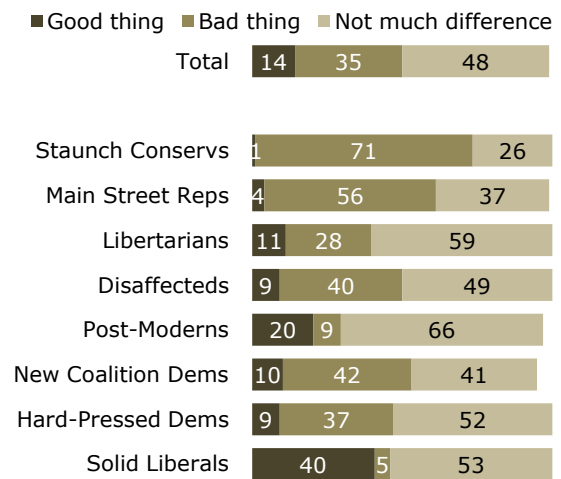
Roughly a third (35%) of Americans say that the trend of more gay and lesbian couples raising children is a bad thing for American society, 14% say it is a good thing, and a

48%-plurality says this trend doesn't make much difference. Republican typology groups are united in viewing this change as a bad thing: 71% of Staunch Conservatives say this as do 56% of Main Street Republicans. There is more division among Democratic groups. Solid Liberals are by far the most supportive of this trend – 40% say it is a good thing for society. But among both Hard-Pressed and New Coalition Democrats, far more call it a bad thing for society than a good thing.

As is the case on several other social issues, the predominantly independent Post-Moderns hold views that are more similar to the Solid Liberals than any other typology group. By a 20% to 9% margin, more Post-Moderns think more gay and lesbian couples raising children is good, not bad. Still, an overwhelming 66% say that this trend doesn't make much difference for American society. Most Libertarians (59%) also say a trend toward gays raising children doesn't make much difference. Disaffecteds divide between not much difference (49%) and a bad thing for society (40%).

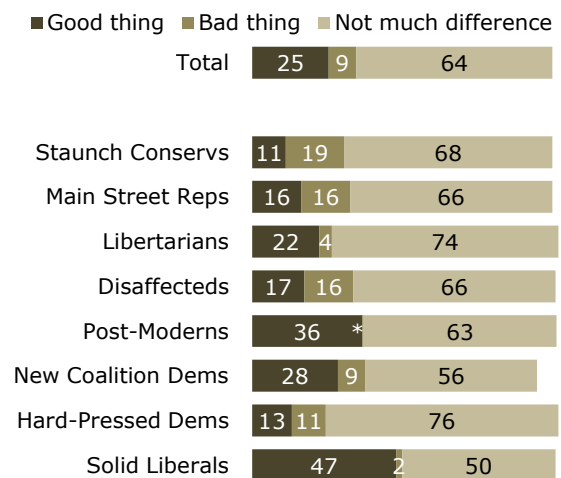
When it comes to more people of different races marrying each other, the predominant view nationwide is neutral. About two-thirds (64%) say this trend does not make much difference for society, 25% call this a good thing and 9% a bad thing. This is the clear majority position across all typology groups – except Solid Liberals. Among that group, as many say this trend is a good thing for American society (47%) as say it doesn't make any difference (50%). The view that more interracial marriage is good for society is also common among Post-Moderns (36%) and New Coalition Democrats (28%). Notably, four groups, including both of the predominantly Republican groups as well as the Disaffecteds

### More Gay and Lesbian Couples Raising Children



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### More People of Different Races Marrying Each Other

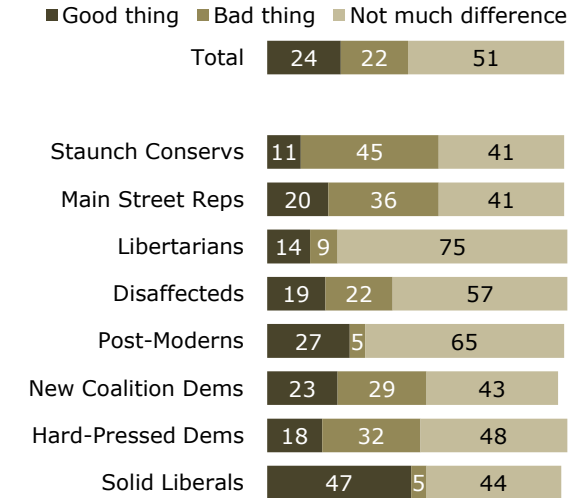


PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB90b.

and Hard-Pressed Democrats, are as likely to say a trend toward more racial intermarriage is bad for the country as to say it is a good thing.

About half (51%) of the public say more people practicing religions other than Christianity does not make much difference to American society; 24% call this a good thing, 22% a bad thing. As with other social trends, Solid Liberals stand out in viewing this trend positively: 47% say greater religious diversity is good for American society. But again, both Hard-Pressed and New Coalition Democrats are less optimistic about this trend, with at least as many describing it as bad for the country as good.

### More People Practicing Religions Other than Christianity



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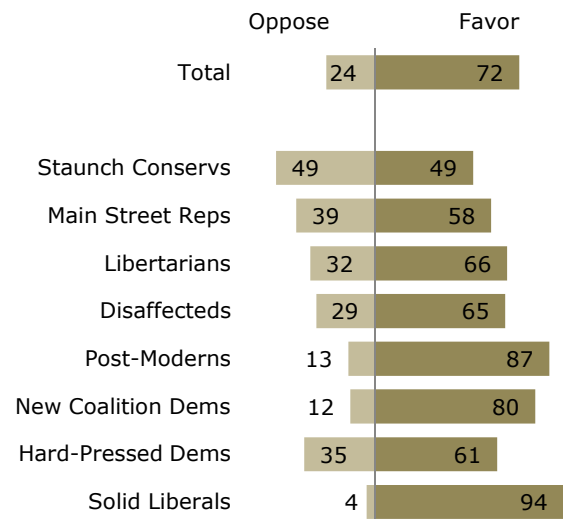
Majorities of all three independent groups say more people practicing religions other than Christianity does not make much difference. Among both Staunch Conservatives and Main Street Republicans, more see this as a bad thing for society than a good thing.

### Views of Immigration

There is widespread support across most typology groups for both a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants currently in the country and for stronger enforcement of immigration laws and border security.

Majorities in seven of eight typology groups – all except Staunch Conservatives – favor providing a way for illegal immigrants in the U.S. to gain citizenship, if they pass background checks, pay fines and have jobs. Staunch Conservatives are evenly divided – with 49% in favor of a path to citizenship and the same number opposed.

### Path to Citizenship for Illegal Immigrants Currently in Country



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB68a.

Support for a path to citizenship is stronger among Solid Liberals (94% favor) than other typology groups. Hard-Pressed Democrats express far less support for a path to citizenship than do other groups in the broad Democratic coalition: 61% favor a path to citizenship and 35% are opposed.

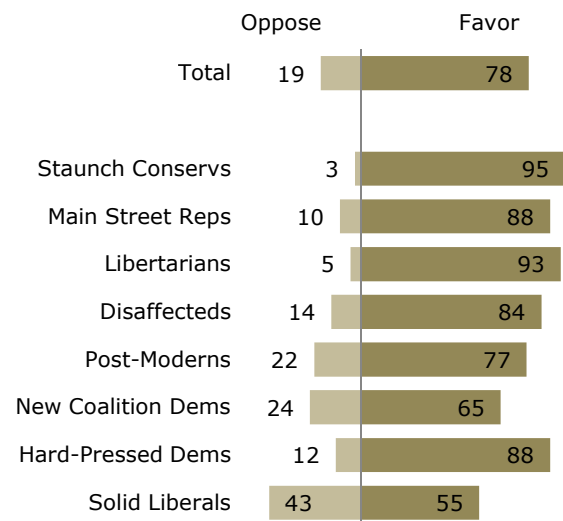
While most Americans are open to reforming immigration laws to be more flexible toward illegal immigrants already in the country, the vast majority also supports stronger enforcement of immigration laws and border security. By a 78% to 19% margin, most Americans favor strengthening immigration enforcement.

On this question, Solid Liberals diverge from most other groups: 55% favor stricter enforcement of stronger enforcement of immigration laws and border security, while 43% are opposed.

Hard-Pressed Democrats support stronger enforcement by a wide margin (88% favor, 12% oppose), and as such are more in alignment with Republican groups than other Democratic groups. Most New Coalition Democrats favor stronger enforcement of immigration laws and border security, but their views are less one-sided (65% favor, 24% oppose).

Substantial majorities of Republican and independent typology groups favor stronger enforcement of immigration laws, including 95% of Staunch Conservatives and 93% of Libertarians.

### Stronger Enforcement of Immigration Laws



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB68b.

## Energy Priorities and Global Warming

Global warming remains a deeply partisan issue, but there is a consensus across six of the eight typology groups that developing alternative energy sources – as opposed to expanding the search for oil, coal, and natural gas – should be the priority for America’s energy supply.

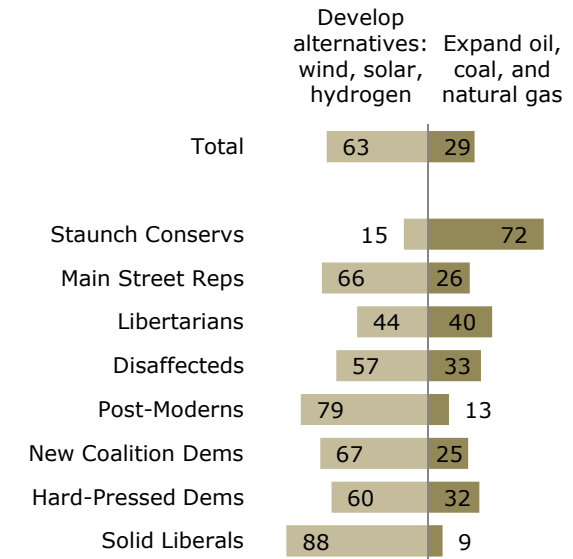
Nearly two-thirds of Americans (63%) say developing alternative sources such as wind, solar and hydrogen technology should be the more important priority for addressing America’s energy supply; 29% say expanding exploration and production of oil, coal and natural gas should be the more important priority.

Staunch Conservatives are the only group in which a majority says expanding oil, coal and natural gas should be the priority; fully 72% say this should be the focus, while just 15% would emphasize alternative energy sources.

The divide within the Republican base is stark on this issue: fully 66% of Main Street Republicans say alternative energy development should be the focus of America’s energy policy, while just 26% would focus on expanding oil, coal and natural gas exploration. In this view, Main Street Republicans agree with the predominantly Democratic groups.

Support for developing alternative energy is particularly strong among Solid Liberals (88%) and Post-Moderns (79%). Libertarians are divided: 44% would focus on alternative energy and 40% on finding more oil, coal and natural gas.

### Which Should be America’s More Important Energy Priority?

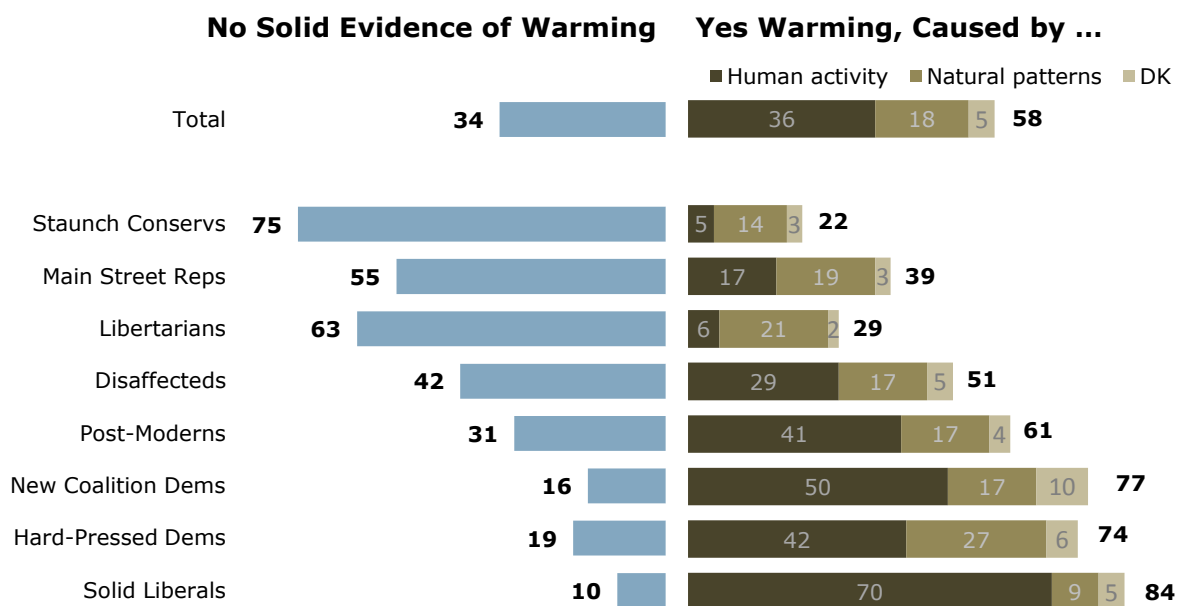


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Opinions on global warming are far more polarized, with typology groups hewing to their partisan positions.

Overall, 58% of the public says there is solid evidence that the average temperature on earth has been getting warmer over the past few decades while 34% say there is no solid evidence of warming. Just over a third (36%) say this warming is mostly because of human activity such as burning fossil fuels, while 18% say it is mostly because of natural patterns in the earth's environment.

### Views of Global Warming



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA65, QA66.

Among Democratic typology groups, broad majorities of Solid Liberals (84%), New Coalition Democrats (77%), and Hard-Pressed Democrats (74%) say there is solid evidence that the earth's average temperature has increased. And more in each group say that this warming is human-caused rather than a result of the earth's natural patterns. Solid Liberals are much more likely to say this than are New Coalition and Hard-Pressed Democrats (70% vs. 50% and 42%, respectively).

Opinion is the reverse among Staunch Conservatives and Main Street Republicans: Most say that there is no solid evidence of warming (75% and 55%, respectively). Among the minority that does see warming, just 5% and 17% respectively, see this warming as a



result of human activity. Republican-leaning Libertarians share this perspective: 63% say the earth is not warming and hardly any say that warming exists and is being caused mostly by human activity (6%).

Disaffecteds are divided in their views: 51% say there is solid evidence of warming, 42% say there is not. Among those who see warming, 29% of Disaffecteds say it is caused by human activity, while 17% say the earth's natural patterns are the cause. Post-Moderns are nearly twice as likely to say the earth's temperature is warming (61%) as not (31%); 41% say this warming is human-caused, compared with fewer (17%) who say it is the result of natural patterns.

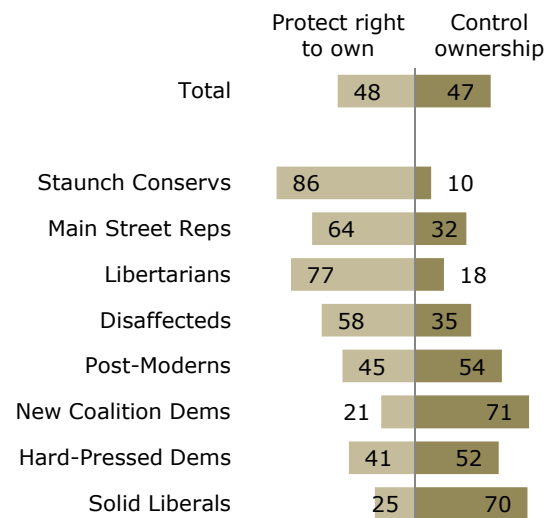
## Views of Gun Control

The public is divided over which is the more important priority: protecting the right of Americans to own guns (48%) or controlling gun ownership (47%). On this question the Republican and Republican-leaning typology groups follow their partisan dispositions and favor protecting the right to own guns; the Democratic and Democratic-leaning groups generally express more support for controlling gun ownership, but display somewhat more variance in opinion across groups.

Overwhelming majorities of both Staunch Conservatives (86%) and Libertarians (77%) say that protecting the right of Americans to own guns is more important than controlling gun ownership. Significant majorities of Main Street Republicans (64%) and Disaffecteds (58%) agree.

Among Democratic groups, broad majorities of Solid Liberals (70%) and New Coalition Democrats (71%) support controlling gun ownership. Hard-Pressed Democrats are more divided: 41% say protecting the right to own guns is more important, 52% say controlling gun ownership. The Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns are similarly divided: 45% say protecting the right to own guns is more important, 54% say controlling gun ownership.

### On Guns, More Important to ...



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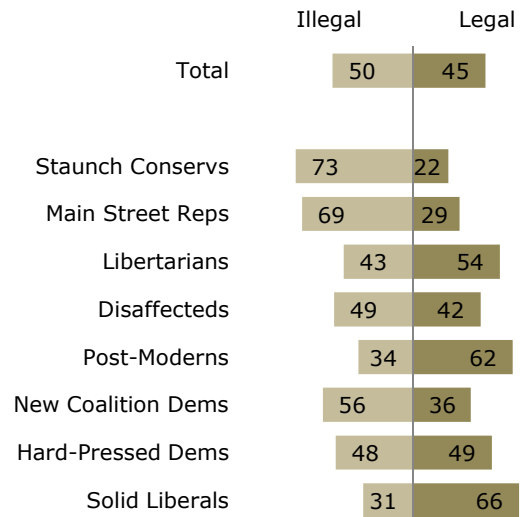
## Marijuana Legalization Divides Independent, Democratic Groups

Half of Americans say the use of marijuana should be illegal, while nearly as many (45%) say it should be legal. The two Republican typology groups hold similar positions on this question with broad majorities opposed to legalization. Among the three independent and Democratic groups, there is more division of opinion.

Two-thirds (66%) of Solid Liberals say marijuana should be legal, compared with 31% who think it should be illegal. In only two other groups does the balance of opinion tip toward legalization: Post-Moderns, who favor legalization by a 62% to 34% margin, and Libertarians, by a slimmer 54% to 43% margin.

There is far less support for legalization among the two other Democratic groups. Hard-Pressed Democrats are divided, with 49% favoring legalization and 48% opposed. Among New Coalition Democrats, more think the use of marijuana should be illegal (56%) than legal (36%), placing them closer to the views of the core Republican groups.

