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More Conservative, More Critical of National Conditions

Independents Oppose Party in Power ... Again

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More Conservative, More Critical of National Conditions

Independents Oppose Party in Power ... Again

For the third national election in a row, independent voters may be poised to vote out the party in power. The Republican Party holds a significant edge in preferences for the upcoming congressional election among likely voters, in large part because political independents now favor Republican candidates by about as large a margin as they backed Barack Obama in 2008 and congressional Democratic candidates four years ago.

The survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press was conducted Aug. 25-Sept. 6 among 2,816 registered voters, including 2,053 voters considered the most likely to vote on Nov. 2. The survey finds that 50% of likely voters say they will vote for the Republican in their district, while 43% favor the Democratic candidate.

Republican and Democratic voters overwhelmingly support their party's candidates. The GOP's advantage comes as a result of their 49% to 36% lead among independent and other non-partisan voters who are likely to vote in November.

The Republican Party's overall lead is only evident when the sample is narrowed to likely voters. Among all registered voters, preferences are evenly divided. The race also is even among all independents and other non-partisans, but the

Wide Republican Advantage among Independent Likely Voters

	Vote Rep	Vote Dem	Other/ DK	-	N
All voters	%	%	%		
Registered voters	44	47	9=100	-3	2,816
Likely voters	50	43	7=100	+7	2,053
Among independents					
Registered voters	42	39	19=100	+3	1,069
Likely voters	49	36	15=100	+13	734

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Likely voter estimates based on a seven-question turnout scale. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Record Engagement Gap; Republicans Soar, Democrats Flat

Given a lot of thought to the election	1994 % 44	1998 % 42	2002 % 40	2006 % 48	2010 % 50
Republican	50	50	41	48	64
Democrat	41	40	42	52	41
Independent	41	37	37	44	48
R-D gap	R+9	R+10	D+1	D+4	R+23
Definitely will vote	66	64	64	68	71
Republican	72	70	70	73	83
Democrat	64	64	64	70	69
Independent	62	57	56	59	65
R-D gap	R+8	R+6	R+6	R+3	R+14

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Figures from previous midterms taken from September and/or October surveys, as available. See appendix for details

GOP's advantage swells to 13 points among independent likely voters.

Uncharacteristically, independent voters, who typically are not highly engaged by midterm elections, are now more likely than Democrats to say they are giving a lot of thought to this one. And they are about as likely as Democrats to say they definitely will vote; during the fall of 2006, far more Democrats than independents said they definitely would vote.

The relatively high level of independent engagement this year has come among those who plan to vote Republican. Fully 64% of independents who plan to vote for the Republican in their district are giving a lot of thought to the election, compared with just 40% of independents who plan to vote for a Democrat.

Independents' voting preferences have changed considerably since the last two elections. Just two years ago, Obama held an eight-point lead among independents, according to exit polls by the National Election Pool. The shift since the 2006 midterm, when Democrats held an 18-point advantage among independents, according to the exit poll, has been even more dramatic.

The propensity of independents to reject both parties in a relatively short period of time may in part reflect the fact that the ranks of independents have swelled in recent years with voters who have rejected party labels themselves. Underscoring the fluidity in party identification, many of today's independents were themselves partisans not so long ago. More than half of independents say they have been a Democrat (23%), a Republican (22%), or both (9%), in the past five years.

Independent Vote in '06, '08, '10

All voters	2006 House vote Exit poll	2008 Pres vote Exit poll	2010 likely voters
	, 0	, ,	, 0
Republican candidate	45	45	50
Democratic candidate	53	53	43
Other/Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100
	D+8	D+8	R+7
Among independents			
Republican candidate	39	44	49
Democratic candidate	57	52	36
Other/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100
	D+18	D+8	R+13

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Likely voter estimates for 2010 based on a seven-question turnout scale. Exit poll figures from the National Election Pool (NEP); 2006 vote for House of Representatives, 2008 vote for president. NEP data downloaded from the Roper Center. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Independents are the largest group of voters -37% of registered voters are independents or other non-partisans, 34% are Democrats and 29% are Republicans. Just two years ago, 34% were independents, while 38% of voters identified as Democrats and 28% as Republicans.

Independents have mixed views of which party can do better on major issues – but are distrustful of both. When asked why they are independents, fully 64% cite as a major reason that "both parties care more about special interests than about average Americans." And 53% point to a lack of trust in either party as a major reason they think of themselves as an independent in politics.

While the survey finds indications that independents will vote Republican this year, they do not have a strong allegiance to the GOP. Rather, they are motivated by highly negative feelings about the government's performance and harsh judgments about the political status quo. Just 35% express approval of their own congressional representative, and they are as likely as Republicans to say that their own incumbent does not deserve reelection. But unlike Republicans and Democrats, a majority of independents say that which party controls Congress will not be a factor in their vote.

By 44% to 29%, more independent voters say the Republican Party rather than the Democratic Party can better reduce the budget deficit; the GOP also now leads by a 42% to 31% margin among

Deconstructing Independent Voters

In the past five years, thought of yourself as	%
A Republican	22
A Democrat	23
Both Rep and Dem	9
Neither in past 5 years	<u>46</u> 100
Why do you think of yourself as an independent?	Major reason
Both parties care more about special interests than average Americans	% 64
I agree with Reps on some issues, Dems on others	58
I don't trust either political party	53
There's not much difference between the parties	34
Politics isn't that important to me	19

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Based on independent registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

independent voters as better able to manage the federal government. Yet far more independents (49%) say the Democratic Party "is more concerned with the needs of people like me" than say that about the GOP (32%). And on the important dimension of which party can bring about the changes the country needs, as many prefer the Democratic Party (37%) as the Republican Party (36%).

When asked which party comes closer to their views on major issues, independent voters prefer Republicans on foreign policy and economic issues but are more divided on social issues. More say the Republican Party comes closer to their views on foreign policy and national security (by 44% to 30%), but the GOP's lead is more modest on economic issues (43% to 34%). And slightly more independents say the Democratic Party (39%) rather than the Republican Party (33%) better reflects their views on social issues such as gay marriage and abortion. In this regard, more than twice as many independent voters than Republican voters favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally (45% vs. 20%).

All things considered, support for the Republicans and political energy among independents is closely linked to disillusionment with Obama's policies and the president himself. Fully 69% of independent voters who say Obama's policies have made the economy worse favor the Republican candidate in their district - and 80% say they will definitely vote. Disapproval of the president's job performance, anger at the federal government and opposition to the health care legislation also are closely associated with support for Republican candidates. Independents who express

these views also are highly likely to vote.

Views of Obama's Policies Biggest Factor in Independents' Votes

	Plan	to	Definitely
Independents who say	Vote Dem	Vote Rep	will vote
Obama has made economy worse	16	69	80
Disapprove of Obama's job	16	67	72
Angry with government	22	64	73
Disapprove of health care reform	19	64	70
Prefer smaller government	27	56	71
Disastisfied with state of nation	33	49	69
Frustrated with government	42	37	64
Obama neither helped/hurt econ	41	37	55
Content with government	63	25	59
Prefer bigger government	59	23	53
Satisfied with state of nation	62	19	56
Approve of health care reform	68	18	61
Approve of Obama's job	71	15	62
Obama has made economy better	73	14	63

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Based on independent registered voters.

Conversely, support for Obama and his policies is strongly associated with independents' support for Democratic candidates; in fact, 73% of independents who say Obama's policies have improved the economy plan to vote Democratic. But far fewer of those who express this opinion say they will definitely vote compared with independents who take a negative view of the impact of Obama's policies (63% vs. 80%).

Independent Voters: Diverse Groups with Divergent Views

While this study and other surveys measure the "independent vote," there is a considerable degree of diversity among independents, which is not surprising given that most are relatively recent refugees from the two major parties. This survey identifies four groups of independent voters that are distinguished by their basic political beliefs – two groups that favor Republican candidates, one that favors Democratic and another that only leans Democratic:

Shadow Republicans (26% of independent voters) are strongly anti-government, but they are somewhat less critical of the political system than are the Disaffecteds, the other-GOP-leaning group of independents. Shadow Republicans are relatively affluent and well-educated, older and male. They support the Republican candidate in their district by 66% to 18%. Fully 79% say they will definitely vote in November, which is about the same as among GOP partisans (83%). As many Shadow Republicans as Republican voters agree with the Tea Party. But they have mixed opinions of the Republican Party – just 52% have a favorable view of the GOP.

Independent	Groups	and	the
Midterms	-		

	Vote Rep	Vote Dem	Other/ DK
Independent voters	42	39	19=100
Among Inds			
Shadow Reps	66	18	16=100
Disaffected Reps	58	31	11=100
Doubting Dems	32	44	24=100
Shadow Dems	23	62	16=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Based on independent registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Disaffecteds (16% of independent voters) have been hard hit by the recession and are highly financially stressed. Anti-government and anti-politician, these quick to anger blue-collar voters have been mainstays of Pew Research typology groupings for decades. Disaffecteds divided their votes between Obama and McCain in 2008; today, 50% of Disaffecteds say Obama's policies have made the economy worse and 60% disapprove of the health care bill enacted earlier this year.

Shadow Democrats (21% of independent voters) hold positive views of government and are not very critical of the political system. They support Obama and his policies, and have very positive views of the Democratic Party. Shadow Democrats are younger than other independent groups and are racially and ethnically diverse – a quarter are black or Hispanic. Shadow Democrats support Democratic candidates by as large a margin as the two GOP-leaning groups favor Republican candidates.

Doubting Democrats (20% of independent voters) are not especially anti-government, but they are deeply anti-business and are highly critical of elected officials and both political parties. In many respects, they are as cynical as the Disaffecteds. Doubting Democrats are less affluent

and less racially and ethnically diverse than are Shadow Democrats. While they voted for Obama over McCain by a wide margin, they are now critical of Obama and the Democratic Party. Just 23% of Doubting Democrats say Obama's policies have made economic conditions better – only about half the proportion of Shadow Democrats and Democratic voters (50% each). As many Doubting Democrats say the Republican Party can better reduce the deficit as say the Democratic Party.

There also is a fifth group of independent voters, the *Disengaged* (17% of independent voters), which is disproportionately made up of younger and less educated people. For the most part, the Disengaged are essentially political bystanders –just 21% say they definitely will vote this fall, far and away the lowest percentage among the independent groups.

How Independents Have Changed

Independents today are clearly more conservative than they were four years ago, particularly with respect to the role of government. Not only do more describe themselves as conservative, but more support smaller government, and there is more distrust and anger toward government generally.

While this ideological tide among independents benefits the GOP, there is a broader rejection of the party in power that also is influencing independent support for Republican candidates. Given their detachment from the parties and general skepticism about politics, independents' views of president's and the parties' performance can and do change quickly. In this regard, the independent swing toward the GOP in 2010 has as much, if not more, to do with views of performance than with shifting ideological preferences.

Currently, independent voters rate the parties about evenly when it comes to which one could better improve the job situation (40% Republican Party, 35% Democratic Party). Four years ago, the Democrats led by 19 points (43% to 24%) as the party better able to improve the job situation. Independents views of which party can better reduce the deficit have flipped since 2006 – the Republican Party is now favored by 15 points; in 2006, the Democrats led by 28 points.

On perhaps the most important measure of performance – managing the government -- more independent voters currently now say the Republican Party could do better, by 42% to 31%. In 2006, by about the same margin (38% to 26%), more independent voters said the Democratic Party could better manage the federal government.

The Republican Party now gets about the same favorable rating among independent voters as does the Democratic Party (45% vs. 44%). Four years ago, 46% of independent voters viewed the Democratic Party favorably compared with just 36% who had a favorable opinion of the GOP.

Independents' Changing Opinions: 2006-2010

	2006 %	2010 %	Change
Ideology			
Conservative	29	36	+7
Dissatisfied w/ national conditions	67	76	+9
Views of federal government			
Trust government only sometimes/never	71	82	+11
Angry at federal government	20	29	+9
Prefer smaller government, fewer services	53	59	+6
Which party can better			
Improve the job situation			
Republican Party	24	40	+16
Democratic Party	43	35	-8
Reduce budget deficit			
Republican Party	18	44	+26
Democratic Party	46	29	-17
Manage the federal government			
Republican Party	26	42	+16
Democratic Party	38	31	-7
Views of the parties			
Favorable opinion of Rep party	36	45	+9
Favorable opinion of Dem party	46	44	-2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Based on independent registered voters. Trends from 2006 taken from surveys throughout the year; "prefer smaller government..." from January 2007.

More generally, independent

voters are even more dissatisfied with national conditions than they were in 2006. Fully 76% of independent voters say they are not satisfied with the way things are going in the country, up from 67% four years ago.

Independents and the Tea Party

About as many registered voters say they agree with the Tea Party movement as disagree (29% vs. 26%). Independent voters are more likely to say they agree with the Tea Party movement than disagree (by 30% to 22%).

Among likely voters, more agree than disagree with the Tea Party (36% vs. 29%). And among *independent* likely voters, 39% agree with the Tea Party, compared with 26% who disagree.

Voters' Views of the Tea Party

Registered voters	Agree %	Dis- agree %	No opinion/ Never heard %	N
All	29	26	45=100	2,816
Republican	56	6	38=100	816
Democrat	6	45	49=100	931
Independent	30	22	47=100	1,069
Likely voters				
All	36	29	35=100	2,053
Republican	63	5	32=100	673
Democrat	7	56	38=100	645
Independent	39	26	36=100	734

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug 25-Sept 6, 2010. Q84-Q85. Likely voters estimates based on a seven-question turnout scale

About the Survey

This extensive study of independents and the 2010 midterms was conducted August 25-September 6, 2010 among a sample of 2,816 registered voters, including 1,069 independent registered voters. The survey was conducted on landline and cell phones of nationwide samples of adults living in the continental United States. Likely voter estimates are based on a seven-item turnout scale and projects 2,053 likely voters, including 734 independent likely voters.

The margin of sampling error that would be expected at the 95% confidence interval for the full sample of 2,816 registered voters is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points and for the sample of 1,069 independent registered voters is plus or minus 4.0 percentage points. The margins of error for other subgroups are reported in the About the Survey section.

Results for independents in this report include those call themselves independent as well as those who volunteered a party other than the Republican or Democratic parties, had no party preference, or said they didn't know or refused to answer the party identification question. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. References to whites are based only on non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

Other Important Findings

- The proportion of independent voters or non-partisans is now at 37%, one of the highest levels in the past 20 years of Pew Research Center polling. The share of independent voters has grown from 34% of registered voters in 2008.
- The Democratic Party's advantage in party identification among registered voters has narrowed from a 10-point gap last year to a five-point gap in 2010 as Democrats have lost adherents and the Republican Party has gained supporters.
- There has been little change in voting intentions over the course of the year. Registered voters have been closely divided in their preferences, while Republicans have enjoyed an advantage among voters most likely to cast a ballot in November.
- As in previous midterms, older independents are more likely to vote Republican than are voters younger than 50, and independent men are much more inclined to cast a GOP ballot than they were four years ago.
- Obama's job approval rating among independent voters stands at just 39%; 50% disapprove of the president's job performance. Still, Obama's rating among independent voters is higher George W. Bush's in September 2006 (29% approve/57% disapprove).

SECTION 1: THE MIDTERM VOTE

All year, voters' preferences in the upcoming midterm elections have been closely divided. That remains the case today – in the new survey, 47% of registered voters say that if the election were held today they would vote for the Democratic candidate or lean to the Democrat, while 44% would vote for the Republican or say they lean Republican.

At this stage in the 2006 midterm, Democrats held an 11-point advantage in the generic congressional ballot (50% to 39%). At comparable points in each of the previous three midterms, preferences were almost evenly split. In September 1994, two months before Republicans would win control of Congress from the Democrats, 48% said they expected to vote for the Republican candidate in their district; 46% said they would vote for the Democrat.

Midterm Vote Remains Tight among Registered Voters

	_	Vote Democratic	Other/ DK
	%	%	%
Sept 2010	44	47	9=100
July 2010	44	45	11=100
June 2010	45	45	10=100
March 2010	44	44	12=100
Feb 2010	42	45	13=100
Jan 2010	44	46	10=100
Nov 2009	42	47	11=100
Aug 2009	44	45	10=100
Sept 2006	39	50	11=100
Sept 2002	44	46	10=100
Sept 1998	45	46	9=100
Sept 1994	48	46	6=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q10/10a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

While there is continuing parity in the race among registered voters, the Republican Party holds a seven-point lead among likely midterm voters: Half of them say they intend to vote for the Republican candidate in their congressional district, while 43% say they will cast ballots the Democrat.

Likely Voters Favor the GOP

Those demographic and ideological groups that are more likely to vote also are more likely to vote Republican. These include older voters, wealthier voters and more conservative voters. Groups that are more likely to favor Democrats, including the young and the less well off, also are less likely to head to the polls.

Nearly half of all registered voters (49%) are younger than 50, and 16% are younger than 30. However, due to lower engagement and enthusiasm, those under 50 make up a smaller share (42%) of likely voters, and just 11% of likely voters are younger than 30.

Not only are there fewer younger people in the likely electorate, but the engagement gap between Republican- and Democratic-oriented voters means the Democratic Party's lead among younger registered voters disappears when the focus turns to likely voters. Registered voters under 50 favor the Democratic candidate by 10 points (51% to 41%), but likely voters under 50 are split almost evenly (48% Republican vs. 46% Democratic). Among voters older than 50, an essentially even race among registered voters, turns into a ninepoint Republican lead (51% to 42%) among likely voters. (For a detailed breakdown of registered and likely voters across various demographic groups, see the table on pq.49).

Voters with family incomes of less than \$30,000 annually, a strong Democratic group, also comprise a smaller share of likely voters (19%) than of registered voters (25%). The Democrats hold a 12-point lead among likely voters in this income category (53% to 41%), but among

Profiles of Registered, Likely Voters

	Registered voters	Likely voters
If election were today	%	%
Vote Republican	44	50
Vote Democratic	47	43
Other/Undecided	9	7
Voter profiles		
Male	47	48
Female	53	52
18-29	16	11
30-49	33	31
50-64	30	34
65+	20	22
White, non-hisp	73	77
Black, non-hisp	12	11
Hispanic	8	6
College grad+	34	39
Some college	26	26
HS or less	40	34
Family income		
\$75,000 or more	27	32
\$30,000-\$74,999	35	35
Less than \$30,000	25	19
Conservative	42	46
Liberal	23	21
Moderate	32	31
Tea Party		
Agree	29	36
Disagree	26	29
No opinion/Not heard of	45	35
Obama approval		
Approve	46	43
Disapprove	47	53
Size of government		
Bigger, more services	37	32
Smaller, fewer services	56	61
	N=2,816	N=2,053

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010 Q10/10a. Likely voters estimates based on a seven-question turnout scale. Figures read down.

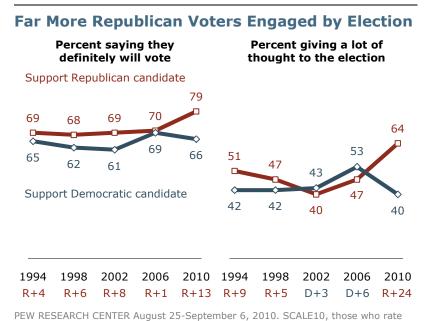
registered voters with incomes of less than \$30,000 their lead is much larger (57% to 34%).

Those who say they agree with the Tea Party movement make up 29% of registered voters but a larger share of likely voters (36%). Likely voters those who agree with Tea Party plan to vote Republican by 88% to 7%, which is little changed from the margin among registered voters (85% to 10%). Those who have never heard of the Tea Party or have no opinion of the movement make up a smaller share of likely voters (35%) than of registered voters (45%). Democrats lead among registered voters who express no opinion of the Tea Party (by 49% to 37%), but among likely voters who have no opinion the race is about even (45% Democrat/ 44% Republican).

The Enthusiasm Gap

Two key indicators of likelihood to vote are measures of whether voters definitely will cast ballots this November (those who rate their chances of definitely voting at 10 on a scale of 1-10) and whether they have given "quite a lot of thought" to the election.

The GOP's lead on both measures is the largest for either party in midterm elections dating back to 1994. Among those who plan to vote Republican in the fall, 79% say they definitely will vote, compared with 66% of those who favor the Democratic candidate.



their chance of voting as 10 on a 1-10 scale, where 10 is "definitely will vote"; THOUGHT, those who said "quite a lot." Based on registered voters. Figures from previous midterms taken from September and/or October surveys, as available. See

And while 64% of those who back the Republican candidate say they have given quite a lot of thought to the election, just 40% of those who plan to vote Democratic say they have thought a lot about the election.

appendix for details

In 2006, voters who supported the Republican candidate were as likely as those who favored the Democrat to say they would definitely vote (70% vs. 69%). Democratic voters were somewhat more likely than those who favored Republicans to say they were giving a lot of thought to the election (53% vs. 47%).

Overall, roughly as many voters now say they will definitely vote (71%) as did so in the fall of 2006 (68%). But there has been a striking increase in the proportion of voters 50 and older who express certainty about voting (82% now, 74% in 2006).

Most of the change has come among those who support Republicans. Nearly nine-in-ten (89%) Republican voters ages 50 and older say they definitely will vote, compared with 76% four years ago.

There has been virtually no change in certainty of voting among Democratic voters ages 50 and older. In 2006, 76% were sure they would cast a ballot; this year, 78% say they definitely will vote.

