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Low Approval of Trump's Transition but Outlook for His Presidency Improves

Growing numbers see 'strong' partisan and racial conflicts

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Table of Contents

Overview	1
1. Views of President-elect Trump and his administration	11
2. Discrimination and conflicts in U.S. society	25
3. Political values	32
4. Views of the ACA, Medicare and the nation's economy	41
5. Views of Mike Pence	52
6. Awareness of election results	55
Acknowledgements	58
Methodology	59
Appendix: Topline questionnaire	61

Low Approval of Trump's Transition but Outlook for His Presidency Improves

Growing numbers see 'strong' partisan and racial conflicts

Nearly a month after Donald Trump's election as president, the public views his transition to the

White House less positively than those of past presidents-elect. And while expectations for Trump's presidency have improved since before his victory, about as many Americans say Trump will be a poor or terrible president as a good or great one.

The latest national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5 among 1,502 adults, finds that 40% approve of Trump's cabinet choices and high-level appointments, while 41% approve of the job he has done so far in explaining his policies and plans for the future.

In December 2008, 71% of Americans approved of Barack Obama's cabinet choices, and 58% expressed positive views of George W. Bush's high-level appointments in January 2001, prior to his inauguration. Similarly, higher shares approved of the way that both Obama (72%) and Bush (50%) explained their policies and plans for the future than say that about Trump today.

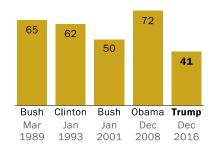
Overall, 35% of Americans think Trump will be a good or great president; 18% say he will be average, while 38% say he will be poor or terrible. However, these assessments are far more positive than they were throughout the campaign: <u>In October</u>, just 25% of the public said Trump would make a good or great president, while 57% said he would be poor or terrible.

Republicans express more positive views of a Trump presidency

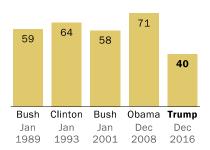
than they did in October, while Democrats have less negative expectations. Two-thirds of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (67%) now say Trump will be a good or great president; in October, fewer (54%) Republicans said this.

Low approval ratings for Trump's transition

% who approve of job ____ has done explaining their policies and plans



% who approve of ___ cabinet choices and other high level appointments



Note: Data from prior years from ABC, Gallup and U.S. News & World Report. Q68 & Q69. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

In October, 89% of Democrats and Democratic leaners thought Trump would make a poor or terrible president, with 74% calling him terrible. Today, 64% of Democrats view his prospective presidency negatively, with 45% saying he will be terrible.

However, many of the same doubts and concerns that voters expressed about Trump's qualifications and temperament during the campaign are evident as he prepares to take office. Just 37% of the public views Trump as well-qualified; 32% of registered voters described Trump as

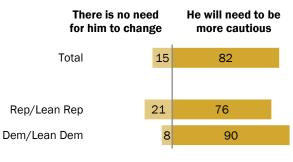
well-qualified in October. Majorities continue to say Trump is reckless (65%) and has poor judgment (62%), while 68% describe him as "hard to like."

In addition, more than half of the public (54%) says that Trump has done too little to distance himself from "white nationalist groups" who support him, while 31% say he has done the right amount to distance himself from such groups; 6% say he has done too much in this regard.

There also is broad public agreement that the president-elect will need to be more cautious in expressing his views once he takes office.

Republicans, Democrats want Trump to be 'more cautious' in the White House

When it comes to the kind of things Trump says and tweets, once he becomes president ... (%)



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q71. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

About eight-in-ten Americans (82%) – including large majorities of Republicans and (76%) and Democrats (90%) – say that once he takes office, Trump "will need to be more cautious about the kinds of things he says and tweets." Just 15% of the public says there is no need for Trump to change the kinds of things he says and tweets.

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In the aftermath of a deeply divisive campaign, majorities of Americans say there are "strong" conflicts between many groups in society – between Republicans and Democrats, the rich and poor, and blacks and whites, as well as between immigrants and people born in the

United States.

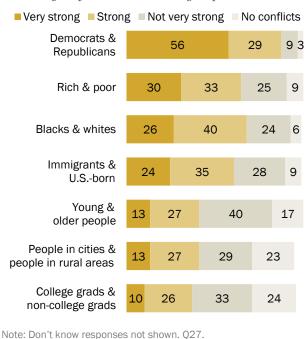
Fully 85% say there are either "very strong" (56%) or "strong" (29%) conflicts between Democrats and Republicans, while 66% say there are very strong or strong conflicts between blacks and whites and 63% say the same about the rich and poor. Nearly six-inten (59%) think there are strong conflicts between immigrants and the native-born.

Four-in-ten think there are very strong or strong conflicts between the young and old and between people who live in cities and people in rural areas; 37% see strong conflicts between college graduates and those who did not attend college.

Four years ago, most Americans also said there were strong conflicts between partisans, but the share saying there are *very* strong conflicts between Republicans and Democrats has increased from 47% to 56%.

Public sees strong conflicts between many groups, especially partisans

% who say conflicts between these groups are ...



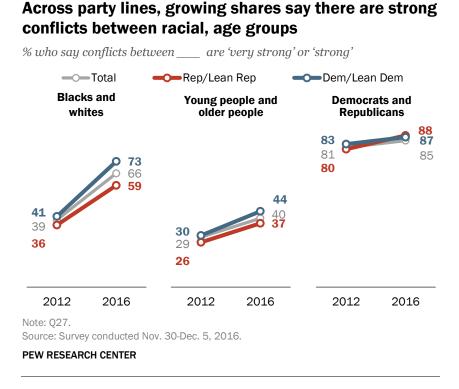
Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q27. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Perceptions of strong conflicts between racial and age groups have risen sharply since 2012. Currently, 26% say there are very strong conflicts between blacks and whites, while 40% perceive strong conflicts; four years ago, just 11% saw very strong conflicts between the races and 28% said there were strong conflicts. The share saying there are at least strong conflicts between young people and older people also has increased 11 percentage points since 2012, from 29% to 40%.

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The belief that there are strong racial and age conflicts in this country has increased across partisan lines. Nearly three-quarters of Democrats (73%) currently say there are very strong or strong conflicts between blacks and whites, up from just 41% four years ago. Over the same period, the share of Republicans saying this has risen from 36% to 59%.

Similarly, the share of Democrats who say there are at least strong conflicts between young people and older adults has risen 14 percentage points since 2012 (from 30% to 44%), while



increasing 11 points among Republicans (26% to 37%).

The survey also finds that substantial numbers of Americans think there is discrimination against several groups in society – especially against Muslims. A majority of the public (57%) says there is a lot of discrimination against Muslims in this country, while 25% say there is some discrimination; just 16% say there is *only a little* or no discrimination at all against Muslims.

Majorities also say there is a lot or some discrimination against gays and lesbians (43% a lot, 33% some), blacks (41% a lot, 35% some), Hispanics (32% a lot, 38% some) and women (23% a lot, 37% some).

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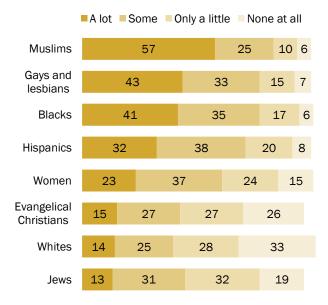
The shares saying there is "a lot" of discrimination against Muslims and blacks have increased since 2013. At that time, when asked a somewhat different version of the question, 45% said there was a lot of discrimination against Muslim Americans; today, 57% see a lot of discrimination against Muslims in society.

In addition, a much larger share perceives a lot of discrimination against blacks today (41%) than said this against African Americans in 2013 (22%). And the number saying there is a lot of discrimination against women has risen eight percentage points over this period (from 15% to 23%).

There are wide partisan differences in the perceptions of discrimination against most groups. For instance, while majorities of both Republicans and Democrats say blacks face at least *some* discrimination, just 20% of Republicans and Republican leaners say blacks face *a lot* of discrimination, compared

Majority sees 'a lot' of discrimination against Muslims in the U.S.

How much discrimination is there against each group in our society today? (%)



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q101. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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with 57% of Democrats and Democratic leaners who say the same.

Democrats also are more likely than Republicans to say there is at least some discrimination against women (75% vs. 43%).

By contrast, while half of Republicans see at least some discrimination against evangelical Christians, just a third of Democrats do so. And while 49% of Republicans say there is at least some discrimination against whites in the U.S., only 29% of Democrats say the same.

