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GOP Widely Viewed as "More Extreme in Its Positions"

# Public Wants Debt Ceiling Compromise, Expects a Deal Before Deadline

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# GOP Widely Viewed as "More Extreme in Its Positions" Public Wants Debt Ceiling Compromise, Expects a Deal Before Deadline

The public overwhelmingly favors a compromise in the debt ceiling standoff. And even as negotiations aimed at resolving the issue show little progress, a majority thinks that Barack Obama and congressional Republicans will reach a deal before the Aug. 2

deadline on a possible government default.

Fully 68% say that lawmakers who share their views on this issue should compromise, even it means striking a deal they disagree with. Just 23% say lawmakers who share their views should stand by their principles, even if that leads to default.

There is broader support for compromise today than on the eve of a possible government shutdown earlier this year. In early April, 55% favored a compromise even if that resulted in a budget deal they disagreed with, while 36% wanted their leaders to stand by their principles even if it led to a shutdown.

Large majorities of Democrats (81%) and

independents (69%) favor a compromise to avoid default, but Republicans are more divided: 53% favor a compromise, while 38% say lawmakers who share their views should stand by their principles even if it leads to a default.

Among all Republicans and Republican-leaning independents, 53% of those who agree with the Tea Party favor lawmakers standing by their principles even if it means the government goes into default. Just 24% of Republicans and GOP leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party express this view.

### Substantial Support for Debt Ceiling Compromise

Lawmakers who share your views on this	July 20-24
issue should	%
Be willing to compromise, even if it means they strike a deal you disagree with	68
Stand by their principles, even it means the government goes into default	23
Don't know	<u>8</u>
	100

### **Most Think a Deal Will Happen**

Will Barack Obama and Republicans resolve this issue before Aug. 2 deadline?	
Will resolve issue	56
Will not resolve issue	38
Don't know	<u>3</u>
	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

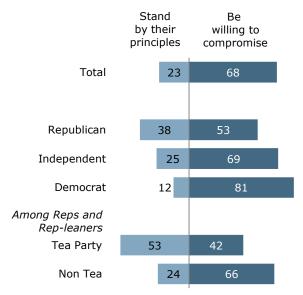
The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted July 20-24 among 1,501 adults, finds continued public optimism about prospects of a last-minute debt-ceiling deal. More than half (56%) say they think Obama and the Republicans will resolve the issue before Aug. 2. This is little changed from a *Washington Post/ABC* News survey conducted July 14-17 (54% will resolve issue).

Most Americans feel a personal stake in the efforts to resolve the debt ceiling impasse. Nearly two-thirds (65%) say their own personal finances would be affected by a failure to increase the government's ability to borrow; 32% say their finances would not be affected. More specifically, 45% are worried that a

failure to meet the Aug. 2 deadline would harm their investments and retirement savings, and 46% are worried that they might lose government services and benefits that affect them personally.

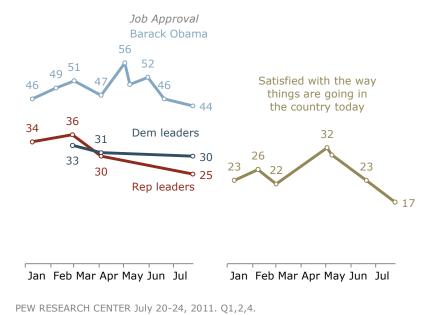
The survey finds that the ongoing stalemate over raising the debt ceiling may be taking a toll on views of national conditions. Just 17% say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country, down from 23% last month and the lowest

# **Tea Party Republicans Not Inclined Toward Compromise**



PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q32.

# Public Mood Sours, Continued Criticism of Congressional Leaders



measure since late 2008, during the financial crisis.

Barack Obama's job approval ratings remain mixed – 44% approve of his job performance while 48% disapprove. But Obama's ratings are far less positive than they were in May, immediately after the death of Osama bin Laden (56% approve).

Just a quarter (25%) approve of the job that Republican leaders in Congress are doing, down 11 points since February. Ratings for Democratic congressional leaders (30% approve) are little changed from earlier this year.

Republicans hold a 10-point lead over the Democrats as the party better able to reduce the federal budget deficit (43% to 33%), while running about even with Democrats on taxes, jobs and Social Security. The GOP's advantage on the deficit is larger than it was in May (three points), but about the same as in April (12 points).

However, Republicans are viewed much more negatively than the Democrats on several important traits and characteristics. Notably, 50% view the Republican Party as "more extreme in its positions." Far fewer (35%) say this phrase better describes the Democratic Party. Majorities of Democrats (64%) and independents (51%) view the GOP as more extreme, as do about a third of Republicans (35%).

As was the case in April, the Democrats also lead by wide margins as the party more willing to work with political

# **GOP Leads on Deficit, But Is Seen as More Extreme**

Which party can do	Rep Party	Dem Party	Neither (vol.)	Both/ DK (vol.)	Advan- tage
better job of	%	%	%	%	
Reducing budget deficit	43	33	9	15=100	R+10
Dealing w/ taxes	43	40	6	14=100	R+3
Improving job situation	39	39	7	14=100	0
Making Social Security financially sound	38	40	7	15=100	D+2
Which party					
Is more extreme in its positions	50	35	2	13=100	R+15
Can better manage the federal government	40	38	14	9=100	R+2
Is more influenced by special interests	39	37	1	23=100	R+2
Can bring about needed changes	36	43	9	11=100	D+7
Governs in more honest/ethical way	30	42	20	9=100	D+12
Is more concerned w/ needs of people like me	30	51	11	8=100	D+21
Is more willing to work w/ opposition leaders	26	51	12	10=100	D+25

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q26-27. Significant differences in  $\bf bolded$   $\bf colors$ . Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

leaders from the other party (by 25 points) and more concerned with the needs of typical Americans (by 21 points). Democrats continue to hold a smaller lead on honest governance (12 points).

Despite the intense focus in Washington on the debt and deficit, more Americans continue to view the job situation as their biggest economic concern. Nearly four-in-ten (39%) cite the job situation as the national economic issue that most worries them; 29% cite the federal budget deficit, while smaller percentages say rising prices (15%) and problems in the financial and housing markets (11%) are their biggest economic worries. Even among Republicans, as many cite the job situation (34%) as the deficit (37%) as the biggest economic problem.

The public's views of the impact of large cuts in federal spending on the job situation have changed in recent months. Currently, as many say such cuts would help the job situation as hurt it (26% vs. 27%). In March, more saw cuts in spending as harmful rather than helpful (34% vs. 18%); the shift since March has come across partisan lines.

Yet the plurality view, held by 39%, is that cutting federal spending won't affect the job situation one way or the other.

In keeping with their desire to see compromise, there is no change in the public's view that the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit is through a combination of both

# Jobs Remain Top Concern, More Say Spending Cuts Would Help

Economic issue that	Mar 8-14	July 20-24	Change
worries you most	%	%	
Job situation	34	39	+5
Budget deficit	24	29	+5
Rising prices	28	15	-13
Financial/Housing mkts	10	11	-1
Other/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	
	100	100	
Major cuts in federal spending would			
Help job situation	18	26	+8
Hurt job situation	34	27	-7
Not much of an effect	41	39	-2
Other/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	
	100	100	

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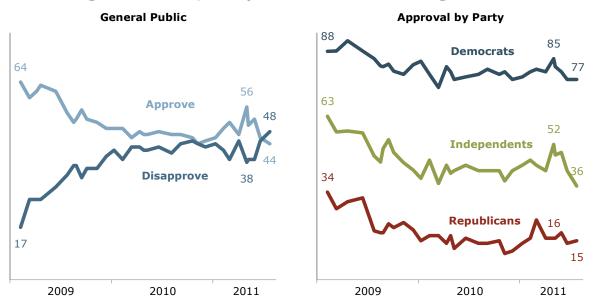
cutting major programs *and* increasing taxes. Six-in-ten (60%) say that both are in order; just 19% say that the focus should be mostly on cutting major programs while even fewer (8%) say the focus should be mostly on raising taxes. The proportion supporting a mixed approach of funding cuts and tax increases is about the same as it was last December (65%).