### Should Marijuana be Legal?



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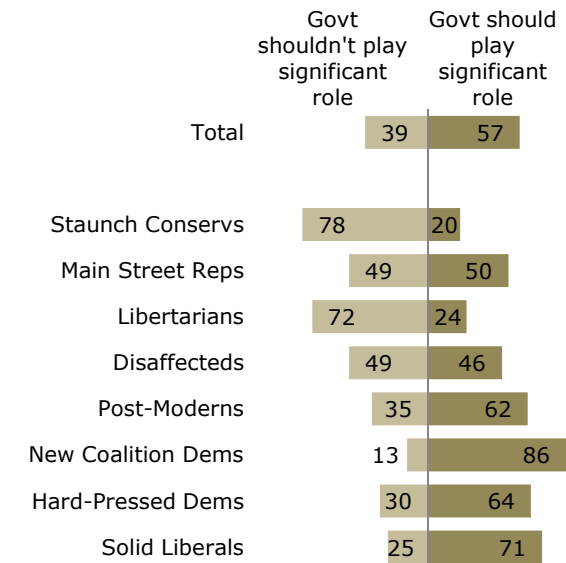
## Government's Role in Fighting Obesity

Most (57%) say the government should play a significant role in reducing obesity among children, while 39% say it should not. The broader Democratic coalition is united in saying the government should play a role in reducing obesity among children, while there are divides in the Republican coalition on this question.

Wide majorities of Staunch Conservatives (78%) and Libertarians (72%) say the government should not play a significant role in combating childhood obesity. However, Main Street Republicans and Disaffecteds offer mixed views. About as many Main Street Republicans say the government should play a role (50%) as say it should not (49%). Similarly, 46% of Disaffecteds say the government should be involved in reducing obesity among children; about as many (49%) say it should not be.

Among Democratic coalition groups there is broad support for the government working to reduce obesity among children. Majorities of New Coalition Democrats (86%), Solid Liberals (71%), Hard-Pressed Democrats (64%), and Post-Moderns (62%) support a role for the government in reducing childhood obesity.

### Government Role in Reducing Obesity Among Children



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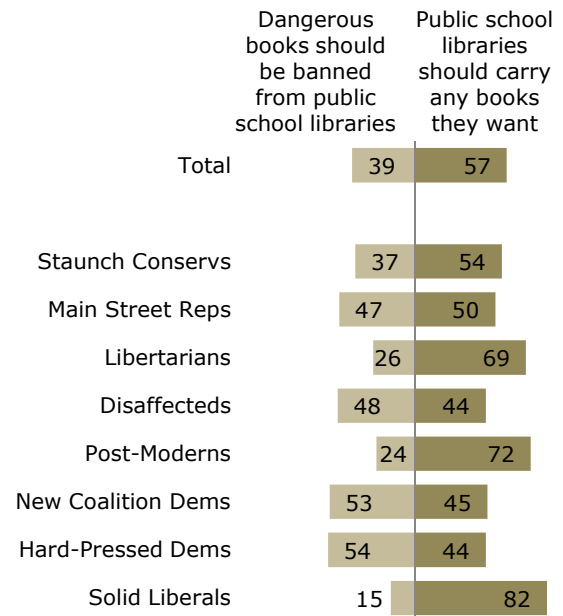
## Banning Dangerous Books

Most (57%) say that public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want, while 39% say books with dangerous ideas should be banned from public schools. And this question, which draws on concerns about civil liberties, freedom of expression and security, does not cleave along traditional Democratic and Republican lines.

Majorities in four of the eight typology groups oppose the idea of banning dangerous books. Solid Liberals overwhelmingly say public school libraries should be able to carry any books they want (82%-15%). The Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns (72%) and Republican-leaning Libertarians (69%) also think school libraries should carry any books they want. And, in a rare instance of agreement between the two most ideologically opposed groups, a 54%-majority of Staunch Conservatives also takes this view.

Opinion is more divided in the four other typology groups. About equal percentages of Main Street Republicans say books with dangerous ideas should be banned (47%) as say school libraries should be able to carry any books they want (50%). Among Disaffecteds, 48% say dangerous books should be banned, while 44% say school libraries should carry what they want. New Coalition and Hard-Pressed Democrats are also split on this question – in contrast with Solid Liberals, they tilt slightly toward banning books with dangerous ideas from public school libraries (53%-45% and 54%-44%, respectively).

### Public School Libraries and Book Censorship



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37v.

## SECTION 9: FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL SECURITY

While Americans hold disparate views on how the U.S. should pursue its military and foreign policy, these issues generally do not represent the deepest divides across typology groups. This stands in contrast to the findings of the previous political typology study in 2005, in which national security issues were among the most divisive – a shift that reflects the public’s increasing focus on domestic policy over foreign policy.

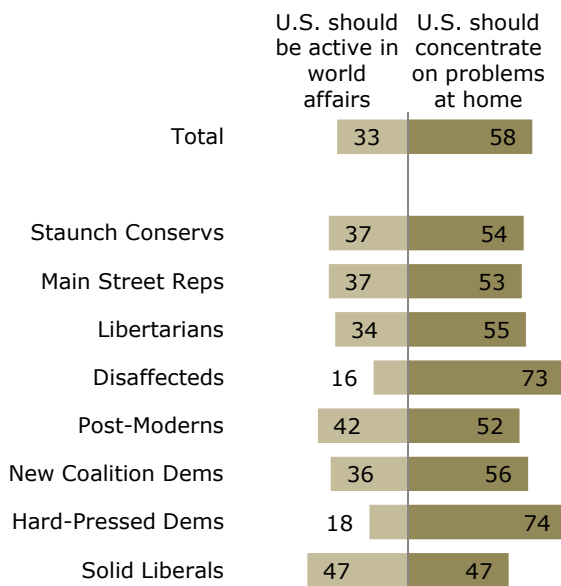
Democratic groups continue to be more internationalist and more focused on diplomacy over the use of force than their Republican counterparts, but the gaps are far narrower than previously. There remain deep ideological divisions, however, over China, Islam and the United Nations.

Reflecting their focus on domestic economic issues, 58% of the public says we should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home, 33% say it is best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs. Six years ago, 49% said we should concentrate on problems at home, while 44% supported being active in world affairs.

The broadest support for international engagement comes from Solid Liberals and, to a slightly lesser extent, Post-Moderns, both of whom are divided over whether it is better for the U.S. to be active in world affairs or to concentrate on problems here at home. In all other groups, clear majorities say dealing with domestic problems should come first.

This inward-looking sentiment is highest among Hard-Pressed Democrats and Disaffecteds; nearly three-quarters of both say the U.S. should concentrate on problems at home. This is consistent with previous typology studies in which the most economically stressed groups prioritize a focus on dealing with domestic problems.

### U.S. Role in the World



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37ee.

Majorities in both of the predominantly Republican groups – the *Staunch Conservatives* and *Main Street Republicans* – favor focusing on problems at home over being active in the world (by 54%-37% and 53%-37%, respectively). By contrast, foreign engagement was deeply divisive on the right six years ago. In the 2005 typology study fully 73% of the politically conservative *Enterprisers* said it was best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs – the most among any of the 2005 typology groups and far more than among other GOP groups. This is a sentiment no Republican, or even Republican-leaning, groups express today.

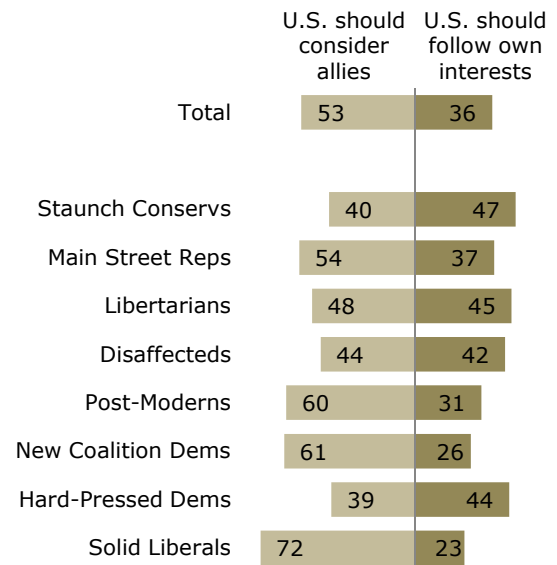
### Public Backs Multilateralism

A majority of the public (53%) says the U.S. should take into account the interests of its allies, even if it means making compromises with them; 36% say the U.S. should follow its own national interests even when its allies strongly disagree.

As in the past, *Solid Liberals* stand out for their support for multilateralism – 72% say we should take into account the interests of our allies in setting foreign policy. Majorities of *New Coalition Democrats* (61%) and *Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns* (60%) agree. However, views across the Democratic coalition are not uniform as *Hard-Pressed Democrats* are divided in their views: 44% say the U.S. should follow its own interests, 39% say it should consider its allies.

There is no group in which a majority favors a unilateralist approach to foreign policy. Even among the *Staunch Conservatives* – who tend to favor a more assertive military stance in general – 47% say we should follow our own interests even when allies strongly disagree, while 40% say we should make compromises with allies to account for their interests. And a 54% majority of *Main Street Republicans* also say allied interests should be addressed.

### Work with Allies or Go it Alone?



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37cc.

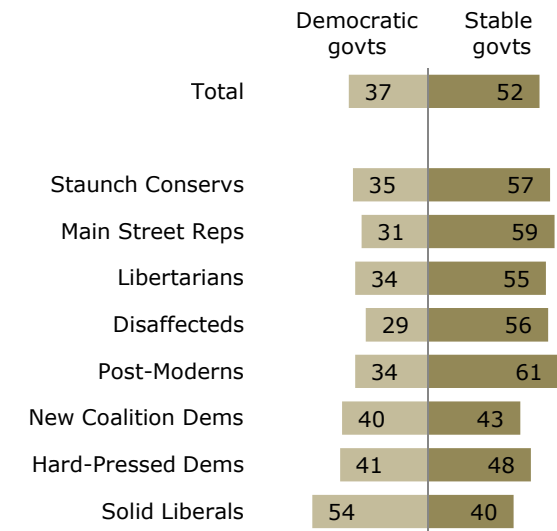
As with views of foreign engagement, this represents a substantial change on the right since the previous typology in 2005. Six years ago, nearly three-quarters (73%) of Enterprisers, one of the most conservative typology groups, favored the U.S. going its own way even when allies disagreed.

**Stability – Not Democracy – Higher Priority in Middle East**

In the Middle East, the public views regional stability as more important than the spread of democracy. A 52% majority says it is more important to have stable governments in the Middle East, even if there is less democracy in the region; 37% say it is more important to have democratic governments, even if there is less stability.

There is consistent agreement among the Republican and independent typology groups that regional stability is most important: between 55% and 61% of each of these typology groups prioritize stable governments in the Middle East over democratic governments; this includes 61% of the Democratic-leaning Post-Moderns. Only among Solid Liberals does a slim majority (54%) say democratic governments are more important even if there is less stability in the Middle East. New Coalition and Hard-Pressed Democrats express mixed views, with about as many prioritizing democratic governments as stable governments.

**Which is More Important in the Middle East?**



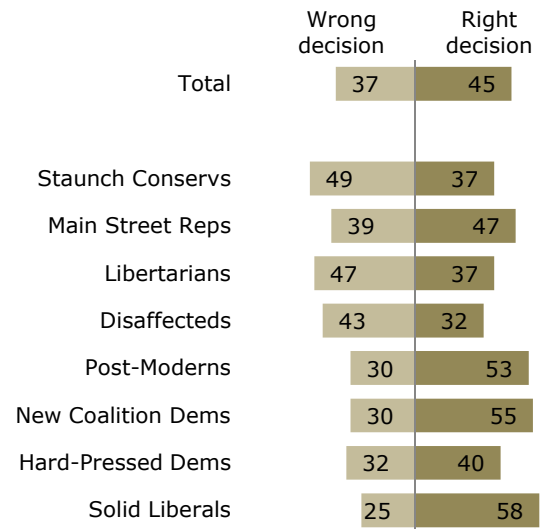
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB34.

### Mixed Reactions to Libya Airstrikes

On balance, the public says it was the right decision (45%) for the U.S. and its allies to conduct military air strikes in Libya, 37% call it the wrong decision.

Slim majorities in three Democratic and Democratic-leaning groups, the Solid Liberals (58%), the New Coalition Democrats (55%) and the Post-Moderns (53%), say taking action in Libya was the right decision. But views are mixed in the other five groups, including the Hard-Pressed Democrats (40% right, 32% wrong); a relatively large share of the Hard-Pressed (28%) offer no opinion.

### Views of Use of Force in Libya



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QCB5.

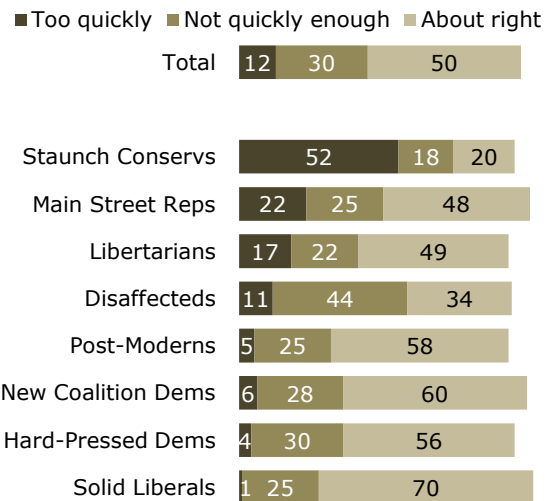
### Many Disaffecteds Want Quicker U.S. Exit from Afghanistan

Half the public (50%) says Barack Obama is handling the pace of U.S. troop withdrawals from Afghanistan about right, 30% think he will not remove troops quickly enough and just 12% say he will remove troops too quickly.

Staunch Conservatives fault Obama for drawing down U.S. forces from Afghanistan too quickly. About half (52%) of Staunch Conservative say they think Obama will remove troops too quickly – far more than any other typology group.

But many GOP-oriented Disaffecteds express the opposite concern: 44% say Obama is not removing U.S. troops from Afghanistan quickly enough, which is the highest among typology

### Afghanistan Troop Removal: Obama Moving...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA67.



groups.

Majorities of Democratic and Democratic-leaning groups say Obama is handling the situation about right; pluralities of Libertarians (49%) and Main Street Republicans (48%) agree.

### Dealing with China on Economic Issues

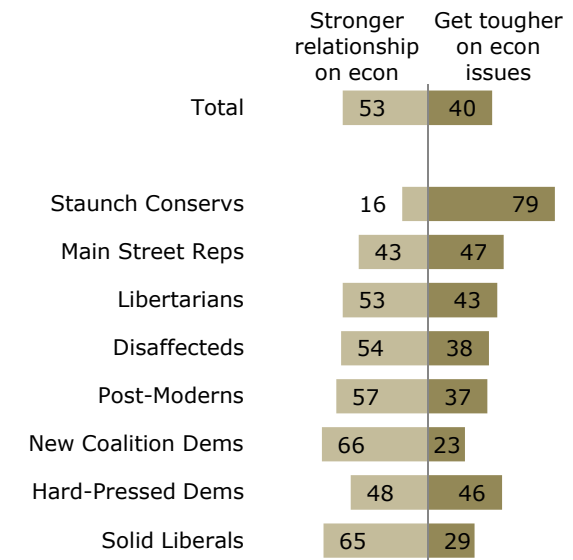
By a 53%-40% margin, the public views building a stronger relationship with China on economic issues as more important than getting tougher with China on economic issues. Staunch Conservatives stand out from all other typology groups on this question and overwhelmingly favor getting tougher with China on economic issues: 79% say this, just 16% echo the broader public and prioritize building a stronger relationship with China.

Among all other typology groups, opinion is mixed or supportive of building a better relationship with China. About as many Main Street Republicans say it is more important to build a stronger relationship with China (43%) as support getting tougher on economic issues (47%). Among independent groups,

Libertarians are divided, with 53% favoring a stronger relationship with China and 43% wanting to get tougher. The balance of opinion among Disaffecteds and Post-Moderns favors building a stronger economic relationship with China (by 54%-38% and 57%-37%, respectively).

Among Democratic groups, about two-thirds of Solid Liberals (65%) and New Coalition Democrats (66%) say that building a stronger economic relationship with China is more important than getting tougher on economic issues. Hard-Pressed Democrats are divided: 48% say build a stronger economic relationship with China, 46% say get tougher on economic issues.

### China: Strong Economic Relations Prioritized Over Getting Tougher



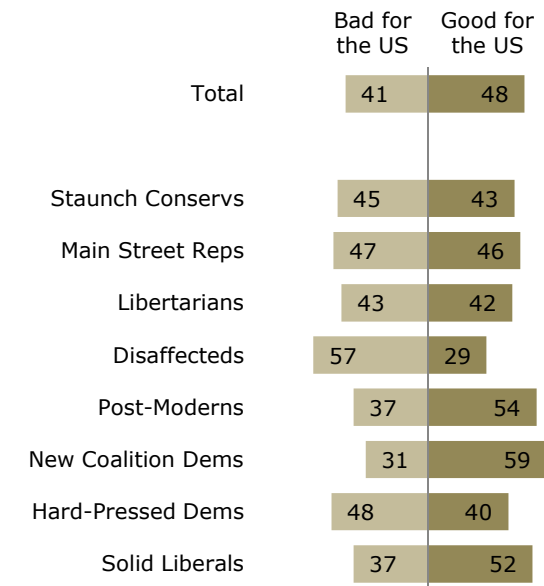
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QB35.

### Free Trade Agreements

By 48% to 41%, more say free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries are a good thing for the country than say they are a bad thing. Disaffecteds are the only group where a majority (57%) says free trade agreements are bad for the United States. Both Republican groups and Libertarians are divided in their views.

Majorities of Post-Moderns (54%), New Coalition Democrats (59%), and Solid Liberals (52%) say free trade agreements are a good thing for the country. Fewer Hard-Pressed Democrats (40%) express this view.

### Free Trade Agreements are...



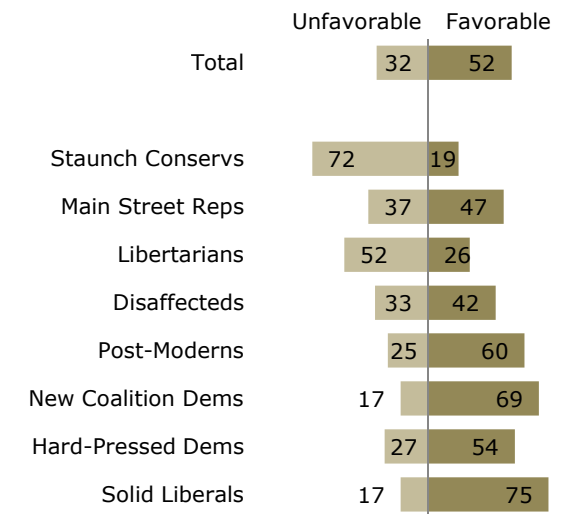
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA57.

### Polarized Views of the United Nations

The United Nations is viewed unfavorably by an overwhelming 72% of Staunch Conservatives – an opinion that places Staunch Conservatives 20 points away from the next most negative group. Libertarians also hold a negative view of the United Nations, but by a more modest 52%-26% margin. Main Street Republicans (37% unfavorable, 47% favorable) and Republican-leaning Disaffecteds (33% unfavorable, 42% favorable) offer much more tempered reactions to the U.N.

