

FOR RELEASE AUGUST 5, 2015

Across Racial Lines, More Say Nation Needs to Make Changes to Achieve Racial Equality

In Their Own Words: Feelings on Removing the Confederate Flag

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION
ON THIS REPORT:**

Carroll Doherty, Director of Political Research
Jocelyn Kiley, Associate Director, Research
Bridget Jameson, Communications Associate

202.419.4372

www.pewresearch.org

Across Racial Lines, More Say Nation Needs to Make Changes to Achieve Racial Equality

In Their Own Words: Feelings on Removing the Confederate Flag

Over the past year, there has been a substantial rise in the share of Americans — across racial and ethnic groups — who say the country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites, and a growing number of Americans view racism as a big problem in society.

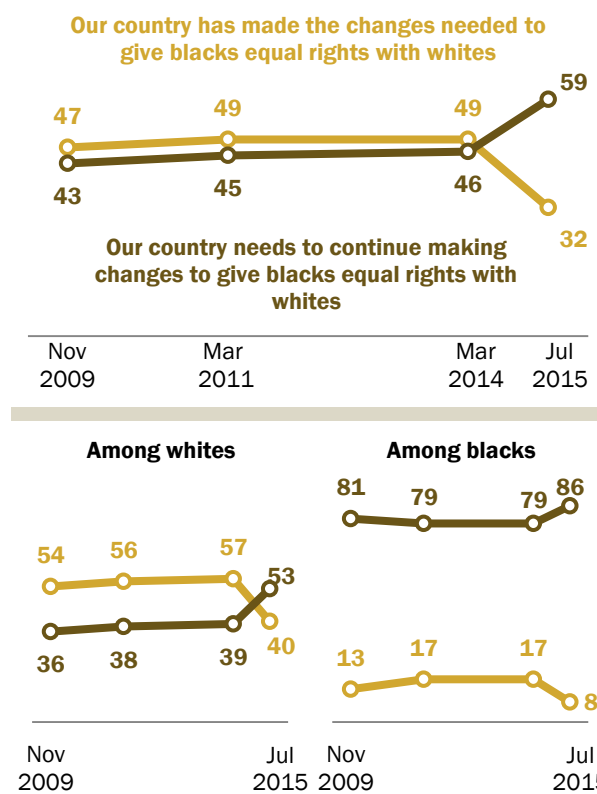
Today, 50 years after the passage of the Voting Rights Act, roughly six-in-ten Americans (59%) say the country needs to continue making changes to achieve racial equality, while 32% say the country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites. A year ago — and at previous points in the last six years — public opinion was much more closely divided on this question.

Though a substantial racial divide in these views remains, a majority of whites (53%) now say more needs to be done. Last year, just 39% of whites said this. And although large majorities of African Americans have consistently said that changes must continue to be made to achieve racial equality, the share saying this now (86%) is greater than in the past.

At the same time, there is a more widespread sense among the public that racism in society is a significant problem. Currently, 50% say that racism is a big problem in our society today. Five years ago, just 33% of Americans identified racism as a big problem, and in January 2009, only about a quarter (26%) said this.

Majority Says Nation Needs to Make Changes to Give Blacks Equal Rights

% who say the country...



Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Nearly three-quarters of African Americans (73%) now characterize racism as a big problem, along with 58% of Hispanics. Although whites are far less likely to say racism is a big problem (44%), the share of whites expressing this view has risen 17 points since 2010.

This shift in public opinion is seen across the board. Growing shares in all regions of the country, and across all demographic and partisan groups say both that racism is a big problem and that more needs to be done to achieve racial equality. Still, significant partisan divides remain on these questions, with Republicans less likely than Democrats to hold these views.

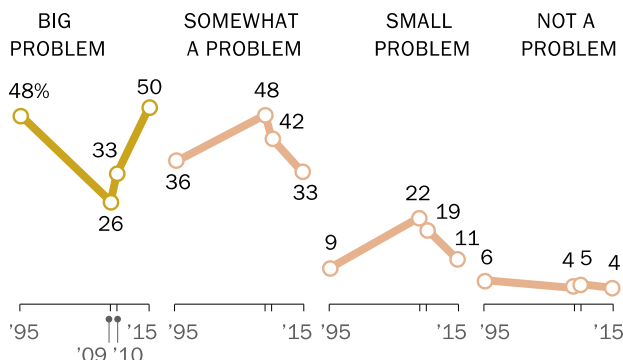
The latest national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted July 14-20, 2015 among 2,002 adults, also finds that the Confederate flag continues to raise complicated emotions following a national debate sparked by the use of the flag's imagery by the gunman in a racially motivated killing of nine African Americans in a Charleston, S.C. church in June.

