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# The Public, the Political System and American Democracy 

Most say 'design and structure' of government need big changes

FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:

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## The Public, the Political System and American Democracy

## Most say 'design and structure’ of government need big changes

At a time of growing stress on democracy around the world, Americans generally agree on democratic ideals and values that are important for the United States. But for the most part, they see the country falling well short in living up to these ideals, according to a new study of opinion on the strengths and weaknesses of key aspects of American democracy and the political system.

The public's criticisms of the political system run the gamut, from a failure to hold elected officials accountable to a lack of transparency in government. And just a third say the phrase "people agree on basic facts even if they disagree politically" describes this country well today.

The perceived shortcomings encompass some of the core elements of American democracy. An overwhelming share of the public (84\%) says it is very important that "the rights and freedoms of all people are respected." Yet just $47 \%$ say this describes the country very or somewhat well; slightly more (53\%) say it does not.

Despite these criticisms, most Americans say democracy is working well in the United States - though relatively few say it is working very well. At the same time, there is broad support for making sweeping changes to the political system: $61 \%$ say "significant changes" are needed in the fundamental "design and structure" of American government to make it work for current times.


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

The public sends mixed signals about how the American political system should be changed, and no proposals attract bipartisan support. Yet in views of how many of the specific aspects of the political system are working, both Republicans and Democrats express dissatisfaction.

To be sure, there are some positives. A sizable majority of Americans (74\%) say the military leadership in the U.S. does not publicly support one party over another, and nearly as many (73\%) say the phrase "people are free to peacefully protest" describes this country very or somewhat well.

In general, however, there is a striking mismatch between the public's goals for American democracy and its views of whether they are being fulfilled. On 23 specific measures assessing democracy, the political system and elections in the United States - each widely regarded by the public as very important - there are only eight on which majorities say the country is doing even somewhat well.

The new survey of the public's views of democracy and the political system by Pew Research Center was conducted online Jan. 29-Feb. 13 among 4,656 adults. It was supplemented by a survey conducted March 7-14 among 1,466 adults on landlines and cellphones.

Among the major findings:

Mixed views of structural changes in the political system. The surveys examine several possible changes to representative democracy in the United States. Most Americans reject the idea of amending the Constitution to give states with larger populations more seats in the U.S. Senate, and there is little support for expanding the size of the House of Representatives. As in the past, however, a majority ( $55 \%$ ) supports changing the way presidents are elected so that the candidate who receives the most total votes nationwide - rather than a majority in the Electoral College wins the presidency.

A majority says Trump lacks respect for democratic institutions. Fewer than half of Americans (45\%) say Donald Trump has a great deal or fair amount of respect for the country's democratic institutions and traditions, while $54 \%$ say he has not too much respect or no respect. These views are deeply split along partisan and ideological lines. Most conservative Republicans (55\%) say Trump has a "great deal" of respect for democratic institutions; most liberal Democrats (60\%) say he has no respect "at all" for these traditions and institutions.

Government and politics seen as working better locally than nationally. Far more
Americans have a favorable opinion of their local government (67\%) than of the federal government (35\%). In addition, there is substantial satisfaction with the quality of candidates running for Congress and local elections in recent elections. That stands in contrast with views of the recent presidential candidates; just $41 \%$ say the quality of presidential candidates in recent elections has been good.

## Views of candidate quality much less positive for presidential elections than for local contests

$\%$ who say, in general, the quality of candidates running for___ in the last several elections has been ...


Note: Each respondent asked about candidates in one type of office (sample randomly divided). See topline for full question wording. No answer not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.

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Few say tone of political debate is 'respectful.' Just a quarter of Americans say "the tone of debate among political leaders is respectful" is a statement that describes the country well. However, the public is more divided in general views about tone and discourse: $55 \%$ say too many people are "easily offended" over the language others use; $45 \%$ say people need to be more careful in using language "to avoid offending" others.

Americans don't spare themselves from criticism. In addressing the shortcomings of the political system, Americans do not spare themselves from criticism: Just $39 \%$ say "voters are knowledgeable about candidates and issues" describes the country very or somewhat well. In addition, a $56 \%$ majority say they have little or no confidence in the political wisdom of the American people. However, that is less negative than in early 2016, when $64 \%$ had little or no confidence. Since the presidential election, Republicans have become more confident in people's political wisdom.

Cynicism about money and politics. Most Americans think that those who donate a lot of money to elected officials have more political influence than others. An overwhelming majority ( $77 \%$ ) supports limits on the amount

## Most have little or no confidence in political wisdom of the American people

$\%$ saying they have___ of trust and confidence in the wisdom of American people in making political decisions
Very great/Good deal Not very much/None


$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\hline 1997 & 2007 & 2018
\end{array}
$$

Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER of money individuals and organizations can spend on political campaigns and issues. And nearly two-thirds of Americans (65\%) say new laws could be effective in reducing the role of money in politics.

## Varying views of obligations of good

citizenship. Large majorities say it is very important to vote, pay taxes and always follow the law in order to be a good citizen. Half of Americans say it is very important to know the Pledge of Allegiance, while $45 \%$ say it is very important to protest government actions a person believes is wrong. Just $36 \%$ say displaying the American flag is very important to being a good citizen.

Most are aware of basic facts about political system and democracy. Overwhelming shares correctly identify the constitutional right guaranteed by the First Amendment to the Constitution and know the role of the Electoral College. A narrower majority knows how a tied vote is broken in the Senate, while fewer than half know the number of votes needed to break a Senate filibuster. (Take the civics knowledge quiz.)


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Democracy seen as working well, but most say ‘significant changes’ are needed

In general terms, most Americans think U.S. democracy is working at least somewhat well. Yet a $61 \%$ majority says "significant changes" are needed in the fundamental "design and structure" of American government to make it work in current times. When asked to compare the U.S. political system with those of other developed nations, fewer than half rate it "above average" or "best in the world."

Overall, nearly six-in-ten Americans (58\%) say democracy in the United States is working very or somewhat well, though just $18 \%$ say it is working very well. Four-in-ten say it is working not too well or not at all well.

Republicans have more positive views of the way democracy is working than do Democrats: 72\% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say democracy in the U.S. is working at least somewhat well, though only $30 \%$ say it is working very well. Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, 48\% say democracy works at least somewhat well, with just $7 \%$ saying it is working very well.

More Democrats than Republicans say significant changes are needed in the design and structure of government. By more than


Thinking about the fundamental design and structure of American government, $\%$ who say that ...


Note: Don't know/no answer responses not shown.
Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13 and March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER two-to-one ( $68 \%$ to $31 \%$ ), Democrats say significant changes are needed. Republicans are evenly divided: $50 \%$ say significant changes are needed in the structure of government, while $49 \%$ say the current structure serves the country well and does not need significant changes.

The public has mixed evaluations of the nation's political system compared with those of other developed countries. About four-in-ten say the U.S. political system is the best in the world (15\%) or above average (26\%); most say it is average (28\%) or below average (29\%), when compared
with other developed nations. Several other national institutions and aspects of life in the U.S. including the military, standard of living and scientific achievements - are more highly rated than the political system.

Republicans are about twice as likely as Democrats to say the U.S. political system is best in the world or above average ( $58 \%$ vs. $27 \%$ ). As recently as four years ago, there were no partisan differences in these opinions.

## Bipartisan criticism of political system in a number of areas

Majorities in both parties say "people are free to peacefully protest" describes the U.S. well. And there is bipartisan sentiment that the military leadership in the U.S. does not publicly favor one party over another.

In most cases, however, partisans differ on how well the country lives up to democratic ideals - or majorities in both parties say it is falling short.

Some of the most pronounced partisan differences are in views of equal opportunity in the U.S. and whether the rights and freedoms of all people are respected.

Republicans are twice as likely as Democrats to say "everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed" describes the United States very or somewhat well (74\% vs. $37 \%$ ).

A majority of Republicans ( $60 \%$ ) say the rights and freedoms of all people are respected in the United

Wide partisan gaps in views of some aspects of political system, criticism from both parties on others

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29- Feb.13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

States, compared with just 38\% of Democrats.

And while only about half of Republicans (49\%) say the country does well in respecting "the views of people who are not in the majority on issues," even fewer Democrats (34\%) say this.

No more than about a third in either party say elected officials who engage in misconduct face serious consequences or that government "conducts its work openly and transparently." Comparably small shares in both parties ( $28 \%$ of Republicans, $25 \%$ of Democrats) say the following sentence describes the country well: "People who give a lot of money to elected officials do not have more political influence than other people."

Fewer than half in both parties also say news organizations do not favor one political party, though Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say this describes the country well ( $38 \%$ vs. $18 \%$ ). There also is skepticism in both parties about the political independence of judges. Nearly half of Democrats (46\%) and 38\% of Republicans say judges are not influenced by political parties.

## Partisan gaps in opinions about many aspects of U.S. elections

For the most part, Democrats and Republicans agree about the importance of many principles regarding elections in the
U.S.

Overwhelming shares in both parties say it is very important that elections are free from tampering ( $91 \%$ of Republicans, 88\% of Democrats say this) and that voters are knowledgeable about candidates and issues (78\% in both parties).

But there are some notable differences: Republicans are almost 30 percentage points more likely than Democrats to say it is very important that "no ineligible voters are

## Republicans, Democrats have starkly different perceptions of voting by eligible and ineligible voters

\% who say each describes U.S. elections very/somewhat well ...

| No eligible voters denied vote | Dem/ Lean Dem 56 • | Rep/ <br> Lean Rep <br> $\vdots 80$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No ineligible voters permitted to vote | 42 • | - 76 |
| High turnout in presidential elections | 52 • | - 73 |
| Elections free from tampering | 55 - |  |
| Congressional districts fairly drawn | 39 • |  |
| High turnout in local elections | $36 \bullet$ - 48 |  |
| Voters are knowledgeable | $38 \bullet 40$ |  |

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
permitted to vote" (83\% of Republicans vs. $55 \%$ of Democrats).

And while majorities in both parties say high turnout in presidential elections is very important, more Democrats (76\%) than Republicans (64\%) prioritize high voter turnout.

The differences are even starker in evaluations of how well the country is doing in fulfilling many of these objectives. Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say that "no eligible voters are prevented from voting" describes elections in the U.S. very or somewhat well ( $80 \%$ vs. $56 \%$ ). By contrast, more Democrats (76\%) than Republicans (42\%) say "no ineligible voters are permitted to vote" describes elections well.

Democrats - particularly politically engaged Democrats - are critical of the process for determining congressional districts. A majority of Republicans ( $63 \%$ ) say the way congressional voting districts are determined is fair and reasonable compared with just $39 \%$ of Democrats; among Democrats who are highly politically engaged, just 29\% say the process is fair.

And fewer Democrats than Republicans consider voter turnout for elections in the U.S. - both presidential and local - to be "high." Nearly three-quarters of Republicans (73\%) say "there is high voter turnout in presidential elections" describes elections well, compared with only about half of Democrats (52\%).

Still, there are a few points of relative partisan agreement: Majorities in both parties ( $62 \%$ of Republicans, $55 \%$ of Democrats) say "elections are free from tampering." And Republicans and Democrats are about equally skeptical about whether voters are knowledgeable about candidates and issues ( $40 \%$ of Republicans, $38 \%$ of Democrats).

## 1. Democracy and government, the U.S. political system, elected officials and governmental institutions

Americans are generally positive about the way democracy is working in the United States. Yet a majority also says that the "fundamental design and structure" of U.S. government is in need of "significant changes" to make it work today.

Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say U.S. democracy is working at least somewhat well, and less likely to say government is in need of sweeping changes.

And far more Republicans than Democrats say the U.S. political system is "best in the world" or "above average" when compared with political systems of other developed nations.

Overall, about six-in-ten Americans say democracy is working well in the U.S. today ( $18 \%$ very well, $40 \%$ somewhat well); four-inten say it is not working well ( $27 \%$ not too well and $13 \%$ not at all well).

About seven-in-ten (72\%) Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say U.S. democracy is working very or somewhat well, compared with $48 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners. Relatively small shares in both parties ( $30 \%$ of Republicans and just $7 \%$ of Democrats) say democracy in the U.S. is working very well.

Most Americans say nation's democracy is working at least 'somewhat well'
\% who say democracy is working $\qquad$ in the U.S. today ■ Very well $■$ Somewhat well $■$ Not too well $\quad$ Not at all well



Thinking about the fundamental design and structure of American government, $\%$ who say that ...



Note: Don't know/no answer responses not shown.
Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13 and March 7-14, 2018.

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While a majority of Americans say democracy in this country is working well, about six-in-ten (61\%) say significant changes to the fundamental design and structure of government are needed to make it work for current times; $38 \%$ say the design and structure of government serves the country well and does not need significant changes.

By roughly two-to-one (68\% to 31\%), Democrats say significant changes are needed, while Republicans are divided (50\% to 49\%) over whether or not extensive changes are needed.

Although the view that significant changes are needed is widely held, those with higher levels of political engagement are less likely to say this than people who are less politically engaged.

Overall, those with high levels of political engagement and participation are split over whether significant changes are needed or not ( $51 \%$ vs. $48 \%$ ). Views that the American system of government needs far-reaching reforms are more widespread among those with lower levels of engagement: 60\% of those with a moderate level of engagement say this, along with $71 \%$ of those who are relatively unengaged with politics.

## Support for sweeping change in govt. is higher among less politically engaged

Thinking about the fundamental design and structure of American government, \% who say that ...


Notes: See appendix for details of political engagement scale. No answer not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

This pattern is evident within both partisan coalitions: 40\% of Republicans and Republican leaners who are highly engaged with politics say the fundamental design and structure of American government needs significant reform, compared with $60 \%$ of low-engagement Republicans. Similarly, while a $57 \%$ majority of highly engaged Democrats and Democratic leaners say significant changes are needed, that share rises to $78 \%$ of the least politically engaged Democrats.

Across demographic groups, there are only modest differences in the shares saying that democracy is working at least somewhat well, but there are more pronounced differences on whether changes are needed to the fundamental design and structure of government.

Whites (54\%) are less likely than blacks (70\%) and Hispanics (76\%) to say the government needs significant change, but the three groups have similar assessments of American democracy's performance.

There also are significant age gaps over whether extensive change is needed to the structure and design of government, with $66 \%$ of adults younger than 50 saying this, compared with $58 \%$ of those ages 50 to 64 and $50 \%$ of those 65 and older. But age groups differ little in their evaluations of how well democracy is functioning.

Educational groups also differ little in their overall opinions of how well democracy is working. But those without a bachelor's degree ( $65 \%$ ) are more likely to say the government needs significant change than those with a college degree (54\%) or a postgraduate degree (45\%).

## Racial, educational, age gaps in views of need for 'structural' change in govt.

\% who say ...

| Structure and design <br> of govt. needs <br> significant change | Democracy in U.S. <br> working very/ <br> somewhat well |
| :---: | :---: |
| 061 | 058 |

White
Black



18-29
30-49
50-64
65+


Note: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Surveys of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13 and March 7-14, 2018.
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## Americans give their political system mixed grades

When asked to compare the U.S. political system with others in developed countries, only about four-in-ten Americans (41\%) say it is "best in the world" or "above average." Most (57\%) say it is "average" or "below average."

Several other national institutions and aspects of life in the U.S. are more highly rated than the political system. Nearly eight-in-ten (79\%) say the U.S. military is either above average or the best in the world compared with militaries in other developed nations - with $38 \%$ calling it best in the world.

Larger shares also say the U.S. standard of living, colleges and universities, scientific achievements and economy are at least above average internationally than say that about the political system. Only the nation's health care system ( $30 \%$ best in the world or above average) and public schools (18\%) are rated lower.

## U.S. political system seen as no better than average compared with others

\% who say, compared with other developed nations, the United States is $\qquad$ in its ...


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
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## Republicans and Republican-leaning

 independents generally give the U.S. better marks for its performance on these issues than Democrats and Democratic leaners. About six-in-ten Republicans say the country's political system is above average or the best in the world (58\%), compared with about a quarter of Democrats ( $27 \%$ ). Republicans also give the country much higher marks than Democrats on its standard of living, health care and economy.The shares of Republicans and Democrats giving the U.S. high marks on several of these national institutions and aspects of American life have diverged sharply since 2014.

Today, Republicans are about twice as likely as Democrats to say the U.S. political system is above average or the best in the world ( $58 \%$ vs. $27 \%)$.

In 2014, about four-in-ten members of both parties gave the political system a positive rating ( $37 \%$ of Republicans, 36\% of Democrats); in 2009, identical shares of Republicans and Democrats (52\% each) said the U.S. political system was at least above average.

Partisan divides are growing in other areas as well. For example, $61 \%$ of Republicans

## Wider partisan gaps in views of how U.S. political system, other sectors compare internationally

$\%$ who say the U.S. is best in the world or above average compared with other developed nations in its ...

and just $38 \%$ of Democrats describe the U.S. economy as best in the world or above average. Partisan differences in these assessments were much more modest in 2014 and 2009.

## Little public confidence in elected officials

Americans express little confidence in elected officials to act in the best interests of the public. Just a quarter say they have a great deal (3\%) or fair amount (22\%) of confidence in elected officials.

That is by far the lowest level of confidence in the six groups included in the survey. Large majorities say they have a great deal or fair amount of confidence in the military ( $80 \%$ ) and scientists (79\%). In addition, higher shares express confidence in religious leaders (49\%), business leaders (44\%) and the news media (40\%).

Overall public confidence in these groups is little changed since 2016, but in some cases including elected officials - the views among Republicans and Democrats have shifted.

## Elected officials draw less confidence than other institutions and leaders



Note: No answer not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
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Though majorities of both Republicans and Democrats continue to express little or no confidence in public officials, Republicans (36\%) are more likely than Democrats (17\%) to express at least a fair amount of confidence in elected officials to act in the public interest. Two years ago, more Democrats (32\%) than Republicans (22\%) had confidence in elected officials.

The partisan gap in confidence in the news media also has widened considerably. Today, $58 \%$ of Democrats and just $16 \%$ of Republicans are confident in the news media to act in the public interest. Since 2016, the share expressing at least a fair amount of confidence in the news media has increased 12 percentage points among Democrats, while falling 13 points among Republicans.

## Republicans and Democrats diverge in views of elected officials, news media, business leaders

$\%$ who say they have great deal or fair amount of confidence in $\qquad$ to act in the best interests of the public

Elected officials
News media



Business leaders
Military






2016
2018
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
fewer Democrats express confidence in business
leaders (32\%), and their views are little changed from two years ago.

Republicans also express more confidence in the military (92\%) than do Democrats (73\%), and the gap has not changed much since 2016.

## State, local governments viewed more favorably than federal government

Americans have more favorable opinions of their state and local governments than the federal government in Washington. Twothirds say they view their local government favorably, and $58 \%$ have favorable views of their state government. Only $35 \%$ of adults report a favorable opinion of the federal government.

Views of federal, state and local government have changed little over the past decade. Favorable opinions of the federal government have fallen significantly since peaking in the wake of the 9/11 terrorist attacks.

## Federal government consistently viewed less favorably than state and local govt.

\% who have a favorable opinion of __ government

$$
\Longrightarrow \text { Federal }- \text { State }-\infty \text { Local }
$$



| 1997 | 2002 | 2007 | 2012 | 2018 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

While overall views of the federal government in Washington are largely unchanged from late 2015, Republicans and Democrats have moved in opposite directions since then.

Today, $44 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners have a favorable opinion of the federal government, compared with $28 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners. In 2015, views of the federal government were reversed: $45 \%$ of Democrats had a favorable view versus $18 \%$ of Republicans. Republicans' and Democrats' views of the federal government also flipped between 2008 and 2009, when Barack Obama won the presidency.

## Favorable views of federal govt. among Republicans have risen since election <br> \% who have a favorable opinion of federal government



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

There are much smaller partisan differences in favorability toward states and local government. Majorities in both parties ( $61 \%$ of Republicans, $55 \%$ of Democrats) have favorable impressions of their state government; similar shares in both parties ( $69 \%$ of Republicans, $68 \%$ of Democrats) view their local governments favorably.

## Views of Congress and the Supreme Court

Views of Congress remain extremely negative: Two-thirds of Americans say they have an unfavorable view of Congress, compared with $30 \%$ saying their view is favorable. The share expressing unfavorable views has increased slightly from a year ago (62\%).

With their party in control of both houses of Congress, Republicans' views are slightly more favorable than Democrats: $37 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners say this versus $24 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners.
Republican's attitudes are more negative than a year ago, when $44 \%$ had a favorable opinion. Views among Democrats are mostly unchanged.

## Ratings of Congress remain negative

\% who have a ___ view of Congress


Favorable

```
1985
2018
```

Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Republicans' views of Congress are less favorable than a year ago

\% who have a favorable view of Congress


Attitudes toward the Supreme Court continue to improve after reaching 30-year lows in 2015. Republicans' views, in particular, are now more positive than three years ago.

Two-thirds of the public says they view the court favorably, and about three-in-ten (28\%) hold unfavorable views. The share of the public saying it has a favorable view of the Supreme Court has increased 18 percentage points since 2015 (48\%).