Solid Liberals are about as favorable toward the U.N. as Staunch Conservatives are unfavorable: 75% hold a favorable view, just 17% an unfavorable one. However, there is far more consensus among the broader Democratic coalition than there is among the broader Republican coalition. Solid Liberals

### Views of the U.N.



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA4d.

are joined by majorities of New Coalition Democrats (69%), Post-Moderns (60%), and Hard-Pressed Democrats (54%) in expressing favorable views of the United Nations.

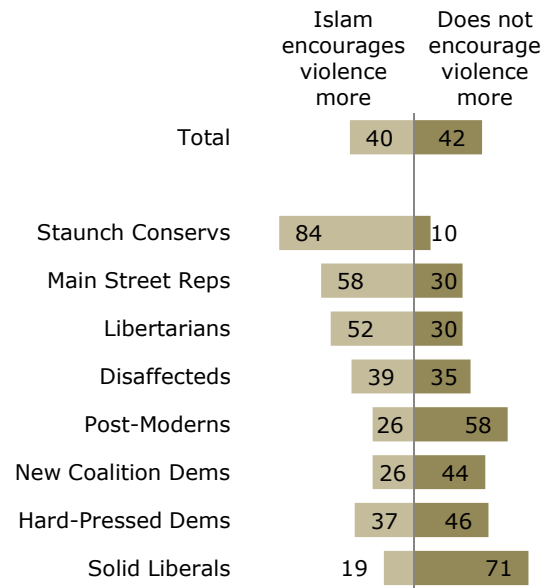
### Islam and Violence: Widespread Disagreement across Groups

When it comes to the relationship between Islam and violence, as many say the Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers (40%) as say it does not encourage violence more than other religions (42%).

Staunch Conservatives and Solid Liberals, however, take overwhelmingly one-sided – and opposing – views on the issue: fully 84% of Staunch Conservatives say the Islamic religion is more likely than other religions to encourage violence among its believers. Solid Liberals are almost as uniform in rejecting this idea (71%).

Opinion is less one-sided among other typology groups. Among the broader GOP coalition, majorities of Main Street Republicans (58%) and Libertarians (52%) say Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence; Disaffecteds are split (39% say Islam does encourage violence more, 35% say it does not). Among Democratic groups, most Post-Moderns (58%) say Islam does not encourage violence more than other religions. On balance, New Coalition Democrats also say that Islam is not more likely to encourage violence (by 44% to 26%), but Hard-Pressed Democrats are divided (46% say Islam does not encourage violence more, 37% say it does).

#### Islam and Violence

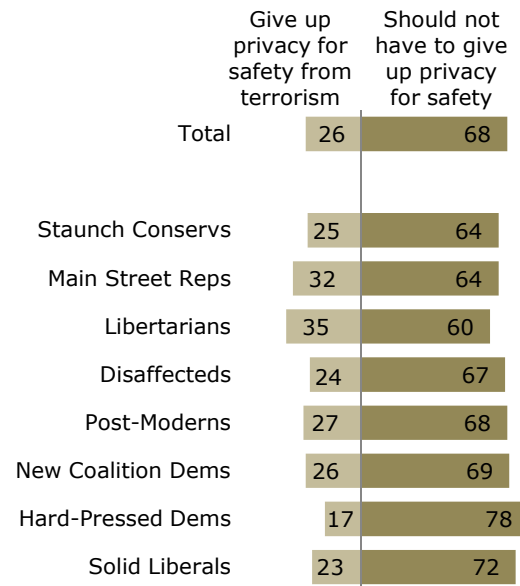


PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. QA45a.

## Most Unwilling to Trade Privacy for Security

Nearly seven-in-ten (68%) say that Americans should not have to give up privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism; about a quarter (26%) say Americans need to be willing to give up privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism. This is a rare question in which there is broad consensus across typology groups. In fact, at least 60% of all groups agree that Americans should not have to give up privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism. Hard-Pressed Democrats (78%-17%) take this position by the widest margin, but there is little variance among other groups: Democratic, Republican and independent alike.

### Terrorism vs. Civil Liberties



PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2011 Political Typology. Q37ff.

## ABOUT THE POLITICAL TYPOLOGY

The 2011 typology divides the public into eight politically engaged groups, along with a ninth group of less engaged Bystanders. The assignment of individuals to one of the eight core typology groups is based primarily on their position on nine scales of social and political values – each of which is determined by responses to two or three survey questions – as well as their party identification.

The questions used to create the value scales are in a balanced alternative format where respondents choose which of two statements mostly closely reflects their own views (Q17 and Q37 in the topline). Scales were developed using factor analysis and tests of scale reliability to select the questions most strongly related to the underlying dimension being measured. Many of these value scales are similar to those in past typology studies. However, each update of the typology starts with a fresh analysis of American values to reflect any shifts in the political environment. The typology groups are created using a statistical procedure called “cluster analysis” which accounts for respondents’ scores on all nine scales as well as party identification to sort them into relatively homogeneous groups. The tables on the following pages show each of the scales, its component questions, and the average placement of each of the eight typology groups (excluding bystanders) on each scale.

Cluster analysis is not an exact process. Different cluster solutions are possible using the same data depending on model specifications and even the order in which respondents are assessed. Several different cluster solutions were evaluated for their effectiveness in producing cohesive groups that were sufficiently distinct from one another, large enough in size to be analytically practical, and substantively meaningful. While each solution differed somewhat from the others, all of them shared certain key features. The final solution selected to produce the political typology was judged to be strongest from a statistical point of view, most persuasive from a substantive point of view, and was representative of the general patterns seen across the various cluster solutions.

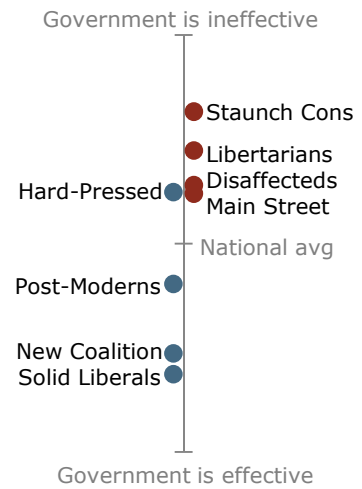
As in past typologies, a measure of political attentiveness and voting participation was used to extract the “Bystander” group, people who are largely not engaged or involved in politics, before the remaining respondents were sorted into groups. Bystanders are defined as those who are: 1) Not registered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

## Scales Used in Creating the Political Typology

### Government Performance

Scale alpha (reliability): .46

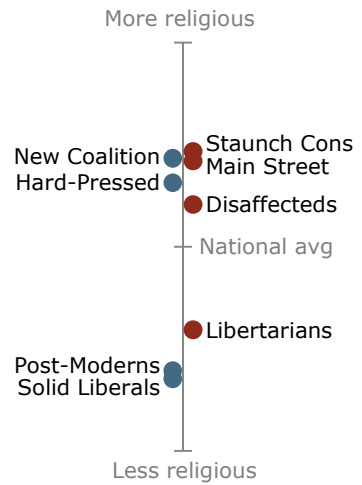
- |      |  |    |   |
|------|--|----|---|
| Q17a | Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient               | or | Government often does a better job than people give it credit for             |
| Q17b | Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good | or | Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest |



### Religion and Morality

Scale alpha (reliability): .60

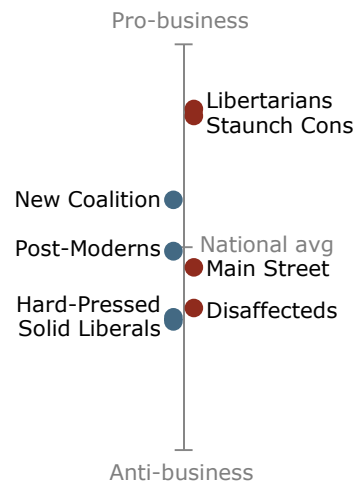
- |       |   |    |   |
|-------|---|----|---|
| Q37u  | Homosexuality should be discouraged by society                              | or | Homosexuality should be accepted by society                                     |
| Q37w  | Religion is a very important part of my life                                | or | Religion is not that important to me  |
| Q37aa | It IS necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values | or | It IS NOT necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values |



### Business

Scale alpha (reliability): .45

- |      |   |    |  |
|------|---|----|--|
| Q17m | The largest companies do NOT have too much power              | or | Too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies |
| Q17n | Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit | or | Business corporations make too much profit                           |

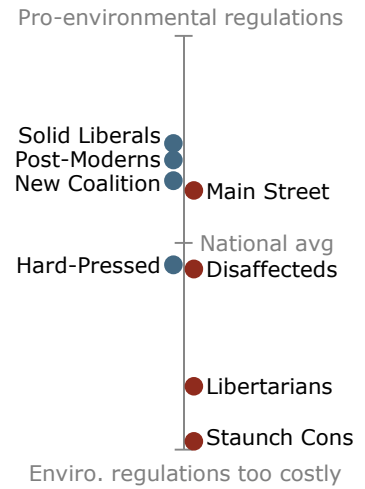


## Scales Used in Creating the Political Typology (cont.)

### Environmentalism

Scale alpha (reliability): .57

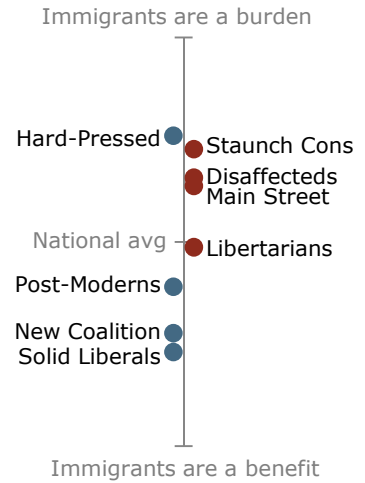
- |      |   |    |   |
|------|---|----|---|
| Q37q | This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment | or | This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment             |
| Q37r | Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost      | or | Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy |



### Immigration

Scale alpha (reliability): .63

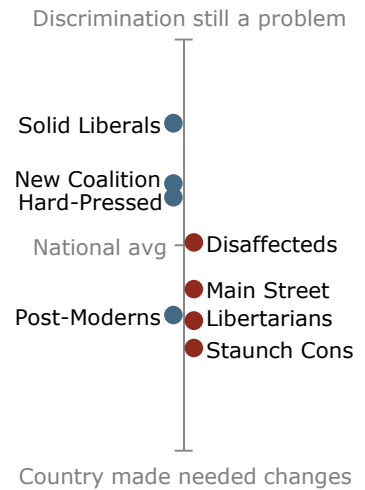
- |       |  |    |   |
|-------|--|----|---|
| Q17g  | Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care       | or | Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents    |
| Q37dd | The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values | or | The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society |



### Race

Scale alpha (reliability): .49

- |       |   |    |   |
|-------|---|----|---|
| Q17f  | Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days | or | Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition |
| Q37hh | Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites      | or | Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites           |

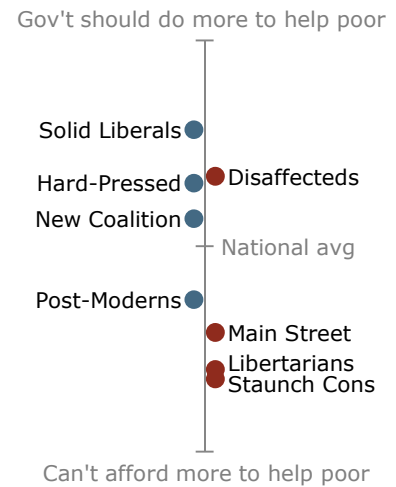


**Scales Used in Creating the Political Typology (cont.)**

**Social Safety Net**

Scale alpha (reliability): .48

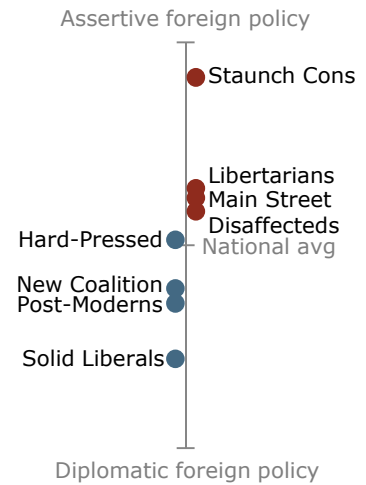
- Q17c Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently or Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return
- Q17d The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt or The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy



**Foreign Policy Assertiveness**

Scale alpha (reliability): .50

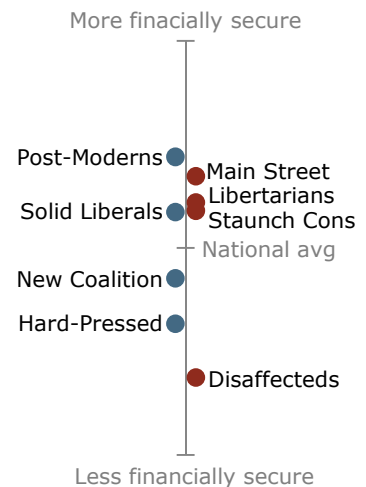
- Q17i The best way to ensure peace is through military strength or Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace
- Q37bb Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world or Relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism



**Financial Security**

Scale alpha (reliability): .67

- Q37y I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially or I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation
- Q37z I often don't have enough money to make ends meet or Paying the bills is generally not a problem for me





## ABOUT THE SURVEYS

Most of the analysis in the 2011 Typology Report is based on telephone interviews conducted February 22 – March 1, 2011 and March 8-14, 2011 among a national sample of 3,029 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (2,026 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,003 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 455 who had no landline telephone). In addition to the main survey, some results are based on a callback survey where an attempt was made to re-interview respondents to the original survey. This short follow-up survey, conducted April 7-10, 2011 obtained interviews with 1,432 respondents from the original typology survey.

The surveys were 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 for the main survey were conducted in English and Spanish. Interviews for the callback survey were conducted in English only. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is currently 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 for each survey is weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region and population density to parameters from the March 2010 U.S. Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The samples also are 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 the total sample and for the typology groups in each survey:

Group	Samples Sizes				Margins of Sampling Error Plus or Minus — Percentage Points			
	A & B Combined	Survey A	Survey B	Call- back	A & B Combined	Survey A	Survey B	Call- back
Total sample	3,029	1,504	1,525	1,432	2.2	3.0	3.0	3.1
Staunch Conservatives	328	165	163	174	6.5	9.2	9.3	9.0
Main Street Republicans	386	197	189	175	6.0	8.4	8.6	8.9
Libertarians	299	151	148	161	6.8	9.6	9.7	9.3
Disaffecteds	317	145	172	138	6.6	9.8	9.0	10.0
Post-Moderns	391	208	183	184	6.0	8.2	8.7	8.7
New Coalition Democrats	289	144	145	113	7.0	9.8	9.8	11.1
Hard-Pressed Democrats	361	149	212	165	6.2	9.7	8.1	9.2
Solid Liberals	447	234	213	248	5.6	7.7	8.1	7.5
Bystanders	211	111	100	74	8.1	11.2	11.8	13.7

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.

## Survey Methodology in Detail

The typical Pew Research Center for the People & the Press national survey selects a random digit sample of both landline and cell phone numbers in the continental United States. As the proportion of Americans who rely solely or mostly on cell phones for their telephone service continues to grow, sampling both landline and cell phone numbers helps to ensure that our surveys represent all adults who have access to either (only about 2% of households in the U.S. do not have access to any phone). We sample landline and cell phone numbers to yield a ratio of approximately two completed landline interviews to each cell phone interview. This ratio is based on an analysis that attempts to balance cost and fieldwork considerations as well as to improve the overall demographic composition of the sample (in terms of age, race/ethnicity and education). This ratio also ensures an adequate number of cell-only respondents in each survey.

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

The cell phone sample is drawn through systematic sampling from dedicated wireless banks of 100 contiguous numbers and shared service banks with no directory-listed landline numbers (to ensure that the cell phone sample does not include banks that are also included in the landline sample). The sample is designed to be representative both geographically and by large and small wireless carriers.

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

When interviewers reach someone on a landline phone, they randomly ask half the sample if they could speak with “the youngest male, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home” and the other half of the sample to speak with the “youngest female, 18 years of age or older, who is now at home.” If there is no eligible person of the requested gender at home, interviewers ask to speak with the youngest adult of the opposite gender, who is now at home. This method of selecting respondents within each household improves participation among young people who are often more difficult to interview than older people because of their lifestyles.

Unlike a landline phone, a cell phone is assumed in Pew Research polls to be a personal device. Interviewers ask if the person who answers the cell phone is 18 years of age or older to determine if the person is eligible to complete the survey. This means that, for those in the cell sample, no

effort is made to give other household members a chance to be interviewed. Although some people share cell phones, it is still uncertain whether the benefits of sampling among the users of a shared cell phone outweigh the disadvantages.

Sampling error results from collecting data from some, rather than all, members of the population. For each of our surveys, we report a margin of sampling error for the total sample and often for key subgroups analyzed in the report. For example, the sampling error for a typical national survey of 1,500 completed interviews is plus or minus 3 percentage points with a 95% confidence interval. This means that in 95 out of every 100 samples of the same size and type, the results we obtain would vary by no more than plus or minus 3 percentage points from the result we would get if we could interview every member of the population. Thus, the chances are very high (95 out of 100) that any sample we draw will be within 3 points of the true population value. The sampling errors we report also take into account the effect of weighting.

At least 7 attempts are made to complete an interview at every sampled telephone number. The calls are staggered over times of day and days of the week (including at least one daytime call) to maximize the chances of making contact with a potential respondent. Interviewing is also spread as evenly as possible across the field period. An effort is made to recontact most interview breakoffs and refusals to attempt to convert them to completed interviews.

Response rates for Pew Research polls typically range from 5% to 20%; these response rates are comparable to those for other major opinion polls. The response rate is the percentage of known or assumed residential households for which a completed interview was obtained. The response rate we report is computed using the American Association for Public Opinion Research's Response Rate 3 (RR3) method. Fortunately, low response rates are not necessarily an indication of nonresponse bias. Nonresponse in telephone interview surveys can produce biases in survey-derived estimates. Survey participation tends to vary for different subgroups of the population, and these subgroups are likely to also vary on questions of substantive interest. To compensate for these known biases, the sample data are weighted for analysis.

The landline sample is first weighted by household size to account for the fact that people in larger households have a lower probability of being selected. In addition, the combined landline and cell phone sample is weighted to account for the fact that respondents with both a landline and cell phone have a greater probability of being included in the sample. The sample is then weighted using population parameters from the U.S. Census Bureau for adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States. The parameters for age, education, race/ethnicity, and region are from the Current Population Survey's March 2010 Annual Social and Economic Supplement and the parameter for population density is from the Decennial Census. These population parameters are compared with the sample characteristics to construct the weights. In addition to the demographic parameters, the sample is also 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 final weights are derived using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters.

Weighting cannot eliminate every source of nonresponse bias. Nonetheless, properly-conducted public opinion polls have a good record in achieving unbiased samples. In particular, election polling – where a comparison of the polls with the actual election results provides an opportunity to validate the survey results – has been very accurate over the years.