# SECTION 1: VIEWS OF OBAMA, CONGRESS AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

As views of national conditions worsen, Barack Obama's job ratings remain mixed: 48% disapprove of the way Obama is handling his job as president, while 44% approve. This is little changed from June (46% approve, 45% disapprove). In early May, immediately following the announcement of Osama bin Laden's death, 56% approved of Obama's job performance.

A large majority of Democrats (77%) continue to approve of Obama's job performance while a comparable majority of Republicans disapprove (79%). For the first time in Pew Research Center polling, a majority of independents (54%) disapprove of Obama's performance. Obama's approval among independents has slipped to just 36% from 42% last month and a recent high of 52% following the killing of bin Laden.

### Mixed Ratings for Obama, Independent Views Turn Negative



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National satisfaction has also declined in recent months. In the current survey, just 17% say they are satisfied with the way things are going in this country today while 79% say they are dissatisfied. In May, somewhat more (30%) said they were satisfied with national conditions. That figure fell seven points to 23% in June and has fallen another six points in July. The current ratings are now at the lowest point since the financial crisis of 2008. In October of that year, just 11% expressed a positive view of national conditions.

# **Even More Negative Views of National Conditions**

Way things are going in country	May 5-8	June 15-19	July 20-24	May-July change
today	%	%	%	
Satisfied	30	23	17	-13
Dissatisfied	62	73	79	+17
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	
	100	100	100	

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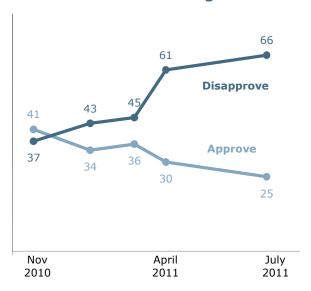
Only about a quarter of Democrats (27%), 14% of independents and just 8% of Republicans say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country. In May, 40% of Democrats, 32% of independents and 19% of Republicans were satisfied with national conditions.

### **Poor Ratings for Congressional Leaders**

Just a quarter (25%) of the public approves of the job Republican leaders in Congress are doing, while far more (66%) disapprove.

Ratings of Republican leaders have declined in recent months and now stand near long-term lows. Shortly after the midterm elections in November 2010, about as many approved (41%) as disapproved (37%) of Republican congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future. Republican leaders' ratings turned negative in January and have declined further since then.

### **GOP Leaders' Job Rating Slides**



PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q4a.

Democrats give Republican leaders overwhelmingly negative job ratings (83% disapprove), as do independents (70% disapprove). A narrow majority of Republicans approve of the way GOP leaders are doing their job (54%), but nearly four-in-ten (38%) disapprove.

Republican and Republican leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party give GOP leaders mixed job ratings: 51% approve, but about as many disapprove (45%). Among Republicans and leaners who disagree with the Tea Party or have no opinion of the movement, there is less support for party leaders: 42% approve of their performance and 49% approve.

# Mixed Job Rating for GOP Leaders from Tea Party Republicans

	Approve	Disapprove	DK
	%	%	%
Total	25	66	10=100
Republican	54	38	9=100
Conservative	59	34	8=100
Moderate/Liberal	45	45	9=100
Democrat	10	83	7=100
Independent	19	70	11=100
Lean Republican	31	64	5=100
Lean Democratic	13	79	8=100
Among Rep/Rep- leaners			
Agree w/Tea Party	51	45	4=100
Disagree/No opinion	42	49	9=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q4a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Job ratings for Democratic leaders in Congress are not much better than those of GOP leaders. Just 30% of the public approves of their job performance while twice as many (60%) disapprove. Ratings for Democratic Congressional leaders have shown little change in recent months. Nonetheless,

approval ratings for the Democratic Party's leadership remain near all-time lows.

Democrats approve of their party's leaders by a 58%-35% margin. Majorities of both liberal Democrats (63%) and conservative and moderate Democrats (55%) approve of their leaders. Independents' views of Democratic leaders' job performance are about as negative as their views of Republican leaders – just 23% approve of the way Democratic leaders are doing their jobs while 65% disapprove.

# **Democratic Leaders' Job Ratings Also Negative**

Approve	Disapprove	DK
%	%	%
30	60	10=100
8	83	9=100
58	35	8=100
63	33	4=100
55	35	9=100
23	65	12=100
10	87	4=100
42	47	11=100
	% 30 8 58 63 55 23 10	30 60 8 83 58 35 63 33 55 35 23 65 10 87

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### Wide Partisan Divide in Confidence in Government

Most Americans (59%) say they have not too much (37%) or no confidence at all (22%) that the government in Washington will make progress on important problems over the next year. Only about four-in-ten (39%) say they have a lot of confidence (6%) or some confidence (33%). These views have declined slightly since last September, when 44% said they had at least some confidence in the government's abilities to make progress on major issues.

Democrats stand out for being far more optimistic than other groups about the government's ability to address important

# **Democrats Still Confident Gov't Can Make Progress on Problems**

DK
%
=100
=100
=100
=100
=100
=100
= 1 = 1 = 1

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problems over the next year. Fully 62% have at least some confidence in the government's ability to address major problems over the next year while just 37% say they have not much or no confidence at all. By comparison, just 32% of independents and 24% of Republicans are confident the government in Washington will make progress on important issues. Among Republican and Republican-leaning independents, optimism is somewhat higher among those who do not agree with the Tea Party (29%) than it is among those who agree with the movement (17%).

### **Parties at Parity on Most Issues**

The public's views about which party can better handle several major issues have changed little since April. The GOP currently holds a 10-point advantage as the party better able to reduce the federal budget deficit (43% to 33%). The Republican advantage had been 12 points in April, but had narrowed to three points in May.

On three other issues – improving the job situation, making the Social Security system financially sound and dealing with taxes – neither party holds a significant advantage.

As in April, independents are much more likely to say Republicans could do a better job than Democrats at reducing the deficit (by 45% to 27%). The GOP also holds a 12-point lead among independents as the party better able to improve the job situation (42% to 30%). This represents a change from April, when independents were divided over which party could better improve the job situation (38% Republican Party, 35% Democratic Party). Independents are split over which party can do a better job of making the Social Security system financially sound and dealing with taxes.

# **GOP Leads on Deficit; Parties Even on Jobs, Taxes, Social Security**

Which party could do a better job	Rep Party	Dem Party	Both/ Neither/ DK	Rep adv
Reducing deficit	%	%	%	
July 2011	43	33	24=100	+10
May 2011	41	38	21=100	+3
April 2011	46	34	21=100	+12
October 2010	35	28	37=100	+7
April 2010	38	35	27=100	+3
August 2009	35	36	29=100	-1
Dealing with taxes				
July 2011	43	40	18=100	+3
October 2010	36	35	28=100	+1
September 2010	40	34	25=100	+6
August 2009	38	37	26=100	+1
Improving job situation				
July 2011	39	39	21=100	0
April 2011	39	39	22=100	0
October 2010	35	31	34=100	+4
April 2010	36	37	27=100	-1
Making Social Security sound				
July 2011	38	40	22=100	-2
April 2011	39	39	22=100	0
September 2010	35	35	31=100	0

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### **Democrats Seen as More Willing to Work with Opponents**

Democrats continue to hold substantial leads over Republicans on several traits, including willingness to cooperate with opponents, empathy and honest governance. And far more people view the GOP as more extreme in its positions than say that about the Democratic Party.