Most Republicans viewed the Supreme Court unfavorably after its decisions on the Affordable Care Act and same-sex marriage in summer 2015: Just a third of Republicans viewed the court favorably, compared with about six-in-ten Democrats (61\%). Today, more Republicans (71\%) hold a favorable view of the Supreme Court than Democrats (62\%). Favorable views among Democrats have fallen since 2016.

## Most view Supreme Court favorably

$\%$ who have a ___ view of the Supreme Court
Favorable


## Republicans' views of Supreme Court now more favorable than Democrats'

\% who have a favorable view of Supreme Court


| 1997 | 2002 | 2007 | 2012 | 2018 |
| :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- |

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
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## 2. Views of American democratic values and principles

The public places great importance on a broad range of democratic ideals and principles in the United States today. Across 16 democratic values asked about in the survey including respecting the rights of all, having a balance of power across government branches and having officials face serious consequences for misconduct - large majorities say these are very important for the country.

But evaluations of how well the country is upholding these values are decidedly mixed. And when it comes to ideals more squarely in the political arena, such as an unbiased news media, partisan cooperation and respectful political debate, broad majorities of the public - including large shares of both Republicans and Democrats - say the country is falling short.

Nine-in-ten or more say each of the 16 items is at least somewhat important for the country. About eight-in-ten or more say it is very

Public sees a variety of democratic values as very important to the country

important for the country that the rights and freedoms of all are respected ( $84 \%$ ), officials face serious consequences for misconduct ( $83 \%$ ), that judges are not influenced by political parties ( $82 \%$ ), and that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed ( $82 \%$ ).

Majorities place great importance on partisan cooperation (78\% very important), independent news media (76\%) and the right to peaceful protest (74\%).

Comparably large shares also say it is very important that the government is open and transparent ( $74 \%$ ) and that people who give a lot of money to elected officials do not have more political influence than other people (74\%).

The public is relatively less likely to emphasize the importance of respecting the views of those who are not in the majority, respectful tone in political discourse, shared acceptance of basic facts, and government policies that reflect the views of most Americans. Still, roughly 90\% call these principles at least somewhat important, including about six-in-ten who say each is very important.

About three-quarters say the U.S. is described very or somewhat well by the phrases "military leadership does not publicly express support for one party over the other" ( $74 \%$ ) and "people are free to peacefully protest" (73\%).

More than half (55\%) say the executive, legislative and judicial branches of government keep the others from having too much power; and $52 \%$ think the country is described well by the phrase "everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed.

However, for the remaining 12 of 16 democratic ideals and principles included in the survey, majorities say they describe the country as doing not too or not at all well.

For instance, on such core principles as an independent judiciary, just 43\% say that "judges are not influenced by political parties" describes the country well; $56 \%$ say this describes the country not too or not at all well.

Larger majorities say that an open and transparent government ( $69 \%$ ) and news organizations that do not favor a political party (70\%) do not describe the country well.

Some of the public's most negative judgements are reserved for values that are

Public deeply skeptical about partisan cooperation, tone of debate, influence of major political donors
How well does each of the following describe the country? (\%)

most squarely in the political sphere. Large majorities do not see partisan cooperation (80\%) or respectful political debate ( $74 \%$ ) as describing the country well. Similarly, $72 \%$ say the country is not well described as a place where people who contribute to campaigns do not have more influence than other people; $69 \%$ also say the phrase "elected officials face serious consequences for misconduct" does not describe the country well.

In general, there are wide gaps between the importance the public places on a value and public perception of how well the country reflects that value.

Nearly eight-in-ten (78\%) say it is very important for Republicans and Democrats to work together on issues, but the public is 59 percentage points less likely to say partisan cooperation describes the country very or fairly well (19\%). Such wide gaps characterize a range of issues across dimensions.

For instance, $84 \%$ say it is very important for the country that the rights and freedoms of all people are respected, but far fewer (47\%) say this describes the country well. And few (34\%) think that people in the country agree on basic facts, even though most (60\%) think this is very important.

There are a few exceptions to this pattern. There is no gap

## Country viewed as falling short on a range of widely supported democratic values

\% who say each is very important for the U.S. and describes the country very/somewhat well ..


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in the shares who say the right to peaceful protest is very important (74\%) and say it describes the country well (73\%). And nonpartisan military leadership is the only democratic ideal for which
more say this describes the country very or somewhat well (74\%) than say it is very important (66\%).

## Partisan differences in views of democratic values

On the whole, Republicans and Democrats largely agree on the importance of many democratic values. A majority within each partisan coalition says that each of the 16 items included in the survey is very important to the country.

For instance, comparably large shares of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (84\%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (83\%) say it is very important that judges are not influenced by political parties. Similarly, $77 \%$ of Democrats and 75\% of Republicans say it is very important for there to be a balance of power across branches of government.

However, there are a handful of significant differences between the views of partisans. One of the largest is over the importance of the right to protest. About eight-in-ten Democrats and Democratic leaners (82\%) say it's very important that people are free to peacefully protest, compared with a smaller $64 \%$ majority of Republicans and Republican leaners (another 29\% of

## Partisans agree on importance of many democratic values, differ on right to peaceful protest

$\%$ of ___ who say it is very important for the country that ...

| People are free to peacefully protest | Rep/ Lean Rep |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Views of those not in the majority on issues are respected | 56 • |  |
| Tone of political debate is respectful | 57 • |  |
| Military leadership does not publicly support a party | 62 • | -69 |
| People agree on basic facts even if disagree on politics | 57 • $\bullet$ |  |
| Rights and freedoms of all people are respected |  | $81 \bullet \bullet 86$ |
| Everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed |  | $80 \cdot \bullet 85$ |
| Balance of power between govt. branches |  | 5 • 77 |
| Campaign contributions do not lead to greater political influence |  | - 75 |
| Reps and Dems work together on issues |  | 77 © 79 |
| Govt. policies reflect views of most Americans | 59 • 6 |  |
| Govt. is open and transparent |  | - 74 |
| News organizations are independent of government |  | 77 • 77 |
| Elected officials face serious consequences for misconduct |  | 83 © 84 |
| Judges are not influenced by political parties |  | 81 •83 |
| News organizations don't favor a party |  | $\bullet 77$ |

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb.13, 2018.
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Republicans say this is somewhat important).

Democrats also are somewhat more likely than Republicans to say it is very important that the views of those who are not in the majority on issues are respected ( $66 \%$ vs. $56 \%$ ).

By contrast, Republicans are more likely than Democrats to say it is very important that news organizations do not favor one political party ( $77 \%$ vs. $66 \%$ ).

## Sizable partisan gaps on whether all have an equal opportunity for success, people's rights are respected

There are bigger gaps between the views of Republicans and Democrats when it comes to how well the country is doing in living up to many democratic ideals and principles.

Most Republicans and Republican leaners say the phrases "everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed" (74\%) and "the rights and freedoms of all people are respected" (60\%) describe the country well.

Democrats and Democratic leaners disagree: Just 37\% think the country merits being described as a place with equal opportunity, and only $38 \%$ say the country is described well as a place where the right and freedoms of all are respected.

Larger majorities of Republicans than Democrats also say the country is described well as a place where military leadership does not publicly express partisan preferences ( $83 \%$ vs. $69 \%$ ) and where people are free to peacefully protest ( $80 \%$ vs. $68 \%$ ). About half of Republicans (49\%) think the

Far more Republicans than Democrats say respect for rights of all, equal opportunity describe country today
$\%$ of ___ who say each describes the country very/somewhat well ...

| Everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed | Dem/ Lean Dem $37^{\circ}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Rights and freedoms of all people are respected | 38 - | -60 |
| Views of those not in the majority on issues are respected | $34 \bullet$ - 49 |  |
| Military leadership does not publicly support a party |  | 69 •83 |
| Govt. policies reflect views of most Americans | $30 \bullet$-43 |  |
| People are free to peacefully protest |  | 68 - 80 |
| Govt. is open and transparent | 27 - 35 |  |
| Balance of power between govt. branches | 53 • - | - 59 |
| Tone of political debate is respectful | $23 \cdot \bullet 27$ |  |
| Campaign contributions do not lead to greater political influence | $25 \cdot 28$ |  |
| Elected officials face serious consequences for misconduct | $29 \cdot 30$ |  |
| People agree on basic facts even if disagree on politics | $32 \cdot 35$ |  |
| Reps and Dems work together on issues | $17 \bullet 20$ |  |
| Judges are not influenced by political parties | 38 - 46 |  |
| News organizations don't favor a party | $18 \bullet$ - 38 |  |
| News organizations are independent of government | $31 \bullet$ - 53 |  |

[^0]description of the U.S. as a place where the views of those not in the majority are respected applies; about a third of Democrats (34\%) say the same.

Democrats are more positive than Republicans when it comes to questions about bias and independence among news organizations. Overall, $53 \%$ of Democrats say "news organizations are independent of government influence" describes the country well. Far fewer Republicans (31\%) say the same. And while relatively small shares of both parties say the country is described well as having news organizations that don't favor one political party, Democrats (38\%) are more likely to say this than Republicans (18\%)

However, there are a number of values on which there is little difference in the views of Republicans and Democrats. In particular, similar shares of those in both parties say descriptions of partisan cooperation, respectful political debate, basic agreement on facts, limits on the political influence of money and serious consequences for official misconduct do not describe the country well.

## Political engagement, partisanship and assessments of democratic values

In several areas, especially on items related to news organizations, partisan differences are even larger among those who are highly engaged politically.

When it comes to whether news organizations in the country are independent of government influence, $60 \%$ of highly engaged Democrats say this describes the country very or fairly well, compared with just $27 \%$ of highly engaged Republicans - an opinion gap of 33 percentage points. Divides in views are more modest between Republicans and Democrats with medium (14 points) or low (16 points) levels of political engagement.

## Highly engaged partisans disagree over independence of news media in U.S.

$\%$ of ___ who say each describes the country very/ somewhat well by level of political engagement ...

- Rep/Lean Rep - Dem/Lean Dem
- Rep/Lean Rep - Dem/Lean Dem
News organizations are
independent of government

| Political engagement |
| :--- |
| High |
| Med | 27

Low

## News organizations

do not favor a party
Political engagement

| High | $12 \bullet$ | $\bullet 40$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Med | $13 \bullet$ | $\bullet 30$ |
| Low |  | $29 \bullet \quad \bullet 43$ |

Note: See appendix for political engagement scale.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb.13, 2018.
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There also is a substantial partisan divide among those with high or medium levels of political engagement over whether government policies in the country today reflect the views of most Americans and whether the views of those not in the majority are respected. However, among Republicans and Democrats with low levels of political engagement, there are very modest differences in views.

Similar patterns are seen in views of equal opportunity and whether the rights and freedoms of all are respected. More politically engaged Democrats are less likely than less engaged Democrats to say these descriptions apply to the U.S.

## Age and views of democratic ideals and principles

There is general agreement across age groups about the importance of key democratic values. Large majorities of both old and young say each of the 16 items included in the survey is very or somewhat important for the U.S. However, on many items, there are differences in the shares describing a number of values as "very important," with older adults more likely to place higher levels of importance on an item than younger adults.

## Wide majorities across age groups see key aspects of democracy as important, but older adults are more likely to regard several as 'very' important

$\%$ who say each is $\qquad$ important for the U.S. and that each describes the U.S. $\qquad$ well ...

Government is open and transparent


People are free to peacefully protest

| Total | 74 | 20 | 30 | 42 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18-29 | 72 | 23 | 24 | 41 |
| 30-49 | 75 | 18 | 25 | 43 |
| 50-64 | 74 | 20 | 35 | 43 |
| 65+ | 76 | 19 | 35 | 47 |

People agree on basic facts, even if disagree on politics

| Total | 60 | 32 | $9 \quad 24$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18-29 | 55 | 34 | 1024 |
| 30-49 | 59 | 31 | 821 |
| 50-64 | 59 | 33 | $10 \quad 27$ |
| 65+ | 70 | 26 | 927 |

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb.13, 2018. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Rights and freedoms of all people are respected


News organization do not favor a party


Tone of political debate is respectful

| Total | 61 | 29 | 619 |
| ---: | ---: | :--- | :--- |
| $18-29$ | 52 | 31 | 8 |
| $30-49$ | 56 | 32 | 420 |
| $50-64$ | 63 | 29 | 718 |
| $65+$ | 76 | 21 | 813 |

For example, while large majorities of $90 \%$ or more say transparent governance is important, those 65 and older are more than 20 percentage points more likely than those under 30 to call this very important ( $84 \%$ vs. $63 \%$ ). In views of people agreeing on "basic facts" even if they disagree on politics, sizable majorities across age categories regard this as important, but $70 \%$ of those 65 and older say it is very important, compared with no more than about six-in-ten in younger age groups.

However, there are exceptions to this general pattern. There are no significant differences in views of the importance of people having the right to protest peacefully - about three-quarters in each category regard this as very important.

There are modest age differences in evaluations of how well the country is doing in living up to these democratic values. On the right to peacefully protest, for example, about eight-in-ten of those 50 and older (79\%) say it describes the U.S. well, compared with a smaller majority ( $68 \%$ ) of those under 50.

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## 3. Elections in the U.S.: Priorities and performance

As is the case with overall views of the political system, the public sees a range of objectives as important for U.S. elections. However, assessments of how well these goals are being achieved vary widely - and many evaluations are deeply divided along partisan lines.

Overwhelming majorities of Americans - including most Republicans and Democrats - say it is very important that elections are free from tampering ( $90 \%$ say this) and that no eligible voters are prevented from voting (83\%).

Large majorities also say it is very important that voters are knowledgeable about candidates and issues (78\%), the way congressional districts are determined is fair and reasonable (72\%) and there is high voter turnout in presidential elections (70\%).

And two-thirds (67\%) say it is very important that no ineligible voters are permitted to vote, while 62\% Large shares say it is very important that elections are free from tampering, no eligible voters are denied vote
$\%$ saying each is $\qquad$ important for elections in the U.S. ... (\%)
$■$ Very $■$ Somewhat $■$ Not too $■$ Not at all


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER prioritize high turnout in local elections.

Nearly all Americans say each of these items is very or somewhat important. Very few - no more than about $10 \%$ in any case - say they are not too important or not at all important.

Yet the public has mixed views on whether these goals are being fulfilled. Majorities say several describe elections in the United States very or somewhat well, but relatively few say they describe elections very well.

Roughly two-thirds think the statement "no eligible voters are prevented from voting" describes elections in the U.S. very (29\%) or somewhat (36\%) well; about a third say this describes U.S. elections not too well (21\%) or not at all well (12\%).

Similarly, about six-in-ten (61\%) say "no ineligible voters are permitted to vote"


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER describes elections very (29\%) or somewhat (32\%) well; 37\% say this does not describe U.S. elections well.

Most also say there is high voter turnout in presidential elections (24\% say this describes elections very well, $36 \%$ somewhat well), and that elections in the U.S. are free from tampering ( $19 \%$ very well, $39 \%$ somewhat well).

Opinions are more divided about whether congressional districts are fairly determined: 49\% say fairly drawn congressional districts describes U.S. elections very or somewhat well; just as many (49\%) say this describes U.S. elections not too or not at all well (49\%).

And fewer than half say "there is high voter turnout in local elections" (41\%) and "voters are knowledgeable about candidates and issues" (39\%) describe elections well.

The mismatch between the public's priorities for elections and its view of reality is most apparent in views of voters being knowledgeable. About threequarters (78\%) rate this as very important, but only half as many (39\%) say this describes elections very or somewhat well.

And while 90\% say it is very important that elections are free from tampering, a much smaller majority (57\%) says this describes elections well with just $19 \%$ saying it describes elections very well.

Most say it's very important for voters to be knowledgeable; far fewer say they are knowledgeable
Thinking about U.S. elections, \% who say ...


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## Partisans share goals for elections, with a few exceptions

Republicans and Democrats widely agree on the most important electoral components for the U.S. Nearly nine-in-ten across both parties say it is very important that elections are free from tampering: 91\% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say this, as do $88 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners.

Comparable majorities in both parties also say it's very important that no eligible voters are prevented from voting ( $85 \%$ of Republicans, $83 \%$ of Democrats).

Partisans are deeply divided, however, over the importance of preventing ineligible voters from casting ballots. More than eight-in-ten Republicans ( $83 \%$ ) cite this as very important, compared with $55 \%$ of Democrats ( $27 \%$ of Democrats say this is somewhat important).

Republicans more focused on preventing those not eligible from voting, Democrats on high voter turnout
\% who say each is 'very important' for elections in the U.S. ...


More Democrats (76\%) than
Republicans ( $64 \%$ ) view high turnout in presidential elections as very important, and Democrats are also more likely to prioritize having a fair process for determining congressional districts ( $76 \%$ of Democrats, 68\% of Republicans).

While there is broad agreement over the important aspects of U.S. elections, there are deep divisions when it comes to how they are actually being conducted today.
In particular, Republicans
and Democrats have vastly
different assessments of U.S.
elections when it comes to
perceptions of whether
ineligible voters are
permitted to vote, and
whether eligible voters are
prevented from voting.

A large majority of Republicans (80\%) say "no eligible voters are prevented from voting" describes U.S. elections very or somewhat well. A much narrower majority of Democrats (56\%) agree.

## Republicans, Democrats have starkly different perceptions of voting by eligible and ineligible voters

$\%$ who say each describes U.S. elections very/somewhat well ...

| No eligible voters denied vote | Dem/ Lean Dem | Rep/ Lean Rep . 80 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| No ineligible voters permitted to vote | 42 - | - 76 |
| High turnout in presidential elections | 52 • | - 73 |
| Elections free from tampering | 55 • • |  |
| Congressional districts fairly drawn | 39 - |  |
| High turnout in local elections | $36 \bullet$ • 48 |  |
| Voters are knowledgeable | 38 • 40 |  |

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
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By contrast, when it comes to not allowing any ineligible voters to vote, Democrats are far more likely than Republicans to think the U.S. is doing at least somewhat well. Roughly three-quarters of Democrats and Democratic leaners say this (76\%), compared with just 42\% of Republicans and Republican leaners.

The divide in views of whether congressional districts are drawn fairly is nearly as wide. A $63 \%$ majority of Republicans say fair and reasonable determination of voting districts describes the U.S. at least somewhat well. By contrast, a majority of Democrats (58\%) say this does not describe the U.S. well; $39 \%$ say it does.

And while nearly three-quarters of Republicans (73\%) say "there is high voter turnout in presidential elections" describes elections well, only about half of Democrats (52\%) view turnout as "high." More Republicans also say turnout in local elections is high ( $48 \%$ vs. $36 \%$ ).

## Politically engaged Democrats highly critical of process for determining congressional districts

Politically engaged
Democrats attach a great deal of importance to the issue of fairly drawn congressional districts. And they are decidedly skeptical about whether this goal is being achieved.

Nearly nine-in-ten
Democrats who are highly politically engaged (87\%) say it is very important that the way congressional districts are determined is fair and reasonable. Smaller shares of less engaged Democrats and Republicans of differing levels of political engagement - say this is very important.

## Politically engaged Democrats are most critical of how congressional districts are mapped

$\%$ who say 'the way congressional voting districts are determined is fair and reasonable' ...

Is very important for
Describes U.S.
elections in the U.S. elections well


Note: See appendix for details on political engagement scale.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
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And just $29 \%$ of the most politically engaged Democrats give positive evaluations of whether districts are being determined fairly and reasonably. Larger shares of less politically engaged Democrats - including $51 \%$ of the least engaged - say this describes U.S. elections well. Among Republicans, majorities across all levels of political engagement say districts are being fairly determined.

In considering whether no ineligible voters are permitted to vote, Republicans and Republican leaners with high levels of engagement are most skeptical: Just about a third (34\%) say the U.S. is doing at least somewhat well. By contrast, Republicans with low levels of political engagement are much more positive: A slim majority (54\%) thinks this describes the U.S. at least somewhat well.

Among Democrats, the highly engaged overwhelmingly think the U.S. does at least somewhat well in this area (85\%), and the partisan gap stands at 51 percentage points. A smaller majority of low-engagement Democrats (68\%) think this describes the U.S. well; the gap among those with low levels of engagement is just 15 points.

## Partisan gaps over ballot box access greater among politically engaged

\% who say each describes elections in the U.S. very/somewhat well ...

- Rep/Lean Rep - Dem/Lean Dem

No ineligible voters permitted to vote
Political engagement


No eligible voters prevented from voting
Political engagement


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Similarly, the partisan gap is wider among the highly engaged in views of whether eligible voters are prevented from voting. While Republicans across the board think the U.S. does well when it comes to ensuring eligible voters are not prevented from voting, highly engaged Democrats are somewhat less likely than those with lower levels of engagement to think this.

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## 4. Democracy, the presidency and views of the parties

The American public has doubts about Donald Trump's level of respect for the country's democratic institutions and traditions. Like all views of Trump, attitudes are deeply partisan; Republicans give the president positive marks in this regard, while Democrats are highly negative.