For more information about our survey methodology, see <http://people-press.org/methodology/>.

## About the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press is an independent opinion research group that studies attitudes toward the press, politics and public policy issues. We are sponsored by The Pew Charitable Trusts and are one of seven projects that make up the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

The Center's purpose is to serve as a forum for ideas on the media and public policy through public opinion research. In this role it serves as an important information resource for political leaders, journalists, scholars, and public interest organizations. All of our current survey results are made available free of charge.

All of the Center's research and reports are collaborative products based on the input and analysis of the entire Center staff consisting of:

Andrew Kohut, Director  
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research  
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Detailed Tables

SEX	Solid Liberals		Hard-Pressed New Coalition		Post-Moderns		Main Street		Staunch	
	Liberal %	Democrat %	Democrat %	Coalition %	Moderns %	Disaffecteds %	Libertarians %	Republicans %	Conservatives %	Bystanders %
Men	43	39	44	53	46	67	50	56	49	
Women	57	61	56	47	54	33	50	44	51	
<b>AGE</b>										
18-49	58	47	58	67	50	53	55	39	80	
50+	42	52	40	33	50	46	44	61	19	
<b>DETAILED AGE</b>										
18-29	22	12	21	32	16	19	15	8	51	
30-49	35	35	37	35	34	34	40	31	29	
50-64	26	33	23	22	34	27	24	33	14	
65+	16	19	17	11	15	19	19	28	5	
<b>RACE</b>										
White non-Hispanic	72	53	34	70	77	85	88	92	44	
Black non-Hispanic	9	35	30	6	8	1	2	0	9	
Hispanic	11	6	26	14	9	7	4	3	38	
<b>EDUCATION</b>										
College grad+	49	13	27	41	11	37	28	34	10	
Some college	27	19	18	30	23	33	26	28	17	
HS or less	23	68	55	29	66	29	45	37	72	
<b>INCOME</b>										
\$75,000+	36	11	16	34	9	39	33	33	10	
\$30,000-\$74,999	33	30	23	34	28	33	37	38	22	
<\$30,000	22	49	46	22	51	16	20	15	54	
<b>RELIGION</b>										
White NH evangelical	4	20	9	2	28	12	39	43	11	
White NH mainline	20	14	10	24	21	27	19	24	12	
Non-white protestant	7	35	37	6	10	5	7	3	17	
Catholic	19	17	25	25	22	25	21	17	31	
Unaffiliated	40	8	12	31	12	19	5	5	21	
<b>ATTENDANCE</b>										
Attend services weekly+	19	42	50	19	41	26	53	57	29	
Attend monthly or yearly	34	36	34	39	37	35	35	29	41	
Attend seldom or never	47	20	14	41	21	38	11	13	29	
<b>REGION</b>										
Northeast	25	15	23	25	17	18	19	12	19	
Midwest	21	23	18	20	24	28	27	26	18	
South	26	48	40	31	41	28	40	38	40	
West	28	14	19	25	18	27	14	24	23	
<b>COMMUNITY</b>										
Urban	40	30	35	31	27	32	25	28	34	
Suburban	48	44	48	58	48	50	50	48	44	
Rural	10	23	11	8	21	13	22	21	15	
<b>HOME OWNERSHIP</b>										
Own home	55	54	50	64	57	68	84	81	33	
Rent	42	39	45	30	30	28	16	16	55	

Detailed Tables (Continued)

	Solid Liberals %	Hard-Pressed Democrats %	New Coalition Democrats %	Post- Moderns %	Disaffecteds %	Libertarians %	Main Street Republicans %	Staunch Conservatives %	Bystanders %
<b>REGISTERED VOTER</b>									
Registered voter	86	87	71	82	75	86	90	93	0
Not a registered voter	14	13	29	18	25	14	10	7	100
<b>PARTY/IDEOLOGY</b>									
Republican	0	0	2	7	25	28	76	84	13
Conservative Republican	0	0	1	4	15	16	53	74	5
Mod/Lib Republican	0	0	1	2	9	10	22	9	7
Independent	23	15	34	62	63	63	21	15	47
Democrat	75	84	56	26	0	5	0	0	25
Mod/Cons Democrat	28	63	38	16	0	4	0	0	16
Liberal Democrat	47	17	15	10	0	1	0	0	6
<b>PARTY WITH LEANERS</b>									
Rep/Rep lean	1	0	5	23	60	77	95	100	29
Dem/Dem lean	96	100	81	58	9	11	2	0	49
No lean	4	0	14	19	31	12	3	0	21
<b>IDEOLOGY</b>									
Conservative	9	33	32	19	42	53	66	88	25
Moderate	31	43	36	56	38	37	27	8	33
Liberal	60	20	24	21	12	7	6	3	30
<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>									
Married	45	46	38	51	48	54	54	79	32
Not married	55	54	62	49	52	46	46	21	68
<b>PARENT</b>									
Parent	23	29	32	34	44	32	41	30	34
Not a parent	77	71	68	66	56	68	59	70	66
<b>VETERAN IN HOUSEHOLD</b>									
Veteran in HH	27	36	33	35	43	40	39	37	23
No veteran	73	64	67	65	55	59	61	63	77
<b>IMPACT OF RECESSION (QB15)</b>									
Major impact, not yet recovered	30	53	41	15	63	37	32	46	41
Major impact, mostly recovered	33	20	16	40	16	26	25	21	19
No major impact	35	25	40	44	20	37	42	32	36
<b>EMPLOYMENT STATUS</b>									
Employed full-time	47	28	34	51	37	52	50	45	30
Employed part-time	13	8	15	15	11	15	6	7	26
Not employed	40	64	51	34	51	33	43	47	44
Currently unemployed, looking for work	11	21	15	9	14	5	9	7	23
HH unemployed member in last year	48	63	53	36	71	42	39	39	64

Detailed Tables (Continued)

	Solid Liberals %	Hard-Pressed Democrats %	New Coalition Democrats %	Post-Moderns %	Disaffecteds %	Libertarians %	Main Street Republicans %	Staunch Conservatives %	Bystanders %
<b>MEDIA HABITS (QA18a-f)</b>									
<i>Watch national nightly news</i>									
Regularly	38	61	47	38	52	35	51	30	35
Sometimes	25	27	27	27	24	31	32	30	32
Hardly ever	19	3	16	15	15	13	10	15	10
Never	18	8	10	18	8	21	7	25	23
<i>Watch CNN</i>									
Regularly	27	44	28	27	29	15	21	8	16
Sometimes	39	31	41	41	37	39	40	33	39
Hardly ever	16	10	16	15	15	24	14	24	14
Never	18	15	15	17	19	21	24	34	30
<i>Watch Fox News</i>									
Regularly	11	35	31	20	40	38	37	54	17
Sometimes	19	35	32	25	31	24	38	27	35
Hardly ever	15	11	17	20	8	16	12	6	19
Never	55	19	19	35	20	20	13	13	29
<i>Watch MSNBC</i>									
Regularly	19	23	20	15	19	13	18	6	10
Sometimes	37	40	37	31	38	23	33	21	36
Hardly ever	20	10	17	26	22	27	19	24	18
Never	23	26	25	27	21	36	30	48	33
<i>Listen to NPR</i>									
Regularly	34	6	25	20	10	17	11	8	6
Sometimes	29	21	22	22	24	18	28	20	19
Hardly ever	10	18	17	20	18	21	18	20	22
Never	27	55	36	39	46	44	43	52	53
<i>Read local paper</i>									
Regularly	51	57	34	47	49	50	55	44	24
Sometimes	25	17	34	29	24	20	25	26	37
Hardly ever	13	12	17	12	8	13	11	11	12
Never	9	15	14	11	18	16	9	19	26
<i>Read The New York Times</i>									
Regularly	18	3	8	10	3	1	4	1	4
Sometimes	17	11	18	20	9	11	9	6	16
Hardly ever	18	12	20	19	15	25	15	13	10
Never	46	74	53	52	72	63	72	80	66
<i>Watch the Daily Show</i>									
Regularly	21	8	3	14	3	3	3	1	6
Sometimes	33	20	23	24	19	17	15	6	8
Hardly ever	13	16	14	16	10	23	15	14	7
Never	33	56	60	46	68	56	66	79	79
<i>Listen to Rush Limbaugh</i>									
Regularly	2	1	4	1	4	9	7	21	1
Sometimes	3	11	9	7	17	17	18	33	6
Hardly ever	9	8	12	12	12	19	12	15	8
Never	86	81	73	80	67	55	62	30	84
<i>Watch or listen to Glenn Beck</i>									
Regularly	1	5	6	1	5	9	8	23	1
Sometimes	7	13	7	7	22	24	25	32	6
Hardly ever	9	12	10	11	12	18	14	16	8
Never	83	69	75	81	59	48	53	28	83

## Detailed Tables (Continued)

	Solid Liberals %	Hard-Pressed Democrats %	New Coalition Democrats %	Post- Moderns %	Disaffecteds %	Libertarians %	Main Street Republicans %	Staunch Conservatives %	Bystanders %
<b>HARD WORK (Q17k)</b>									
Most can get ahead if work hard	45	51	64	70	50	80	68	79	67
Hard work, no guarantee of success	50	44	32	26	47	18	29	17	31
<b>NATIONAL SATISFACTION (QB2)</b>									
Satisfied w country	28	15	31	40	10	14	14	4	40
Not satisfied	67	82	57	52	86	83	81	95	51
<b>FOLLOW GOVERNMENT/PUBLIC AFFAIRS (Q33)</b>									
Most of the time	61	48	46	53	46	67	54	75	0
Some of the time	32	29	33	30	34	21	29	18	34
Only now and then	5	15	15	12	13	8	13	5	42
Hardly at all	1	6	5	5	7	3	3	1	23
<b>PARTICIPATED IN POLITICAL EVENT (QB91)</b>									
Have in the past 5 years	37	14	18	15	15	21	18	32	4
Have not	63	85	81	85	84	79	82	68	96
<b>OBAMA JOB APPROVAL (QA1)</b>									
Approve	90	69	83	65	28	16	27	1	52
Disapprove	7	22	12	19	57	76	65	97	27
<b>2012 PREFERENCE (RVs) (QB20)</b>									
Reelect Obama	95	78	75	60	22	7	11	0	--
Prefer Republican	2	11	5	16	48	70	73	91	--
<b>TEA PARTY MOVEMENT</b>									
Agree	1	10	8	7	19	44	32	72	4
Disagree	67	28	28	37	12	10	8	2	11
No opinion	29	58	60	53	67	43	57	26	79
<b>PREFER ELECTED OFFICIALS WHO (QA45b)</b>									
Compromise	70	31	35	60	27	31	38	17	29
Stick to their positions	25	60	59	37	64	60	56	79	59
<b>REPUBLICAN PARTY FAVORABILITY (QA4a)</b>									
Favorable	10	27	29	25	59	62	75	81	31
Unfavorable	87	66	66	65	33	29	22	13	53
<b>DEMOCRATIC PARTY FAVORABILITY (QA4b)</b>									
Favorable	83	81	79	58	25	12	14	1	52
Unfavorable	11	16	19	34	65	81	83	97	30
<b>CONGRESS FAVORABILITY (QA4c)</b>									
Favorable	34	37	42	35	31	26	37	30	32
Unfavorable	63	57	44	55	59	66	57	62	50
<b>LABOR UNION FAVORABILITY (QA4e)</b>									
Favorable	69	61	64	50	41	24	37	19	44
Unfavorable	21	23	20	37	47	65	50	74	36
<b>OBAMA FAVORABILITY (QB14a)</b>									
Favorable	93	81	87	81	35	25	23	7	68
Unfavorable	6	18	8	18	60	72	73	93	25
<b>MICHELLE OBAMA FAVORABILITY (QB14b)</b>									
Favorable	96	83	83	83	56	49	56	22	73
Unfavorable	1	10	8	7	31	37	36	68	8
<b>GEORGE W. BUSH FAVORABILITY (QB14c)</b>									
Favorable	7	18	29	31	52	67	77	84	41
Unfavorable	91	81	62	66	46	27	20	14	48
<b>BILL CLINTON FAVORABILITY (QB14d)</b>									
Favorable	90	86	79	76	60	44	49	26	76
Unfavorable	8	13	11	21	36	48	48	73	17



Detailed Tables (Continued)

	Solid Liberals %	Hard-Pressed Democrats %	New Coalition Democrats %	Post-Moderns %	Disaffecteds %	Libertarians %	Main Street Republicans %	Staunch Conservatives %	Bystanders %
<b>TRUST GOV TO DO WHAT IS RIGHT</b> (QA25)									
Always/most of the time	38	25	40	46	19	14	28	3	33
Some of the time/never	61	73	57	53	80	86	71	97	64
<b>FEELING ABOUT FED GOVERNMENT</b> (QA24)									
Content	35	17	34	32	14	13	15	3	27
Frustrated	56	64	50	59	61	67	74	63	45
Angry	8	11	11	5	19	18	11	32	16
<b>PREFERRED SIZE OF GOVERNMENT</b> (QB47)									
Smaller gov't, fewer services	17	40	19	55	50	85	74	96	32
Bigger government, more services	74	53	65	35	42	10	19	4	57
<b>AMERICAN EXCEPTIONALISM</b> (QB38)									
U.S. stands above all other countries	19	42	40	27	40	38	49	67	28
U.S. one of greatest countries, w/others	62	52	54	65	47	56	46	32	56
Other countries are greater than U.S.	17	6	4	7	11	5	4	1	11
<b>SUPREME COURT SHOULD</b> (QA46)									
Interpret Constitution as written	15	40	40	27	55	70	64	88	33
Interpret based on meaning now	81	53	54	70	36	28	32	10	59
<b>BIGGEST ECONOMIC WORRY</b> (QB16)									
Job situation	46	33	42	32	43	23	24	17	40
Rising prices	21	42	27	24	36	12	26	15	36
Federal budget deficit	19	14	12	28	9	49	34	50	13
Problems in housing/financial markets	13	8	13	14	8	11	11	10	5
<b>BUDGET DEFICIT IMPORTANCE</b> (QB71)									
Top priority this year	32	50	47	48	51	76	64	84	44
Important, but lower priority	45	38	35	40	37	18	28	10	31
Not too important/Not needed this year	20	7	11	12	8	5	6	5	9
<b>DEFICIT CUTTING MEASURES</b> (QB72a-d)									
<b>Increase taxes</b>									
Favor	66	20	29	40	24	24	23	15	15
Oppose	30	79	65	56	74	73	74	85	79
<b>Cut defense spending</b>									
Favor	79	40	49	67	40	48	28	29	53
Oppose	20	57	42	30	56	49	69	69	39
<b>Domestic spending cuts</b>									
Favor	38	58	53	67	51	80	68	83	65
Oppose	52	33	33	25	37	15	25	11	26
<b>Change Social Security/Medicare</b>									
Favor	26	17	21	34	15	56	32	47	39
Oppose	71	82	75	58	82	42	66	48	49
<b>BEST WAY TO REDUCE DEFICIT</b> (QCB4)									
Focus on cutting major programs	2	10	7	8	17	47	35	59	15
Focus on increasing taxes	23	4	9	2	3	2	1	0	4
Combination of both	70	70	71	84	65	45	59	34	65

**Detailed Tables (Continued)**

	Solid Liberals %	Hard-Pressed Democrats %	New Coalition Democrats %	Post- Moderns %	Disaffecteds %	Libertarians %	Main Street Republicans %	Staunch Conservatives %	Bystanders %
<b>U.S. FOREIGN POLICY (Q37ee)</b>									
Best if U.S. is active in world affairs	47	18	36	42	16	34	37	37	28
Should focus more on domestic problems	47	74	56	52	73	55	53	54	65
<b>U.S. ALLIES (Q37cc)</b>									
U.S. should consider interests of allies	72	39	61	60	44	48	54	40	48
Should follow its own national interests	23	44	26	31	42	45	37	47	36
<b>UN FAVORABILITY (QA4d)</b>									
Favorable	75	54	69	60	42	26	47	19	55
Unfavorable	17	27	17	25	33	52	37	72	23
<b>MIDDLE EAST PRIORITY (QB34)</b>									
Democracy, even if region is less stable	54	41	40	34	29	34	31	35	32
Stability, even if there is less democracy	40	48	43	61	56	55	59	57	55
<b>U.S. STRIKES IN LIBYA (QCB5)</b>									
Right decision	58	40	55	53	32	37	47	37	34
Wrong decision	25	32	30	30	43	47	39	49	44
<b>OBAMA AFGHANISTAN POLICY (QA67)</b>									
Will remove troops too quickly	1	4	6	5	11	17	22	52	7
Troop removal not quick enough	25	30	28	25	44	22	25	18	47
Troop removal about right	70	56	60	58	34	49	48	20	38
<b>U.S.-CHINA ECONOMIC POLICY (QB35)</b>									
Have a stronger relationship w/ China	65	48	66	57	54	53	43	16	68
Should be tougher w/ China	29	46	23	37	38	43	47	79	24
<b>FREE TRADE AGREEMENTS (QA57)</b>									
Good for the U.S.	52	40	59	54	29	42	46	43	60
Bad for the U.S.	37	48	31	37	57	43	47	45	24
<b>ISLAM AND VIOLENCE (QA45)</b>									
Encourages violence among believers	19	37	26	26	39	52	58	84	37
Doesn't encourage more than other faiths	71	46	44	58	35	30	30	10	39

Detailed Tables (Continued)

	Solid Liberals %	Hard-Pressed Democrats %	New Coalition Democrats %	Post-Moderns %	Disaffecteds %	Libertarians %	Main Street Republicans %	Staunch Conservatives %	Bystanders %
<b>HEALTH CARE REFORM</b> (QA59)									
Mostly good effect	43	16	34	16	8	3	4	0	21
Mostly bad effect	1	16	5	16	33	60	47	80	13
Mix of good and bad	51	61	56	65	54	34	47	19	55
<b>GAY MARRIAGE</b> (QA61)									
Favor	85	32	34	80	34	43	23	9	43
Oppose	13	57	51	14	52	45	72	85	46
<b>ABORTION</b> (QA62)									
Should be legal in all/most cases	84	54	40	75	48	58	36	27	47
Should be illegal in all/most cases	15	41	51	22	43	38	64	72	52
<b>ILLEGAL IMMIGRATION REFORM</b> (QB68a)									
Favor creating path to citizenship	94	61	80	87	65	66	58	49	86
Oppose path to citizenship	4	35	12	13	29	32	39	49	12
<b>IMMIGRATION/BORDER ENFORCEMENT</b> (QB68b)									
Favor stronger enforcement of borders	55	88	65	77	84	93	88	95	66
Oppose stronger enforcement	43	12	24	22	14	5	10	3	31
<b>GUN CONTROL PRIORITY</b> (QA60)									
Should protect right to own guns	25	41	21	45	58	77	64	86	32
Should control gun ownership	70	52	71	54	35	18	32	10	58
<b>MARIJUANA USE</b> (QA63)									
Should be legal	66	49	36	62	42	54	29	22	33
Should be illegal	31	48	56	34	49	43	69	73	60
<b>ENERGY POLICY PRIORITY</b> (QA58)									
Focus on alternative energy sources	88	60	67	79	57	44	66	15	65
Expand oil/coal/natural gas exploration	9	32	25	13	33	40	26	72	29
<b>WALL STREET</b> (Q37/ii)									
Helps U.S. econ. more than it hurts	32	26	39	56	26	56	36	48	35
Hurts U.S. econ. more than it helps	59	66	32	35	59	32	45	39	35
<b>CHILDHOOD OBESITY</b> (QA64)									
Government should play major role	71	64	86	62	46	24	50	20	72
Government should not play major role	25	30	13	35	49	72	49	78	25



**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS  
2011 MARCH POLITICAL TYPOLOGY  
FINAL TOPLINE**

Survey A: February 22-March 1, 2011 N=1504

Survey B: March 8-14, 2011 N=1525

Combined N=3029

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	51	39	10	Feb 3-9, 2010	49	39	12
Feb 2-7, 2011	49	42	9	Jan 6-10, 2010	49	42	10
Jan 5-9, 2011	46	44	10	Dec 9-13, 2009	49	40	11
Dec 1-5, 2010	45	43	13	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	36	13
Nov 4-7, 2010	44	44	12	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	52	36	12
Oct 13-18, 2010	46	45	9	Sep 10-15, 2009	55	33	13
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	47	44	9	Aug 20-27, 2009	52	37	12
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	47	41	12	Aug 11-17, 2009	51	37	11
Jun 8-28, 2010	48	41	11	Jul 22-26, 2009	54	34	12
Jun 16-20, 2010	48	43	9	Jun 10-14, 2009	61	30	9
May 6-9, 2010	47	42	11	Apr 14-21, 2009	63	26	11
Apr 21-26, 2010	47	42	11	Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	61	26	13
Apr 8-11, 2010	48	43	9	Mar 9-12, 2009	59	26	15
Mar 10-14, 2010	46	43	12	Feb 4-8, 2009	64	17	19

**ASK IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (Q.A1=1,2):**

Q.A1a Do you [approve/disapprove] very strongly, or not so strongly?