Six-in-ten voters younger than 50 say they definitely will vote, about the same as in 2006 (62%). Fewer voters in this age group who plan to vote for a Democrat express certainty about voting than did so

More Older GOP Voters Say They Definitely Will Vote

% saying they definitely will vote	1994 %	1998 %	2002 %	2006 %	2010 %	06-10 change	2010 N
All Voters	66	64	64	68	71	+3	2,816
Vote Rep	69	68	69	70	79	+9	1,283
Vote Dem	65	62	61	69	66	-3	1,281
Under 50	59	58	55	62	60	-2	1,042
Vote Rep	60	62	60	64	68	+4	442
Vote Dem	60	57	51	64	55	-9	512
50 and older	75	72	74	74	82	+8	1,719
Vote Rep	80	75	80	76	89	+13	817
Vote Dem	72	70	72	76	78	+2	750
Male	66	64	63	68	73	+5	1,254
Vote Rep	68	68	70	71	79	+8	647
Vote Dem	64	65	56	70	67	-3	497
Female	66	64	64	67	70	+3	1,562
Vote Rep	70	68	67	68	79	+11	636
Vote Dem	67	60	64	69	65	-4	784
White, non-Hisp	67	64	66	68	74	+6	2,137
Vote Rep	70	68	71	70	81	+11	1113
Vote Dem	66	63	62	71	68	-3	824
Black, non-Hisp	58	63	58	67	70	+3	296
Vote Rep							
Vote Dem	60	62	60	68	69	+1	258

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. SCALE10, those who rate their chance of voting as 10 on a 1-10 scale, where 10 is "definitely will vote." Based on registered voters. Figures from previous midterms taken from September and/or October surveys, as available. See appendix for details.

in 2006 (55% today, 64% then), while there has been little change among supporters of Republican candidates (68% today, 64% then).

Fully 81% of non-Hispanic whites who favor the GOP say they definitely will vote, while 68% of whites who favor Democrats say the same. In 2006, there was little difference among white voters in their likelihood of voting by which party they favored. Black non-Hispanic voters, who overwhelmingly favor Democrats, are about as certain to vote this year as they were in 2006.

Factors Driving Turnout

Overall, 70% of voters who favor the GOP candidate in their district say they *strongly* disapprove of the job Obama is doing as president. Among these voters, fully 89% say they will definitely vote. By contrast, only about six-in-ten of the much smaller group of Republican voters who disapprove of Obama's performance, but not strongly, or approve of his job performance say they will definitely vote.

Other factors are motivating Republican voters this year: More than eight-in-ten of those who agree with the Tea Party movement (88%), say partisan control of Congress is a factor in their vote (85%), see their vote as a vote against Obama (85%), or are conservative (84%) say they will definitely vote. Smaller percentages of Republican voters who do not hold these views say they will definitely vote in November.

What's Motivating GOP Voters?

	Definitely will vote
Voters who plan to vote Republican	%
Obama job	
Disapprove, strongly (70%)	89
Disapprove, not strongly (12%)	59
Approve (12%)	58
Midterm vote is	
A vote against Obama (59%)	85
Obama not a factor (34%)	72
Party control of Congress is	
A factor in vote (64%)	85
Not a factor (34%)	69
Tea Party Movement:	
Agree with (56%)	88
No opinion/Haven't heard of (38%)	66
Ideology	
Conservative (68%)	84
Moderate (23%)	74
Liberal (7%)	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q2/2a, 10/10a, 16, 17, 84/85. Those who answer "10" on SCALE10 are definite voters. Analysis based on registered voters.

Conversely, among voters who support Democratic candidates, nearly six-in-ten (58%) strongly approve of Obama's job performance. Three-quarters (75%) of Democratic voters who strongly approve of Obama's performance say they will definitely vote; only about half of Democratic voters who approve of Obama's performance, but not strongly, or disapprove, say they will definitely vote.

Other factors motivating Democratic voters are disagreeing with the Tea Party movement (79% definitely vote), seeing their midterm vote as a vote for Obama (71%), having liberal views (71%) and saying partisan control of Congress is a factor (70%). But in each case, smaller percentages of Democratic voters who express these views say they will definitely vote compared with Republican voters who express the opposite opinions.

What's Motivating Democratic Voters?

	Definitely will vote
Voters who plan to vote Democratic	%
Obama job	
Approve, strongly (58%)	75
Approve, not strongly (22%)	52
Disapprove (14%)	55
Midterm vote is	
A vote for Obama (45%)	71
Obama not a factor (46%)	62
Party control of Congress is	
A factor in vote (54%)	70
Not a factor (43%)	62
Tea Party Movement:	
Disagree with (46%)	79
No opinion/Haven't heard of (47%)	52
Ideology	
Conservative (21%)	62
Moderate (38%)	62
Liberal (38%)	71

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q2/2a, 10/10a, 16, 17, 85. Those who answer "10" on SCALE10 are definite voters. Analysis based on registered voters

An Electorate Looking for Change

Just as at the start of the summer, voters are in an anti-incumbent mood. Only about half of registered voters (49%) say they want to see their own member of Congress reelected, while a third (33%) does not.

Similarly, just a third (33%) wants to see most lawmakers reelected while 56% say they would not like to see most incumbents reelected. On both measures, opinions have changed very over the course of the past year; and on both measures, the level of anti-incumbent sentiment is as high as it has been in midterms going back to 1994.

At about this stage in the 2006 midterm, 53% said they wanted to see their own representative reelected and 35% said they wanted to see most representatives reelected; in early October 1994, 49% said they wanted to see their own representative reelected and 28% said they wanted to see most members reelected. In the 1998 and 2002 midterms, far more voters wanted to see their own member – and most members of Congress – reelected.

In the current survey, 64% of those who favor Democratic candidates say they would like to see their own representative reelected, compared with 39% of those planning to vote Republican. And while 51% of Democratic voters favor the reelection of most lawmakers, just 16% of Republican voters do so.

Currently, anti-incumbent sentiment is higher among Republican voters than it was among Democratic voters in September 2006, two months before the Democrats took control of Congress. At that time, 48% of voters who backed the Democratic candidate in their district said they wanted to see their own representative reelected (compared with 39% of those voting Republican this year). In September 2006, 25% of Democratic voters said they wanted to see most members reelected (16% of Republican voters say this today).

Anti-Incumbent Sentiment Remains High

Want to see reelected

want to see reelected						
	Yo		Mo			
	Represe	ntative	Represe	ntatives		
	Yes	No	Yes	No		
	%	%	%	%		
Sep 2010	49	33	33	56		
Jun 2010	49	34	31	56		
Mar 2010	43	32	27	57		
Feb 2010	49	31	32	53		
Nov 2009	52	29	34	53		
2006 Midterm	s					
Nov 2006	55	25	37	46		
Sept 2006	53	27	35	49		
Jun 2006	51	32	29	57		
Sep 2005	57	25	36	48		
2002 Midterm	s					
Early Oct 2002	58	19	39	38		
June 2002	58	23	45	37		
1998 Midterm	s					
Late Oct 1998	64	19	41	37		
Early Oct 1998	58	20	39	39		
Early Sep 1998	63	20	46	37		
Mar 1998	63	21	45	41		
1994 Midterm	s					
Nov 1994	58	25	31	51		
Early Oct 1994	49	29	28	56		
1990 Midterm	s					
Oct 1990*	62	22				

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q13 & Q14. Based on registered voters. Figures read across. See topline for complete trends. * 1990 data from Gallup

SECTION 2: INDEPENDENTS IN THE 2010 MIDTERM

Among registered voters, 34% call themselves Democrats, and 28% Republicans. With virtually all partisans voting for their party's candidates, and independent registered voters divided, the overall race is about even (47% of registered voters favor Democrats, while 44% favor Republicans).

But when the sample is narrowed to likely voters, two things happen. First, high engagement and enthusiasm levels among Republicans close the party gap; among likely voters, there are an equal number of Republicans (32%) and Democrats (33%). Second, the GOP enthusiasm advantage carries over to independents as well; independents who are planning to vote Republican are far more engaged than those who favor the Democrats. With

Independent Likely Voters Tip the Balance toward GOP Candidates

	Vote Rep %	Vote Dem %	Other/ DK %	Rep Adv	N
All Registered Voters	44	47	9=100	-3	2,816
Republican (28%)	94	3	3=100	+91	816
Democrat (34%)	6	91	3=100	-85	931
Independent (37%)	42	39	19=100	+3	1,064
All Likely Voters	50	43	7=100	+7	2,053
Republican (32%)	95	2	3=100	+93	673
Democrat (33%)	7	92	2=100	-85	645
Independent (35%)	49	36	15=100	+13	734

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug 25-Sept 6, 2010. Q10/10a. Likely voters estimates based on a seven question turnout scale.

Democratic and Republican likely voters largely cancelling each other out, the 13-point GOP advantage (49% to 36%) among likely independent voters is the pivotal factor behind the Republican Party's overall seven-point lead among all likely voters at this point in the campaign.

The improvement of the GOP's position among independents when the focus is on likely voters – as opposed to all registered voters – occurs across virtually all demographic subgroups. But the difference is particularly notable among younger independents, those with lower incomes, and among women. For these groups, Democrats hold a modest advantage over Republicans among registered voters; but when the analysis is narrowed to those most likely to vote, the balance of congressional vote preference reverses. For example, independents under 50 favor the Democratic candidate by 45% to 38% among registered voters, but when based on likely voters, the GOP holds a 47%-40% edge.

Among independent likely voters, the Republican Party fares particularly well among whites (53%-33%), those over age 65 (56%-29%) and those living in the South (57%-30%). The Democratic Party holds a lead only among nonwhite independents (34%-52%, there are too few black, Hispanic and other nonwhite independents to analyze separately), and among self-described liberals.

Regionally, Democrats run about even with Republicans among likely voters in the Midwest and West, but trail by a wide margin in the South and narrowly in the Northeast.

There are also signs of a much more substantial gender gap among independents this year than was the case in 2006 or

The 2010 Midterm among Independent Registered and Likely Voters

	Independent Registered Voters				depender kely Vote	
Total	Vote Rep 42	Vote Dem 39	Adv R+3	Vote Rep 49	Vote Dem 36	Adv R+13
Men	48	35	R+13	53	34	R+19
Women	35	44	D+9	43	40	R+3
18-49	38	45	D+7	47	40	R+7
50-64	44	36	R+8	48	36	R+12
65+	53	29	R+24	56	29	R+27
White, non-hisp	46	35	R+11	53	33	R+20
All non-white	30	53	D+23	34	52	D+18
College grad+	44	40	R+4	48	38	R+10
Some coll or less	41	39	R+2	50	34	R+16
\$50,000+	47	39	R+8	51	39	R+12
< \$50,000	38	43	D+5	46	37	R+9
Conservative	68	20	R+48	77	14	R+63
Moderate	31	48	D+17	37	46	D+9
Liberal	21	59	D+38	11	74	D+63
Northeast	39	36	R+3	47	35	R+12
Midwest	39	43	D+4	45	40	R+5
South	47	38	R+9	57	30	R+27
West	42	40	R+2	45	41	R+4

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q10/10a.

2008. In both 2006 and 2008 there was virtually no gender gap among independent voters (the overall gender gap in those years reflected the fact that women were more likely than men to identify as Democrats). This year, by contrast, independent men favor the Republican Party by a 53% to 34% margin, while independent women are divided about evenly in their vote preference (43% Republican, 40% Democratic).

Currently, independent voters younger than 50 are divided: 47% plan to vote Republican while 40% say they will vote Democratic. In 2008, Obama carried this age group by 16 points (56% to 40%). And those 50 and older, who backed McCain over Obama by a narrow margin (51% to 46%), are voting Republican by an even wider margin (51% to 34%).

Overall, white, non-Hispanic, independent likely voters – who split almost evenly in the Obama/McCain race two years ago, favor the Republicans in 2010 by a 20-point margin (53% to 33%). Independent white men, those with less education, and those living in the South are the most supportive of Republican candidates this year.

Independent Voters: 2006, 2008, 2010

		2006 epend Voters		2008 Independent Voters			2010 Independent Likely Voters		
	Vote Rep %	Vote Dem %	Adv	Vote McCain 6 %	Vote Obama %	Adv	Vote Rep %	Vote Dem %	Adv
All independents	39	57	D+18	44	52	D+8	49	36	R+13
Men	38	57	D+19		50	D+5	53	34	R+19
Women	38	58	D+20	43	53	D+10	43	40	R+3
18-49	34	61	D+27	40	56	D+16	47	40	R+7
50+	42	54	D+12	51	46	R+5	51	34	R+17
College grad	35	61	D+26	42	53	D+11	48	38	R+10
Not coll grad	41	56	D+15	46	50	D+4	50	34	R+16
\$50,000+	40	56	D+16	46	51	D+5	51	39	R+12
< \$50,000	36	60	D+24	39	56	D+17	46	37	R+9
Northeast	32	64	D+32	41	57	D+16	47	35	R+12
Midwest	41	56	D+15	43	53	D+10	45	40	R+5
South	43	52	D+9	55	42	R+13	57	30	R+27
West	35	58	D+23	35	59	D+24	45	41	R+4
White independents	41	54	D+13	49	47	R+2	53	33	R+20
Men	41	54	D+13	50	45	R+5	57	30	R+27
Women	41	55	D+14	48	49	D+1	47	36	R+11
18-49	37	57	D+20	45	51	D+6	53	34	R+19
50+	44	52	D+8	54	43	R+11	53	32	R+21
College grad	38	58	D+20	46	51	D+5	50	36	R+14
Not coll grad	44	52	D+8	52	44	R+8	55	30	R+25
\$50,000+	41	55	D+14	49	48	D+1	55	33	R+22
<\$50,000	40	55	D+15	46	49	R+3	49	35	R+14
Northeast	34	62	D+28	43	54	D+11	50	33	R+17
Midwest	43	53	D+10	44	51	D+7	48	37	R+11
South	48	47	R+1	63	34	R+29	64	23	R+41
West	36	56	D+20	40	54	D+14	47	39	R+8

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q10/10a. Based on independent likely voters. 2006 and 2008 data based on NEP Exit Poll data.

Obama Evaluations Shape Independent Vote

While demographic characteristics, government evaluations and policy preferences are all linked to how independents intend to vote this fall, evaluations of the president's performance have the strongest relationship to independent voting patterns. Fully 71% of independents who approve of Obama plan to vote Democratic, while 67% of those who disapprove of Obama plan to vote Republican. Evaluations of whether Obama's policies have helped or hurt the economy have about the same impact on independent voting, as does support or opposition to health care legislation.

It is not unusual, however, for presidential evaluations to have this kind of link to midterm voting among independents. Typically, around two-thirds of independents who disapprove of a president's job performance going into a midterm support candidates of the opposing party, while most who approve of the president back candidates who are of the same party.

But the link between job approval and independent midterm voting works to the

Obama's Performance Linked to Independent Midterm Voting

Plan to Definitely

Indopendents who say	Vote Dem Vote Rep	will vote
Independents who say Obama has made economy worse	16 69	80
Disapprove of Obama's job	16 67	72
Angry with government	22 64	73
Disapprove of health care reform	19 64	70
Corporations make a fair profit	29 58	71
Prefer smaller government	27 56	71
Support protecting gun rights	28 55	71
Oppose allowing gay marriage	27 54	66
Govt is wasteful & inefficient	29 52	67
Economy won't recover for long time	30 51	69
Immigrants burden our country	32 51	65
Afghan war was right decision	34 50	71
Disastisfied with state of nation	33 49	69
Economy in poor shape	34 47	69
Generally distrust government	34 47	65
Economy in fair shape	44 39	61
Frustrated with government	42 37	64
Obama neither helped/hurt econ	41 37	55
Afghan war was wrong decision	47 34	58
Immigrants strengthen our country	52 32	63
Favor allowing gay marriage	53 31	65
Corporations make too much profit	48 31	59
Economy will recover soon	51 30	59
Economy is already recovering	60 30	67
Support controls on gun ownership	54 27	58
Content with government	63 25	59
Govt does better job than credited	60 24	63
Economy in excellent/good shape	57 25	62
Prefer bigger government	59 23	53
Generally trust government	63 21	63
Satisfied with state of nation	62 19	56
Approve of health care reform	68 18	61
Approve of Obama's job	71 15	62
Obama has made economy better	73 14	62

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q10/10a. Based on independent registered voters.

benefit of the GOP for two reasons. First, more independents currently disapprove (50%) than

approve (39%) of Obama's job performance. Second, those who disapprove are far more enthusiastic about voting than those who approve. Among independents who disapprove of Obama's job performance, 72% say they will definitely vote and 59% have already given a lot of thought to the elections. By comparison, 62% of independents who approve of Obama say they will definitely vote, and 40% have given a lot of thought to the election.

Voting "For" or "Against" the President

While the link between presidential job approval and independent midterm voting has a long history, half (50%) of independents say that Barack Obama is not a factor in their congressional vote this fall. Among those who say he is a factor, however, more say their vote is a vote *against* Obama than *for* him by nearly two-to-one (29% vs. 16%).

More Independents Voting Against Obama than For Obama

	Oct 1994	Sept 1998	Sept 2002	Sept 2006	Sept 2010
	Clinton	Clinton	Bush	Bush	Obama
Congressional vote this fall is	%	%	%	%	%
A vote for president	8	12	19	10	16
A vote <i>against</i> president	19	14	10	35	29
President is not a factor in vote	67	70	64	49	50
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug 25-Sept 6, 2010. Q17. Based on independent registered voters; 1994 data from mid-October survey. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

In 2006, roughly the same percentage of independent voters (35%) said they viewed their vote as a vote against Bush, while just 10% saw their ballot as a vote for Bush.

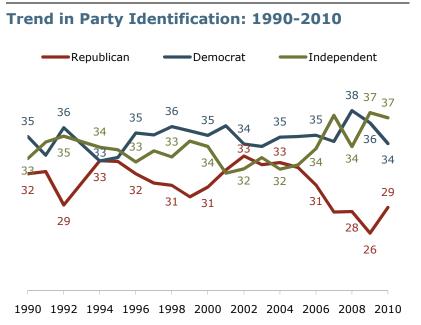
In prior midterms in 2002, 1998 and 1994, the president was less of a factor in independents' voting decisions; more than 60% in all three elections said the president was not a factor. In 1994, more independents regarded their vote as against Bill Clinton than a vote for him (by 19% to 8%).

SECTION 3: TRENDS IN PARTY AFFILIATION

Partisan affiliation has shifted in small but important ways several times over the past two decades, with several politically consequential changes occurring the in past few years. After

holding a 10-percentage point advantage in party identification among registered voters in 2008 and 2009, the Democratic Party now has only a five-point lead in 2010. Fewer voters identify as Democrats and more identify as Republicans.

This year, 34% of registered voters identify as Democrats and 29% as Republicans. In 2009, on average, 36% identified as Democrats, compared with 26% who said they were Republicans, little different from 2008 when Democrats had a 38% to 28% advantage over Republicans. The Democratic Party's 10-point lead



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. Based on registered voters. Data points represent annual totals from Pew Research Center surveys conducted in each calendar year. 2010 results based on surveys conducted from January to September.

in 2008 and 2009 grew from a much more modest 35% to 31% gap in 2006 and a narrow 34% to 33% edge in 2002.

Amidst these ups and down in affiliation with the two major parties, the number of independents and non-partisans now stands at 37%, one of the highest levels in the past 20 years of Pew Research Center polling. The proportion of independents has fluctuated in recent years, but the current number is sharply higher than it was several years ago (32% in 2002).

The recent changes in partisan identification serve as a reminder that affiliation with a party is an attitude, one which can and does change. Previous research has shown that few people switch immediately from Republican to Democratic identification or vice versa. Most of the movement is from independents who assume a party label or from partisans who no longer identify with their former party.

In fact, most of the survey's independent and nonpartisan voters report changing their party affiliation – 72% say they have thought of themselves as a Republican, a Democrat or both at some point in their life and 54% considered

Most Independents Were Partisans Within Past Five Years

Thought of self as	%
A Republican in past five years , but not a Democrat	22
A Democrat in past five years, but not a Republican	23
Both a Democrat and Republican in past five years	9
Neither in past five years	18
Never a Republican or a Democrat	<u>28</u>
	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q65-Q68. Based on independent registered voters (N=1069). Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

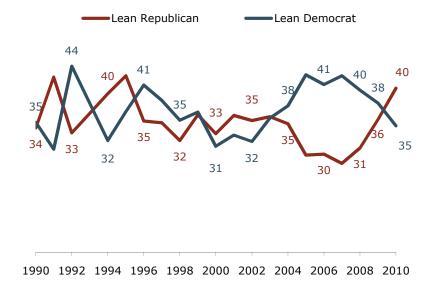
themselves a partisan in the past five years. About one-in-five independent voters (22%) say they considered themselves a Republican (but not a Democrat) during this period, while 23% of independents considered themselves a Democrat (but not a Republican).

More Independents Lean Republican

In 2010, 40% of independents and other non-partisan voters say they lean more to the Republican Party, 35% say they lean more to the Democratic Party; and 25% of independents decline to lean. These numbers reflect considerable change over the past four years.

Just a year ago, 36% of independents leaned to the GOP and 38% leaned Democratic, while 26% did not state a preference for either party. Consequently, over the past year party leaning among independent voters has shifted from a two-point Democratic

Trend in Party Leaning Among Independents: 1990-2010



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. Based on independent registered voters. Data points represent annual totals from Pew Research Center surveys conducted in each calendar year. 2010 results based on surveys conducted from January to September.

lead to a five-point Republican advantage. And the shift is even more dramatic from 2006 when Democrats enjoyed an 11-point lead in independent leaning.

In the current survey, 84% of Republican leaners plan to vote for the GOP candidate in their district this November (compared with 94% among Republicans) and 82% of Democratic leaners plan to vote for the Democratic Party's candidate (compared with 91% among Democrats). By comparison, the majority (58%) of those who do not lean to either party are undecided, while 21% support the Republican candidate and 21% back the Democratic candidate for Congress.