Clearly, the debate over the flag has resonated strongly with the public: 89% have heard about the debate, including 64% who have heard a lot about it.

Most Americans (57%) support the recent decision by South Carolina's government to remove the flag from the statehouse grounds; 34% see this as the wrong decision. Though majorities of whites (56%), blacks (76%) and Hispanics (52%) say the flag's removal was the

Growing Share Views Racism as a 'Big Problem'

How big a problem is racism in our society today? (%)

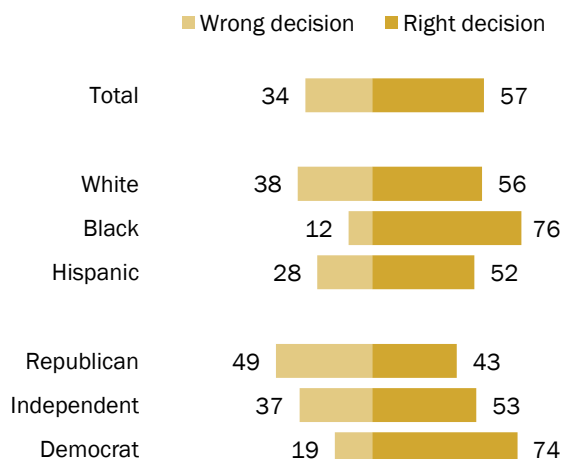


Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Don't know responses not shown. 1995 survey from Harvard/Kaiser/Washington Post. 2009 and 2010 surveys from ABC News/Washington Post.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Party Divide Wider Than Racial Gap in Views of Removing Confederate Flag

% who say South Carolina's decision to remove Confederate flag from statehouse grounds was...



Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

right decision, there are more substantial partisan divides: Fully 74% of Democrats say this was the right decision, while Republicans are more divided (43% right decision, 49% wrong decision).

When asked an open-ended question about their feelings on South Carolina's decision, about a third (36%) of those who view removing the flag as the right decision cite the flag's association with racism, hatred or slavery, while 20% say the flag is offensive or divisive. Among those who say the decision to remove the flag was wrong, most (54%) mention the flag's historical significance, while 27% volunteer that it is a misunderstood symbol (including 20% who say that it is wrongly cast as a symbol of hatred, racism or slavery).

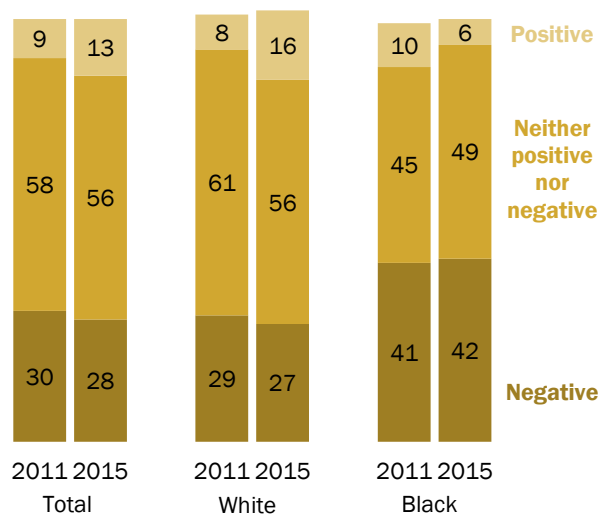
People's reactions to seeing the Confederate flag displayed are little different from opinions [four years ago](#), on the 150th anniversary of the start of the Civil War. A majority (56%) continues to say they have no particular reaction – either positive or negative – to the display of the Confederate flag. As was the case in 2011, negative reactions outnumber positive reactions (28% vs. 13%).

Although 42% of African Americans say they have a negative reaction to the display of the flag, about as many blacks say their reaction to seeing it is neither positive nor negative (49%). African American reactions to the flag are relatively unchanged from 2011.

Majorities of whites (56%) and Hispanics (62%) continue to say their reaction to the Confederate flag is neither positive nor negative. About a quarter (27%) of whites view it negatively; only 16% of whites have a positive reaction to the Confederate flag, but that is double the share who said this in 2011 (8%).

Reactions to Seeing Confederate Flag Little Changed From 2011

Reaction to seeing the Confederate flag displayed... (%)



Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic. Don't know responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Majorities of Most Groups Say Equal Rights for Blacks Not Yet Achieved

Views about the country's progress on equal rights have undergone a substantial shift from last year. By about two-to-one, Americans now say the country needs to continue making changes in order to give blacks equal rights with whites (59%), rather than that the necessary changes have already been made (32%).