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

Feb 22-Mar 1 <u>2011</u>		Jan 5-9 <u>2011</u>	Aug 25- Sep 6 <u>2010</u>	Jun 16-20 <u>2010</u>	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>	Apr 14-21 <u>2009</u>
51	Approve	46	47	48	49	63
32	Very strongly	27	28	29	30	45
18	Not so strongly	16	17	17	15	13
2	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	2	2	2	3	5
39	Disapprove	44	44	43	42	26
29	Very strongly	30	32	31	30	18
10	Not so strongly	13	11	11	11	8
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	1	1	1	1	*
10	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	10	9	9	10	11

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

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

	Satis- fied	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref		Satis- fied	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Mar 8-14, 2011	22	73	5	Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6
Feb 2-7, 2011	26	68	5	July, 2004	38	55	7
Jan 5-9, 2011	23	71	6	May, 2004	33	61	6
Dec 1-5, 2010	21	72	7	Late February, 2004*	39	55	6
Nov 4-7, 2010	23	69	8	Early January, 2004	45	48	7
Sep 23-26, 2010	30	63	7	December, 2003	44	47	9
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	25	71	5	October, 2003	38	56	6
Jun 24-27, 2010	27	64	9	August, 2003	40	53	7
May 13-16, 2010	28	64	7	April 8, 2003	50	41	9
Apr 21-26, 2010	29	66	5	January, 2003	44	50	6
Apr 1-5, 2010	31	63	6	November, 2002	41	48	11
Mar 11-21, 2010	25	69	5	September, 2002	41	55	4
Mar 10-14, 2010	23	71	7	Late August, 2002	47	44	9
Feb 3-9, 2010	23	71	6	May, 2002	44	44	12
Jan 6-10, 2010	27	69	4	March, 2002	50	40	10
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7	Late September, 2001	57	34	9
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7	Early September, 2001	41	53	6
Sep 10-15, 2009 <sup>1</sup>	30	64	7	June, 2001	43	52	5
Aug 20-27, 2009	28	65	7	March, 2001	47	45	8
Aug 11-17, 2009	28	65	7	February, 2001	46	43	11
Jul 22-26, 2009	28	66	6	January, 2001	55	41	4
Jun 10-14, 2009	30	64	5	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7
Apr 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8	September, 2000	51	41	8
Apr 14-21, 2009	23	70	7	June, 2000	47	45	8
Jan 7-11, 2009	20	73	7	April, 2000	48	43	9
December, 2008	13	83	4	August, 1999	56	39	5
Early October, 2008	11	86	3	January, 1999	53	41	6
Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6	November, 1998	46	44	10
August, 2008	21	74	5	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
July, 2008	19	74	7	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
June, 2008	19	76	5	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
Late May, 2008	18	76	6	February, 1998	59	37	4
March, 2008	22	72	6	January, 1998	46	50	4
Early February, 2008	24	70	6	September, 1997	45	49	6
Late December, 2007	27	66	7	August, 1997	49	46	5
October, 2007	28	66	6	January, 1997	38	58	4
February, 2007	30	61	9	July, 1996	29	67	4
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7	March, 1996	28	70	2
Early January, 2007	30	63	7	October, 1995	23	73	4
December, 2006	28	65	7	June, 1995	25	73	2
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8	April, 1995	23	74	3
Early October, 2006	30	63	7	July, 1994	24	73	3
July, 2006	30	65	5	March, 1994	24	71	5
May, 2006*	29	65	6	October, 1993	22	73	5
March, 2006	32	63	5	September, 1993	20	75	5
January, 2006	34	61	5	May, 1993	22	71	7
Late November, 2005	34	59	7	January, 1993	39	50	11
Early October, 2005	29	65	6	January, 1992	28	68	4
July, 2005	35	58	7	November, 1991	34	61	5
Late May, 2005*	39	57	4	Gallup: Late Feb, 1991	66	31	3
February, 2005	38	56	6	August, 1990	47	48	5
January, 2005	40	54	6	May, 1990	41	54	5
December, 2004	39	54	7	January, 1989	45	50	5
				September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5

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

## NO QUESTION 3

## ASK ALL SURVEY A:

Q.A4 Would you say your overall opinion of... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a THROUGH c FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS d AND e]** 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]**?

	----- Favorable -----			----- Unfavorable -----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
a. The Republican Party								
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	22	*	8
July, 2001	48	11	37	42	15	27	*	10
January, 2001	56	13	43	35	13	22	*	9
September, 2000 (RVs)	53	11	42	40	12	28	0	7
August, 1999	53	8	45	43	12	31	*	4
February, 1999	44	7	37	51	15	36	0	5
January, 1999	44	10	34	50	23	27	0	6
Early December, 1998	46	11	35	47	20	27	*	7
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	9	43	42	14	28	0	6
Early September, 1998	56	9	47	37	11	26	*	7
March, 1998	50	10	40	43	12	31	*	7
August, 1997	47	9	38	47	11	36	*	6
June, 1997	51	8	43	42	11	31	1	6
January, 1997	52	8	44	43	10	33	*	5
October, 1995	52	10	42	44	16	28	*	4
December, 1994	67	21	46	27	8	19	*	6
July, 1994	63	12	51	33	8	25	*	4
May, 1993	54	12	42	35	10	25	0	11
July, 1992	46	9	37	48	17	31	*	6

**Q.A4 CONTINUED...**

	----- Favorable -----			----- Unfavorable -----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
b. The Democratic Party								
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	48	14	34	45	18	27	*	6
Feb 2-7, 2011	47	13	35	46	17	29	*	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	50	13	36	44	20	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
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
c. Congress								
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
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	50	10	40	43	15	28	*	7
Jan 7-11, 2009	40	5	35	52	20	32	*	8



## Q.A4 CONTINUED...

	----- Favorable -----			----- Unfavorable -----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
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	32	*	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	33	8	25	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
d. The United Nations								
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	52	15	37	32	13	18	1	15
January, 2007	57	14	43	33	14	19	1	9
July, 2006	53	12	41	36	12	24	2	9
May, 2006 <sup>2</sup>	51	15	36	38	19	19	--	11
Late October, 2005	48	9	39	39	15	24	1	12
Late March, 2005	59	14	45	32	11	21	*	9
Late February, 2004	55	14	41	35	15	20	--	10
Early September, 2001	77	23	54	18	6	12	1	4
August, 1999	76	19	57	19	5	14	*	5
June, 1999	70	19	51	23	7	16	0	7
Early September, 1998	69	14	55	23	7	16	*	8

<sup>2</sup> In May 2006 the question was asked, "Please tell me if you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable or somewhat unfavorable or very unfavorable opinion of the United Nations?"

**Q.A4 CONTINUED...**

	----- Favorable -----			----- Unfavorable -----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never heard of	Can't rate/ Ref
September, 1997	64	11	53	28	9	19	*	8
February, 1996	65	19	46	29	9	20	1	5
June, 1995	67	14	53	28	8	20	*	5
February, 1995	62	13	49	26	8	18	*	12
July, 1994	76	21	55	19	5	14	1	4
May, 1993	73	21	52	17	4	13	0	10
May, 1990	70	15	55	19	6	13	1	10
e. Labor unions								
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	47	18	29	39	17	23	2	12
Feb 2-7, 2011	45	11	34	41	17	25	1	13
Feb 3-9, 2010	41	11	30	42	16	26	1	16
January, 2007	58	18	40	31	11	20	2	9
Late March, 2005	56	17	39	33	9	24	1	9
March, 2002	59	15	44	32	9	23	1	8
July, 2001	51	12	39	36	10	26	1	12
March, 2001	63	16	47	28	7	21	1	8
August, 1999	59	12	47	36	9	27	*	5
Early September, 1998	52	12	40	38	13	25	*	10
June, 1997	58	15	43	35	10	25	*	7
May, 1997	49	15	34	39	13	26	*	12
April, 1996	47	10	37	45	17	28	*	8
February, 1996	54	17	37	41	14	27	*	5
July, 1994	57	14	43	38	10	28	*	5
January, 1988	52	10	42	39	10	29	*	9
July, 1985	46	9	37	47	17	30	*	7

**NO QUESTIONS 5-13**

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B14 As I read some names, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each person. First, **[INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE]** would you say your overall opinion of... **[INSERT NAME]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about **[NEXT NAME]**?

**[IF NECESSARY:** would you say your overall opinion of **[NAME]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?**]** **[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
a. Barack Obama								
Mar 8-14, 2011	58	22	36	39	20	19	*	3
Dec 2-5, 2010	54	26	29	43	25	18	*	2
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	53	21	32	43	23	20	*	5
Jun 10-13, 2010	56	27	30	39	20	19	0	4
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	65	33	32	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
Late September, 2008	65	33	32	30	11	19	*	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
b. Michelle Obama								
Mar 8-14, 2011	69	30	39	21	9	12	1	9
Dec 2-5, 2010	62	30	31	27	15	12	1	10
Jun 10-13, 2010	69	31	38	22	9	12	1	9
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	71	33	38	16	8	8	1	11
Jun 10-14, 2009	76	36	39	14	5	9	1	9
Apr 14-21, 2009	76	36	40	13	4	9	1	10
Jan 7-11, 2009	68	28	40	15	4	11	2	15
Mid-September, 2008	56	23	33	25	11	14	2	17
Late May, 2008	43	14	29	21	8	13	4	32
c. George W. Bush								
Mar 8-14, 2011	42	12	31	54	27	27	*	4
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	37	10	27	57	34	24	*	6
Mid-April, 2009	35	9	26	60	33	27	*	5
January, 2009	37	9	28	60	35	25	0	3
April, 2008	31	9	22	65	42	23	*	4
March, 2008	34	8	26	61	37	24	0	5
Late February, 2008	35	10	25	60	39	21	0	5
Early February, 2008	34	9	25	61	39	22	*	5
January, 2008	36	11	25	60	37	23	0	4
Late December, 2007	33	10	23	63	41	22	0	4
August, 2007	40	12	28	57	34	23	*	3
December, 2006	39	12	27	57	34	23	*	4
April, 2006	40	15	25	57	35	22	*	3
Late October, 2005	46	17	29	51	29	22	*	3
July, 2005	51	22	29	46	25	21	0	3
Late March, 2005	53	23	30	45	27	18	0	2
Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	56	26	30	42	23	19	*	2

## Q.B14 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
Early October, 2004 (RVs)	57	27	30	40	20	20	0	3
September, 2004	52	25	27	43	24	19	*	5
August, 2004	58	27	31	39	22	17	0	3
June, 2004	52	19	33	45	22	23	*	3
Early February, 2004	53	21	32	44	25	19	0	3
Gallup: Jan 29-Feb 1, 2004	52	--	--	47	--	--	--	1
Gallup: Jan 2-5, 2004	65	--	--	35	--	--	--	*
Gallup: Oct 6-8, 2003	60	--	--	39	--	--	--	1
Gallup: Jun 9-10, 2003	66	--	--	33	--	--	--	1
April, 2003	72	37	35	25	11	14	0	3
January, 2003	70	28	42	28	10	18	0	2
December, 2002	68	35	33	27	11	16	0	5
July, 2001	61	22	39	35	14	21	*	4
January, 2001	60	24	36	33	12	21	0	7
May, 2000	58	18	40	31	12	19	1	10
March, 1999 <sup>3</sup>	61	21	40	21	7	14	4	14
November, 1997	54	13	41	18	6	12	9	19
d. Bill Clinton								
Mar 8-14, 2011	67	27	40	29	10	18	1	3
February, 2008	52	20	32	42	22	20	*	6
Late December, 2007	54	22	32	40	20	20	0	6
December, 2006	63	29	34	33	16	17	1	3
April, 2006	61	27	34	36	18	18	0	3
Late October, 2005	62	26	36	34	18	16	*	4
Late March, 2005	64	24	40	32	13	19	0	4
December, 2002	46	17	29	49	27	22	*	5
July, 2001	50	20	30	46	27	19	0	4
January, 2001	64	23	41	34	17	17	0	2
May, 2000	48	17	31	47	28	19	*	5
March, 1999	55	21	34	42	23	19	*	3
December, 1998	55	23	32	43	24	19	0	2
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	15	37	44	24	20	0	4
Early September, 1998	57	18	39	41	23	18	0	2
Late August, 1998	54	18	36	44	24	20	0	2
March, 1998	62	22	40	35	16	19	*	3
November, 1997	63	19	44	35	14	21	0	2
October, 1997	62	15	47	36	16	20	*	2
September, 1997	62	18	44	35	14	21	0	3
August, 1997	61	16	45	38	17	21	0	1
April, 1997	61	17	44	37	16	21	*	2
January, 1997	66	17	49	32	14	18	*	2
October, 1996 (RVs)	57	12	45	41	19	22	0	2
June, 1996	61	16	45	37	14	23	*	2
April, 1996	57	16	41	40	16	24	0	3
February, 1996	55	20	35	43	21	22	0	2
January, 1996	56	13	43	42	15	27	0	2
August, 1995	49	13	36	49	20	29	0	2
February, 1995	55	14	41	42	17	25	0	3
December, 1994	51	17	34	46	22	24	0	3
July, 1994	58	15	43	41	16	25	*	1
May, 1993	60	18	42	35	12	23	0	5
July, 1992	59	17	42	34	9	25	0	7
June, 1992	46	10	36	47	14	33	1	6
May, 1992	53	11	42	42	10	32	*	5
March, 1992	53	10	43	40	11	29	1	6
February, 1992	59	15	44	31	7	24	2	8

<sup>3</sup> In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

**Q.B14 CONTINUED...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
January, 1992	37	9	28	15	4	11	27	21
November, 1991	30	5	25	10	2	8	39	21
e. John Boehner								
Mar 8-14, 2011	26	7	19	27	11	16	32	16
Dec 2-5, 2010	28	8	20	25	12	14	34	12
Jun 10-13, 2010	12	3	9	22	8	15	54	12
<b>TRENDS FOR COMPARISON<sup>4</sup>:</b>								
<b>Nancy Pelosi</b>								
Dec 2-5, 2010	29	10	20	55	35	19	9	6
Jun 10-13, 2010	27	5	22	50	28	23	14	8
Jun 10-14, 2009	35	8	28	41	25	16	15	8
December, 2007	25	6	19	38	19	19	20	17
<b>Dennis Hastert</b>								
December, 2002	18	3	15	12	9	3	52	18
<b>Newt Gingrich</b>								
October, 1998	41	8	33	49	23	26	1	9
Early September, 1998	42	7	35	48	20	28	3	7
Late August, 1998	43	5	38	52	19	33	2	3
March, 1998	36	6	30	49	20	29	6	9
November, 1997	30	6	24	59	24	35	4	7
August, 1997	30	6	24	62	27	35	2	6
April, 1997	28	5	23	64	28	36	3	5
January, 1997	28	4	24	65	26	39	2	5
August, 1995	30	9	21	54	25	29	4	12
February, 1995	41	12	29	37	15	22	10	12
December, 1994	25	7	18	28	13	15	30	17
July, 1994	14	2	12	12	4	8	65	9
<b>Thomas Foley</b>								
March, 1991	42	13	29	10	7	3	23	25
May, 1990	20	3	17	9	6	3	45	26

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B15 Overall, which of the following best describes how the recession affected your own personal financial situation? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 3; KEEP OPTION 2 SECOND]**

Mar 8-14 2011		Feb 2-7 2011
40	It had a major effect, and your finances have not recovered	36
24	It had a major effect, but your finances have mostly recovered	25
34	It didn't have a major effect on your finances	37
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B16 Which of the following national economic issues worries you most? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

Mar 8-14 2011		Feb 2-7 2011	Dec 1-5 2010	Aug 25- Sep 6 2010	Jun 3-6 2010	Mar 10-14 2010
34	The job situation	44	47	49	41	45
28	Rising prices	23	15	15	16	17
24	The federal budget deficit	19	19	19	23	22
10	Problems in the financial and housing markets	10	14	12	13	11
3	Other (VOL.)	1	1	2	3	2
*	None/Not worried about any (VOL.)	1	1	1	1	*
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	3	2	2	2

<sup>4</sup> Trends for Pelosi, Hastert, Gingrich and Foley shown only for when they occupied the position of Speaker of the House of Representatives.