Public divided on the ACA, many unaware of proposed Medicare changes

The public is divided over the Affordable Care Act – and divided over whether it should be repealed or expanded. While views of the law have changed only modestly in recent years, predictions about the law's fate have shifted dramatically.

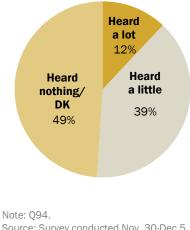
Currently, 53% expect the law's major provisions to be eliminated, while just 39% expect them to be maintained. Last year and in 2014, more predicted that the ACA's major provisions would be maintained than eliminated. *(For more, see how partisans view the ACA)*

A second major issue likely to be considered by the 115th Congress – possible changes to Medicare – has not resonated widely with the public. Overall, only about half of the public (51%) has heard a lot (12%) or a little (39%) about a proposal to change Medicare to a program that would give future participants a credit toward purchasing private health insurance. About as many either have heard nothing (48%) or don't know (1%).

Those who have heard about possible changes to Medicare oppose these changes by a wide margin. Among the small share of Americans who have heard a lot about the proposal, twothirds (67%) oppose it, while just 32% favor it. Opinion is divided among the much larger group who have heard little or nothing about the proposal (41% favor, 40% oppose, 19% don't know).

Few aware of proposed Medicare changes

% who say they have _____ about a proposal to change Medicare to give future participants a credit toward purchasing private health insurance coverage ...



Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec 5, 2016.

Other important findings

Republicans less likely to say Clinton won popular vote. Most Americans know that Trump won the most electoral college votes (78% say this) and that Hillary Clinton won the most individual votes nationwide (72%). While there are only slight partian differences in awareness of the vote in the electoral college, 81% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say correctly that Clinton won the national popular vote, compared with a smaller majority (68%) of Republicans and Republican leaners.

Confidence in Trump varies, depending on the issue. A majority of the public (60%) says they are very or somewhat confident that Trump will work effectively with Congress, while 52% are confident he will manage the executive branch effectively. Fewer have confidence in him handling an international crisis (45%) or using military force wisely (44%).

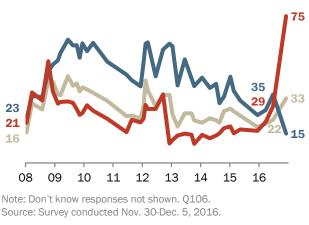
Concerns about Trump's possible conflicts.

Most Americans say they are very concerned (45%) or somewhat concerned (20%) that Trump's relationships with businesses or foreign governments conflict with his ability to serve the country's best interests. These views are little changed from late October, when 42% of registered voters had a great deal of concern over Trump's potential conflicts.

Post-election spike in economic optimism –
among Republicans. Democrats are more
likely than Republicans to view the current
state of the economy positively, but23
21
16Republicans are far more optimistic about the
economy's course over the next year. Fully
75% of Republicans expect the economy to
improve over the next year, up from just 29%
who said this in June. By contrast, the share of
Democrats who expect the economy to get
better over the coming year has fallen from 35% to 15%.23
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Republicans have high expectations for the nation's economy in 2017

% saying nation's economy will be better a year from now ...



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Mixed views of Mike Pence. Opinions about Mike Pence are divided – 39% view the vice president-elect favorably, while 42% have an unfavorable opinion. But most Americans (54%) think Pence is qualified to become president if anything happens to Trump; just 30% say he is not qualified. Pence has a very positive image among white evangelical Christians. Two-thirds (67%) view him favorably, and 78% say he is qualified to serve as president.

1. Views of President-elect Trump and his administration

As Donald Trump prepares to take office as the nation's 45th president, 55% of the public says that, so far, they disapprove of the job he has done explaining his policies and plans for the future, while 41% approve of the job he has done.

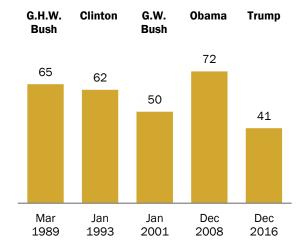
Trump's rating for the job he has done so far presenting his vision to the public is lower than those other recent presidents received following their elections.

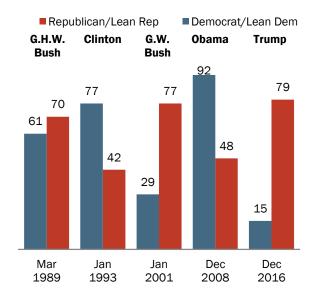
In December 2008, 72% said they approved of the job then President-elect Obama had done explaining his plans and policies for the future. And in the wake of the disputed 2000 election, 50% said they approved of the job George W. Bush had done explaining his plans and policies. In early 1989 and 1993, the public gave both George H. W. Bush and Bill Clinton positive ratings for how they had communicated their future plans for the country: 62% approved of Clinton, and 65% approved of Bush (this measure for George H. W. Bush is from March 1989, after he took office).

The partisan gap in ratings of the job Trump has done so far is wider than it has been for any prospective president dating to the 1988 election.

Approval rating for Trump during transition lower than for predecessors

% who approve of the job _____ has done explaining their policies and plans for the future to the American people...





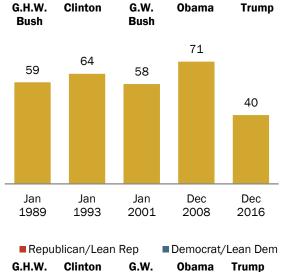
Note: Data for March 1989 from Gallup. Q68. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

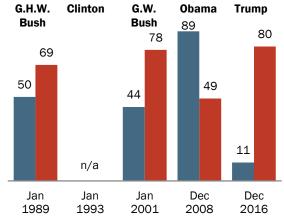
About eight-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners (79%) say they approve of the job Trump has done explaining his policies and plans for the future to the American people; just 15% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say the same. The 64-percentage point gap between the ratings offered by Republicans and Democrats is larger than the 44-percentage point gap in early reactions to Obama measured in December 2008 and the 48-percentage point gap in reactions to Bush measured in January 2001. The current gap is driven in part by very low rating among Democrats: the 15% who approve of Trump's early approach is lower than any rating given to a new president-elect by members of the losing party in recent elections (including the 29% of Democrats who approved of how Bush laid out his vision in January 2001).

Trump also receives low marks for his initial cabinet choices and other high level appointments. By 51% to 40%, more say they disapprove than approve of the cabinet choices and appointments Trump has made so far. In contrast, majorities approved of the choices made by the past four president-elects. In fact, approval ratings for Trump's cabinet choices are 18 points lower than for the next lowest-rated president-elect.

Modest enthusiasm for Trump's cabinet choices and other major appointments

% who approve of each president-elect's cabinet choices and other high level appointments ...





Notes: Data for 1993 from U.S. News & World Report; 1989 from ABC. 1993 dataset unavailable for party analysis. Q69. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016. **PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

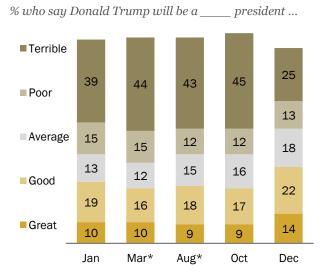
Eight-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners say they approve of Trump's cabinet choices and other high level appointments. By contrast, just 11% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say they approve of these selections. Ratings among Democrats today are far lower than the 49% of Republicans who said they approved of Obama's initial cabinet choices in December 2008 and the 44% of Democrats who said the approved of Bush's selections in January 2001.

What kind of president will Trump be?

Overall, 35% say they think Trump will be a great (14%) or good (22%) president, while about as many (38%) think he will be either poor (13%) or terrible (25%); 18% say they think he will make an average president.

While current ratings are mixed, they are more positive than assessments of Trump as a possible president prior to his election victory. Throughout the campaign, majorities said they thought Trump would be either a poor or terrible president, including 57% who said this in late October.

Expectations for Trump as president improve following his election



Notes: Don't know responses not shown. *March and August data based on registered voters. Q70. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

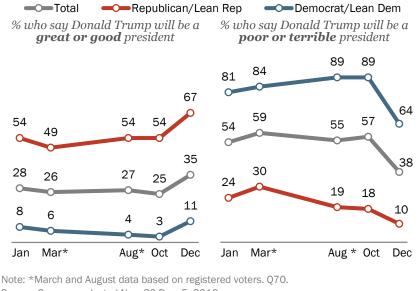
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Expectations for Trump as president have improved in part because Democrats are now much less likely to say they expect him to make a poor or terrible president than they were during the campaign – in particular, the share expecting him to be a terrible president has decreased since before the election.