The growth in the percentage of independents who lean Republican has been accompanied by an uptick in the proportion who describe their views as conservative. Currently, 36% of independents say they are conservative, up from 29% in 2006. Over the same period, the proportion of independent who are moderates declined from 46% to 43%, while the number describing themselves as liberal edged downward two points (from 18% to 16%). (*For more on ideological shifts among the electorate, see pg.30*).

Why Independents Are Independent

In response to a series of questions about why they are independent, majorities of non-partisan

voters cite three different factors as major reasons for rejecting a party label. Nearly two-thirds (64%) say that both parties caring more about special interests than about average Americans is a major reason for their independent status. A smaller 53% majority says a major reason for being independent is that they don't trust either political party.

Nearly six-in-ten (58%) say a major reason they are non-

Most Independents Say Parties Care More about Special Interests than Average Americans

Reasons why you are an	Major reason	Minor reason	Not a reason	DK
independent	%	%	%	%
Both parties care more about special interests than average Americans	64	19	14	2=100
Agree with Republicans on some issues and Democrats on others	58	27	13	1=100
Don't trust either party	53	25	21	1=100
Don't think there is much difference between parties	34	29	35	1=100
Politics not that important to me	19	28	52	1=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q69a-c,e,f. Based on independent registered voters. Percentages may not add to 100% because of rounding.

partisan is that they agree with the Republicans on some issues and the Democrats on other issues. For example, pluralities of independents say the GOP comes closer to their views on some issues and the Democrats come closer on others. More independents say the Republican Party comes closer to their views than the Democratic Party on economic issues (43% Republican vs. 34% Democrat) and foreign policy and national security (44% Republican vs. 30% Democrat). But the Democrats have an edge over Republicans on social issues among non-partisans (39% Democrat, 33% Republican).

Less commonly cited were two other reasons for being an independent, including a belief that there is little difference between the parties. About a third (34%) says not thinking there is much difference between the parties is a major reason for their independent status. Only 19% of non-partisans say that a major reason they are independent is because politics is not that important to them.

Ex-Partisans Support Their Former Parties

Independents who say they previously identified as Republicans or Democrats have positive views of their former parties. Fully 79% of independent voters who thought of themselves as Republicans in the past five years lean to the GOP and the same percentage (79%) favors the Republican candidate in their district.

Similarly, former Democrats overwhelmingly lean Democratic (76%) and plan to vote for a Democrat in November (73%). And just as voters who affiliate with the Republican Party are more engaged in the election, the same is true among independents who used to belong to the GOP: 79% say they will definitely vote and 70% say they are giving a lot of thought to the election. That compares with just 59% and 36%, respectively among former Democrats.

The midterm preferences of independents who have not recently considered themselves a Democrat or a Republican are much more divided – 39% favor the GOP candidate and 36% back the Democratic candidate while 26% are undecided. There is a similar pattern in their partisan leaning; 38% lean to the Republican Party, 34% to the Democratic Party and 27% refuse to lean to either party. But the plurality of this group voted for Obama over McCain in 2008 (41% Obama, 27%

Former Republicans More Engaged, Less Trusting of Parties

	Former Rep	Former Dem	Neither in past 5 yrs
	%	%	%
Midterm vote			
Republican/Lean Rep	79	14	39
Democrat/Lean Dem	12	73	36
Other/Don't Know	9	13	26
Given a lot of thought to the election	70	36	43
Definitely will vote	79	59	60
Party leaning			
Lean Republican	79	12	38
Lean Democrat	8	76	34
No leaning	12	12	27
Ideology			
Conservative	66	19	33
Moderate	25	46	40
Liberal	7	33	21
"Major reason" you are independent	•		
Parties care more about special interests	68	64	62
Don't trust either party	61	46	53
N	247	238	492

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q10/10a, THOUGHT, SCALE10, PARTYLN, IDEO, Q69e,f. Figures read down. Based on independent registered voters who have thought of themselves as a Republican but not a Democrat in the past 5 years, a Democrat but not a Republican, or have not considered themselves a Republican or a Democrat in the past 5 years.

McCain). Among the independents who have been consistently nonpartisan over the past five years, 43% have given a lot of thought to the election and 60% say they definitely will vote, about on par with former Democrats.

When it comes to political ideology, former Republicans are far more conservative than other independents. About two-thirds (66%) describe their political views as conservative, 25% as moderate and only 7% as liberal. By contrast only 19% of former Democrats say their political views are conservative, 46% are moderate, and 33% are liberal. A third of independents who have not been a Republican or a Democrat in the past five years describe their views as conservative, 40% as moderate, and 21% as liberal.

For the most part, former Republicans, former Democrats and voters who have not recently considered themselves partisans agree on the reasons why they are independents. For instance, large majorities in all three groups say both parties care more about special interests than about average Americans. But 61% of former Republicans say they do not trust either party, compared with 46% of former Democrats. About half (53%) of those who have not recently affiliated with a party say they do not trust either party.

Where Republicans, Former Republicans Differ

Former Republicans share many opinions with Republican partisans – particularly about

Barack Obama and the size of government. But there are also key differences of opinion about George W. Bush, the Iraq war and social issues.

Notably, Tea Party support is as high among former Republicans as it is among Republicans – 60% of former Republicans and 56% of Republicans agree with the Tea Party movement. Similarly, 81% of former Republicans say they would rather have a smaller government with fewer services, as do 82% of Republicans.

Nearly as many former Republicans (81%) as Republicans (85%) disapprove of Obama's job performance. Disapproval of health care reform is nearly as high among former Republicans (81%) as it is among Republicans (87%).

But former Republicans express a less favorable view of George W. Bush – 61% have a favorable opinion of him compared with 76% of Republicans. And one of the major policies of the Bush administration, the Iraq war, garners much less support among former Republicans than among Republicans – 54% of former Republicans say the U.S. made the right decision in using military force in Iraq while 70% of Republicans say it was the right decision.

Former Republicans Back Tea Party, Have Less Favorable View of Bush

	Former Rep* %	Rep %
Tea Party		
Agree with	60	56
Disagree with	6	6
No opinion/Never heard of	34	38
Size of government		
Smaller gov't, fewer services	81	82
Bigger gov't, more services	13	15
View of George W. Bush		
Favorable	61	76
Unfavorable	31	20
Using military force in Iraq		
Right decision	54	70
Wrong decision	39	23
Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally		
Favor	30	20
Oppose	59	74
N	247	816

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q84-Q85, Q17, Q31, Q26d, Q47, Q40. Figures read down. Based on registered voters. *Independents who have thought of themselves as Republicans but not Democrats in the past 5 years.

There are also differences over social issues. About six-in-ten (59%) former Republicans oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally while 30% favor this. But Republicans oppose same-sex marriage by a 74% to 20% margin. And while at least three-fourths of former Republicans say the GOP comes closer to their views on economic issues (79%) and foreign policy and national security (76%), only 60% say the same about social issues such as same-sex marriage and abortion.

Where Democrats, Former Democrats Differ

Former Democrats express less positive views about Obama and his policies than do Democrats. On ratings of Obama's overall job performance, 65% of former Democrats approve, compared with 83% of Democrats. And while Democrats support the health care reform legislation by more than four-to-one (76% approve, 18% disapprove), the margin is smaller among former Democrats (59% approve, 30% disapprove).

There also are sharp differences in views about government. Only 22% of former Democrats trust the government in Washington to do what is right just about always or most of the time, compared with 41% of Democrats. Democrats prefer bigger government with more services over a smaller one by nearly two-to-one (61% bigger, 31% smaller). Opinion about the size of government is much more divided among former Democrats – 46% prefer a bigger government while 44% would rather have a smaller government.

However, former Democrats and their partisan counterparts have more similar views about business and social issues. About seven-in ten former Democrats (71%) and Democrats (69%) think that business corporations make too much profit. And a nearly identical percentage of Democrats (58%) and former Democrats (59%) favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally.

Former Democrats More Skeptical about Government

	Former Dem*	Dem
	%	% %
Obama job approval		
Approve	65	83
Disapprove	25	14
Health care reform legislation		
Approve	59	76
Disapprove	30	18
Don't know	11	6
Size of government		
Smaller gov't, fewer services	44	31
Bigger gov't, more services	46	61
Trust in government		
Always/Most of the time	22	41
Only some of the time/Never	77	58
Business corporations		
Make too much profit	71	69
Make a fair and reasonable profit	26	26
Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally		
Favor	59	58
Oppose	31	36
N	238	931

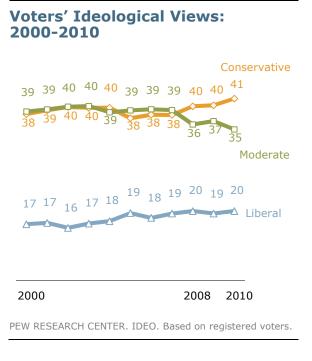
PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q2, Q45, Q31, Q29, Q30g, Q40. Figures read down. Based on registered voters. *Independents who have thought of themselves as Democrats and not Republicans in the past 5 years.

Similarly, 57% of former Democrats think our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites, as do 63% of Democrats.

Ideological Shifts among Independents, Partisans

For most of the last decade the political ideology of American voters has been very stable. From 2000 to 2007, roughly four-in-ten voters described themselves as moderate and an equal share as conservative. About two-in-ten thought of themselves as liberal. In the last three years, however, the share identifying as conservative increased and the percentage identifying as moderate declined.

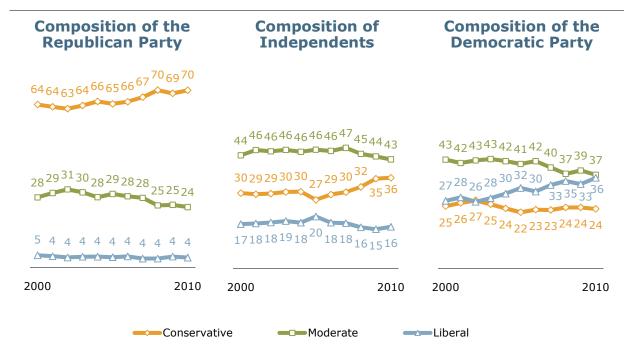
Among voters interviewed in 2010, 41% describe themselves as politically conservative. While conservative ideology is up 3 points from 2007 – the year Democrats assumed control of Congress – the percent who call themselves moderate is down four points (from 39% in 2007 to 35% in 2010). One in five (20%) say they are liberal, about the same percentage as in the past few years.



Some of the growth in conservative ideology is among Republican voters, but not all can be attributed to change among Republicans. Independents, specifically those who lean Republican, have become more conservative in recent years.

Since 2006, the year of the last midterm election, the percentage of Republican voters who call themselves conservative increased 4 points, from 66% to 70%. This is not a new trend within the Republican Party. The share of Republicans who call themselves conservative has grown since 2002, when 63% of Republicans called themselves conservative.

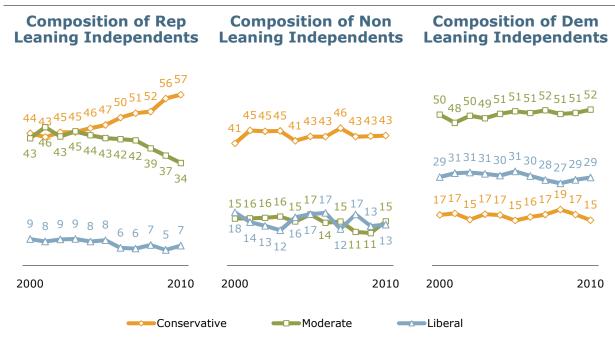
What has changed since the last midterm election is a growing percentage of independents who describe themselves as conservative. From 2006 to 2010, the share of independents who think of themselves as conservative increased seven points from 29% to 36%. Some of this increase may be attributable to the decline in Republican Party affiliation observed from 2006 to 2009. About two-in-ten (22%) of those who have shed their party affiliation in the last five years say they once thought of themselves as a Republican and fully two-thirds (66%) of this group call themselves conservative.



PEW RESEARCH CENTER IDEO. Based on registered voters. Figures show the balance of self-reported ideology within each party. For example, in 2010 70% of Republicans call themselves conservative, 36% of independents call themselves conservative and 24% of Democrats call themselves conservative.

To be sure, not all of the growth in conservative ideology among independents is attributable to lapsed Republican identity. Republican Party affiliation increased three percentage points from 2009 to 2010 (26% to 29%), while independent identity remained stable, yet the percentage of independents calling themselves conservative edged slightly upward from 35% in 2009 to 36% in 2010.

Among Republican-leaning independents and non-partisans, conservative ideology both predominates and has steadily increased. Republican leaning independents are far more conservative today than just a few years ago. Currently, 57% of Republican leaning independents call themselves conservative and just 34% are moderate. In 2003, Republican leaning independents were just as likely to be moderate as conservative (45%). There is no comparable pattern among independents who lean Democratic or independents who do not lean toward a party. Today, 43% of non-leaning independents are conservative, just two points higher than in 2000. And only 15% of Democratic-leaning independents are conservative now, down two points from 2000.



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. IDEO. Based on registered voters. Figures show the balance of self-reported ideology within each subgroup of independents. For example, in 2010 57% of Republican-leaning independents call themselves conservative.

SECTION 4: INDEPENDENTS UNDER THE MICROSCOPE

Independents are often described as a cohesive bloc of voters, whose views consistently fall midway between those of Republicans and Democrats. Yet a closer look at independents finds a substantial degree of diversity among these voters – demographic, ideological and in their attitudes and opinions.

In this survey, we identify four main groups of independent voters – two that strongly favor Republican candidates in this fall's elections, one that strongly favors the Democrats, and another that supports the Democrats, though only modestly.

Shadow Republicans (26% of independent voters) stand out for their strong anti-government views – 21% volunteer that they "never" trust the federal government. Yet they are not especially critical of the political system and are strongly probusiness. Shadow Republicans are largely comprised of white

Demographic Portrait of Independent Groups

			_		=	
		Rep-leaning groups		Dem-leaning groups		
	All Inds	Shadow Reps	Disaf- fecteds	Doubting Dems	Shadow Dems	
Percent of	%	%	%	%	%	
independents		26	16	20	21	
Percent who are						
Men	54	67	58	47	50	
Women	46	33	42	53	50	
White non-Hisp	74	82	79	79	65	
Black non-Hisp	9	4	10	6	13	
Hispanic	8	3	4	8	12	
18-29	18	10	10	14	21	
30-49	33	28	36	33	32	
50-64	30	38	36	32	27	
65+	17	23	17	19	16	
College grad+	34	52	30	29	42	
Some college	27	24	28	27	30	
HS or less	38	24	43	43	26	
Family income						
\$75k or more	27	45	19	20	35	
\$30k-\$75k	34	27	41	35	32	
Less than \$30k	24	11	26	30	19	
Conservative	37	53	48	30	21	
Moderate	39	38	33	41	44	
Liberal	21	6	18	25	29	
Party lean						
Lean Republican	42	68	53	34	20	
Lean Democrat	39	16	29	46	64	
No lean	19	16	18	20	16	
PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Based on independent registered voters. Figures read down.						

males; in fact, fully two-thirds (67%) of this group are men - a much higher percentage than in the other independent groups or among Republican voters (only about half - 49% - of whom are men).

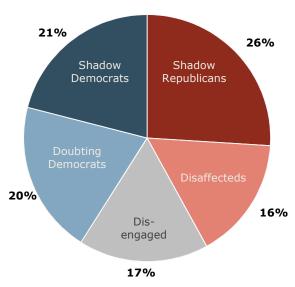
This group also is better educated and more affluent than voters who identify with the Republican Party or other independent voters; 52% are college graduates and 45% have annual family incomes of \$75,000 or more (compared with 36% and 30%, respectively, of Republican

voters). And Shadow Republicans are older (61% are 50 and older, compared with 53% of Republicans). However, while Shadow Republicans overwhelmingly lean to the Republican Party – and most say they will vote Republican this November – only about half (52%) have a favorable opinion of the Republican Party.

The demographic portrait of *Disaffecteds* (16% of independent voters), the other GOP-leaning group of independents, is strikingly different from the Shadow Republicans. They have been hard hit by the recession – just 19% of Disaffecteds have family incomes of \$75,000 a year or more, less than half of the proportion of Shadow Republicans.

Disaffected independents have an extremely pessimistic view of their own personal finances – nearly all of them rate their finances as only fair (69%) or poor (26%). Like the Shadow Republicans and Republican voters, Disaffecteds have a highly negative view of government. But Disaffecteds also are critical of business, political parties and elected officials.

A Breakdown of Independent Voters



PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Based on independent registered voters.

Doubting Democrats (20% of independent

voters) are much more critical of government and the political system – including the Democratic Party – than are *Shadow Democrats*, the other group of Democratic-leaning independents.

Demographically, Doubting Democrats share more in common with the GOP-leaning Disaffecteds than with Shadow Democrats. Just 20% of Doubting Democrats have family incomes of \$75,000 or more, compared with 35% of Shadow Democrats. Doubting Democrats also are less demographically diverse than are Shadow Democrats – 79% are white non-Hispanics, compared with 65% of Shadow Democrats.

As their name implies, Doubting Democrats express mixed views of the Democratic Party; fewer than half (46%) say they lean Democratic, while 34% lean to the GOP. Just 29% approve of Barack Obama's job performance and most (54%) say they disapprove of the health care legislation passed by Obama and Congress.

By contrast, most Shadow Democrats (64%) lean to the Democratic Party and they express consistently positive views of the Democratic Party, President Obama and his proposals. They also are more upbeat about the direction of the country and have more positive views of government.

"Doubting Democrats" Divided in Midterm Preferences

	Vote Rep	Vote Dem	DK	N
	%	%	%	
All voters	44	47	9=100	2816
Republican	94	3	3=100	816
Democrat	6	91	3=100	931
Independent	42	39	19=100	1069
Among Inds				
Shadow Reps	66	18	16=100	310
Disaffecteds	58	31	11=100	170
Doubting Dems	32	44	24=100	225
Shadow Dems	23	62	16=100	227

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q10/10a. Includes those who say they "lean" more to a candidate. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

There also is a fifth group of independent voters, the *Disengaged* (17% of independent voters), which is disproportionately comprised of women, young people and minorities. For the most part, the Disengaged are essentially political bystanders –just 21% say they definitely will vote this fall, far and away the lowest percentage among the independent groups. The analysis in this section concentrates only on the four main groups of independent voters.

Independent Groups and the Midterms

Among all registered independents, 42% say if the election were being held today they would vote for the Republican in their House district or lean Republican; 39% would vote for the Democrat or lean to the Democrat while 19% are undecided.

Shadow Republican independents favor the GOP candidate by 66% to 18%. Disaffected independent voters favor the Republican candidate in their district by a somewhat smaller margin than do Shadow Republicans (58% to 31%). However, Disaffecteds' support for the GOP candidate is robust compared with the level of support among Doubting Democrats for Democratic candidates; fewer than half (44%) favor or lean to the Democratic candidate while 32% favor or lean to the Republican and 24% express no opinion.

The "enthusiasm gap" among groups of independent voters parallels the gap among partisans:

Shadow Republicans (63%) and Disaffecteds (66%) are far more likely to say they have given a lot of thought to the election than have either Shadow Democrats (46%) or Doubting Democrats (47%).

But there are no significant differences in political engagement between the Republican- and Democratic-leaning groups of independents and their partisan counterparts. Shadow Republicans and Disaffecteds are about as likely as Republican-affiliated voters to say they are giving a lot of thought to the election and that they will definitely vote. Conversely, comparable percentages of Shadow Democrats, Doubting Democrats and voters who identify as Democrats say they are giving a lot of thought to the election and will definitely vote.

Enthusiasm Gap Also Evident Among Independent Groups

	Given "a lot of thought" to election	"Definitely" will vote*
	%	%
All voters	50	71
Republican	64	83
Democrat	41	69
Independent	48	65
Among inds		
Shadow Reps	63	79
Disaffecteds	66	77
Doubting Dems	47	68
Shadow Dems	46	72

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. SCALE10, those who rate their chance of voting as 10 on a 1-10 scale, where 10 is "definitely will vote"; THOUGHT, those who said "quite a lot.

Independent Groups and Obama

Overall, 39% of independent voters approve of Barack Obama's job performance while 50% disapprove. In three of the four main groups of independent voters, fewer than a third approve of the way Obama is handling his job as president.

Notably, about twice as many Doubting Democrats disapprove of Obama's job performance (57%) as approve (29%). Obama's approval rating among this group is no higher than among the GOP-leaning Disaffecteds (28% approve), though somewhat more Disaffecteds disapprove (69%).

Obama's favorability among Doubting Democrats is more positive than his job approval rating: 41% say they have a favorable opinion of Obama while 50% have an unfavorable view. Still, only about half as many Doubting Democrats (41%) as Shadow Democrats (86%) have a favorable impression of Obama. Opinions about Obama among Shadow Democrats – both job approval

Obama Job Approval Low, Except among "Shadow Democrats"

	Approve	Disapprove	DK
	%	%	%
All voters	46	47	7=100
Republican	10	85	5=100
Democrat	83	14	3=100
Independent	39	50	11=100
Among Inds			
Shadow Reps	21	71	8=100
Disaffecteds	28	69	4=100
Doubting Dems	29	57	13=100
Shadow Dems	81	11	8=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q2. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

and favorability – are as positive as among voters who identify as Democrats.

GOP-leaning independent voters have generally negative personal impressions of Obama. Still, far more Disaffecteds (34%) than Republican voters (11%) express favorable opinions of Obama.

Despite their critical views of Obama, the GOP-leaning independent groups are far less likely than Republican partisans to view their vote this fall as a vote "against" Obama. Fully 62% of Republican voters view their vote as a vote against Obama, compared with 45% of Disaffected independents and 41% of Shadow Republicans.

