## More Conservative, More Critical of National Conditions

## Independents Oppose Party in Power ... Again

## FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

## Andrew Kohut,

President, Pew Research Center

## Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock

Associate Directors

## Scott Keeter

Director of Survey Research
1615 L St, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel (202) 419-4350
Fax (202) 419-4399
www.peoplepress.org

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## 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

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\%),

| Independent Vote in '06, '08, '10 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 2006 <br> House vote Exit poll | $\begin{gathered} 2008 \\ \text { Pres } \\ \text { vote } \\ \text { Exit poll } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & 2010 \\ & \text { likely } \\ & \text { voters } \end{aligned}$ |
| All voters | \% | \% | \% |
| Republican candidate | 45 | 45 | 50 |
| Democratic candidate | 53 | 53 | 43 |
| Other/Don't know | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{7}$ |
|  | 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 | 4 | 4 | 15 |
|  | 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. or both (9\%), in the past five years.

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 |  |
| Voter |  |
| 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 | $\underline{46}$ |
|  | 100 |
| Why do you think of yourself as an | Major |
| independent? | reason |
| Both parties care more about special | $\%$ |
| interests than average Americans | 64 |
| I agree with Reps on some issues, Dems | 58 |
| on others | 58 |
| I don't trust either political party | 53 |
| There's not much difference between | 34 |
| the parties |  |
| 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. |  |

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 8o\% 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.

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

| Independents who say... | Plan to |  | Definitely will vote |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Vote Dem | Vote Rep |  |
| 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. Independents who express these views also are highly likely to vote.

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 <br> Rep | Vote <br> Dem | Other/ <br> DK |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Independent <br> 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 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} 2006 \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} 2010 \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | 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 | $\begin{gathered} \text { Agree } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | Disagree \% | 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. <br> Likely voters estimates based on a seven-question turnout scale. |  |  |  |  |


#### Abstract

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

|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Vote } \\ \text { Republican } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | 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. Democrat.

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

## 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.

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


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." Based on registered voters. Figures from previous midterms taken from September and/or October surveys, as available. See appendix for details. favor the Democratic candidate. 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.

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 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. Threequarters ( $75 \%$ ) 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 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Your Representative |  | Most Representatives |  |
|  | 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 Midterms |  |  |  |  |
| 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 Midterms |  |  |  |  |
| Early Oct 2002 | 58 | 19 | 39 | 38 |
| June 2002 | 58 | 23 | 45 | 37 |
| 1998 Midterms |  |  |  |  |
| 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 Midterms |  |  |  |  |
| Nov 1994 | 58 | 25 | 31 | 51 |
| Early Oct 1994 | 49 | 29 | 28 | 56 |
| 1990 Midterms |  |  |  |  |
| Oct 1990* | 62 | 22 | -- | -- |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. <br> Q13 \& Q14. Based on registered voters. <br> Figures read across. See topline for complete trends. <br> * 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

|  | 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

The 2010 Midterm among Independent Registered and Likely Voters

|  | Independent Registered Voters |  |  | Independents Likely Voters |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Vote Rep | Vote Dem | Adv | Vote Rep | Vote Dem | Adv |
| Total | 42 | 39 | R+3 | 49 | 36 | $\mathrm{R}+13$ |
| Men | 48 | 35 | $\mathrm{R}+13$ | 53 | 34 | $\mathrm{R}+19$ |
| 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 | $\mathrm{R}+12$ |
| 65+ | 53 | 29 | $\mathrm{R}+24$ | 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 | $\mathrm{R}+10$ |
| Some coll or less | 41 | 39 | R+2 | 50 | 34 | $\mathrm{R}+16$ |
| \$50,000+ | 47 | 39 | R+8 | 51 | 39 | $\mathrm{R}+12$ |
| < \$50,000 | 38 | 43 | D+5 | 46 | 37 | R+9 |
| Conservative | 68 | 20 | $\mathrm{R}+48$ | 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 | $\mathrm{R}+12$ |
| Midwest | 39 | 43 | D+4 | 45 | 40 | R+5 |
| South | 47 | 38 | R+9 | 57 | 30 | $\mathrm{R}+27$ |
| West | 42 | 40 | R+2 | 45 | 41 | R+4 |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q10/10a. than was the case in 2006 or 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.

|  | 2006 <br> Independent Voters |  |  | 2008 <br> Independent Voters |  |  | 2010IndependentLikely Voters |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Vote Rep \% | Vote Dem \% | Adv | Vote McCain \% | 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 | 45 | 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 | $\mathrm{R}+17$ |
| 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 | $\mathrm{R}+12$ |
| Midwest | 41 | 56 | D+15 | 43 | 53 | D+10 | 45 | 40 | $\mathrm{R}+5$ |
| South | 43 | 52 | D+9 | 55 | 42 | R+13 | 57 | 30 | $\mathrm{R}+27$ |
| 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 | $\mathrm{R}+21$ |
| College grad | 38 | 58 | D+20 | 46 | 51 | D+5 | 50 | 36 | $\mathrm{R}+14$ |
| Not coll grad | 44 | 52 | D+8 | 52 | 44 | R+8 | 55 | 30 | $\mathrm{R}+25$ |
| \$50,000+ | 41 | 55 | D+14 | 49 | 48 | D+1 | 55 | 33 | $\mathrm{R}+22$ |
| <\$50,000 | 40 | 55 | $D+15$ | 46 | 49 | R+3 | 49 | 35 | $\mathrm{R}+14$ |
| Northeast | 34 | 62 | D+28 | 43 | 54 | D+11 | 50 | 33 | $\mathrm{R}+17$ |
| Midwest | 43 | 53 | D+10 | 44 | 51 | D+7 | 48 | 37 | $\mathrm{R}+11$ |
| South | 48 | 47 | R+1 | 63 | 34 | R+29 | 64 | 23 | $\mathrm{R}+41$ |
| West | 36 | 56 | $D+20$ | 40 | 54 | D+14 | 47 | 39 | $\mathrm{R}+8$ |

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 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-toone ( $29 \%$ vs. $16 \%$ ).

| More Independents Voting Against Obama than |  |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| For Obama |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | $\mathbf{0 c t}$ | Sept | Sept | Sept | Sept |
|  | Clinton | $\mathbf{1 9 9 8}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 2}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 0 6}$ | $\mathbf{2 0 1 0}$ |
| Congressional vote this fall is... | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| A vote for president | 8 | 12 | 19 | 10 | 16 |
| A vote against president | 19 | 14 | 10 | 35 | 29 |
| President is not a factor in vote | 67 | 70 | 64 | 49 | 50 |
| Don't know | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{4}$ | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{6}$ | $\underline{5}$ |
|  | 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


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. Democratic Party's 10-point lead 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
Most Independents Were
Partisans Within Past Five Years
Thought of self as... \%
A Republican in past five years, but not a 22
Democrat
A Democrat in past five years, but not a 23
Republican
Both a Democrat and Republican in past 9
five years
Neither in past five years 18
Never a Republican or a Democrat $\underline{28}$
100
PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010.
Q65-Q68. Based on independent registered voters
( $\mathrm{N}=1069$ ). Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of
rounding. some point in their life and $54 \%$ considered 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

$\begin{array}{llllllllll}1990 & 1992 & 1994 & 1996 & 1998 & 2000 & 2002 & 2004 & 2006 & 2008 \\ 2010\end{array}$

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.3o).

## 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

| Most Independents Say Parties Care More |  |  |  |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| about Special Interests than Average Americans |  |  |  |  |
|  | Major <br> reason <br> $\%$ | Minor <br> reason <br> $\%$ | Not a <br> reason <br> $\%$ | DK |
| $\%$ |  |  |  |  |

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. major reason they are nonpartisan 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 nonpartisans (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 nonpartisans 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

| 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. |  |  |  | Obama over McCain in 2008 (41\% Obama, 27\%

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

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

|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Former } \\ & \text { Rep* } \\ & \text { \% } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Rep } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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.
it was the right decision.

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 samesex 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\%)

## Former Democrats More Skeptical about Government

|  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 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. |  |  | favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally. 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.

Voters' Ideological Views: 2000-2010


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 $201070 \%$ 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.


Figures show the balance of self-reported ideology within each subgroup of independents. For example, in $201057 \%$ 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

Demographic Portrait of Independent Groups
Rep-leaning groups Dem-leaning groups

|  | All <br> Inds <br> $\%$ | Shadow <br> Reps <br> $\%$ | Disaf- <br> fecteds <br> $\%$ | Doubting <br> Dems <br> $\%$ | Shadow <br> Dems |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Percent of <br> 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. are largely comprised of white 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 nonHispanics, 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.

|  | 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 Republicanaffiliated 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* |
| $\%$ |

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 GOPleaning 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

Obama Job Approval Low, Except among "Shadow Democrats"

|  | Approve <br> $\%$ | Disapprove <br> $\%$ | DK |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\%$ |  |  |  |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q2.
Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding. among Shadow Democrats - both job approval 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 GOPleaning 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 <br> 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

## Barely Half of "Shadow Republicans" View GOP Favorably

|  | Rep Party |  | Dem Party |  | N |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Fav } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Un- } \\ \text { fav } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Fav } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Un- } \\ \text { fav } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ |  |
| 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. do Shadow Republicans. However, Shadow
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 GOPleaning independent voters say they agree with the Tea Party movement. Most Republican voters (56\%) and Shadow Republicans (56\%) agree with
"Doubting Democrats" Not So Negative Toward Tea Party

|  | Agree <br> with <br> $\%$ | Disagree <br> with <br> $\%$ | No <br> opinion/ <br> Never <br> heard of <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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. the Tea Party movement, as do $47 \%$ of Disaffecteds.