Overall, $54 \%$ say Trump has not too much (25\%) or no respect at all (29\%) for the nation's democratic institutions and traditions; somewhat fewer (45\%) say he has a great deal (23\%) or a fair amount (22\%) of respect for them. The share saying Trump has at least a fair amount of respect for the country's democratic institutions is slightly higher than it was in February 2017, when just 40\% took this view.

# Divide over whether Trump has respect for country's democratic institutions 

\% who say Donald Trump has $\qquad$ respect for this country's democratic institutions and traditions


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
Republicans and Republican-leaning independents are confident in Trump's respect for the country's democratic institutions and traditions: About three-quarters (77\%) say he has at least a fair amount of respect for them, including $45 \%$ who say he has a great deal of respect. There is a divide among Republicans on this question by ideology. Conservative Republicans (84\%) are much more likely than moderates and liberals (64\%) to say Trump respects the country's democratic institutions; and conservative Republicans are about twice as likely as moderate and liberal Republicans to say Trump has a great deal of respect for the country's democratic system ( $55 \% \mathrm{vs} .27 \%$ ).

Democrats and Democratic leaners are highly critical of Trump's regard for the nation's democratic system. Just $16 \%$ think he has at least a fair amount of respect for the country's democratic institutions and traditions; $51 \%$ say he has none at all, and another $32 \%$ say he has not too much. There also are ideological differences among Democrats on this question; liberals (60\%) are more likely than moderates and conservatives (43\%) to say Trump has no respect at all for the country's democratic institutions and traditions.

## Public sees risks in granting greater presidential powers

A large majority of Americans say it's important for there to be a balance of power between the three branches of the federal government. Consistent with this view, most oppose the idea of strengthening the power of the executive branch. Just $21 \%$ say that many of the country's problems could be dealt with more effectively if the president didn't have to worry so much about Congress or the courts. About three-quarters (76\%) say that it would be too risky to give U.S. presidents more power to deal directly with the country's problems.

Public opposition to strengthening the powers of the presidency has held steady over the past few years. In two previous surveys conducted in August 2016, during Barack

## Majority says it would be too risky to give U.S. presidents more power

\% who say ...

It would be too risky Problems could be dealt
to give U.S. presidents more power to deal directly with the country's problems


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Obama's final year in office, and in February 2017 - similar shares of the public said it would be too risky to give U.S. presidents more power.

Most Republicans and Democrats oppose expanding the powers of the presidency. However, in the current survey, opposition to this is somewhat higher among Democrats and Democratic leaners (83\%) than among Republicans and Republicans leaners (70\%). By contrast, in August 2016, when Obama was president, a greater share of Republicans (82\%) than Democrats (66\%) opposed granting the president expanded powers at the expense of Congress and the courts.

On the whole, younger adults are more cautious about expanding executive power than older adults.

Among those ages 18 to $29,85 \%$ say it's too risky to give presidents more power. By comparison, a smaller majority of those 65 and older say the same (62\%).

This age dynamic exists within both parties. While partisans across age cohorts say it would be too risky to give presidents more power to deal directly with the country's problems, Democrats and Republicans younger than 50 are more likely than their older counterparts to hold this view.

## Republicans and Democrats oppose expanded presidential powers

\% who say it would be too risky to give U.S. presidents more power to deal directly with the country's problems


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Modest age differences over increasing presidential power

\% who say ...


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
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## Most say the president has large impact on U.S. standing, national mood

Most Americans say the president has a big impact in areas such as national security and U.S. standing in the world, but relatively few say the occupant of the executive office makes a big difference in their personal lives.

Overall, $69 \%$ say that who is president makes a big difference on the standing of the U.S. in the world; most also say the president makes a big difference for the mood of the country ( $63 \%$ ) and national security ( $61 \%$ ). About half (53\%) say that who is president makes a big difference for the economy.

By contrast, far fewer (34\%) think who is president makes a big difference in their own personal lives; $39 \%$ say it makes some difference and a quarter say it makes no difference.


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
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Women are more likely than men to say who is president makes a big difference in their own personal lives. Four-in-ten women say this compared with about three-in-ten men (29\%).

Young adults ages 18 to 29 are less likely than older adults to say that who is president makes a big difference for their own personal life. Just $24 \%$ of those 18 to 29 say this, compared with $34 \%$ of those ages 30 to $49,37 \%$ of those 50 to 64 and $44 \%$ of those 65 and older.

## Many women, older adults say who is president makes big difference in life

\% who say that who is president makes a on 'your own personal life' ...


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
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## Favorability ratings of the Republican and Democratic parties

On balance, the public offers negative ratings of both the Republican and Democratic parties. By $55 \%-41 \%$ more take an unfavorable than favorable view of the Republican Party. Views of the Democratic Party are similar: $54 \%$ have an unfavorable view, compared with $42 \%$ who rate the party favorably.

Ratings of the Republican Party are now higher than they were for much of 2015 and 2016, prior to the election of Donald Trump. However, they are down from a recent high of 47\% in January 2017, immediately after the election.

By contrast, views of the Democratic Party are about as low or lower than they were at any point during the run-up to the 2016 election. Favorable ratings of the Democratic Party reached $52 \%$ in October 2016 and were about that high in January 2017, before declining in the spring of that year.

## Neither party viewed favorably by a majority of Americans

\% who have a favorable view of the ...


Republican Party
$\begin{array}{ccccccccccc}\text { '00 } & \text { '02 } & \text { '04 } & \text { '06 } & \text { '08 } & \text { '10 } & \text { '12 } & \text { '14 }\end{array}$
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Declining views of the Democratic Party are tied, in part, to more negative ratings among those who lean toward the Democratic Party but do not identify with it.

Overall, $53 \%$ of Democratic leaners hold a favorable view of the party, down from 73\% who said this in January 2017. The current ratings of the party among Democratic leaners are as low as they have been at any point in Pew Research Center surveys conducted over the past two decades.

By contrast, about two-thirds (65\%) of Republican leaners view the GOP favorably. These ratings are down somewhat from a postelection high, but remain far more positive than at most other points over the past several years.

There is no difference between how selfidentifying Republicans and Democrats rate their own parties. Overall, $82 \%$ of Republicans and the same share of Democrats say they view their respective party favorably.

## Democratic leaners turn more negative in their views of the Democratic Party



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For the past several decades, members of both parties have expressed predominantly unfavorable views of the opposing party. But the intensity of these attitudes is much higher today than it was 10 or 20 years ago.

Overall, comparable majorities of Democrats and Democratic leaners (86\%) and Republicans and Republican leaners (84\%) say they hold unfavorable views of the opposing party. Among Republicans, $45 \%$ say they hold a very unfavorable view of the Democratic Party; a similar share of Democrats (43\%) has a very unfavorable view of the GOP. In 1994, just $17 \%$ of Republicans and $16 \%$ of Democrats said they viewed the opposite party very unfavorably; and as recently as 2009, only about a third of both groups held intensely negative views of the other political party.

Large majorities of Democrats and Republicans view other party unfavorably; many take a very unfavorable view


Recent Pew Research Center surveys have found that antipathy toward the other party is a key driver of an individual's own party identification. Majorities of Republicans and Democrats - as well as Republican and Democratic leaners - cite harm from the opposing party's policies as a major reason for their own partisan orientation.

With the public holding relatively dim views of both major political parties, almost a quarter (24\%) now have unfavorable views of both the Republican and Democratic parties.

The share with unfavorable views of both parties was just $6 \%$ back in 1994; it is now as high as it has ever been in Pew Research Center surveys dating to that year.

Just $11 \%$ of the public say they have a
favorable view of both major parties - down from $32 \%$ in 1994.

## Nearly a quarter of public now holds an unfavorable view of both major parties

Views of Republican and Democratic parties ... (\%)
Most Americans (60\%) continue to view one party favorably and the other unfavorably. The share with this combination of views has stayed relatively steady over the past few decades as unfavorable views toward both parties have increased and favorable views of both parties have decreased.

Most of those with unfavorable views of both parties identify as independents ( $63 \%$ );
Democratic-leaning independents make up a slightly larger share than Republican-leaning independents. A plurality (41\%) describe and $28 \%$ say they are liberal. Those who have an unfavorable opinion of both major parties also tend to be relatively young ( $59 \%$ are under age 50).

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## 5. The Electoral College, Congress and representation

A majority (55\%) of Americans say the Constitution should be amended so that the candidate who wins the most votes in the presidential election would win, while $41 \%$ say the current system should be kept so that the candidate who wins the most Electoral College votes wins the election.

These views are little changed since a CNN/ORC survey conducted in the weeks following the 2016 presidential election in which Donald Trump won the Electoral College but lost the popular vote. But the public expresses somewhat less support for moving to a popular vote than it did in 2011 (62\%).

The movement in overall opinion since 2011 has been driven by changes among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents. Seven years ago Republicans were more divided in their views ( $43 \%$ keep current system, $54 \%$ change to popular vote). But in the wake of the 2016 election, the share of Republicans supporting a constitutional amendment to move to a popular vote dropped to just $27 \%$. Today, $32 \%$ of Republicans say the Electoral College should be eliminated, while $65 \%$ say the current system should be maintained.

## Continued partisan gap in views of Electoral College versus popular vote

Thinking about the way the president is elected in this country, would you prefer to ... (\%)

Amend the Constitution so the
candidate who receives the most
votes wins


Keep current system so the candidate who wins Electoral College vote wins

\% who say Constitution should be amended so the candidate who receives the most nationwide votes wins

Dem/Lean Dem


```
'00 '02 '04 '06 '08 '10 '12 '14 '16 '18
```

Notes: 2000-2011 data from Gallup; 2016 data from CNN. Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Three-quarters of Democrats and Democratic leaners ( $75 \%$ ) say the Constitution should be amended so the candidate with the most overall votes wins, little different than in prior surveys conducted over the past 18 years (the question was first asked shortly after the 2000 election, in which George W. Bush became president after winning a majority of votes in the Electoral College; Al Gore narrowly won the popular vote).

Public support for shifting to the popular vote to determine the winner of presidential elections is higher in states that are less politically competitive under the current system. About six-in-ten of those in both "red" (57\%) and "blue" (60\%) states (those that solidly vote either Republican or Democratic, respectively) support moving to a popular vote. By contrast, only about half (48\%) of those living in battleground states say this.

In particular, Republicans in battleground states are significantly more likely than other Republicans to say the system should stay as it is: $75 \%$ of Republicans who live in battleground states say this, compared with about six-in-ten Republicans who reside in either red (58\%) or blue ( $63 \%$ ) states. Attitudes of Democrats in battleground states are no different from those of Democrats in less competitive states.

Majorities who live in 'blue' and 'red' states favor popular vote; those in 'battleground' states are divided

\% who say ...

|  | Amend Constitution so the candidate who receives the most votes wins | Keep current system so the candidate who wins Electoral College vote wins |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 55 | 41 |

Rep/Lean Rep
Dem/Lean Dem


Among Rep/Lean Rep in ... 'Red' states Battleground states
'Blue' states


Among Dem/Lean Dem in ... 'Red' states
Battleground states
'Blue' states

| 75 | 19 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 74 | 24 |
| 74 | 22 |

Notes: Don't know responses not shown. See appendix for details on state definitions.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Should the allocation of Senate seats or the size of the House be changed?

Most Americans reject the idea of changing the way Senate seats are allocated. Public attitudes about this question of representation are only modestly different when respondents are presented with information about how the gap in population between the largest and smallest states has changed since the early days of the republic.

Overall, $75 \%$ say the current system of equal representation of states should be maintained and $24 \%$ say the Constitution should be amended to give states with larger populations more representation in the Senate.

## Most oppose changing Senate's allocation of seats, even when state population disparities are mentioned

The Constitution requires that all states have two U.S. senators, regardless of how many people live in the state. Which comes closer to your view? (\%)

■ All states should continue to have two senators regardless of population

- Constitution should be amended so larger pop. states have more senators

Total


Additional context provided:
When the first Congress met, the state with the largest population had about 10 times as many people as the state with the smallest population.
Currently, the state with the largest population has about 66 times as many people as the state with the smallest population.

Total


Notes: Respondents were randomly asked the question with or without the additional information. See topline for full question wording. No answer not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

When the question includes additional information about how relative population sizes have shifted over time (the wording: "When the first Congress met, the state with the largest population had about 10 times as many people as the state with the smallest population. Currently, the state with the largest population has about 66 times as many people as the state with the smallest population."), opinion shifts modestly in the direction of support for changing the allocation of Senate seats. Still, just 29\% of Americans say they favor changing Senate seat apportionment when the question includes this information, while about two-thirds (68\%) say it should not be changed.

Majorities across all partisan and ideological groups say all states should continue to have two U.S. senators, regardless of population size (and in both versions of the question). But there is a partisan gap in these views.

When the question asks about the current structure of the Senate without additional information, $85 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners and 68\% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say the current system of equal representation of states should be maintained. About one-in-three Democrats (31\%) and just $14 \%$ of Republicans think the Constitution should be amended so states with larger populations have more senators than smaller states.

Republicans' views are no different between the versions of the question with and without additional historical information about the population distribution. Among Democrats, however, there is somewhat more

Democrats more likely than Republicans to favor allocating Senate seats by a state's population
The Constitution requires that all states have two U.S. senators, regardless of how many people live in the state. Which comes closer to your view? (\%)
$■$ All states should continue to have two senators regardless of population - Constitution should be amended so larger pop. states have more senators

Total
No additional context

Additional context*


Among Rep/Lean Rep


Among Dem/Lean Dem


Notes: Respondents were randomly asked the question with or without the additional information. See topline for full question wording. No answer not shown.
*Additional context: "When the first Congress met, the state with the largest population had about 10 times as many people as the state with the smallest population. Currently, the state with the largest population has about 66 times as many people as the state with the smallest population."
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER support for amending the Constitution to change senatorial apportionment when the changing population distribution is made salient, though this remains a minority position among Democrats (39\% support these changes in that case, compared with $31 \%$ in the version of the question without that information).

## Senate allocation and House size survey experiments

This study includes several survey experiments that present different versions of the same question to different subsets of respondents. One set of experiments involves questions designed to illustrate whether additional information about population influences attitudes about whether changes should be made to the way the number of seats are apportioned in the U.S. Senate or whether the overall size of the U.S. House should be changed.

Respondents were randomly assigned to either a question about the Senate or the House and one of two conditions:
Intro (all) House
As you may know,
Additional context (shown in one condition)
when the first Congress met, there were 65 members, each
of whom represented an average of about 60,000 people.
Currently,

## Intro (all)

As you may know,

## Baseline text (all)

the Constitution requires that all states have two U.S. senators, regardless of how many people live in the state.

## Additional context (shown in one condition)

When the first Congress met, the state with the largest population had about 10 times as many people as the state with the smallest population. Currently, the state with the largest population has about 66 times as many people as the state with the smallest population

## Response options:

Which comes closer to your view?

1) The Constitution should not be changed, and all states should continue to have two senators regardless of the size of their population
2) The Constitution should be amended so that states with larger populations have more senators than smaller states

When asked about the number of representatives in the U.S. House relative to the number of people they represent, about half of Americans ( $51 \%$ ) say the lower chamber's size should remain unchanged, while $28 \%$ say it should be increased and $18 \%$ say it should be decreased.

The public's views shift modestly in the direction of increasing the size of the House in a version of the question that provides additional historical context. When the question notes that there were both fewer members of the House when the first Congress met than there are today ( 65 then, 435 now) and that each representative then represented a smaller number of constituents

## Relatively few favor expanding size of House, but providing historical context increases support

There are 435 members of the House of Representatives, each of whom represents an average of 700,0oo people. Do you think the number of members in the House of Representatives should be ... (\%)


## Additional context provided:

When the first Congress met, there were 65 members, each of whom represented an average of about 60,000 people ...


Notes: Respondents were randomly asked the question with or without the additional information. See topline for full question wording. No answer not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
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(roughly 60,000 then,
700,000 now), $34 \%$ say its size should be increased (compared with $28 \%$ without the historical sizes). Still, a plurality (44\%) say the size should remain the same even with this additional information. The share saying the size of Congress should be decreased also remains about the same (21\%).

In the version of the question without additional historical context, $55 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners say the size of the U.S. House should remain the same, while the remainder are about evenly divided: $21 \%$ say the number of members should be increased and $22 \%$ say decreased. The view that the size should not change also is held by about half of Democrats and Democratic leaners (49\%). But Democrats who think the House's size should change are far more likely to say it should be increased than decreased (34\% vs. 14\%).

Republicans' views are no different with the addition of information about the historical size of the House. However, the balance of Democratic opinion shifts somewhat when this information is provided. In this case, $44 \%$ of Democrats say the House's size should be increased (up from 34\% without the additional context), while a smaller share say the size should stay the same ( $39 \%$, down from $49 \%$ without the additional context). There is no difference in the share of Democrats across the two conditions who say the House's size should be decreased.

When provided with historical representation,
Democratic support for expanding House edges higher
There are 435 members of the House of Representatives, each of whom represents an average of 700,000 people. Do you think the number of members in the House of Representatives should be ... (\%)


Among Dem/Lean Dem


Notes: Respondents were randomly asked the question with or without the additional information. See topline for full question wording. No answer not shown.
*Additional context: "When the first Congress met, there were 65 members, each of whom represented an average of about 60,000 people."
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
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## 6. Quality and responsiveness of elected officials

In general, Americans have low regard for elected officials. And when asked about candidates running for office in the last several elections, only about half ( $47 \%$ ) say the quality of candidates overall has been good, with just $7 \%$ saying they have been "very good"; about as many ( $52 \%$ ) take a negative view.

Yet the public makes clear distinctions in evaluations of candidate quality, depending on whether they are running for president, Congress or a local office.

Ratings of the field of

## Views of candidate quality much less positive for presidential elections than local contests

$\%$ who say, in general, the quality of candidates running for___ in the last several elections has been ...


Notes: No answer not shown. Each respondent randomly asked about just one type of candidate. See topline for full question wording.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER presidential candidates in recent elections are similar to ratings of generic candidates for political office: $41 \%$ rate the quality of recent presidential candidates at least somewhat good (just $3 \%$ say very good), while $58 \%$ say they have generally been bad.

But the public offers more positive views of those running for offices closer to home: $64 \%$ say the quality of candidates running for Congress in the last several elections in their district has generally been at least somewhat good, while nearly three-quarters ( $73 \%$ ) rate candidate quality in local elections (such as for mayor or county government) positively.

Across different types of elections, about six-in-ten Americans say that they "usually feel like there is at least one candidate who shares most of my views."

When asked generally about candidates for political office, $63 \%$ of Americans say there is usually at least one candidate who shares their views. That figure does not vary much when they are asked about specific offices: $65 \%$ say at least one presidential candidate usually represents most of their views, and $63 \%$ say the same about congressional candidates and $62 \%$ about candidates for local political office.

Across different types of elections, most say there is usually at least one candidate who shares their views
Which comes closer to your view of candidates for ... (\%)
None of the candidates There is at least one candidate represent my views well who shares most of my views


Notes: No answer not shown. Each respondent randomly asked about just one type of candidate. See topline for full question wording.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
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Overall, Republicans and Republican-leaning independents are more likely than Democrats and Democratic leaners to say the quality of candidates running for president has been good in recent years ( $49 \%$ vs. $35 \%$ ). Conversely, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to rate their recent slates of local candidates positively ( $77 \%$ vs. $69 \%$ ). Partisans view their recent congressional candidates similarly ( $67 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners say they have been good, compared with $63 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners).

Within both partisan coalitions, however, those who identify with the party are significantly more likely than those who do not (and instead "lean" to the party) to view the quality of recent candidates positively. This pattern is evident across presidential, congressional and local contests.

For example, while 77\% of those who identify as Republicans say that the quality of candidates running for Congress in their district has been at least somewhat good in recent elections, just $53 \%$ of those who lean toward the Republican Party say the

## Partisans have more positive views than leaners about the quality of candidates in recent elections

\% who say, in general, the quality of candidates running for___ in the last several elections has been good


Among Rep/Lean Rep


Among Dem/Lean Dem


Notes: No answer not shown. Each respondent randomly asked about just one type of candidate. See topline for full question wording.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER same. There is a similar gap between Democrats (74\%) and Democratic leaners (48\%).

Partisan identifiers also are more likely than independents to say that in these types of elections they usually feel that at least one candidate represents their views. Asked about candidates for political office generally, about seven-in-ten Republicans (71\%) and Democrats (73\%) say this; by comparison, $61 \%$ of Republican-leaning independents and $49 \%$ of Democratic-leaning independents say the same.

Evaluations of the congressional candidate field vary based on the degree to which partisans "fit" the partisan cast of their district. For instance, among Republicans and Republican leaners who live in districts that have voted for Republican congressional candidates by wide margins in recent elections, about eight-in-ten (78\%) say the quality of candidates in their district is good. Among those who live in more politically mixed ("swing") districts, $73 \%$ say this, as do just $50 \%$ of Republicans who live in overwhelmingly Democratic districts.

## Republicans, Democrats who live in districts dominated by their party are more satisfied with the quality of candidates running for Congress

\% who say ...