Obama Favorability among Independent Groups

	Fav	Unfav	Can't rate/ DK
All voters	51	46	3=100
Republican	11	86	3=100
Democrat	86	13	1=100
Independent	47	48	5=100
Among Inds			
Shadow Reps	26	71	4=100
Disaffecteds	34	64	3=100
Doubting Dems	41	50	9=100
Shadow Dems	86	11	3=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q27a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Majorities of Shadow Democrats (56%) and

Doubting Democrats (52%) say that Obama will not be much of a factor in their vote this fall. However, more Shadow Democrats say they consider their vote as a vote for Obama than against him (by 33% to 7%); among Doubting Democrats, the balance of opinion is reversed (27% against/15% for).

"Shadow Reps" Lukewarm toward GOP

Roughly two-thirds of Shadow Republican independents (68%) lean to the Republican Party and about as many (66%) say they favor the Republican congressional candidate in their district. But they have a mixed view of the Republican Party itself – just 52% of Shadow Republicans have a favorable opinion of the GOP while 43% have an unfavorable opinion.

In fact, Disaffected independents – who are far less likely to lean to the GOP (53%) – have about as favorable opinion of the Republican Party (55%) as do Shadow Republicans. However, Shadow

Barely Half of "Shadow Republicans" View GOP Favorably

-	Rep Party		Dem	Dem Party Un-		
	Fav	Un- fav	Fav	fav	Ν	
	%	%	%	%		
All independents	45	47	44	48	1069	
Shadow Reps	52	43	19	76	310	
Disaffecteds	55	36	34	57	170	
Doubting Dems	42	52	44	49	225	
Shadow Dems	36	58	81	13	227	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q26a,b.

Republicans express a far more negative opinion of the Democratic Party than do Disaffected independents (76% unfavorable vs. 57% unfavorable).

The two Democratic-leaning independent groups are as divided in their view of the Democratic Party as they are in their opinions about Obama. Fully 81% of Shadow Democratic independent voters say they have a favorable opinion of the Democratic Party compared with just 44% of Doubting Democrats. Notably, Doubting Democrats feel as favorably toward the GOP (42% favorable) as toward the Democratic Party.

Views of the Tea Party

Doubting Democrats also have mixed views of the Tea Party. As many say they agree (24%) with the Tea Party movement as disagree (25%); 51% have no opinion of the Tea Party movement or have never heard of it.

Shadow Democrats and Democratic voters view the Tea Party very negatively: Among both groups of voters, more than four-in-ten say they disagree with the Tea Party movement (46% Shadow Democrats, 45% Democrats) while just 9% and 6%, respectively, say they agree.

By wide margins, Republican voters and GOP-leaning independent voters say they agree with the Tea Party movement. Most Republican voters (56%) and Shadow Republicans (56%) agree with the Tea Party movement, as do 47% of Disaffecteds.

"Doubting Democrats" Not So Negative Toward Tea Party

	Agree with	Disagree with %	No opinion/ Never heard of
All voters	29	26	45=100
Republican	56	6	38=100
Democrat	6	45	49=100
Independent	30	22	47=100
Among Inds			
Shadow Reps	56	15	29=100
Disaffecteds	47	16	36=100
Doubting Dems	24	25	51=100
Shadow Dems	9	46	45=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q85. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Views of Parties and Issues

The conflicted views that many independents have about the political parties also are reflected in opinions about the parties' traits and their handling of specific issues.

Disaffected independents see the Republican Party as better able than the Democratic Party to bring about the changes the country needs (by 46% to 24%) and as better able to manage the federal government (by 50% to 23%).

However, Disaffecteds are divided as to whether the Republican Party or Democratic Party is better described by the

"Doubting Democrats" Doubt Democratic Party's Ability to Manage Government

	All Inds	Shadow Reps	Disaff- ecteds	Doubting Dems	Shadow Dems
Which party	%	%	%	%	%
Can bring needed change					
Rep party	36	57	46	21	18
Dem Party	37	16	24	43	65
Neither (Vol.)	15	19	17	24	5
Cares more about people like me					
Rep party	32	49	43	22	16
Dem party	49	29	38	54	72
Nether (Vol.)	12	18	12	15	4
Can better manage gov't					
Rep party	42	63	50	32	25
Dem party	31	11	23	34	55
Neither (Vol.)	15	20	14	22	8
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PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q33a,b,d. Figures read down.

phrase "is more concerned with the needs of people like me." Despite their Republican leanings, nearly as many Disaffecteds say the Democrats (38%) as Republicans (43%) better embodies this trait.

Despite their skeptical view of the Democratic Party, more than half (54%) of Doubting Democrats see the party as more concerned with needs of people like them; just 22% say the GOP. And by roughly two-to-one (43% to 21%), more Doubting Democrats say the Democratic Party rather than the GOP can bring needed change.

But Doubting Democrats live up to their name in assessing the ability of the two parties to manage the federal government: 34% say the Democratic Party could do better, while 32% say the GOP could do better and 22% volunteer neither party.

Shadow Democrats offer more uniformly positive views of the Democratic Party across all three traits. Similarly, despite their lukewarm overall view of the party, Shadow Republicans give more positive evaluations of the GOP than do Disaffecteds.

In terms of issues, independent voters say the Republican Party can do a better job than the Democratic Party of reducing the deficit (by 44% to 29%). On improving the job situation and dealing with health care, the two parties are rated about evenly among independents (40% Rep/35% Dem on job situation; 39% Dem/ 36% Rep on health care).

Doubting Democrats are divided in views of which party can better reduce the deficit and improve the job situation. Yet they favor the Democratic Party

Independent Groups Rate the Parties

Which party could	All Inds	Shadow Reps	Disaff- ecteds	Doubting Dems	Shadow Dems
Which party could do better job of	%	%	%	%	%
Reducing deficit					
Rep party	44	61	54	34	31
Dem Party	29	13	20	32	45
Neither (Vol.)	15	17	15	21	8
Improving job situation					
Rep party	40	61	52	30	23
Dem party	35	16	25	38	57
Neither (Vol.)	13	14	14	17	8
Dealing w/ health care					
Rep party	36	54	45	28	18
Dem party	39	22	28	45	65
Neither (Vol.)	12	16	19	11	3

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by 45% to 28% as better able than the Republicans to deal with health care.

Which Party Comes Closer to Your Views?

The survey asks independent voters which party comes closer to their views on three sets of issues. Far more independents say the Republican Party than the Democratic Party comes closer to their views on foreign policy and national security (by 44% to 30%). On economic issues, 43% say the Republican Party comes closer to their views, while 34% say the Democratic Party. But slightly more independents say the Democratic Party (39%) than the GOP (33%) is closer to their views on social issues such as abortion and gay marriage.

Clear majorities of Shadow
Republicans and Disaffecteds
say the Republican Party rather
than the Democratic Party
comes closer to their views on
foreign policy and economic
issues. But fewer than half in
both Republican-leaning groups
say the Republican Party comes
closer to their views on social
issues (46% of Shadow
Republicans, 45% of
Disaffecteds).

About as many Doubting
Democrats say the Republican
Party (33%) as the Democratic
Party comes (36%) comes closer
to their views on foreign policy
and national security. And on
economic issues, 40% of
Doubting Democrats say the
party comes closer to their views
while 33% say the Republican
Party.

Independents Closer to GOP on Foreign Policy, Economy, Not Social Issues

Which party comes closer to your views on	Rep Party	Dem Party	Neither (Vol.)	Other/ DK
Foreign policy/ national security				
All independents	44	30	12	14=100
Shadow Rep	65	16	10	9=100
Disaffecteds	59	17	13	10=100
Doubting Dems	33	36	14	16=100
Shadow Dems	30	49	7	14=100
Economic issues				
All independents	43	34	13	10=100
		4-	4.0	E 100
Shadow Reps	69	15	10	5=100
Disaffecteds	54	24	15	7=100
Doubting Dems	33	40	18	10=100
Shadow Dems	25	51	9	15=100
Social issues				
All independents	33	39	12	16=100
Chadaw Dana	4.6	22	12	0 100
Shadow Reps	46	32	13	9=100
Disaffecteds	45	29	15	11=100
Doubting Dems	27	43	12	18=100
Shadow Dems	24	55	8	13=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q70a-c. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

On social issues such as abortion and gay marriage, a plurality (43%) of Doubting Democrats see the Democratic Party as coming closer to their own opinions, compared with 27% who say the GOP better reflects their views.

Issues: Gay Marriage, Gun Control, Health Care

While Republican voters oppose same-sex marriage by greater than three-to-one (74% to 20%), there is far less opposition among GOP-leaning independent groups. About half of Shadow Republicans and Disaffecteds oppose gay marriage (49% each) while 37% of both groups favor it.

There is less daylight between Democratic voters and Democratic-leaning independents on this issue: 58% of Democratic voters favor same-sex marriage, as do 60% of Shadow Democrats and 50% of Doubting Democrats.

Many "Shadow Republicans" Favor Gay Marriage

	Favor	Oppose	DK
All voters	42	49	9=100
Republican	20	74	7=100
Democrat	58	36	6=100
Independent	45	42	13=100
Among Inds			
Shadow Reps	37	49	13=100
Disaffecteds	37	49	14=100
Doubting Dems	50	37	13=100
Shadow Dems	60	31	9=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q40. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Shadow Republicans and Disaffecteds are more in sync with Republican voters when it comes to opinions about gun control. About seven-in-ten in each group say it is more important to protect the right of Americans to own guns than to control gun ownership (73% of Republican voters, 70% of Shadow Republicans, 68% of Disaffecteds).

By contrast, majorities of Democratic voters (67%) and Shadow Democrats (58%) say it is more important to control gun ownership. But Doubting Democrats are divided; 49% say it is more important to control gun ownership while 44% say it is more important to protect gun rights.

Moreover, most Doubting Democrats disapprove of the health care legislation that Obama and Congress passed earlier this year; 54% disapprove of the law compared with just 32% who approve. The views of Doubting Democrats are more similar to those of Disaffecteds (31% approve) and Shadow Republicans (20%) than to those of Shadow Democrats (72% approve).

"Doubting Democrats" Oppose Health Care Legislation

	Approve	Disapprove	DK
All voters	42	50	8=100
Republican	8	87	5=100
Democrat	76	18	6=100
Independent	37	52	11=100
Among Inds			
Shadow Reps	20	72	8=100
Disaffecteds	31	60	9=100
Doubting Dems	32	54	14=100
Shadow Dems	72	19	9=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q45. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Wars in Iraq, Afghanistan

Most independent voters (54%) say the United States made the right decision to use military force in Afghanistan, but just 40% think the United States made the right decision in using force in Iraq.

While large majorities of Republican voters generally endorse the decisions to use military force in both countries, Shadow Republicans are much more supportive of the war in Afghanistan (65% right decision) than the war in Iraq (49%). Among Disaffecteds, comparable percentages support the use of force in Afghanistan (58%) and Iraq (55%). Democratic voters and Shadow Democrats are much more supportive of the war in

Were Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq the Right Decisions?

	Afghanistan %	Iraq %
All voters	55	43
Republican	69	70
Democrat	44	25
Independent	54	40
Among inds		
Shadow Reps	65	49
Disaffecteds	58	55
Doubting Dems	39	30
Shadow Dems	62	35

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q47.

Afghanistan than in Iraq. Doubting Democrats express only modest support for the decisions to use force in both countries (39% Afghanistan, 30% Iraq).

Reasons for Being an Independent

Majorities of three of the four groups of independent voters say a main reason they are independent is that the two parties care more about special interests than about average Americans. And majorities in three groups say distrust of both parties is a main reason they are independents.

But Shadow Democrats take a far less negative view of the parties. About four-in-ten (39%) say the parties' excessive concern

Why Independent Groups Reject the Parties

"Major reason" why you're an independent Parties care more about	All Inds %	Shadow Reps %	Disaff- ecteds %	Doubting Dems %	Shadow Dems %
special interests than average Americans	64	71	82	79	39
Agree w/ Dems on some issues, Reps on others	58	55	65	56	64
Don't trust either party	53	64	71	72	11
Not much diff. between parties	34	43	36	39	24
Politics is not that important to me	19	19	20	20	15

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q69a-f.

for special interests is a main reason they are independents. And just 11% cite distrust of both parties as a main reason.

There is more agreement among the independent groups regarding other reasons for deciding not to affiliate with the major parties. For example, majorities across all four groups say that they agree with the Democratic Party on some issues and the GOP on others.

About the Survey

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted August 25-September 6, 2010 among a national sample of 3,509 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (2,351 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,158 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 508 who had no landline telephone). Interviewing was conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see http://people-press.org/methodology/

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race/ethnicity, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2009 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2009 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group	Sample Size	Plus or minus
Total sample	3,509	2.0 percentage points
Registered voters	2,816	2.5 percentage points
Republican RVs	816	4.5 percentage points
Democratic RVs	931	4.0 percentage points
	1069	, , ,
Independent RVs	1009	4.0 percentage points
Vote Republican	1,283	3.5 percentage points
Vote Democrat	1,281	3.5 percentage points
Likely voters	2,053	3.0 percentage points
Republican LVs	673	5.0 percentage points
Democratic LVs	645	5.0 percentage points
Independent LVs	734	4.5 percentage points
Among independent RVs		
Vote Republican	460	5.5 percentage points
Vote Democratic	403	6.0 percentage points
Shadow Republicans	310	7.0 percentage points
Disaffected	170	9.0 percentage points
Doubting Democrats	225	8.0 percentage points
Shadow Democrats	227	8.0 percentage points
Disengaged	137	10.0 percentage points

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.

Likely Voter and Engagement Measures

Likely voter estimates are based on a 7-item turnout scale that includes the following questions: thought, precinct, q6f1/q7f2, oftvote, planto1, scale10 and pvoteo8a. More details about the Pew Research Center's methodology for estimating likelihood to vote are available at http://people-press.org/methodology/files/UnderstandingLikelyVoters.pdf

Trends to previous midterms on thought given to the election (thought) are from Early October 1994, Early October 1998, Early September/Early October 2002 combined and September/Early October 2006 combined.

Trends to previous midterms on certainty of voting in the election (scale10) are from Late October 1994, Early October 1998, Early October 2002, and September/Early October 2006 combined.

Methodology for Creating the Typology of Independent Voters

To create the typology of independent voters, respondents were sorted into relatively homogeneous groups using a statistical procedure called "cluster analysis." The cluster analysis utilized responses to several attitudinal and behavioral questions, including views about government, attitudes about elected officials and the political parties, measures of optimism and outlook, opinion about business and immigrants, interest in politics and past voting behavior. Measures of each of these dimensions were based on one or more questions from the survey.

Cluster analysis is not a precise or exact process because many different cluster solutions are possible using the same data. Several different cluster solutions were evaluated for their effectiveness in producing cohesive groups that were sufficiently distinct from one another, large enough in size to be analytically practical, and substantively meaningful. While each solution differed somewhat from the others, all of them shared certain key features. The solution chosen for this report was representative of the general patterns seen across the various cluster solutions.

About the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press

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

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

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

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CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE

BASED ON ALL VOTERS

Rep/ Dem/ Other/ RV Rep/ Dem/ Other/ LV In Rep In Dem DK/Ref N In Rep In Dem DK/Ref N N N N N N N N N
In Rep In Dem DK/Ref N In Rep In Dem DK/Ref N % % % % % % % % ALL VOTERS 44 47 9 2816 50 43 7 2053 SEX
% % % % % % ALL VOTERS 44 47 9 2816 50 43 7 2053 SEX
ALL VOTERS 44 47 9 2816 50 43 7 2053 SEX
SEX
Men 50 41 9 1254 55 38 7 936
Women 39 52 9 1562 45 48 6 1116
AGE
18-49 41 51 8 1042 48 46 6 637
50+ 47 44 9 1719 51 42 7 1377
DETAILED AGE
18-29 37 54 9 285 47 51 3 131
30-49 43 49 8 757 49 44 7 506
50-64 45 44 10 994 50 42 8 800
65+ 50 43 7 725 53 41 6 578
SEX BY AGE
Men 18-49 48 43 9 505 54 39 7 313
Men 50+ 52 40 8 731 56 37 7 611
Women 18-49 35 58 7 537 42 53 5 324
Women 50+ 43 47 10 988 48 45 7 766
RACE
White NH 51 40 9 2137 57 37 7 1619
Black NH 11 85 4 296 13 83 4 189
Hispanic 30 59 11 167 29 64 6 91
EDUCATION
College grad+ 47 46 7 1163 50 44 6 953
Some college 46 45 9 708 53 40 7 508
HS or less 41 49 10 926 48 45 7 582
INCOME
\$75,000+ 50 45 6 787 52 42 5 660
\$30,000-\$74,999 45 47 8 972 50 43 6 708
<\$30,000 34 57 9 636 41 53 6 370
DETAILED INCOME
\$100,000+ 50 43 7 452 53 42 6 382
\$75,000-\$99,999 49 47 4 335 52 44 4 279
\$50,000-\$74,999 49 44 7 420 54 41 5 325
\$30,000-\$49,999 43 49 9 552 47 45 7 383
<\$30,000

CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE (CONT.)

BASED ON ALL VOTERS

	REGIS	STERED V			LI	LIKELY VOTERS (VOL.)		
	D = = /	D /	(VOL.)	D) /	D /	D /	,	137
	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	RV	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	LV
MARITAL STATUS	<u>In Rep</u>	<u>In Dem</u>	DK/Ref	<u>N</u>	<u>In Rep</u>	<u>In Dem</u>	DK/Ref	<u>N</u>
Married	51	40	8	1634	56	37	7	1278
	35	56	9	1146	40	54	6	
Not married MARITAL STATUS BY SEX	33	30	9	1140	40	54	O	752
Married men	56	36	8	772	60	33	6	626
Married men Married women	46	36 44	9	862	52	33 42	7	652
Unmarried men	40	44 49	11	467	44	42 48	8	300
Unmarried women	30	49 62	8	679	37	46 58	6 5	452
PARTY ID	30	02	0	0/9	37	36	3	432
Republican	94	3	3	816	95	2	3	673
Democrat	94 6	91	3	931	95	92	3 2	645
Independent	42	39	3 19	1069	49	36	2 15	734
PARTY WITH LEANERS	42	39	19	1009	49	30	15	734
Rep/Lean Rep	90	5	5	1281	93	4	4	1031
Dem/Lean Dem	90 6	5 88	5	1332	93	90	3	902
PARTY AND IDEOLOGY	0	00	3	1332	/	90	3	902
Conservative Republican	97	2	1	621	98	1	1	541
Mod/Lib Republican	97 87	7	6	181	86	7	6	125
Mod/Cons Democrat	7	90	3	513	9	7 89	2	338
Liberal Democrat	4	90 94	2	390	3	89 96	1	338 297
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE	4	94	2	390	3	96	1	297
Total White NH Prot.	60	32	8	1186	66	28	6	916
White NH evang. Prot.	66	32 26	8	635	74	20	6	496
-	53	39	8	548	55	38	6	496
White NH mainline Prot.							-	
Total Catholic	45 -1	44	11	603	49	42 27	8	445
White NH Cath.	51	39	10	461	54	37	9	360
Unaffiliated	27	62	11	365	30	63	6	231
REGION	20	40	12	511	10	45	0	255
East Midwest	39 41	48 50	13	702	46 46	45 47	9 8	355
South	41	50 45	9 7	702 1049	55	47		513 751
							5	
West	46	46	8	554	50	44	6	433

CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE (CONT.)

BASED ON ALL VOTERS

	REGISTERED VOTERS				LIKELY VOTERS			
			(VOL.)				(VOL.)	
	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	RV	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	LV
	<u>In Rep</u>	<u>In Dem</u>	DK/Ref	<u>N</u>	<u>In Rep</u>	<u>In Dem</u>	DK/Ref	<u>N</u>
AMONG WHITES								
Men	58	34	9	935	61	32	7	731
Women	46	45	9	1202	52	41	7	888
18-49	50	41	9	711	56	37	6	459
50+	53	38	9	1389	57	36	7	1135
College grad+	53	41	7	917	55	39	6	758
Some college or less	51	39	10	1209	58	35	7	855
\$75,000+	54	40	6	634	56	38	5	537
\$30,000-\$74,999	55	37	8	737	60	33	7	555
<\$30,000	41	49	10	441	47	46	7	274
Rep/Lean Rep	92	4	4	1123	94	3	4	913
Dem/Lean Dem	6	88	6	856	7	89	4	613
East	45	42	13	397	50	40	10	293
Midwest	47	43	9	590	52	40	8	438
South	59	35	7	749	65	30	5	562
West	51	40	9	401	55	39	5	326
TEA PARTY MOVEMENT								
Agree	85	10	5	887	88	7	4	774
Disagree	10	84	5	784	10	86	4	621
No opinion/Not heard of	37	49	13	1145	44	45	11	658
PRESIDENTIAL APPRO	VAL							
Approve	11	83	6	1260	10	85	5	857
Disapprove	77	14	9	1388	83	10	7	1117

CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE

BASED ON INDEPENDENT VOTERS

		DEPENDE STERED V	OTERS		INDEPENDENT LIKELY VOTERS			
			(VOL.)				(VOL.)	
	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	RV	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	LV
	In Rep	<u>In Dem</u> %	DK/Ref	<u>N</u>	<u>In Rep</u> %	<u>In Dem</u> %	DK/Ref %	<u>N</u>
ALL IND VOTERS	% 42	39	% 19	1069	49	% 36	15	734
SEX	42	39	19	1009	49	30	13	734
Men	48	35	16	548	53	34	13	398
Women	35	44	21	521	43	40	17	336
AGE	33	77	21	321	7.5	70	17	330
18-49	38	45	17	411	47	40	13	223
50+	47	34	20	631	51	34	15	493
DETAILED AGE	77	5 +	20	031	31	34	13	733
18-29	33	50	16	119	_	_	_	44
30-49	41	42	17	292	49	36	14	179
50-64	44	36	21	387	48	36	16	307
65+	53	29	18	244	56	29	14	186
RACE								
White NH	46	35	19	823	53	33	15	579
All non-white	30	53	17	217	34	52	13	134
EDUCATION								
College grad+	44	40	16	456	48	38	14	374
Some college	40	42	18	283	52	34	13	184
HS or less	42	37	21	323	49	34	17	172
INCOME								
\$50,000+	47	39	14	450	51	39	11	362
<\$50,000	38	43	18	442	46	37	17	247
MARITAL STATUS								
Married	47	35	18	623	53	33	14	475
Not married	35	45	19	431	42	43	15	250
MARITAL STATUS BY SEX								
Married men	51	34	14	344	55	33	12	278
Married women	41	36	23	279	49	32	19	197
Unmarried men	43	38	19	196	48	37	15	114
Unmarried women	28	53	19	235	34	51	14	136
PARTY LEANING								
Lean Republican	84	8	8	465	88	6	6	358
Lean Democrat	8	82	10	401	8	86	7	257
No leaning	21	21	58	203	25	17	58	119

CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE (CONT.)