In October, nearly nine-inten Democrats and Democratic leaners (89%) said they thought Trump would make a poor or terrible president. Although a majority of Democrats still say this, that share has fallen sharply to 64% in the current survey. And while a plurality of Democrats continues to say he will be a terrible president, that share has declined from 74% in October to 45% today.

At the same time, there has been an uptick in the share of

Share of Democrats who expect Trump to be a 'poor' or 'terrible' president declines following the election



Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Republicans and Democrats who think Trump will make a great or good president. Two-thirds (67%) of Republicans and Republican leaners think Trump will make at least a good president (up from 54% in October). Few Democrats and Democratic leaners think Trump will make a great or good president (11%), but the share who say this is up 8 points since October.

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Confidence in Trump to handle aspects of the presidency

The public is confident in Trump's ability to work with Congress, and about half are confident that

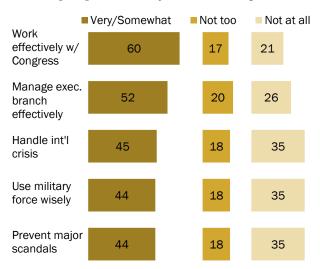
he will manage the executive branch effectively; but there are doubts about Trump in other areas, including his ability to prevent major scandals in his administration and use military force wisely.

Six-in-ten say they are either very (26%) or somewhat (35%) confident in Trump's ability to work with Congress. When it comes managing the executive branch effectively, 52% say they are either very or somewhat confident in Trump's ability to do this.

By contrast, fewer than half say they are very or somewhat confident in Trump's ability to handle an international crisis (45%), use military force wisely (44%) or prevent major scandals in his administration (44%).

More are confident in Trump to work with Congress than to deal with a crisis

% who say they are ____ confident that Trump can ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q120. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

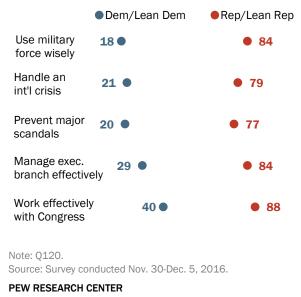
Not surprisingly, Republicans express confidence in Trump's ability to handle different aspects of the presidency, while Democrats say they are not confident in Trump's ability.

Republicans and Republican leaners are broadly confident in Trump's ability to work effectively with Congress (88%), to use military force wisely (84%) and to manage the executive branch effectively (84%). Large shares also are confident in his ability to handle an international crisis (79%) and prevent major scandals in his administration (77%), though slightly fewer Republicans express confidence in Trump in these areas than in his ability to work with Congress.

Democrats are broadly skeptical of Trump's abilities. Only about two-in-ten are confident in his ability to handle an international crisis (21%), prevent major scandals in his administration (20%) or use military force wisely (18%). Somewhat more (29%) are confident that Trump can manage the executive branch effectively. Democrats

Republicans express confidence in Trump's abilities across the board

% who say they are very/somewhat confident that Trump can ...



express the most confidence in Trump when it comes to his ability to work with Congress: Still, just 40% say they are very or somewhat confident that he can work effectively with Congress.

The public expresses less confidence in Trump's ability to handle different aspects of the presidency than they did in George W. Bush, before he took office in 2001.

At least seven-in-ten said they were very or somewhat confident in Bush's ability to handle aspects of the job in January 2001. Compared with assessments of Bush, the public is significantly less likely to say they are confident in Trump's ability to use military force wisely (34 points lower than ratings of Bush), prevent major scandals in his administration (33 points lower), handle an international crisis (26 points lower), manage the executive branch effectively (25 points lower) and work effectively with Congress (14 points lower).

Less confidence in Trump today than in George W. Bush in early 2001

% who are <u>very/somewhat confident</u> in the ability of _____ to...

Jan 2001 Bush	Dec 2016 Trump
%	%
71	45
77	44
74	60
78	44
77	52
	Bush % 71 77 74 78

Note: 2001 data from Gallup/CNN/USA Today. Don't know responses not shown. Q120. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

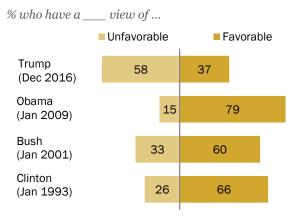
Low personal favorability ratings for Trump

Alongside negative ratings for the job Trump has done explaining his plans and selecting his cabinet so far, most also hold an overall unfavorable view of the president-elect.

Roughly six-in-ten (58%) say they have either a very (38%) or mostly (20%) unfavorable view of Trump, compared with 37% who hold a very (14%) or mostly (23%) favorable view of him.

By wide margins, the public held favorable views of other recent president-elects. In the weeks before each took office, 79% had a favorable view of Obama, 60% had a favorable view of George W. Bush and 66% had a favorable view of Bill Clinton.

Trump's personal favorability far lower than those of past president-elects



Notes: 1993 data from Gallup. Other/Don't know responses not shown. Q50c. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

About eight-in-ten Republicans (78%) hold a favorable view of Trump. Views among Democrats are highly negative: 87% say they hold an unfavorable view of the president-elect.

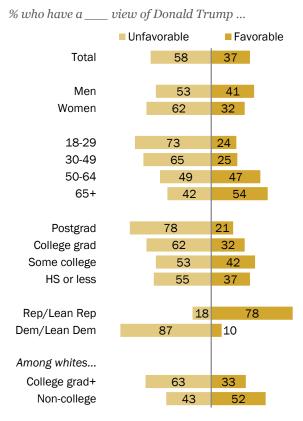
Older adults hold a much more favorable view of Trump than younger adults. By 54% to 42%, more of those ages 65 and older rate Trump favorably than unfavorably. Views are about evenly divided among those ages 50-64 (47% favorable, 49% unfavorable). Large majorities of those 18-29 (73%) and 30-49 (65%) hold an unfavorable view of Trump.

Nearly eight-in-ten (78%) of those with a postgraduate degree view Trump unfavorably, as do 62% of those with a college degree. On balance, those without a college degree also view Trump unfavorably, though by somewhat smaller margins.

Among whites who have not graduated from college, more hold a favorable (52%) than unfavorable (43%) view of Trump. By contrast, whites with a college degree view Trump more unfavorably than favorably by almost two-toone (63%-33%).

There is an age gap among Republicans and Republican leaners in views of Trump: 89% of Republicans age 50 and older view Trump favorably, compared with a smaller majority

Wide age, education differences in post-election views of Trump



Note: Other/Don't know responses not shown. Q50c. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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(62%) of Republicans ages 18-49. Democrats and Democratic leaners hold broadly unfavorable views of Trump across age cohorts.

Views of Donald Trump's traits and characteristics

Donald Trump's low overall favorability rating is reflected in the public's assessments of his traits and characteristics.

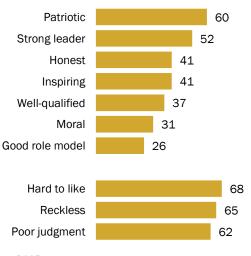
While most (60%) call him patriotic, majorities also describe him as hard to like (68%), reckless (65%) and as having poor judgment (62%).

About half (52%) call Trump a strong leader, but the public is less likely to assign other positive characteristics to him. Fewer than half describe Trump as honest (41%), inspiring (41%) or well-qualified (37%). Only about three-in-ten call him moral (31%) and just 26% say that he is a good role model.

These views are little changed from <u>October</u>, when comparable shares of registered voters ascribed these characteristics to Trump before the election.

Public views Trump as 'patriotic,' but also as 'hard to like,' 'reckless'

% who say each of the following describes Trump ...



Note: Q115.

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

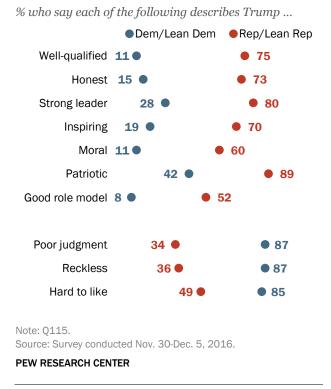
Large majorities of Republicans and Republican leaners say Trump is patriotic (89%), a strong leader (80%), well-qualified (75%), honest (73%) and inspiring (70%). Six-in-ten describe him as moral. Republicans are more closely divided over whether Trump is a good role model: 52% say that he is, while 42% say that he is not.

Overall, 36% of Republicans and Republican leaners describe Trump as reckless and 34% say he has poor judgment; majorities of Republicans say these two traits do not describe him. However, Republicans are divided over whether Trump is hard to like: 49% say he is, compared with 50% who say he is not.