About twice as many say the Democrats are more willing to work with political leaders from the other party than say that about the GOP (51% to 26%). In April, the Democrats held a 17-point lead on this trait (49% to 32%).

The Democrats also continue to hold double-digit leads on concern for "people like me" (21 points) and governing in a more honest and ethical way (12 points).

For almost two years, Democrats and Republicans have run about even as the party better able to manage the federal government. In the new survey, 40% say the Republican Party could better manage the government while about as many (38%) say the Democratic Party. Roughly equal percentages also say each party is more influenced by lobbyists and special interests (39% Republican Party, 37% Democratic Party).

# Democrats Maintain Lead on Cooperation, Empathy, Honesty

Which party	Dem Party	Rep Party	Both/ Neither DK	Dem adv
Is more willing to	rarcy	rarcy	DIC	aav
work w/opponents	%	%	%	
July 2011	51	26	22=100	+25
April 2011	49	32	18=100	+17
Is more concerned about people like me				
July 2011	51	30	19=100	+21
April 2011	54	32	15=100	+22
October 2010	46	36	19=100	+10
June 2010	50	34	16=100	+16
Governs in more honest & ethical way				
July 2011	42	30	29=100	+12
April 2011	42	33	25=100	+9
October 2010	35	35	29=100	0
June 2010	41	31	28=100	+10
Can bring needed changes				
July 2011	43	36	20=100	+7
April 2011	44	41	15=100	+3
October 2010	41	35	23=100	+6
June 2010	45	33	22=100	+12
Can better manage the government				
July 2011	38	40	23=100	-2
April 2011	39	41	19=100	-2
October 2010	36	43	21=100	-7
June 2010	37	41	22=100	-4
Is more influenced by special interests				
July 2011	37	39	24=100	-2
April 2011	34	44	22=100	-10
February 2010	32	40	27=100	-8
Is more extreme in its positions				
July 2011	35	50	15=100	-15

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### Young, Well Educated See GOP as More Extreme

When asked which political party is more extreme in its positions, 50% say the Republican Party while 35% say the Democratic Party. While there are wide partisan differences in these opinions there also are age and educational differences.

Majorities of those younger than 30 (60%) and those 30 to 49 (54%) say the Republican Party is more extreme in its positions. That compares with only about four-in-ten of those older than 50 (42%). College graduates (59%) and those with some college experience (55%) are more likely than those with less education to view the Republican Party as more extreme.

This question divides Republicans and Republican-leaning independents who support the Tea Party from those who disagree or have no opinion of the movement. Nearly two-thirds (66%) of Republican Tea Party supporters say the Democratic Party is more extreme in its

### Which Party Is More Extreme In Its Positions?

	Rep Party	Dem Party	Both/Neither/ DK
	%	%	%
Total	50	35	15=100
18-29	60	27	13=100
30-49	54	32	14=100
50-64	43	43	14=100
65+	39	38	23=100
College grad+	59	30	11=100
Some college	55	32	13=100
HS or less	41	40	19=100
Republican	35	50	15=100
Democrat	64	30	7=100
Independent	51	32	18=100
Among Rep/ Rep leaners			
Agree w/ Tea Party	21	66	13=100
Disagree/No opinion	43	40	17=100

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positions, while just 21% say that about the GOP. Those who disagree with the Tea Party or have no opinion about it are about evenly divided: 43% say the Republican Party is more extreme, while 40% name the Democratic Party.

### **SECTION 2: THE DEBT AND DEFICIT DEBATE**

A week ahead of the Aug. 2 debt-ceiling deadline, the public overwhelmingly wants political leaders in Washington to compromise on the issue. About two-thirds (68%) say that lawmakers who share their views should be willing to compromise, even if it means striking a deal they disagree with. Only 23% say lawmakers who share their views should stand by their principles, even if that leads to a

government default.

And even though negotiations about raising the debt limit have continued to stall, a majority (56%) thinks that Barack Obama and congressional Republicans will reach a deal before Aug. 2, while 38% think the issue will not be resolved in time. This is little changed from a *Washington Post*/ABC News survey conducted a week ago, in which 54% expected a deal and 43% did not.

Half of Americans (50%) say they have heard a lot about the Aug. 2 debt limit deadline, and attention levels are similar across party lines. But there are sizable partisan and ideological divisions when it comes to how lawmakers should approach the final deliberations. Fully 81% of Democrats say the lawmakers they agree with should compromise in the debt ceiling debate, even if it means an imperfect outcome. Roughly two-thirds (69%) of independents say the same. About half (53%) of Republicans want to see their leaders show a willingness to compromise, while 38% say the

### Most Support Compromise on Plan to Raise Federal Debt Limit

Heard about possibility gov't might go into default if no deal on	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
debt limit?	%	%	%	%
A lot	50	52	53	49
A little	32	33	34	30
Nothing at all	16	13	11	20
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100
Lawmakers who share your views on this issue should				
Be willing to compromise, even if they strike a deal you disagree with	68	53	81	69
Stand by their principles, even if it means the gov't goes into default	23	38	12	25
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
Will Obama & Reps resolve this issue before Aug. 2 deadline?				
Will resolve	56	57	63	52
Will not resolve	38	37	31	41
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q31-33, Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

leaders they agree with should stand by their principles, even if it means a government default.

Nearly half of conservative Republicans (47%) say lawmakers who share their views should stick to principles despite the threat of a default; only 21% of moderate and liberal Republicans agree. There is no comparable ideological divide among Democrats. Liberal

Democrats are about as likely as conservative and moderate Democrats to say lawmakers should compromise on the debt ceiling even if it means striking a deal they disagree with.

More than half (53%) of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party want lawmakers to stand by their principles, even it means the government goes into default. Only 24% of Republicans and Republican leaners who do not agree with the Tea Party express this view.

Attentive Democrats are almost unanimous in their support for compromise to avoid a government default. Fully 90% of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents who have heard a lot about the possibility of a default if an agreement is not reached say lawmakers should compromise on this issue. By contrast, barely half (54%) of Republicans and Republican leaners who have heard a lot about the debt limit deadline support compromise. Instead, 39% say their leaders should stand by their principles.

Despite the continued deadlock in Washington, attentive Americans are more optimistic that some kind of deal will be reached before Aug. 2. Two-thirds (67%) of people who have heard a lot about the issue say Obama and the Republicans will come to some kind of resolution, compared with 46% of those who have heard little or nothing about it.

### Resistance to Compromise among **Conservatives, Tea Party Backers** Stick to Be willing to principles compromise Total 23 68 Conservative Rep 47 21 Mod/Lib Rep 67 Independent 25 69 14 Cons/Mod Dem 80 Liberal Dem 85 Among Republicans and Rep leaners 53 42 Agree w/Tea Party No opin./Disagree 24 Heard a lot 39 Heard little/nothing 33 59 Among Democrats and Dem leaners Heard a lot 90 Heard little/nothing 69 PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q31-32.

### **Most Say Government Default Will Affect Their Finances**

Roughly two-thirds of Americans (65%) believe that their own personal finances would be affected if a deal is not struck by Aug. 2. There is little difference across party lines in this view.

### More specifically, 46% of Americans are very or somewhat worried that if the government cannot borrow more money to fund its operations and pay its debts it would lead to the suspension of services and benefits that affect them personally. This concern is higher among women, minorities, low-income Americans, and people over age 50. Most who are worried cite the possible loss of Social Security and Medicare benefits as their greatest fear.