Growing shares in all groups now say that more needs to be done to achieve racial equality, and there are no substantial age or educational differences on this question.

But not only do the long-standing gaps between blacks and whites remain (86% of blacks now say the country needs to continue to change, compared with 53% of whites), significant partisan and ideological divides on this question also persist.

Republicans are now divided on whether the country needs

to make more changes to achieve racial equality (42% now say this, while 51% say the country has made the necessary changes), reflecting a shift in opinion: Last spring a clear majority (69%) felt that the necessary changes had been made, while just 27% said more needed to be done. Though the share of conservative Republicans who say the country needs to make changes to achieve racial equality has risen 16 points since 2014 (from 22% to 38%), they remain the only partisan group in

Rising Shares Say More Needs to Be Done on Racial Equality, but Racial, Partisan Divides Remain

% who say U.S. _____ to give blacks equal rights with whites

	2014		2015		Change in 'Continue making changes'
	Has made necessary changes	Needs to continue making changes	Has made necessary changes	Needs to continue making changes	
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	49	46	32	59	+13
White	57	39	40	53	+14
Black	17	79	8	86	+7
Hispanic	43	54	21	70	+16
18-29	48	49	30	63	+14
30-49	51	45	33	58	+13
50-64	50	45	32	61	+16
65+	46	49	33	56	+7
College grad+	48	48	32	60	+12
Some college	54	42	34	58	+16
HS or less	46	49	30	60	+11
Republican	69	27	51	42	+15
Conserv Rep	75	22	56	38	+16
Mod/Lib Rep	57	40	42	50	+10
Independent	53	42	34	55	+13
Democrat	30	67	18	78	+11
Cons/Mod Dem	34	63	21	73	+10
Liberal Dem	25	73	11	87	+14

Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Don't know responses not shown.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

which a majority says the necessary changes have been made (56%). Moderate and liberal Republicans are roughly split on this question: 50% say more needs to be done, 42% say the necessary changes have been made.

Fully 78% of Democrats say the country needs to continue to make changes to give blacks equal rights with whites, up 11 points from last year. Liberal Democrats, in particular, overwhelmingly (87%) say the country needs to continue to make changes. About three-quarters of conservative and moderate Democrats (73%) also say the country has to continue to make changes, as does a smaller majority of independents (55%).

Majorities of Blacks, Hispanics Say Racism a Big Problem in Society

Half of Americans (50%) now say racism is a big problem in society today, 33% say it is somewhat of a problem and 15% say it is either a small problem (11%) or not a problem at all (4%).

Racism continues to register as a bigger problem among non-whites, particularly African Americans: 73% of African Americans say racism is a big problem; that compares with 58% of Hispanics and 44% of whites.

Across all groups, the share saying racism is a big problem has risen in recent years.

About four-in-ten Republicans (41%) now say racism is a big problem, while 34% characterize it as somewhat of a problem. In 2010, just 17% of Republicans said racism was a big problem.

Among Democrats, 61% currently say it is a big problem, up 16 points from 2010. Independent views are similar to the public overall (48% say it is a big problem, up from 29% in 2010).

Women are more likely than men to say racism is a big problem (56% vs. 45%), while there are no differences across age groups and only modest educational differences.

Racism Perceived to be Bigger Problem by Women, Democrats, Non-Whites

How big a problem is racism in our society today? (%) ...

	Big problem	Some-what	Small	Not a problem	DK
	%	%	%	%	%
Total	50	33	11	4	2=100
Men	45	34	13	6	2=100
Women	56	32	8	3	2=100
White	44	38	11	5	2=100
Black	73	20	5	1	1=100
Hispanic	58	23	14	4	1=100
18-29	50	33	13	4	1=100
30-49	51	31	11	4	2=100
50-64	51	35	9	5	1=100
65+	49	33	11	4	3=100
College grad+	46	40	10	3	1=100
Some college	51	33	10	4	2=100
HS or less	53	29	12	5	1=100
Republican	41	34	17	7	1=100
Conserv Rep	42	32	18	7	*=100
Mod/Lib Rep	38	38	13	8	3=100
Independent	48	35	11	4	2=100
Democrat	61	30	6	2	1=100
Cons/Mod Dem	61	29	7	3	*=100
Liberal Dem	61	32	6	1	1=100

Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Awareness of Confederate Flag Debate Varies

The debate over the Confederate flag has garnered much attention in the public, with nearly nine-in-ten Americans (89%) saying they have heard or read “a lot” (64%) or “a little” (25%) about it; just 10% say they have heard “nothing at all.”