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

|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { All } \\ \text { Inds } \end{gathered}$ | Shadow Reps | Disaffecteds | 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 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25 -September 6, 2010. Q33a,b,d. Figures read down. |  |  |  |  |  |

Party is better described by the
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

## Independent Groups Rate the Parties

|  | All <br> Inds | Shadow <br> Reps <br> $\%$ | Disaff- <br> ecteds <br> $\%$ | Doubting <br> Dems <br> Which party could <br> do better job of.. | $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | Shadow |
| :---: |
| Dems |
| $\%$ | they favor the Democratic Party 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

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

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

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

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 GOPleaning 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).

|  | 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

Were Wars in Afghanistan and Iraq the Right Decisions?

|  | Afghanistan <br> $\%$ | Iraq <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: |
| 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. |  |  |

Democrats are much more supportive of the war in 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\%)

Why Independent Groups Reject the Parties

| "Major reason" why | All <br> Inds <br> " | Shadow <br> Reps <br> you're an independent... | Disaff- <br> ecteds <br> $\%$ | Doubting <br> Dems | Shadow <br> Dems <br> $\%$ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Parties care more about <br> special interests than <br> average Americans | 64 | 71 | 82 | 79 | 39 |
| Agree w/ Dems on <br> some issues, Reps on <br> others | 58 | 55 | 65 | 56 | 64 |
| Don't trust either party | 53 | 64 | 71 | 72 | 11 |
| Not much diff. between <br> parties | 34 | 43 | 36 | 39 | 24 |
| Politics is not that <br> important to me | 19 | 19 | 20 | 20 | 15 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER August 25-September 6, 2010. Q69a-f. |  |  |  |  |  | say the parties' excessive concern 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 |
| Independent RVs | 1069 | 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:

Andrew Kohut, Director<br>Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research<br>Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors<br>Michael Remez, Senior Writer<br>Leah Christian and Jocelyn Kiley, Senior Researchers<br>Robert Suls, Shawn Neidorf, and Alec Tyson, Research Associates<br>Jacob Poushter, Research Analyst<br>Mattie Ressler and Danielle Gewurz, Research Assistants

## CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE

## BASED ON ALL VOTERS

Q10/10a: If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?/ As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

|  | REGISTERED VOTERS |  |  |  | LIKELY VOTERS |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Rep/ } \\ \text { In Rep } \\ \% \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dem/ } \\ & \frac{\text { In Dem }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | Other/ <br> DK/Ref \% | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{RV} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{~N}} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Rep/ } \\ \frac{\text { In Rep }}{\%} \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dem/ } \\ & \frac{\text { In Dem }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | Other/ DK/Ref \% | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{LV} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{~N}} \end{aligned}$ |
| ALL VOTERS | 44 | 47 | 9 | 2816 | 50 | 43 | 7 | 2053 |
| 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 | 34 | 57 | 9 | 636 | 41 | 53 | 6 | 370 |

## CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE (CONT.)

## BASED ON ALL VOTERS

Q10/10a: If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?/ As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

|  | REGISTERED VOTERS |  |  | LIKELY VOTERS |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rep/ } \\ & \text { In Rep } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dem/ } \\ & \text { In Dem } \end{aligned}$ | (VOL.) Other/ DK/Ref | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{RV} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{~N}} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rep/ } \\ & \text { In Rep } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dem/ } \\ & \text { In Dem } \end{aligned}$ | (VOL.) Other/ DK/Ref | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{LV} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{~N}} \end{aligned}$ |
| MARITAL STATUS |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Married | 51 | 40 | 8 | 1634 | 56 | 37 | 7 | 1278 |
| Not married | 35 | 56 | 9 | 1146 | 40 | 54 | 6 | 752 |
| MARITAL STATUS BY SEX |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Married men | 56 | 36 | 8 | 772 | 60 | 33 | 6 | 626 |
| Married women | 46 | 44 | 9 | 862 | 52 | 42 | 7 | 652 |
| Unmarried men | 40 | 49 | 11 | 467 | 44 | 48 | 8 | 300 |
| Unmarried women | 30 | 62 | 8 | 679 | 37 | 58 | 5 | 452 |
| PARTY ID |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 94 | 3 | 3 | 816 | 95 | 2 | 3 | 673 |
| Democrat | 6 | 91 | 3 | 931 | 7 | 92 | 2 | 645 |
| Independent | 42 | 39 | 19 | 1069 | 49 | 36 | 15 | 734 |
| PARTY WITH LEANERS |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 90 | 5 | 5 | 1281 | 93 | 4 | 4 | 1031 |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 6 | 88 | 5 | 1332 | 7 | 90 | 3 | 902 |
| PARTY AND IDEOLOGY |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Conservative Republican | 97 | 2 | 1 | 621 | 98 | 1 | 1 | 541 |
| Mod/Lib Republican | 87 | 7 | 6 | 181 | 86 | 7 | 6 | 125 |
| Mod/Cons Democrat | 7 | 90 | 3 | 513 | 9 | 89 | 2 | 338 |
| Liberal Democrat | 4 | 94 | 2 | 390 | 3 | 96 | 1 | 297 |
| RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Total White NH Prot. | 60 | 32 | 8 | 1186 | 66 | 28 | 6 | 916 |
| White NH evang. Prot. | 66 | 26 | 8 | 635 | 74 | 20 | 6 | 496 |
| White NH mainline Prot. | 53 | 39 | 8 | 548 | 55 | 38 | 6 | 419 |
| Total Catholic | 45 | 44 | 11 | 603 | 49 | 42 | 8 | 445 |
| White NH Cath. | 51 | 39 | 10 | 461 | 54 | 37 | 9 | 360 |
| Unaffiliated | 27 | 62 | 11 | 365 | 30 | 63 | 6 | 231 |
| REGION |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| East | 39 | 48 | 13 | 511 | 46 | 45 | 9 | 355 |
| Midwest | 41 | 50 | 9 | 702 | 46 | 47 | 8 | 513 |
| South | 48 | 45 | 7 | 1049 | 55 | 40 | 5 | 751 |
| West | 46 | 46 | 8 | 554 | 50 | 44 | 6 | 433 |

## CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE (CONT.) BASED ON ALL VOTERS

Q10/10a: If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?/ As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

|  | REGISTERED VOTERS |  |  |  | LIKELY VOTERS |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (VOL.) |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |  |  |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Rep/ } \\ \text { In Rep } \end{gathered}$ | Dem/ <br> In Dem | Other/ DK/Ref | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{RV} \\ & \mathrm{~N} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Rep/ } \\ \text { In Rep } \end{gathered}$ | Dem/ <br> In Dem | Other/ DK/Ref | $\begin{aligned} & \text { LV } \\ & \underline{\mathrm{N}} \end{aligned}$ |
| 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 APPROVAL |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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

Q10/10a: If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?/ As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

|  | INDEPENDENT REGISTERED VOTERS |  |  |  |  | INDEPENDENT LIKELY VOTERS |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |
|  | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rep/ } \\ & \frac{\text { In Rep }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dem/ } \\ & \frac{\text { In Dem }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Other/ } \\ & \frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{RV} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{~N}} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Rep/ } \\ & \frac{\text { In Rep }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dem/ } \\ & \frac{\text { In Dem }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Other/ } \\ & \frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \mathrm{LV} \\ & \underline{\mathrm{~N}} \end{aligned}$ |
| ALL IND VOTERS | 42 | 39 | 19 | 1069 | 49 | 36 | 15 | 734 |
| SEX |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Men | 48 | 35 | 16 | 548 | 53 | 34 | 13 | 398 |
| Women | 35 | 44 | 21 | 521 | 43 | 40 | 17 | 336 |
| AGE |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18-49 | 38 | 45 | 17 | 411 | 47 | 40 | 13 | 223 |
| 50+ | 47 | 34 | 20 | 631 | 51 | 34 | 15 | 493 |
| DETAILED AGE |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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

Q10/10a: If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?/ As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?


## CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE (CONT.)

## BASED ON INDEPENDENT VOTERS

Q10/10a: If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?/ As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

|  | INDEPENDENT REGISTERED VOTERS |  |  |  | INDEPENDENT <br> LIKELY VOTERS |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | (VOL.) |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |  |  |
|  | $\begin{gathered} \text { Rep/ } \\ \text { In Rep } \end{gathered}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Dem/ } \\ & \text { In Dem } \end{aligned}$ | Other/ <br> DK/Ref | $\begin{aligned} & \text { RV } \\ & \underline{\mathrm{N}} \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{gathered} \text { Rep/ } \\ \text { In Rep } \end{gathered}$ | Dem/ <br> In Dem | Other/ <br> DK/Ref | $\begin{gathered} \mathrm{LV} \\ \mathrm{~N} \end{gathered}$ |
| 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 <br> FINAL TOPLINE <br> August 25 - September 6, 2010 Total $\mathrm{N}=3,509$ <br> Republican $\mathbf{N}=926$, Democrat $\mathbf{N}=1,116$, Independent $^{1} \mathbf{N}=1,467$ 

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?

|  | Satisfied | Dissatisfied | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 25 | 71 | 5 |
| Republican | 13 | 84 | 2 |
| Democrat | 36 | 58 | 6 |
| Independent | 23 | 72 | 5 |
| Jun 24-27, 2010 | 27 | 64 | 9 |
| May 13-16, 2010 | 28 | 64 | 7 |
| Apr 21-26, 2010 | 29 | 66 | 5 |
| Apr 1-5, 2010 | 31 | 63 | 6 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 25 | 69 | 5 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 23 | 71 | 7 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 23 | 71 | 6 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 27 | 69 | 4 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 25 | 67 | 7 |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 25 | 67 | 7 |
| Sep 10-15, $2009^{2}$ | 30 | 64 | 7 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| Aug 11-17, 2009 | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| Jul 22-26, 2009 | 28 | 66 | 6 |
| Jun 10-14, 2009 | 30 | 64 | 5 |
| Apr 28-May 12, 2009 | 34 | 58 | 8 |
| Apr 14-21, 2009 | 23 | 70 | 7 |
| Jan 7-11, 2009 | 20 | 73 | 7 |
| December, 2008 | 13 | 83 | 4 |
| Early October, 2008 | 11 | 86 | 3 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 25 | 69 | 6 |
| August, 2008 | 21 | 74 | 5 |
| July, 2008 | 19 | 74 | 7 |
| June, 2008 | 19 | 76 | 5 |
| Late May, 2008 | 18 | 76 | 6 |
| March, 2008 | 22 | 72 | 6 |
| Early February, 2008 | 24 | 70 | 6 |
| Late December, 2007 | 27 | 66 | 7 |
| October, 2007 | 28 | 66 | 6 |
| February, 2007 | 30 | 61 | 9 |
| Mid-January, 2007 | 32 | 61 | 7 |
| Early January, 2007 | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| December, 2006 | 28 | 65 | 7 |
| Mid-November, 2006 | 28 | 64 | 8 |
| Early October, 2006 | 30 | 63 | 7 |
| July, 2006 | 30 | 65 | 5 |
| May, 2006* | 29 | 65 | 6 |