# Personal Finances Seen at Risk if Deadline Is Not Met

	Not meeting	Very/somewhat worried about					
	Aug 2 deadline would affect your finances	Losing gov't services & benefits	Harm to savings & investments				
	%	%	%				
Total	65	46	45				
Men	60	36	39				
Women	69	55	49				
White	63	44	42				
Black	65	53	47				
Hispanic	72	52	58				
18-29	55	35	34				
30-49	64	45	44				
50-64	68	51	49				
65+	71	53	50				
\$75,000 or more	62	38	46				
\$30,000-74,999	61	43	42				
Less than \$30,000	71	59	47				
Republican	63	39	43				
Democrat	69	58	52				
Independent	65	44	43				
Among Rep/Rep leane	ers						
Agree w/ Tea Party	58	32	35				
No opinion/Disagree	65	44	46				
PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24 2011 034-35 Whites and Blacks are non-							

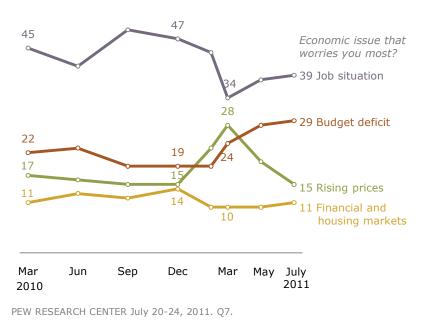
PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q34-35. Whites and Blacks are non-Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

About the same number (45%) are very or somewhat worried that missing the Aug. 2 deadline would harm their investments and retirement savings.

### **Jobs Still Trump Deficit as Top Economic Worry**

Even as the debt has taken center stage in Washington over the last few weeks, more Americans continue to say the job situation is the national economic issue they are most worried about. About four-in-ten (39%) say the job situation is their top worry, while 29% cite the budget deficit. Just 15% say they are primarily concerned about rising prices and 11% say problems in the housing and financial markets. The relative importance of each of these concerns among the public is little changed since

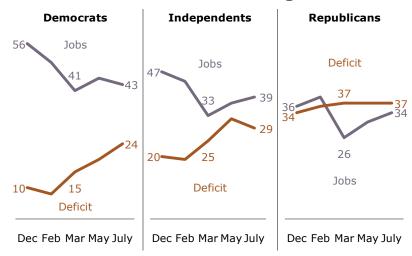
# Deficit Worries Still High, but Job Situation Remains the Bigger Concern



May, when the deficit overtook prices as the second highest-ranked concern.

Jobs remain the top economic concern for both Democrats (43%) and independents (39%), while Republicans are about as likely to cite the deficit (37%) as to say jobs (34%). But concern about the deficit is rising among Democrats and independents. In December, just 10% of Democrats cited the deficit as their top worry; today, 24% do so. Similarly, 29% of independents now say they are most worried

### **More Concern about Deficit Among Democrats**



PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q7. Percent saying rising prices, financial and housing markets, other, none and don't know not shown.

about the budget deficit, up from 20% in December.

### **Most Support Combination of Spending Cuts, Tax Increases**

The public remains skeptical that lawmakers will make headway in reducing the budget deficit over the next several years: Just 39% say the country will have made significant progress in reducing the deficit five years from now. At the same time, a majority (60%) say that the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit involves both cutting major programs and increasing taxes. Just 19% say the best approach is to focus mostly on cutting major programs; 8% say the focus mostly should be on increasing taxes.

Clear majorities of
Democrats (67%) and
independents (63%) say the
best way to reducing the
deficit includes both major
program cuts and tax
increases. By contrast,
Republicans are more
divided: 46% favor an
approach that includes both
tax increases and program
cuts, while 39% say the best
approach mostly focuses on
program cuts.

Within the Republican coalition there is a substantial division of

# **Ideological Divisions Over Best Approach to Deficit**

What is the best way to reduce the federal	Cut major programs	Increase taxes	Combination of both	Other/ DK
budget deficit?	%	%	%	%
Total	19	8	60	14=100
Republican	39	3	46	12=100
Conservative Rep	46	4	39	12=100
Mod/Lib Rep	26	2	59	12=100
Independent	18	5	63	14=100
Democrat	5	16	67	11=100
Liberal Dem	8	20	64	8=100
Cons/Mod Dem	4	14	70	12=100
Among Reps/ Rep leaners				
Agree w/ Tea Party	52	1	34	12=100
No opinion/Disagree	24	4	60	12=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q24. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

opinion. A majority of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party movement (52%) say deficit reduction should come mostly through major program cuts; just 24% of those who do not agree or have no opinion of the Tea Party say the same.

### Will Federal Spending Cuts Help or Hurt the Job Situation?

A plurality (39%) of Americans say that if the federal government makes major cuts in federal spending in order to reduce the budget deficit, there would not be much of an effect on the job situation. The remainder of the public is divided: About as many say these spending cuts would hurt (27%) as help (26%) the job situation. In March, more said cuts would hurt the job situation than said they would help (34% hurt, 18% help).

Although pluralities of Democrats and independents say potential spending cuts would have little effect on the job situation, both groups are about equally likely to say these cuts would help the job situation as to say they would hurt. In March, Democrats were more likely to say cuts would hurt the employment situation.

Republicans remain more likely than either Democrats or independents to say cuts would

# No Consensus about Impact of Spending Cuts on Job Situation

Impact of major spending cuts on	Help	Hurt	Not have much effect	Other/ DK
job situation	%	%	%	%
Total				
July	26	27	39	8=100
March	18	34	41	7=100
Change	+8	-7	-2	
Republican				
July	34	19	39	8=100
March	25	27	41	6=100
Change	+9	-8	-2	
Democrat				
July	24	30	40	5=100
March	18	39	35	8=100
Change	+6	-9	+5	
Independent				
July	23	28	37	12=100
March	15	34	45	6=100
Change	+8	-6	-8	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011. Q28. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

help the job situation (34% say this, compared with 24% of Democrats and 23% of independents). And more Republicans now say this than did so in March (up nine points).

### **About the Survey**

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted July 20-24, 2011 among a national sample of 1,501 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (916 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 585 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 254 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <a href="http://people-press.org/methodology/">http://people-press.org/methodology/</a>

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2010 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2010 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group	Sample Size	Plus or minus
Total sample	1,501	3.5 percentage points
Republicans	389	6.0 percentage points
Democrats	464	5.5 percentage points
Independents	575	5.0 percentage points
Among Republicans and Republican leaners:		
Agree with Tea Party	305	7.0 percentage points
Disagree/No opinion	329	6.5 percentage points

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

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

### PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS JULY 2011 POLITICAL AND MEDIA SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE July 20-24, 2011 N=1,501

### RANDOMIZE Q.1 WITH Q.2/Q.3 BLOCK ASK ALL:

Q.1 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]

		Dis-	(VOL.)			Dis-	(VOL.)
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>approve</u>	DK/Ref		<u>Approve</u>	<u>approve</u>	DK/Ref
Jul 20-24, 2011	44	48	8	Apr 21-26, 2010	47	42	11
Jun 15-19, 2011	46	45	8	Apr 8-11, 2010	48	43	9
May 25-30, 2011	52	39	10	Mar 10-14, 2010	46	43	12
May 5-8, 2011	50	39	11	Feb 3-9, 2010	49	39	12
May 2, 2011	56	38	6	Jan 6-10, 2010	49	42	10
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	47	45	8	Dec 9-13, 2009	49	40	11
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	51	39	10	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	36	13
Feb 2-7, 2011	49	42	9	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	52	36	12
Jan 5-9, 2011	46	44	10	Sep 10-15, 2009	55	33	13
Dec 1-5, 2010	45	43	13	Aug 20-27, 2009	52	37	12
Nov 4-7, 2010	44	44	12	Aug 11-17, 2009	51	37	11
Oct 13-18, 2010	46	45	9	Jul 22-26, 2009	54	34	12
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	47	44	9	Jun 10-14, 2009	61	30	9
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	47	41	12	Apr 14-21, 2009	63	26	11
Jun 8-28, 2010	48	41	11	Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	61	26	13
Jun 16-20, 2010	48	43	9	Mar 9-12, 2009	59	26	15
May 6-9, 2010	47	42	11	Feb 4-8, 2009	64	17	19