Democrats and Democratic leaners are largely critical in their assessments of Trump's traits and characteristics. Fewer than half say that Trump is patriotic (42%) and just 28% say that he is a strong leader. Fewer than two-in-ten say any other positive characteristic included in the survey describes Trump.

At the same time, large majorities of Democrats say that Trump has poor judgment (87%), is reckless (87%) and is hard to like (85%).

About half of Republicans say Trump is 'hard to like'



Most say Trump has done too little in distancing from white nationalists

In response to controversial support Trump received during the campaign from some white

nationalist groups, 54% of Americans say he has done too little to distance himself from these groups. Fewer (31%) say he has done about the right amount to distance himself from white nationalist groups, while just 6% say he has done too much.

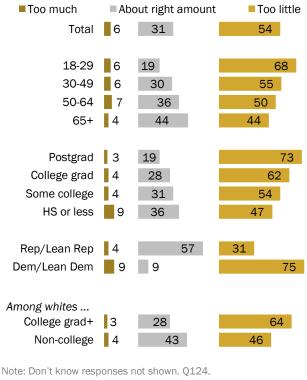
Fully 75% of Democrats say that Trump has done too little to distance himself from white nationalist groups. Most Republicans (57%) say he has done about the right amount to distance himself from the support he received from some white nationalist groups; 31% of Republicans say he has done too little.

Across age groups, those ages 18-29 are the most likely to say Trump has not done enough to distance himself from white nationalist groups: 68% of those under 30 say this, compared with 55% of those ages 30-49, 50% of those 50-64 and 44% of those ages 65 and older.

Those with higher levels of education are more likely than those with lower levels to say Trump has not done enough to distance himself from white nationalist groups. For

How much has Trump done to distance himself from white nationalist groups?

% who say Trump has done _____ in distancing himself from white nationalist groups ...



Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

example, 73% of postgraduates say this compared with 47% of those with no college experience.

Among whites, college graduates are more likely to say Trump has not done enough to distance himself from white nationalists groups (64%) than to say he has done about the right amount (28%). Among whites who have not graduated from college, about as many say Trump has not done enough (46%) as say he has done about the right amount (43%).

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Concerns about Trump and conflicts of interest

A majority of the public says they are concerned that Trump has relationships with organizations, businesses or foreign governments that conflict with his ability to serve the country's best interests.

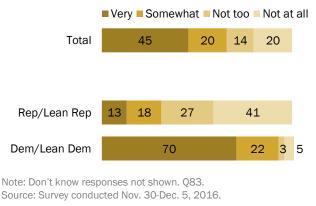
Overall, 65% say they are either very (45%) or somewhat (20%) concerned that Trump's ties to groups conflict with his ability to serve the country's best interests; 34% say they are not too (14%) or not at all (20%) concerned about this.

Democrats are far more likely to express concern on this issue than Republicans. Seven-in-ten Democrats and Democratic leaners say they are very concerned that Trump's relationships could conflict with his ability to serve the country's best interests; an additional 22% are somewhat concerned.

By contrast, most Republicans and Republican leaners (68%) say they are not too (27%) or not at all (41%) concerned about Trump's ties.

Most are concerned over Trump's ties to businesses, foreign governments

% who are _____ concerned that Trump's relationships with orgs., businesses or foreign govts conflict with his ability to serve the country's best interests ...



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About three-in-ten (31%) are at least somewhat concerned that Trump's relationships conflict with his ability to serve.

Among Republicans, those ages 18-49 are about twice as likely as those 50 and older to say they are at least somewhat concerned that Trump's relationships conflict with his ability to serve the country's best interests (46% vs. 21%).

Views of the role Trump's adult children will play in administration

After playing a prominent role in his general election campaign, the public has mixed views on

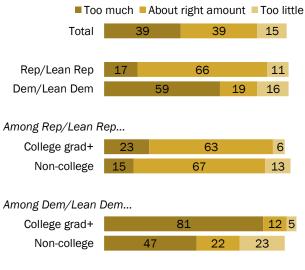
how much influence Trump's adult children will have within his administration. Overall, 39% say they will have too much influence, while an identical 39% say they will have about the right amount of influence. Relatively few (15%) say that Trump's adult children will have too little influence on his administration.

Two-thirds of Republicans and Republican leaners (66%) say Trump's adult children will have about the right amount of influence in his administration. By contrast, 59% of Democrats and Democratic leaners think they will have too much influence.

Among Democrats, college graduates are much more likely than those with no college degree to say that Trump's adult children will have too much influence in his administration (81% vs. 47%). Among Republicans, there is little difference in views on this question across levels of education.

Mixed views of how much influence Trump's adult children will have

How much influence do you think Trump's adult children will have within his administration? (%)



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q93. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

2. Discrimination and conflicts in U.S. society

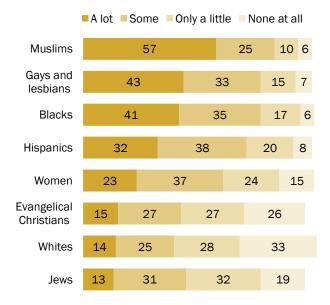
The public makes clear distinctions in assessing the extent to which some groups in the society face discrimination today. A large majority of Americans (82%) say Muslims in the United States face discrimination – with 57% saying they face "a lot" of discrimination.

But majorities also say that gays and lesbians (76%), blacks (76%), Hispanics (70%) and women (60%) face at least some discrimination. Fewer Americans say Jews (44%), evangelical Christians (42%) or whites (38%) face a lot or some discrimination.

Democrats are much more likely than Republicans to say blacks, Muslims, Hispanics, gays and lesbians, and women face discrimination in society today. By contrast, Republicans are somewhat more likely than Democrats to see discrimination against evangelical Christians and whites.

Most see 'a lot' of discrimination against Muslims in society today

% who say there is _____ of discrimination against each group in our society



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q101. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

26 PEW RESEARCH CENTER

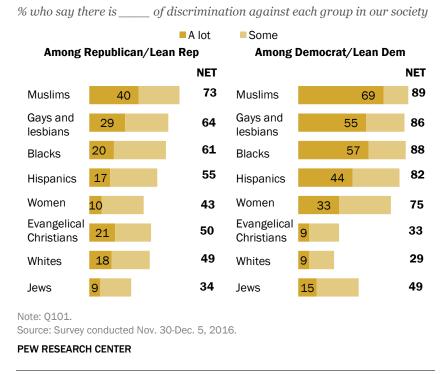
Overwhelming shares of Democrats and Democratic leaners say Muslims (89%), blacks (88%), gays and lesbians (86%), and Hispanics (82%) face a lot or some discrimination in society today. And most Democrats say there is *a lot* of discrimination (as opposed to just some) against

Muslims (69%), blacks (57%) and gays and lesbians (55%).

Smaller majorities of Republicans and Republican leaners say there is at least some discrimination against Muslims (73%), blacks (61%), gays and lesbians (64%), and Hispanics (55%). Unlike Democrats, however, fewer than half of Republicans say Muslims face *a lot* of discrimination (40%), while just 29% say this about gays and lesbians and only 20% say blacks face a lot of discrimination.

Three-quarters of Democrats say there is at least some discrimination against women in society today,

More Democrats than Republicans see discrimination against groups – except for evangelicals and whites



including 33% who see a lot of discrimination. Just 43% of Republicans say women face a lot or some discrimination, with just 10% saying a lot.

Democrats also are more likely than Republicans to say Jews in this country face at least some discrimination (49% vs. 34%).

Half of Republicans say there is a lot or some discrimination against evangelical Christians; 21% see a lot of discrimination against evangelicals. Just 33% of Democrats say evangelicals are discriminated against, with 9% saying they face a lot of discrimination.

Republicans also are far more likely than Democrats to say whites in the U.S. face discrimination: 49% of Republicans say there is at least some discrimination against whites, compared with 29% of Democrats.

Over the last three years, the public has become more likely to say blacks and Muslims face a lot of discrimination in society.

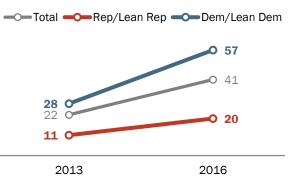
In 2013, when asked a similarly worded question using the term "African Americans" rather than blacks, 22% said African Americans faced a lot of discrimination. In the current survey, 41% say blacks face a lot of discrimination today.

Views have shifted dramatically among Democrats and Democratic leaners: 28% said African Americans faced a lot of discrimination in 2013, compared with 57% who say this about blacks today. There has been less change in views on this question among Republicans and Republican leaners (from 11% in 2013, to 20% in 2016).