Notes: Safe districts are those where the winner of the election in 2016 won more than $60 \%$ of the two-party vote. Swing districts are those where the winner won with less than 60\% of the two-party vote.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018. District-level election returns come from Gary Jacobson's database of congressional election results.

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Among Democrats there is a similar, if less dramatic, pattern. About seven-in-ten (71\%) living in heavily Democratic districts say the quality of candidates running in their districts is good, compared with $64 \%$ of Democrats who live in swing districts and $53 \%$ who live in predominantly Republican districts.

Nearly identical patterns are evident in reports of whether or not people think at least one candidate in congressional elections in their district shares their values.

## Expectations about the responsiveness of elected officials

About six-in-ten Americans say that if they contacted their member of the U.S. House of Representatives with a problem it is either not very likely (40\%) or not likely at all (21\%) they would get help addressing it. Just $7 \%$ say their representative would be very likely to help, while $30 \%$ say this would be somewhat likely.

Overall, Republicans are somewhat more likely than Democrats to say that their congressional representative would be at least somewhat likely to help them address an issue ( $41 \%$ of Republicans vs. $35 \%$ of Democrats).

But these perceptions vary across districts. In both parties, those who live in districts represented by a member of their same party are more likely to anticipate that their member of Congress would help them with a problem. For instance, while $35 \%$ of Republicans living in districts represented by Democrats say they would

## Most say it is unlikely their representative would help them address a problem if contacted

Suppose you contacted your member of the U.S. House of Representatives with a problem. How likely do you think it is that they would help you address it? (\%)


Note: No answer not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018. Congressional district information comes from Gary Jacobson's database of congressional election results.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER expect assistance, that rises
to $45 \%$ among Republicans living in districts with a GOP representative. Similarly, Democrats who live in districts represented by a Democrat are more likely than Democrats in districts represented by Republicans to say their congressional representative would respond if contacted ( $40 \%$ to $31 \%$, respectively).

Overall, adults who are politically engaged are more likely than those who are less engaged to expect that their representative would address an issue if contacted. This pattern holds true controlling for both partisanship and the partisanship of the district's representative.

## What should happen when the majority and a governor's supporters don't agree?

Three-quarters of Americans (75\%) say that when a new bill is supported by a majority of people in a state - but opposed by the governor's supporters - the governor should follow the will of the majority and sign the legislation. And while there are no differences between Republicans and Democrats in these views when the governor's party is not specified, partisans' answers do differ when the partisanship of the governor (and the governor's supporters) is mentioned.

Using a survey experiment in which subsets of the public were presented with and without partisan descriptions of the governor and the governor's supporters, wide majorities in every condition of the experiment support the governor signing a bill that most of the people in the state support even though the governor's own supporters (or co-partisans) oppose the bill. (See box below for full details of the experiment.)

Majorities of both Republicans and Democrats say - in this hypothetical - that the governor should sign the bill, regardless of the partisanship assigned to the governor and the governor's supporters. However, partisan support for going along with the majority view

## Most say a governor should heed their state's people - not political backers

If most people in a state support a new bill passed in a state, but most people who voted for the state's governor oppose it, what should the governor do? (\%)


Rep/Lean Rep
Dem/Lean Dem
Notes: No answer not shown. See topline for full question wording. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018. PEW RESEARCH CENTER is substantially lower when the example provided results in their own party's position being given less priority.

For example, when given no party reference, $75 \%$ of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say the governor should follow the will of the majority, but when told that the governor is also a Republican and that Republicans oppose the bill, a narrower majority (66\%) of Republicans say that the governor should sign the bill.

A nearly identical pattern is seen among Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents: 77\% support signing in the generic case, compared with $68 \%$ when the governor and supporters are identified as Democrats.

But partisans differ in their response to the example of a governor of the opposing party. Presented with an example of a bill on the desk of a Republican governor that is opposed by Republicans but supported by the majority of the state, the same share of Democrats say the governor should follow the will of the majority as say this when not provided any cues about the party of the governor or the governor's supporters ( $77 \%$ in both cases).

By contrast, when Republicans are presented with a hypothetical Democratic governor, with Democrats opposed to the bill, they are substantially more likely to say that the governor should follow the will of the majority of the state rather than the governor's supporters ( $90 \%$ say this) than they do in either the generic condition ( $75 \%$ ) or when the governor and governors' supporters are Republicans (66\%).

## Broad support for will of majority, but partisanship has an effect

\% who say a governor should sign a bill supported by most of the state when most of governor's supporters oppose it

When the governor and supporters are identified as ...


Among partisans, when the governor and supporters are identified as ...


Notes: Respondents were randomly assigned to a condition: No party specified, Republican governor/supporters or Democratic governor/supporters. See topline for full question wording. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018. PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Among Republicans, the difference in the shares who say the governor should sign the legislation under different partisan conditions is particularly pronounced among older and conservative Republicans.

Older Republicans are less likely than younger Republicans to say the bill should be signed when the governor is a Republican and Republicans are in opposition ( $59 \%$ of those 50 and older say this, compared with $74 \%$ of those under 50). There is a similar-sized age gap in the case of a generic governor ( $81 \%$ vs. $69 \%$ ). About nine-inten Republicans and Republican leaners across all age groups say the bill should be signed by a Democratic governor, even though most Democrats oppose the legislation.

A similar pattern is evident by ideology: While 77\% of moderate and liberal Republicans say a bill with majority statewide support should be signed even if most Republicans in the state oppose it, that falls to $61 \%$ among conservative Republicans. There is no ideological difference among Republicans when the governor and supporters are identified as Democrats.

## In both parties, older adults less likely to support will of majority over partisan goals

\% who say the governor should sign the bill if a majority of people support it even if a majority of the governor's supporters oppose it


AMONG REP/LEAN REP



AMONG DEM/LEAN DEM ...


100
Notes: Respondents were randomly assigned to a condition: No party specified, Republican governor/supporters or Democratic governor/supporters. See topline for full question wording.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Among Democrats, age differences are similar to those in the GOP: Older Democrats are somewhat less likely than younger Democrats to back the signing of a bill by a Democratic governor if Democrats oppose the legislation ( $62 \%$ of those 50 and older, compared with $72 \%$ of those under 50) and to support the bill's signing in the case of a generic governor and supporters ( $69 \%$ vs. $83 \%$ ). But about three-quarters in all age groups say this when the governor is identified as a Republican.

There are no significant ideological differences among Democrats in the shares who say the governor should sign the bill in either the Republican or Democratic conditions. However, liberal Democrats are more likely than conservative or moderate Democrats to say the bill should be signed when no partisan indicators are given ( $86 \%$ vs. $71 \%$ ).

## The veto survey experiment

This study includes several survey experiments that present different versions of the same question to different subsets of respondents. This experiment is designed to illustrate how people balance majority support for a policy when most members of the party of the executive oppose that policy.

Respondents were randomly assigned to one of three conditions:

## Generic governor/supporters

Thinking about a new bill passed in a state ...
If most people in the state support the bill, but most people who voted for the governor oppose it, what should the governor do?

Response categories:

## Democratic governor/supporters

Thinking about a new bill passed in a state with a Democratic governor ...
If most people in the state support the bill, but Democrats in the state oppose it, what should the governor do?

1) Sign the bill or 2) Veto the bill
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## Only about two-in-ten say government is run for the benefit of all

A large majority of Americans (76\%) say the government is run by a few big interests looking out for themselves; fewer than a quarter (21\%) say it is run for the benefit of all the people. Since the early 1970s, most Americans have generally said the government is run by a few big interests, and the share saying this is unchanged from 2015.

Most Republicans (71\%) and Democrats (84\%) say the government is run by a few big interests. More Democrats say this now than in 2015 ( $71 \%$ then vs. 84\% now). Views among Republicans have moved in the opposite direction ( $81 \%$ then to $71 \%$ now).

## Most continue to say government run by a few big interests

$\%$ who say the government is run ...



Notes: Data points indicate individual surveys, line shows yearly averages. Trend includes data from other organizations. See topline for full details.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
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## Public continues to back limiting campaign spending

A wide majority of Americans continue to believe that there should be limits on the amount of money political candidates can spend on campaigns: Roughly threequarters (77\%) feel that such limits are appropriate. A somewhat smaller majority (65\%) think that new campaign finance laws could be effective in limiting the amount of money in political campaigns. These overall views are little changed from 2015.

While majorities of Americans in all age groups endorse limiting the amount of money in political campaigns, those older than 30 are substantially more likely than younger adults to hold this view ( $79 \%$ of those older than 30 say that

## Widespread support for limiting money in campaigns; about two-thirds say such laws would be effective




There should be limits on the amount of money campaigns

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER there should be limits, compared with $68 \%$ of those under 30). Conversely, while majorities in all age groups are optimistic about how effective new campaign finance laws would be in limiting the role of money in politics, that sentiment is somewhat less widespread among those 65 or older ( $58 \%$ say this, compared with $65 \%$ or more among younger age groups).

Though Democrats are more likely than Republicans to support limiting the amount of money in political campaigns, wide majorities in both parties say there should be limits ( $85 \%$ of Democrats, $71 \%$ of Republicans). Republicans are substantially more skeptical than Democrats about the effectiveness of new laws. About half (54\%) of Republicans say that new laws could be effective while $77 \%$ of Democrats say the same.

## Views about the public's influence on government

Overall, most adults see voting as an avenue to influence the government: 61\% say that "voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things."

However, on a more general measure of political efficacy, the public is more divided: $52 \%$ say ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence government if they make an effort, while $47 \%$ say "there's not much ordinary citizens can do to influence the government in Washington."

On both measures, younger and less-educated adults are more skeptical about the impact of participation.

The view that voting gives people some say increases with age; while just $53 \%$ of adults under 30 say this, that compares with nearly threequarters of those 65 and older ( $73 \%$ ). This age gap is seen in both parties.

Similarly, those under 50 are less likely than their elders (ages 50 and older) to say ordinary citizens can influence government if they make an effort (48\% vs. $56 \%$ ).

Education is also associated with a sense of political efficacy: 77\% of postgraduates say voting gives people some say, compared with two-thirds of those with a bachelor's degree ( $67 \%$ ) and $57 \%$ of those with less education.

Political engagement is highly correlated with attitudes about voting. Highly engaged adults are considerably more likely to see the value of participation and the potential of "ordinary citizens" to influence governmental policy.

In both parties, those who are more ideological - conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats - are also more likely to view voting as a way for them to have a voice.

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## 7. Democratic debates and the stakes of politics

Two-thirds of Americans (67\%) now say that, when it comes to "the way things have been going in politics over the last few years on issues that matter" to them, their side has been losing more often than it has been winning. Just 29\% feel they have generally been winning more often than losing on the issues that matter to them in politics.

The share of Americans who say they are losing more than winning has increased 8 percentage points since 2016 (from 59\% to 67\% today).

Women are now more likely than men to say that, on balance, they are losing ( $72 \%$ vs. $63 \%$ ); in early 2016 , slightly more men ( $62 \%$ ) than women ( $57 \%$ ) felt like their political side was losing.

Partisans' views also have shifted since before the 2016 election: $78 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners now say they are losing more often than winning, up from $49 \%$ two years ago. Today, Republicans and Republican leaners are about evenly split (53\% say losing more often, $44 \%$ say winning). In 2016, $75 \%$ of Republicans said they felt they were losing on the issues that mattered to them.

## Women more likely than men to say they are 'losing' on important issues

Thinking about the way things have been going in politics over the last few years on issues that matter to you, would you say your side has been ... (\%)


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

In the current survey, those who identify with the GOP are more likely than those who lean toward the Republican Party to say their side has been winning more often than losing ( $51 \%$ vs. $36 \%)$. Two years ago, there were no significant differences in these views.

Among Democrats, equally large majorities of those who identify with the party and those who lean Democratic ( $78 \%$ each) say they are losing more often than winning in politics. In 2016, more Democratic identifiers (50\%) than leaners (43\%) said their side was winning more often.

## Republicans now split over whether their side is losing or winning more often

Thinking about the way things have been going in politics over the last few years on issues that matter to you, would you say your side has been winning more often than losing?

- Republican - Democrat
- Lean Republican Lean Democrat

20162018
WINNING MORE OFTEN THAN LOSING


Note: No answer not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Perceptions of the public's political wisdom and ability

About half of the public (51\%) says that ordinary Americans would not do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials, compared with slightly fewer (44\%) who think they would do a better job. This marks a shift from 2015, when most ( $55 \%$ ) said they thought ordinary Americans would do better than elected officials and just $39 \%$ said they could not do better.

This shift in views has been especially pronounced among Republicans and Republican leaners. Today, 43\% of Republicans think ordinary Americans would do a better job than elected officials, down sharply from $62 \%$ who said this in 2015, during Barack Obama's administration.

There has been little change in views among Democrats and Democratic leaners on this question: About as many are skeptical that ordinary Americans would do better than elected officials today ( $45 \%$ ) as said this in 2015 (49\%).

Older adults and those without a college degree have also become more skeptical about the public's ability to do better than elected officials.

## Fewer Republicans now say ordinary people would do better than officials

\% who say ordinary Americans would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials


Note: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
pew research center

The public has become less confident in the ability of ordinary Americans to outperform elected officials, but they have become somewhat more positive when it comes to assessments of the political wisdom of the American people.

Today, $56 \%$ say that they have not very much or no confidence at all in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions; $42 \%$ say they have a very great deal or good deal of confidence. While opinion is negative on balance, it is more positive than it was two years ago: In 2016, nearly two-thirds (64\%) said they had not very much or no confidence in the public's political wisdom.

Republicans and Republican leaners have driven this shift in overall views. In the current survey, $54 \%$ say they have a very great or good deal of confidence in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions. In the spring of 2016, just $35 \%$ said this. By contrast, views among Democrats and Democratic leaners have not changed over the last two years: Just $33 \%$ expressed confidence in the public's political wisdom in 2016 and about the same percentage says this today (32\%).

## Republican confidence in public's political wisdom up since 2016

\% who say they have $\qquad$ of trust and confidence in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions


$$
\begin{array}{lll}
\hline 997 & 2007 & 2018
\end{array}
$$

\% who say they have a very great/good deal of trust and confidence in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions



Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Majority of public says politics is not a struggle between right and wrong

Overall, $42 \%$ of Americans say they think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong, while a majority (57\%) doesn't think of politics in that way.

Just 20\% of those with a postgraduate degree say they think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong, while $79 \%$ say they do not. Narrower majorities of those with bachelor's degrees ( $62 \%$ ) and those with some college experience ( $58 \%$ ) also say they generally do not think about politics in these terms. In comparison, those with a high school education or less are divided: $51 \%$ say they think about politics in these terms, $45 \%$ say they do not.

Republicans and Democrats are about equally likely to say they see politics as a struggle between right and wrong. But partisan identifiers in both coalitions differ from those who say they lean toward (but do not identify with) the party. For instance, while $45 \%$ of

Educational divide over whether politics is a struggle between right and wrong \% who say ...

Politics is a struggle Don't think about between right and wrong politics that way Total

Postgrad
College grad
Some college
HS or less

Rep/Lean Rep
Republican
Lean Rep

Dem/Lean Dem
Democrat
Lean Dem

| 40 | 58 |
| :---: | :---: |
| 45 | 53 |
| 32 | 66 |

Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Democratic identifiers say they think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong, just $32 \%$ of Democratic leaners say the same.

## How clear are the solutions to the country's issues?

Just over half of Americans see the major issues facing the country today as complicated: $54 \%$ say that most big issues don't have clear solutions, while $44 \%$ say the solutions are clear. This sentiment is little changed in the overall public over the past few years, but there have been shifts in how both conservative Republicans and liberal Democrats view the country's problems.

In years past, conservative Republicans and Republican leaners were more likely than either Democrats or moderates and liberals in the GOP coalition to say that there were clear solutions to most of the big issues facing the country. Today, liberal Democrats and Democratic leaners are somewhat more likely

## Most say major issues facing the country don't have 'clear solutions'

\% who say ...


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018. PEW RESEARCH CENTER
than those in other groups to say solutions are clear.

Last year, $47 \%$ of conservative Republicans and $35 \%$ of liberal Democrats said solutions to most of the country's big problems were clear.

Today, half (50\%) of liberal Democrats say this, compared with $43 \%$ of conservative Republicans. Within both parties, views among the less ideological wings of the parties have not shifted over the last three years.

Liberal Dems, conservative Reps shift on whether
clear solutions exist for most big national issues clear solutions exist for most big national issues
\% who say there are clear solutions to most big issues facing the country today ...

- Conservative Rep/Lean Rep Mod-Lib Rep/Lean Rep

■ Cons-Mod Dem/Lean Dem ■Liberal Dem/Lean Dem


Americans are currently about evenly divided on the question of whether the public is willing to pay the taxes needed to provide the government services they expect (51\%) or whether the public demands more from the government than they are willing to pay (46\%). In 2015, Americans were slightly more likely to say the public usually demands more than it is willing to pay for (52\%) than to say it was willing to pay for expected services.

As was the case in 2015, there is no partisan gap on this question. There also are no significant differences in these views across demographic groups today; this represents a change from 2015, when younger, more educated and higher-income people were more likely than others to say the public demanded more than it was willing to pay taxes for.

## Public split over people's willingness to pay for government services

\% who say most Americans ...
Demand more from Are willing to pay the government than taxes needed to fund they are willing to services they expect
pay in taxes government to provide



Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## More say constitutional interpretation should address current meaning

A $55 \%$ majority of the public now says the U.S. Supreme Court should make its rulings based on what the Constitution "means in current times," while $41 \%$ say the court should base its rulings on what the Constitution "meant as originally written."

This reflects a shift in public opinion: In surveys dating back more than a decade (from 2005 to 2016), the public was roughly evenly divided in its views of how the Supreme Court should interpret the Constitution. When the question was last asked in October 2016, 46\% said that the court should base its rulings on what the Constitution means in current times; the same share (46\%) said rulings should be based on what the Constitution meant when it was originally written.

Nearly eight-in-ten Democrats and Democratic leaners (78\%) now say rulings should be based on the Constitution's current meaning, higher than at any previous point and up 9 percentage points from 2016. Just three-in-ten Republicans (30\%) currently say the same; this reflects an 11-point increase from the fall of 2016, but is little different from GOP views in 2010 and 2011.

## Shift in public views of how Supreme Court should interpret Constitution <br> \% who say the Supreme Court should base its rulings on its understanding of what the U.S. Constitution ...

Means in current times

\% who say the Supreme Court should base its rulings on its understanding of what the U.S. Constitution means in current times


Conservative Republicans continue to overwhelmingly say the Constitution should be interpreted based on its original meaning ( $77 \%$ ) rather than its meaning in current times (21\%). But moderate and liberal Republicans and Republican leaners are more divided in their views: 50\% say original meaning, $46 \%$ current times. There is a more modest ideological gap among Democrats, though liberal Democrats are more likely than conservatives and moderates to think the court should base its rulings on current meaning ( $88 \%$ vs. $70 \%$ ).

There is a substantial age gap in these views:
More than six-in-ten Americans younger than 50 (64\%) say the high court should take current context into account when interpreting the Constitution. By comparison, only about half of those 50 and older ( $47 \%$ ) say the same.

Although majorities of Republicans in all age groups say the Constitution should be interpreted as it was originally written, younger Republicans are somewhat less likely than older Republicans to hold this view ( $61 \%$ of Republicans ages 18 to 49 compared with $72 \%$ of those 50 and older).

Similarly, while wide majorities of Democrats of all ages say the Supreme Court should base its rulings on its view of the Constitution's current meaning, older Democrats (70\% of those 50 and older) are less likely than younger Democrats ( $86 \%$ of those 18 to 49) to say this.

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## 8. The tone of political debate, compromise with political opponents

About two-thirds of Americans (68\%) say that personally insulting political opponents is never fair game in politics, while 31\% say insults are sometimes fair game.

Overall, there is a modest gender gap in these views, with women somewhat more likely than men ( $71 \%$ vs. $65 \%$ ) to view personal insults as unacceptable. There are no significant differences in these views by age or across racial and ethnic groups.

As in the past, Democrats and Democraticleaning independents are considerably more likely than Republicans and Republican leaners to say insults are never fair game. Three-quarters of Democrats (75\%) now say this, compared with $59 \%$ of Republicans.


Note: Don't know responses not shown
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Current views are on par with those in the spring of 2016, but the share saying insults are not acceptable is higher than it was in the immediate weeks before the 2016 election: In October 2016, a narrower majority of voters (54\%) said insulting opponents was never fair game in politics.

## Partisan gap on 'political correctness' debate grows wider

Overall, $55 \%$ of Americans currently say that "too many people are easily offended these days over the language that others use," while $45 \%$ say that "people need to be more careful about the language they use to avoid offending people with different backgrounds."

Since 2016, there has been a 6-percentagepoint rise in the share who say people should be more careful with language (from $39 \%$ to $45 \%$ ). At that time, the balance of public opinion was more clearly tilted to the view that people are too easily offended ( $59 \%$ said this, while $39 \%$ said people should be more careful about language).

While roughly eight-in-ten Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (81\%) take the position that people are too easily offended by the language others use, about two-thirds of Democrats and Democratic leaners (65\%) take the opposing view that people need to be more careful with language to avoid offenses.