### RANDOMIZE Q.1 WITH Q.2/Q.3 BLOCK ASK ALL:

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	Satis- fied	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref		Satis- fied	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Jul 20-24, 2011	17	79	4	Sep 10-15, 2009 <sup>1</sup>	30	64	7
Jun 15-19, 2011	23	73	4	Aug 20-27, 2009	28	65	7
May 5-8, 2011	30	62	8	Aug 11-17, 2009	28	65	7
May 2, 2011	32	60	8	Jul 22-26, 2009	28	66	6
Mar 8-14, 2011	22	73	5	Jun 10-14, 2009	30	64	5
Feb 2-7, 2011	26	68	5	Apr 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8
Jan 5-9, 2011	23	71	6	Apr 14-21, 2009	23	70	7
Dec 1-5, 2010	21	72	7	Jan 7-11, 2009	20	73	7
Nov 4-7, 2010	23	69	8	December, 2008	13	83	4
Sep 23-26, 2010	30	63	7	Early October, 2008	11	86	3
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	25	71	5	Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6
Jun 24-27, 2010	27	64	9	August, 2008	21	74	5
May 13-16, 2010	28	64	7	July, 2008	19	74	7
Apr 21-26, 2010	29	66	5	June, 2008	19	76	5
Apr 1-5, 2010	31	63	6	Late May, 2008	18	76	6
Mar 11-21, 2010	25	69	5	March, 2008	22	72	6
Mar 10-14, 2010	23	71	7	Early February, 2008	24	70	6
Feb 3-9, 2010	23	71	6	Late December, 2007	27	66	7
Jan 6-10, 2010	27	69	4	October, 2007	28	66	6
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7	February, 2007	30	61	9
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7				

 $<sup>^{\</sup>rm I}{}_{\rm n}$  September 10-15, 2009 and other surveys noted with an asterisk, the question was worded "Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?"

### Q.2 CONTINUED...

<b>Q</b> .= 00	Satis-	Dis-	(VOL.)		Satis-	Dis-	(VOL.)
	fied	satisfied	DK/Ref		fied	satisfied	DK/Ref
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7	February, 2001	46	43	11
Early January, 2007	30	63	7	January, 2001	55	41	4
December, 2006	28	65	7	October, 2000 ( <i>RVs</i> )	54	39	7
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8	September, 2000	51	41	8
Early October, 2006	30	63	7	June, 2000	47	45	8
July, 2006	30	65	5	April, 2000	48	43	9
May, 2006*	29	65	6	August, 1999	56	39	5
March, 2006	32	63	5	January, 1999	53	41	6
January, 2006	34	61	5	November, 1998	46	44	10
Late November, 2005	34	59	7	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
Early October, 2005	29	65	6	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
July, 2005	35	58	7	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
Late May, 2005*	39	57	4	February, 1998	59	37	4
February, 2005	38	56	6	January, 1998	46	50	4
January, 2005	40	54	6	September, 1997	45	49	6
December, 2004	39	54	7	August, 1997	49	46	5
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6	January, 1997	38	58	4
July, 2004	38	55	7	July, 1996	29	67	4
May, 2004	33	61	6	March, 1996	28	70	2
Late February, 2004*	39	55	6	October, 1995	23	73	4
Early January, 2004	45	48	7	June, 1995	25	73	2
December, 2003	44	47	9	April, 1995	23	74	3
October, 2003	38	56	6	July, 1994	24	73	3
August, 2003	40	53	7	March, 1994	24	71	5
April 8, 2003	50	41	9	October, 1993	22	73	5
January, 2003	44	50	6	September, 1993	20	75	5
November, 2002	41	48	11	May, 1993	22	71	7
September, 2002	41	55	4	January, 1993	39	50	11
Late August, 2002	47	44	9	January, 1992	28	68	4
May, 2002	44	44	12	November, 1991	34	61	5
March, 2002	50	40	10	Gallup: Late Feb, 1991	66	31	3
Late September, 2001	57	34	9	August, 1990	47	48	5
Early September, 2001	41	53	6	May, 1990	41	54	5
June, 2001	43	52	5	January, 1989	45	50	5
March, 2001	47	45	8	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5
,		-				-	

### QUESTION 3 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

### **ASK ALL:**

Q.4 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] are doing? [IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the [ITEM] are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]. [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: REPEAT FULL QUESTION FOR NEXT ITEM

a.	Republican leaders in Congress	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
۵.	Jul 20-24, 2011	25	66	10
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	30	61	9
	Feb 24-27, 2011	36	45	19
	Jan 5-9, 2011 <sup>2</sup>	34	43	22
	Nov 4-7, 2010	41	37	22
	Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010	24	60	16
	Jul 22-25, 2010	33	53	14
	Jun 16-20, 2010	31	55 55	14
	Apr 8-11, 2010	30	56	14
	Mar 10-14, 2010	25	59	16
	Jan 6-10, 2010	23 27	57	16
	Dec 9-13, 2009	29	51	20
	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	24	60	17
	Jun 10-14, 2009	29	56	15
	Mar 9-12, 2009	28	51	21
	Feb 4-8, 2009	34	51	15
	Early October, 2006	33	56	11
	June, 2006	30	53	17
	March, 2006	32	50	18
			52	15 15
	January, 2006	33 33	52 50	15 17
	Early November, 2005	32	52	
	Early October, 2005	36	49	16 15
	Mid-September, 2005	35	50	15
	Mid-May, 2005	39	44	15 17
	Mid-March, 2005	41	42	17
	Early February, 2004	48	37	17 15
	January, 2003	50	37 34	16
	June, 2002	49	34	10 17
	May, 2002 February, 2002	56	24	20
		43	39	18
	Early September, 2001 June, 2001	40	40	20
	May, 2001	45	36	19
	April, 2001	45	30	25
	January, 2001	43	36	21
	July, 2000	36	46	18
	May, 2000	40	42	18
	March, 2000	38	43	19
	February, 2000	40	43	17
	January, 2000	39	41	20
	December, 1999	38	42	20
	October, 1999	34	50	16
	Late September, 1999	34	46	20
	August, 1999	40	44	16
	July, 1999	36	45	19
	June, 1999	37	46	17
	May, 1999	38	44	18
	March, 1999	38	47	15
	February, 1999	37	51	12
	January, 1999	38	50	12
	January, 1999	30	50	12