Though whites are somewhat more likely than blacks to say they have heard a lot about this debate (72% vs. 58%), about nine-in-ten whites (93%) and blacks (88%) have heard at least a little about the Confederate flag debates. Awareness among Hispanics is lower: 66% have heard at least a little, while 33% have heard nothing at all.

Those with college degrees are more likely to report having heard a lot about the Confederate flag debates. Nearly eight-in-ten (79%) college graduates have heard a lot, compared with 68% of those with some college education and 51% of those who have not attended college.

About seven-in-ten Republicans (69%) have heard a lot about these debates, a slightly greater share than among Democrats (62%). But liberal Democrats (73%) and conservative Republicans (70%) are about equally likely to have heard a lot about the debates.

Across regions, Southerners are no more likely to have heard a lot about these debates than Midwesterners or Northeasterners; Westerners have heard significantly less about the recent debates.

Most Have Heard About the Debate Over the Confederate Flag

How much have you read or heard about recent debates over the Confederate flag around the country? (%)

	A lot	A little	Nothing at all	DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	64	25	10	1=100
White	72	21	6	1=100
Black	58	30	10	1=100
Hispanic	36	30	33	1=100
18-29	63	23	14	*=100
30-49	63	26	11	*=100
50-64	65	25	9	1=100
65+	66	24	8	1=100
College grad+	79	19	2	*=100
Some college	68	24	7	1=100
HS or less	51	29	19	1=100
Republican	69	23	7	1=100
Conserv Rep	70	23	6	1=100
Mod/Lib Rep	69	22	9	0=100
Independent	65	24	11	1=100
Democrat	62	26	11	1=100
Cons/Mod Dem	55	29	15	1=100
Liberal Dem	73	22	4	1=100
Northeast	64	22	13	1=100
Midwest	66	26	7	1=100
South	69	23	7	1=100
West	53	29	17	*=100

Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Demographic, Partisan Differences in Reaction to Confederate Flag

Overall, a majority of Americans (56%) say their reaction to seeing the Confederate flag displayed is neither positive nor negative; the flag elicits a negative reaction from 28%, and a positive reaction from 13%.

Blacks are more likely than either whites or Hispanics to say they experience a negative reaction when they see the flag: 42% of African Americans report experiencing a negative reaction, compared with 27% of whites and 24% of Hispanics. Though few people in any racial group say they view the flag positively, the share of whites who have a positive reaction has increased since 2011, from just 8% then to 16% today.

Partisan reactions to the flag differ as well. Nearly half of Democrats react negatively (47%) to the display of the flag, while about as many (42%) have no particular reaction (just 8% say they have a positive reaction). Among liberal Democrats, however, reaction to the flag is even more negative: Fully 68% have a negative response to seeing the flag displayed, compared with just half as many (34%) conservative and moderate Democrats.

Among Republicans and independents, majorities (63% each) have no particular reaction to seeing the flag displayed.

Among independents, those who do have a reaction are more likely to say that reaction is negative than positive (23% vs. 12%). But among Republicans, the balance of opinion is reversed: 23% say they have a positive reaction,

Partisan Divide Over Confederate Flag Wider Than Racial Divide

% who say reaction when Confederate flag displayed is...

	Positive %	Negative %	Neither %	DK %
Total	13	28	56	2=100
White	16	27	56	1=100
Black	6	42	49	3=100
Hispanic	8	24	62	6=100
18-29	11	30	56	2=100
30-49	14	31	53	2=100
50-64	13	26	59	2=100
65+	16	22	58	4=100
College grad+	7	44	48	2=100
Some college	14	30	54	2=100
HS or less	18	15	64	3=100
Republican	23	12	63	3=100
Conserv Rep	24	9	64	2=100
Mod/Lib Rep	19	18	59	4=100
Independent	12	23	63	2=100
Democrat	8	47	42	2=100
Cons/Mod Dem	10	34	53	2=100
Liberal Dem	5	68	25	2=100
Northeast	11	30	56	2=100
Midwest	13	25	59	3=100
South	18	27	53	3=100
West	9	31	59	2=100

Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

12% a negative one. The share of Republicans who say they have a positive reaction is up eight points (from 15%) since 2011.

Among college graduates, about as many say their reaction to the flag is negative (44%) as say they have no particular reaction (48%). Those without college degrees are far less likely to say they view the flag negatively.

In all regions of the country the share saying they have a negative reaction is greater than those who have a positive reaction, but those who live in the South are more likely to report having a positive reaction to seeing the flag displayed (18%) than those in other regions (11%).

Among whites living in the South, about a quarter (23%) say they have a positive reaction to seeing the Confederate flag, and about as many (24%) as say they have a negative reaction (52% have no particular reaction). Whites in other regions are less likely to have a positive reaction to seeing the flag (16% of Midwestern whites, along with 10% of whites in the Northeast and West, have a positive reaction).