Although this partisan divide is not new, it has widened since 2016. Republican attitudes are virtually unchanged over the past two years. language has increased 11 percentage points (up from $54 \%$ two years ago).

While the view that people should be more careful is held by majorities of Democrats in all ideological groups, it is particularly prevalent among liberals. Today, $72 \%$ of liberal Democrats and Democratic leaners take this position, compared with $59 \%$ of conservatives and moderates in the party. There are no significant differences in the views of Republicans by ideology.

As in 2016, there remain significant gaps in these opinions between men and women and between blacks and whites.

While a $61 \%$ majority of men say that too many people are easily offended these days over the language others use, women's views are split: $50 \%$ say people should be more careful, $49 \%$ say too many people are easily offended.

However, the gender gap is concentrated among Democrats. While 72\% of Democratic women say people need to be more careful about language to avoid offending others, a more modest majority (57\%) of Democratic men say this. There are no significant differences in these views between Republican men and women.

Black people remain significantly more likely than either whites or Hispanics to hold the view that people need to be more careful about language to avoid offending those with different backgrounds. Today, 77\% of African Americans say this, compared with $38 \%$ of whites and $44 \%$ of Hispanics.

## Racial, gender divides over need to be more careful with language

\% who say ...


Notes: No answer not shown. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic. Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb.13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Wide majority rejects bending the rules in politics

A majority of Americans (79\%) say that in politics, "it is important to respect the rules, even if it makes it harder to get things done." Just $19 \%$ say it is "sometimes necessary to bend the rules in order to get things done."

The share saying it is important to respect the rules has grown - among Republicans and Democrats alike - since just prior to the 2016 presidential election. While Republicans were somewhat more likely than Democrats to say this in November 2016, there is now no partisan gap in these views: 79\% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents and 82\% of Republicans and Republican leaners now say it's important to respect political rules, even if it makes it harder to get things done.

While there are no significant differences in these views across partisan or demographic groups, there are modest differences related to levels of civic knowledge.

Nearly nine-in-ten Americans with high levels of civic knowledge (88\%) say it's important to respect the rules even if that makes it harder to get things done, while just $10 \%$ believe that it is sometimes necessary to bend the rules. Among those with relatively low levels of civic knowledge, a narrower - though still substantial - majority (69\%) says respect for the rules is important, while about three-inten (29\%) say that bending the rules is sometimes acceptable in order to get things

## Growing majorities in both parties say it is important to respect rules

$\%$ who say that, in politics, it is ...


## Civic knowledge associated with rejecting 'rule bending' in politics

$\%$ who say that, in politics, it is ...


Notes: No answer not shown. See appendix for details on civic knowledge index.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018. PEW RESEARCH CENTER
done. These differences are evident even when controlling for partisanship.

## Democratic views shift on making compromises in politics

Roughly half of Americans say they prefer politicians who stick to their positions (53\%), while slightly fewer say they like those who make compromises with people they disagree with (44\%). This represents a substantial shift from July 2017, when $58 \%$ of the public said they preferred politicians who compromised compared with $39 \%$ who said they liked politicians who stick with their positions.

There is now no difference between Republicans and Democrats in their views of compromise. In six previous surveys conducted since 2011, Democrats were consistently more likely than Republicans to say they liked those who compromised. As recently as last July, 69\% of Democrats said they preferred elected officials who made compromises; today just 46\% say this. These views are little changed among Republicans and Republican leaners in recent years: Today, $44 \%$ say they like elected officials who make compromises, while $46 \%$ said this in July

## Long-standing partisan gap over views of compromise disappears

\% who say they like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with


20112012201320142015201620172018
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER 2017.

There are substantial educational differences in views of compromise in politics. A majority of those with postgraduate degrees say they like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with over those who stick to their positions ( $57 \%$ vs. $42 \%$ ). Among those with bachelor's degrees and those with some college experience, these views are roughly evenly divided. Among those with no college experience, most prefer politicians who stick to their positions: $63 \%$ say this, while just $36 \%$ say they prefer elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with.

This pattern is seen in both parties, with slight majorities of college graduates saying they prefer politicians who make compromises ( $54 \%$ in both parties) and the balance of opinion reversed among those without college degrees ( $58 \%$ of Republicans and $57 \%$ of Democrats without bachelor's degrees say they prefer elected officials who stick to their positions).

In both parties, sizable education gap in
views of politicians who compromise


Note: Don't know responses not shown.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted March 7-14, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## 9. The responsibilities of citizenship

When it comes to what it takes to be a good citizen, the public has a long list of traits and behaviors that it says are important. And there's a fair amount of agreement across groups about what it takes to be a good citizen.

Still, there are differences when it comes to which aspects are considered very important (as opposed to somewhat important), and points of emphasis differ by party identification as well as by age.

Overall, $91 \%$ say it is either very (74\%) or somewhat ( $17 \%$ ) important to vote in elections in order to be a good citizen; just 8\% say this is not too or not at all important.

Large shares also say it is important to pay all the taxes you owe (92\%) and to always follow the law (96\%), including about seven-in-ten who say each is very important ( $71 \%$ and $69 \%$, respectively).

For several other traits and behaviors, about nine-in-ten say they are at least somewhat important to good citizenship. However, the share saying each is very important varies significantly. For example, $89 \%$ say it's important to serve jury duty if called, including $61 \%$ who say this is very important. While a comparable $90 \%$ say it's important to follow what's happening in government and politics as part of good citizenship, a smaller share (49\%) says this very important.

Protesting government actions you think are wrong and knowing the Pledge of Allegiance are considered important parts of what it means to be a good citizen, though they rank somewhat lower on the public's list. Displaying the American flag ranks last among the 11 items tested in the survey. Still, a majority says this is either a very (36\%) or somewhat (26\%) important part of what it means to be a good citizen.

Republicans and Democrats largely agree on the importance of most responsibilities of citizenship.

About three-quarters of Republicans and Republican leaners (76\%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (75\%) say it's very important to vote in elections.

Similarly, comparable majorities of Republicans and Democrats say it's very important to pay all the taxes you owe, serve jury duty if called, respect the opinions of those you disagree with and participate in the census. There also are no partisan divides over the importance of volunteering to help others and following what's going on in government and politics.

However, Republicans (79\%) are more likely than Democrats (61\%) to say it's very important to always follow the law to be a good citizen.

Knowing the Pledge of Allegiance ranks higher on Republicans' list ( $71 \%$ say it's very important) than Democrats' (just 34\% say it's very important). In addition to placing greater importance on the Pledge of Allegiance, Republicans are twice as likely as Democrats to say it is very important to display the American flag ( $50 \%$ vs. $25 \%$ ).

By contrast, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to think it is very important to protest if government actions are believed to be wrong: About half of Democrats (52\%) this is very important to what it means to be a good citizen, compared with just about a third (35\%) of Republicans.

## Partisans and 'leaners' differ over importance of aspects of citizenship

On many items, the views of independents that lean toward one of the two major parties diverge from those of self-identifying Republicans and Democrats. In general, partisan leaners tend to be less likely than straight Republicans and Democrats to view a range of responsibilities as important to what it means to be a good citizen.

Overall, $83 \%$ of Republicans say voting in elections is a very important aspect of being a good citizen, compared with a smaller majority of Republican leaners ( $67 \%$ ). There is an even wider 28point gap between the share of Democrats (86\%) and Democratic leaners (58\%) who say this is very important.

Similarly, roughly two-thirds of both Republicans (64\%) and Democrats (68\%) say participating in the U.S. census every 10 years is very important to being a good citizen; slightly fewer Republican leaners (55\%) and Democratic leaners (53\%) say the same.

This pattern is seen across other items as well: Those who identify with a party are more likely than independents who lean to a party to say it is very important to serve jury duty if called, pay all owed taxes and to follow what is happening in government.

Independents who lean toward a party are less likely than party identifiers to see
voting, jury duty and census participation as 'very important' to good citizenship voting, jury duty and census participation as 'very important' to good citizenship
$\%$ who say it is ___ important to what it means to be a good citizen to ...


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

While large shares of
Republicans (96\%) and
Republican leaners (87\%) say it is important to know the Pledge of Allegiance, Republican identifiers are somewhat more likely than leaners to say this is very important to good citizenship.

By comparison, smaller majorities of Democrats (67\%) and Democratic leaners (60\%) say it's important to know the pledge. Self-identifying Democrats (42\%) are significantly more likely to say knowing the pledge is a very important part of good citizenship than Democratic leaners (24\%).

There is a 22-point gap between the share of Republicans (90\%) and Republican leaners (68\%) who say displaying the American flag is at least somewhat important to being a good citizen. And $63 \%$ of Republicans call this very important, compared with $35 \%$ of Republican leaners. About half of Democrats (52\%) think this is a very or somewhat important aspect of good citizenship; $43 \%$ of Democratic leaners say the same.

In contrast to the patterns seen on many items, Republican leaners (81\%) are more likely than Republicans (66\%) to say protesting government actions you think are wrong is an important part of being a good citizen. The views of Republican leaners place them closer to those of Democrats and Democratic leaners in terms of the overall importance they place on this aspect of citizenship.

## Republican leaners diverge from Republicans over importance of protesting if government is wrong

\% who say it is $\qquad$ important to what it means to be a good citizen to ...


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

## Age differences in views of the responsibilities of citizenship

Young adults place less importance on many aspects of citizenship than older adults, especially when it comes to the share that describes a trait or behavior as very important for being a good citizen.

Majorities of adults across all ages say it is very important to vote in elections in order to be a good citizen. Still, a smaller majority of those under 30 say this (56\%), compared with larger shares of those ages 30 to 49 ( $72 \%$ ), 50 to 64 ( $76 \%$ ) and 65 and older ( $92 \%$ ).

And while fully $81 \%$ of those 65 and older say that to be a good citizen it is very important to serve jury duty if called, just about half ( $47 \%$ ) of those under 30 say the same.

On other items, the pattern is similar. Young adults are less likely to call paying the taxes you owe, following the law, participating in the census, and following government and politics very important. Still, large majorities of young adults say each of these is at least somewhat important to being a good citizen.

Older adults emphasize importance of voting, jury duty for good citizenship $\%$ who say it is ___ important to what it means to be a good citizen to ...


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.

[^2]There is no meaningful age gap in views of the importance of protesting government actions you think are wrong. Overall, $85 \%$ of those ages 18 to 29 say this is either very ( $45 \%$ ) or somewhat (40\%) important to being a good citizen. Views among those ages 65 and older are similar (50\% very important, $36 \%$ somewhat important).

Displaying the American flag and knowing the Pledge of Allegiance do not rank particularly highly for young adults on their list of important characteristics for good citizenship. Among those ages 18 to $29,63 \%$ say it is important to know the Pledge of Allegiance (38\% very important) and $53 \%$ say it is important to display the American flag (19\% very important). These items do not top the list of older adults either, though those 65 and

## Few young adults say knowing pledge or displaying American flag are very important to good citizenship

\% who say it is $\qquad$ important to what it means to be a good citizen to ...

## Know the Pledge of Allegiance

■Very $\quad$ Somewhat
 older are more likely than the youngest adults to say both are important parts of being a good citizen.

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## 10. Political engagement, knowledge and the midterms

Many Americans participate in politics, either by volunteering for or donating to campaigns, attending protests or meetings, contacting officials or expressing their views on social media. Overall, a large majority ( $67 \%$ ) reports having engaged in at least one of these activities in the past five years; nearly half (46\%) say they have done so in the past year alone.

About four-in-ten Americans (42\%) say they have publicly expressed support for a political campaign on social media in the past five years, and $29 \%$ say they have done this in the past year.

Nearly as many (40\%) say they have contacted an elected official in the past five years, while $23 \%$ have done so in the past year. Smaller shares - slightly less than a third - report making donations to campaigns (29\%), attending local government meetings (29\%) or attending political rallies or events (28\%) in the past five years. And $16 \%$ say they have worked or volunteered for a political campaign in the past five years ( $5 \%$ in the past year).

## More engage with politics digitally than by volunteering or attending rallies

\% who say they have done each of the following activities in the ...


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.

[^3]
## Demographic and educational differences in political engagement

Overall, older, more educated and more ideological Americans tend to report having engaged in more forms of political activism than younger, less educated and less ideological adults. But there

## Liberal Democrats are far more likely than those in other ideological groups to say they have attended a political rally in the past year

\% who say they have done each of the following in the past


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018
PEW RESEARCH CENTER
are some notable exceptions to these patterns.

Contacting political officials and donating to political campaigns are activities that are dominated by older and better educated people. About four-in-ten of those with at least a four-year college degree (43\%) say they have contributed money to a political candidate or a group working to elect a candidate in the past five years, about double the share of those who have not completed college (22\%). The gap in political donations is about as wide between adults 65 and older and those younger than 30 .

By contrast, young adults are more likely than the oldest adults to have attended a political rally, speech or campaign event. Those under 30 are also about as likely as older adults to have publicly expressed support for a political campaign on social media in the last year (and more likely to have done so in the last five years). While those who have never attended college are less active politically on social media than those who have attended college, the differences on this measure of engagement are fairly modest.

Overall, Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents are about as likely to engage in most political activities as Republicans and Republican leaners. But in some cases, such as donating to campaigns and contacting elected officials, the parties are divided along ideological lines. Liberal Democrats are more likely than conservative and moderate Democrats to engage in both activities; similarly, conservative Republicans are more likely than moderate and liberal Republicans to give money to candidates and contact elected officials.

And liberal Democrats stand out from other ideological groups in their attendance at political rallies or events. About one-in-five liberal Democrats (19\%) say they have attended a political rally, event or speech in the past year, more than double the shares of conservative and moderate Democrats (8\%), conservative Republicans (8\%) or moderate and liberal Republicans (7\%).

## Campaign contributions: Most are less than \$250

Most who report contributing money to a candidate or campaign in the past year say their contributions added up to less than $\$ 250$. About half (53\%) say they gave less than $\$ 100$ and $31 \%$ say they gave $\$ 100$ to $\$ 250$. Only $\mathbf{1 5 \%}$ say they gave more than $\$ 250$.

Republicans and Democrats who have made donations report contributing similar amounts: $53 \%$ of Republicans and Republican leaners and $55 \%$ of Democrats and Democratic leaners say they gave less than $\$ 100$.

People with higher incomes who donate to political campaigns are more likely to say they gave in greater amounts than those with lower incomes. More than a quarter (27\%) of those with family incomes of more than $\$ 100,000$ who have made a political contribution in the past year have donated more than $\$ 250$, which is a much larger share than contributors in lower income categories.

## About half of donors say they gave less than $\$ 100$

$\%$ of those who contributed money to a campaign in the last year that gave ...


Note: No response answers not shown. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
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## About half of Americans talk about politics at least weekly

About half of the public (51\%) say they discuss politics with others at least a few times a week, including $18 \%$ who say they have discussions touching on politics nearly every day. A third say they have them a few times a week. Those who talk politics less regularly are about evenly split between having these discussions a few times a month (23\%) or less often (26\%).

As with many forms of political participation and activism, those who talk about politics more frequently are older and better educated.

Nearly two-thirds of those older than 65 (63\%) say they have these discussions at least weekly, and slightly more than half of those ages 50 to 64 say the same (54\%). Just $45 \%$ of those 18 to 29 and 30 to 49 say they talk about politics with others at least weekly.

More educated Americans report talking about politics more as well. Two-thirds of those who have a postgraduate degree (66\%) say they talk politics at least weekly, as do nearly six-in-ten college graduates (57\%). Those with some college experience talk less about politics (51\%) than those holding a college degree, but they are more likely than those with a high school degree or less (43\%) to have weekly conversations on politics.

Similar shares of Republicans and Republican leaners (51\%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (53\%) report discussing politics with

## Those who talk about politics most often are older, better educated

\% who say they discuss politics and govt. with others ...



Note: No answer not shown. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER others at least weekly. Conservative
Republicans and liberal Democrats talk about politics more regularly than others within their
parties. Six-in-ten conservative Republicans say they talk politics at least a few times a week, compared with $37 \%$ of moderate and liberal Republicans. Overall, $63 \%$ of liberal Democrats also say they discuss politics at least weekly; $45 \%$ of conservative and moderate Democrats say the same.

## Most voters say partisan control of Congress 'really matters'

With months to go before the 2018 midterm election, most voters say it "really matters" which party wins control of Congress. Given a fourpoint scale on the importance of partisan control of Congress, a majority of registered voters (65\%) place themselves at the top of the scale - meaning it really matters to them which party gains control.

There are substantial age differences in these opinions. More than eight-in-ten voters 65 and older ( $83 \%$ ) say partisan control really matters as do $67 \%$ of those 50 to 64 . That compares with $57 \%$ of those 30 to 49 and only about half (48\%) of registered voters under 30.

An overwhelming majority of voters with postgraduate degrees (80\%) say control of Congress really matters, compared with $66 \%$ of those with a college degree, $64 \%$ of those with some college experience and $59 \%$ of those with no more than a high school education.

Republicans (65\%) and Democrats (67\%) are about equally likely to say that it really matters who controls Congress. Three-quarters of conservative Republicans say this compared to half of moderate and liberal Republicans.

Wide age differences on importance of partisan control of Congress in 2018
\% of registered voters who say that ...


Note: Based on registered voters.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.
PEW RESEARCH CENTER really matters versus $56 \%$ of conservatives and moderates in the party.

There are similar patterns when it comes to the share of registered voters who say they will definitely vote in the primary elections for Congress this year. Older voters are more likely than younger voters to say they will definitely cast a ballot in the primaries. Voters with no more than a high school education are much less likely than those with at least some college experience to say they will definitely vote. And conservative Republicans (69\%) and liberal Democrats (67\%) are more committed to voting in the primaries than moderate and liberal Republicans (51\%) and conservative and moderate Democrats (53\%).

## The public's civic and political knowledge

Public knowledge on civic and political questions varies widely by issue. Large majorities are familiar with the First Amendment and the role of the Electoral College, but the public struggles when asked about other topics such as the filibuster and tie-breaking procedures in the Senate. (Take the civics knowledge quiz.)

A majority of Americans (86\%) correctly identify free speech as a right guaranteed by the First Amendment. On another constitutional question, about threequarters (76\%) of the public are able to identify the Electoral College as the assembly that formally elects the president.

When it comes to two questions about the current political dynamics in Washington, $83 \%$ know that the Republican Party holds a majority in the Senate and about the same share ( $82 \%$ ) knows that the GOP also controls the House of Representatives. When taken

Most know free speech granted by First Amendment, but far fewer are familiar with Senate filibuster rule
\% answering correctly that ...
Free speech is guaranteed by First Amendment


Electoral College formally elects the president

22nd Amendment determines max number of pres. terms. Vice president cast
tie-breaking votes in Senat

60 votes needed to end a filibuster in Senate


PEW RESEARCH CENTER together, $75 \%$ of the public can correctly name the majority party in both the House and Senate.

The public does less well on other questions about the structure of American government. Overall, $56 \%$ know that the number of terms a president can serve is determined by the 22nd Amendment; $54 \%$ can correctly identify the vice president as the person who casts the tie-breaking vote in a deadlocked Senate.

Fewer than half (41\%) are aware that 60 votes are needed to end a filibuster in the U.S. Senate, the lowest level of public knowledge on any of the seven questions included in the survey

Republicans and Democrats perform about equally well on the civic and political knowledge questions included in the survey. For example, nearly identical shares of Republicans and Republican leaners (87\%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (86\%) know that the First Amendment guarantees the right to free speech.

There are no significant divides between Republicans and Democrats on most questions and 4 percentage points is the most that separates the two groups on any single item ( $80 \%$ of Republicans can correctly identify the Electoral College, compared with $76 \%$ of Democrats).

## Partisans do equally well on questions about civic and political knowledge

$\%$ answering correctly that ...


A three-point index based on responses to questions about the Electoral College, filibuster, Senate tie-break procedure and presidential term limits shows overarching demographic patterns in civic knowledge. Overall, $23 \%$ of the public scores high on this scale of civic knowledge, while $44 \%$ have a medium level of knowledge and $32 \%$ have a low level.

There are clear demographic differences in civic knowledge with older and better educated adults performing better than younger and less-well educated adults.

Among those 65 and older, $33 \%$ have high levels of civic knowledge, while another $48 \%$ have medium levels. Civic knowledge is lower among younger adults and it is particularly low among those ages 18 to 29 , just $14 \%$ of whom score high on the index.

Civic knowledge varies across levels of education: $45 \%$ of those with a postgraduate degree have a high level of civic knowledge compared with $34 \%$ of college graduates, $23 \%$ of those with some college experience and just $12 \%$ of those with no college experience. Nearly half (49\%) of those with no college experience score low on the index of civic knowledge.

While there are no major differences between Republicans and Democrats in responses,

## Demographic differences in levels of civic knowledge

$\%$ who fall into each tier, based on a 4-question index of civic knowledge ...


Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 29-Feb. 13, 2018.