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

Q.4 CONTINUED	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Early December, 1998	<u>дрргоче</u> 38	<u>ызарргоче</u> 49	13
November, 1998	41	48	11
Early September, 1998	44	37	19
Early August, 1998	43	37	20
June, 1998	42	38	20
May, 1998	40	41	19
April, 1998	41	40	19
March, 1998	43	39	18
January, 1998	43 41	41 43	16 16
November, 1997 August, 1997	42	43 44	14
June, 1997	33	50	17
May, 1997	40	44	16
April, 1997	40	44	16
February, 1997	44	42	14
January, 1997	38	47	15
December, 1996 <sup>3</sup>	40	43	17
July, 1996	38	48	14
June, 1996	36	50	14
April, 1996	39	46	15
March, 1996	35	51 53	14
February, 1996	33 36	53 54	14 10
January, 1996 October, 1995	36	51	13
September, 1995	36	50	14
August, 1995	38	45	17
June, 1995	41	45	14
April, 1995	44	43	13
March, 1995	43	39	18
December, 1994	52	28	20
b. Democratic leaders in Congress	20	60	10
Jul 20-24, 2011 Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	30 31	60 60	10 9
Feb 24-27, 2011	33	48	19
Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010	30	53	17
Jul 22-25, 2010	35	56	10
Jun 16-20, 2010	35	53	12
Apr 8-11, 2010	38	51	11
Mar 10-14, 2010	31	57	12
Jan 6-10, 2010	35	53	11
Dec 9-13, 2009	36	47	17
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	33	53 45	15
Jun 10-14, 2009	42	45 35	13
Mar 9-12, 2009 Feb 4-8, 2009	47 48	35 38	18 14
August, 2008	31	58	11
January, 2008	31	53	16
November, 2007	35	50	15
October, 2007	31	54	15
July, 2007	33	54	13
June, 2007	34	49	17
April, 2007	36	43	21
March, 2007 <sup>4</sup>	37	42	21
February, 2007	41	36	23
Mid-January, 2007	39 50	34	27
November, 2006 <sup>5</sup>	50	21	29

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

In March 2007 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Democratic leaders in Congress?".

### Q.4 CONTINUED...

CONTINUED			(VOL.)
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	DK/Ref
Early October, 2006	35	53	12
June, 2006	32	50	18
March, 2006	34	46	20
January, 2006	34	48	18
Early November, 2005	36	44	20
Early October, 2005	32	48	20
Mid-September, 2005	36	45	19
Mid-May, 2005	39	41	20
Mid-March, 2005	37	44	19
Early February, 2004	38	42	20
June, 2002	47	36	17
May, 2002	42	37	21
February, 2002	49	30	21
Early September, 2001	49	30	21
June, 2001	50	28	22
December, 1994	52	28	20

### **ASK ALL:**

How much confidence do you have that the government in Washington, D.C., will make progress Q.5 over the next year on the most important problems facing the country? [READ IN ORDER]

Jul 20-24		Sep 23-26	Jun 24-27	May 13-16
<u>2011</u>		<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>
6	A lot of confidence	10	10	10
33	Some confidence	34	32	32
37	Not much confidence [OR]	33	32	31
22	No confidence at all	20	23	25
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	3	2

### **NO QUESTION 6**

### **ASK ALL:**

On another subject...

Q.7 Which of the following national economic issues worries you most? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

		The federal		Problems in the financial		(VOL.) None/not	
	The job	budget	Rising	and housing	(VOL.)	worried	(VOL.)
	<u>situation</u>	<u>deficit</u>	<u>prices</u>	<u>markets</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>about any</u>	DK/Ref
Jul 20-24, 2011	39	29	15	11	3	1	2
May 25-30, 2011	38	28	20	10	2	*	2
Mar 8-14, 2011	34	24	28	10	3	*	1
Feb 2-7, 2011	44	19	23	10	1	1	3
Dec 1-5, 2010	47	19	15	14	1	1	3
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	49	19	15	12	2	1	2
Jun 3-6, 2010	41	23	16	13	3	1	2
Mar 10-14, 2010	45	22	17	11	2	*	2

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

### QUESTIONS 8-9, 12-16 AND 18-21 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE NO QUESTIONS 10-11, 17 OR 22-23

#### **ASK ALL:**

On a different subject...

Q.24 In your view, what is the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit? Should we mostly focus on **[RANDOMIZE:** Cutting major programs / Increasing taxes] mostly focus on **[increasing taxes / cutting major programs]** or should we do a combination of both?

Jul 20-24		Apr 7-10	Dec 1-5
<u>2011</u>		2011	<u>2010</u>
19	Cutting major programs	20	16
8	Increasing taxes	6	4
60	Combination of both	64	65
1	Deficit is not a priority/Don't focus on deficit (VOL.)	*	1
12	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	9	13

#### **ASK ALL:**

Q.25 Looking ahead five years or so, do you think we will have made significant progress in reducing the federal budget deficit, or not?

Jul 20-24		Apr 21-25	Dec 1-5	Feb
<u>2011</u>		<u>2011</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u> 1989</u>
39	Yes	31	37	40
51	No	55	52	46
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	14	11	14

### RANDOMIZE Q26 AND Q.27 ASK ALL:

Q.26 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]?

ACK ALL FORM 1 FN - 00616-	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both equally	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) DK/Ref
ASK ALL FORM 1 [N=986] <sup>6</sup> :					
a.F1 Reducing the federal budget deficit	42	22	_	0	0
Jul 20-24, 2011	43	33	6	9	9
May 25-30, 2011	41	38	4	9	8 7
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	46	34	8	6	
Oct 13-18, 2010	35	28	7	16	14
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	36	5	9	7
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 <sup>7</sup>	29	47	6	10	8
June, 1999	37	41	5	8	9
July, 1994	42	36	2	13	9 7
December, 1993	31	36		18	15
ASK ALL FORM 2 [N=515] <sup>8</sup> :  a.F2 Dealing with the federal budget deficit  Jul 22-24, 2011	t 43	37	5	6	8
3		37	5	6	8

For July 20-21, 2011 question was asked of all respondents. For July 22-24, the question was only asked of form 1 respondents.

Question was asked only July 22-24, 2011.

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

### **Q.26 CONTINUED...**

Q.26 CONTINUED					
	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both equally	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) DK/Ref
ASK ALL:	ŕ	,			
b. Improving the job situation Jul 20-24, 2011 Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 Oct 13-18, 2010 Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 Apr 21-26, 2010 September, 2006 March, 1998 October, 1994	39 39 35 39 36 29 30	39 39 31 41 37 47 51 42	5 10 8 6 8 6 7 6	7 6 13 8 9 5 5 7	9 6 13 7 10 13 7 8
ASK ALL FORM 1 [N=986] <sup>9</sup> :					
c.F1 Taking steps to make the Social Sec system financially sound Jul 20-24, 2011 Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 Sep 16-19, 2010 September, 2006 September, 2005 Late October, 2002 (RVs) Early September, 2002 May, 2002 January, 2002 May, 2001 June, 1999 January, 1999 Early September, 1998 May, 1990	38 39 35 26 33 31 30 32 28 35 36 33 27 37 28	40 39 35 46 45 42 38 38 40 43 44 41 46 42 41	5 9 9 4 6 8  6  4  7	7 6 11 11 9 9 10 9 6 5 7 9 7 5 16	10 7 11 13 7 12 14 21 26 11 13 13 20 9
ASK ALL FORM 2 [N=515] <sup>11</sup> : c.F2 Dealing with the Social Security syst	om				
c.F2 Dealing with the Social Security syst  Jul 22-24, 2011	37	42	7	5	9
, -	-			-	-
ASK ALL:					
d. Dealing with taxes Jul 20-24, 2011 Oct 13-18, 2010 Sep 16-19, 2010 Aug 27-30, 2009 February, 2008 October, 2006 September, 2006 February, 2006 May, 2001 June, 1999 September, 1998 March, 1998 October, 1994	43 36 40 38 37 32 30 35 37 38 41 39 43	40 35 34 37 49 40 45 46 40 38 37 40 34	4 7 8 4 2 5 4 5 8 5 7 6 5	6 9 8 11 5 7 9 6 7 5 7 9	8 12 9 11 7 16 12 8 9 12 10 8 9

For July 20-21, 2011 question was asked of all respondents. For July 22-24, the question was only asked of form 1

respondents.