[^0]|  | fied | satisfied | DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | March, 2006 | 63 | 5 |
| January, 2006 | 34 | 61 | 5 |
| Late November, 2005 | 34 | 59 | 7 |
| Early October, 2005 | 29 | 65 | 6 |
| July, 2005 | 35 | 58 | 7 |
| Late May, 2005* | 39 | 57 | 4 |
| February, 2005 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| January, 2005 | 40 | 54 | 6 |
| December, 2004 | 39 | 54 | 7 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 36 | 58 | 6 |
| July, 2004 | 38 | 55 | 7 |
| May, 2004 | 33 | 61 | 6 |
| Late February, 2004* | 39 | 55 | 6 |
| Early January, 2004 | 45 | 48 | 7 |
| December, 2003 | 44 | 47 | 9 |
| October, 2003 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| August, 2003 | 40 | 53 | 7 |
| April 8, 2003 | 50 | 41 | 9 |
| January, 2003 | 44 | 50 | 6 |
| November, 2002 | 41 | 48 | 11 |
| September, 2002 | 41 | 55 | 4 |
| Late August, 2002 | 47 | 44 | 9 |
| May, 2002 | 44 | 44 | 12 |
| March, 2002 | 50 | 40 | 10 |
| Late September, 2001 | 57 | 34 | 9 |
| Early September, 2001 | 41 | 53 | 6 |
| June, 2001 | 43 | 52 | 5 |
| March, 2001 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| February, 2001 | 46 | 43 | 11 |
| January, 2001 | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| October, 2000 (RVs) | 54 | 39 | 7 |
| September, 2000 | 51 | 41 | 8 |
| June, 2000 | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| April, 2000 | 48 | 43 | 9 |
| August, 1999 | 53 | 73 | 4 |
| January, 1999 | 56 | 39 | 5 |
| November, 1998 | 53 | 41 | 6 |
| Early September, 1998 | 46 | 44 | 10 |
| Late August, 1998 | 54 | 42 | 4 |
| Early August, 1998 | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| February, 1998 | 50 | 44 | 6 |
| January, 1998 | 59 | 37 | 4 |
| September, 1997 | 46 | 50 | 4 |
| August, 1997 | 45 | 49 | 6 |
| January, 1997 | 49 | 46 | 5 |
| July, 1996 | 38 | 58 | 4 |
| March, 1996 | 29 | 67 | 4 |
| October, 1995 | 28 | 70 | 2 |
|  |  |  |  |

## Q. 1 CONTINUED...

June, 1995
April, 1995
July, 1994
March, 1994
October, 1993
September, 1993
May, 1993
January, 1993

| Satisfied | Dis- | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | satisfied | DK/Ref |
| 25 | 73 | 2 |
| 23 | 74 | 3 |
| 24 | 73 | 3 |
| 24 | 71 | 5 |
| 22 | 73 | 5 |
| 20 | 75 | 5 |
| 22 | 71 | 7 |
| 39 | 50 | 11 |


|  | Satis- <br> fied | Dis- <br> satisfied | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| January, 1992 | 28 | 68 | 4 |
| November, 1991 | 34 | 61 | 5 |
| Gallup: Late February, 1991 | 66 | 31 | 3 |
| August, 1990 | 47 | 48 | 5 |
| May, 1990 | 41 | 54 | 5 |
| January, 1989 | 45 | 50 | 5 |
| September, 1988 (RVs) | 50 | 45 | 5 |

## RANDOMIZE Q. 1 AND Q.2/Q.2a <br> <br> ASK ALL:

 <br> <br> 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]


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

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

BASED ON TOTAL:

| Aug 25-Sep 6 |  |  |  |  | Jun 16-20 Jan 6-10 |  | Apr 14-21 Oct |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{2010}$ | Rep | Dem | Ind |  | $\underline{2010}$ | $\underline{2010}$ | $\underline{2009}$ | $\underline{2006}{ }^{3}$ |
| 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 |

[^1]
## 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]

|  | Approve | Disapprove | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 42 | 40 | 17 |  |
| Republican | 38 | 47 | 15 |
| Democrat | 56 | 30 | 14 |
| Independent | 35 | 44 | 21 |
| September, 2006 | 46 |  |  |
| May, 2005 | 49 | 29 | 25 |
| September, 1993 | 54 | 23 | 28 |
| August, 1993 | 52 | 26 | 22 |
| March, 1992 | 45 | 37 | 22 |

## 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?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:

|  | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | a lot | Some | little | None | DK/Ref |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 50 | 5 | 42 | 3 | 1 |
| Republican | 64 | 5 | 29 | 1 | 1 |
| Democratic | 41 | 4 | 51 | 3 | 1 |
| Independent | 48 | 5 | 42 | 5 | , |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 44 | 5 | 44 | 6 | 1 |
| 2008 Election |  |  |  |  |  |
| November, 2008 | 81 | 3 | 13 | 2 | 1 |
| Late October, 2008 | 81 | 3 | 13 | 2 | 1 |
| Mid-October, 2008 | 81 | 3 | 13 | 3 | * |
| Early October, 2008 | 81 | 2 | 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 | 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 |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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 |  |  |  |  |  |
| November, 2004 | 82 | 3 | 12 | 2 | 1 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 76 | 5 | 15 | 3 | 1 |
| Early October, 2004 | 74 | 4 | 19 | 2 | 1 |
| September, 2004 | 71 | 3 | 22 | 3 | 1 |

## THOUGHT CONTINUED...

| - | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | a lot | Some | little | None | 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 |
|  |  |  |  | (VOL.) |  |
|  | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | None/ |  |
|  | a lot | Some | little | 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 (GP) | P) 21 | 18 | 44 | 18 |  |

[^2]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

| $\underline{2010}$ | Rep | Dem | Ind |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:
Aug 25-Sep 6

| $\frac{2010}{90}$ |  | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{94}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{90}$ | $\frac{\text { Ind }}{88}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 9 | 6 | 10 | 11 | Yes |  |
| $*$ | $*$ | $*$ | 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |  |

## ASK ALL FORM 1 [ $\mathbf{N}=1,736$ ]:

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

Aug 25-Sep 6

| $\underline{2010}$ |  | Rep | Dem | Ind |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- |
|  | 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 [ $\mathrm{N}=1,773$ ]:

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 | Some of the time | Only now and then | Hardly at all | (VOL.) <br> 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...

November, 2004 (RVs)
Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)
June, 2004,
August, 2003
November, 2002
August, 2002
March, 2001
Early November, 2000 (RVs)
September, 2000 (RVs)
June, 2000
Late September, 1999
August, 1999
November, 1998
Late October, 1998 (RVs)
Early October, 1998 (RVs)
Early September, 1998
June, 1998
November, 1997
November, 1996 (RVs)
October, 1996 (RVs)
June, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
November, 1994
October, 1994
July, 1994
May, 1990
February, 1989
October, 1988 (RVs)
May, 1988
January, 1988
November, 1987
May, 1987
July, 1985

| Most of | Some of | Only now | Hardly | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| the time | the time | and then | at all | DK/Ref |
| 61 | 27 | 9 | 3 | * |
| 63 | 26 | 8 | 3 | * |
| 44 | 34 | 15 | 7 | * |
| 48 | 33 | 12 | 6 | 1 |
| 49 | 27 | 14 | 9 | 1 |
| 54 | 30 | 11 | 5 | * |
| 49 | 27 | 13 | 10 | 1 |
| 51 | 32 | 12 | 5 | * |
| 51 | 34 | 10 | 4 | 1 |
| 38 | 32 | 19 | 11 | * |
| 39 | 32 | 20 | 9 | * |
| 40 | 35 | 17 | 8 | * |
| 46 | 27 | 14 | 13 | * |
| 57 | 29 | 10 | 4 | * |
| 51 | 33 | 11 | 5 | * |
| 45 | 34 | 15 | 6 | * |
| 36 | 34 | 21 | 9 | * |
| 41 | 36 | 16 | 7 | * |
| 52 | 32 | 12 | 4 | * |
| 43 | 37 | 13 | 6 | 1 |
| 41 | 34 | 17 | 8 | * |
| 46 | 35 | 14 | 5 | * |
| 43 | 35 | 16 | 6 | * |
| 49 | 30 | 13 | 7 | 1 |
| 45 | 35 | 14 | 6 | * |
| 46 | 33 | 15 | 6 | * |
| 39 | 34 | 18 | 9 | * |
| 47 | 34 | 14 | 4 | 1 |
| 52 | 33 | 12 | 3 | * |
| 37 | 37 | 17 | 6 | 3 |
| 37 | 35 | 18 | 8 | 2 |
| 49 | 32 | 14 | 4 | 1 |
| 41 | 35 | 15 | 7 | 2 |
| 36 | 33 | 18 | 12 | 1 |

## NO QUESTIONS 8-9

ASK ALL:
OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote... [READ]?
BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Republican
Democrat
Independent
June 16-20, 2010
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009
November, 2008
Late October, 2008
Mid-October, 2008
Early October, 2008
Late September, 2008

| Always | Nearly <br> always | Part of <br> the time | (VOL.) <br> Never |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 65 | 26 | 9 |  | Seldom <br> vote |
| 60 | 26 | 6 | 2 | $*$ |
| 50 | 27 | 10 | 4 | $*$ |
| 54 |  | 11 | 6 | 1 |
| 52 | 31 | 11 | 5 | 1 |
| 62 | 23 | 7 | 5 | 1 |
| 60 | 23 | 8 | 5 | 2 |
| 57 | 26 | 8 | 5 | 3 |
| 57 | 27 | 7 | 5 | 3 |
| 53 | 27 | 9 | 6 | 3 |
| 55 | 27 | 9 | 6 | 2 |