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER

 there are significant divides by ideology within both parties. Conservative Republicans are more likely than moderate and liberal Republicans to score high on the index ( $30 \%$ vs. 17\%). Among Democrats, liberals are more likely to be in the top tier of civic knowledge than moderates and conservatives ( $30 \%$ vs. 19\%).
## Acknowledgements

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

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## Methodology

## Survey conducted January 29-February 13, 2018

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by the Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults recruited from landline and cell phone random digit dial surveys. Panelists participate via monthly self-administered Web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. The panel is being managed by GfK.

Data in this report are drawn from the panel wave conducted January 29-February 13, 2018, among 4,656 respondents. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 4,656 respondents is plus or minus 2.4 percentage points.

Members of the American Trends Panel were recruited from several large, national landline and cellphone random digit dial (RDD) surveys conducted in English and Spanish. At the end of each survey, respondents were invited to join the panel. The first group of panelists was recruited from the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey, conducted January 23 to March 16, 2014. Of the 10,013 adults interviewed, 9,809 were invited to take part in the panel and a total of 5,338 agreed to participate. ${ }^{1}$ The second group of panelists was recruited from the 2015 Pew Research Center Survey on Government, conducted August 27 to October 4, 2015. Of the 6,004 adults interviewed, all were invited to join the panel, and 2,976 agreed to participate. ${ }^{2}$ The third group of panelists was recruited from a survey conducted April 25 to June 4, 2017. Of the 5,012 adults interviewed in the survey or pretest, 3,905 were invited to take part in the panel and a total of 1,628 agreed to participate. ${ }^{3}$

The ATP data were weighted in a multi-step process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents' original survey selection probability and the fact that in 2014 some panelists were subsampled for invitation to the panel. Next, an adjustment was made for the fact that the propensity to join the panel and remain an active panelist varied across different groups in the sample. The final step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that aligns the sample to population benchmarks on a number of dimensions. Gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and region parameters come from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2016 American Community Survey.

[^4]The county-level population density parameter (deciles) comes from the 2010 U.S. decennial census. The telephone service benchmark comes from the July-December 2016 National Health Interview Survey and is projected to 2017. The volunteerism benchmark comes from the 2015 Current Population Survey Volunteer Supplement. The party affiliation benchmark is the average of the three most recent Pew Research Center general public telephone surveys. The internet access benchmark comes from the 2017 ATP Panel Refresh Survey. Respondents who did not previously have internet access are treated as not having internet access for weighting purposes. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish, but the Hispanic sample in the American Trends Panel is predominantly native born and English speaking.

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

| Survey conducted January 29-February 13, 2018 |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Unweighted |  |  |
| sample size |  |  |
| Group | 4,656 | Plus or minus ... <br> Total sample <br>  <br> Quarter form <br>  <br> Republican/Lean Republican <br> 1,155 (min.) |
| Conservative | 4.8 percentage points |  |
| Moderate/Liberal | 1,978 | 3.7 percentage points |
| Democrat/Lean Democrat | 1,317 | 4.5 percentage points |
| Conservative/Moderate | 640 | 6.5 percentage points |
| Liberal | 2,577 | 3.2 percentage points |

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.
In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

The January 2018 wave had a response rate of 85 \% (4,656 responses among 5,509 individuals in the panel). Taking account of the combined, weighted response rate for the recruitment surveys ( $10.0 \%$ ) and attrition from panel members who were removed at their request or for inactivity, the cumulative response rate for the wave is $2.4 \%{ }^{4}$

4 Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves are removed from the panel. These cases are counted in the denominator of cumulative response rates.

## Survey conducted March 7-14, 2018

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted March 7-14, 2018, among a national sample of 1,466 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia ( 384 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,082 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 653 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted under the direction of ICF Incorporated. A combination of landline and cellphone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Marketing Systems Group. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/

The combined landline and cellphone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the 2016 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the decennial census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status (landline only, cell phone only, or both landline and cell phone), based on extrapolations from the 2016 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. The margins of error reported and statistical tests of significance are adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, a measure of how much efficiency is lost from the weighting procedures.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the $95 \%$ level of confidence for different groups in the survey:
\(\left.$$
\begin{array}{lcc}\hline \text { Survey conducted March 7-14, } 2018 & \\
\text { Group } & \begin{array}{c}\text { Unweighted } \\
\text { sample size } \\
1,466\end{array} & \begin{array}{c}\text { Plus or minus ... }\end{array}
$$ <br>
Total sample \& \& <br>

Half form \& 707 (min.) \& 4.3 percentage points\end{array}\right]\)|  |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| Republican/Lean Rep points |  |
| Half form Rep/Lean Rep | 655 |
| Democrat/Lean Dem | 317 |
| Half form Dem/Lean Dem | 682 |

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

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

Pew Research Center undertakes all polling activity, including calls to mobile telephone numbers, in compliance with the Telephone Consumer Protection Act and other applicable laws.

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## Appendix A: Measures and scales

## Political engagement

Throughout this report, a three-category measure of political engagement is used. The scale combines how often respondents follow politics, how often they vote and whether they have engaged in any of five political activities in the last five years. The scale is weighted to favor more recent participation (within the last year). The five activities are: attending a political event or rally, volunteering for a political campaign, contacting an elected official, contributing money to a candidate or campaign and attending a government or community meeting. The scale has a range of zero to 12. High engagement individuals score between 4 and 12 on the scale; medium engagement score between 2 and 3 and low engagement score under 2.

## Civic knowledge

This report uses a three-category measure of civic knowledge. The scale combines four questions about civic knowledge. The questions are who casts tie-breaking votes in the U.S. Senate (Vice President), how many votes are needed to end a filibuster (60), which amendment to the U.S. Constitution determines the number of terms a president can serve ( $22^{\text {nd }}$ Amendment) and what is the Electoral College (assembly that formally elects the president).

## Civic knowledge categories

|  | Total <br> $\%$ | Rep/ <br> Lean Rep <br> $\%$ | Dem/ <br> Lean Dem <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| High <br> Answered all 4 <br> questions correctly <br> Medium <br> Answered 2-3 <br> questions correctly <br> Low <br> Answered 0-1 <br> questions correctly <br> $\underline{32}$ | 23 | $\underline{30}$ | $\underline{32}$ |

Respondents receive one point on the scale for

| Political engagement categories |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Rep/ <br> Lean Rep | Dem/ <br> Lean Dem |  |
| \% | $\%$ | $\%$ |  |
| High (4-12) | 36 | 35 | 39 |
| Medium (2-3) | 27 | 31 | 24 |
| Low (0-2) | $\underline{37}$ | $\underline{34}$ | $\underline{37}$ |
|  | 100 | 100 | 100 | and 3 and low engagement score under 2 . each correct answer, with a maximum score of four.

## Congressional district competitiveness scale

For the purposes of this analysis, congressional districts are classified according to the proportion of the two-party vote (i.e., excluding third party candidate vote totals from the denominator). Safe Republican districts are those in which the Republican candidate either ran unopposed or won more than $60 \%$ of the two-party vote. Safe Democratic districts are defined as those in which the Democratic candidate either ran unopposed or won more than $60 \%$ of the two-party vote.

Remaining districts are classified as "swing" districts (the winner of the election won less than $60 \%$ of the two-party vote).

Researchers obtained data at the congressional district level in updated replication materials for Gary Jacobson's "It's Nothing Personal: The Decline of the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections," published in the Journal of Politics.

## 2016 presidential election competitiveness scale

States are coded according to their competitiveness in the 2016 presidential election. States classified as "red" are solidly Republican states. Those classified as "blue" are solidly Democratic states. "Battleground" states are those where the election was expected to be more competitive. For the purposes of this report, battleground states are: Arizona, Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Maine, Michigan, Minnesota, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Wisconsin. "Red" states are: Alabama, Alaska, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia and Wyoming. "Blue" states are: California, Connecticut, Delaware, the District of Columbia, Hawaii, Illinois, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont and Washington. The pattern of results noted in chapter 5 holds even if borderline cases (e.g., the states of the upper Midwest) are categorized differently.

## 2018 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 31 JANUARY FINAL TOPLINE <br> January 29 - February 13, 2018 TOTAL N=4,656

ASK ALL:
SATISF All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

| Jan 29- |  | Feb 28- | Sep 27- | Jun 7- | Sep 15- |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feb 13 |  | Apr 4-18 | Mar 12 | Oct 10 | Jul 5 | Oct 3 |
| $\frac{2018}{36}$ |  | Satisfied | $\frac{2017}{26}$ | $\frac{2017^{1}}{32}$ | $\frac{2016}{23}$ | $\frac{2016^{2}}{19}$ |
| 63 | Dissatisfied | 73 | 68 | $\frac{2014}{25}$ |  |  |
| 1 | No Answer | 0 | 0 | 2 | 80 | 75 |

## ASK ALL:

CONF How much confidence, if any, do you have in each of the following to act in the best interests of the public? [RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

|  |  | A great deal of confidence | A fair amount of confidence | Not too much confidence | No confidence at all | No Answer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | Elected officials |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 3 | 22 | 52 | 23 | * |
|  | May 10-Jun 6, 2016 | 3 | 24 | 54 | 19 | 1 |
| b. The news media |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 8 | 32 | 35 | 25 | * |
|  | May 10-Jun 6, 2016 | 5 | 33 | 40 | 21 | 1 |
| c. | The military |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 39 | 41 | 15 | 4 | * |
|  | May 10-Jun 6, 2016 | 33 | 46 | 15 | 5 | 1 |
| d. | Religious leaders |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 9 | 40 | 34 | 16 | 1 |
|  | May 10-Jun 6, 2016 | 13 | 39 | 32 | 14 | 1 |
| e. | Business leaders |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 5 | 40 | 42 | 13 | * |
|  | May 10-Jun 6, 2016 | 4 | 37 | 44 | 14 | 1 |
| f. | Scientists |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 27 | 52 | 17 | 5 | * |
|  | May 10-Jun 6, 2016 | 21 | 55 | 18 | 4 | 1 |

[^5]ASK ALL:
POL1DT Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President?
ASK IF ANSWERED POL1DT (POL1DT=1,2):
POL1DTSTR Do you [IF POL1DT=1: approve; IF POL1DT=2: disapprove] of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President...

| $\begin{gathered} \text { Jan 29- } \\ \text { Feb } 13 \end{gathered}$ |  | Aug 8-21 | Apr 4-18 | Feb 28- <br> Mar 12 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2018 |  | 2017 | 2017 | $\underline{2017}{ }^{3}$ |
| 38 | NET Approve | 36 | 39 | 44 |
| 29 | Very strongly | 26 | 27 | 30 |
| 9 | Not so | 10 | 12 | 13 |
|  | strongly |  |  |  |
| * | No answer | * | * | * |
| 60 | NET Disapprove | 63 | 61 | 56 |
| 48 | Very strongly | 49 | 45 | 43 |
| 12 | Not so | 13 | 15 | 12 |
|  | strongly |  |  |  |
| * | No answer | * | * | * |
| 2 | No Answer | 1 | 1 | 1 |

ASK ALL:
FOLGOV

| Jan 29- <br> Feb 13 |  | Sep 27- <br> Oct 10 | Sep 9- <br> Oct 3 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{2018}$ |  | $\underline{2016}$ | $\underline{2014}$ |
| 48 | Most of the time | 40 | 34 |
| 33 | Some of the time | 37 | 39 |
| 13 | Only now and then | 16 | 17 |
| 6 | Hardly at all | 7 | 11 |
| $*$ | No Answer | 1 | 0 |

ASK ALL:
OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote?

| Jan 29- |  | Sep 27- <br> Feb 13 | Sep 9- |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{2018}$ |  | $\underline{2016}$ | Oct 3 |
| 46 | Always | $\underline{2014}$ |  |
| 26 | Nearly always | 26 | 35 |
| 10 | Part of the time | 11 | 27 |
| 18 | Seldom | 19 | 11 |
| 1 | No Answer | 1 | 25 |

## ASK ALL:

MATTERSCONG Thinking about how you feel about the 2018 congressional election, where would you place yourself on the following scale?

## [PROGRAMMING NOTE: PLEASE FLIP THE LABELS FOR HALF OF RESPONDENTS LEAVING THE SCALE ALWAYS $1 \rightarrow 4$; CAPTURE RANDOMIZATION]

| Jan 29- <br> Feb 13 <br> 2018 |  |
| :--- | :--- |
| $\frac{1}{57}$ | 1 = Really matters which party wins control of Congress |
| 19 | 2 |
| 10 | 3 |
| 12 | $4=$ Doesn't really matter which party wins control of Congress |
| 1 | No Answer |

DO NOT ASK IF RSTATE=11 DC, ELSE ASK ALL [N=4,642]:
CONG If the elections for the U.S. House of Representatives were being held TODAY, who would you vote for? [RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2]
ASK IF 'NOT SURE' (CONG=4) OR NO RESPONSE TO CONG (CONG=99) DO NOT ASK IF RSTATE=11 DC:
[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF RESPONSE OPTIONS 1 AND 2, KEEPING THEM IN THE SAME ORDER AS CONG]
CONGA
As of TODAY, who do you LEAN more to for the U.S. House of Representatives?
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=4,053]

| Jan 29- |  | Sep 15 - | May 30- |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feb 13 |  | Oct 3-27 | Oct 3 | Jun 30 |
| $\frac{2018}{38}$ | Rep/Lean Rep | $\underline{2014^{4}}$ | $\underline{2014}$ | $\underline{2014}$ |
| 47 | Dem/Lean Dem | 49 | 42 | 38 |
| 5 | Another/Lean to another | 4 | 47 | 42 |
| 10 | Not sure | 12 | 5 | 5 |
| $*$ | No Answer | $*$ | 6 | 14 |
|  |  |  | $*$ | $*$ |

[^6]
## ASK ALL:

Now, thinking about the people you talk with, whether in person, over the phone, or electronically...
TALKPOL How often do you discuss government and politics with others? [DISPLAY IN ORDER]

| Jan 29- |  | Mar 2-28 | Mar |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| Feb 13 |  | $\underline{2016}$ | Apr 29 |
| $\frac{2018}{18}$ | Nearly every day | 35 | 13 |
| 33 | A few times a week | 18 | 29 |
| 23 | A few times a month | 23 | 26 |
| 26 | Less often | 1 | 32 |
| $*$ | No Answer |  | $*$ |

## ASK ALL:

 COREUSDEMThinking about the fundamental design and structure of American government, which comes closer to your view? [RANDOMIZE]

## Jan 29-

Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$

2

Significant changes to the design and structure are needed to make it work for current times
The design and structure serves the country well and does not need significant changes No Answer

## ASK ALL:

 IMPTUSNow we're going to ask you about the importance of a number of things for the United States.

For each of the following, HOW IMPORTANT is it for the country that... [SPLIT OVER TWO SCREENS, RANDOMIZE ITEMS]


[^7]
## IMPTUS CONTINUED...

c. The executive, legislative and judicial branches of government each keep the others from having too much power

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

| Very <br> important | Somewhat <br> important | Not too <br> important | Not at all <br> important | $\underline{\text { No Answer }}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |

d. People who give a lot of money to elected officials do not have more political influence than other people Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

74
16
5
5
1
e. The tone of debate among political leaders is respectful

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
61
29
7
3
1
76
18
3
2
epublican and
Democratic elected
officials work together on important issues Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

78
17
3
2
*
g. Elected officials face serious consequences if they engage in misconduct Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

83
12
3
2
*
h. Judges are not influenced by political parties

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
82
13
3
2

## ASK ALL:

## WELLUS

Now thinking about how things actually are in the U.S. today, HOW WELL does each of the following describe the country? [SPLIT OVER TWO SCREENS, RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS IMPTUS]

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a.Government policies <br> generally reflect the <br> views of most | Very well | Somewhat <br> well | Not too well | Not at all well | No Answer |
| Americans <br> Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 7 | 29 | 43 | 20 | 1 |

## WELLUS CONTINUED...

b. The government conducts its work openly and transparently Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
c. The executive, legislative and judicial branches of government each keep the others from having too much power
Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
44
d. People who give a lot of money to elected officials do not have more political influence than other people
Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
e. The tone of debate among political leaders is respectful
Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
f. Republican and Democratic elected officials work together on important issues Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
g. Elected officials face serious consequences if they engage in misconduct Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

18
37

31
34

32

22
29

15

43

37

48

1

1

## ASK FORM 1 [ $\mathbf{N = 1 , 1 5 7 ] : ~}$

GOVVOTEREP Thinking about a new bill passed in a state with a Republican governor...
If most people in the state support the bill, but most Republicans in the state oppose it, what should the governor do? [RANDOMIZE]

| Jan 29- <br> Feb 13 |  |
| :---: | :--- |
| $\frac{2018}{72}$ |  |
| 25 | Sign the bill <br> Veto the bill |
| 3 | No Answer |

## ASK FORM 3 [ $\mathbf{N = 1 , 1 7 2 ] : ~}$

GOVVOTEDEM Thinking about a new bill passed in a state with a Democratic governor...
If most people in the state support the bill, but most Democrats in the state oppose it, what should the governor do? [RANDOMIZE]

Jan 29-
Feb 13
2018

Sign the bill
Veto the bill
No Answer

## ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathbf{N}=1,172$ ]:

GOVVOTEGEN Thinking about a new bill passed in a state...
If most people in the state support the bill, but most people who voted for the governor oppose it, what should the governor do? [RANDOMIZE]

Jan 29-
Feb 13
2018

| 75 | Sign the bill |
| :---: | :--- |
| 23 | Veto the bill |
| 2 | No Answer |

ASK FORM 4 [ $\mathrm{N}=1,155$ ]:
GOVVOTEGENREV Thinking about a new bill passed in a state...
If most people in the state oppose the bill, but most people who voted for the governor support it, what should the governor do? [RANDOMIZE]

Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$
22 Sign the bill
77 Veto the bill
2 No Answer

```
ASK FORMS 2 AND 4 [N=2,327]:
POLCRCT
    Which comes closer to your own views - even if neither is exactly right? [RANDOMIZE]
Jan 29- Jun 7-
Feb 13 Jul 5
2018 2016
45
    People need to be more careful about the language
    39
    they use to avoid offending people with different
        backgrounds
    Too many people are easily offended these
        5 9
        days over the language that others use
        No Answer 2
```


## ASK FORMS 1 AND 3 [ $\mathbf{N}=2,329$ ]:

POLRULES
Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$
19
79
1

## ASK ALL:

CITIZ_INFL

|  | Oct 25- <br> Nov 8 <br> In politics, it's sometimes necessary to bend the |
| :--- | :---: |
| $\frac{2016}{28}$ |  |
| rules in order to get things done <br> In politics, it's important to respect the rules, even <br> if it sometimes makes it harder to get things done | 70 |
| No Answer |  |

Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?
[PROGRAMMING NOTE: RANDOMIZE]
Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\frac{2018}{52}$
47
1

ASK ALL:
VOTING

Nov 29-
Dec 12
$\underline{2016}$
Ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the 58 government in Washington if they are willing to make the effort There's not much ordinary citizens can do to 40 influence the government in Washington No Answer 2

Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?
[PROGRAMMING NOTE: RANDOMIZE]
Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$

1 No Answer

## ASK ALL:

IMPTUS2
Now thinking again about the importance of a number of things for the United States.
For each of the following, HOW IMPORTANT is it for the country that... [SPLIT OVER TWO SCREENS, RANDOMIZE ITEMS]
j. The rights and freedoms of all people are respected Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
k. Everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
I. The views of people who are not in the majority on issues are respected

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
m. The military leadership does not publicly express support for one party over the other Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

66
23
n. People are free to peacefully protest

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
74
20
3

5

5
2

4
1

## ASK ALL:

WELLUS2
Now thinking about how things actually are in the U.S. today...
HOW WELL does each of the following describe the country? [SPLIT OVER TWO
SCREENS, RANDOMIZE ITEMS IN SAME ORDER AS IMPTUS2]

|  | Very well | Somewhat well | Not too well | Not at all well | No Answer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| j. The rights and freedoms of all people are respected |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 14 | 33 | 33 | 19 | * |

k. Everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
20
32
29
18
1
I. The views of people who are not in the majority on issues are respected

Jan 29-Feb 13, 201810
30
40
19
1
m. The military leadership does not publicly express support for one party over the other Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

25
49
17
7
1
n. People are free to peacefully protest

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
30
43
18
8
1
o. News organizations don't
favor one political party
Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
9
21
31
39
1
p. People agree on basic facts even if they disagree politically

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
9
24
41
25
1
q. News organizations are independent of government influence

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
12
31
29
27
1

## ASK ALL:

## DISTRESULT

Thinking about elections for U.S. House of Representatives in the district where you live. What is your impression? [RANDOMIZE]

Jan 29Feb 13

They are usually close contests
64 One candidate usually wins easily
3 No Answer

## ASK ALL:

CNTCT_RE

Suppose you contacted your member of the U.S. House of Representatives with a problem. How likely do you think it is that they would help you address it?

```
Jan 29-
    Feb 13
    2018
        7 Very likely
        30 Somewhat likely
        40
        Not likely at all
        Not likely at all
        1 No Answer
```


## ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 [ $\mathrm{N}=2,329$ ]:

HOUSESZ [FORM 1: As you may know, when the first Congress met, there were 65 members, each of whom represented an average of about 60,000 people. Currently] [FORM 2: As you may know,] there are 435 members of the House of Representatives in Washington, each of whom represents an average of more than 700,000 people.