For May 2001, June 1999, Early September 1998 and May 1990, the question was worded, "Please tell me if you think the Republican Party or the Democratic Party could do a better job in each of the following areas ... keeping Social 10 Security financially sound?"

<sup>11</sup> Question was asked only July 22-24, 2011.

### **RANDOMIZE Q26 AND Q.27 ASK ALL:**

Q.27 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. OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] How about [NEXT ITEM]?

		Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic Party	(VOL.) Both equally	(VOL.) Neither	(VOL.) DK/Ref
ASK AI	LL FORM 1 [N=748]:	<del></del>	<del></del>			
a.F1	Can better manage the federal government					
	Jul 20-24, 2011	40	38	2	14	7
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	41	39	2	8	9
	Oct 13-18, 2010	43	36	2	11	8
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	41	41	3	8	7
		41	37	3	12	7
	Jun 16-20, 2010 Feb 3-9, 2010	40	40	4	9	8
		34			9 14	
	Aug 27-30, 2009	_	38	4		10
	October, 2007	32	44	5	9	10
	March, 2007	31	47	3	8	11
	Early October, 2006	34	44	3	9	10
	April, 2006 <sup>12</sup>	35	39	3	15	8
	January, 2006	34	40	4	12	10
	Early October, 2005	35	41	3	13	8
	July, 2004	37	40	4	9	10
	Early September, 1998	37	32	8	12	11
	August, 1997	39	33	4	16	8
	July, 1996	45	32	4	12	7
	April, 1995	49	30	3	13	5
	July, 1994	43	31	4	17	5
	May, 1993	36	32	2	17	13
	July, 1992	30	36	1	23	10
	May, 1990	28	20	12	31	9
	May, 1988	33	30	10	17	10
	January, 1988	30	28	12	20	10
	May, 1987	24	25	13	28	10
b.F1	Is more concerned with the needs of					
	people like me					
	Jul 20-24, 2011	30	51	2	11	6
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	32	54	2	5	8
	Oct 13-18, 2010	36	46	2	8	9
	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	33	53	2	7	5
	Jun 16-20, 2010	34	50	2	9	5
	Feb 3-9, 2010	31	51	3	8	7
	Aug 27-30, 2009	27	51	4	10	7
	October, 2007	25	54	4	8	9
	March, 2007	26	55	2	7	10
	Early October, 2006	27	55	3	8	7
	April, 2006 <sup>13</sup>	28	52		10	7
	Early October, 2005	30	52	3 5	7	6
	July, 2004	30	50	5	8	7
	Early September, 1998	31	46	5	9	9
	March, 1998	30	51	4	8	7
	August, 1997	31	49	3	10	7
	July, 1996	35	50	2	7	6
	April, 1995	39	49	2	7	3
	July, 1994	39 35	49 49	4	8	4
	July, 1997	55	73	7	J	7

In April 2006 and earlier, the item was worded: "Able to manage the federal government well." In April 2006 and earlier, the item was worded: "Is concerned with the needs of people like me."

Q.27 (	CONTI	NUED
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Q.27 CONTING	OED			(VOL.)		
Ма	ay, 1990 ay, 1988 nuary, 1988	Republican Party 21 23 22	Democratic Party 42 51 47	Both equally 12 8 11	(VOL.) Neither 18 11 13	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 7 7 7
c.F1 Govern Jul Ma Oc Jur Au Oc Ma Ea Ap Jar Ea Jul Ea Ma	ns in a more honest and ethical 20-24, 2011 ar 30-Apr 3, 2011 at 13-18, 2010 n 16-20, 2010 gust 27-30, 2009 atober, 2007 arch, 2007 rly October, 2006 wil, 2006 rly October, 2006 rly October, 2005 ly, 2004 rly September, 1998 arch, 1998		42 42 35 41 42 40 43 41 36 37 40 37 28 32 33	2 3 4 4 4 6 4 4 4 6 7 5	20 14 16 18 20 19 18 18 23 19 18 15 23 24 26	7 8 9 6 9 10 10 9 10 6 9 12 9
Jul Ap	gust, 1997 ly, 1996 ril, 1995 ly, 1994	28 38 35 32	33 37 36 35	5 2 4 6	18 19 21	8 5 6 6
	e extreme in its positions l 20-24, 2011	50	35	4	2	9
country Jul Ma Oc Au Jur Fel Au Oc Ma Ea Ap Ea Jul Ea Ma Au Jul Ma Jul Ma Jul Ma	M 2 [N=753]: ing about the kind of changes to preeds I 20-24, 2011 ar 30-Apr 3, 2011 at 13-18, 2010 ag 25-Sep 6, 2010 an 16-20, 2010 b 3-9, 2010 ag 27-30, 2009 atober, 2007 arch, 2007 arch, 2007 arch, 2006 aril, 2006 aril, 2006 arily October, 2005 by, 2004 arry September, 1998 arch, 1998 agust, 1997 by, 1996 aril, 1995 by, 1994 by, 1993 by, 1998 by, 1998 by, 1988 by, 1988 by, 1988 by, 1987	he  36 41 35 35 33 34 25 26 28 32 32 35 34 32 38 39 51 39 30 24 27 27 28 26	43 44 41 46 45 46 47 48 52 48 47 48 46 40 45 40 45 40 45 47 31 42 49 47 31 43 37 36	3 2 3 4 5 5 4 4 2 4 3 7 7 4 2 4 4 2 2 13 9 14 14	9 8 10 8 12 9 13 11 9 10 12 9 7 8 8 11 7 7 10 10 16 18 11 11	8 5 10 6 7 7 9 10 9 10 7 7 9 11 8 7 6 4 5 9 11 11 10 10

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

### Q.27 CONTINUED...

				(VOL.)		
		Republican	Democratic	Both	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		<u>Party</u>	<u>Party</u>	<u>equally</u>	<u>Neither</u>	DK/Ref
f.F2	Is more influenced by lobbyists					
	and special interests					
	Jul 20-24, 2011	39	37	12	1	11
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	44	34	11	2	9
	Feb 3-9, 2010	40	32	14	2	11
	Aug 27-30, 2009	37	31	17	3	12
	March, 2007	40	30	15	1	14
	Early October, 2006	41	27	16	2	14
	April, 2006	45	28	14	2	11
g.F2	Is more willing to work with political					
	leaders from the other party					
	Jul 20-24, 2011	26	51	1	12	9
	Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	32	49	2	10	6

### **ASK ALL:**

Q.28 If the government makes major cuts in federal spending in an effort to reduce the budget deficit, do you think these cuts would **[RANDOMIZE:** help the job situation/hurt the job situation], or not have much of an effect either way?

Jul 20-24		Mar 8-14
<u>2011</u>		<u>2011<sup>15</sup></u>
26	Help	18
27	Hurt	34
39	Not much of an effect either way	41
1	Mixed effect (VOL.)	1
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6

### **NO QUESTIONS 29-30**

### **ASK ALL:**

Q.31 How much, if anything, have you heard about the possibility that the federal government might go into default if Republicans and the Obama administration can't agree on a plan to raise the federal debt limit by August second? [READ IN ORDER]

Jul 20-24

2011

50 A lot

32 A little [OR]

16 Nothing at all

2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

### TREND FOR COMPARISON:

How much if anything, have you heard about the possibility that the federal government might shut down this year if Republicans and the Obama administration can't agree on a budget [READ IN ORDER]?

			Nothing	(VOL.)
	<u>A lot</u>	<u>A little</u>	at all	DK/Ref
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	31	42	25	2
Feb 24-27, 2011 <sup>16</sup>	37	34	29	*
Feb 17-20, 2011	21	35	44	*

In March 2011, question read "If the government makes major cuts in federal spending this year in an effort to reduce the budget deficit..."