The public also sees more discrimination against Muslims today than in 2013. Overall, 57% say Muslims face a lot of discrimination today, up from 45% in 2013 (the 2013 survey used slightly different wording and asked about "Muslim Americans"). Over the past three years, Democrats have become 13 points more likely say there is a lot of discrimination against Muslims, while Republicans have become 9 points more likely to say this.

Growing share say blacks face a lot of discrimination in society today

% who say there is 'a lot' of discrimination against blacks in our society

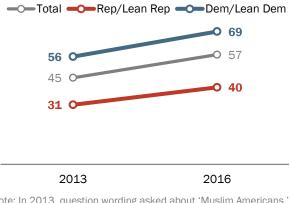


Note: In 2013, question wording asked about 'African Americans,' current wording asks about 'blacks.' Q101a. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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Majority of public now says Muslims in society face a lot of discrimination

% who say there is 'a lot' of discrimination against Muslims in our society



Note: In 2013, question wording asked about 'Muslim Americans,' current wording asks about 'Muslims.' Q101e. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

The shares of the public seeing a lot of discrimination against women (23% now, 15% then) and Hispanics (32% now, 25% then) have also edged higher since 2013.

Views of group conflict in U.S. society

The public views conflicts in the U.S. between Republicans and Democrats as much more intense than those between other groups, including rich people and poor people, blacks and whites, and immigrants and those born in in the U.S.

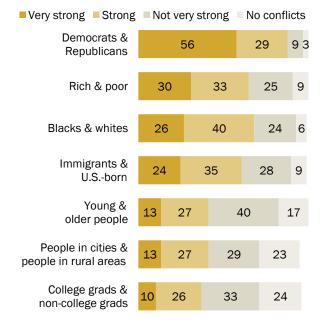
Fully 85% say there are very strong (56%) or strong (29%) conflicts between Republicans and Democrats in the U.S. Just 12% say there are not very strong conflicts (9%) or no conflicts (3%) between partisans. Republicans and Democrats are the only groups included in the survey for which a majority of Americans say there are very strong conflicts.

Most also see at least strong conflicts in the country between blacks and whites (66%), though just 26% describe these conflicts as *very* strong.

There is a similar pattern in views of the amount of conflict between rich people and poor people and between immigrants and

Public sees more intense conflict between partisans than other groups

% who say that conflicts between each are ____



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q27. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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those born in the U.S. Overall, 63% say there are at least strong conflicts between rich people and poor people, though just 30% describe them as very strong. When it comes to conflicts between immigrants and people born in the U.S., 59% say there are either very strong (24%) or strong (35%) conflicts between these two groups.

Amid discussion regarding the new administration and possible changes to Medicare and Social Security, relatively few see conflicts between young people and older people: 40% see at least strong conflicts, including just 13% who see very strong conflicts.

And while a wide gap emerged between those with and without a college degree in <u>2016</u> <u>presidential voting preferences</u>, the public does not see widespread conflicts between the two

groups: 37% see very strong (10%) or strong (26%) conflicts between those with a college degree and those who did not go to college. Similarly, fewer than half (40%) say there are very strong (13%) or strong (27%) conflicts between people who live in cities and people who live in rural areas.

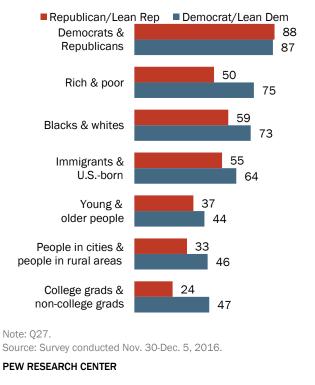
Republicans and Democrats are equally likely to see strong conflicts between their respective partisan groups, but they differ in other assessments, with Democrats more likely than Republicans to see conflict across a range of groups.

Large majorities of Republicans and Republican leaners (88%) and Democrats and Democratic leaners (87%) say there are very strong or strong conflicts between Republicans and Democrats in the country today.

When it comes to differences between rich people and poor people in the country, fully 75% of Democrats and Democratic leaners say

More Democrats than Republicans see strong conflicts by wealth, education

% who say that conflicts between each groups are 'very strong' or 'strong'



there are very strong or strong conflicts between these two groups, compared with fewer Republicans and Republican leaners (50%) who say the same.

Most Democrats also say there are very strong or strong conflicts between blacks and whites (73%) and immigrants and those born in the U.S. (64%). Somewhat smaller majorities of Republicans see at least strong conflicts between these two sets of groups (59% and 55%, respectively).

Overall, 47% of Democrats say there are very strong or strong conflicts between people with a college degree and those who did not go to college; just 24% of Republicans agree. Democrats also are more likely than Republicans to see at least strong conflicts between people who live in cities and people who live in rural areas and younger people and older people, though fewer than half of

both Republicans and Democrats say there are very strong or strong conflicts between these two sets of groups.

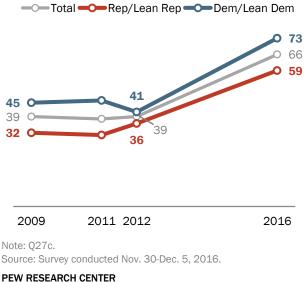
There has been a sharp rise over the past four years in the share saying there are deep conflicts between blacks and whites.

In December 2012, 39% of the public said there were very strong (11%) or strong (28%) conflicts between blacks and whites in the U.S. Since that time – a period that saw several high-profile police shootings of African Americans, the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement and the 2016 presidential election campaign – the share who say there are very strong or strong conflicts between the two groups has risen to 66%.

Democrats and Democratic leaners (73%) are somewhat more likely than Republicans and Republican leaners (59%) to say there are at least strong conflicts between blacks and whites. Both Republicans and Democrats are significantly more likely to say this today than in 2012.

Growing shares in both parties see strong black-white conflicts

% who say that conflicts between **blacks and whites** are 'very strong' or 'strong'

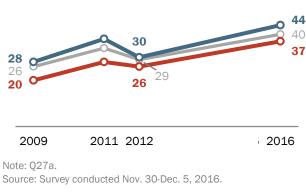


The share who see very strong or strong conflicts between young people and older people has increased from 29% in 2012 to 40% in the current survey. The share of Democrats who see at least strong conflicts between age groups is up 14 points from 2012 (to 44%), while the share of Republicans who say this is up 11 points over the last four years (to 37%).

More say there are strong conflicts between young and older people in U.S.

% who say that conflicts between **young people and older people** are 'very strong' or 'strong'

-O-Total -O-Rep/Lean Rep -O-Dem/Lean Dem



3. Political values: Government regulation, environment, immigration, race, views of Islam

The public remains divided over government regulation of business. While 45% say regulation is necessary to protect the public interest, about as many (48%) say government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.

As in the past, Republicans and Democrats take opposing views of government regulation: 71% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents think government regulation of business does more harm than good, while just a quarter (25%) think it's necessary to protect public interest. By contrast, 62% of Democrats and leaners think business regulation is necessary; about a third (31%) think it does more harm than good.

There are significant differences in opinion by education and income. A 71% majority of those with postgraduate degrees think business regulation is necessary to protect the public, along with 58% of those with a college degree. More than half (54%) of those with some college education or less say government regulation of business does more harm than good. These educational differences have grown somewhat more pronounced over the last year.

Public remains divided on impact of government regulation of business

Usually does Is necessary to protect the more harm public interest than good Total 48 45 22 Postgrad 71 College grad 38 58 Some college 53 41 HS or less 54 37 \$75,000+ 44 53 \$30,000-\$74,999 48 47 <\$30,000 52 38 Rep/Lean Rep 71 25 Dem/Lean Dem 31 62

Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q86a. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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% who say government regulation of business ...

Majority of Americans say environmental regulations are worth the cost

More Americans continue to say stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost (59%) than to say they cost too many jobs and hurt the economy (34%).

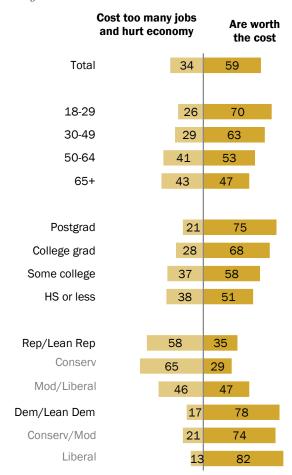
Nearly eight-in-ten Democrats and Democratic leaners (78%), including large majorities of both liberal (82%) and conservative and moderate Democrats (74%), say environmental laws are worth the cost.