BASED ON INDEPENDENT VOTERS

	INDEPENDENT REGISTERED VOTERS				INDEPENDENT LIKELY VOTERS			
			(VOL.)				(VOL.)	
	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	RV	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	LV
	<u>In Rep</u>	<u>In Dem</u>	DK/Ref	<u>N</u>	<u>In Rep</u>	<u>In Dem</u>	DK/Ref	<u>N</u>
IDEOLOGY								
Conservative	68	20	12	401	77	14	9	301
Moderate	31	48	21	424	37	46	18	299
Liberal	21	59	19	200	11	74	15	112
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE								
Total White NH Prot.	50	33	17	434	57	29	14	306
White NH evang. Prot.	50	30	20	211	64	19	17	150
White NH mainline Prot.	50	36	14	222	50	38	11	155
Total Catholic	51	30	19	244	55	29	15	179
White NH Cath.	55	28	17	189	57	27	16	145
Unaffiliated	30	48	22	177	37	48	15	100
REGION								
East	39	36	25	219	47	35	17	148
Midwest	39	43	18	295	45	40	15	212
South	47	38	16	350	57	30	13	225
West	42	40	18	205	45	41	14	148
AMONG WHITES								
Men	52	31	16	408	57	30	13	302
Women	39	39	22	415	47	36	18	276
18-49	43	39	18	286	53	34	14	161
50+	49	32	19	522	53	32	15	408
College grad+	47	37	16	355	50	36	14	287
Some college or less	46	34	21	467	55	30	15	290
\$50,000+	50	35	15	351	55	33	12	282
<\$50,000	42	39	19	344	49	35	16	204
Lean Republican	85	7	8	383	89	6	6	298
Lean Democrat	8	80	12	282	8	85	7	187
No leaning	21	21	58	158	26	16	58	94
East	45	32	23	178	50	33	17	123
Midwest	42	39	19	247	48	37	15	181
South	53	32	15	255	64	23	13	168
West	42	37	21	143	47	39	14	106

CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE (CONT.)

BASED ON INDEPENDENT VOTERS

	INDEPENDENT REGISTERED VOTERS				INDEPENDENT LIKELY VOTERS			
	(VOL.)					(VOL.)		
	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	RV	Rep/	Dem/	Other/	LV
	<u>In Rep</u>	<u>In Dem</u>	DK/Ref	<u>N</u>	<u>In Rep</u>	<u>In Dem</u>	DK/Ref	<u>N</u>
TEA PARTY MOVEMENT								
Agree	77	14	9	344	83	10	8	287
Disagree	12	75	13	268	12	77	11	200
No opinion/Not heard of	35	38	27	457	40	35	25	246
PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL								
Approve	15	71	14	419	15	73	13	273
Disapprove	67	16	18	544	75	11	14	415

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS SEPTEMBER 2010 POLITICAL-INDEPENDENTS SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE

August 25 - September 6, 2010 Total N=3,509

Republican N=926, Democrat N=1,116, Independent N=1,467

RANDOMIZE Q.1 AND Q.2/Q.2a ASK ALL:

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

	Satis- fied s	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref		Satis- fied	Dis- (VOL.) OK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	25	71	5	March, 2006	32	63	5
Republican	13	84	2	January, 2006	34	61	5
Democrat	36	58	6	Late November, 2005	34	59	7
Independent	23	72	5	Early October, 2005	29	65	6
macpenaene	23	, _	3	July, 2005	35	58	7
Jun 24-27, 2010	27	64	9	Late May, 2005*	39	57	4
May 13-16, 2010	28	64	7	February, 2005	38	56	6
Apr 21-26, 2010	29	66	5	January, 2005	40	54	6
	31	63	6		39	54	7
Apr 1-5, 2010		69		December, 2004	36		
Mar 11-21, 2010	25		5	Mid-October, 2004		58	6
Mar 10-14, 2010	23	71	7	July, 2004	38	55 61	7
Feb 3-9, 2010	23	71	6	May, 2004	33	61	6
Jan 6-10, 2010	27	69	4	Late February, 2004*	39	55	6
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7	Early January, 2004	45	48	7
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7	December, 2003	44	47	9
Sep 10-15, 2009 ²	30	64	7	October, 2003	38	56	6
Aug 20-27, 2009	28	65	7	August, 2003	40	53	7
Aug 11-17, 2009	28	65	7	April 8, 2003	50	41	9
Jul 22-26, 2009	28	66	6	January, 2003	44	50	6
Jun 10-14, 2009	30	64	5	November, 2002	41	48	11
Apr 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8	September, 2002	41	55	4
Apr 14-21, 2009	23	70	7	Late August, 2002	47	44	9
Jan 7-11, 2009	20	73	7	May, 2002	44	44	12
December, 2008	13	83	4	March, 2002	50	40	10
Early October, 2008	11	86	3	Late September, 2001	57	34	9
Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6	Early September, 2001	41	53	6
August, 2008	21	74	5	June, 2001	43	52	5
July, 2008	19	74	7	March, 2001	47	45	8
June, 2008	19	76	5	February, 2001	46	43	11
Late May, 2008	18	76	6	January, 2001	55	41	4
March, 2008	22	72	6	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7
Early February, 2008	24	70	6	September, 2000	51	41	8
Late December, 2007	27	66	7	June, 2000	47	45	8
October, 2007	28	66	6	April, 2000	48	43	9
February, 2007	30	61	9	August, 1999	56	39	5
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7	January, 1999	53	41	6
Early January, 2007	30	63	7	November, 1998	46	44	10
December, 2006	28	65	7	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
Early October, 2006	30	63	7	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
July, 2006	30	65	5	, -	59	37	4
				February, 1998		_	
May, 2006*	29	65	6	January, 1998	46	50 40	4
				September, 1997	45	49 46	6
1 Independents include those	who volu	nteered ar	nother	August, 1997	49	46 50	5
party, no preference, don't				January, 1997	38	58	4
the party identification que				July, 1996	29	67	4
² From September 10-15, 20	09 and oth			March, 1996	28	70	2
with an asterisk, the questi				October, 1995	23	73	4

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

Q.1 CONTINUED...

	Satis-	Dis-	(VOL.)		Satis-	· Dis-	(VOL.)
	<u>fied</u> sa	atisfie	d DK/Ref		fied	satisfied	d DK/Ref
June, 1995	25	73	2	January, 1992	28	68	4
April, 1995	23	74	3	November, 1991	34	61	5
July, 1994	24	73	3	Gallup: Late February, 1991	66	31	3
March, 1994	24	71	5	August, 1990	47	48	5
October, 1993	22	73	5	May, 1990	41	54	5
September, 1993	20	75	5	January, 1989	45	50	5
May, 1993	22	71	7	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5
January, 1993	39	50	11				

RANDOMIZE Q.1 AND Q.2/Q.2a ASK ALL:

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

	Approve	Dis- approve	(VOL.) DK/Ref		Approve	Dis- approve	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	47	44	9	Jan 6-10, 2010	49	42	10
Republican	14	79	6	Dec 9-13, 2009	49	40	11
Democrat	81	15	4	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	36	13
Independent	40	45	15	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	52	36	12
				Sep 10-15, 2009	55	33	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	47	41	12	Aug 20-27, 2009	52	37	12
Jun 8-28, 2010	48	41	11	Aug 11-17, 2009	51	37	11
Jun 16-20, 2010	48	43	9	Jul 22-26, 2009	54	34	12
May 6-9, 2010	47	42	11	Jun 10-14, 2009	61	30	9
Apr 21-26, 2010	47	42	11	Apr 14-21, 2009	63	26	11
Apr 8-11, 2010	48	43	9	Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	61	26	13
Mar 10-14, 2010	46	43	12	Mar 9-12, 2009	59	26	15
Feb 3-9, 2010	49	39	12	Feb 4-8, 2009	64	17	19

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

Q.2a Do you [approve/disapprove] very strongly, or not so strongly?

BASED ON TOTAL:

G.W. Bush

							_	
Aug 25-Sep 6	5			J	un 16-20	Jan 6-10	Apr 14-21	Oct
2010	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>		<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	2009	2006^{3}
47	14	81	40	Approve	48	49	63	37
28	5	57	19	Very strongly	29	30	45	23
17	9	22	18	Not so strongly	17	15	13	13
2	1	2	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	3	5	1
44	79	15	45	Disapprove	43	42	26	53
32	67	8	31	Very strongly	31	30	18	43
11	11	7	14	Not so strongly	11	11	8	9
1	1	*	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	*	1
9	6	4	15	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	9	10	11	10

_

Other trends available for George W. Bush but not shown here.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1,736]:

Q.3 Do you approve or disapprove of the way your own representative to the U.S. House in Congress is handling his or her job? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job your own representative in Congress is doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]

		(VOL.)
<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	DK/Ref
42	40	17
38	47	15
56	30	14
35	44	21
46	29	25
49	23	28
54	24	22
52	26	22
45	37	18
	42 38 56 35 46 49 54 52	42 40 38 47 56 30 35 44 46 29 49 23 54 24 52 26

NO QUESTIONS 4-5

ASK ALL:

The congressional elections will be coming up later this year ...

THOUGHT How much thought have you given to the coming November election . . . Quite a lot or only a little?

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democratic Independent	Quite <u>a lot</u> 50 64 41 48	(VOL.) <u>Some</u> 5 5 4 5	Only a <u>little</u> 42 29 51 42	(VOL.) None 3 1 3 5	(VOL.) DK/Ref 1 1 1
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	44	5	44	6	1
2008 Election					
November, 2008	81	3	13	2	1
Late October, 2008	81	3 3 3 2	13	2	1
Mid-October, 2008	81	3	13	3	*
Early October, 2008	81		14	2	1
Late September, 2008	80	3	14	2	1
Mid-September, 2008	78	4	14	3	1
August, 2008	74	6	17	2 3	1
July, 2008	74	2	20	3	1
June, 2008	72	2	23	2	1
Late May, 2008	75	4	17	3	1
April, 2008	77	7	13	2	1
March, 2008	78	3	15	3	1
Late February, 2008	74	3	19	2	2
2006 Election	- 4	_	20		
November, 2006	61	5	28	4	1
Late October, 2006	54	6	35	5	1
Early October, 2006	51	4	40	4	2
September, 2006	45	4	48	3	1
2004 Election	0.3	2	12	2	4
November, 2004	82 76	3	12 15	2 3	1
Mid-October, 2004	76 74	5 4	_	ວ າ	1 1
Early October, 2004 September, 2004	74 71	3	19 22	2 3	1
September, 2004	/ T	J	~~	J	т

THOUGHT CONTINUED...

	Quite <u>a lot</u>	(VOL.) Some	Only a <u>little</u>	(VOL.) None	(VOL.) DK/Ref
August, 2004	69	2	26	2	1
July, 2004	67	2	28	2	1
June, 2004	58	3	36	2	1
May, 2004	59	6	30	4	1
Late March, 2004	60	4	31	4	1
Mid-March, 2004	65	2	31	2	*
2002 Election					
Early November, 2002	52	6	35	6	1
Early October, 2002	45	6	45	4	1
Early September, 2002	36	5	54	4	1
2000 Election					
November, 2000	72	6	19	2	1
Late October, 2000	66	6	24	4	*
Mid-October, 2000	67	9	19	4	1
Early October, 2000	60	8	27	4	1
September, 2000	59	8	29	3	1
July, 2000	46	6	45	3	*
June, 2000	46	6	43	5	*
May, 2000	48	4	42	5	1
April, 2000	45	7	41	7	*
1998 Election					
Late October, 1998	49	11	35	4	1
Early October, 1998	42	8	43	6	1
1996 Election					
November, 1996	67	8	22	3	*
October, 1996	65	7	26	1	1
Late September, 1996	61	7	29	2	1
Early September, 1996	56	3	36	4	1
July, 1996	55	3	41	1	*
June, 1996	50	5	41	3	1
1994 Election					
November, 1994	56	7	32	4	1
Late October, 1994	45	7	45	2	1
Early October, 1994	44	2	50	3	1
1992 Election					
Early October, 1992	77	5	16	1	1
September, 1992	69	3	26	1	1
August, 1992	72	4	23	1	*
June, 1992	63	6	29	1	1
30.10, 2332		· ·		_	_
				(VOL.)	
	Quite	(VOL.)	Only a	None/	
	a lot	Some	<u>little</u>	DK/Ref	
1990 Election					
Gallup: October, 1990 (GP) ⁴	43	7	46	4	
1988 Election					
Gallup: November, 1988	73	8	17	2	
Gallup: October, 1988	69	9	20	2	
Gallup: September, 1988	57	18	23	2	
Gallup: August, 1988	61	10	27	2	
1982 Election					
Gallup: October, 1982 (GP)	29	22	37	12	
1978 Election					
Gallup: October, 1978 (GP)	23	22	39	17	
Gallup: September, 1978 (G		18	44	18	
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	•				

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⁴ Gallup trends for 1990, 1982 and 1978 are based on general public.

ASK ALL:

REGIST

These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far? [INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS THAT THEY ARE IN NORTH DAKOTA AND DON'T HAVE TO REGISTER, PUNCH 1 FOR REGIST AND

REGICERT] ASK IF REGISTERED (REGIST=1):

REGICERT Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

	Aug	25-Sep	6
--	-----	--------	---

<u>2010</u>	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
76	85	80	67	Yes, Registered
73	83	78	64	Absolutely certain
2	3	2	3	Chance registration has lapsed
*	*	*	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
24	14	20	31	No, not registered
1	*	*	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

PRECINCT Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,816]:

Aug 25-Sep 6

<u> 2010</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
90	94	90	88	Yes
9	6	10	11	No
*	*	*	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL FORM 1 [N=1,736]:

Q.6F1 Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs [READ]?

Aug 25-Sep 6

<u> 2010</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
51	61	49	46	Most of the time
25	22	29	24	Some of the time
12	9	12	14	Only now and then
10	7	8	14	Hardly at all
1	*	*	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL FORM 2 [N=1,773]:

Q.7F2 Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs [READ]?

	Most of the time		Only now and then	Hardly at all	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	52	25	14	9	*
Republican	66	18	9	5	1
Democrat	50	26	15	8	1
Independent	46	28	15	11	*
January, 2007	53	28	11	7	1
November, 2006 (RVs)	58	26	10	6	*
Late October, 2006 (RVs)	57	30	8	5	*
December, 2005	50	28	14	8	*
December, 2004	45	35	14	5	1

Q.7F2 CONTINUED...

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

NO QUESTIONS 8-9

ASK ALL:

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

					(VOL.)		
		Nearly	Part of		Never	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Always</u>	<u>always</u>	the time	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>vote</u>	<u>Other</u>	DK/Ref.
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	59	26	9	4	1	*	*
Republican	65	26	6	2	*	0	0
Democrat	60	25	10	4	*	*	*
Independent	54	27	11	6	1	*	*
June 16-20, 2010	52	31	11	5	1	1	1
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	62	23	7	5	1	1	1
November, 2008	60	23	8	5	2	2	*
Late October, 2008	57	26	8	5	3	1	*
Mid-October, 2008	57	27	7	5	3	1	*
Early October, 2008	53	27	9	6	3	1	1
Late September, 2008	55	27	9	6	2	1	*

OFTVOTE CONTINUED...

TE CONTINUED							
		Nearly	Part of		(VOL.) Never	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Always	-	the time	Seldom			DK/Ref.
Mid-September, 2008	54	28	10	5	2	1	*
August, 2008	55	29	9	4	2	1	*
July, 2008	53	30	10	4	1	1	1
January, 2007	58	29	9	3	1	*	*
November, 2006	58	26	8	5	2	1	*
Late October, 2006	58	27	9	4	1	1	*
Early October, 2006	47	36	10	3	2	1 *	1 *
September, 2006	56	28	9	6	1	*	
May, 2006	60 60	26 24	8	4 4	1 2		1 1
December, 2005	64	24 22	9 8	4	1	1 *	1
December, 2004 November, 2004	62	21	7	6	3	1	*
Mid-October, 2004	63	22	7	5	2	1	*
Early October, 2004	58	25	9	4	2	1	1
September, 2004	58	27	9	5	2	1	1
August, 2004	56	28	9	5	2	*	1
July, 2004	54	31	9	4	1	*	*
June, 2004	57	29	7	5	1	1	1
May, 2004	56	27	10	4	2	1	1
April, 2004	55	29	9	5	1	1	1
Late March, 2004	50	31	11	6	1	*	1
Mid-March, 2004	55	30	9	5	1	*	*
February, 2004	55	29	12	3	*	*	*
January, 2004	54	30	10	4	2	1	*
August, 2003	53	30	10	5	1	*	*
June, 2003	48	36	11	3	2	1	0
Early November, 2002	52	30	11	6	1	0	1
Early October, 2002	50 50	33	11	4		1 *	1 *
Early September, 2002	59 53	25 32	11 10	4 4	1 1	*	*
August, 2002 May, 2002	53	31	9	5	1	*	1
Early November, 2000	57	26	8	6	2	1	*
Late October, 2000	52	30	9	6	1	2	0
Mid-October, 2000	54	27	10	6	*	3	*
Early October, 2000	51	29	10	6	3	1	*
September, 2000	61	21	9	7	2	*	*
July, 2000	48	30	13	6	2	1	*
June, 2000	58	26	10	4	1	1	*
May, 2000	52	29	12	6	1	1	*
April, 2000	50	30	12	6	2	1	*
March, 2000	49	34	12	4	1	1	0
February, 2000	53	32	10	4	1	0	*
January, 2000	50	34	12	4	1	*	*
October, 1999	39	47	9	2	1	*	*
Late September, 1999	40	47	9	3	1 1	*	*
Late October, 1998	56 50	28 32	10 11	5 5	1	1	*
Early October, 1998 Early September, 1998	53	33	9	4	-	1	*
Late August, 1998	48	35	13	4	*	0	*
June, 1998	49	33	12	5	_	1	0
May, 1998	52	29	12	6	1	1	*
November, 1997	42	44	10	3	1	*	*
October, 1997	62	26	8	3	1	*	*
June, 1997	54	30	10	4	*	*	*
November, 1996	55	28	8	6	2	1	*
October, 1996	52	30	9	5	2	2	*
Late September, 1996	52	31	10	4	2	1	*
Early September, 1996	53	29	12	4	1	*	*

OFTVOTE CONTINUED...

					(VOL.)		
		Nearly	Part of		Never	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Always</u>	<u>Always</u>	The time	<u>Seldom</u>	<u>Vote</u>	<u>Other</u>	DK/Ref.
July, 1996	52	33	8	5	1	1	*
June, 1996	52	33	9	4	1	1	*
Late April, 1996	44	37	11	5	1	1	1
Early April, 1996	49	35	10	5	1	*	*
February, 1996	42	41	11	4	1	1	*
October, 1995	53	35	7	4	1	*	*
April, 1995	53	34	9	4	*	*	*
November, 1994	58	28	8	5	*	1	0
Late October, 1994	55	32	10	3	*	*	*
July, 1994	52	34	10	4	*	*	*
May, 1993	57	31	7	4	1	1	*
Early October, 1992	54	33	8	4	*	1	*
September, 1992	52	33	8	5	1	1	*
June, 1992	60	29	7	3	1	*	*
May, 1992	50	35	10	4	1	*	*
Early May, 1992	49	35	10	4	1	*	*
March, 1992	47	36	11	6	*	*	*
February, 1992	50	36	9	4	*		2
January 1992 (GP) ⁵	40	35	11	11	4		*
November, 1991	46	41	9	4	*	*	*
May, 1990	42	42	11	4	1	*	*
January, 1989 (GP)	45	30	10	8	6	1	*
Gallup: November, 1988	57	26	10	4	2	1	*
October, 1988	51	37	8	3	1	*	*
May, 1988	43	41	11	3	2	1	*
January, 1988	49	39	9	2	1	*	*
September, 1988	51	40	6	2	*	1	*
May, 1987	43	43	9	3	1	1	*
may, 1907	70	40	J	J	1	1	

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.10 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? **ASK IF ANSWERED OTHER OR DON'T KNOW (Q.10=3,9):**

Q.10a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.10; IF NECESSARY: "for U.S. Congress in your district"]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,816]:

	Rep/	Dem/	(VOL.) Other/
	Lean Rep	Lean Dem	<u>Undecided</u>
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	44	47	9
Republican	94	3	3
Democrat	6	91	3
Independent	42	39	19
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	44	45	11
Jun 16-20, 2010	45	45	10
Mar 11-21, 2010	44	44	12
Feb 3-9, 2010	42	45	13
Jan 6-10, 2010	44	46	10
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	42	47	11
Aug 20-27, 2009	44	45	10
2008 Election			
June, 2008	37	52	11

⁵ Trends for January 1992 and January 1989 are based on general public.

Q.10/Q.10a CONTINUED...