For both February 2011 trends, the item was asked as part of a list. The wording for February 17-20, 2011, was: "The possibility that the federal government might shut down this year if Congress and President Obama can't agree on a budget."

#### **ASK ALL:**

Q.32 What would you like lawmakers who share your views on this issue to do? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

Jul 20-24	
<u>2011</u>	
	Should they stand by their principles, even
23	if that means the government goes into default [OR]
	Should they be willing to compromise, even if
68	that means they strike a deal you disagree with
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

#### TREND FOR COMPARISON:

If there is not a budget agreement by the end of next week the federal government will have to shut down nonessential services until a budget is passed. What would you like lawmakers who share your views on this issue to do? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

-	Gai	
Should they stand by their principles, even if that means the government shuts down [OR]	32	35
that means they pass a budget you disagree with	60	60 5
	Should they stand by their principles, even if that means the government shuts down [OR] Should they be more willing to compromise, even	Should they stand by their principles, even if that means the government shuts down 32 [OR] Should they be more willing to compromise, even if that means they pass a budget you disagree with 60

### **ASK ALL:**

Q.33 Just your best guess, do you think Barack Obama and the Republicans will or will not resolve this issue before the August second deadline?

		ABC/Wash Post
Jul 20-24		Jul 14-17
<u>2011</u>		<u>2011</u> 19
56	Will	54
38	Will not	43
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3

### ASK ALL:

Q.34 If the government cannot borrow more money after August second to fund its operations and pay its debts, do you think it would affect your own personal financial situation, or not?

Jul 20-24

2011
65 Would
32 Would not
3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ABC News/The Washington Post question read "Just your best guess, do you think Obama and the Republicans will not resolve this issue before the August second deadline the administration has set for raising the debt limit?"

In February 2011, the question was worded: "If the Republicans in Congress and President Obama do not agree on federal spending goals by March 4, the federal government will have to shut down all of its nonessential services until a budget is passed. What would you like the people in government who represent your views on the budget to do in this situation? Should they hold out for the basic budget plan they want, even if that means the government shuts down, or should they agree to a compromise budget plan even if that means they pass a budget you disagree with?"

should they agree to a compromise budget plan, even if that means they pass a budget you disagree with?"

In August 1995 the question was worded: "If the Republicans in Congress and President Clinton do not agree on federal spending goals this fall, the federal government will have to shut down all of its nonessential services until a budget is passed. How would you like the people in government who represent your point of view toward the budget to act in this situation — should they stand by their principles throughout the debate, even if that means the government shuts down, or should they be more willing to compromise in the debate, even if that means they pass a budget you disagree with?"

### **ASK ALL:**

Q.34 If the government cannot borrow more money after August second to fund its operations and pay its debts, do you think it would affect your own personal financial situation, or not?

### ASK IF WOULD AFFECT PERSONALLY (IF Q34=1):

Q.35 How worried are you, if at all, that not raising the debt limit by August second would [INSERT; RANDOMIZE]? [READ OPTIONS]

### **BASED ON TOTAL:**

		Very worried	Somewhat worried	Not too worried	Not worried at all	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Would not affect personally/DK
a.	Lead to the suspension of government services and benefits that affect you personally Jul 20-24, 2011	23	23	10	8	1	35
b.	Harm your own investments and retirement savings Jul 20-24, 2011	23	22	9	10	1	<i>35</i>

### IF VERY/SOMEWHAT WORRIED ABOUT GOVERNMENT REDUCTIONS (Q.35a=1, 2) ASK IMMEDIATELY [N=700]:

Q.36 What government services or benefits are you most worried about? [OPEN END; ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

Jul 20-24 2011 52 20 7 6 6 5 5 5 3 3 2 2	Social Security Medicare Health/Medical care (general) Unemployment/Jobs Medicaid Disability/SSI Education/Tuition/Student loans Public assistance/Welfare/Food stamps/Other services for poor Everything Military/Defense Retirement/Pensions Veterans benefits/VA
2	Housing
1	Local (police, fire, garbage collection, etc.)
1	Childcare/Children's health
1	US credit/Financial markets/Investments
1	Services for seniors (general)
1	Federal salaries and jobs
1	State budgets
1	Parks and recreation
10	Other
10	Don't know/Refused

Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

QUESTIONS 37-38, 41-42, 45-49, 52-54, 56-57 AND 60-62 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE NO QUESTIONS 43-44, 50-51, 55, 58-59

ASK ALL:

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?

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

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

				(VOL.) No	(VOL.)	()(01.)	1000	Lann
	Republican	Democrat	Independent		Other party	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Lean Rep	Lean Dem
Jul 20-24, 2011	24	32	38	4	*	2	16	14
Jun 15-19, 2011	26	34	32	4	*	4	13	13
May 25-30, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	15	17
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	25	32	37	3	*	3	17	16
Mar 8-14, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	17	15
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	24	33	37	3	*	3	15	16
Feb 2-7, 2011	24	31	39	3	*	2	16	16
Jan 5-9, 2011	27	32	35	4	*	2	15	14
Dec 1-5, 2010	25	33	34	5	1	2	13	14
Nov 4-7, 2010	26	30	37	4	*	2	17	13
Oct 27-30, 2010	25	34	31	6	1	4	13	11
Oct 13-18, 2010	25	31	36	4	*	3	16	13
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010		32	39	2	*	2	15	17
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	26	33	34	4	*	3	14	14
Yearly Totals	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	4	2.0	1 / E	14.1
2010 2009	23.2	32.7 34.4	35.2 35.1	3.6 3.4	.4 .4	2.8 2.8	14.5 13.1	14.1 15.7
2009	25.9 25.7	34.4 36.0	31.5	3.4 3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.7
2007	25.7	32.9	34.1	4.3	.3 .4	2.9	10.0	17.0
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	27.3	34.4	30.9	5.1	.6	1.7	12.1	13.5
2000	28.0	33.4	29.1	5.5	.5	3.6	11.6	11.7
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.9	33.7	31.1	4.6	.4	2.3	11.6	13.1
1997	28.0	33.4	32.0	4.0	.4	2.3	12.2	14.1
1996	28.9	33.9	31.8	3.0	.4	2.0	12.1	14.9
1995	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3		3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0 1.2	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
1990 1989	30.9 33	33.2 33	29.3 34	1.2	1.9 	3.4 	12.4	11.3
1989	33 26	35 35	34 39					
130/	20	33	39					

### **Q.64 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

### ASK ALL:

TEAPARTY2

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

				(VOL.)		Not
			No opinion	Haven't	(VOL.)	heard of/
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>either way</u>	<u>heard of</u>	Refused	<u>DK</u>
Jul 20-24, 2011	20	24	53	1	1	
Jun 15-19, 2011	20	26	50	3	2	
May 25-30, 2011	18	23	54	2	2	
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	22	29	47	1	1	
Mar 8-14, 2011	19	25	54	1	1	
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	20	25	52	2	2	
Feb 2-7, 2011 <sup>20</sup>	22	22	53	2	2	
Jan 5-9, 2011	24	22	50	2	1	
Dec 1-5, 2010	22	26	49	2	2	
Nov 4-7, 2010	27	22	49	1	1	
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	29	25	32		1	13
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)	28	24	30		1	16
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	29	26	32		1	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	22	18	37		1	21
Jun 16-20, 2010	24	18	30		*	27
May 20-23, 2010	25	18	31		1	25
Mar 11-21, 2010	24	14	29		1	31

In the February 2-7, 2011 survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..."In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May through October, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year." 20