Among Republicans, however, there are striking ideological differences. Overall, 58% of Republicans say stricter environmental regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy, while 35% say they are worth the cost. But by a roughly two-to-one margin (65% vs. 29%) conservative Republicans and leaners are more likely to say stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy rather than that they are worth the cost. Moderate and liberal Republicans are more divided on this issue: 46% think environmental regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy, 47% say they are worth the cost.

Age and education are strongly associated with these views. Younger adults and those with higher levels of education are more likely than older adults and those with less education to say environmental regulations are worth the cost.

Partisan, ideological divide on environmental regulations

% who say stricter environmental laws and regulations ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q86d. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

The state of equal rights

A 57% majority of Americans say the country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites, while 37% think the country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites.

More now say the necessary changes have been made to give blacks equal rights than said this earlier this year (37% today, 30% in May). However, that share remains far lower than it was in prior years (for instance, 49% said this in March 2014).

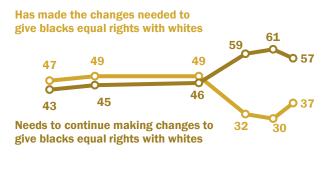
As has been the case, a wide majority of blacks (85%) think the country needs to continue to make changes to achieve racial equality, as do a majority of Hispanics (63%). About half of whites (50%) think the country needs to continue to make changes, while 44% think the country has made the needed changes to achieve equality.

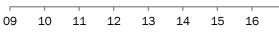
The partisan divide on this subject remains wide. Roughly three-quarters of Democrats and leaners (76%) say the country needs to continue to make changes to give blacks equal rights with whites, while just 19% think the needed changes have been made. Democratic views are little changed over the course of the last year.

By contrast, a 62% majority of Republicans think the necessary changes for racial equality have been made, while about a third (32%) think changes still need to be made. Republicans are now more likely to say the

Do more changes need to be made to give blacks equal rights with whites?

% who say our country...



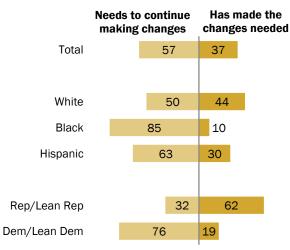


Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q86b. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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Wide partisan gap on state of racial equality in the country

% who say our country ____ to give blacks equal rights with whites...



Notes: Don't know responses not shown. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Q86b. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

necessary changes have been made than they were earlier this year: This spring, only about half of Republicans (53%) said this.

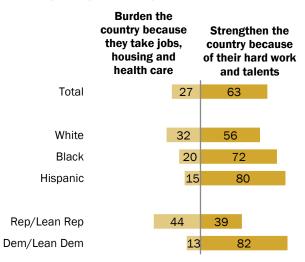
Most say immigrants strengthen the country

About six-in-ten Americans (63%) now say immigrants strengthen the United States because of their hard work and talents, while 27% say immigrants are a burden on the country because they take jobs, housing and health care. The share of Americans who see immigrants as more of a strength than a burden is <u>now at its highest level in more than</u> <u>twenty years of Pew Research Center surveys</u>.

The stark partisan differences in opinion on how immigrants impact the nation are little changed over the course of the last year. Today, an overwhelming share of Democrats and leaners (82%) think immigrants strengthen the country with their hard work and talents, while just 13% say they are a burden. By contrast, Republicans are more divided: Roughly as many (44%) say immigrants are more of a burden on the country because they take jobs, housing and

Immigrants are seen as more of a strength than a burden

% who say immigrants today ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Q86c. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

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health care as say they strengthen the country because of their hard work and talents (39%).

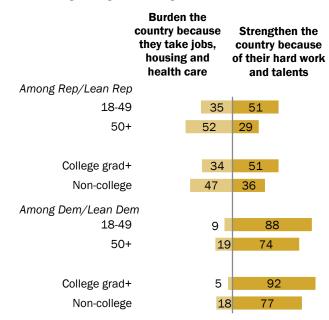
There are key demographic differences within the Republican Party, however. About half of Republicans under the age of 50 say immigrants strength the country (51%), while fewer say they are a burden (35%). For older Republicans, the balance of opinion is the reverse: More say immigrants burden the country (52%) than say they strengthen it (29%).

Similarly, Republicans with a college education are more likely to say immigrants strengthen the country than say they burden the U.S. (51% vs. 34%). By contrast, Republicans without a college degree are more likely to say immigrants burden the country because they take jobs, housing and health care (47% vs. 36%).

There are only modest demographic differences among Democrats; wide majorities across age and education groups say immigrants strengthen the country because of their hard work and talents.

Age and education divides among Republicans in views of immigrants

% who say immigrants today ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q86c. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Perceptions of whether Islam is more violent than other religions

About half of Americans (49%) say that the Islamic religion is no more likely than other religions to encourage violence, while about four-in-ten (41%) say Islam is more likely than others to

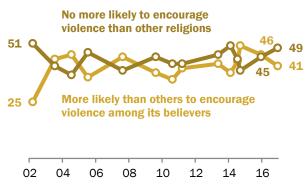
encourage violence among its believers. Public views have been closely divided on this question for more than a decade, but the belief that Islam encourages violence more than other religions has ticked down to its lowest level since mid-2014.

Republicans and Democrats are more polarized than ever on this question: Seven-inten Republicans (70%) now think the Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers; only about a quarter of Democrats (26%) and 39% of independents say the same.

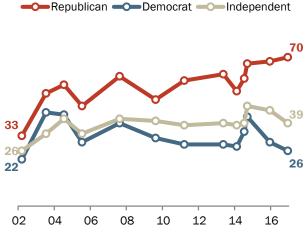
Among independents, the views of those who lean toward the Democratic Party are similar to those of Democratic identifiers (26% of both groups say Islam is more likely than other religions to encourage violence). There is a much more pronounced gap between Republican identifiers and Republican-leaning independents: 70% of Republican identifiers think Islam is more likely to encourage violence among its believers, compared with about half (52%) of Republican leaners.

Wide partisan differences in views of relationship between Islam and violence

% who say the Islamic religion is ...



% who say the Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q88. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.



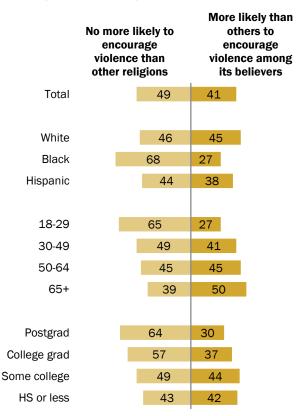
There continue to be significant divisions by age, race and education in views of whether Islam encourages violence.

Adults under 30 remain far more likely than those who are older to say the Islamic religion is no more likely than others to encourage violence: About two-thirds (65%) say this, compared with only about a quarter (27%) who think Islam encourages violence more than other religions. By contrast, half of those ages 65 and older think the Islamic religion is more likely to encourage violence among its believers; fewer (39%) think this is not the case.

Those with some college experience or less education are divided on the relationship between Islam and violence: 43% think the religion is more likely to encourage violence than others, while 46% think it is not. That compares with clear majorities of those with postgraduate (64%) and college (57%) degrees that think the Islamic religion is no more likely than others to encourage violence.

Young adults say Islam no more likely to encourage violence than other religions

% who say the Islamic religion is ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Q88. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Do U.S. efforts abroad help or hurt?

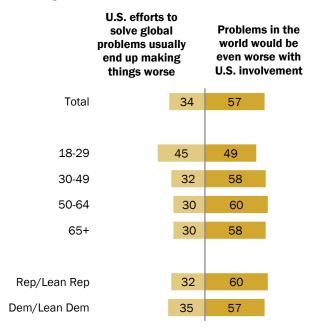
A majority of the public (57%) thinks problems in the world would be even worse without U.S. involvement, while about a third (34%) thinks U.S. efforts to solve problems around the world usually end up making things worse.

Across most demographic and political groups there are only modest differences in these views. And Republicans and Republicanleaning independents and Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents are about equally likely to say that problems in the world would be worse without American involvement (60% and 57%, respectively).

However younger adults are more divided on this question than older Americans: While 49% of those under 30 say problems in the world would be worse without the U.S., roughly as many (45%) think U.S. efforts to solve global problems usually end up making things worse.

Young adults are more critical of U.S. efforts to solve global problems

% who say ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q86e. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

Wide partisan divide over why people are poor

About half of Americans (53%) think circumstances beyond a person's control are generally more often to blame if a person is poor, while about a third (34%) say lack of effort on their part is more often to blame.