(VOL.) (VOL.)
$\frac{\text { Other }}{*} \frac{\mathrm{DK} / \text { Ref. }}{*}$

## OFTVOTE CONTINUED...

Mid-September, 2008
August, 2008
July, 2008
January, 2007
November, 2006
Late October, 2006
Early October, 2006
September, 2006
May, 2006
December, 2005
December, 2004
November, 2004
Mid-October, 2004
Early October, 2004
September, 2004
August, 2004
July, 2004
June, 2004
May, 2004
April, 2004
Late March, 2004
Mid-March, 2004
February, 2004
January, 2004
August, 2003
June, 2003
Early November, 2002
Early October, 2002
Early September, 2002
August, 2002
May, 2002
Early November, 2000
Late October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000
July, 2000
June, 2000
May, 2000
April, 2000
March, 2000
February, 2000
January, 2000
October, 1999
Late September, 1999
Late October, 1998
Early October, 1998
Early September, 1998
Late August, 1998
June, 1998
May, 1998
November, 1997
October, 1997
June, 1997
November, 1996
October, 1996
Late September, 1996
Early September, 1996

| Always | Nearly always | Part of the time | (VOL.) |  | (VOL.) (VOL.) |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  | Never |  |  |
|  |  |  | Seldom | vote | Other | DK/Ref. |
| 54 | 28 | 10 | 5 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 55 | 29 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 53 | 30 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 58 | 29 | 9 | 3 | 1 | * | * |
| 58 | 26 | 8 | 5 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 58 | 27 | 9 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * |
| 47 | 36 | 10 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 56 | 28 | 9 | 6 | 1 | * | * |
| 60 | 26 | 8 | 4 | 1 | * | 1 |
| 60 | 24 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 64 | 22 | 8 | 4 | 1 | * | 1 |
| 62 | 21 | 7 | 6 | 3 | 1 | * |
| 63 | 22 | 7 | 5 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 58 | 25 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 58 | 27 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 56 | 28 | 9 | 5 | 2 | * | 1 |
| 54 | 31 | 9 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| 57 | 29 | 7 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 56 | 27 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 55 | 29 | 9 | 5 | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| 50 | 31 | 11 | 6 | 1 | * | 1 |
| 55 | 30 | 9 | 5 | 1 | * | * |
| 55 | 29 | 12 | 3 | * | * | * |
| 54 | 30 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 53 | 30 | 10 | 5 | 1 | * | * |
| 48 | 36 | 11 | 3 | 2 | 1 | 0 |
| 52 | 30 | 11 | 6 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| 50 | 33 | 11 | 4 | * | 1 | 1 |
| 59 | 25 | 11 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| 53 | 32 | 10 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| 53 | 31 | 9 | 5 | 1 | * | 1 |
| 57 | 26 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 52 | 30 | 9 | 6 | 1 | 2 | 0 |
| 54 | 27 | 10 | 6 | * | 3 | * |
| 51 | 29 | 10 | 6 | 3 | 1 | * |
| 61 | 21 | 9 | 7 | 2 | * | * |
| 48 | 30 | 13 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 58 | 26 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * |
| 52 | 29 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 1 | * |
| 50 | 30 | 12 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 49 | 34 | 12 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 0 |
| 53 | 32 | 10 | 4 | 1 | 0 | * |
| 50 | 34 | 12 | 4 | 1 | * | * |
| 39 | 47 | 9 | 2 | 1 | * | * |
| 40 | 47 | 9 | 3 | 1 | * | * |
| 56 | 28 | 10 | 5 | 1 | * | * |
| 50 | 32 | 11 | 5 | 1 | 1 | * |
| 53 | 33 | 9 | 4 | - | 1 | * |
| 48 | 35 | 13 | 4 | * | 0 | * |
| 49 | 33 | 12 | 5 | - | 1 | 0 |
| 52 | 29 | 12 | 6 | 1 | 1 | * |
| 42 | 44 | 10 | 3 | 1 | * | * |
| 62 | 26 | 8 | 3 | 1 | * | * |
| 54 | 30 | 10 | 4 | * | * | * |
| 55 | 28 | 8 | 6 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 52 | 30 | 9 | 5 | 2 | 2 | * |
| 52 | 31 | 10 | 4 | 2 | 1 | * |
| 53 | 29 | 12 | 4 | 1 | * | * |

## OFTVOTE CONTINUED...

July, 1996
June, 1996
Late April, 1996
Early April, 1996
February, 1996
October, 1995
April, 1995
November, 1994
Late October, 1994
July, 1994
May, 1993
Early October, 1992
September, 1992
June, 1992
May, 1992
Early May, 1992
March, 1992
February, 1992
January 1992 (GP) ${ }^{5}$
November, 1991
May, 1990
January, 1989 (GP)
Gallup: November, 1988
October, 1988
May, 1988
January, 1988
September, 1988
May, 1987


## 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 [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:

|  | Rep/ <br> Lean Rep | Dem/ <br> Lean Dem | (VOL.) <br> Other/ |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Undecided |  |  |  |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <br> Republican <br> Democrat | 44 | 47 | 9 |
| Independent | 94 | 3 | 3 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 6 | 91 | 3 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 42 | 39 | 19 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 45 | 45 | 11 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 44 | 45 | 10 |
| Jan 6-10, 2010 | 42 | 44 | 12 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8,2009 | 44 | 45 | 13 |
| Aug 20-27, 2009 | 42 | 46 | 10 |
| 2008 Election | 44 | 47 | 11 |
| June, 2008 | 37 | 55 | 10 |
|  |  | 52 | 11 |

[^3]
## Q.10/Q.10a CONTINUED...

(VOL.)

|  | Rep/ Lean Rep | Dem/ Lean Dem | (VOL.) <br> Other/ <br> Undecided |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 |

[^4]
## ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

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

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N = 2 , 8 1 6 ] : ~}$

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

[^5]
## PLANTO1 CONTINUED...

| Y | Yes, plan | No, don't | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | to vote | plan to | DK/Ref |
| July, 1996 | 95 | 3 | 2 |
| June, 1996 | 96 | 2 | 2 |
| 1994 Election |  |  |  |
| 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, 1988 | - 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]:

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

[^6]
## SCALE10 CONTINUED...

|  | Definit will vo |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | not | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 10 | $\underline{9}$ | 8 | $\underline{7}$ | $\underline{6}$ | 5 | 4 | 3 | $\underline{2}$ | $\underline{1}$ | DK/Ref |
| 1996 Election |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| November, 1996 | 77 | 7 | 7 | 2 | 1 | 2 | * | 1 | * | 2 | 1 |
| October, 1996 | 77 | 9 | 7 | 2 | 2 | 2 | * | * | * | 1 | * |
| Late September, 1996 | 78 | 10 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 1 | * | * | * | 1 | 1 |
| 1994 Election |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| November, 1994 | 67 | 9 | 8 | 2 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Late October, 1994 | 66 | 10 | 9 | 4 | 2 | 4 | 1 | 1 | * | 2 | 1 |
| 1992 Election |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gallup: September, 1992 | 277 | 5 | 4 | 3 | 2 | 4 | * | 1 | * | 4 | * |
| 1988 Election |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gallup: November, 1988 | 77 | 7 | 6 | 2 | 1 | 3 | * | * | * | 2 | 2 |
| Gallup: October, 1988 | 73 | 8 | 7 | 3 | 2 | 3 | 1 | * | * | 1 | 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?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:


## Q. 13 CONTINUED...

(VOL.)
Representative (VOL.)
March, 1998
January, 1998

| not running |  | DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 1 |  | 15 |
| 0 | 11 |  |
| 0 |  | 12 |
| 3 |  | 21 |
| 2 | 17 |  |
| 2 | 26 |  |
| 2 | 17 |  |
|  |  |  |
| 1 | 16 |  |
| 2 | 13 |  |
| 2 | 20 |  |
| 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?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:

|  |  |  | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Yes | No | DK/Ref |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 33 | 56 | 11 |
| Republican | 16 | 77 | 8 |
| Democrat | 54 | 35 | 11 |
| Independent | 27 | 60 | 13 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 31 | 56 | 13 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 27 | 57 | 15 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 32 | 53 | 15 |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 34 | 53 | 13 |
| 2008 Election |  |  |  |
| Late February, 2008 | 36 | 49 | 15 |
| 2006 Election |  |  |  |
| November, 2006 | 37 | 46 | 17 |
| Late October, 2006 | 34 | 49 | 17 |
| Early October, 2006 | 32 | 48 | 20 |
| September, 2006 | 35 | 49 | 16 |
| August, 2006 | 36 | 49 | 15 |
| June, 2006 | 29 | 57 | 14 |
| April, 2006 | 34 | 53 | 13 |
| February, 2006 | 36 | 49 | 15 |
| September, 2005 | 36 | 48 | 16 |
| 2002 Election |  |  |  |
| Early October, 2002 | 39 | 38 | 23 |
| June, 2002 | 45 | 37 | 18 |
| 2000 Election |  |  |  |
| October, 2000 | 40 | 34 | 26 |
| July, 1999 | 41 | 47 | 12 |
| 1998 Election |  |  |  |
| Late October, 1998 | 41 | 37 | 22 |
| Early October, 1998 | 39 | 39 | 22 |
| Early September, 1998 | 46 | 37 | 17 |
| March, 1998 | 45 | 41 | 14 |
| January, 1998 | 44 | 43 | 13 |
| August, 1997 | 45 | 42 | 13 |

## Q. 14 CONTINUED...

| 1996 Election | $\underline{\text { Yes }}$ | $\underline{\text { No }}$ | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Early September, 1996 43 43 <br> 1994 Election   | 31 | 51 | 14 |
| November,1994 | 31 | 56 | 18 |
| Late October,1994 | 28 | 56 | 16 |
| Early October,1994 |  |  |  |