Broad Support Among Democrats, Blacks for South Carolina's Decision

South Carolina's decision to take the Confederate flag down from statehouse grounds is met with approval from a majority of the public: 57% of Americans say it was the right decision, while 34% say it was the wrong decision.

About three-quarters (76%) of blacks, along with narrower majorities of whites (56%) and Hispanics (52%) support the decision.

Though at least half of those in all age groups favor the decision to remove the flag, younger Americans (those 18-29 years old) are somewhat less likely than older Americans to say this.

And college graduates are far more likely than those with less education to support the flag's removal: 76% of college graduates say this was the right decision, compared with a smaller majority of those with some college experience (58%). Among those who have not attended college, about as many oppose the decision as support it (42% vs. 44%).

Republicans are divided about the decision: 49% say it was the wrong decision, while 43% say it was the right one. Majorities of both independents (53%) and Democrats (74%) say it was the right decision to take the flag down from statehouse grounds. Liberal Democrats, in particular, are supportive of the decision; 86% say it was the right choice.

Majorities in all regions say that taking the flag down was the right decision, although Midwesterners (53%) and Southerners (54%) are somewhat less likely to say this than those living in the Northeast (65%) or West (61%). Among whites, about half of

Democrats, Independents Say Right Decision to Remove Flag; GOP Divided

% who say South Carolina's decision to take the Confederate flag down from statehouse grounds was...

	Right decision %	Wrong decision %	DK %
Total	57	34	9=100
White	56	38	6=100
Black	76	12	11=100
Hispanic	52	28	19=100
18-29	51	40	9=100
30-49	60	31	9=100
50-64	57	34	9=100
65+	59	31	9=100
College grad+	76	19	5=100
Some college	58	36	6=100
HS or less	44	42	14=100
Republican	43	49	8=100
Conserv Rep	42	48	9=100
Mod/Lib Rep	43	52	6=100
Independent	53	37	10=100
Democrat	74	19	7=100
Cons/Mod Dem	67	26	8=100
Liberal Dem	86	9	5=100
Northeast	65	26	9=100
Midwest	53	40	8=100
South	54	38	8=100
West	61	27	13=100
<i>View of the Confederate flag...</i>			
Positive (13%)	18	76	6=100
Negative (28%)	96	3	1=100
Neutral (56%)	49	39	12=100

Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Southerners and Midwesterners say taking the flag down was the right decision (49% each), while clear majorities of Northeastern (68%) and Western (65%) whites say it was the right decision.

Opinions about the decision to take down the Confederate flag are strongly associated with reactions to the flag; nearly all (96%) of those who view it negatively say the decision to take it down was the right one, while 76% of those who view it positively say removing it from statehouse grounds was the wrong decision. But among the majority of Americans who have no particular reaction to the flag, more say its removal was right than wrong (49% vs. 39%).

Confederate Flag's Symbolism Remains Contentious

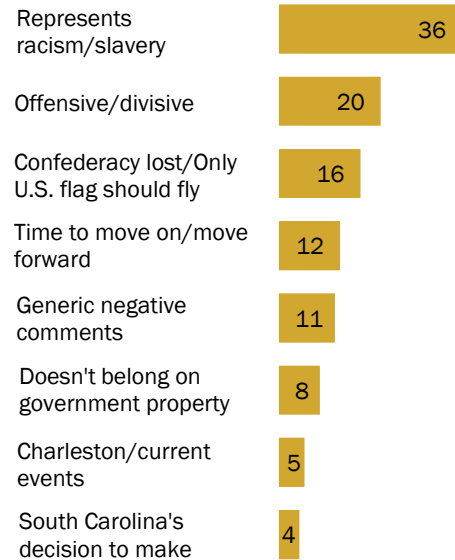
When asked to explain in their own words why they feel South Carolina's decision to take down the Confederate flag was right or wrong, many supporters of the decision cite the flag as containing negative and hurtful symbolism, while many opponents contend that the flag is primarily a symbol of historical pride or that it is misunderstood.

A plurality of the decision's supporters (36%) say the flag is representative of racism, slavery or hatred, while 20% say that that the flag is offensive and divisive.

Some supporters of the decision to take down the flag view the symbol of the Confederacy as inappropriate to fly on statehouse grounds: 16% say that the symbol of the Confederacy, which lost the Civil War, should not fly, while 8% say the flag does not belong on government property.