Opinions on this subject vary by gender, education, and party affiliation.

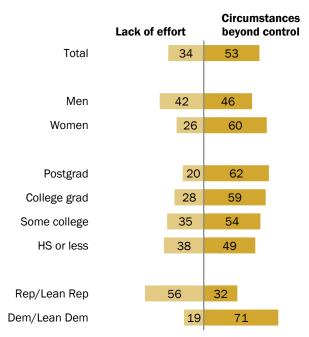
By more than two-to-one, women think circumstances beyond a person's control are more often to blame for poverty than lack of effort (60% vs. 26%). By contrast, men are more divided on the issue: While 46% think circumstances beyond a person's control are more often to blame, 42% think a lack of effort is more often the reason.

Those with higher levels of education are more likely than those with less education to attribute blame for poverty to circumstances beyond a person's control. Six-in-ten of those with a college degree or more education (60%) say this, compared with about half (51%) of those without a college degree.

Democrats overwhelmingly say circumstances beyond a person's control are more to blame if someone is poor (71% vs. 19% who say lack of effort is more to blame). That compares with a 56% majority of Republicans who think lack of effort is more to blame if a person is poor.

Is poverty primarily due to lack of effort, or circumstances beyond one's control?

% who say _____ is more to blame if a person is poor



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Q89. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

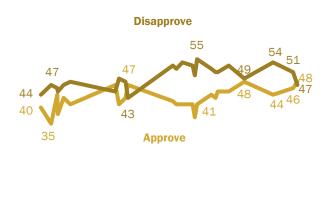
4. Views of the ACA, Medicare and the nation's economy

As Barack Obama prepares to leave office, the public is divided over a signature policy of his presidency: The Affordable Care Act. Currently, about as many approve of the 2010 health care law as disapprove (48% vs. 47%). The balance of opinion is somewhat more positive today than in October (when 46% approved and 51% disapproved) or April (44% approved, 54% disapproved).

The last time opinion of the 2010 health care law was evenly split was in July 2015, following the Supreme Court's ruling that upheld the federal government's ability to provide insurance subsidies through federal exchanges. At that time, 48% said they approved of the law and 49% said they disapproved.

As Obama departs, public is evenly divided over health care law

% saying they _____ of the 2010 health care law



2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016

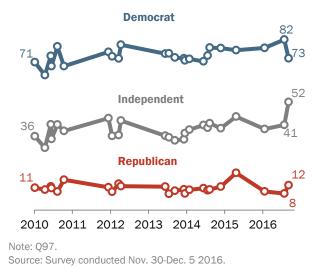
Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q97. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016

Fully 85% of Republicans disapprove of the ACA, while just 12% approve of it. By contrast, 73% of Democrats approve of the law and just 20% disapprove of it. Democratic support for the law has declined since October, when 82% backed it.

Independents are more supportive of the health care law than at any point in the past six years. In the current survey, 52% of independents approve of the ACA, while 45% disapprove. In October, opinion was nearly the reverse: 41% of independents approved and 54% disapproved of the health care law.

Partisan gap on the ACA has been wide since it became law in 2010

% who approve of the 2010 health care law ...





Over the past few months, approval of the health care law has edged higher among young adults.

In late October, those younger than 30 were closely divided over the health care law: 51% approved, while 45% disapproved. Currently, a majority (59%) of those younger than 30 approve of the law, while 38% disapprove. Views of the law among older age groups are little changed from October.

Support for health care law among young adults has risen since October

	Oct 2016		Dec		
Views of the 2010 health care law	Approve	Dis- approve	Approve	Dis- approve	Change in approve
	%	%	%	%	
Total	46	51	48	47	+2
18-29	51	45	59	38	+8
30-49	51	44	51	44	0
50-64	40	57	41	54	+1
65+	40	57	42	49	+2
Republican	8	91	12	85	+4
Democrat	82	16	73	20	-9
Independent	41	54	52	45	+11

Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q97. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5 2016.

The future of the ACA

As with overall views of the health care law, the public is divided over whether the law should be repealed, expanded or left as it is. As many want Congress to repeal the law as to expand it (39% each), while 15% favor leaving the law as is.

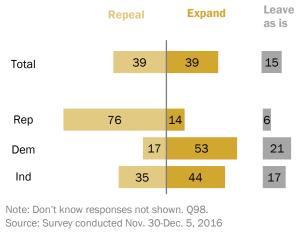
These views are little changed from October, when 44% favored repealing the law, 40% backed its expansion and 13% said lawmakers should leave it as is.

While Republicans remain overwhelmingly in favor of repealing the law, the share favoring repeal has declined from 85% in October to 76% currently.

Support among Democrats for expanding the

What should Congress do with the health care law now?

% saying Congress should ...



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law has fallen since shortly before the election. Currently, about half (53%) of Democrats say that Congress should expand the ACA, down from 68% in October.

In the wake of the 2016 election, the public has become more skeptical about the ACA's future. Currently, 53% say its major provisions will probably be eliminated, while 39% say they are probably are "here to stay."

In surveys conducted in 2014 and 2015, more said the law's provisions were likely to be preserved than eliminated. In July 2015, 51% said the law was probably here to stay, while 43% said it would probably be eliminated.

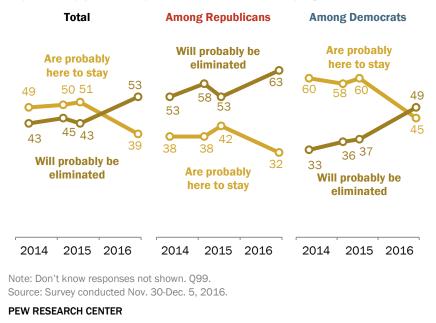
Republicans, whose party

leaders have pursued efforts to repeal the health care law, are now 10 points more likely than they were in July 2015 to say that the law will probably be eliminated (53% then, 63% now). Just 32% of Republicans now say that major provisions of the law are probably here stay.

Democrats' views of the law's future also have changed substantially. In July of last year, Democrats by a wide margin (60% to 37%) said the ACA's major provisions were probably here to stay. Today, just 45% of Democrats expect the law's major provisions to endure, while 49% say they probably will be eliminated.

More now expect the health care law to be eliminated

Regardless of your view of the health care law, its major provisions ...



Views of proposed Medicare changes

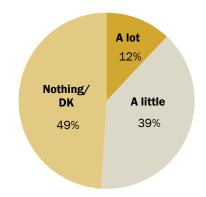
Many are unaware of a Republican proposal that would change Medicare into a voucher program in which future participants would be given a credit towards the purchase of private health insurance coverage.

Just 12% say they have heard a lot about the proposal, while 39% have heard a little about it. Nearly half (49%) have either heard nothing about the proposal or offer no opinion.

Older and better-educated adults are more likely than younger people and those with less education to say they have heard at least a little about the proposal to change Medicare. And somewhat more Democrats (60%) than Republicans (51%) and independents (48%) say they have heard at least a little about the idea.

Little public awareness of Medicare voucher plan

% saying they have heard _____ about proposal to change Medicare to give future participants a credit toward purchasing private health insurance coverage ...



Note: Q94. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec 5, 2016.

The public is evenly divided between support and opposition towards a proposal to shift Medicare to a voucher style health care coverage program: 43% oppose this change, while 39% favor it and 18% express no opinion either way.

However, the balance of opinion is more negative among the roughly half of adults who have heard about the Medicare proposal: 49% oppose it, while 38% favor it.

Among adults under 30 who have heard of the proposal, more favor (50%) than oppose (34%) it. Among older age groups, there is more opposition than support to the proposed Medicare changes.

Republicans who have heard at least a little about the Medicare proposal favor it by a wide margin (60% to 23%). Two-thirds (67%) of Democrats oppose it, while just 22% favor it.

Republicans who are aware of proposed changes to Medicare are more supportive of the plan than they were in <u>August 2012</u>, when Paul Ryan, the proposal's primary architect, was named as Mitt Romney's vice presidential running mate. At that time, 46% of Republicans favored the changes; today, Republican support is 14 percentage points higher (60%). Demograte' views of the proposal of

Among those aware of Medicare proposal, differences in support by age

% who _____a proposal to change Medicare into a program that would give future participants a credit toward purchasing private health insurance

	Oppose	Favor
Total	43	39
Heard about proposal		
NET: Heard anything	49	38
Heard a lot	67	32
Heard a little	43	40
Nothing/DK	37	41
Among those who have heard of proposal (51%)		
18-29	34	50
30-49	49	37
50-64	52	36
65+	56	32
College grad+	59	28
Some college	45	41
HS or less	42	45
Republican	23	60
Democrat	67	22
Independent	47	41

Note: Don't know responses not shown. For figures based on those who have heard about this Medicare proposal N=869. Q94 & Q95. Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016

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higher (60%). Democrats' views of the proposal are little changed since 2012.