**ASK ALL<sup>5</sup>:**

Q.17 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] [AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?]**

	Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient			Government often does a better job than people give it credit for			<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	55	46	9	39	27	12	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	61	--	--	35	--	--	4
December, 2008	53	46	7	40	27	13	7
October, 2008	57	50	7	35	25	10	8
September, 2005	56	--	--	39	--	--	5
December, 2004	47	38	9	45	28	17	8
June, 2003	48	38	10	46	28	18	6
September, 2000	52	43	9	40	27	13	8
August, 1999	51	41	10	43	28	15	6
June, 1997	59	49	10	36	23	13	5
October, 1996	56	48	8	39	25	14	5
October, 1995	63	53	10	34	20	14	3
April, 1995	63	51	12	34	19	15	3
October, 1994	64	54	10	32	19	13	4
July, 1994	66	54	12	31	17	14	3

	Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest			Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good			<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	47	33	14	45	35	10	8
December, 2008	47	35	12	43	36	7	10
October, 2008	50	38	12	38	31	7	12
January, 2008	41	--	--	50	--	--	9
December, 2004	49	32	17	41	30	11	10
July, 2002	54	39	15	36	27	9	10
February, 2002	50	35	15	41	31	10	9
August, 1999	48	32	16	44	32	12	8
October, 1996	45	29	16	46	33	13	9
October, 1995	45	28	17	50	37	13	5
April, 1995	43	25	18	51	38	13	6
October, 1994	38	24	14	55	41	14	7
July, 1994	41	24	17	54	39	15	5

	Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return			Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently			<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	41	29	12	47	35	12	12
January, 2008	34	--	--	52	--	--	14
December, 2005	35	23	12	51	39	12	14
September, 2005	38	--	--	51	--	--	11
December, 2004	34	23	11	52	40	12	14

<sup>5</sup> Questions 17e and 17j asked only on Survey A.

**Q.17 CONTINUED...**

	c. Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return			Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently			<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
June, 2003	34	24	10	55	42	13	11
August, 1999	45	30	15	42	31	11	13
June, 1997	45	33	12	42	31	11	13
October, 1996	46	35	11	40	28	12	14
October, 1995	54	36	18	36	25	11	10
April, 1995	52	37	15	39	28	11	9
October, 1994	48	35	13	41	31	10	11
July, 1994	53	37	16	39	27	12	8
	d. The government should do more to help needy Americans, even if it means going deeper into debt			The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy			<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	41	33	8	51	37	13	8
December, 2008	55	46	9	35	26	9	10
October, 2008	51	42	9	37	28	9	12
April, 2007	63	--	--	28	--	--	9
December, 2004	57	46	11	33	22	11	10
August, 1999	57	44	13	35	23	12	8
October, 1996	46	36	10	44	31	13	10
April, 1996	49	42	7	44	34	10	7
October, 1995	47	35	12	47	31	16	6
April, 1995	46	33	13	47	34	13	7
October, 1994	50	39	11	43	31	12	7
July, 1994	48	35	13	47	32	15	5
	e. The position of blacks in American society has improved in recent years			There hasn't been much real progress for blacks in recent years			<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	72	58	15	21	14	7	7
September, 2005	69	--	--	25	--	--	6
December, 2004	73	59	14	20	14	6	7
August, 1999	78	63	15	18	13	5	4
June, 1997	73	55	18	22	16	6	5
October, 1996	73	57	16	21	16	5	6
October, 1995	69	52	17	27	20	7	4
April, 1995	70	52	18	26	19	7	4
October, 1994	67	50	17	27	20	7	6
July, 1994	72	52	20	25	18	7	3

**Q.17 CONTINUED...**

f.	Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days			Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition			(VOL.) Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	26	17	9	60	45	15	14
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	18	--	--	67	--	--	15
September, 2005	26	--	--	59	--	--	15
December, 2004	27	18	9	60	44	16	13
June, 2003	24	16	8	64	50	14	12
September, 2000	31	22	9	54	43	11	15
August, 1999	28	19	9	59	46	13	13
October, 1997	25	--	--	61	--	--	14
June, 1997	33	22	11	54	41	13	13
October, 1996	28	19	9	58	45	13	14
October, 1995	37	25	12	53	38	15	10
April, 1995	34	21	13	56	40	16	10
October, 1994	34	24	10	54	40	14	12
July, 1994	32	20	12	59	43	16	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			(VOL.) Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	45	33	12	44	35	9	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	46	--	--	40	--	--	14
March, 2006	41	--	--	52	--	--	7
December, 2005	45	30	15	44	34	10	11
December, 2004	45	32	13	44	34	10	11
June, 2003	46	30	16	44	35	9	10
September, 2000	50	36	14	38	29	9	12
August, 1999	46	30	16	44	34	10	10
October, 1997	41	--	--	48	--	--	11
June, 1997	41	26	15	48	37	11	11
April, 1997	38	19	19	52	38	14	10
June, 1996	37	--	--	54	--	--	9
July, 1994	31	17	14	63	49	14	6

**NO ITEM h.**

i.	The best way to ensure peace is through military strength			Good diplomacy is the best way to ensure peace			(VOL.) Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	31	26	5	58	47	11	11
October, 2006	28	--	--	57	--	--	15
December, 2004	30	25	5	55	46	9	15
August, 1999	33	26	7	55	45	10	12
October, 1996	36	30	6	53	44	9	11
October, 1995	36	28	8	59	49	10	5
April, 1995	35	27	8	58	46	12	7
October, 1994	40	32	8	52	43	9	8
July, 1994	36	28	8	58	46	12	6





**Q.17 CONTINUED...**

n.	Business corporations make too much profit			Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit			<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	54	47	7	39	26	13	7
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	54	--	--	39	--	--	6
December, 2008	58	51	7	35	24	11	7
October, 2008	59	52	7	33	23	10	8
January, 2008	57	--	--	36	--	--	7
December, 2005	61	52	9	33	21	12	6
December, 2004	53	46	7	39	25	14	8
June, 2003	51	43	8	42	27	15	7
July, 2002	58	51	7	33	22	11	9
February, 2002	54	44	10	39	24	15	7
September, 2000	54	46	8	38	28	10	8
August, 1999	52	42	10	42	29	13	6
June, 1997	51	43	8	43	28	15	6
October, 1996	51	43	8	42	27	15	7
October, 1995	53	44	9	43	27	16	4
April, 1995	51	42	9	44	26	16	5
October, 1994	50	40	10	44	28	16	6
July, 1994	52	43	9	43	27	18	5

o.	Elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly			Elected officials in Washington try hard to stay in touch with voters back home			<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	72	60	12	22	14	8	5
December, 2004	66	54	12	26	15	11	8
September, 2000	66	53	13	27	18	9	7
August, 1999	68	55	13	26	16	10	6
October, 1996	69	58	11	25	15	10	6
April, 1996	72	59	13	23	14	9	5
October, 1995	73	60	13	24	14	10	3
April, 1995	76	64	12	21	12	9	3
October, 1994	74	61	13	22	13	9	4
July, 1994	71	58	13	25	14	11	4

p.	Most elected officials care what people like me think			Most elected officials don't care what people like me think			<b>(VOL.)</b> Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	26	15	11	69	60	10	5
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	29	--	--	68	--	--	4
December, 2004	32	19	13	63	52	11	5
June, 2003	33	18	15	62	51	11	5
September, 2000	39	26	13	55	44	11	6
August, 1999	35	21	14	60	49	11	5
June, 1997	28	17	11	67	55	12	5
October, 1996	38	23	15	58	48	10	4
October, 1995	33	18	15	64	53	11	3
April, 1995	32	18	14	64	53	11	4
October, 1994	29	17	12	68	56	12	3
July, 1994	34	18	16	64	51	13	2

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A18 Now I'd like to know how often you get news from a few different sources First, how often do you ... **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU g. FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS h. THRU j.]**, regularly, sometimes, hardly ever or never? How about **[INSERT NEXT ITEM.]**. **[READ ALL ANSWER CHOICES AS NECESSARY; DO NOT OFFER LESS THAN THE FULL LIST OF CHOICES]**<sup>6</sup>

	<u>Regularly</u>	<u>Sometimes</u>	<u>Hardly ever</u>	<u>Never</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Watch the national nightly network news on CBS, ABC or NBC Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	43	28	13	15	*
b. Watch CNN Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	24	38	16	21	*
c. Watch the Fox News CABLE Channel Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	30	29	14	26	*
d. Watch MSNBC Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	16	33	20	29	1
e. Listen to NPR, National Public Radio Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	16	23	18	43	*
f. Read your local daily newspaper Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	46	27	12	15	*
g. Read The New York Times Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	6	13	16	63	1
h. Watch the Daily Show with Jon Stewart Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	8	19	14	59	*
i. Watch or listen to Rush Limbaugh Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	5	12	12	71	*
j. Watch or listen to Glenn Beck Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	6	15	12	67	1

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A19 For each description I read, please tell me if it applies to you or not. (First,) **[INSERT ITEM IN ORDER]**, or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Do you trade stocks or bonds in the stock market Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	20	79	*
January, 2007	28	71	1
December, 2004	28	71	1
Mid-October, 2004	31	68	1
Mid-July, 2003	29	69	2
August, 2002	34	65	1
August, 1999	25	75	*

<sup>6</sup> These and other news sources are typically asked as part of the biennial media consumption survey. For full trends, see the [June 8-28, 2010 survey](#).

**Q.A19 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
b. Do you happen to have any guns, rifles or pistols in your home <sup>7</sup>			
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	37	60	4
Mar 11-21, 2010	33	62	5
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	33	63	4
April, 2007	37	61	2
January, 2007	33	64	3
December, 2004	37	60	3
Mid-October, 2004	39	59	2
Mid-July, 2003	34	63	3
August, 2002	35	62	3
April, 2000	35	62	3
June, 1997	40	57	3
December, 1993	45	53	2
c. Were you or either of your parents born in a country other than the United States			
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	18	81	*
d. Do you use online social networking sites like Facebook or Twitter			
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	48	51	*

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B20 Looking ahead, would you like to see Barack Obama re-elected president in 2012 or would you prefer that a Republican candidate win the election? **[INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS "OTHER" OR "SOMEONE ELSE," PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose, would you like to see Barack Obama re-elected or would you prefer that a Republican candidate win the election?"]**

	<u>Obama re-elected</u>	<u>Prefer Republican</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Other/DK</u>
Mar 8-14, 2011	48	35	16

**TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:**

*Looking ahead to the general election in November, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected president in 2004 or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?* **[INTERVIEWER: IF R SAYS "OTHER" OR "SOMEONE ELSE," PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose, would you like to see George W. Bush re-elected or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?"]**

	<u>Bush re-elected</u>	<u>Prefer Democrat</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Other/DK</u>
Mid-January, 2004	44	40	16
Early January, 2004	43	43	14
December, 2003	47	38	15
October, 2003	40	44	16
September, 2003	44	43	13
August, 2003	40	39	21
Mid-July, 2003	45	37	18
April, 2003	46	35	19
Gallup: Late March, 2003 <sup>8</sup>	51	36	13
Gallup: Mid-March, 2003	45	42	13

<sup>7</sup> The question was not part of a list in March 2010, April 2007, April 2000, August 1997, and December 1993. From 1997 to 2003, the question asked about "guns or revolvers in your home." In 1993, the question asked: "Do you have any guns in this household?"

<sup>8</sup> The March 2003 trends are from Gallup and were worded: "If George W. Bush runs for re-election in 2004, in general are you more likely to vote for Bush or for the Democratic Party's candidate for president?"

**Q.B20 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...**

*Looking ahead, would you like to see Bill Clinton re-elected or would you prefer that a Republican candidate or an Independent candidate be elected President?*

	Clinton <u>re-elected</u>	Prefer <u>Republican</u>	Prefer <u>independent</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
October, 1995	31	28	22	19
August, 1995	29	32	23	16
March, 1995	29	33	20	18
December, 1994	28	35	15	22
December, 1993	28	22	12	38

*Would you like to see George Bush re-elected President in November or would you prefer that a Democratic candidate win the election?*

	G.H.W. Bush <u>re-elected</u>	Prefer <u>Democrat</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Other/DK</u>
February, 1992	40	48	12
January, 1992	42	42	16
November, 1991	41	43	16

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B21 As I name some possible Republican candidates for president in 2012, please tell me which one, if any, you would most like to see nominated as the Republican Party's candidate? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE] [PROBE IF NECESSARY: As of today, who would you say you LEAN toward?]**

Mar 8-14 <u>2011</u>		Nov 4-7 <u>2010<sup>9</sup></u>
14	Mitt Romney	13
13	Sarah Palin	15
13	Mike Huckabee	15
8	Ron Paul	9
6	Newt Gingrich	6
2	Mitch Daniels	--
2	Tim Pawlenty	4
2	Rick Santorum	2
2	Haley Barbour	3
1	Chris Christie <b>(VOL.)</b>	--
1	Other <b>(VOL.)</b>	4
21	None <b>(VOL.)</b>	14
2	Too early to tell <b>(VOL.)</b>	--
12	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	14

<sup>9</sup> In November 2010, the question read, "Now I am going to read you the names of some possible candidates for the Republican nomination for President in 2012. After I read all the names, please tell me which one you would most like to see nominated as the Republican Party's candidate for President or if there is someone else you support."

**ASK IF HAS FIRST CHOICE (Q.B22=1-10):**

Q.B22 Who, if anyone, would be your second choice for the Republican nomination in 2012? **[READ OPTIONS IF NECESSARY, ELIMINATING NAME CHOSEN IN Q.B12]**

Mar 8-14, 2011			
<u>First choice</u>	<u>Second choice</u>	<u>Total</u>	
13	12	25	Mike Huckabee
14	9	23	Mitt Romney
13	8	21	Sarah Palin
8	7	15	Ron Paul
6	7	13	Newt Gingrich
2	3	5	Tim Pawlenty
2	2	4	Rick Santorum
2	2	4	Mitch Daniels
2	2	3	Haley Barbour
1	*	1	Chris Christie <b>(VOL.)</b>
1	2	3	Other <b>(VOL.)</b>
21	8	21	None <b>(VOL.)</b>
2	1	2	Too early to tell <b>(VOL.)</b>
12	4	12	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
--	35	35	<i>No first choice</i>

**NO QUESTION 23****ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A24 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?

	<u>Basically content</u>	<u>Frustrated</u>	<u>Angry</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
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 Jan, 2007	21	58	16	5
Early Oct, 2006	21	54	20	5
March, 2004	32	52	13	3
Mid Nov, 2001	53	34	8	5
Jun, 2000	28	53	13	6
Feb, 2000	33	54	10	3
Oct, 1997	29	56	12	3

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A25 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?

	<u>Just about always</u>	<u>Most of the time</u>	<u>Only sometimes</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Never</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	4	25	65	4	2
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	3	21	65	10	1
Apr 1-5, 2010	5	20	61	13	1
Mar 11-21, 2010	3	19	65	11	2
January, 2007	3	28	63	5	1
February, 2006	4	30	59	6	1
Mid-September, 2005	3	28	63	4	2
Mid-March, 2004	4	32	59	4	1
February, 2000	5	35	56	3	1
May, 1999	3	28	62	5	2
February, 1999	4	27	64	4	1

**Q.A25 CONTINUED...**

	Just about <u>always</u>	Most of <u>the time</u>	Only <u>sometimes</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Never</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
November, 1998 <sup>10</sup>	4	22	61	11	2
February, 1998	5	29	61	4	1
October, 1997	3	36	59	2	*

**NO QUESTIONS 26-32****ASK ALL:**

Q.33 Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs...**[READ]**

	Most of <u>the time</u>	Some of <u>the time</u>	Only now <u>and then</u>	Hardly <u>at all</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
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>11</sup>	52	25	13	10	1
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

<sup>10</sup> 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?"

<sup>11</sup> In the Aug. 25-Sept. 6, 2010 survey, a wording experiment was conducted with one half of respondents asked the question wording shown above, 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 combined results are shown above. All survey prior to Sept. 2010 used the longer question wording.

**Q.33 CONTINUED...**

	Most of <u>the time</u>	Some of <u>the time</u>	Only now <u>and then</u>	Hardly <u>at all</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
November, 1987	49	32	14	4	1
May, 1987	41	35	15	7	2
July, 1985	36	33	18	12	1

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:****RANDOMIZE QUESTIONS B34 AND B35**

Q.B34 Thinking about recent events in the Middle East, which is more important **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

Mar 8-14

2011

37	Democratic governments, even if there is less stability in the region
52	Stable governments, even if there is less democracy in the region
11	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:****RANDOMIZE QUESTIONS B34 AND B35**

Q.B35 Thinking about our economic and trade policy toward China, which is more important **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

Mar 8-14

2011

53	Building a stronger relationship with China on economic issues
40	Getting tougher with China on economic issues
7	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**NO QUESTION 36****ASK ALL<sup>12</sup>:**

Q.37 Now I'm going to read a few more pairs of statements. Again, just tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. The first pair is... **[READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS Q THRU Z FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS AA THRU HH; RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR] [AFTER CHOICE IS MADE, PROBE: Do you feel STRONGLY about that, or not?]**

q.	This country should do whatever it takes to protect the environment			This country has gone too far in its efforts to protect the environment			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	Neither/DK
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	71	59	13	24	17	7	5
December, 2004	77	63	14	18	12	6	5
September, 2000	78	67	11	17	12	5	5
August, 1999	80	67	13	15	10	5	5
October, 1996	77	66	11	18	13	5	5
October, 1995	77	65	12	20	13	7	3
April, 1995	74	63	11	22	15	7	4
October, 1994	77	65	12	19	13	6	4
July, 1994	78	62	16	19	12	7	3

r.	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy			Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	Neither/DK
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	39	30	9	53	41	12	7
November, 2007	27	--	--	63	--	--	10

<sup>12</sup> Questions 37s, 37t, 37v, 37cc, 37ee, 37ff, 37gg asked only on Survey A. Question 37ii asked only on Survey B.