## 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?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:

|  | Yes, will be a factor | No, will not | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 56 | 41 | 3 |
| Republican | 67 | 30 | 3 |
| Democrat | 59 | 39 | 2 |
| Independent | 44 | 51 | 5 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 58 | 39 | 3 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 48 | 45 | 6 |
| 2008 Election |  |  |  |
| June, 2008 | 44 | 51 | 5 |
| 2006 Election |  |  |  |
| November, 2006 | 61 | 36 | 3 |
| Late October, 2006 | 61 | 36 | 3 |
| Early October, 2006 | 57 | 40 | 3 |
| September, 2006 | 55 | 41 | 4 |
| June, 2006 | 58 | 39 | 3 |
| April, 2006 | 56 | 39 | 5 |
| 2004 Election |  |  |  |
| June, 2004 | 43 | 51 | 6 |
| 2002 Election |  |  |  |
| Early November, 2002 | 48 | 49 | 3 |
| Early October, 2002 | 42 | 55 | 3 |
| Early September, 2002 | 44 | 51 | 5 |
| June, 2002 | 47 | 50 | 3 |
| February, 2002 | 46 | 49 | 5 |
| 2000 Election |  |  |  |
| 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 | 41 | 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 [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:

|  | For | Against | Not a factor | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 25 | 30 | 42 | 3 |
| Republican | 4 | 62 | 31 | 2 |
| Democrat | 50 | 7 | 41 | 3 |
| Independent | 16 | 29 | 50 | 5 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 23 | 28 | 47 | 2 |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 24 | 20 | 51 | 5 |
| 2006 Election (Bush) 20 |  |  |  |  |
| November, 2006 | 21 | 35 | 41 | 3 |
| Late October, 2006 | 20 | 37 | 38 | 5 |
| Early October, 2006 | 18 | 39 | 40 | 3 |
| September, 2006 | 20 | 36 | 40 | 4 |
| August, 2006 | 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) |  |  |  |  |
| 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) |  |  |  |  |
| Early September, 1996 | 24 | 18 | 51 | 7 |
| 1994 Election (Clinton) |  |  |  |  |
| November, 1994 | 17 | 21 | 55 | 7 |
| Late October, 1994 | 17 | 21 | 57 | 5 |
| Early October, 1994 | 17 | 23 | 54 | 6 |
| 1990 Election (GHW Bush) |  |  |  |  |
| CBS/NYT: October 28-31, 1990 | 19 | 15 | 61 | 6 |
| 1986 Election (Reagan) |  |  |  |  |
| CBS/NYT: 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 |

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."]

| a. The Republican Party | ---- Favorable ----- |  |  | ---- Unfavorable ---- |  |  | (VOL.) <br> Never heard of | (VOL.) <br> Can’t rate/ Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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 | 33 | 50 | 18 | 32 | * | 10 |
| Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009 | 40 | 7 | 33 | 51 | 17 | 34 | 0 | 9 |
| Jan 7-11, 2009 | 40 | 5 | 35 | 55 | 21 | 34 | * | 5 |
| Late October, 2008 | 40 | 10 | 30 | 50 | 23 | 27 | * | 10 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 47 | 11 | 36 | 46 | 22 | 24 | * | 7 |
| August, 2008 | 43 | 9 | 34 | 49 | 18 | 31 | 1 | 7 |
| Late May, 2008 | 39 | 7 | 32 | 53 | 20 | 33 | * | 8 |
| July, 2007 | 39 | 7 | 32 | 53 | 22 | 31 | 0 | 8 |
| Early January, 2007 | 41 | 9 | 32 | 48 | 21 | 27 | 1 | 10 |
| Late October, 2006 | 41 | 9 | 32 | 50 | 20 | 30 | * | 9 |
| July, 2006 | 40 | 10 | 30 | 52 | 23 | 29 | 1 | 7 |
| April, 2006 | 40 | 10 | 30 | 50 | 21 | 29 | * | 10 |
| February, 2006 | 44 | 11 | 33 | 50 | 24 | 26 | * | 6 |
| Late October, 2005 | 42 | 12 | 30 | 49 | 24 | 25 | * | 9 |
| July, 2005 | 48 | 13 | 35 | 43 | 18 | 25 | * | 9 |
| June, 2005 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 44 | 20 | 24 | 0 | 8 |
| December, 2004 | 52 | 15 | 37 | 42 | 17 | 25 | 0 | 6 |
| June, 2004 | 51 | 12 | 39 | 40 | 14 | 26 | 0 | 9 |
| Early February, 2004 | 52 | 14 | 38 | 42 | 16 | 26 | * | 6 |
| June, 2003 | 58 | 14 | 44 | 33 | 10 | 23 | 0 | 9 |
| April, 2003 | 63 | 14 | 49 | 31 | 10 | 21 | * | 6 |
| December, 2002 | 59 | 18 | 41 | 33 | 11 | 22 | * | 8 |
| July, 2001 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 42 | 15 | 27 | * | 10 |
| January, 2001 | 56 | 13 | 43 | 35 | 13 | 22 | * | 9 |
| September, 2000 (RVs) | 53 | 11 | 42 | 40 | 12 | 28 | 0 | 7 |
| August, 1999 | 53 | 8 | 45 | 43 | 12 | 31 | * | 4 |
| February, 1999 | 44 | 7 | 37 | 51 | 15 | 36 | 0 | 5 |
| January, 1999 | 44 | 10 | 34 | 50 | 23 | 27 | 0 | 6 |
| Early December, 1998 | 46 | 11 | 35 | 47 | 20 | 27 | * | 7 |
| Early October, 1998 (RVs) | 52 | 9 | 43 | 42 | 14 | 28 | 0 | 6 |
| Early September, 1998 | 56 | 9 | 47 | 37 | 11 | 26 | * | 7 |
| March, 1998 | 50 | 10 | 40 | 43 | 12 | 31 | * | 7 |
| August, 1997 | 47 | 9 | 38 | 47 | 11 | 36 | * | 6 |
| June, 1997 | 51 | 8 | 43 | 42 | 11 | 31 | 1 | 6 |
| January, 1997 | 52 | 8 | 44 | 43 | 10 | 33 | * | 5 |
| October, 1995 | 52 | 10 | 42 | 44 | 16 | 28 | * | 4 |
| December, 1994 | 67 | 21 | 46 | 27 | 8 | 19 | * | 6 |
| July, 1994 | 63 | 12 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | * | 4 |
| May, 1993 | 54 | 12 | 42 | 35 | 10 | 25 | 0 | 11 |
| July, 1992 | 46 | 9 | 37 | 48 | 17 | 31 | * | 6 |

Q. 26 CONTINUED...

(VOL.) (VOL.) Never Can't rate/ heard of Ref b. The Democratic Party

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Republican
Democrat
Independent
July 1-5, 2010
April 1-5, 2010
Mar 18-21, 2010
Feb 3-9, 2010
Aug 20-27, 2009
Aug 11-17, 2009
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009
Jan 7-11, 2009
Late October, 2008
Mid-September, 2008
August, 2008
Late May, 2008
July, 2007
Early January, 2007
Late October, 2006
July, 2006
April, 2006
February, 2006
Late October, 2005
July, 2005
June, 2005
December, 2004
June, 2004
Early February, 2004
June, 2003
April, 2003
December, 2002
July, 2001
January, 2001
September, 2000 (RVs)
August, 1999
February, 1999
January, 1999
Early December, 1998
Early October, 1998 (RVs)
Early September, 1998
March, 1998
August, 1997
June, 1997
January, 1997
October, 1995
December, 1994
July, 1994
May, 1993
July, 1992

| 50 | 13 | 36 | 44 | 20 | 24 | $*$ | 7 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 11 | 2 | 9 | 88 | 46 | 42 | 0 | 2 |
| 87 | 29 | 58 | 10 | 4 | 7 | 0 | 3 |
| 44 | 8 | 36 | 44 | 18 | 26 | $*$ | 12 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 44 | 12 | 31 | 45 | 22 | 23 | $*$ | 11 |
| 38 | 9 | 29 | 52 | 27 | 25 | $*$ | 9 |
| 40 | 8 | 32 | 49 | 25 | 24 | $*$ | 11 |
| 48 | 9 | 39 | 44 | 17 | 27 | $*$ | 8 |
| 48 | 11 | 37 | 43 | 19 | 24 | $*$ | 10 |
| 49 | 12 | 37 | 40 | 16 | 25 | $*$ | 10 |
| 59 | 15 | 44 | 34 | 13 | 21 | $*$ | 7 |
| 62 | 19 | 43 | 32 | 12 | 20 | $*$ | 6 |
| 57 | 19 | 38 | 33 | 15 | 18 | $*$ | 10 |
| 55 | 18 | 37 | 39 | 14 | 25 | $*$ | 6 |
| 57 | 16 | 41 | 37 | 13 | 24 | $*$ | 6 |
| 57 | 14 | 43 | 37 | 14 | 23 | $*$ | 6 |
| 51 | 13 | 38 | 41 | 14 | 27 | 0 | 8 |
| 54 | 15 | 39 | 35 | 12 | 23 | $*$ | 11 |
| 53 | 13 | 40 | 36 | 11 | 25 | $*$ | 11 |
| 47 | 13 | 34 | 44 | 13 | 31 | 2 | 7 |
| 47 | 12 | 35 | 42 | 14 | 28 | $*$ | 11 |
| 48 | 14 | 34 | 44 | 17 | 27 | 0 | 8 |
| 49 | 14 | 35 | 41 | 15 | 26 | $*$ | 10 |
| 50 | 15 | 35 | 41 | 14 | 27 | $*$ | 9 |
| 52 | 12 | 40 | 39 | 13 | 26 | $*$ | 9 |
| 53 | 13 | 40 | 41 | 14 | 27 | $*$ | 6 |
| 54 | 12 | 42 | 36 | 11 | 25 | 0 | 10 |
| 58 | 14 | 44 | 37 | 9 | 28 | $*$ | 5 |
| 54 | 11 | 43 | 38 | 10 | 28 | 0 | 8 |
| 57 | 13 | 44 | 36 | 11 | 25 | $*$ | 7 |
| 54 | 15 | 39 | 37 | 10 | 27 | $*$ | 9 |
| 58 | 18 | 40 | 34 | 10 | 24 | $*$ | 8 |
| 60 | 18 | 42 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 1 | 9 |
| 60 | 16 | 44 | 35 | 12 | 23 | $*$ | 5 |
| 59 | 14 | 45 | 37 | 9 | 28 | $*$ | 4 |
| 58 | 11 | 47 | 37 | 11 | 26 | 0 | 5 |
| 55 | 14 | 41 | 38 | 12 | 26 | 0 | 7 |
| 59 | 18 | 41 | 34 | 10 | 24 | 0 | 7 |
| 56 | 11 | 45 | 38 | 9 | 29 | $*$ | 6 |
| 60 | 13 | 47 | 33 | 8 | 25 | $*$ | 7 |
| 58 | 15 | 43 | 36 | 10 | 26 | $*$ | 6 |
| 52 | 11 | 41 | 42 | 10 | 32 | 0 | 6 |
| 61 | 10 | 51 | 33 | 8 | 25 | $*$ | 6 |
| 60 | 13 | 47 | 35 | 7 | 28 | $*$ | 5 |
| 49 | 9 | 40 | 48 | 11 | 37 | 0 | 3 |
| 50 | 13 | 37 | 44 | 13 | 31 | $*$ | 6 |
| 62 | 13 | 49 | 34 | 7 | 27 | $*$ | 4 |
| 57 | 14 | 43 | 34 | 9 | 25 | 0 | 9 |
| 61 | 17 | 44 | 33 | 9 | 24 | $*$ | 6 |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |

ASK ALL:
Q. 27 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."]

| a. Barack Obama | -------Favorable------ |  |  | ------Unfavorable------ |  |  | (VOL.) <br> Never heard of | (VOL.) Can't rate/Re |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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 | 0 | 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 | 37 | 35 | 25 | 11 | 14 | * | 3 |
| Apr 14-21, 2009 | 73 | 38 | 35 | 24 | 10 | 14 | * | 3 |
| Jan 7-11, 2009 | 79 | 40 | 39 | 15 | 4 | 11 | 0 | 6 |
| Mid-October, 2008 | 66 | 33 | 33 | 28 | 13 | 15 | * | 6 |
| Late September, 2008 | 65 | 33 | 32 | 30 | 11 | 19 | * | 5 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 62 | 28 | 34 | 34 | 15 | 19 | * | 4 |
| Late May, 2008 | 51 | 23 | 28 | 40 | 21 | 19 | * | 9 |
| April, 2008 | 52 | 21 | 31 | 42 | 21 | 21 | * | 6 |
| March, 2008 | 56 | 21 | 35 | 34 | 18 | 16 | 1 | 9 |
| Late February, 2008 | 57 | 24 | 33 | 34 | 16 | 18 | 1 | 8 |
| Early February, 2008 | 58 | 19 | 39 | 30 | 13 | 17 | 2 | 10 |
| January, 2008 | 56 | 20 | 36 | 33 | 13 | 20 | 3 | 8 |
| Late December, 2007 | 54 | 16 | 38 | 30 | 12 | 18 | 5 | 11 |
| August, 2007 | 48 | 14 | 34 | 26 | 10 | 16 | 13 | 13 |

## 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 | 37 | 23 | 0 | 4 |
| Late December, 2007 | 33 | 10 | 23 | 63 | 41 | 22 | 0 | 4 |
| August, 2007 | 40 | 12 | 28 | 57 | 34 | 23 | $*$ | 3 |
| December, 2006 | 39 | 12 | 27 | 57 | 34 | 23 | $*$ | 4 |
| April, 2006 | 40 | 15 | 25 | 57 | 35 | 22 | $*$ | 3 |
| Late October, 2005 | 46 | 17 | 29 | 51 | 29 | 22 | $*$ | 3 |
| July, 2005 | 51 | 22 | 29 | 46 | 25 | 21 | 0 | 3 |
| Late March, 2005 | 53 | 23 | 30 | 45 | 27 | 18 | 0 | 2 |
| Mid-October, 2004 (RVs) | 56 | 26 | 30 | 42 | 23 | 19 | $*$ | 2 |
| Early October, 2004 (RVs) | 57 | 27 | 30 | 40 | 20 | 20 | 0 | 3 |
| September, 2004 | 52 | 25 | 27 | 43 | 24 | 19 | $*$ | 5 |
| August, 2004 | 58 | 27 | 31 | 39 | 22 | 17 | 0 | 3 |
| June, 2004 | 52 | 19 | 33 | 45 | 22 | 23 | $*$ | 3 |
| Early February, 2004 | 53 | 21 | 32 | 44 | 25 | 19 | 0 | 3 |
| Gallup: Jan 29-Feb 1, 2004 | 52 | -- | -- | 47 | -- | -- | -- | 1 |
| Gallup: Jan 2-5, 2004 | 65 | -- | -- | 35 | -- | -- | -- | $*$ |

## Q. 27 CONTINUED...

(VOL.) (VOL.)

| -------Favorable-- |  |  | ------Unfavorable------ |  |  | Never heard of | Can't rate/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly |  |  |
| 60 | -- | -- | 39 | -- | -- | -- | 1 |
| 66 | -- | -- | 33 | -- | -- | -- | 1 |
| 72 | 37 | 35 | 25 | 11 | 14 | 0 | 3 |
| 70 | 28 | 42 | 28 | 10 | 18 | 0 | 2 |
| 68 | 35 | 33 | 27 | 11 | 16 | 0 | 5 |
| 61 | 22 | 39 | 35 | 14 | 21 | * | 4 |
| 60 | 24 | 36 | 33 | 12 | 21 | 0 | 7 |
| 58 | 18 | 40 | 31 | 12 | 19 | 1 | 10 |
| 61 | 21 | 40 | 21 | 7 | 14 | 4 | 14 |
| 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 content | Frustrated | Angry | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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? ${ }^{11}$

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

[^7]
## Q. 29 CONTINUED...

February, 1998
October, 1997

| Just about always | Most of the time | Only sometimes | (VOL.) Never | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 5 | 29 | 61 | 4 | 1 |
| 3 | 36 | 59 | 2 | * |

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

Q. $30 \quad$ 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 [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:
a.

Aug 25-Sep 6

| $\frac{2010}{61}$ |  | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{77}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{}$ | Ind |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 35 |  | 19 | 55 | 66 |
| 2 |  | 2 | 2 | 29 |
| 2 |  | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 2 |  | 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 |  | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 54 |  | 57 | 54 | 52 |
| 42 |  | 39 | 43 | 43 |
| 3 | 2 | 2 | 4 |  |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 |  |

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
Neither/Both equally (VOL.)
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
c.

Aug 25-Sep 6

| $\frac{2010}{29}$ |  | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{22}$ |  | Dem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Ind |  |  |
| 68 |  | 75 | 54 |  |
| 2 |  | 76 |  |  |
| 2 |  | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 2 | 1 | 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

| 2010 |  | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 64 |  | 73 | 57 | 63 |
| 33 |  | 24 | 39 | 34 |
| 2 |  | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |  |

Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to
work hard
Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most
people
Neither/Both equally (VOL.)
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work
and talents
Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our
jobs, housing and health care
Neither/Both equally (VOL.)
Don't know/Refused (VOL.) 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 |  | Dem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Ind |  |  |  |  |
| 48 |  | 64 | 33 | 50 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 45 |  | 28 | 63 | 41 |
| 4 |  | 4 | 2 | 4 |
| 4 |  | 4 | 3 | 4 |

Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites
Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites
Neither/Both equally (VOL.)
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
g.

Aug 25-Sep 6

| $\underline{2010}$ | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 54 | 35 | 69 | 54 |
| 39 | 57 | 26 | 38 |
| 2 | 3 | 1 | 3 |
| 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 |

Business corporations make too much profit
Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit Neither/Both equally (VOL.)
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
h.

Aug 25-Sep 6

| 2010 |  | Rep | Dem | Ind |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| 40 |  | 28 | 46 | 42 |
| 55 |  | 67 | 50 | 51 |
| 3 |  | 3 | 2 | 3 |
| 2 | 2 | 2 | 4 |  |

I like elected officials who make compromises with people they disagree with
I like elected officials who stick to their positions Neither/Both equally (VOL.)
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

| Smaller government, <br> fewer services | Bigger government, <br> more services | (VOL.) <br> Depends | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 50 | 42 | 3 | 5 |
| 76 | 20 | 1 | 3 |
| 30 | 62 | 3 | 5 |
| 51 | 39 | 4 | 6 |
| 50 | 39 | 4 |  |
| 50 | 40 | 3 | 7 |
| 51 | 40 | 4 | 7 |
| 48 | 40 | 3 | 6 |
| 42 | 43 | 4 | 9 |
| 47 | 42 | 4 | 11 |
| 45 | 43 | 4 | 7 |
| 45 | 42 | 4 | 8 |
| 48 | 40 | 5 | 9 |
| 46 | 40 | 3 | 7 |
| 51 | 36 | 5 | 11 |
| 46 | 43 | 5 | 8 |
| 61 | 30 | 4 | 6 |
|  |  |  | 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.) <br> Other/Depends | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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]?


[^8]
## Q. 33 CONTINUED ...

January, 1988
May, 1987

| Republican | Democratic | (VOL.) <br> Both <br> Party | $\frac{\text { Party }}{\text { (VOL.) }}$ | equally <br> (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{\text { Neither }}{}$ | DK/Ref |  |  |  |
| 20 | 28 | 12 | 20 | 10 |
| 24 | 25 | 13 | 28 | 10 |

b. Can bring about the kind of changes the country needs

| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 35 | 46 | 4 | 8 | 6 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Republican <br> Democrat | 81 | 8 | 1 | 6 | 3 |
| Independent | 7 | 85 | 3 | 2 | 3 |
|  | 31 | 38 | 5 | 14 | 11 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 |  |  |  |  |  |
| Feb 3-9, 2010 | 33 | 45 | 3 | 12 | 7 |
| Aug 27-30, 2009 | 34 | 46 | 4 | 9 | 7 |
| October, 2007 | 25 | 47 | 5 | 13 | 9 |
| March, 2007 | 26 | 48 | 5 | 11 | 10 |
| Early October, 2006 | 26 | 52 | 4 | 9 | 9 |
| April, 2006 | 28 | 48 | 4 | 10 | 10 |
| Early October, 2005 | 32 | 47 | 2 | 12 | 7 |
| July, 2004 | 32 | 48 | 4 | 9 | 7 |
| Early September, 1998 | 35 | 46 | 3 | 7 | 9 |
| March, 1998 | 34 | 40 | 7 | 8 | 11 |
| August, 1997 | 32 | 45 | 7 | 8 | 8 |
| July, 1996 | 38 | 40 | 4 | 11 | 7 |
| April, 1995 | 39 | 46 | 2 | 7 | 6 |
| July, 1994 | 51 | 34 | 4 | 7 | 4 |
| May, 1993 | 39 | 42 | 4 | 10 | 5 |
| July, 1992 | 30 | 49 | 2 | 10 | 9 |
| May, 1990 | 24 | 47 | 2 | 16 | 11 |
| May, 1988 | 27 | 31 | 13 | 18 | 11 |
| January, 1988 | 27 | 43 | 9 | 11 | 10 |
| May, 1987 | 28 | 37 | 14 | 11 | 10 |