Many Supporters of Flag's Removal Cite Association with Racism, Divisiveness

Among the 57% who think South Carolina made the right decision to remove flag, main reason why ... (%)



Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Open-ended question. Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Why was it the Right Decision to Take Down the Flag? Voices of Supporters

Why do you say that taking down the Confederate flag was the right decision?

"The Confederacy represents slavery in my eyes." **Black male, 25**

"I believe that it's a symbol of racism and doesn't belong." **Hispanic male, 39**

"Because I think it does more to promote racism than to conserve heritage." **White male, 58**

"The flag represents hatred and racism." **Black female, 60**

"It's historic, but it represented the bonding of slaves and opposition of the government." **White female, 18**

"I think it just perpetuates an open wound...it is not a symbol that represents all of the people of that state." **Asian female, 45**

"It is a painful reminder of a hard time for many people, and I do not think it needs to be celebrated." **White female, 52**

"I think it comes to a time when you need to move on. This country has come so far, it shouldn't be an issue." **Black male, 41**

"I think that it represents something very negative and hurtful to a lot of people. And taking it down is small and beginning steps to undoing and rectifying some of that hurt." **Mixed race (White/Native American) female, 32**

"The Confederacy lost the war, so why should they be able to fly the flag?" **White female, 72**

"...the flag itself is a symbol of the past. It belongs in a museum, not in a government establishment." **Asian male, 28**

"I believe the Confederate flag is a slap to the American people. We are all Americans under one flag." **White female, 63**

"Because it is what the people of South Carolina want." **White female, 38**

Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015.

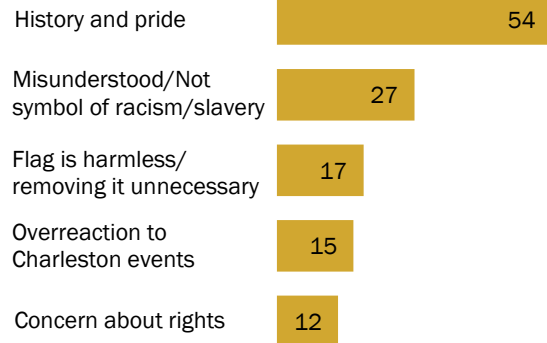
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

About one-in-ten (12%) supporters cite a desire for society to move forward as their reason why they support the flag's removal. Smaller shares specifically cite the killing of nine African Americans in Charleston in June (5%), or say they support the decision because it is South Carolina's to make (4%).

Among those who oppose the flag's removal, by far the most common reason people cite is that the flag is an important part of history and a symbol of heritage and pride: 54% describe their feelings in these terms. About a quarter (27%) of those who say the decision to take the flag down was wrong say that the flag is misunderstood or does not represent racism and slavery. A smaller share (17%) mention that the flag itself is harmless and removing it was unnecessary, while 15% view the decision as an overreaction to the Charleston event and 12% express concern that the decision to take down the flag represents government overreach or impinges on freedom of speech and expression.

History Cited as Main Reason Confederate Flag Should Fly

Among the 34% who say South Carolina made the wrong decision to remove flag, main reason why... (%)



Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015. Open-ended question. Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Why was it the Wrong Decision to Take Down the Flag? Voices of Opponents

Why do you say that taking down the Confederate flag was the wrong decision?

"It is a symbol of heritage, not hate." **White female, 25**

"People have the right to honor their ancestors." **White female, 32**

"Because it is not a symbol of racism, it is a symbol of the government fighting for freedom." **White male, 56**

"Because they are bending to the will of people who don't understand what the flag stands for." **White male, 32**

"Because the flag had nothing to do with the shootings; it represents Southern history." **White female, 48**

"Because I felt it was a knee jerk reaction to the tragedy that took place with the church." **White male, 46**

"Everybody believes it is an oppression. It is only history. People oppress people." **Asian male, 54**

"Nothing is wrong with the flag, the flag didn't do anything." **White male, 31**

"I think it causes more racism by taking it down. I think the government is making it an issue about race." **White male, 31**

"The issue is larger than that. Too much attention is being brought to the flag and not to the actual issue." **White male, 61**

Survey conducted July 14-20, 2015.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted July 14-20, 2015 among a national sample of 2,002 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (700 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,302 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 758 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 <http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/>

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the 2013 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status (landline only, cell phone only, or both landline and cell phone), based on extrapolations from the 2014 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. The margins of error reported and statistical tests of significance are adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, a measure of how much efficiency is lost from the weighting procedures.