Do you think the number of members in the House of Representatives should be...
[RANDOMIZE 1 \& 2, KEEP 3 LAST]

## BASED ON FORM 1 ONLY ( $\mathbf{N}=1,157$ ):

| Jan 29- |  |
| :---: | :--- |
| Feb 13 |  |
| $\frac{2018}{34}$ |  |
| 21 | Increased |
| 44 | Decreased |
| 1 | Stay the same |
|  | No Answer |

## BASED ON FORM 2 ONLY ( $\mathbf{N}=1,172$ ):

Jan 29-
Feb 13
2018

| 28 | Increased |
| :---: | :--- |
| 18 | Decreased |
| 51 | Stay the same |
| 3 | No Answer |

## ASK FORMS 3 AND 4 [ $\mathrm{N}=2,327$ ]:

SENATESZ As you may know, the Constitution requires that all states have two U.S. senators, regardless of how many people live in the state. [FORM 3: When the first Congress met, the state with the largest population had about 10 times as many people as the state with the smallest population. Currently, the state with the largest population has about 66 times as many people as the state with the smallest population.]

Which comes closer to your view? [RANDOMIZE]

## BASED ON FORM 3 ONLY ( $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{1 , 1 7 2 )}$ :

Jan 29-
Feb 13 populations have more senators than smaller states
2
No Answer

## BASED ON FORM 4 ONLY ( $\mathbf{N}=1,155$ ):

Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\frac{2018}{75}$
to have two senators regardless of the size of their population The Constitution should be amended so that states with larger populations have more senators than smaller states
1
No Answer

## ASK FORMS 2 AND 4 [ $\mathrm{N}=2,327$ ]:

## ELECTIMPT Thinking about elections in the United States, HOW IMPORTANT is each of the following?

 [RANDOMIZE]|  | Very <br> important | Somewhat <br> important | Not too <br> important | Not at all <br> important | No Answer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Elections are free from <br> tampering <br> Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 90 | 6 | 3 | 2 | $*$ |
| b.No INELIGIBLE voters are <br> permitted to vote <br> Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 67 | 19 | 8 | 5 | $*$ |
| c.No ELIGIBLE voters are <br> prevented from voting <br> Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 83 | 9 | 4 | 3 | 1 |

## ELECTIMPT CONTINUED...

d. The way congressional voting districts are determined is fair and reasonable Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

| Very <br> important | Somewhat <br> important | Not too <br> important | Not at all <br> important | No Answer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 72 | 19 | 5 | 3 | 1 |

e. Voters are knowledgeable about candidates and issues Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

78
17
2
2
1

## ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,172$ ]

f.F2 There is high voter turnout in presidential elections Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

70
20
6
3
*

## ASK FORM 4 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=1,155$ ]

g.F4 There is high voter turnout in local elections Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

62
28
7
3
1

## ASK ALL FORMS 2 AND 4 [ $\mathbf{N}=2,327$ ]:

ELECTWELL Next still thinking about elections, HOW WELL does each of the following describe
elections in the United States? [RANDOMIZE IN SAME ORDER AS ELECTIMPT]

| Very well | Somewhat <br> well | Not too well | Not at <br> all well | No Answer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 19 | 39 | 24 | 17 | 2 |

b. No INELIGIBLE voters are permitted to vote Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

29
32
23
14
2
c. No ELIGIBLE voters are prevented from voting Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

29
36
21
12
2
d. The way congressional voting districts are determined is fair and reasonable Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

25
2
e. Voters are knowledgeable about candidates and issues Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

11
27
39
21
2

## ELECTWELL CONTINUED...

| CONTINED.. | Very well | Somewhat well | Not too well | Not at all well | No Answer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,172$ ] |  |  |  |  |  |
| f.F2 There is high voter turnout in presidential elections |  |  |  |  |  |
| Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 24 | 36 | 26 | 13 | 1 |

ASK FORM 4 ONLY [ $\mathbf{N}=1,155$ ]
g.F4 There is high voter turnout in local elections Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

11
30
37
21
1

## ASK FORMS 1 AND 3 [ $\mathrm{N}=2,329$ ]:

WINLOSE Thinking about the way things have been going in politics over the last few years on the issues that matter to you, would you say your side has been...

Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$
29
67
4

|  | Apr 5- <br> May 2 <br> Winning more often than losing <br> Losing more often than winning |
| :--- | :---: |
| No Answer | 35 |
| No16 | 60 |

ASK FORMS 1 AND 3 [ $\mathrm{N}=2,329$ ]:
CITIZENIMPORT Thinking about what it means to be a good citizen, how important is it to...
[SPLIT OVER TWO SCREENS, RANDOMIZE ITEMS]

|  | Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not at all important | No Answer |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. Vote in elections Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 74 | 17 | 4 | 4 | 1 |
| b. Follow what is happening in government and politics Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 49 | 42 | 6 | 3 | 1 |
| c. Volunteer to help others Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 52 | 38 | 7 | 3 | 1 |
| d. Serve jury duty if called Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 61 | 28 | 6 | 4 | 1 |
| e. Participate in the U.S. Census every 10 years Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 60 | 27 | 8 | 3 | 1 |
| f. Pay all the taxes you owe Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 71 | 22 | 4 | 3 | 1 |
| g. Always follow the law Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018 | 69 | 27 | 3 | 1 | * |

## CITIZENIMPORT CONTINUED...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=1,157$ ]
h.F1 Display the American flag

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
36
26
21
16
ASK FORM 3 ONLY [ $N=1,172$ ]
i.F3 Know the Pledge of Allegiance

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018
50
26
13
11
ASK FORMS 1 AND 3 [ $\mathrm{N}=2,329$ ]
j. Respect the opinions and beliefs of those you disagree with $\begin{array}{llllll}\text { Jan 29-Feb 13, } 2018 & 61 & 31 & 4 & 3 & 1\end{array}$
k. Protest if you think government actions are wrong Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

45
37
13
4
1

ASK IF FORM 1 [ $\mathrm{N}=1,157$ ]:
CANQUALPRES In general, would you say the quality of the candidates running for president in the last several elections has been...

| Jan 29- |  |
| :---: | :--- |
| Feb 13 |  |
| $\frac{2018}{3}$ |  |
| 38 | Very good |
| 38 | Somewhat good |
| 20 | Somewhat bad |
| 1 | No Answer |

## ASK IF FORM 2 [N=1,172]:

CANQUALLCL
In general, would you say the quality of the candidates running in local elections (such as for mayor or county government) in the last several elections in your area has been...

Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$
14 Very good
59 Somewhat good
19 Somewhat bad
7 Very bad
1 No Answer

## ASK IF FORM 3 [ $\mathrm{N}=1,172$ ]:

CANQUALCONGIn general, would you say the quality of the candidates running for Congress in the last several elections in your district has been...

```
Jan 29-
Feb 13
    2018
        1 1 ~ V e r y ~ g o o d
        5 3
        25
        8
        3
        Somewhat good
        Somewhat bad
        Very bad
        No Answer
```


## ASK IF FORM 4 [ $\mathrm{N}=1,155$ ]:

CANQUALPOL In general, would you say the quality of the candidates running for political office in the last several years has been...

Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$
7 Very good
40 Somewhat good
36 Somewhat bad
16 Very bad

* No Answer

ASK FORM 1 [ $\mathbf{N}=1,157$ ]:
CANMTCHPRES Which comes closer to your view of candidates for presidential elections, even if neither is exactly right? [RANDOMIZE]

Jan 29-
Feb 13
2018
65
I usually feel like there is at least one candidate who shares most of my views
I usually feel like none of the candidates represent my views well No Answer

## ASK FORM 2 [ $\mathbf{N}=1,172]$ :

CANMTCHLCL Which comes closer to your view of candidates for local elections for positions like mayor or county government, even if neither is exactly right? [RANDOMIZE]

Jan 29-
Feb 13
2018
62 I usually feel like there is at least one candidate who shares most of my views
36 I usually feel like none of the candidates represent my views well 3 No Answer

## ASK FORM 3 [ $\mathrm{N}=1,172$ ]:

Which comes closer to your view of candidates for congressional elections, even if neither is exactly right? [RANDOMIZE]

Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$
63 I usually feel like there is at least one candidate who shares most of my views
34 I usually feel like none of the candidates represent my views well
3 No Answer

## ASK FORM 4 [ $\mathrm{N}=1,155$ ]:

CANMTCHPOL Which comes closer to your view of candidates for political office, even if neither is exactly right? [RANDOMIZE]

Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$
63

36 1 No Answer

## ASK ALL:

CIVIC_ENG_ACT Here's a list of activities some people do and others do not. Please indicate if you have done each of the following activities. [RANDOMIZE]
a. Attended a political rally, speech or campaign event Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

## NO ITEM b

c. Worked or volunteered for a political party, candidate or campaign

Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

## NO ITEMS d THROUGH f

g. Contacted any elected official Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

23
18
59
1
h. Contributed money to a candidate running for public office or to a group working to elect a candidate Jan 29-Feb 13, 2018

14
15

No

71

5
11
83
1


No Answer

1

| Yes, in the <br> past year | Yes, <br> 5 years, but not <br> in the past year | No |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |$\quad$| No Answer |
| :---: |
| 11 |

## CIVIC_ENG_ACT CONTINUED...

## NO ITEM i

j. Publicly expressed your support for a political campaign on Facebook, Twitter or other social media Jan 29-Feb 13, 201829

13
57
1
k. Attended government meetings in your community, such as city or town council meetings
$\begin{array}{lllll}\text { Jan 29-Feb 13, } 2018 & 10 & 19 & 70 & 1\end{array}$

## ASK CONTRIBUTORS (CIVIC_ENG_ACT_h=1) [N=1,032]:

CONTRHOWMUCH Thinking about the contributions you have made to a candidate running for public office or to a group working to elect a candidate in the past year, would you say all of those contributions added up to...

```
Jan 29-
Feb }1
    2018
    53 Less than $100
    31 $100 to less than $250
    15 More than $250
    * No Answer
```

ASK FORM 1 AND 4 [ $\mathbf{N}=2,312$ ]:
SHAREVIEWS Which of the following statements best describes you?

| Jan 29- |  | Mar 19- |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Feb 13 |  | Apr 29 |
| $\underline{2018}$ |  | $\underline{2014}{ }^{6}$ |
| 36 | Most of my close friends share my views on government and politics | 35 |
| 40 | Some of my close friends share my views, but many do not | 39 |
| 23 | I don't really know what most of my close friends think about government and politics | 26 |
| 1 | No Answer | * |

## ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a...
ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4 or REFUSED) [N=1,707]:
PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | Something else | No answer | Lean Rep | Lean Dem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jan 29-Feb | 23 | 33 | 29 | 14 | 3 | 18 | 23 |

13, 2018

## ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

The next few questions are a little different. For each, please answer the questions as best as you can. If you don't know the answer to a question, just move on to the next one. We will reveal the correct answers at the end of the survey.

## [RANDOMIZE KNOWCIV1-HOUCONTR WITH SENCONTR AND HOUCONTR ALWAYS NEXT TO EACH OTHER]

## ASK ALL:

KNOWCIV1 In the case of a tied vote in the U.S. Senate, is the deciding vote cast by...
[RANDOMIZE]

```
Jan 29-
    Feb 13
    2018
        54
        9
        24
        8
        7
        The vice president (Correct)
        The president
        The Senate majority leader
        The Senate parliamentarian
        No Answer
```


## ASK ALL:

KNOWCIV2 As you may know, a filibuster in the U.S. Senate can be used to prevent legislation from coming to a vote. Of the 100 U.S. senators, how many votes are needed to end a filibuster?

| Jan 29- |  |
| :---: | :--- |
| Feb 13 |  |
| $\frac{2018}{32}$ |  |
| 41 | 51 |
| 10 | 60 (Correct) |
| 7 | 70 |
| 10 | No Answer |

ASK ALL:

## KNOWCIV3

Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$
25 Article II of the U.S. Constitution
6
56
3 10

How is the number of terms a president can serve determined? [RANDOMIZE]

## NO ITEM KNOWCIV4

## ASK ALL:

KNOWCIV5
Jan 29-
Feb 13
$\underline{2018}$
5
7
6
76
6

## ASK ALL:

KNOWCIV6

The U.S. Electoral College... [RANDOMIZE]

Trains those who run for political office Supervises the presidential debates Is another name for the U.S. Congress Is an assembly that formally elects the president (Correct) No Answer

Which of the following rights is guaranteed by the FIRST Amendment to the Constitution? [RANDOMIZE]

```
Jan 29-
Feb }1
    2018
    86
        6
        3
        3
        2
```

Custom and precedent
The $22^{\text {nd }}$ Amendment of the Constitution (Correct)
There is no limit to the number of terms a president can serve No Answer
[RANDOMIZE SENCONTR AND HOUCONTR]

## ASK ALL:

| SENCONTR | Do you happen to know which political party currently has a majority in the U.S. |
| :--- | :--- |
|  | Senate? [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2; PRESENT REP/DEM PARTY IN |


| Jan 29- |  | Jun 7- |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Feb 13 | Jul 5 |  |
| $\frac{2018^{7}}{83}$ | Republican Party (Correct) | $\frac{2016}{56}$ |
| 13 | Democratic Party | 14 |
| - | Don't know | 28 |
| 4 | No Answer | 2 |

## [RANDOMIZE SENCONTR AND HOUCONTR]

## ASK ALL:

HOUCONTR Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives? [RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 2; PRESENT REP/DEM PARTY IN SAME ORDER FOR SENCONTR, HOUCONTR]

| Jan 29- |  | Jun 7- |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| Feb 13 |  | Jul 5 |
| $\frac{2018^{8}}{82}$ | Republican Party (Correct) | $\frac{2016}{58}$ |
| 14 | Democratic Party | 10 |
| - | Don't know | 30 |
| 5 | No Answer | 2 |

[^8]
## PEW RESEARCH CENTER MARCH 2018 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE MARCH 7-14, 2018 $\mathbf{N}=1,466$

## QUESTIONS 1, 2 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

## NO QUESTIONS 3-6

## ASK ALL:

Q. 7 We'd like you to compare the United States to other developed nations in a few different areas. (First,) what about... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? [READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN AS NECESSARY: Do you think the U.S. is the BEST IN THE WORLD, above average, average or below average in [ITEM]?]

|  |  | Best in the world | Above average | Average | Below average | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | Its scientific achievements |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 16 | 38 | 33 | 10 | 4 |
|  | Aug 15-25, $2014{ }^{9}$ | 15 | 39 | 34 | 9 | 3 |
|  | Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 17 | 47 | 26 | 5 | 4 |
| b. Its political system |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 15 | 26 | 28 | 29 | 3 |
|  | Aug 15-25, 2014 | 12 | 22 | 32 | 31 | 3 |
|  | Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 19 | 31 | 29 | 16 | 5 |

NO ITEMS c-d
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=759$ ]:

| e.F1 | Its economy |  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 15 | 33 | 35 | 16 | 1 |
|  | Aug 15-25, 2014 | 7 | 26 | 36 | 29 | 2 |
|  | Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 12 | 22 | 33 | 31 | 3 |
| f.F1 | Its health care |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 11 | 19 | 29 | 38 | 3 |
|  | Aug 15-25, 2014 | 9 | 16 | 32 | 39 | 3 |
|  | Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 15 | 23 | 32 | 27 | 2 |
| g.F1 | Its colleges and universities |  |  |  |  | 3 |
| ASK FORM 2 ONLY [ $=$ =707]: |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| h.F2 | Its public schools |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 4 | 15 | 37 | 41 | 4 |
| i.F2 | Its military |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 38 | 41 | 14 | 4 | 4 |
|  | Aug 15-25, 2014 | 39 | 37 | 15 | 5 | 3 |
|  | Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 42 | 39 | 13 | 3 | 3 |
| j.F2 | Its standard of living |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 16 | 40 | 27 | 15 | 1 |
|  | Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 22 | 41 | 26 | 9 | 2 |

[^9]
## NO QUESTIONS 8-11

## ASK ALL:

Q. 12 How well would you say democracy is working in the United States today [READ]?

| Mar 7-14 |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{2018}$ |  |
| 18 | Very well |
| 40 | Somewhat well |
| 27 | Not too well |
| 13 | Not at all well |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## NO QUESTION 13

## ASK ALL:

Q. 14 In general, how much trust and confidence do you have in the wisdom of the American people when it comes to making political decisions? A very great deal, a good deal, not very much, or none at all?

| Mar 7-14 |  | Mar 17-26 | Aug 27- <br> Sep 13 | January | October | Gallup <br> $\underline{2018}$ <br> 10 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Veptember |  |  |  |  |  |  |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 15 Thinking generally ... Does who is president make a big difference, some difference or no difference for [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?. How about [INSERT NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Does who is president make a big difference, some difference or no difference for [ITEM]?]

|  |  | Big difference | Some difference | No difference | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | Your own personal life |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 34 | 39 | 25 | 1 |
|  | Oct 20-25, 2016 | 39 | 38 | 21 | 2 |
| ASK FORM 1 ONLY [ $\mathrm{N}=759$ ]: |  |  |  |  |  |
| b.F1 | The mood of the country |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 63 | 27 | 8 | 2 |
|  | Oct 20-25, 2016 | 64 | 26 | 8 | 2 |
|  | TREND FOR COMPARISON ${ }^{10}$ : |  |  |  |  |
|  | Time: August, 1984 | 52 | 34 | 9 | 5 |
|  | Time: January, 1984 | 65 | 28 | 4 | 2 |
|  | Time: September, 1983 | 70 | 24 | 4 | 2 |
| c.F1 | National security |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 61 | 27 | 10 | 2 |
|  | Oct 20-25, 2016 | 71 | 21 | 7 | 2 |

10 In Time 1983 and 1984 surveys, question was worded: "Keeping in mind that we have had five different presidents in the past 20 years, please tell me whether WHO is President makes a BIG difference, SOME difference, or NO difference on each of the following" for all items included here as a trend for comparison.
Q. 15 CONTINUED...

|  |  | Big difference | Some difference | No difference | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=707]: <br> d.F2 The standing of the United States in the world |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 69 | 21 | 9 | 1 |
|  | Oct 20-25, 2016 | 75 | 18 | 6 | 2 |
| TREND FOR COMPARISON: |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Time: August, 1984 | 67 | 24 | 5 | 5 |
|  | Time: January, 1984 | 79 | 17 | 2 | 2 |
|  | Time: September, 1983 | 84 | 13 | 2 | 1 |
| e.F2 | The health of the economy |  |  |  |  |
|  | Mar 7-14, 2018 | 53 | 34 | 12 | 1 |
|  | Oct 20-25, 2016 | 60 | 30 | 8 | 2 |
|  | TREND FOR COMPARISON: |  |  |  |  |
|  | Time: August, 1984 | 54 | 33 | 9 | 4 |
|  | Time: January, 1984 | 68 | 27 | 4 | 2 |
|  | Time: September, 1983 | 70 | 25 | 3 | 1 |

## NO QUESTIONS 16-23

## ASK ALL:

Q. 24 How much respect do you think Donald Trump has for this country's democratic institutions and traditions? [READ IN ORDER]?

| Mar 7-14 <br> $\frac{2018}{23}$ | Feb 7-12 | Oct 20-25 |  |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 22 | A great deal | $\frac{2017}{18}$ | $\underline{2016}$ |
| 25 | A fair amount | 22 | 16 |
| 29 | Not too much | 25 | 24 |
| 1 | None at all | 34 | 28 |
|  | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 1 | 31 |

QUESTIONS 25-27 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED
NO QUESTIONS 28-39
ASK ALL:
Q. 40 Next, would you say your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a-d IN BLOCK FOLLOWED BY RANDOMIZED ITEMS e-g IN BLOCK] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN
"NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."] How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Just in general, is your overall opinion of [ITEM] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

|  |  | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Favorable | -- Unfavorable | Never | Can't rate/ |
| Total Very Mostly | Total Very Mostly | heard of | Ref |