## NO ITEM c

d. Is more concerned with the needs of people like me

| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 33 | 53 | 2 | 7 | 5 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Republican <br> Democrat | 78 | 12 | 2 | 5 | 3 |
| Independent | 5 | 89 | 1 | 3 | 2 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 28 | 49 | 3 | 11 | 9 |
| Feb 3-9,2010 | 34 | 50 | 2 | 9 | 5 |
| Aug 27-30, 2009 | 31 | 51 | 3 | 8 | 7 |
| October, 2007 | 27 | 51 | 4 | 10 | 7 |
| March, 2007 | 25 | 54 | 4 | 8 | 9 |
| Early October, 2006 | 26 | 55 | 2 | 7 | 10 |
| April, 2006 | 27 | 55 | 3 | 8 | 7 |
| Early October, 2005 | 28 | 52 | 3 | 10 | 7 |
| July, 2004 | 30 | 52 | 5 | 7 | 6 |
| Early September, 1998 | 30 | 50 | 5 | 8 | 7 |
| March, 1998 | 31 | 46 | 5 | 9 | 9 |
| August, 1997 | 30 | 51 | 4 | 8 | 7 |
| July, 1996 | 31 | 49 | 3 | 10 | 7 |
| April, 1995 | 35 | 50 | 2 | 7 | 6 |
| July, 1994 | 39 | 49 | 2 | 7 | 3 |
|  | 35 | 49 | 4 | 8 | 4 |

## Q. 33 CONTINUED ...

May, 1990
May, 1988
January, 1988

| Republican | Democratic | (VOL.) <br> Both <br> Party | $\frac{\text { Party }}{}$ | equally |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| (VOL.) | Neither <br> (VOL.) | DK/Ref |  |  |
| 23 | 42 | 12 | 18 | 7 |
| 22 | 51 | 8 | 11 | 7 |
| 23 | 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 Party | Democratic Party | (VOL.) <br> Both equally | (VOL.) <br> Neither | (VOL.) <br> 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 |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 43 | 36 | 5 | 9 | 7 |
|  | Republican | 81 | 8 | 4 | 5 | 3 |
|  | Democrat | 18 | 66 | 4 | 6 | 6 |
|  | Independent | 39 | 30 | 6 | 14 | 11 |
|  | May 20-23, 2010 | 33 | 30 | 8 | 16 | 12 |
|  | Apr 21-26, 2010 | 38 | 35 | 6 | 11 | 10 |
|  | Feb 3-9, 2010 | 42 | 36 | 6 | 8 | 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 |
|  | Democrat | 12 | 79 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
|  | Independent | 33 | 40 | 6 | 11 | 10 |
|  | TREND FOR COMPARISON: <br> Reforming the U.S. health care system |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  | Feb 3-9, 2010 | 32 | 45 | 6 | 10 | 7 |
|  | Aug 27-30, 2009 | 27 | 46 | 4 | 14 | 9 |
|  | February, 2008 | 26 | 56 | 3 | 8 | 7 |
|  | October, 2006 | 25 | 46 | 4 | 8 | 17 |
|  | September, 2006 | 24 | 48 | 5 | 10 | 13 |

[^9]
## Q. 34 CONTINUED ...

(VOL.)

| Republican <br> Party | Democratic <br> Party | Both <br> equally | (VOL.) <br> (Veither | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 28 | $\frac{49}{}$ | 51 | 6 |  |
| 23 | 50 | 4 | 10 | 9 |
| 31 | 38 | 4 | 10 | 7 |
| 313 | 38 | 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, 2001
$25 \quad 4$

Reforming the U.S. health care system
Early September, 199831
March, 1998
25

| 43 | 7 | 7 | 12 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 53 | 6 | 8 | 8 |
| 41 | 5 | 10 | 10 |
| 48 | 2 | 8 | 8 |
|  |  |  |  |
| 47 | -- | 10 | 18 |
|  |  |  |  |
| 56 | -- | 8 | 15 |
| 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 |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{2010}{30}$ | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{45}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{20}$ | $\frac{\text { Ind }}{28}$ |
| 23 | 12 | 31 | 24 |
|  |  |  |  |
| 44 | 40 | 47 | 44 |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| 1 | 1 | 1 | 2 |


|  | Jul 21-Aug 5 |
| :--- | :---: |
| Better border security and stronger enforcement of <br> our immigration laws | $\frac{2010}{33}$ |
| Creating a way for illegal immigrants already here to <br> become citizens if they meet certain requirements | 22 |
| Should BOTH be given equal priority | 42 |
| None of these (VOL.) <br> Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 1 |

## 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?

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010

| Protect right <br> to own guns | Control <br> gun ownership | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 50 | 4 |
| 70 | 26 | 4 |
| 30 | 67 | 3 |
| 46 | 50 | 4 |
|  |  |  |
| 46 | 46 | 7 |
| 45 | 49 | 6 |

## Q. 39 CONTINUED...

Apr, 2008
Nov, 2007
Apr, 2007
Feb, 2004
Jun, 2003
May, 2000
Apr, 2000
Mar, 2000
Jun, 1999
May ,1999
Dec, 1993

| Protect right <br> to own guns | Control <br> gun ownership | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 58 | $\frac{5}{5}$ |
| 42 | 55 | 3 |
| 32 | 60 | 8 |
| 37 | 58 | 5 |
| 42 | 54 | 4 |
| 38 | 57 | 5 |
| 37 | 55 | 8 |
| 29 | 66 | 5 |
| 33 | 62 | 5 |
| 30 | 65 | 5 |
| 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-------- |  |  | -------Oppose------ |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Strongly |  |  | Strongly |  |  | (VOL.) |
|  | Total | Favor | Favor | Total | Oppose | 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 | 35 | 25 | 11 |
| July, 2004 | 32 | 10 | 22 | 56 | 33 | 23 | 12 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 32 | 10 | 22 | 59 | 35 | 24 | 9 |
| Early February, 2004 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 63 | 42 | 21 | 7 |
| November, 2003 | 30 | 10 | 20 | 62 | 41 | 21 | 8 |
| October, 2003 | 30 | 9 | 21 | 58 | 33 | 25 | 12 |
| Mid-July, 2003 | 38 | 10 | 28 | 53 | 30 | 23 | 9 |
| March, 2001 | 35 | 8 | 27 | 57 | 34 | 23 | 8 |
| June, 1996 | 27 | 6 | 21 | 65 | 41 | 24 | 8 |

## NO QUESTIONS 41-43

 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?

| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | $\frac{\text { Better }}{27}$ | $\frac{\text { Worse }}{}$ | No effect <br> Republican | so far | (VOL.) <br> Too soon/ <br> early to tell |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | | (VOL.) |
| :---: |
| Democrat |
| Defef |

## ASK ALL:

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

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010

| Approve |
| :---: |
| 44 |
| 11 |
| 74 |
| 41 |
| 35 |
| 40 |


| Disapprove |  | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 10 |
| 83 |  | 6 |
| 18 |  | 8 |
| 45 |  | 14 |
|  |  |  |
| 47 |  | 17 |
| 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?

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Republican

| Right <br> decision | Wrong <br> decision | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | 38 |
| 69 | 22 | 10 |
| 45 | 47 | 10 |
| 49 | 40 | 9 |
|  |  | 11 |
| 56 | 34 | 10 |
| 64 | 25 | 11 |
| 65 | 24 | 11 |
| 61 | 29 | 10 |
| 69 | 20 | 11 |

## 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?

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

Q. 47 CONTINUED...

Mid-March, 2004
Late February, 2004
Early February, 2004
Mid-January, 2004
Early January, 2004
December, 2003
October, 2003
September, 2003
August, 2003
Early July, 2003
May, 2003
April 10-16, 2003
April 8-9, 2003
April 2-7, 2003
March 28-April 1, 2003
March 25-27, 2003
March 23-24, 2003
March 20-22, 2003
Late January, 1991

| Right | Wrong | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| decision | $\underline{\text { decision }}$ | DK/Ref |
| 55 | 39 | 6 |
| 60 | 32 | 8 |
| 56 | 39 | 5 |
| 65 | 30 | 5 |
| 62 | 28 | 10 |
| 67 | 26 | 7 |
| 60 | 33 | 7 |
| 63 | 31 | 6 |
| 63 | 30 | 7 |
| 67 | 24 | 9 |
| 74 | 20 | 6 |
| 74 | 19 | 7 |
| 74 | 19 | 7 |
| 72 | 20 | 8 |
| 69 | 25 | 6 |
| 74 | 21 | 5 |
| 74 | 21 | 5 |
| 71 | 22 | 7 |
| 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?

|  | Excellent | Good | Only <br> fair | Poor | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 1 | 7 | 43 | 48 | 1 |
| Republican | 1 | 6 | 36 | 56 | * |
| Democrat | 1 | 10 | 52 | 36 | 1 |
| Independent | 1 | 6 | 40 | 52 | 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 | 20 | 44 | 32 | 1 |
| September, 2007 | 3 | 23 | 43 | 29 | 2 |