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

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	2,002	2.5 percentage points
White, non-Hispanic	1,375	3.0 percentage points
Black, non-Hispanic	212	7.7 percentage points
Hispanic	239	7.3 percentage points
Republican	462	5.2 percentage points
Democrat	643	4.4 percentage points
Independent	796	4.0 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 is a nonprofit, tax-exempt 501(c)(3) organization and a subsidiary of The Pew Charitable Trusts, its primary funder.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER
JULY 2015 POLITICAL SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
JULY 14-20, 2015
N=2,002**

QUESTIONS 1-2, 9-10, 11a-d, 12-14, 21c PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**NO QUESTIONS 3-8, 15-20, 21a****ASK ALL:**

Next,

Q.21 Which comes closer to your view — even if neither is exactly right. **[READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR].** Next, **[NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]**

b.	Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with	Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref
	<u>whites</u>	<u>with whites</u>	
Jul 14-20, 2015	32	59	8
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	49	46	5
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	49	45	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	48	45	8
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	47	43	10

NO QUESTIONS 22-24**ASK ALL:**

Q.25 How big a problem is racism in our society today? Is it a big problem, somewhat of a problem, a small problem, or not a problem at all?

Jul 14-20 <u>2015</u>		Kaiser/ Wash Post	ABC/ Wash Post	Kaiser/ Harvard/Washington Post				
		Nov <u>2011</u> ¹	Apr <u>2010</u>	Jan <u>2009</u>	Early July <u>1996</u>	Mid-July <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	Sept <u>1995</u>
50	Big problem	28	33	26	54	53	48	41
33	Somewhat of a problem	48	42	48	35	35	36	42
11	Small problem	16	19	22	8	8	9	12
4	Not a problem	8	5	4	3	3	6	4
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	*	1	2	1	1

NO QUESTIONS 26-33, 39-44, 51-53, 57a, 60, 66-74, 78-80**QUESTIONS 34-38, 45-46, Q48F2-50, 61-65, 75-77 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED****QUESTIONS 47F1, 54-56, 57b-e, 58-59 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

¹ In November 2011 and September 1995 the question was asked following a series of items on race and racial attitudes. In both July 1996 polls the question was asked in a list with other potential societal problems (E.g., violence, poverty, drug abuse, etc.). These surveys are shown in grayscale because the context of this question is different.

ASK ALL:

On a different subject ...

Q.81 How much, if anything, have you read or heard about recent debates over the Confederate flag around the country? Have you heard **[READ IN ORDER]**

Jul 14-20

2015

64	A lot
25	A little
10	Nothing at all
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.82 When you see the Confederate flag displayed, do you have **[RANDOMIZE: a positive reaction, a negative reaction]** or neither?

Jul 14-20

2015

13	Positive reaction
28	Negative reaction
56	Neither
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Mar 30-Apr 3

2011

9
30
58
2

ASK ALL:

Q.83 As you may know, the South Carolina state government recently voted to take down the Confederate flag from statehouse grounds. In your view, was this the **[READ]**?²

Jul 14-20

2015

57	Right decision
34	Wrong decision
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK IF RIGHT DECISION OR WRONG DECISION (Q.83=1,2):

Q.84 Just in your own words, why do you say that? **[IF NECESSARY, READ: Why do you say that taking down the Confederate flag was the (IF Q.83=1, READ: right; IF Q.83=2, READ: wrong) decision?]** **[OPEN END: ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES. PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL WITH "ANY OTHER REASONS?"]**

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAY "RIGHT DECISION" [N=1,228]:

Jul 14-20

2015

36	NET Represents racism/slavery
29	Racism/hatred
9	Slavery
20	NET Offensive/divisive
13	Flag is offensive/upsetting
7	Flag caused fuss, disturbance, conflict
16	NET Patriotic/anti-Confederacy
10	Confederacy lost the war, flag of traitors
7	Only US or state flag should be flown
12	NET Move on/move forward
10	Time to move on from history
2	Sign of progress, moving forward
11	NET Generic negative comments
10	Flag is negative/wrong, taking it down was right thing to do
1	Flag serves no purpose, is useless
8	Doesn't belong on government property

² On the first night of interviewing, wording for Q.83 was: "the Confederate flag that flew over the state capitol".

Q.84 CONTINUED...