	Rep/ Lean Rep	Dem/ <u>Lean Dem</u>	(VOL.) Other/ <u>Undecided</u>
2006 Election			
November, 2006	40	48	12
Late October, 2006	38	49	13
Early October, 2006	38	51	11
September, 2006	39	50	11
August, 2006	41	50	9
June, 2006	39	51	10
April, 2006	41	51	8
February, 2006	41	50	9
Mid-September, 2005	40	52	8
2004 Election	. •		· ·
June, 2004	41	48	11
2002 Election			
Early November, 2002	42	46	12
Early October, 2002	44	46	10
Early September, 2002	44	46	10
June, 2002	44	46	10
February, 2002	46	45	9
Early November, 2001	44	44	12
2000 Election	• •		
Early November, 2000	42	48	10
Early October, 2000	43	47	10
July, 2000	43	47	10
February, 2000	44	47	9
October, 1999	43	49	8
June, 1999	40	50	10
1998 Election			
Late October, 1998	40	47	13
Early October, 1998	43	44	13
Early September, 1998	45	46	9
Late August, 1998	44	45	11
Early August, 1998	42	49	9
June, 1998	44	46	10
March, 1998	40	52	8
February, 1998	41	50	9
January, 1998	41	51	8
August, 1997	45	48	7
1996 Election			
November, 1996 (LVs) ⁶	44	48	8
October, 1996	42	49	9
Late September, 1996	43	49	8
Early September, 1996	43	51	6
July, 1996	46	47	7
June, 1996	44	50	6
March, 1996	44	49	7
January, 1996	46	47	7
October, 1995	48	48	4
August, 1995	50	43	7
1994 Election			
November, 1994	45	43	12
Late October, 1994	47	44	9
Early October, 1994	52	40	8
September, 1994	48	46	6
July, 1994	45	47	8

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⁶ November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

PLANTO1 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,816]:

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	Yes, plan to vote 94 97 95 90	No, don't plan to 4 2 2 6	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 3 1 4 3
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 ⁷ Jun 16-20, 2010 Mar 11-21, 2010 2008 Election	91 90 91	7 8 6	2 2 3
Mid-October, 2008 Early October, 2008 Late September, 2008 Mid-September, 2008 August, 2008 July, 2008	97 97 97 97 97	2 2 2 2 2 2 2	1 1 1 1 1
June, 2008 2006 Election November, 2006 Late October, 2006	95 90 94	8 3	3 2 3 3
Early October, 2006 Early September, 2006 2004 Election	93 92	4 5	3
November, 2004 Mid-October, 2004 Early October, 2004 September, 2004 August, 2004 June, 2004	97 98 98 98 98 98	2 1 1 2 2	1 1 1 * 2
2002 Election Early November, 2002 Early October, 2002 2000 Election	90 95	8	2 2
Early November, 2000 Late October, 2000 Mid-October, 2000 Early October, 2000 September, 2000 June, 2000 1998 Election	96 97 96 97 95 95	3 2 2 2 2 3 2	1 1 2 1 2 3
Late October, 1998 Early October, 1998 Early September, 1998 Late August, 1998 June, 1998 1996 Election	91 92 95 93 95	6 4 2 3 3	3 4 3 4 2
November, 1996 October, 1996 Late September, 1996 Early September, 1996	96 98 98 96	2 1 1 2	2 1 1 2

Surveys from March to August 2010 asked specifically about voting in the "Congressional" election this November and began

with "Thinking ahead to November...".

In Mid-October 2008 and from Mid-October 2004 to November 2006 and in Early November 2002, the "Yes, Plan to vote" category also includes people who volunteered that they already voted. In November 2006, Early November 2002, Early November, 2000, Late October 1998, November 1996 and November 1994 the question was worded: "Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?"

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PLANTO1 CONTINUED...

OI CONTINUED			
	Yes, plan to vote	No, don't plan to	(VOL.) DK/Ref
July, 1996	95	3	2
June, 1996	96	2	2
1994 Election	50	2	_
November, 1994	93	5	2
October, 1994	95	3	2
1992 Election			
October, 1992	98	1	1
September, 1992	98	1	1
August, 1992	97	1	2
June, 1992	97	1	2
1988 Election			
Gallup: November, 198	8 97	2	1
October, 1988	98	1	1

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

SCALE10

I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1. If TEN represents a person who definitely will vote and ONE represents a person who definitely will NOT vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,816]:

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	Definitel will vote 10 71 83 69 65		8 7 4 7 8	7 3 2 3 4	6 2 1 3 2	<u>5</u> 4 2 4 5	4 1 * 1 1	3 1 1 * 1		efinitely not vote 1/2 1 1 4	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 1 1 1 *
2008 Election November, 2008 Late October, 2008 Mid-October, 2008 Mid-September, 2008 August, 2008 July, 2008 2006 Election	86 86 86 84 80 80	5 5 5 6 7	3 2 3 3 5 4	1 1 1 2 2	* * 1 1 1	2 2 1 2 2 3	* * * 0 *	* * * * 1	* * * 1 *	2 3 2 1 2 2	1 1 1 1 0
November, 2006 ⁹ Late October, 2006 Early October, 2006 September, 2006 2004 Election	72 71 68 67	7 8 10 9	5 9 9	3 4 4 2	2 2 1 2	4 3 4 5	* * * 1	1 1 1 1	1 * 1	4 1 2 2	1 1 1 1
November, 2004 Mid-October, 2004 2002 Election	87 87	4 4	3 3	1 1	1 1	1 1	*	*	*	2	1 1
Early November, 2002 Early October, 2002 2000 Election	66 64	9 10	9 10	3 4	1 3	4 4	1 1	1 *	1 *	5 2	1 2
Early November, 2000 Late October, 2000 Mid-October, 2000 Early October, 2000 1998 Election	80 83 80 78	6 5 7 7	5 5 4 5	2 1 3 2	1 1 1 2	3 2 3 2	* * 1 *	* 1 * 1	* 1 * 1	3 1 1 1	1 * 1 1
Late October, 1998 Early October, 1998	70 64	6 9	7 10	4 4	1 2	4 4	1 1	1 2	1 1	4 2	1 1

In Late October, Mid-October and November 2008, November 2006, November 2004 and Early November 2002, the "10 – definitely will vote" category also includes people who volunteered that they already voted.

SCALE10 CONTINUED...

Definite	ly							D	efinitely	′
will vote	е							wil	I not vo	te (VOL.)
<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	DK/Ref
77	7	7	2	1	2	*	1	*	2	1
77	9	7	2	2	2	*	*	*	1	*
78	10	6	2	1	1	*	*	*	1	1
67	9	8	2	2	4	1	1	1	3	2
66	10	9	4	2	4	1	1	*	2	1
2 77	5	4	3	2	4	*	1	*	4	*
77	7	6	2	1	3	*	*	*	2	2
73	8	7	3	2	3	1	*	*	1	2
	will vote 10 77 77 78 67 66 2 77	77 7 77 9 78 10 67 9 66 10 2 77 5	will vote 10 9 8 77 7 7 77 9 7 78 10 6 67 9 8 66 10 9 2 77 5 4 77 7 6	Will vote 10 9 8 7 7 7 7 7 7 2 77 9 7 2 78 10 6 2 2 66 10 9 4 2 77 5 4 3 77 7 6 2	Will vote 10 9 8 7 6 6	will vote 10 9 8 7 6 5 77 7 7 2 1 2 77 9 7 2 2 2 78 10 6 2 1 1 67 9 8 2 2 4 66 10 9 4 2 4 2 77 5 4 3 2 4 77 7 6 2 1 3	will vote 10 9 8 Z 6 5 4 77 7 7 2 1 2 * 77 9 7 2 2 2 * 78 10 6 2 1 1 * 67 9 8 2 2 4 1 66 10 9 4 2 4 1 2 77 5 4 3 2 4 * 77 7 6 2 1 3 *	will vote 10 9 8 Z 6 5 4 3 77 7 7 2 1 2 * 1 77 9 7 2 2 2 * * 78 10 6 2 1 1 * * 67 9 8 2 2 4 1 1 66 10 9 4 2 4 1 1 2 77 5 4 3 2 4 * 1 77 7 6 2 1 3 * *	will vote will 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 77 7 7 2 1 2 * 1 *	will vote 10 9 8 Z 6 5 4 3 2 1 77 7 7 2 1 2 * 1 * 2 77 9 7 2 2 2 * * * 1 78 10 6 2 1 1 * * 1 67 9 8 2 2 4 1 1 1 3 66 10 9 4 2 4 1 1 * 2 2 77 5 4 3 2 4 * 1 * 4 77 7 6 2 1 3 * * * 2

NO QUESTIONS 11-12

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.13 Would you like to see your representative in Congress be re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

(VC)L.)	

			Representative	(VOL.)
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	not running	DK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	49	33	1	17
Republican	44	39	2	15
Democrat	64	20	1	15
Independent	40	39	1	19
Jun 16-20, 2010	49	34	1	16
Mar 11-21, 2010	43	32	1	24
Feb 3-9, 2010	49	31	*	19
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	52	29	1	18
2008 Election				
Late February, 2008	60	22	1	17
2006 Election				
November, 2006	55	25	1	19
Late October, 2006	55	26	1	18
Early October, 2006	50	27	1	22
September, 2006	53	27	1	19
August, 2006	51	30	*	19
June, 2006	51	32	1	16
April, 2006	57	28	1	14
February, 2006	59	28	1	12
Mid-September, 2005	57	25	1	17
2002 Election				
Early October, 2002	58	19	2	21
June, 2002	58	23	1	18
2000 Election				
Early November, 2000	59	16	2	23
October, 2000	60	17	1	22
July, 1999	66	23	*	11
1998 Election				
Late October, 1998	64	19	1	16
Early October, 1998	58	20	2	20
Early September, 1998	63	20	1	16

Q.13 CONTINUED...

			(VOL.)	
			Representative	(VOL.)
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	not running	DK/Ref
March, 1998	63	21	1	15
January, 1998	66	23	0	11
August, 1997	66	22	0	12
1996 Election				
Early November, 1996	60	16	3	21
October, 1996	62	19	2	17
Late September, 1996	55	17	2	26
Early September, 1996	62	19	2	17
1994 Election				
November, 1994	58	25	1	16
Late October, 1994	55	30	2	13
Early October, 1994	49	29	2	20
1990 Election				
Gallup: October, 1990	62	22	2	14

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.14 Regardless of how you feel about your own representative, would you like to see most members of Congress re-elected in the next congressional election, or not?

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	<u>Yes</u> 33 16 54 27	No 56 77 35 60	(VOL.) DK/Ref 11 8 11 13
Jun 16-20, 2010 Mar 11-21, 2010 Feb 3-9, 2010 Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 2008 Election	31 27 32 34	56 57 53 53	13 15 15 13
Late February, 2008 2006 Election	36	49	15
November, 2006 Late October, 2006 Early October, 2006 September, 2006 August, 2006 June, 2006 April, 2006 February, 2006 September, 2005 2002 Election Early October, 2002	37 34 32 35 36 29 34 36 36	46 49 48 49 49 57 53 49 48	17 17 20 16 15 14 13 15 16
June, 2002 2000 Election October, 2000 July, 1999	45 40 41	37 34 47	18 26 12
1998 Election Late October, 1998 Early October, 1998 Early September, 1998 March, 1998 January, 1998 August, 1997	41 39 46 45 44 45	37 39 37 41 43 42	22 22 17 14 13 13

Q.14 CONTINUED...

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
1996 Election			
Early September, 1996	43	43	14
1994 Election			
November, 1994	31	51	18
Late October, 1994	31	56	13
Early October, 1994	28	56	16

NO QUESTION 15

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
Q.16 Will the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, be a factor in your vote for Congress this year, or not?

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	Yes, will be <u>a factor</u> 56 67 59 44	No, will not 41 30 39 51	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 3 3 2 5
Jun 16-20, 2010 Feb 3-9, 2010 2008 Election	58 48	39 45	3 6
June, 2008 2006 Election	44	51	5
November, 2006	61	36	3
Late October, 2006	61	36	3 3
Early October, 2006	57	40	3
September, 2006	55	41	4
June, 2006	58	39	3
April, 2006	56	39	5
2004 Election	43	- 4	-
June, 2004	43	51	6
2002 Election	48	49	2
Early November, 2002 Early October, 2002	48 42	49 55	3 3
Early September, 2002		51	5
June, 2002	47	50	5 3
February, 2002	46	49	5
2000 Election	10	15	3
Early October, 2000	46	50	4
July, 2000	46	49	5
1998 Election			
Late October, 1998	46	50	4
Early October, 1998	47	49	4
Early September, 1998		56	3
Early August, 1998	44	53	3
June, 1998	45	51	4

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.17 Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote FOR Barack Obama, as a vote AGAINST Barack Obama, or isn't Barack Obama much of a factor in your vote?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,816]:

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	For 25 4 50 16	Against 30 62 7 29	Not a <u>factor</u> 42 31 41 50	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 3 2 3 5
Jun 16-20, 2010	23	28	47	2
Feb 3-9, 2010	24	20	51	5
2006 Election (Bush)	21	25	41	2
November, 2006	21 20	35	41	3 5
Late October, 2006	20 18	37 39	38 40	3
Early October, 2006 September, 2006	20	36	40	4
August, 2006	20 17	35	43	5
June, 2006	15	38	44	3
April, 2006	17	34	46	3
February, 2006	18	31	47	4
2002 Election (Bush)	0	0-	• •	•
Early November, 2002	29	16	49	6
Early October, 2002	30	20	44	6
Early September, 2002	29	15	51	5
February, 2002	34	9	50	7
1998 Election (Clinton)				
Late October, 1998	20	17	58	5
Early October, 1998	19	23	52	6
Early September, 1998	18	16	63	3
Late August, 1998	20	17	61	2
Early August, 1998	21	18	57	4
June, 1998	20	18	57	5
March, 1998	21	15	59	5
1996 Election (Clinton)	2.4	10		7
Early September, 1996	24	18	51	7
1994 Election (Clinton) November, 1994	17	21	55	7
Late October, 1994	17 17	21	55 57	5
Early October, 1994	17 17	23	57 54	6
1990 Election (GHW Bush)	17	23	J -1	U
CBS/NYT: October 28-31, 1990	19	15	61	6
1986 Election (Reagan)	10	13	01	Ū
<i>CBS/NYT:</i> October 24-28, 1986	26	12	55	7
CBS/NYT: Sep 28-Oct 1, 1986	26	16	51	, 7
1982 Election (Reagan)			- -	•
CBS/NYT: October 23-28, 1982	23	21	51	5

NO QUESTIONS 18-25

ASK ALL:

On a different subject ...

Q.26 Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [ITEM] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

		 <u>Total</u>	- Favor <u>Very</u>	able <u>Mostly</u>	 <u>Total</u>	Unfavor <u>Very</u>	able <u>Mostly</u>	(VOL.) Never (heard of	(VOL.) Can't rate/ <u>Ref</u>
a.	The Republican Party		_						_
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	8	35	49	21	28	*	8
	Republican	87	21	66	11	3	9	0	2
	Democrat	16	2	13	80	39	41	0	5
	Independent	40	5	34	47	18	29	1	13
	July 1-5, 2010	39	10	29	49	24	25	*	12
	April 1-5, 2010	37	8	29	53	26	27	*	9
	Mar 18-21, 2010	37	5	32	51	20	31	*	12
	Feb 3-9, 2010	46	5	41	46	14	32	0	8
	Aug 20-27, 2009	40	6	34	50	19	31	*	10
	Aug 11-17, 2009	40	7	<i>33</i>	50	18	32		10
	Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	40	7	<i>33</i>	51	17	34 34	0 *	9 5
	Jan 7-11, 2009	40	5	<i>35</i>	55 50	21	<i>34</i>	*	
	Late October, 2008	40 47	10 11	30 36	50 46	23 22	27 24	*	10 7
	Mid-September, 2008	47	9	36 34	46 49	22 18	24 31	1	7
	August, 2008 Late May, 2008	43 39	9 7	34 32	53	20	31 33	*	8
	July, 2007	39	7	32 32	53	22 22	33 31	0	8
	Early January, 2007	41	9	32 32	48	22 21	27	1	10
	Late October, 2006	41	9	32 32	50	20	30	*	9
	July, 2006	40	10	30	52	23	29	1	7
	April, 2006	40	10	30	50	21	29	*	10
	February, 2006	44	11	33	50	24	26	*	6
	Late October, 2005	42	12	30	49	24	25	*	9
	July, 2005	48	13	35	43	18	25	*	9
	June, 2005	48	11	<i>37</i>	44	20	24	0	8
	December, 2004	52	15	<i>37</i>	42	17	25	0	6
	June, 2004	51	12	39	40	14	26	0	9
	Early February, 2004	52	14	38	42	16	26	*	6
	June, 2003	58	14	44	33	10	23	0	9
	April, 2003	63	14	49	31	10	21	*	6
	December, 2002	59	18	41	33	11	22	*	8
	July, 2001	48	11	<i>37</i>	42	15	27	*	10
	January, 2001	56	13	43	35	13	22	*	9
	September, 2000 (RVs)	53	11	42	40	12	28	0 *	7
	August, 1999	53	8	45 27	43	12	<i>31</i>		4
	February, 1999	44	7	<i>37</i>	51	15	<i>36</i>	0	5
	January, 1999	44 46	10 11	34 35	50 47	23 20	27 27	0 *	6 7
	Early December, 1998 Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	9	33 43	47	20 14	27 28	0	
	Early September, 1998	56	9	43 47	37	14 11	26 26	*	6 7
	March, 1998	50	10	40	43	12	31	*	7
	August, 1997	47	9	38	43 47	11	36	*	6
	June, 1997	51	8	43	42	11	30 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	<i>37</i>	48	17	31	*	6
	•								

Q.26 CONTINUED							(VOL.)	(VOL.)
			able			able		an't rate/
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>heard of</u>	<u>Ref</u>
b. The Democratic Part	У							
Aug 25-Sep 6, 20		13	36	44	20	24	*	7
Republican	11 87	2	9 50	88	46	42	0	2 3
Democrat Independent	87 44	29 8	58 36	10 44	4 18	<i>7</i> 26	0 *	3 12
muependent	77	0	30	44	10	20		12
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	<i>32</i>	49	25	24	*	11
Feb 3-9, 2010	48 48	9 11	39 37	44 43	17 19	27 24	*	8 10
Aug 20-27, 2009 Aug 11-17, 2009	49	11 12	37 37	40	16	25 25	*	10
Mar 31-Apr 6, 200		15	44	34	13	21	*	7
Jan 7-11, 2009	62	19	43	32	12	20	*	6
Late October, 200	8 57	19	38	33	15	18	*	10
Mid-September, 2		18	<i>37</i>	39	14	25	*	6
August, 2008	57	16	41	37	13	24	*	6
Late May, 2008	57 51	14 13	43 38	37 41	14 14	23 27	* 0	6 8
July, 2007 Early January, 200		15 15	36 39	35	14 12	23	*	0 11
Late October, 200		13	40	36	11	25 25	*	11
July, 2006	47	13	34	44	13	31	2	7
April, 2006	47	12	35	42	14	28	*	11
February, 2006	48	14	34	44	17	27	0	8
Late October, 200		14	<i>35</i>	41	15	26	*	10
July, 2005	50	15 12	<i>35</i>	41	14	<i>27</i>	*	9
June, 2005 December, 2004	52 53	12 13	40 40	39 41	13 14	26 27	*	9 6
June, 2004	54	13 12	40 42	36	11	25	0	10
Early February, 20	_	14	44	37	9	28	*	5
June, 2003	54	11	43	38	10	28	0	8
April, 2003	57	13	44	36	11	25	*	7
December, 2002	54	15	39	37	10	27	*	9
July, 2001	58	18	40	34	10	24		8
January, 2001 September, 2000	60 (RVs) 60	18 16	42 44	30 35	9 12	21 23	1 *	9 5
August, 1999	59	14	45	37	9	28	*	4
February, 1999	58	11	47	37	11	26	0	5
January, 1999	55	14	41	38	12	26	0	7
Early December, 1		18	41	34	10	24	0	7
Early October, 199		11	<i>45</i>	38	9	<i>29</i>	*	6
Early September, March, 1998	1998 60 58	13 15	47 43	33 36	8 10	25 26	*	7 6
August, 1997	52	13 11	43 41	42	10	32	0	6
June, 1997	61	10	51	33	8	25	*	6
January, 1997	60	13	47	35	7	28	*	5
October, 1995	49	9	40	48	11	<i>37</i>	0	3
December, 1994	50	13	37	44	13	31	*	6
July, 1994	62	13	49	34	7	<i>27</i>	*	4
May, 1993 July, 1992	57 61	14 17	43 11	34	9 9	25 24	0 *	9 6
July, 1992	01	17	44	33	9	24	•	Ü

ASK ALL:

And how about [INSERT FIRST NAME]? [IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [NAME] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."] Q.27

		 <u>Total</u>	-Favora <u>Verv</u>	ble <u>Mostly</u>	U <u>Total</u>	nfavora <u>Very</u>	ble <u>Mostly</u>	(VOL.) Never heard of	(VOL.) Can't rate/Ref
a.	Barack Obama	<u>10tai</u>	<u>v Cr y</u>	rioscry	Total	<u>v Cr y</u>	<u>r roscry</u>	neara or	rate/reci
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	53	21	32	43	23	20	*	5
	Republican	15	4	11	81	50	32	*	3
	Democrat	85	41	44	13	5	8	0	2
	Independent	50	15	35	43	21	22	Ō	7
	•								
	Jun 10-13, 2010	56	27	30	39	20	19	0	4
	Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	65	33	32	30	16	14	*	5
	Jun 10-14, 2009	72	<i>37</i>	35	25	11	14	*	3
	Apr 14-21, 2009	73	38	35	24	10	14	*	3
	Jan 7-11, 2009	79	40	39	15	4	11	0	6
	Mid-October, 2008	66	33	33	28	13	15	*	6
	Late September, 2008	65	33	32	30	11	19	*	5
	Mid-September, 2008	62	28	34	34	15	19	*	4
	Late May, 2008	51	23	28	40	21	19	*	9
	April, 2008	52	21	31	42	21	21	*	6
	March, 2008	56	21	<i>35</i>	34	18	16	1	9
	Late February, 2008	57	24	33	34	16	18	1	8
	Early February, 2008	58	19	<i>39</i>	30	13	17 20	2	10
	January, 2008	56	20	<i>36</i>	33	13	20	3	8
	Late December, 2007	54	16	<i>38</i>	30	12	18	5	11
	August, 2007	48	14	34	26	10	16	13	13
NO	ITEMS b or c								
d.	George W. Bush								
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	37	10	27	57	34	24	*	6
	Republican	74	23	51	21	6	16	*	5
	Democrat	13	4	10	83	56	27	*	3
	Independent	33	7	25	58	32	26	*	9
	Mid-April, 2009	35	9	26	60	33	27	*	5
	January, 2009	37	9	28	60	35	25	0	3
	April, 2008	31	9	22	65	42	23	*	4
	March, 2008	34	8	26	61	37	24	0	5
	Late February, 2008	35	10	25	60	39	21	0	5
	Early February, 2008	34	9	25	61	39	22	*	5
	January, 2008	36	11	25	60	<i>37</i>	23	0	4
	Late December, 2007	33	10	23	63	41	22	0	4
	August, 2007	40	12	28	57	34	23	*	3
	December, 2006	39	12	<i>27</i>	57	34	23	*	4
	April, 2006	40	15	25	57	35	22	*	3
	Late October, 2005	46	17	29	51	29	22	*	3
	July, 2005	51	22	29	46	25	21	0	3
	Late March, 2005	53	23	30	45	27	18	0	2
	Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	56	26	30	42	23	19	*	2
	Early October, 2004 (RVs)	57	27	30	40	20	20	0	3 5
	September, 2004	52	25	27	43	24	19	*	5
	August, 2004	58	27	31	39	22	17	0	3
	June, 2004	52	19	33	45	22	23	*	3
	Early February, 2004	53	21	32	44	25	19	0	3
	Gallup: Jan 29-Feb 1, 2004	52			47				1
	Gallup: Jan 2-5, 2004	65			35				*

Q.27 CONTINUED...