## Q. 53 CONTINUED...

June, 2007
February, 2007
December, 2006
Early November, 2006 (RVs)
Late October, 2006
September, 2006
March, 2006
January, 2006
Early October, 2005
Mid-September, 2005
Mid-May, 2005
January, 2005
December, 2004
Early November, 2004 (RVs)
Mid-September, 2004
August, 2004
Late April, 2004
Late February, $2004{ }^{20}$

| Excellent | Good | Only <br> fair | $\frac{\text { Poor }}{}$ | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 27 | 40 | 25 | 2 |
| 5 | 26 | 45 | 23 | 1 |
| 6 | 32 | 41 | 19 | 2 |
| 9 | 35 | 37 | 17 | 2 |
| 6 | 27 | 40 | 25 | 2 |
| 5 | 32 | 41 | 20 | 2 |
| 4 | 29 | 44 | 22 | 1 |
| 4 | 30 | 45 | 19 | 2 |
| 2 | 23 | 45 | 29 | 1 |
| 3 | 28 | 44 | 24 | 1 |
| 3 | 29 | 47 | 20 | 1 |
| 3 | 36 | 45 | 15 | 1 |
| 3 | 33 | 43 | 20 | 1 |
| 5 | 31 | 37 | 26 | 1 |
| 4 | 34 | 40 | 20 | 2 |
| 3 | 30 | 45 | 21 | 1 |
| 4 | 34 | 38 | 22 | 2 |
| 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 | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{10}$ | Dem | Ind |  | $\frac{2010}{13}$ | $\frac{2010}{13}$ |
| 10 | 6 | 13 | 9 | The economy is now recovering | 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 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | $\underline{2004}$ | $\underline{1994}$ | $\underline{1993}$ | $\underline{1993}$ | $\underline{1992}$ | $\underline{1992}$ |
| The economy is now recovering | 45 | 40 | $\frac{37}{34}$ | $\underline{34}$ | 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.) |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | Excellent | Good |  | fair | $\frac{\text { Poor }}{23}$ | $\frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{}$ |
| Republican | 6 | 30 |  | 40 |  | 1 |
| Democrat | 9 | 38 | 36 | 16 | 1 |  |
| Independent | 6 | 30 | 42 | 22 | 1 |  |

20 Earlier trends available from Gallup.

## Q. 55 CONTINUED...

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

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 |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\underline{2010}$ | Rep | Dem | Ind |  | 2010 | $\underline{2010}$ |
| 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?

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | (VOL.) <br> No preference | (VOL.) Other party | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lean } \\ & \text { Rep } \end{aligned}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Lean } \\ & \text { Dem } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 24 | 32 | 39 | 2 | * | 2 | 15 | 17 |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010 | 26 | 33 | 34 | 4 | * | 3 | 14 | 14 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 27 | 34 | 34 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 15 |
| Apr 21-26, 2010 | 26 | 33 | 36 | 3 | 1 | 3 | 16 | 13 |
| Mar 11-21, 2010 | 28 | 34 | 32 | 3 | * | 3 | 13 | 12 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 | 22 | 33 | 37 | 6 | * | 3 | 14 | 13 |
| 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 | 12.5 |
| 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 | 31.8 | 33.8 | 4.6 | -- | -- | 14.3 | 12.6 |
| 1993 | 27.4 | 33.8 | 34.0 | 4.8 | -- | -- | 11.8 | 14.7 |
| 1992 | 27.7 | 32.7 | 35.7 | 3.9 | -- | -- | 13.8 | 15.8 |
| 1991 | 30.9 | 31.4 | 33.2 | 4.5 | -- | -- | 14.6 | 10.8 |
| 1990 | 31.0 | 33.1 | 29.1 | 6.8 | -- | -- | 12.4 | 11.3 |
| 1989 | 33 | 33 | 34 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 1987 | 26 | 35 | 39 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

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

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

|  | Strong Republican | Not strong/ DK | Strong Democrat | Not strong/ DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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) [ $\mathrm{N}=1,069$ ]:
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
$\frac{2010}{53}$
32
21
$*$
46
2
Yes, have thought of self as Democrat
Within past five years
Not within past five years
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
No, have not thought of self as Democrat
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
Late March
$\frac{2005}{59}$
--
--
39
2

[^10]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) [ $\mathrm{N}=1,069$ ]:
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 |
| :--- | :---: |
| Yes, have thought of self as Republican | $\frac{2005}{44}$ |
| Within past five years | -- |
| Not within past five years | -- |
| Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | -- |
| No, have not thought of self as Republican | 54 |
| 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 reason | Minor reason | Not a reason | $\begin{aligned} & \text { (VOL.) } \\ & \text { DK/Ref } \end{aligned}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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 <br> Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 34 | 29 | 35 | 1 |

## NO ITEM d

e. Politics isn't that important to me

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
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) [ $\mathrm{N}=1,069$ ]: <br> 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 | Democratic | Both | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
|  |  | Party | Party | equally | Neither | DK/Ref |
| a. | Social issues, such as abortion and gay marriage 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 |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $\frac{2010}{25}$ | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{}$ | $\underline{\text { Ind }}$ |  | $\underline{1999}$ | $\frac{1999}{26}$ | $\frac{1997}{28}$ | $\frac{1994}{28}$ |
| 39 | 28 | 13 | 22 | Republicans | 25 | 26 | 43 | 47 |
| 9 | 8 | 9 | 10 | Democrats | Both/Split ticket (VOL.) | 83 | 43 | 43 |
| 8 | 4 | 8 | 10 | Didn't vote/Not eligible (VOL.) | 6 | 5 | 6 | 6 |
| 3 | 1 | 3 | 4 | Other response (VOL.) | 3 | 2 | 1 | 4 |
| 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

| $\frac{2010}{15}$ |  | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { Ind }}{}$ |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 23 |  | 25 | 18 | 13 |  |
| 23 | 21 | A great deal |  |  |  |
| 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 [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Republican Democrat Independent

Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010
Jun 16-20, 2010
May 20-23, 2010
Mar 11-21, $2010^{22}$

| A lot | A little | Nothing <br> at all | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 48 | 39 | 12 | $*$ |
| 53 | 38 | 8 | $*$ |
| 44 | 42 | 14 | 1 |
| 49 | 37 | 14 | $*$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| 43 | 43 | 14 | 1 |
| 35 | 43 | 21 | $*$ |
| 45 | 39 | 16 | 1 |
| 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 [ $\mathbf{N}=\mathbf{2 , 8 1 6}$ ]:

|  | Strongly agree | Agree | Disagree | Strongly disagree | No opinion | (VOL.) Ref | Not heard/ DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 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

| $\frac{2010}{44}$ | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{}$ | Ind |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| 15 | 12 | 39 | 46 | Full-time |
| 41 | 40 | 17 | 14 | Part time |
| 1 | $*$ | 44 | 39 | Not employed |
|  |  | 1 | 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

## 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 | $\frac{\text { Yes }}{}$ | $\frac{\text { No }}{}$ | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Republican | 34 | 56 | 1 |
| Democrat | 42 | 65 | $*$ |
| Independent | 50 | 49 | 1 |
| Mar 10-14, 2010 |  |  | 1 |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 54 | 45 | 1 |
| Feb 4-8, 2009 | 42 | 58 | $*$ |
| December, 2008 | 39 | 61 | $*$ |
| Early February, 2008 | 35 | 65 | $*$ |
| May, 2005 | 28 | 71 | 1 |
|  | 31 | 69 | $*$ |

## ASK ALL:

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

| Aug 25-Sep 6 |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :--- | :--- |
| $\frac{2010}{8}$ | $\frac{\text { Rep }}{20}$ | $\frac{\text { Dem }}{4}$ | $\frac{\text { Ind }}{5}$ | 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]:

Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010
Republican
Democrat Independent

Jan 6-10, 2010
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009
Feb 4-8, 2009
Jan 7-11, 2009

|  | Voted | Obama | McCain | Other candidate | $\begin{gathered} \text { (VOL.) } \\ \text { DK/ } \\ \text { Ref } \end{gathered}$ | Did not vote | Don't remember Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 89 | 46 | 34 | 4 | + | 10 | $\frac{1}{1}$ |
| 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 | * |

(VOL.)

## AUGUST 26-29, 2010 OMNIBUS

FINAL TOPLINE
$\mathrm{N}=1002$
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 26-29 |  | Early |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  | Mid- |  |  | Mid- |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | Feb | Aug | Feb | Oct | July | Jan | Sept | Jan | Sept | Jan | May | Jan | July | Apr | Mar | Feb |
| 2010 |  | $10^{24}$ | $\underline{09}$ | $\underline{09}$ | 08 | 08 | 08 | 07 | 07 | 06 | 06 | 05 | $\underline{05}$ | 04 | $\underline{03}$ | $\underline{02}$ | $\underline{01}$ |
| 35 | Economy (general) | 24 | 27 | 53 | 55 | 39 | 20 | 10 | 5 | 9 | 11 | 15 | 12 | 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 |
| 9 | Dissatisfaction with gov't/politics/ 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 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| 3 | Deficit/National debt/Balanced 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 |
| 2 | Recession/Depression/Slowing 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 |
| 1 | Education/schools/affording 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 |
| 1 | Environment/pollution/ Global warming | 1 | -- | 1 | 1 | 3 | 1 | 1 | 1 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | 1 | 1 |
| 6 | Other |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7 | Don't know/No answer <br> (NET) FOREIGN ISSUES/ | 6 | 5 | 3 | 4 | 4 | 5 | 5 | 7 | 7 | 7 | 5 | 5 | 6 | 9 | 8 | 7 |
| 4 | INTERNATIONAL | 11 | 10 | 7 | 18 | 25 | 36 | 48 | 50 | 47 | 37 | 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

24 Complete trend for Pew. 1 not shown.


[^0]:    1 Independents include those who volunteered another party, no preference, don't know or refused to answer the party identification question.
    2 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?"

[^1]:    3 Other trends available for George W. Bush but not shown here.

[^2]:    $4 \quad$ Gallup trends for 1990, 1982 and 1978 are based on general public.

[^3]:    $5 \quad$ Trends for January 1992 and January 1989 are based on general public.

[^4]:    $6 \quad$ November 1996 trend based on likely voters.

[^5]:    7 Surveys from March to August 2010 asked specifically about voting in the "Congressional" election this November and began with "Thinking ahead to November...".
    8 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?"

[^6]:    9 In Late October, Mid-October and November 2008, November 2006, November 2004 and Early November 2002, the "10definitely will vote" category also includes people who volunteered that they already voted.

[^7]:    10
    11

[^8]:    13 In March 2010, question began, "Thinking about people more generally..."
    14 Data from Pew Research Center Social \& Demographic Trends Millennials Survey.
    15 In April 2006 and earlier, the item was worded: "Able to manage the federal government well."

[^9]:    17
    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."

[^10]:    21 Data from Pew Research Center Social \& Demographic Trends.