## Q.37 CONTINUED...

	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy			Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost			(VOL.) Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
July, 2006	31	--	--	57	--	--	12
March, 2006	29	--	--	65	--	--	6
December, 2005	37	28	9	56	43	13	7
December, 2004	31	21	10	60	48	12	9
September, 2000	31	22	9	61	50	11	8
August, 1999	28	19	9	65	50	15	7
October, 1996	30	22	8	63	51	12	7
October, 1995	35	23	12	61	47	14	4
April, 1995	39	28	11	57	44	13	4
October, 1994	32	23	9	62	49	13	6
July, 1994	33	21	12	62	45	17	5

s.	There are no real limits to growth in this country today			People in this country should learn to live with less			(VOL.) Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	39	26	13	52	40	12	9
December, 2008	40	32	8	53	44	9	7
October, 2008	41	31	10	49	41	8	10
December, 2004	51	36	15	41	30	11	8
August, 1999	54	38	16	40	30	9	6
July, 1994	51	33	18	45	30	15	4

t.	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
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	57	44	13	37	28	9	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	54	--	--	42	--	--	5
December, 2008	68	58	10	27	22	5	5
October, 2008	64	56	8	29	25	4	7
December, 2004	59	45	14	36	27	9	5
September, 2000	59	46	13	36	29	7	5
August, 1999	63	47	16	32	24	8	5
July, 1994	52	35	17	45	30	15	3

u.	Homosexuality should be accepted by society			Homosexuality should be discouraged by society			(VOL.) Neither/DK
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	58	45	13	33	28	5	8
October, 2006 <sup>13</sup>	51	--	--	38	--	--	11
December, 2004	49	35	14	44	38	6	7
June, 2003	47	33	14	45	38	7	8
September, 2000	50	35	15	41	35	6	9
August, 1999	49	33	16	44	37	7	7
October, 1997	46	--	--	48	--	--	6
June, 1997	45	32	13	50	43	7	5
October, 1996	44	32	12	49	42	7	7
April, 1996	44	29	15	49	42	7	7
October, 1995	45	29	16	50	41	9	5

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

**Q.37 CONTINUED...**

	Homosexuality should be accepted by society			Homosexuality should be discouraged by society			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
April, 1995	47	30	17	48	40	8	5
October, 1994	46	33	13	48	41	7	6
July, 1994	46	26	20	49	41	8	5

v.	Books that contain dangerous ideas should be banned from public school libraries			Public school libraries should be allowed to carry any books they want			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	39	33	6	57	48	9	4
December, 2004	44	38	6	51	41	10	5
June, 2003	45	39	6	52	43	9	3
September, 2000	48	41	7	48	40	8	4
August, 1999	52	43	9	45	36	9	3
June, 1997	46	39	7	50	40	10	4
October, 1996	44	39	5	51	43	9	4
October, 1995	46	37	9	52	41	11	2
June, 1995	42	--	--	53	--	--	5
April, 1995	45	40	5	52	44	9	2
October, 1994	42	36	6	53	47	8	3
July, 1994	46	37	9	55	39	12	3

w.	Religion is a very important part of my life			Religion is not that important to me			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	71	63	8	27	18	9	2
December, 2004	74	66	8	24	15	9	2
September, 2000	75	69	6	23	15	8	2
August, 1999	75	67	8	22	12	10	2

**NO ITEM x.**

y.	I'm generally satisfied with the way things are going for me financially			I'm not very satisfied with my financial situation			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	47	35	12	51	44	7	2
October, 2006	59	--	--	40	--	--	1
December, 2005	56	40	16	42	36	6	2
December, 2004	59	44	15	39	33	6	2
September, 2000	59	46	13	39	33	6	2
August, 1999	64	48	16	34	28	6	2
October, 1996	57	43	14	41	36	5	2
April, 1996	57	44	13	42	37	5	1
July, 1994	56	36	20	43	33	10	1

z.	I often don't have enough money to make ends meet			Paying the bills is generally not a problem for me			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	43	36	7	54	41	12	3
December, 2005	40	32	8	56	44	12	4
December, 2004	35	29	6	62	48	14	3
September, 2000	37	30	7	59	48	11	4

## Q.37 CONTINUED...

z.	I often don't have enough money to make ends meet	Paying the bills is generally not a problem for me	(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
August, 1999	29      22      7	68      54      14	3
July, 1994	36      27      9	63      43      20	1
aa.	It IS NOT necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values	It IS necessary to believe in God in order to be moral and have good values	(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	49      40      9	48      43      5	3
December, 2004	46      36      10	51      46      5	3
March, 2002	50      --      --	47      --      --	3
bb.	Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world	Relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism	(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	38      30      8	52      40      12	10
December, 2004	39      30      9	51      42      9	10
cc.	In foreign policy, the U.S. should take into account the interests of its allies even if it means making compromises with them	In foreign policy, the U.S. should follow its OWN national interests even when its allies strongly disagree	(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	53      33      20	36      26      10	11
December, 2004	53      38      15	37      27      10	10
dd.	The growing number of newcomers from other countries threatens traditional American customs and values	The growing number of newcomers from other countries strengthens American society	(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	39      30      9	52      36      16	9
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	38      --      --	49      --      --	13
Jun 16-20, 2010	44      --      --	44      --      --	12
November, 2007	50      --      --	40      --      --	10
March, 2006	48      --      --	45      --      --	7
December, 2004	40      29      11	50      34      16	10
ee.	It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home	(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	33      24      9	58      47      11	8
December, 2004	44      33      11	49      41      8	7
ff.	Americans need to be willing to give up privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism	Americans shouldn't have to give up privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism	(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u> <u>Strongly</u> <u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	26      17      9	68      57      11	6
December, 2004 <sup>14</sup>	35      24      11	60      51      9	5

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In 2004, both answer choices read "...to give up more privacy and freedom...".

**Q.37 CONTINUED...**

	The government should do more to protect morality in society			I worry the government is getting too involved in the issue of morality			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
gg.							
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	35	25	11	54	41	13	10
December, 2004	41	31	10	51	40	11	8
hh.							
	Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites			Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	49	38	11	45	37	8	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	48	--	--	45	--	--	8
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	47	--	--	43	--	--	10
ii.							
	Wall Street helps the American economy more than it hurts			Wall Street hurts the American economy more than it helps			(VOL.)
	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not strongly</u>	<u>Neither/DK</u>
Mar 8-14, 2011	38	21	17	47	35	12	15

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B38 Which of these statements best describes your opinion about the United States? **[READ IN ORDER; REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF OF SAMPLE]**

Mar 8-14

2011

38	The U.S. stands above all other countries in the world.
53	The U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world, along with some others
8	There are other countries that are better than the U.S.
2	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**NO QUESTIONS 39-44****ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A45 And which comes closer to your own views — even if neither is exactly right. **[READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]**

a.

Feb 22-Mar 1 <u>2011</u>		Aug 19-22 <u>2010</u>	Aug 11-17 <u>2009</u>	Aug <u>2007</u>	July <u>2005</u>	July <u>2004</u>	Mid-July <u>2003</u>	March <u>2002</u>
40	The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers	35	38	45	36	46	44	25
	[OR]							
42	The Islamic religion does not encourage violence more than others	42	45	39	47	37	41	51
3	Neither <b>(VOL.)</b>	6	1	4	3	2	3	3
15	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	18	15	12	14	15	12	21

b.

Feb 22-Mar 1 <u>2011</u>		Aug 25-Sep 6 <u>2010</u>
40	I like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with	40
54	I like elected officials who stick to their positions	55
3	Neither/Both equally <b>(VOL.)</b>	3
4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	2

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Next,

Q.A46 Should the U.S. Supreme Court base its rulings on its understanding of what the U.S. Constitution meant as it was originally written, or should the court base its rulings on its understanding of what the US Constitution means in current times?

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

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B47 If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?

	Smaller government, <u>fewer services</u>	Bigger government, <u>more services</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Depends</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
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
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : November 2003	45	42	4	9
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : July 2003	48	40	5	7
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : January 2002	46	40	3	11
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : January 2001	51	36	5	8
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : September 1999	46	43	5	6
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : February 1996	61	30	4	5

**NO QUESTIONS 48-55****ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A56 Do you think that we should increase our spending on national defense, keep it about the same, or cut it back?

	<u>Increase</u>	Keep <u>same</u>	Cut <u>back</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	13	53	30	4
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	26	46	23	5
December, 2004	20	54	19	7
July, 2004	25	53	18	4
Mid-October, 2001	50	41	7	2
Early September, 2001	32	44	20	4
September, 2000 (RVs)	34	48	14	4
August, 1999	27	54	16	3
June, 1999	31	47	19	3
September, 1997	17	57	24	2
February, 1995 <sup>15</sup>	19	56	24	1
<i>Chicago CFR</i> : October, 1994	18	53	26	3
September, 1993	10	52	36	2
<i>Chicago CFR</i> : November, 1990	12	53	32	3
<i>Chicago CFR</i> : November, 1986	21	55	23	3
<i>Chicago CFR</i> : November, 1982	22	52	24	3
<i>Chicago CFR</i> : November, 1978	32	45	16	7

<sup>15</sup> In 1995 and previous years, the question was worded: "Do you think that we should expand our spending on national defense, keep it about the same or cut it back?"

**Q.A56 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Increase</u>	<u>Keep same</u>	<u>Cut back</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Chicago CFR: December, 1974	13	47	33	8

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A57 In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	48	41	12
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	52	34	14

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

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

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 4-7, 2010	35	44	21
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	43	32	25
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	44	35	21
April, 2008	35	48	17
November, 2007	40	40	20
December, 2006 <sup>16</sup>	44	35	21
Late October, 2005	44	34	22
December, 2004	47	34	19
July, 2004	47	34	19
March, 2004	44	37	19
December, 2003	34	33	33
Early September, 2001	49	29	22
November, 1997	45	34	21
September, 1997	47	30	23

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A58 Right now, which ONE of the following do you think should be the more important priority for addressing America's energy supply? [**READ AND RANDOMIZE**]?

Feb 22-Mar 1

2011

63	Developing alternative sources, such as wind, solar and hydrogen technology
29	Expanding exploration and production of oil, coal and natural gas
6	Both should be given equal priority <b>(VOL.)</b>
2	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

<sup>16</sup> In December 2006, December 2004, July 2004 and March 2004, the question wording asked about: "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization," and did not mention "policies of" the World Trade Organization. In October 2005 the question asked: "So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?" In December 2003 the question wording asked about "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the WTO;" full names of the organizations were read out only if the respondent was uncertain. In Early September 2001 and earlier the question asked about: "...NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement..."

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A59 How do you think the health care law passed by Barack Obama and Congress last year will affect health care in the U.S.? Will it have a mostly good effect, a mostly bad effect, or a mix of good and bad?

Feb 22-Mar 1

2011

17	Mostly good
27	Mostly bad
51	Mix of good and bad
5	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A60 What do you think is more important—to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

	<u>Protect right to own guns</u>	<u>Control gun ownership</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	48	47	6
Jan 13-16, 2011	49	46	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	46	50	4
Mar 10-14, 2010	46	46	7
Mar 31-Apr 1, 2009	45	49	6
Apr, 2008	37	58	5
Nov, 2007	42	55	3
Apr, 2007	32	60	8
Feb, 2004	37	58	5
Jun, 2003	42	54	4
May, 2000	38	57	5
Apr, 2000	37	55	8
Mar, 2000	29	66	5
Jun, 1999	33	62	5
May, 1999	30	65	5
Dec, 1993	34	57	9

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A61 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

	-----Favor----- <i>Strongly</i>			-----Oppose----- <i>Strongly</i>			<b>(VOL.)</b>
	<u>Total</u>	<u>favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>oppose</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	45	20	25	46	25	21	9
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	16	27	47	26	22	10
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 <sup>17</sup>	41	17	24	48	24	24	10
Aug 11-17, 2009	39	14	25	53	31	22	8
Mid-April, 2009	35	14	21	54	31	23	11
August, 2008	39	13	26	52	30	22	9
June, 2008	40	15	25	52	31	21	8
Late May, 2008	38	15	23	49	29	20	13
November, 2007	36	12	24	54	29	25	10
August, 2007	36	13	23	55	31	24	9
Early January, 2007	37	13	24	55	33	22	8
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	30	10	20	57	31	26	13
July, 2006	35	12	23	56	31	25	9
June, 2006	33	13	20	55	32	23	12
March, 2006	39	10	29	51	28	23	10
July, 2005	36	13	23	53	31	22	11
December, 2004	32	14	18	61	38	23	7

<sup>17</sup>

In July 21-Aug 5, 2010, Aug 11-17, 2009, August 2008, August 2007, Early January 2007, Early November 2006, March 2006, July 2005, December 2004, Early February 2004, November 2003, Mid-July 2003, March 2001 and June 1996 the question was asked as part of a list of items. In May and June 2008, the question asked about "allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally."

**Q.A61 CONTINUED...**

	-----Favor-----			-----Oppose-----			<b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Strongly oppose</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	
August, 2004	29	8	21	60	35	25	11
July, 2004	32	10	22	56	33	23	12
Mid-March, 2004	32	10	22	59	35	24	9
Early February, 2004	30	9	21	63	42	21	7
November, 2003	30	10	20	62	41	21	8
October, 2003	30	9	21	58	33	25	12
Mid-July, 2003	38	10	28	53	30	23	9
March, 2001	35	8	27	57	34	23	8
June, 1996	27	6	21	65	41	24	8

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**Q.A62 Do you think abortion should be **[READ]**

	Legal	Legal	Illegal	Illegal	<b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref	NET	NET
	in all cases	in most cases	in most cases	in all cases		Legal in all/most	Illegal in all/most
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	18	36	26	16	4	54	42
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	17	33	27	17	7	50	44
August 11-27, 2009	16	31	27	17	8	47	45
April, 2009	18	28	28	16	10	46	44
Late October, 2008	18	35	24	16	7	53	40
Mid-October, 2008	19	38	22	14	7	57	36
August, 2008	17	37	26	15	5	54	41
June, 2008	19	38	24	13	6	57	37
November, 2007	18	33	29	15	5	51	44
October, 2007	21	32	24	15	8	53	39
August, 2007	17	35	26	17	5	52	43
AP/Ipsos-Poll: February, 2006	19	32	27	16	6	51	43
ABC/WaPo: December, 2005	17	40	27	13	3	57	40
ABC/WaPo: April, 2005	20	36	27	14	3	56	41
ABC/WaPo: December, 2004	21	34	25	17	3	55	42
ABC/WaPo: May, 2004	23	31	23	20	2	54	43
ABC/WaPo: January, 2003	23	34	25	17	2	57	42
ABC/WaPo: August, 2001	22	27	28	20	3	49	48
ABC/BeliefNet: June, 2001	22	31	23	20	4	53	43
ABC/WaPo: January, 2001	21	38	25	14	1	59	39
ABC/WaPo: September, 2000 (RVs)	20	35	25	16	3	55	41
ABC/WaPo: July, 2000	20	33	26	17	4	53	43
ABC/WaPo: September, 1999	20	37	26	15	2	57	41
ABC/WaPo: March, 1999	21	34	27	15	3	55	42
ABC/WaPo: July, 1998	19	35	29	13	4	54	42
ABC/WaPo: August, 1996	22	34	27	14	3	56	41
ABC/WaPo: June, 1996	24	34	25	14	2	58	39
ABC/WaPo: October, 1995	26	35	25	12	3	61	37
ABC/WaPo: September, 1995	24	36	25	11	4	60	36
ABC/WaPo: July, 1995	27	32	26	14	1	59	40

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A63 Do you think the use of marijuana should be made legal, or not?

	Yes, legal	No, illegal	<b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref
	Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	45	50
Mar 10-14, 2010	41	52	7
<b>Gallup</b>			
October, 2010	46	50	4
October, 2009	44	54	2



**Q.A63 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Yes, legal</u>	<u>No, illegal</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
October 2005	36	60	4
November, 2003	34	64	2
August, 2001	34	62	4
August, 2000	31	64	5
August, 1995	25	73	2
May, 1985	23	73	4
June, 1980	25	70	5
May, 1979	25	70	5
April, 1977	28	66	6
January, 1973	16	78	6
March, 1972	15	81	4
October, 1969	12	84	4

**General Social Survey**

2008	35	57	8
2006	32	60	7
2004	33	59	9
2002	32	61	6
2000	31	63	6
1998	27	67	6
1996	25	70	5
1994	22	73	5
1993	22	73	5
1991	17	78	5
1990	16	81	3
1989	16	81	3
1988	17	79	4
1987	16	81	3
1986	17	80	2
1984	22	74	4
1983	19	77	3
1980	24	73	3
1978	30	66	4
1976	28	69	3
1975	20	74	5
1973	19	79	2

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A64 Do you think government should or should not play a significant role in reducing obesity among children?

	<u>Should play a significant role</u>	<u>Should not play a significant role</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	57	39	3

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A65 From what you've read and heard, is there solid evidence that the average temperature on earth has been getting warmer over the past few decades, or not?

**ASK IF EARTH IS GETTING WARMER (Q.A65=1):**

Q.A66 Do you believe that the earth is getting warmer [**READ AND RANDOMIZE**]?

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

Feb 22-Mar 1 <u>2011</u>		Oct 13-18 <u>2010</u>	Sep 30- Oct 4 <u>2009</u>	April <u>2008</u>	Jan <u>2007</u>	Aug <u>2006</u>	July <u>2006</u>	June <u>2006</u>
58	Yes	59	57	71	77	77	79	70
	Mostly because of human activity such as burning fossil fuels, [OR] Mostly because of natural patterns in the earth's environment							
36		34	36	47	47	47	50	41
18	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	18	16	18	20	20	23	21
5		6	6	6	10	10	6	8
34	No	32	33	21	16	17	17	20
2	Mixed/some evidence <b>(VOL.)</b>	1	2	3	1	1	1	1
5	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	8	8	5	6	5	3	9

**ASK ALL SURVEY A:**

Q.A67 From what you've read and heard, do you think Barack Obama will remove U.S. combat troops from Afghanistan too quickly, not quickly enough, or is he handling this about right?

Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	<u>Too quickly</u>	Not quickly <u>enough</u>	<u>About right</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
	12	30	50	9

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B68 Thinking about ILLEGAL immigration in the U.S. ... Do you favor or oppose [**INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE**]

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Providing a way for illegal immigrants currently in the country to gain legal citizenship if they pass background checks, pay fines and have jobs?			
Mar 8-14, 2011	72	24	3
Jun 16-20, 2010 <sup>18</sup>	68	30	2
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	63	34	3
December, 2007	58	35	7
June, 2007	63	30	7
b. Stronger enforcement of immigration laws and border security			
Mar 8-14, 2011	78	19	3

**NO QUESTIONS 69-70**

<sup>18</sup> In June 2010 and earlier, the question was not part of a list, and the question began "Thinking about immigrants who are living in the U.S. illegally...".

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B71 Considering what the president and Congress need to deal with, do you think reducing the budget deficit should be a top priority, important but lower priority, not too important, or does it not need to be addressed this year?

Mar 8-14 <u>2011</u>		Oct <u>2005</u>	Mar <u>2005</u>
53	Top priority	42	39
33	Important but lower priority	38	46
3	Not too important	6	6
7	Does not need to be addressed this year	10	5
4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	4	4

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B72 Would you favor or oppose **[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]** as a way to reduce the budget deficit?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Raising taxes			
Mar 8-14, 2011	30	67	3
October, 2005	26	70	4
March, 2005	31	66	3
b. Lowering defense and military spending			
Mar 8-14, 2011	49	47	4
October, 2005	36	58	6
March, 2005	35	60	5
c. Lowering domestic spending			
Mar 8-14, 2011	61	30	9
October, 2005	47	41	12
March, 2005	54	35	11
d. Changes to Social Security and Medicare			
Mar 8-14, 2011	30	65	4

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B73 Who has the better approach to the budget deficit: **[RANDOMIZE: Barack Obama/the Republicans in Congress]**, or is there not much difference?