## Q. 40 CONTINUED...



## Q. 40 CONTINUED...

|  | ----- Favorable ----- |  |  | ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  | (VOL.) <br> Never | (VOL.) <br> Can't rate/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly | heard of | Ref |
| Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 52 | 9 | 43 | 42 | 14 | 28 | 0 | 6 |
| Early September, 1998 | 56 | 9 | 47 | 37 | 11 | 26 | * | 7 |
| March, 1998 | 50 | 10 | 40 | 43 | 12 | 31 | * | 7 |
| August, 1997 | 47 | 9 | 38 | 47 | 11 | 36 | * | 6 |
| June, 1997 | 51 | 8 | 43 | 42 | 11 | 31 | 1 | 6 |
| January, 1997 | 52 | 8 | 44 | 43 | 10 | 33 | * | 5 |
| October, 1995 | 52 | 10 | 42 | 44 | 16 | 28 | * | 4 |
| December, 1994 | 67 | 21 | 46 | 27 | 8 | 19 | * | 6 |
| July, 1994 | 63 | 12 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | 4 |
| May, 1993 | 54 | 12 | 42 | 35 | 10 | 25 | 0 | 11 |
| July, 1992 | 46 | 9 | 37 | 48 | 17 | 31 | * | 6 |

b. The Democratic Party

| Mar 7-14, 2018 | 42 | 8 | 35 | 54 | 24 | 30 | * | 4 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jun 8-18, 2017 | 44 | 12 | 32 | 50 | 24 | 26 | * | 5 |
| Apr 5-11, 2017 | 45 | 11 | 34 | 51 | 26 | 25 | * | 4 |
| Jan 4-9, 2017 | 51 | 13 | 38 | 45 | 18 | 26 | * | 4 |
| Oct 20-25, 2016 | 52 | 15 | 37 | 45 | 22 | 22 | * | 4 |
| Aug 9-16, 2016 | 49 | 15 | 35 | 46 | 22 | 24 | * | 5 |
| Jun 15-26, 2016 | 49 | 17 | 33 | 46 | 23 | 23 | * | 5 |
| Apr 12-19, 2016 | 45 | 14 | 31 | 50 | 27 | 23 | * | 4 |
| Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015 | 45 | 10 | 35 | 50 | 24 | 26 | * | 5 |
| Jul 14-20, 2015 | 48 | 12 | 36 | 47 | 22 | 25 | 0 | 5 |
| Jan 7-11, 2015 | 46 | 12 | 34 | 48 | 21 | 28 | * | 6 |
| Dec 3-7, 2014 (U) | 41 | 11 | 30 | 54 | 26 | 28 | * | 5 |
| Oct 15-20, 2014 | 47 | 11 | 35 | 46 | 21 | 25 | * | 7 |
| Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014 | 46 | 12 | 34 | 47 | 23 | 24 | * | 7 |
| Dec 3-8, 2013 (U) | 47 | 15 | 32 | 48 | 24 | 24 | * | 5 |
| Oct 9-13, 2013 | 47 | 9 | 39 | 48 | 22 | 27 | 0 | 4 |
| Jul 17-21, 2013 | 41 | 10 | 31 | 50 | 23 | 28 | * | 9 |
| Jun 12-16, 2013 | 51 | 14 | 37 | 45 | 19 | 26 | 0 | 5 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 47 | 13 | 34 | 46 | 18 | 28 | * | 7 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 47 | 23 | 25 | 1 | 4 |
| Sep 12-16, 2012 | 53 | 21 | 32 | 40 | 18 | 22 | * | 7 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 47 | 14 | 33 | 45 | 21 | 24 | * | 8 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 49 | 14 | 36 | 43 | 18 | 25 | * | 7 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 43 | 13 | 29 | 51 | 23 | 28 | * | 7 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 46 | 13 | 32 | 45 | 19 | 26 | * | 9 |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 43 | 9 | 34 | 50 | 21 | 29 | * | 7 |
| 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 |

## Q. 40 CONTINUED...



## Q. 40 CONTINUED...

|  | ----- F | avorab | le | --- U | favora | ble -- | (VOL.) Never | (VOL.) <br> Can't rate/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly | heard of | Ref |
| 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 |
| 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 |
| The Supreme Court |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Mar 7-14, 2018 | 66 | 11 | 55 | 28 | 8 | 20 | * | 5 |
| Aug 9-16, 2016 | 60 | 11 | 48 | 32 | 10 | 22 | * | 8 |
| Jun 15-26, 2016 | 62 | 16 | 47 | 29 | 9 | 20 | 1 | 8 |
| Sep 22-27, 2015 | 50 | 8 | 42 | 42 | 17 | 25 | 1 | 7 |
| Jul 14-20, 2015 | 48 | 9 | 39 | 43 | 17 | 26 | * | 9 |
| Mar 25-29, 2015 | 50 | 8 | 42 | 39 | 12 | 26 | 1 | 11 |

## Q. 40 CONTINUED...

Jul 8-14, 2014
Apr 23-27, 2014
Jul 17-21, 2013
Mar 13-17, 2013
Dec 5-9, 2012
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012
Apr 4-15, 2012
July 1-5, 2010
Feb 3-9, 2010
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009
April, 2008
July, 2007
January, 2007
July, 2006
February, 2006
Late October, 2005
July, 2005
June, 2005
July, 2001
March, 2001
January, 2001
October, 1997
May, 1997
July, 1994
May, 1993
November, 1991
May, 1990
January, 1988
May, 1987
Roper: March 1985

| ---- Favorable ----- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\substack{\text { Total } \\ 52}$ | $\frac{\text { Very }}{}$ | Mostly |
| 56 | 11 | 44 |
| 48 | 7 | 41 |
| 52 | 7 | 45 |
| 53 | 8 | 45 |
| 51 | 10 | 41 |
| 52 | 11 | 41 |
| 58 | 9 | 49 |
| 58 | 8 | 50 |
| 64 | 8 | 56 |
| 65 | 15 | 50 |
| 57 | 12 | 45 |
| 72 | 18 | 54 |
| 63 | 7 | 56 |
| 60 | 16 | 44 |
| 62 | 12 | 50 |
| 61 | 12 | 49 |
| 57 | 8 | 49 |
| 70 | 15 | 55 |
| 72 | 15 | 57 |
| 68 | 18 | 50 |
| 77 | 13 | 64 |
| 72 | 16 | 56 |
| 80 | 18 | 62 |
| 73 | 17 | 56 |
| 72 | 18 | 54 |
| 65 | 10 | 55 |
| 79 | 14 | 65 |
| 76 | 13 | 63 |
| 64 | 17 | 47 |

---- Unfavorable ----

(VOL.) (VOL.) | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Never } \\ \text { heard of }\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c}\text { Can't rate/ } \\ \text { Ref }\end{array}$ |
| :---: | :---: |
| $\begin{array}{cc}1 & \\ * & \\ 1\end{array}$ | $\begin{array}{c}9\end{array}$ |

| Total | $\frac{\text { Very }}{38}$ | $\frac{\text { Mostly }}{14}$ |
| :--- | :--- | :--- |
| 24 |  |  |

1
$*$
1

13
3
012

 $\qquad$
 06
deral government in Washington

| Mar 7-14, 2018 | 35 | 5 | 30 | 61 | 21 | 40 | $*$ | 4 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Oct 16-20, 2015 | 32 | 6 | 26 | 63 | 28 | 34 | $*$ | 5 |
| Apr 23-27, 2014 | 32 | 7 | 26 | 62 | 27 | 36 | $*$ | 5 |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 | 28 | 4 | 24 | 65 | 30 | 35 | 2 | 5 |
| Apr 4-15,2012 | 33 | 7 | 26 | 62 | 25 | 37 | $*$ | 5 |
| Feb 2-7,2011 | 38 | 6 | 32 | 57 | 19 | 37 | $*$ | 5 |
| Feb 3-9,2010 | 43 | 6 | 38 | 50 | 16 | 34 | $*$ | 7 |
| Jul 22-26, 2009 | 42 | 4 | 38 | 50 | 18 | 31 | $*$ | 8 |
| April, 2008 | 37 | 6 | 31 | 58 | 21 | 37 | 1 | 4 |
| January, 2007 | 45 | 7 | 38 | 46 | 15 | 31 | 1 | 8 |
| February, 2006 | 43 | 6 | 37 | 50 | 16 | 34 | $*$ | 7 |
| December, 2005 | 46 | 7 | 39 | 49 | 18 | 31 | $*$ | 5 |
| Late October, 2005 | 45 | 6 | 39 | 48 | 16 | 32 | $*$ | 7 |
| February, 2004 | 59 | 10 | 49 | 36 | 11 | 25 | $*$ | 5 |
| April, 2003 | 73 | 14 | 59 | 22 | 5 | 17 | 0 | 5 |
| December, 2002 | 64 | 11 | 53 | 27 | 7 | 20 | $*$ | 9 |
| Mid-November, 2001 | 82 | 17 | 65 | 15 | 3 | 12 | 0 | 3 |
| Late October,2000 (RVs) | 54 | 7 | 47 | 40 | 10 | 30 | $*$ | 6 |
| October, 1997 | 38 | 4 | 34 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 0 | 3 |

Q. 40 CONTINUED...
f. Your STATE government

Mar 7-14, 2018
Oct 16-20, 2015
Apr 23-27, 2014
Mar 13-17, 2013
Apr 4-15, 2012
Feb 2-7, 2011
Feb 3-9, 2010
Jul 22-26, 2009
April, 2008
December, 2005
December, 2002
Mid-November, 2001
October, 1997

| avorable |  |  | ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |
| 58 | 10 | 48 | 39 | 14 | 25 |
| 56 | 11 | 46 | 38 | 13 | 25 |
| 57 | 13 | 45 | 39 | 17 | 22 |
| 57 | 10 | 47 | 38 | 16 | 22 |
| 52 | 11 | 42 | 42 | 15 | 27 |
| 53 | 10 | 42 | 42 | 14 | 28 |
| 53 | 9 | 44 | 41 | 14 | 27 |
| 50 | 6 | 44 | 44 | 16 | 28 |
| 59 | 9 | 50 | 37 | 16 | 21 |
| 57 | 8 | 49 | 37 | 11 | 26 |
| 62 | 15 | 47 | 31 | 10 | 21 |
| 77 | 15 | 62 | 18 | 4 | 14 |
| 66 | 10 | 56 | 29 | 7 | 22 |


| (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: |
| Never | Can't rate/ |
| heard of | Ref |

Your LOCAL government
Mar 7-14, 2018
Oct 16-20, 2015
Apr 23-27, 2014
Mar 13-17, 2013
Apr 4-15, 2012
Feb 2-7, 2011
Feb 3-9, 2010
Jul 22-26, 2009
April, 2008
December, 2005
December, 2002
Mid-November, 2001
October, 1997

| 67 | 12 | 56 | 29 | 10 | 19 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 65 | 13 | 52 | 30 | 10 | 20 |
| 65 | 16 | 49 | 31 | 12 | 19 |
| 63 | 12 | 51 | 32 | 12 | 20 |
| 61 | 13 | 48 | 31 | 9 | 22 |
| 63 | 15 | 48 | 32 | 10 | 22 |
| 64 | 11 | 53 | 30 | 10 | 20 |
| 60 | 8 | 52 | 32 | 9 | 23 |
| 63 | 11 | 52 | 33 | 12 | 21 |
| 66 | 12 | 54 | 28 | 10 | 18 |
| 67 | 16 | 51 | 25 | 9 | 16 |
| 78 | 15 | 63 | 17 | 4 | 13 |
| 68 | 12 | 56 | 25 | 7 | 18 |


| $*$ | 4 |
| :--- | :--- |
| $*$ | 5 |
| $*$ | 4 |
| $*$ | 5 |
| $*$ | 7 |
| 1 | 5 |
| $*$ | 6 |
| 0 | 8 |
| 1 | 3 |
| $*$ | 6 |
| $*$ | 7 |
| $*$ | 5 |
| $*$ | 7 |

## QUESTIONS 41-42 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

## NO QUESTIONS 43-45

ASK ALL:
Q. 46

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

| $\begin{gathered} \text { Mar } 7-14 \\ \underline{2018} \end{gathered}$ |  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Aug 27-Sep } 13 \\ \underline{2015} \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 20 | Individuals and organizations should be able to spend as much money as they want | 20 |
| 77 | There should be limits on the amount of money individuals and organizations can spend | 77 |
| 3 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 3 |

## ASK ALL:

Q. 47 In general, do you think new laws COULD BE written that would be effective in reducing the role of money in politics, OR don't you think any new laws would be effective?

|  | Yes, new <br> laws would <br> be effective | No, new laws <br> would not <br> be effective | (VOL.) <br> Don't know/ <br> Refused |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar 7-14, 2018 | 65 | 31 | 4 |
| Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 62 | 35 | 3 |
| TRENDS FOR COMPARISON: ${ }^{\mathbf{1 1}}$ | 51 | 37 | 12 |
| October, 2006 | 55 | 34 | 11 |
| February, 2002 | 59 | 34 | 7 |
| February, 2000 | 62 | 32 | 6 |
| September, 1997   <br> Center for Responsive Politics: <br> April 1997 62 32 | 6 |  |  |

## QUESTIONS 48-52 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

## ASK ALL:

Q. 53 Thinking for a moment about the way in which the president is elected in this country, which would you prefer - to amend the Constitution so the candidate who receives the most total votes nationwide wins the election, or to keep the current system, in which the candidate who wins the most votes in the Electoral College wins the election?

Mar 7-14, 2018
Gallup: Nov 28-29, 2016

| Amend Constitution <br> to total votes |
| :--- |
| 55 |
| 49 |
| 51 |
| 62 |
| 61 |
| 59 |
| 61 |


| Keep current <br> Electoral <br> College system | (VOL.) <br> Both/Neither | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 41 | - | 4 |
| 47 | 1 | 3 |
| 44 | 2 | 3 |
| 35 | 1 | 3 |
| 35 | 1 | 3 |
| 37 | 1 | 3 |
| 35 | 2 | 2 |

## NO QUESTION 54

## ASK ALL:

Q. 55 As I read some pairs of statements, please 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; FOR ITEMS a.-e., RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS WITHIN PAIRS. FOR ITEM f., READ STATEMENTS IN ORDER]. Next, [NEXT PAIR]? [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"
a.

Mar 7-14, 2018
Jun 27-Jul 9, 201
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015
Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014
Jan 15-19, 2014 ${ }^{12}$
Jan 9-13, 2013 ${ }^{13}$
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)
b.

Mar 7-14, 2018
Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015

I like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with

## 44

58
49
56
49
50
40
40

Ordinary Americans would do a better job solving the country's problems than elected officials 44 55

I like elected officials who stick to their positions

## 53

39
47
39
48
44
54
55
Ordinary Americans would do no better solving the country's problems than elected officials 51
39
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/
DK/Ref

## 3

4
3
5
3
6
7
5
(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 5 6
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/ DK/Ref 2 3 3 3
(VOL.)

## Both/Neither/

 DK/Ref 4 4Most Americans are willing
to pay the taxes needed to fund services they expect government to provide 51
44
41
Most big issues facing the country today don't have clear solutions

54
56
52
56


3

Mar 7-14, 2018
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015
Gallup: Sep 13-16, 2010

There are clear solutions to most big issues facing the country today

## 44

41
44
41

Most Americans demand more from the government than they are willing to pay taxes for 46
52
56

[^10]
## Q. 55 CONTINUED...

f.

Mar 7-14, 2018
Feb 7-12, $2017^{14}$
Aug 9-16, $2016^{15}$
Many of the country's
problems could be dealt with more effectively if U.S. presidents didn't have to worry so much about Congress or the courts 21
17
23
It would be too risky to give U.S. presidents more power to deal directly with many of the country's
problems 76
(VOL.)
Both/Neither/ DK/Ref

3
$77 \quad 6$
725

## NO QUESTIONS 56-58

## ASK ALL:

Q. 59 Would you say the government is pretty much run by a few big interests looking out for themselves or that it is run for the benefit of all the people?

|  | Few big interests | Benefit of all | (VOL.) <br> Don't know/ Refused |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mar 7-14, 2018 | 76 | 21 | 3 |
| Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015 | 76 | 19 | 4 |
| CBS/NYT: Feb 5-10, $2010{ }^{16}$ | 78 | 18 | 4 |
| CBS/NYT: July, 2004 | 64 | 28 | 8 |
| CBS/NYT: August, 1995 | 79 | 15 | 6 |
| CBS/NYT: March, 1992 | 75 | 19 | 5 |
| CBS/NYT: Late October, 1990 | 77 | 18 | 5 |
| CBS/NYT: Early October, 1990 | 71 | 21 | 8 |
| CBS/NYT: November, 1988 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| NYT: December, 1985 | 54 | 37 | 9 |
| CBS/NYT: February, 1985 | 55 | 36 | 9 |
| NYT: November, 1983 | 59 | 30 | 11 |
| NYT: June, 1983 | 54 | 33 | 12 |
| CBS/NYT: Late October, 1976 | 57 | 35 | 8 |
| CBS/NYT: Early October, 1976 | 61 | 31 | 9 |
| ND FOR COMPARISON: |  |  |  |
| 2012 | 71 | 23 | 6 |
| 2008 | 69 | 29 | 2 |
| 2004 | 56 | 40 | 4 |
| 2002 | 48 | 51 | 2 |
| 2000 | 61 | 35 | 5 |
| 1998 | 64 | 32 | 4 |
| 1996 | 69 | 27 | 3 |
| 1994 | 76 | 19 | 5 |
| 1992 | 75 | 20 | 4 |
| 1990 | 71 | 24 | 5 |
| 1988 | 64 | 31 | 5 |
| 1984 | 55 | 39 | 6 |

[^11]
## Q. 55 TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

(VOL.)
NES $\left.\begin{array}{ccccc}\text { (VOL.) }\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}\text { Few big } \\ \text { interests }\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}\text { Benefit } \\ \text { of all }\end{array} \quad \begin{array}{c}\text { Don't know/ } \\ \text { Refused }\end{array}\right)$

## NO QUESTION 60

## ASK ALL:

Q. 61 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 U.S. Constitution means in current times?

Mar 7-14, 2018
Oct 20-25, 2016
Feb 12-26, 2014
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011
Kaiser/Harvard/WaPo: October, 2010
ABC News/WaPo: July, 2005
(VOL.)

| Somewhere <br> in between | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 3 |
| 2 | 7 |
| 2 | 3 |
| 2 | 4 |
| 1 | 3 |
| 3 | 1 |

## NO QUESTION 62

ASK ALL:
Q. 63 And thinking about politics and elections, would you say that personally insulting political opponents is [READ; RANDOMIZE]?

| Mar 7-14 |  | $(R V)$ <br> Oct 20-25 | Mar 17-26 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{2018}{31}$ |  | $\underline{2016}$ | $\frac{2016}{31}$ |
| 68 | Sometimes fair game | 54 | 67 |
| $*$ | Never fair game | 1 | 1 |
| 1 | Other/Depends (VOL.) | 2 | 1 |

## NO QUESTIONS 64-89

## ASK ALL:

Q. 90 In general, do you think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong or don't you think about politics in this way?

| Mar 7-14 <br> $\frac{2018}{42}$ | Think about politics as a struggle between right and wrong | Sep 16-Oct 4 |
| :---: | :--- | :---: |
| 57 | Don't think about politics in this way | $\frac{2015}{44}$ |
| 2 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 54 |

## NO QUESTIONS 91-93

## QUESTIONS 94-95 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

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?


## PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

(VOL.) (VOL.)
No Other
1990
1989
1987
Republican
30.9
33
26

|  |  | No | Other | (VOL.) | Lean | Lean |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Democrat | Independent | preference | party | DK/Ref | Rep | Dem |
| 33.2 | 29.3 | 1.2 | 1.9 | 3.4 | 12.4 | 11.3 |
| 33 | 34 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 35 | 39 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

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

$\qquad$ Pew Research Center/USA Today polls


[^0]:    PEW RESEARCH CENTER

[^1]:    There is a fourth condition that reverses support and opposition to the generic case and is not illustrated here. Its results are inverse of the generic version; results and question wording can be found in the topline.

[^2]:    PEW RESEARCH CENTER

[^3]:    PEW RESEARCH CENTER

[^4]:    1 When data collection for the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey began, non-internet users were subsampled at a rate of $25 \%$, but a decision was made shortly thereafter to invite all non-internet users to join. In total, $83 \%$ of non-internet users were invited to join the panel.
    2 Respondents to the 2014 Political Polarization and Typology Survey who indicated that they are internet users but refused to provide an email address were initially permitted to participate in the American Trends Panel by mail, but were no longer permitted to join the panel after February 6, 2014. Internet users from the 2015 Pew Research Center Survey on Government who refused to provide an email address were not permitted to join the panel.
    3 White, non-Hispanic college graduates were subsampled at a rate of $50 \%$.

[^5]:    1 The W24.5 Mode Study survey was administered by web and phone. Results reported here are from web mode only.
    2 SATISF in the W18 survey was asked to a random half of the sample assigned to Form $2[\mathrm{~N}=2,366]$.

[^6]:    4 In Wave 8 survey and in previous surveys, question was worded: "If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for [RANDOMIZE: "the Republican Party's candidate" OR "the Democratic Party's candidate"] for Congress in your district?

[^7]:    5 In Wave 1 (Mar 19-Apr 29, 2014), 407 non- Internet panelists were surveyed by phone.

[^8]:    $7 \quad$ The Don't know response was not included for question SENCONTR in the Wave 31 survey.
    $8 \quad$ The Don't know response was not included for question HOUCONTR in the Wave 31 survey.

[^9]:    9 In 2014 and 2009 surveys, question was worded: "We'd like you to compare the United States to other industrialized nations in a few different areas."

[^10]:    12 In January 2014 and earlier, response items were not randomized. In January 2013, question asked as a stand-alone item.

[^11]:    14 In February 2017, item was asked as a standalone question.
    15 In August 2016, the first statement read: "Many of the country's problems could be dealt with more effectively if U.S. presidents didn't have to worry so much about Congress or the Supreme Court."
    Selected trend points excluded due to context concerns.