							(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	Favorable			Unfavorable			Never	Can't
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	rate/Ref
Gallup: Oct 6-8, 2003	60			39				1
Gallup: Jun 9-10, 2003	66			33				1
April, 2003	72	<i>37</i>	35	25	11	14	0	3
January, 2003	70	28	42	28	10	18	0	2
December, 2002	68	35	33	27	11	16	0	5
July, 2001	61	22	39	35	14	21	*	4
January, 2001	60	24	36	33	12	21	0	7
May, 2000	58	18	40	31	12	19	1	10
March, 1999 ¹⁰	61	21	40	21	7	14	4	14
November, 1997	54	13	41	18	6	12	9	19

ASK ALL:

Q.28 Some people say they are basically content with the federal government, others say they are frustrated, and others say they are angry. Which of these best describes how you feel?

	Basically	Consequents of	A	(VOL.)
	<u>content</u>	<u>Frustrated</u>	<u>Angry</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	21	52	23	4
Republican	8	57	33	2
Democrat	34	52	11	3
Independent	18	50	26	6
Apr 1-5, 2010	23	52	21	4
Mar 11-21, 2010	19	56	21	5
Early Jan, 2007	21	58	16	5
Early Oct, 2006	21	54	20	5
March, 2004	32	52	13	3
Mid Nov, 2001	53	34	8	5
Jun, 2000	28	53	13	6
Feb, 2000	33	54	10	3
Oct, 1997	29	56	12	3

ASK ALL:

Q.29 How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? Just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time? 11

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	Just about always 3 1 5 2	Most of <u>the time</u> 21 12 35 16	Only sometimes 65 74 56 66	(VOL.) <u>Never</u> 10 12 4 13	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 1 * 1 2
Apr 1-5, 2010 Mar 11-21, 2010 January, 2007 February, 2006 Mid-September, 2005 Mid-March, 2004 February, 2000 May, 1999 February, 1999 November, 1998 ¹²	5 3 4 3 4 5 3 4	20 19 28 30 28 32 35 28 27 22	61 65 63 59 63 59 56 62 64	13 11 5 6 4 4 3 5 4	1 2 1 1 2 1 1 2 1 2

In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

Additional trend data from other organizations available at http://people-press.org/trust/ under "Download Trust Data."

Q.29 CONTINUED...

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

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.30 I'm going to read you 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 BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,816]:

a. Aug 25-Sep 6 2010 61 35 2 2		<u>Dem</u> 41 55 2 2	<u>Ind</u> 66 29 3 2	Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient Government often does a better job than people give it credit for Neither/Both equally (VOL.) Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
b. Aug 25-Sep 6 2010 54 42	Rep 57 39	<u>Dem</u> 54 43	<u>Ind</u> 52 43	As Americans, we can always find ways to solve our problems and get what we want This country can't solve many of its important problems
3 2	2	2	4	Neither/Both equally (VOL.) Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
c. Aug 25-Sep 6 2010 29 68 2 2		<u>Dem</u> 42 54 2 2	<u>Ind</u> 21 76 2 1	Most elected officials care what people like me think Most elected officials don't care what people like me think Neither/Both equally (VOL.) Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
d. Aug 25-Sep 6 <u>2010</u>		<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
64	73	57	63	Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard
33 2 1	24 1 1	39 2 1	34 2 1	Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people Neither/Both equally (VOL.) Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
e. Aug 25-Sep 6 <u>2010</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work
44	28	57	44	and talents Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our
42 8 6	55 10 7	34 5 4	41 9 6	jobs, housing and health care Neither/Both equally (VOL.) Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

The November, 1998 survey was conducted October 26-December 1, 1998. The question asked, "How much of the time do you trust the government in Washington to do the right thing? Just about always, most the time, or only some of the time?"

Q.30 CONTINUED...

f.				
Aug 25-Sep 6				
2010	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
48	64	33	50	Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal
45	28	63	41	rights with whites
4	4	2	4	Neither/Both equally (VOL.)
4	4	2 3	4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
				• • •
g.				
Aug 25-Sep 6				
2010	Rep	Dem	<u>Ind</u>	
54	35	69	54	Business corporations make too much profit
39	57	26	38	Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit
2	3	1	3	Neither/Both equally (VOL.)
4	4	3	5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
•	•	•	J	Bon Cition, Nordoca (1011)
h.				
Aug 25-Sep 6				
<u>2010</u>	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
				I like elected officials who make compromises with people they
40	28	46	42	disagree with
55	67	50	51	I like elected officials who stick to their positions
3 2	3	2	3	Neither/Both equally (VOL.)
2	2	2 2	4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.31 If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	Smaller government, <u>fewer services</u> 50 76 30 51	Bigger government, more services 42 20 62 39	(VOL.) <u>Depends</u> 3 1 3 4	(VOL.) DK/Ref 5 3 5 6
Apr 1-5, 2010	50	39	4	8
Feb 3-9, 2010	50	40	3	7
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	51	40	4	6
Mar 9-12, 2009	48	40	3	9
Late October 2008	42	43	4	11
November 2007	47	42	4	7
January 2007	45	43	4	8
CBS/NYT: November 2003	45	42	4	9
CBS/NYT: July 2003	48	40	5	7
CBS/NYT: January 2002	46	40	3	11
CBS/NYT: January 2001	51	36	5	8
CBS/NYT: September 1999	9 46	43	5	6
CBS/NYT: February 1996	61	30	4	5

ASK ALL:

Q.32 Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?

	Can be trusted	Can't be too careful	(VOL.) Other/Depends	(VOL.) DK/Ref
A 35.0 6.3040				DK/Kei
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	35	61	3	2
Republican	40	56	2	2
Democrat	35	61	3	1
Independent	31	63	3	3
Mar 11-21, 2010 ¹³	36	60	2	1
Jan 14-17, 2010 ¹⁴	31	64	4	1
Oct, 2006	41	54	3	2
Jun, 2003	35	58	4	3
Mid-Nov, 2001	42	55	2	1
Nov, 1998	36	57	6	1
Jun, 1997	42	54	3	1
Feb, 1997	45	52	2	1

ASK ALL:

Thinking about the political parties for a moment...

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.33 AND Q.34 ASK ALL:

Q.33 Please tell me if you think each phrase I read better describes the REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or the DEMOCRATIC Party and its leaders (First,) which party do you think is better described by the phrase... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] How about [NEXT ITEM]?

		Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both equally	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.	Can better manage the federal government				·	
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	41	41	3	8	7
	Republican	85	6	2	5	2
	Democrat	13	77	3	4	4
	Independent	37	33	4	13	13
	Jun 16-20, 2010	41	37	3	12	7
	Feb 3-9, 2010	40	40	4	9	8
	Aug 27-30, 2009	34	38	4	14	10
	October, 2007	32	44	5	9	10
	March, 2007	31	47	3 3	8	11
	Early October, 2006	34	44	3	9	10
	April, 2006 ¹⁵	35	39	3	15	8
	January, 2006	34	40	4	12	10
	Early October, 2005	35	41	3	13	8
	July, 2004	37	40	4	9	10
	Early September, 1998	37	32	8	12	11
	August, 1997	39	33	4	16	8
	July, 1996	45	32	4	12	7
	April, 1995	49	30	3	13	5
	July, 1994	43	31	4	17	5
	May, 1993	36	32	2	17	13
	July, 1992	30	36	1	23	10
	May, 1990	28	20	12	31	9
	May, 1988	33	30	10	17	10

In March 2010, question began, "Thinking about people more generally..."

Data from Pew Research Center Social & Demographic Trends Millennials Survey.

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

Q.33	CONTINUED	
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Q.33 C	ONTINUED			()(01.)		
	January, 1988 May, 1987	Republican <u>Party</u> 30 24	Democratic <u>Party</u> 28 25	Both equally 12 13	(VOL.) Neither 20 28	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 10 10
b.	Can bring about the kind of changes	the				
	country needs	35	46	4	0	6
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican	33 81	8	4 1	8 6	6 3
	Democrat	7	85	3	2	3
	Independent	31	38	5	14	11
	Jun 16-20, 2010	33	45	3	12	7
	Feb 3-9, 2010	34 25	46 47	4	9	7
	Aug 27-30, 2009 October, 2007	25 26	47 48	5 5	13 11	9 10
	March, 2007	26	52	4	9	9
	Early October, 2006	28	48	4	10	10
	April, 2006	32	47	2	12	7
	Early October, 2005	32 35	48 46	4 3	9 7	7 9
	July, 2004 Early September, 1998	33 34	40	3 7	8	9 11
	March, 1998	32	45	7	8	8
	August, 1997	38	40	4	11	7
	July, 1996	39	46	2	7	6
	April, 1995 July, 1994	51 39	34 42	4 4	7 10	4 5
	May, 1993	30	49	2	10	9
	July, 1992	24	47	2	16	11
	May, 1990	27	31	13	18	11
	May, 1988	27	43	9	11 11	10
	January, 1988 May, 1987	28 26	37 36	14 14	14	10 10
NO ITE	M c					
d.	Is more concerned with the needs of					
	people like me			_	_	_
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	33 78	53 12	2 2	7 5	5
	Republican Democrat	76 5	89	1	3	3 2
	Independent	28	49	3	11	9
	Jun 16-20, 2010	34	50	2	9	5
	Feb 3-9, 2010	31	51	3	8	7
	Aug 27-30, 2009 October, 2007	27 25	51 54	4 4	10 8	7 9
	March, 2007	26	55	2	7	10
	Early October, 2006	27	55	3	8	7
	April, 2006 ¹⁶	28	52	3	10	7
	Early October, 2005	30 30	52 50	5 5	7 8	6 7
	July, 2004 Early September, 1998	31	50 46	5	9	9
	March, 1998	30	51	4	8	7
	August, 1997	31	49	3	10	7
	July, 1996	35	50	2	7	6
	April, 1995 July, 1994	39 35	49 49	2 4	7 8	3 4
	July, 1994	33	43	4	o	4

In April 2006 and earlier, the item was worded: "Is concerned with the needs of people like me."

Q.33 CONTINUED ...

			(VOL.)		
	Republican	Democratic	Both	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	DK/Ref
May, 1990	21	42	12	18	7
May, 1988	23	51	8	11	7
January, 1988	22	47	11	13	7

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.33 AND Q.34 ASK ALL:

Q.34 Please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do a better job in each of the following areas... (First,) which party could do a better job of... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] How about [NEXT ITEM]?

		Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both equally	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.	Improving the job situation Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	39	41	6	8	7
	Republican	81	9	4	4	2
	Democrat	13	73	6	5	4
	Independent	35	35	6	12	11
	Apr 21-26, 2010	36	37	8	9	10
	September, 2006	29	47	6	5	13
	March, 1998	30	51	7	5	7
	October, 1994	37	42	6	7	8
b.	Reducing the federal budget deficit	40	2.6	_	•	_
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	36	5	9 5	7
	Republican Democrat	81 18	8 66	4 4	5 6	3 6
	Independent	39	30	6	14	11
	May 20-23, 2010	33	30	8	16	12
	Apr 21-26, 2010 Feb 3-9, 2010	38 42	35 36	6 6	11 8	10 7
	Aug 27-30, 2009	35	36	6	13	10
	September, 2006	27	47	4	8	14
	February, 2006	33	45	6	9	7
	Early October, 2005 ¹⁷	29	47	6	10	8
	June, 1999	37	41	5	8	9
	July, 1994	42	36	2	13	7
	December, 1993	31	36		18	15
c.	Dealing with health care					
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	36	46	5	7_	6
	Republican	76	13	3	5	3 3
	Democrat Independent	12 33	79 40	4 6	3 11	3 10
	maependent	33	40	O	11	10
	TREND FOR COMPARISON:					
	Reforming the U.S. health care s		4-	_	4.0	_
	Feb 3-9, 2010	32 27	45 46	6 4	10	7
	Aug 27-30, 2009 February, 2008	27 26	46 56	3	14 8	9 7
	October, 2006	26 25	46	3 4	8	/ 17
	September, 2006	24	48	5	10	13
	September, 2000	- '	.0	•		

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In Early October 2005, the item was asked as a stand alone question. In June 1999, the item was worded: "Keeping the federal budget balanced." In December 1993 the item was worded: "Reducing the budget deficit."

Q.34 CONTINUED ...

			(VOL.)		
	Republican	Democratic	Both	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	DK/Ref
February, 2006	27	49	6	9	9
Mid-September, 2005	28	51	4	10	7
July, 2004	23	50	4	10	13
Early July, 2003	31	38	6	10	15
Regulating health maintenance					
organizations (HMOs) and					
managed health care plans					
January, 2002	20	45		6	29
January, 2001	30	47		7	16
January, 1999	25	46		7	22
Reforming the U.S. health care sy	/stem				
Early September, 1998	31	43	7	7	12
March, 1998	25	53	6	8	8
October, 1994	34	41	5	10	10
July, 1994	34	48	2	8	8
Reforming health care					
December, 1993	25	47		10	18
Improving health care in the U.S.					
January, 1992	21	56		8	15
May, 1990	20	50		16	14

NO QUESTIONS 35-37

ASK ALL:

Now, I'd like your views on some issues ...

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.38-Q.40 ASK ALL:

Q.38 What should be the priority for dealing with ILLEGAL immigration in the U.S.? [RANDOMIZE; (one) better border security and stronger enforcement of our immigration laws; OR (two) creating a way for illegal immigrants already here to become citizens if they meet certain requirements] OR should BOTH be given equal priority?

Aug 25-Sep 6					Jul 21-Aug 5
2010	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>		<u>2010</u>
30	45	20	28	Better border security and stronger enforcement of our immigration laws	33
23	12	31	24	Creating a way for illegal immigrants already here to become citizens if they meet certain requirements	22
44	40	47	44	Should BOTH be given equal priority	42
1	1	1	2	None of these (VOL.)	1
1	1	1	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.38-Q.40 ASK ALL:

Q.39 What do you think is more important – to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

	Protect right	Control	(VOL.)
	to own guns	gun ownership	DK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	46	50	4
Republican	70	26	4
Democrat	30	67	3
Independent	46	50	4
Mar 10-14, 2010	46	46	7
Mar 31-Apr 1, 2009	45	49	6

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Q.39 CONTINUED...

	Protect right	Control	(VOL.)
	<u>to own guns</u>	<u>gun ownership</u>	DK/Ref
Apr, 2008	37	58	5
Nov, 2007	42	55	3
Apr, 2007	32	60	8
Feb, 2004	37	58	5
Jun, 2003	42	54	4
May, 2000	38	57	5
Apr, 2000	37	55	8
Mar, 2000	29	66	5
Jun, 1999	33	62	5
May ,1999	30	65	5
Dec, 1993	34	57	9

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.38-Q.40 ASK ALL:

Q.40 Do you strongly favor, favor, oppose, or strongly oppose allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?

		Favor- Strongly			Oppose Strongly		(VOL.)
	Total	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Favor</u>	Total	Oppose		DK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	16	27	47	26	22	10
Republican	21	4	17	71	41	30	8
Democrat	55	25	30	38	20	18	7
Independent	46	17	29	41	21	19	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 ¹⁸	41	17	24	48	24	24	10
Aug 11-17, 2009	39	14	25	53	31	22	8
Mid-April, 2009	35	14	21	54	31	23	11
August, 2008	39	13	26	52	30	22	9
June, 2008	40	15	25	52	31	21	8
Late May, 2008	38	15	23	49	29	20	13
November, 2007	36	12	24	54	29	25	10
August, 2007	36	13	23	55	31	24	9
Early January, 2007	37	13	24	55	33	22	8
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	30	10	20	57	31	26	13
July, 2006	35	12	23	56	31	25	9
June, 2006	33	13	20	55	32	23	12
March, 2006	39	10	29	51	28	23	10
July, 2005	36	13	23	53	31	22	11
December, 2004	32	14	18	61	38	23	7
August, 2004	29	8	21	60	<i>35</i>	25	11
July, 2004	32	10	22	56	33	23	12
Mid-March, 2004	32	10	22	59	<i>35</i>	24	9
Early February, 2004	30	9	21	63	42	21	7
November, 2003	30	10	20	62	41	21	8
October, 2003	30	9	21	58	33	25	12
Mid-July, 2003	38	10	28	53	30	23	9
March, 2001	35	8	27	57	34	23	8
June, 1996	27	6	21	65	41	24	8

NO QUESTIONS 41-43

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

ASK ALL:

Q.44 Since taking office, have Barack Obama's economic policies made economic conditions better, worse, or not had an effect so far?

			(VOL.)	
		No effect	Too soon/	(VOL.)
<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>so far</u>	early to tell	DK/Ref
27	32	36	2	4
7	63	27	1	2
47	10	37	3	3
24	30	40	2	5
23	29	35	3	9
24	27	42	3	5
30	24	39	3	4
31	20	42	4	3
24	21	46	3	6
26	16	49	4	4
26	17	47	6	4
14	15	64	4	3
	27 7 47 24 23 24 30 31 24 26 26	27 32 7 63 47 10 24 30 23 29 24 27 30 24 31 20 24 21 26 16 26 17	Better Worse so far 27 32 36 7 63 27 47 10 37 24 30 40 23 29 35 24 27 42 30 24 39 31 20 42 24 21 46 26 16 49 26 17 47	Better Worse So far so far so far so far early to tell 27 32 36 2 7 63 27 1 47 10 37 3 24 30 40 2 23 29 35 3 24 27 42 3 30 24 39 3 31 20 42 4 24 21 46 3 26 16 49 4 26 17 47 6

ASK ALL:

Q.45 Do you approve or disapprove of the health care legislation passed by Barack Obama and Congress in March?

			(VOL.)
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	DK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	44	46	10
Republican	11	83	6
Democrat	74	18	8
Independent	41	45	14
Jul 8-11, 2010	35	47	17
Apr 1-5, 2010	40	44	16

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.46 AND Q.47 ASK ALL:

Thinking about Afghanistan...
Q.46 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?

	Right decision	Wrong decision	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	52	38	10
Republican	69	22	10
Democrat	45	47	9
Independent	49	40	11
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 ¹⁹	56	34	10
Jan 7-11, 2009	64	25	11
Feb, 2008	65	24	11
Dec, 2006	61	29	10
Jan, 2006	69	20	11

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

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.46 AND Q.47 ASK ALL:

Thinking about Iraq...

Q.47 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Iraq?