	<u>Barack Obama</u>	<u>Republicans in Congress</u>	<u>Not much difference</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Mar 8-14, 2011	20	21	52	7
Nov 4-7, 2010 <sup>19</sup>	24	35	33	8

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

	<u>President Clinton</u>	<u>Republicans in Congress</u>	<u>Not much difference</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
<i>NBC/WSJ: Dec 1996</i>	29	31	34	6
<i>NBC/WSJ: Jan 1996</i>	28	34	29	9
<i>NBC/WSJ: Oct 1995</i>	25	40	27	8
<i>NBC/WSJ: Sep 1995</i>	30	35	25	10
<i>NBC/WSJ: Jul 1995</i>	27	39	24	10
<i>NBC/WSJ: Jan 1995</i>	25	37	29	9
<i>NBC/WSJ: Nov 1994 (RVs)</i>	23	46	27	4

<sup>19</sup>

In November 2010 the question asked about "President Obama" and was asked as part of a list.

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B74 If the government makes major cuts in federal spending this year in an effort to reduce the budget deficit, do you think these cuts will **[RANDOMIZE: help the job situation/hurt the job situation]**, or not have much of an effect either way?

Mar 8-14

2011

18	Help
34	Hurt
41	Not much of an effect either way
1	Mixed effect <b>(VOL.)</b>
6	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**NO QUESTIONS 75-89****ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B90 Please tell me if you think each of the following trends is generally a good thing for American society, a bad thing for American society, or doesn't make much difference? (First/Next) **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a AND b FOLLOWED BY ITEM c] [READ IF NECESSARY: Is this generally a good thing for American society, a bad thing for American society, or doesn't it make much difference?]**

	Good thing for society	Bad thing for society	Doesn't make much difference	<b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref
a. More gay and lesbian couples raising children				
Mar 8-14, 2011	14	35	48	3
SDT: October, 2010 <sup>20</sup>	12	43	41	4
SDT: January, 2010	13	42	40	4
SDT: February, 2007	11	50	34	5
b. More people of different races marrying each other				
Mar 8-14, 2011	25	9	64	2
SDT: October, 2010	25	14	60	2
SDT: January, 2010	24	13	61	3
c. More people practicing religions other than Christianity				
Mar 8-14, 2011	24	22	51	3

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B91 Have you participated in a political campaign, meeting, or rally over the last 5 years, or not?

Mar 8-14

2011

20	Yes
80	No
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL SURVEY B:**

Q.B92 Over the past 12 months, has there been a time when you or someone in your household has been without a job and looking for work, or not?

	Yes	No	<b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref
Mar 8-14, 2011	51	48	*
Dec 1-5, 2010	46	53	*
Oct 27-30, 2010	38	60	2
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	44	56	1
Mar 10-14, 2010 <sup>21</sup>	54	45	1

<sup>20</sup> Trends from October 2010 and before are from Pew Social and Demographic Trends. Items were part of a longer list and the question asked about "our society" instead of "American society."

<sup>21</sup> In March 10-14, 2010 and February 4-8, 2009, those who were not employed and looking for work, identified on an earlier question, were not asked this question, but are included in "yes."

**Q.B92 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	42	58	*
Feb 4-8, 2009	39	61	*
December, 2008	35	65	*
Early February, 2008	28	71	1
May, 2005	31	69	*

**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?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>No</u> <u>preference</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>Other</u> <u>party</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Lean</u> <u>Rep</u>	<u>Lean</u> <u>Dem</u>
Mar 8-14, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	17	15
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	24	33	37	3	*	3	15	16
Feb 2-7, 2011	24	31	39	3	*	2	16	16
Jan 5-9, 2011	27	32	35	4	*	2	15	14
Dec 1-5, 2010	25	33	34	5	1	2	13	14
Nov 4-7, 2010	26	30	37	4	*	2	17	13
Oct 27-30, 2010	25	34	31	6	1	4	13	11
Oct 13-18, 2010	25	31	36	4	*	3	16	13
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	24	32	39	2	*	2	15	17
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	26	33	34	4	*	3	14	14
Jun 16-20, 2010	27	34	34	3	1	2	15	15
Apr 21-26, 2010	26	33	36	3	1	3	16	13
Mar 11-21, 2010	28	34	32	3	*	3	13	12
Mar 10-14, 2010	22	33	37	6	*	3	14	13

**Yearly Totals**

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 Republican	Not strong/ DK	Strong Democrat	Not strong/ DK
Mar 8-14, 2011	12	12=24%	20	13=33%
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	14	10=24%	18	15=33%
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	14	10=24%	19	13=32%
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	13	12=25%	20	11=32%
April, 2009	12	10=22%	20	13=33%
October, 2007 <sup>22</sup>	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 ALL:**

TEAPARTY2 From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion either way	(VOL.) Haven't heard of	(VOL.) Refused	Not heard of/ DK
Mar 8-14, 2011	19	25	54	1	1	--
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	20	25	52	2	2	--
Feb 2-7, 2011 <sup>23</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 (RVs)	29	26	32	--	1	13

<sup>22</sup> Data from Pew Research Center Social & Demographic Trends.

<sup>23</sup> 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 through October, 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 it was described as "the Tea Party Protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."

**TEAPARTY2 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion either way</u>	<u>Haven't heard of</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Refused</u>	<i>Not heard of/ DK</i>
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 ALL SURVEY B:**

PVOTE08A In the 2008 presidential election between Barack Obama and John McCain, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

**ASK IF YES (PVOTE08A=1):**

PVOTE08B Did you vote for Obama, McCain or someone else?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1251]:**

	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Other candidate</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Did not vote</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Don't remember/ Ref</u>
Mar 8-14, 2011	88	46	32	5	5	12	*
Nov 4-7, 2010	89	45	33	6	4	11	1
Oct 27-30, 2010	88	44	35	4	5	10	2
Oct 13-18, 2010	89	45	35	4	4	10	1
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	89	46	34	4	4	10	1
Jan 6-10, 2010	92	44	37	4	6	8	*
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	93	47	34	5	7	7	*
Feb 4-8, 2009	93	48	33	4	8	7	*
Jan 7-11, 2009	93	48	35	4	6	7	*
December, 2008	93	50	32	3	9	7	*

**ASK ALL:**

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

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2482]:**

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly always</u>	<u>Part of the time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Never vote</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Other</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
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	*

## OFTVOTE CONTINUED...

	<u>Always</u>	<u>Nearly always</u>	<u>Part of the time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>(VOL.) Never vote</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
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	2	1	0
Early November, 2002	52	30	11	6	1	0	1
Early October, 2002	50	33	11	4	*	1	1
Early September, 2002	59	25	11	4	1	*	*
August, 2002	53	32	10	4	1	*	*
May, 2002	53	31	9	5	1	*	1
Early November, 2000	57	26	8	6	2	1	*
Late October, 2000	52	30	9	6	1	2	0
Mid-October, 2000	54	27	10	6	*	3	*
Early October, 2000	51	29	10	6	3	1	*
September, 2000	61	21	9	7	2	*	*
July, 2000	48	30	13	6	2	1	*
June, 2000	58	26	10	4	1	1	*
May, 2000	52	29	12	6	1	1	*
April, 2000	50	30	12	6	2	1	*
March, 2000	49	34	12	4	1	1	0
February, 2000	53	32	10	4	1	0	*
January, 2000	50	34	12	4	1	*	*
October, 1999	39	47	9	2	1	*	*
Late September, 1999	40	47	9	3	1	*	*
Late October, 1998	56	28	10	5	1	*	*
Early October, 1998	50	32	11	5	1	1	*
Early September, 1998	53	33	9	4	-	1	*
Late August, 1998	48	35	13	4	*	0	*
June, 1998	49	33	12	5	-	1	0
May, 1998	52	29	12	6	1	1	*
November, 1997	42	44	10	3	1	*	*
October, 1997	62	26	8	3	1	*	*
June, 1997	54	30	10	4	*	*	*
November, 1996	55	28	8	6	2	1	*
October, 1996	52	30	9	5	2	2	*
Late September, 1996	52	31	10	4	2	1	*
Early September, 1996	53	29	12	4	1	*	*
July, 1996	52	33	8	5	1	1	*
June, 1996	52	33	9	4	1	1	*
Late April, 1996	44	37	11	5	1	1	1
Early April, 1996	49	35	10	5	1	*	*
February, 1996	42	41	11	4	1	1	*
October, 1995	53	35	7	4	1	*	*
April, 1995	53	34	9	4	*	*	*
November, 1994	58	28	8	5	*	1	0
Late October, 1994	55	32	10	3	*	*	*
July, 1994	52	34	10	4	*	*	*
May, 1993	57	31	7	4	1	1	*
Early October, 1992	54	33	8	4	*	1	*
September, 1992	52	33	8	5	1	1	*



## OFTVOTE CONTINUED...

	<u>Always</u>	Nearly <u>always</u>	Part of <u>the time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	(VOL.) Never <u>vote</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
June, 1992	60	29	7	3	1	*	*
May, 1992	50	35	10	4	1	*	*
Early May, 1992	49	35	10	4	1	*	*
March, 1992	47	36	11	6	*	*	*
February, 1992	50	36	9	4	*	--	2
January 1992 (GP) <sup>24</sup>	40	35	11	11	4	--	*
November, 1991	46	41	9	4	*	*	*
May, 1990	42	42	11	4	1	*	*
January, 1989 (GP)	45	30	10	8	6	1	*
<i>Gallup</i> : November, 1988	57	26	10	4	2	1	*
October, 1988	51	37	8	3	1	*	*
May, 1988	43	41	11	3	2	1	*
January, 1988	49	39	9	2	1	*	*
September, 1988	51	40	6	2	*	1	*
May, 1987	43	43	9	3	1	1	*

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

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**APRIL 2011 POLITICAL TYPOLOGY RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**April 7-10, 2011**  
**N=1432**

**ASK ALL:**

CLASS Which of the following labels best describes your household: **[READ ITEMS, IN ORDER]**

	Professional or <u>business class</u>	Working <u>class</u>	Struggling family or <u>household</u>	(VOL.) More than one/ <u>None applies</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
April 4-7, 2011	26	42	23	8	1
November, 2009	31	43	19	4	3
April, 2009	27	46	19	4	4
February, 2009	26	52	16	4	2
December, 2008	32	44	19	3	2
Early October, 2008	31	48	15	4	2
April, 2008	33	42	17	6	2
Early February, 2008	32	47	15	3	3
January, 2008	33	46	12	6	3
December, 2007	30	46	15	6	3
September, 2007	35	46	12	4	3
August, 2007	34	44	13	7	2
January, 2007	30	47	16	5	2
October, 2006	34	45	15	4	2
January, 2006	32	46	14	4	4
Mid-October, 2004	32	45	15	5	3
February, 2004 GAP	32	47	15	4	2
August, 2003	31	47	14	6	2
June, 2003	31	44	15	8	2
June, 2002	31	47	14	5	3
February, 2002	32	46	14	6	2
June, 2001	29	47	15	6	3

**ASK ALL:**

EMPLOY Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

**IF NOT EMPLOYED (EMPLOY=3) ASK:**

EMPLOY1 Are you currently looking for work, or not?

**IF PART TIME (EMPLOY=2) ASK:**

EMPLOY7 Would you prefer to be working full time, or not?

Apr 7-10

2011

42	Full-time
13	Part-time
7	Yes, would prefer full time
6	No, would not
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
45	Not employed
12	Yes, looking for work
32	No, not looking
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK OF EMPLOYED ONLY (EMPLOY=1,2):**

Q.CB1 Are you an employee of a private company or business, an employee of a non-profit organization, a government employee, or self-employed in your own business or professional practice?  
**[INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS MORE THAN ONE JOB/ EMPLOYER ASK ABOUT THEIR "main job"]**

**BASED ON THOSE WHO ARE EMPLOYED [N=693]:**

Apr 7-10

2011

56	Private company or business
10	Non-profit organization (INCLUDES private schools, colleges and universities)
	Government (INCLUDES federal, state, or local government, public schools, college and universities)
15	
16	Self employed or business owner (INCLUDES independent contractor, freelance worker)
2	Other <b>(VOL.)</b>
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL:**

Q.CB2 Would you say you currently have enough income to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

Apr 7-10

2011

40	Yes
59	No
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**IF NO OR DON'T KNOW (QCB2=2,9) ASK:**

Q.CB2a Do you think you will have enough income in the future to lead the kind of life you want, or not?

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

Apr 7-10

2011

27	Yes, will have enough income in future
28	No, will not have enough income in future
4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
40	<i>Currently have enough income to lead kind of life you want</i>

**ASK ALL:**

OWNRENT Do you own or rent your home?

Apr 7-10

2011

61	Own
33	Rent
5	Other arrangement <b>(VOL.)</b>
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL:**

Q.CB3 For each description I read, please tell me if it applies to you or not. (First,) **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**, or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a. Do you follow NASCAR Racing			
April 7-10, 2011	16	83	*
<i>NBC/WSJ</i> : June, 2008 <sup>25</sup>	20	80	--
<i>CBS</i> : November, 2003	25	74	1
b. Do you regularly buy organic foods			
Apr 7-10, 2011	26	73	1
c. Do you regularly volunteer for a charity			
or other non-profit organization			
April 7-10, 2011	43	57	*
d. Do you currently have a valid United States passport			
Apr 7-10, 2011	42	57	*
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : November, 2004	36	64	--
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : May, 1993 <sup>26</sup>	20	79	1
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : May, 1989	23	77	1
e. Do you live in a gated community			
April 7-10, 2011	6	92	2
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>			
Do you live in a gated building complex or community,			
which is surrounded by a security fence or protected			
by a security guard, or not?			
<i>LA Times</i> : January, 1994	7	91	2

**ASK ALL:**

VET1 Have you or has anyone in your household ever served in the U.S. military or the military reserves?  
**[IF YES: Is that you or someone else?]**

Apr 7-10

2011

34	Yes [ <b>NET</b> ]
13	Self
20	Someone else in household
1	Both
65	No, nobody in household has served
*	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )

25 June, 2008 question was worded: "Please tell me whether each of the following statements applies to you personally ... are a fan of NASCAR racing" and response categories were "applies: and "does not apply." November, 2003 question was worded: "Would you describe yourself as a fan of NASCAR?"

26 May 1993 survey asked whether respondents had a "valid passport."

**ASK IF VET IN HOUSEHOLD (VET1=1,2,3):**

VET2a Did **[IF VET1=1:you]** **[IF VET1=2:that person]** **[IF VET1=3:you or that person]** serve in the military or military reserves since September 11, 2001?

**BASED ON VETERAN HOUSEHOLDS [N=559]:**

Apr 7-10

2011

26	Yes <b>[NET]</b>
8	Self
17	Someone else in household
1	Both
74	No, nobody in household has served since September 11, 2001
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL:**

And just a couple of questions about current events...

Q.CB4 In your view, what is the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit? Should we mostly focus on **[RANDOMIZE: Cutting major programs / Increasing taxes]** mostly focus on **[increasing taxes / cutting major programs]** or should we do a combination of both?

Apr 7-10

2011

20	Cutting major programs
6	Increasing taxes
64	Combination of both
*	Deficit is not a priority/Don't focus on deficit <b>(VOL.)</b>
9	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

Dec 1-5

2010

16
4
65
1
13

**ASK ALL:**

Q.CB5 All things considered, do you think that the U.S. and its allies made the right decision or the wrong decision to conduct military air strikes in Libya?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u><b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref</u>
April 7-10, 2011	45	37	19
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	50	37	13
March 24-27, 2011	47	36	17

**TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:***Military force in Afghanistan*

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	52	38	10
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 <sup>27</sup>	56	34	10
Jan 7-11, 2009	64	25	11
February, 2008	65	24	11
December, 2006	61	29	10
January, 2006	69	20	11

*Military force in Iraq*

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	41	51	7
January, 2009	43	49	8
November, 2008	39	50	11
Late October, 2008	38	56	6
Mid-October, 2008	40	54	6
Mid-September, 2008	43	50	7
June, 2008	39	55	6
April, 2008	37	57	6
Late February, 2008	38	54	8
Late December, 2007	36	56	8

27 In October 2009, the question was worded: "Do you think the United States' initial decision to use force in Afghanistan was the right decision or the wrong decision?"

**Q.CB5 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...**

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<b>(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u></b>
October, 2007	39	54	7
September, 2007	42	50	8
July, 2007	41	53	6
June, 2007	40	51	9
April, 2007	45	47	8
March, 2007	43	49	8
February, 2007	40	54	6
Mid-January, 2007	40	51	9
Early January, 2007	40	53	7
December, 2006	42	51	7
Mid-November, 2006	41	51	8
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	45	48	7
Late October, 2006	43	47	10
Early October, 2006	45	47	8
Early September, 2006	49	43	8
August, 2006	45	46	9
July, 2006	44	50	6
June, 2006	49	44	7
April, 2006	47	46	7
March, 2006	45	49	6
February, 2006	51	44	5
January, 2006	45	47	8
December, 2005	47	48	5
Late October, 2005	48	45	7
Early October, 2005	44	50	6
Mid-September, 2005	49	44	7
July, 2005	49	44	7
June, 2005	47	45	8
February, 2005	47	47	6
January, 2005	51	44	5
December, 2004	49	44	7
November, 2004 (RVs)	48	41	11
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12
Early October, 2004	50	39	11
September, 2004	53	39	8
August, 2004	53	41	6
July, 2004	52	43	5
June, 2004	55	38	7
May, 2004	51	42	7
Late April, 2004	54	37	9
Early April, 2004	57	35	8
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6
Late February, 2004	60	32	8
Early February, 2004	56	39	5
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5
Early January, 2004	62	28	10
December, 2003	67	26	7
October, 2003	60	33	7
September, 2003	63	31	6
August, 2003	63	30	7
Early July, 2003	67	24	9
May, 2003	74	20	6
April 10-16, 2003	74	19	7
April 8-9, 2003	74	19	7
April 2-7, 2003	72	20	8
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	25	6
March 25-27, 2003	74	21	5
March 23-24, 2003	74	21	5
March 20-22, 2003	71	22	7

**Q.CB5 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...**

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<b>(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u></b>
Late January, 1991	77	15	8
<i>Air strikes against Serbia to force them to agree to terms of the peace agreement and end the fighting in Kosovo</i>			
July 9-13, 1999	68	22	10

**ASK ALL:**

CVOTE10A In the 2010 elections for Congress, did things come up which kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

**ASK IF RESPONDENT VOTED (CVOTE10A=1):**

CVOTE10B Did you happen to vote for a Republican candidate or a Democratic candidate for U.S. Congress in your district?

Apr 7-10

2011

68	Yes, voted
31	Republican
30	Democrat
3	Other/Independent candidate <b>(VOL.)</b>
*	Didn't vote for Congress <b>(VOL.)</b>
4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
31	No, didn't vote
1	No, too young to vote <b>(VOL.)</b>
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL**

Q.CB6 And one last question to get your view on a topic that has been in the news... Was Barack Obama born in the United States or was he born in another country?

Apr 7-10

2011

55	United States
23	Another country
22	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>