Jul 14-20

2015

- 5 Charleston/current events
- 4 South Carolina's decision to make
- 2 Should never have been flown/should have been taken down before
- 5 Other
- 4 Don't know/No answer

BASED ON THOSE WHO SAY "WRONG DECISION" [N=615]:

Jul 14-20

2015

- 54 NET History and pride**
 - 49 History/heritage/can't erase past/people died for the flag/battle flag
 - 7 Flag is a positive symbol/symbol of freedom
- 27 NET Flag misunderstood/Does not represent racism/hatred/slavery**
 - 20 Flag is not a symbol of hatred/racism/slavery
 - 7 General misunderstanding of the flag's meaning
- 17 NET Taking the flag down is trivial**
 - 9 Flag is harmless/just a flag
 - 3 Unnecessary to take down the flag
 - 2 Pointless act/taking the flag down does not fix the issue
 - 1 Not a priority/more important issues to deal with
 - 1 Debate has caused more trouble/wedge between North and South
- 15 NET Overreaction**
 - 8 Overreaction to current events/Charleston/not fair to take down due to actions of one person
 - 7 General overreaction/state adopted views of a minority/emotional debate/wrong time
 - 1 Sensationalized by media
- 12 NET Concerns about rights**
 - 9 Protection of rights/freedom of speech/right to have a flag
 - 4 Government overreach/slippery slope/what will gov't take next?/political correctness
 - 9 Other
 - 4 Don't know/No answer

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.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	No preference	Other party	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem
Jul 14-20, 2015	22	32	41	4	*	1	15	19
May 12-18, 2015	24	32	38	3	1	2	15	18
Mar 25-29, 2015	25	30	39	4	*	2	15	17
Feb 18-22, 2015	24	31	38	4	1	1	18	17
Jan 7-11, 2015	21	30	44	3	1	1	19	18
Dec 3-7, 2014	24	31	39	3	1	2	17	17
Nov 6-9, 2014	27	32	36	2	*	1	15	16
Oct 15-20, 2014	24	33	38	4	*	1	13	17
Sep 2-9, 2014	24	33	38	3	1	2	15	15
Aug 20-24, 2014	24	31	37	4	1	4	15	16
Jul 8-14, 2014	25	34	37	2	1	1	16	15
Yearly Totals								
2014	23.2	31.5	39.5	3.1	.7	2.0	16.2	16.5
2013	23.9	32.1	38.3	2.9	.5	2.2	16.0	16.0
2012	24.7	32.6	36.4	3.1	.5	2.7	14.4	16.1
2011	24.3	32.3	37.4	3.1	.4	2.5	15.7	15.6

PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	No preference	Other party	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem
2010	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	.4	2.8	14.5	14.1
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.7	36.0	31.5	3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.2
2007	25.3	32.9	34.1	4.3	.4	2.9	10.9	17.0
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	27.3	34.4	30.9	5.1	.6	1.7	12.1	13.5
2000	28.0	33.4	29.1	5.5	.5	3.6	11.6	11.7
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.9	33.7	31.1	4.6	.4	2.3	11.6	13.1
1997	28.0	33.4	32.0	4.0	.4	2.3	12.2	14.1
1996	28.9	33.9	31.8	3.0	.4	2.0	12.1	14.9
1995	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3	--	3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
1990	30.9	33.2	29.3	1.2	1.9	3.4	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

ASK ALL:

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

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion either way	(VOL.) Haven't heard of	(VOL.) Refused	Not heard of/DK
Jul 14-20, 2015	15	27	55	2	1	--
Jan 7-11, 2015	17	27	52	2	1	--
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	18	28	51	1	2	--
Oct 9-13, 2013	19	32	46	2	2	--
Jul 17-21, 2013	18	25	52	4	1	--
Jun 12-16, 2013	22	29	46	2	2	--
May 23-26, 2013	17	20	56	3	4	--
Feb 14-17, 2013	19	26	52	2	1	--
Dec 5-9, 2012	18	29	50	2	1	--
Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 (RVs)	19	29	47	1	3	--
Oct 4-7, 2012	19	25	52	2	2	--
Sep 12-16, 2012	18	26	53	2	2	--
Jul 16-26, 2012	16	27	54	2	1	--
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	19	27	49	3	2	--
Jun 7-17, 2012	21	25	52	2	1	--
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	16	25	54	2	3	--
Apr 4-15, 2012	20	26	50	3	2	--
Mar 7-11, 2012	19	29	48	2	2	--
Feb 8-12, 2012	18	25	53	2	2	--
Jan 11-16, 2012	20	24	52	2	2	--
Jan 4-8, 2012	18	25	52	2	3	--
Dec 7-11, 2011	19	27	50	2	2	--
Nov 9-14, 2011	20	27	51	1	1	--
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	19	27	51	2	1	--

TEAPARTY2 CONTINUED...

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	(VOL.) <u>No opinion</u> <u>either way</u>	<u>Haven't</u> <u>heard of</u>	(VOL.) <u>Refused</u>	<i>Not</i> <i>heard of/</i> <u>DK</u>
Aug 17-21, 2011	20	27	50	1	1	--
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 ³	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

³ 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 2010 through October 2010, 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 2010 it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."