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	Right <u>decision</u> 41 68 28 36	Wrong decision 51 25 67 55	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 7 8 5 9
January, 2009	43	49	8
November, 2008	39	50	11
Late October, 2008	38	56	6
Mid-October, 2008	40	54	6
Mid-September, 2008	43	50	7
June, 2008	39	55	6
April, 2008	37	57	6
Late February, 2008	38	54	8
Late December, 2007	36	56	8
October, 2007	39	54	7
September, 2007	42	50	8
July, 2007	41	53	6
June, 2007	40	51	9
April, 2007	45	47	8
March, 2007	43	49	8
February, 2007	40	54	6
Mid-January, 2007	40	51	9
Early January, 2007	40	53	7
December, 2006	42	51	7
Mid-November, 2006	41	51	8
Early November, 2006 (<i>RVs</i>)	45	48	7
Late October, 2006	43	47	10
Early October, 2006	45	47	8
Early September, 2006	49	43	8
August, 2006	45	46	9
July, 2006	44	50	6
June, 2006	49	44	7
April, 2006	47	46	7
March, 2006	45	49	6
February, 2006	51	44	5
January, 2006	45	47	8
December, 2005	47	48	5
Late October, 2005 Early October, 2005	48 44 49	45 50 44	7 6 7
Mid-September, 2005 July, 2005 June, 2005	49 47	44 45	7 8
February, 2005	47	47	6
January, 2005	51	44	5
December, 2004	49	44	7
November, 2004 (<i>RVs</i>)	48	41	11
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12
Early October, 2004	50	39	11
September, 2004	53	39	8
August, 2004	53	41	6
July, 2004	52	43	5
June, 2004	55	38	7
May, 2004	51	42	7
Late April, 2004	54	37	9
Early April, 2004	57	35	8

Q.47 CONTINUED	Right <u>decision</u>	Wrong <u>decision</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6
Late February, 2004	60	32	8
Early February, 2004	56	39	5
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5
Early January, 2004	62	28	10
December, 2003	67	26	7
October, 2003	60	33	7
September, 2003	63	31	6
August, 2003	63	30	7
Early July, 2003	67	24	9
May, 2003	74	20	6
April 10-16, 2003	74	19	7
April 8-9, 2003	74	19	7
April 2-7, 2003	<i>7</i> 2	20	8
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	25	6
March 25-27, 2003	74	21	5
March 23-24, 2003	74	21	5
March 20-22, 2003	71	22	7
Late January, 1991	77	15	8

NO QUESTIONS 48-52

RANDOMIZE Q.53/Q.54 IN BLOCK WITH Q.55 ASK ALL:

Thinking now about the nation's economy...

Q.53 How would you rate economic conditions in this country today... as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	Excellent 1 1 1 1	Good 7 6 10 6	Only <u>fair</u> 43 36 52 40	Poor 48 56 36 52	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 1 * 1 2
Jun 3-6, 2010	1	8	48	43	1
Apr 21-26, 2010	*	11	39	49	1
Mar 10-14, 2010	1	6	39	53	1
Feb 3-9, 2010	1	7	38	53	1
Dec 9-13, 2009	1	7	41	50	1
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	*	8	41	50	1
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	1	8	43	48	1
Aug 11-17, 2009	*	8	38	52	2
Jun 10-14, 2009	1	8	39	52	1
Mar 9-12, 2009	*	6	25	68	1
Feb 4-8, 2009	*	4	24	71	1
December, 2008	*	7	33	59	1
November, 2008	1	6	28	64	1
Late October, 2008	*	7	25	67	1
Early October, 2008	1	8	32	58	1
Late September, 2008	*	7	27	65	1
July, 2008	1	9	39	50	1
April, 2008	1	10	33	56	*
March, 2008	1	10	32	56	1
Early February, 2008	1	16	36	45	2
January, 2008	3	23	45	28	1
November, 2007	3 3	20	44	32	1
September, 2007	3	23	43	29	2

Q.53 CONTINUED...

ONTINOED			Only		(VOL.)
	Excellent	Good	fair	<u>Poor</u>	DK/Ref
June, 2007	6	27	40	25	2
February, 2007	5	26	45	23	1
December, 2006	6	32	41	19	2
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	9	35	37	17	2
Late October, 2006	6	27	40	25	2
September, 2006	5	32	41	20	2
March, 2006	4	29	44	22	1
January, 2006	4	30	45	19	2
Early October, 2005	2	23	45	29	1
Mid-September, 2005	3	28	44	24	1
Mid-May, 2005	3	29	47	20	1
January, 2005	3	36	45	15	1
December, 2004	3	33	43	20	1
Early November, 2004 (RVs)	5	31	37	26	1
Mid-September, 2004	4	34	40	20	2
August, 2004	3	30	45	21	1
Late April, 2004	4	34	38	22	2
Late February, 2004 ²⁰	2	29	42	26	1

RANDOMIZE Q.53/Q.54 IN BLOCK WITH Q.55 ASK ALL:

Q.54 Which of these best describes your opinion: [READ; READ CATEGORIES IN REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF THE SAMPLE]?

Aug 25-Sep 6				·	Jun 3-6	Mar 10-14
2010	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>		2010	<u>2010</u>
10	6	13	9	The economy is now recovering	13	13
37	29	48	34	The economy is not yet recovering but will recover soon	35	37
52	64	39	54	It will be a long time before the economy recovers	50	48
2	1	*	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How would you describe economic conditions in this country? Would you say the economy is now recovering OR that we are in a recession that will pass fairly soon OR that we are in an economic depression that will last a long time?

	Jan	March	Dec	Jan	March	Jan
	<u>2004</u>	<u> 1994</u>	<u> 1993</u>	<u> 1993</u>	<u> 1992</u>	<u> 1992</u>
The economy is now recovering	45	40	37	34	16	7
We are in a recession that will pass fairly soon	33	33	27	35	41	51
We are in a depression that will last a long time	18	21	29	27	40	38
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	6	7	4	3	4

RANDOMIZE Q.53/Q.54 IN BLOCK WITH Q.55 ASK ALL:

Thinking now about your own personal finances...

Q.55 How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape financially?

			Only		(VOL.)
	<u>Excellent</u>	Good	<u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	DK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	6	30	40	23	1
Republican	9	38	36	16	1
Democrat	6	30	42	22	1
Independent	5	26	40	27	2

Earlier trends available from Gallup.

Q.55 CONTINUED...

ONTINOLD			0 1		()(01.)
	<u>Excellent</u>	Good	Only <u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jun 3-6, 2010	6	32	38	20	4
Mar 10-14, 2010	6	31	39	22	2
Dec 9-13, 2009	7	28	39	24	2
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	5	30	40	25	1
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	6	32	38	22	1
Aug 11-17, 2009	6	31	36	26	2
Jun 10-14, 2009	6	32	39	22	1
Feb 4-8, 2009	5	33	41	20	1
December, 2008	6	32	40	21	1
Early October, 2008	6	35	40	18	1
July, 2008	9	33	37	19	2
April, 2008	8	35	39	16	2
March, 2008	8	39	34	17	2
	9	36	37	16	2
Early February, 2008				15	2
January, 2008	10 9	39	34		
November, 2007		41	34	15	1
September, 2007	10	38	34	16	2
February, 2007	8	41	36 35	14	1
December, 2006	8	40	35	16	1
Late October, 2006	9	40	33	16	2
March, 2006	9	39	36	15	1
January, 2006	7	39	37	15	2
Mid-May, 2005	7	37	39	16	1
January, 2005	10	41	34	14	1
August, 2004	9	42	34	14	1
September, 2003	10	38	36	15	1
Late March, 2003	10	43	31	12	4
January, 2003	7	38	39	15	1
Early October, 2002	7	39	37	16	1
June, 2002	5	40	37	16	2
Late September, 2001	7	40	37	14	2
June, 2001	6	38	39	16	1
June, 2000	9	43	35	11	2
August, 1999	6	43	41	9	1
May, 1997	7	43	38	11	1
September, 1996 (RVs)	8	47	34	10	1
February, 1995	8	39	38	14	1
March, 1994	5	41	40	13	1
December, 1993	5	34	45	15	1
January, 1993 U.S. News	4	33	46	16	1
October, 1992 U.S. News	6	34	40	19	1
August, 1992 U.S. News	5	30	47	17	1
May, 1992 <i>U.S. News</i>	4	35	45	15	1
January, 1992 <i>U.S. News</i>	4	32	45	18	1
January, 1552 0.5. News	7	52	73	10	_

ASK ALL:
Q.56 Which of the following national economic issues worries you most? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

Aug 25-Sep 6					Jun 3-6	Mar 10-14
<u>2010</u>	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>		<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>
49	41	55	49	The job situation	41	45
19	30	13	18	The federal budget deficit	23	22
15	14	15	16	Rising prices	16	17
12	11	15	11	Problems in the financial and housing markets	13	11
2	1	1	2	Other (VOL.)	3	2
1	*	1	1	None/Not worried about any (VOL.)	1	*
2	2	1	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2

NO QUESTIONS 57-64

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent? {QID:party}

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

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

				(VOL.) No	(VOL.) Other	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	preference	party	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010		32	39	2	*	2	15	17
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	26	33	34	4	*	3	14	14
Jun 16-20, 2010	27	34	34	3	1	2	15	15
Apr 21-26, 2010	26	33	36	3	1	3	16	13
Mar 11-21, 2010	28	34	32	3	*	3	13	12
Mar 10-14, 2010	22	33	37	6	*	3	14	13
Feb 3-9, 2010	26	31	37	3	*	3	14	17
Jan 6-10, 2010	22	33	42	2	1	2	17	16
Yearly Totals								
2010 (Jan-Sep)	25.2	32.9	35.7	3.1	.4	2.7	14.6	14.6
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.3	35.8	31.7	3.8	.3	3.1	10.5	15.4
2007	25.4	32.9	33.7	4.6	.4	3.1	10.7	16.7
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8	10.2	14.9
2004	29.7	33.4	29.8	3.9	.4	2.9	11.7	13.4
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1	11.7	_
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3	12.3	13.8
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2			12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4			14.4	12.9
1994	29.8 27.4	31.8	33.8	4.6			14.3	12.6
1993	27.4 27.7	33.8	34.0	4.8			11.8	14.7
1992		32.7	35.7	3.9			13.8	15.8
1991 1990	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5			14.6 12.4	10.8 11.3
	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8			12.4	11.3
1989 1987	33 26	33 35	34 39					
130/	20	33	29					

ASK IF REPUBLICAN OR DEMOCRAT (PARTY=1,2):

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

	Strong	Not strong/	Strong	Not strong/
	Republican	<u>DK</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>DK</u>
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	14	10=24%	19	13=32%
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	13	12=25%	20	11=32%
April, 2009	12	10=22%	20	13=33%
October, 2007 ²¹	13	12=25%	19	14=33%
August, 2007	14	12=26%	18	14=32%
July, 2007	16	11=27%	19	13=32%
June, 2007	13	12=25%	19	15=34%
April, 2007	14	11=25%	15	13=28%
January, 2007	12	11=23%	17	14=31%
Mid-November, 2006	14	11=25%	22	14=36%
Late October, 2006	14	12=26%	18	14=32%
Early October, 2006	15	12=27%	19	15=34%
September, 2006	17	13=30%	18	16=34%
December, 2005	16	13=29%	20	14=34%
December, 2004	18	13=31%	19	15=34%
July, 2004	17	12=29%	20	13=33%
August, 2003	14	13=27%	15	16=31%
September, 2000	14	13=27%	19	15=34%
Late September, 1999	10	14=24%	15	16=31%
August, 1999	11	14=25%	15	18=33%
November, 1997	11	14=25%	14	18=32%
October, 1995	11	19=30%	14	16=30%
April, 1995	15	15=30%	14	15=29%
October, 1994	16	15=31%	18	14=32%
July, 1994	13	16=29%	15	18=33%
June, 1992	11	17=28%	14	18=32%
May, 1990	13	15=28%	16	17=33%
February, 1989	15	16=31%	17	21=38%
May, 1988	13	15=28%	19	19=38%
January, 1988	12	15=27%	19	20=39%
May, 1987	11	14=25%	18	19=37%

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.65/Q.66 AND Q.67/Q.68 IN BLOCKS ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF REGISTERED VOTER (PARTY=3,4,5,9 AND REGICERT=1) [N=1,069]:

Q.65 Has there ever been a time when you have thought of yourself as a DEMOCRAT, or not? **ASK IF EVER THOUGHT OF SELF AS DEMOCRAT (Q.65=1):**

Q.66 What about in the past five years, have you thought of yourself as a Democrat in the past five years, or not?

Aug 25-Sep 6		Late March
<u>2010</u>		<u> 2005</u>
53	Yes, have thought of self as Democrat	59
32	Within past five years	
21	Not within past five years	
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	
46	No, have not thought of self as Democrat	39
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2

Data from Pew Research Center Social & Demographic Trends.

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.65/Q.66 AND Q.67/Q.68 IN BLOCKS ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF REGISTERED VOTER (PARTY=3,4,5,9 AND REGICERT=1) [N=1,069]:

Q.67 Has there ever been a time when you have thought of yourself as a REPUBLICAN, or not? **ASK IF EVER THOUGHT OF SELF AS REPUBLICAN (Q.67=1):**

Q.68 What about in the past five years, have you thought of yourself as a Republican in the past five years, or not?

Aug 25-Sep 6		Late March
<u>2010</u>		<u>2005</u>
49	Yes, have thought of self as Republican	44
31	Within past five years	
17	Not within past five years	
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	
49	No, have not thought of self as Republican	54
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2

ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF REGISTERED VOTER (PARTY=3,4,5,9 AND REGICERT=1):

Q.69

IF INDEPENDENT (PARTY=3):

Here are some reasons other people have told us why they think of themselves as independents in politics. For each one please tell me whether this is a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason you think of yourself as an independent. First, [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is this a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason you think of yourself as an independent? How about [INSERT NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY is this a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason you think of yourself as an independent?

IF NO PREFERENCE/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=4,5,9):

Here are some reasons other people have told us why they don't think of themselves as a Republican or a Democrat. For each one please tell me whether this is a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason you don't think of yourself as a Republican or a Democrat. First, [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is this a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason you don't think of yourself as a Republican or a Democrat? How about [INSERT NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY is this a major reason, a minor reason or not a reason you don't think of yourself as a Republican or a Democrat?

BASED ON INDEPENDENT/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,069]

		Major <u>reason</u>	Minor <u>reason</u>	Not a <u>reason</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.	I don't trust either political party Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	53	25	21	1
b.	I agree with the Republican Party on some issues and the Democratic Party on other issues Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	58	27	13	1
C.	I don't think there is much difference between the parties Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	34	29	35	1
NO ITE	M d				
e.	Politics isn't that important to me Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	19	28	52	1
f.	Both parties care more about special interests than about average Americans Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	64	19	14	2

ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF REGISTERED VOTER (PARTY=3,4,5,9 AND REGICERT=1) [N=1,069]:

Q.70 Does the [RANDOMIZE: the REPUBLICAN Party OR the DEMOCRATIC Party BUT KEEP IN SAME ORDER FOR ALL ITEMS] come closer to your views on [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Does the (the REPUBLICAN Party OR the DEMOCRATIC Party) come closer to your views on [ITEM]?

				(VOL.)		
		Republican <u>Party</u>	Democrati <u>Party</u>	c Both <u>equally</u>	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.	Social issues, such as abortion and gay marriag Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	e 33	39	4	12	12
b.	Economic issues Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	34	3	13	7
C.	Foreign policy and national security Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	44	30	4	12	10

ASK ALL:

Q.71 When you were growing up, did your parents usually vote for [RANDOMIZE: Republicans or Democrats]? [IF RESPONDENT SAYS BOTH, ASK: Is that because your parents voted differently or because they voted for both Republicans and Democrats?; IF RESPONDENT SAYS PARENTS VOTED DIFFERENTLY, ASK: How did the parent you felt closer to usually vote?]

Aug 25-Sep	6				Oct	Aug	Nov	July
<u>2010</u>	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>		<u> 1999</u>	<u> 1999</u>	<u> 1997</u>	<u> 1994</u>
25	46	13	22	Republicans	25	26	28	28
39	28	57	32	Democrats	43	43	43	47
9	8	9	10	Both/Split ticket (VOL.)	8	8	6	6
8	4	8	10	Didn't vote/Not eligible (VOL.)	6	5	5	4
3	1	3	4	Other response (VOL.)	3	2	1	2
15	13	10	21	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	15	16	17	13

ASK ALL:

Q.72 When you were growing up, how much did your family talk about government and politics at home **[READ]**?

Aug 25-Sep	6			
2010	Rep	Dem	Ind	
15	14	18	13	A great deal
23	25	25	21	A fair amount
23	27	21	22	Just some
35	31	33	39	Very little
3	2	2	5	None (VOL.)
1	1	1	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

NO QUESTIONS 73-83

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.84 How much, if anything, have you heard or read about the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year? Have you heard ... **[READ]**?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,816]:

			Nothing	(VOL.)
	A lot	A little	at all	DK/Ref
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	48	39	12	*
Republican	53	38	8	*
Democrat	44	42	14	1
Independent	49	37	14	*
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	43	43	14	1
Jun 16-20, 2010	35	43	21	*
May 20-23, 2010	45	39	16	1
Mar 11-21, 2010 ²²	31	44	25	1

ASK IF HEARD A LOT OR A LITTLE (Q.84=1,2):

Q.85 From what you know, do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,816]:

	Strongly			Strongly	No	(VOL.)	Not heard/
	<u>agree</u>	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>disagree</u>	<u>opinion</u>	<u>Ref</u>	<u>DK</u>
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	11	18	12	14	32	1	13
Republican	23	33	4	2	29	*	9
Democrat	1	4	19	26	34	1	14
Independent	12	18	10	12	32	1	14
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	10	16	11	11	36	1	14
Jun 16-20, 2010	10	18	11	10	30	*	21
May 20-23, 2010	13	17	10	11	31	1	17
Mar 11-21, 2010	11	17	8	9	30	1	25

NO QUESTIONS 86-99

ASK ALL:

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

Aug 25-Sep 6

2010	Rep	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
44	47	39	46	Full-time
15	12	17	14	Part time
41	40	44	39	Not employed
1	*	1	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
_		_	_	

In March 11-21, 2010, question was worded: "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year?"

ASK ALL:

Q.100 Over the past 12 months, has there been a time when you or someone in your household has been without a job and looking for work, or not?

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Republican Democrat Independent	<u>Yes</u> 44 35 42 50	No 56 65 57 49	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 1 * 1 1
Mar 10-14, 2010 ²³ Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 Feb 4-8, 2009 December, 2008	54 42 39 35	45 58 61 65	1 * *
Early February, 2008 May, 2005	28 31	71 69	1 *

ASK ALL:

IDEO In general, would you describe your political views as... [READ]?

	Aug	25-Sep	6
--	-----	--------	---

<u>2010</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>	
8	20	4	5	Very conservative
30	50	20	27	Conservative
33	22	33	38	Moderate
17	5	28	16	Liberal
7	1	11	6	Very liberal
5	2	4	7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

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

ASK IF VOTED (PVOTE08A=1):

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,816]:

							(VOL.)
					(VOL.)	Did	Don't
				Other	DK/	not	remember/
	Voted	<u>Obama</u>	<u>McCain</u>	<u>candidate</u>	<u>Ref</u>	<u>vote</u>	<u>Ref</u>
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	89	46	34	4	4	10	1
Republican	93	8	78	3	3	7	1
Democrat	90	81	5	2	2	9	1
Independent	86	43	29	7	7	12	2
Jan 6-10, 2010	92	44	37	4	6	8	*
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	93	47	34	5	7	7	*
Feb 4-8, 2009	93	48	33	4	8	7	*
Jan 7-11, 2009	93	48	35	4	6	7	*
December, 2008	93	50	32	3	9	7	*

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

PEW RESEARCH CENTER NEWS INTEREST INDEX AUGUST 26-29, 2010 OMNIBUS FINAL TOPLINE N=1002

ASK ALL:

PEW.1 What do you think is the most important problem facing the country today? [RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE FOR CLARITY – DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD IN ORDER OF MENTION]

Aug 26- 2010		Feb <u>10</u> ²⁴	Aug <u>09</u>	Feb <u>09</u>	Early Oct <u>08</u>		Jan <u>08</u>	Sept <u>07</u>	Jan <u>07</u>	Sept <u>06</u>	Jan <u>06</u>	May <u>05</u>	Mid- Jan <u>05</u>		Mid- Apr 03	Mar <u>02</u>	Feb <u>01</u>
35	Economy (general)	24	27	53	55	39	20	10	5	9	$\overline{11}$	15	12	$\overline{14}$	28	8	7
27	Unemployment/Lack of jobs	31	19	31	9	5	5	3	5	4	7	7	7	8	10	4	6
	Dissatisfaction with gov't/politics/																
9	Obama/Gov't control/socialism	5	5	5	4	3	6	7	8	6	5	6	5	7	3	4	5
4	Morality/Ethics/Family values	3	3	1	1	3	2	3	3	2	4	3	5	4	4	8	12
4	Health care/costs/accessibility	13	20	3	4	3	10	7	8	4	6	7	5	5	3	2	7
4	Financial crisis	4	7	16	26												
_	Deficit/National debt/Balanced		_				_				_	_	_		_		
3	budget/Gov't spending	11	6	4	1	1	2	1	1	1	2	2	3	1	2	1	1
3	War/War in Iraq/War in Afghan.	4	5	3	11	17	27	37	42	25	23	24	32	25	14	10	
2	Finances/money				4												
2	Immigration	1	1	1	1	2	6	6	5	6	3	4	1	1	1	1	2
	Recession/Depression/Slowing																
2	down of the economy	1	2	3	1	1	2										2
2	Housing market/foreclosures				5												
2	Poverty/Hunger/Starvation	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	3	3	7	2	3	2	3	2	3
	Education/schools/affording																
1	education	1	2	1		4	4	3	4	4	3	2	3	4	4	4	11
1	Drugs/Alcohol						1	1	1	1	3	1	1	1	1	4	6
1	Taxes	1			1		2	1			1	1	1	1	1	1	3
1	Inflation			2	5	6	3	1		2	2	2	1	1	1	1	3
1	Welfare abuse																1
1	Race relations					1	1								1	1	2
	Environment/pollution/					_											
1	Global warming	1		1	1	3	1	1	1							1	1
6	Other	_	_	_			_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_	_
7	Don't know/No answer	6	5	3	4	4	5	5	7	/	/	5	5	6	9	8	7
	(NET) FOREIGN ISSUES/		10	-	10	25	26	40	F.C	47	27	26	40	44	20	20	_
4	INTERNATIONAL	11	10	/	18	25	36	48	50	4/	3/	36	49	41	29	39	5
65	(NET) ECONOMIC	65	55	80	75	61	34	20	15	23	26	31	24	26	41	16	26

PEW.2-PEW.7 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

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Complete trend for Pew.1 not shown.