Medicare voucher proposal more politically divisive than in past

In 2011, when Rep. Paul Ryan (now Speaker Ryan) introduced a Medicare voucher proposal as part of a deficit reduction package, there was little support for the proposal among Republicans or Democrats (34% each).

In the current survey, however, views are far more polarized: 60% of Republicans who are aware of the voucher proposal favor the idea compared with only 22% of Democrats.

Also <u>in 2011</u>, there was evidence that changes like this to Medicare were less popular among older Americans and that these views cut across party lines. Today, that is no longer the case.

A majority of Republicans age 50 and older now favor a Medicare voucher

Republicans more supportive of Medicare voucher proposal than in 2012

How much have you heard about	May 2011	Aug 2012	Dec 2016
proposal to change Medicare program	%	%	%
A lot	20	30	12
A little	50	42	39
Nothing at all/Don't know	<u>29</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>49</u>
	100	100	100
Among those who have heard a lot/little			
Favor proposal	35	34	38
Oppose proposal	45	49	49
Don't know	<u>20</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100
Among those who have heard, % saying they <u>favor</u> the proposal			
Republican	34	46	60
Democrat	34	28	22
Independent	39	34	41
Note: Figures may not add to 100% because of Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 201	0 +	4 & Q95.	

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proposal (59%), compared with just 16% of Democrats in this age group.

By contrast, in May 2011, similarly small shares of Republicans age 50 and older and Democrats age 50 and up favored a Medicare voucher idea (31% and 24%, respectively).

Views of the national economy, satisfaction with the state of the nation

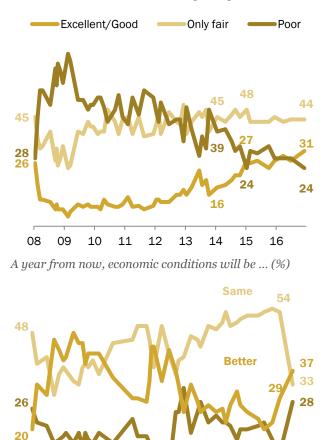
For the first time since 2008, more now say economic conditions in the country today are excellent or good (31%) than say conditions are poor (24%); 44% say the economy is only fair.

In the wake of the election, the public's economic outlook for the coming year is significantly different than it was in June. The share who expect conditions to stay about the same has declined while the share who expect conditions to be better and the share who expect them to be worse have both increased.

Overall, 37% expect economic conditions to be better in a year, up eight points from June (and 17 points from a year ago). At the same time, the share who expect conditions to be worse in a year has also increased: from 13% in June to 28% in the current survey. The share expecting little change in economic conditions in the coming year stands at 33%, down from 54% five months ago.

More now say economic conditions are excellent or good than say they are poor

Economic conditions in the country today are ... (%)





Worse

13

Source: Survey conducted Nov. 30-Dec. 5, 2016.

These overall shifts reflect substantial changes in opinion among partisans. Nearly half of Democrats (49%) now rate economic conditions in this country as excellent or good, up slightly from June. There is little change in the share of Republicans or independents who say the economic conditions are excellent or good.

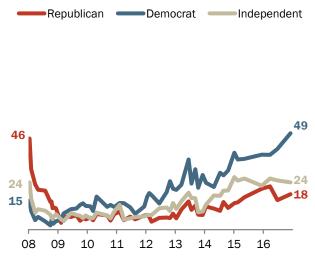
When it comes to the condition of the economy a year from now, Republicans are more than twice as likely as they were in June to think economic conditions will be better: Fully 75% of Republicans think this now, compared with just 29% in June and 16% one year ago.

Democrats, by contrast, are increasingly pessimistic about next year's economic conditions: Just 15% of Democrats think conditions will be better in a year, down from 35% who said this in June.

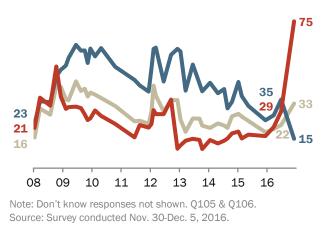
A third of independents (33%) think economic conditions will be better in a year, up 11 points since June.

Wide majority of Republicans say economy will be better in a year

Economic conditions in the country today are excellent/good (%)



A year from now, economic conditions will be better



And while overall national satisfaction is little changed from recent years, there is movement among partisans on this measure.

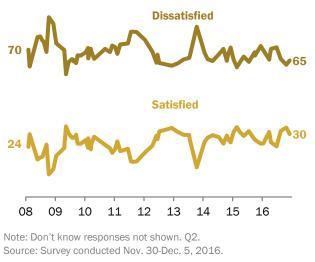
Overall, a 65% majority of the public is dissatisfied with the way things are going in the country today; 30% are satisfied.

Relatively few Republicans and Republican leaners are satisfied with the way things are going (21%), but this share is up 10 points since October.

Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, national satisfaction has fallen from 52% to 37% over the past two months.

Majority of public is dissatisfied with the way things are going in the U.S.

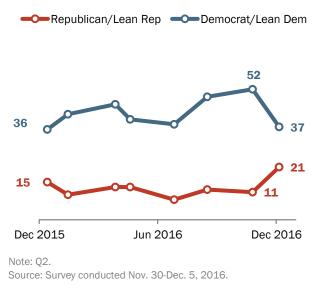
% who say they are _____ with the way things are going in this country today



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Post-election, national satisfaction up among Reps, down among Dems

% who say they are satisfied with the way things are going in this country today



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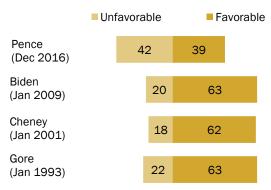
5. Views of Mike Pence

The public holds mixed views of Vice President-elect Mike Pence. Overall, 39% say they have a favorable view of Pence, while about as many (42%) say they have an unfavorable view; 18% are unable to offer a rating of him. Pence is seen less favorably than other recent incoming vice presidents. About six-in-ten had favorable views of Joe Biden in 2009, Dick Cheney in 2001 and Al Gore in 1993.

Overall, 70% of Republicans and Republican leaners view Pence favorably, while just 13% hold an unfavorable view of him. Views among Democrats and Democratic leaners are the reverse: 65% view him unfavorably, compared with just 18% who view him favorably.

Public holds mixed views of Pence

% saying they have a <u>view</u> of each vice presidentelect



Notes: Don't know responses not shown. 1993 data from Gallup. Q50d. Source: Survey conducted Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016.

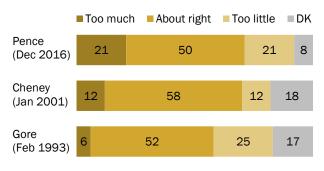
Half of the public says they think Pence will have about the right amount of influence within the Trump administration, while 21% say they think he will have too much influence and an identical 21% think he will have too little influence.

The share saying they expect Pence to have the right amount of influence within the Trump administration is somewhat lower than the share who said this about Dick Cheney's influence within George W. Bush's administration in January 2001 (58%), but is about the same as the share who said this about Al Gore's influence within the Clinton administration in February 1993 (52%).

Three-quarters of Republicans and Republican leaners say they think Pence will have about the right amount of influence within the Trump administration; 15% think he will have too little influence and just 6% say he will have too much. Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, about as many say he will have too much influence (35%) as the right amount (31%); 25% say he will have too little influence.

Views of how much influence Pence will have within the Trump administration

% saying each will have _____ influence within the presidential administration



Note: Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Q50d. Source: Survey conducted Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016.

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Most Republicans say Pence will have 'right amount' of influence in admin.

How much influence do you think Mike Pence will have within the Trump administration?

	Too much	About the right amount	Too little	DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	21	50	21	8=100
Rep/Lean Rep	6	75	15	4=100
Conserv	3	80	14	3=100
Mod/Liberal	11	65	18	6=100
Dem/Lean Dem	35	31	25	9=100
Conserv/Mod	26	35	27	11=100
Liberal	45	28	23	4=100

Note: Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Q92. Source: Survey conducted Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016.

Overall, 54% of the public says that Pence is qualified to be president, if something were to happen to Donald Trump; 30% say he is not qualified, and 15% do not offer an opinion.

Eight-in-ten Republican and Republican leaners say that he is qualified to be president. By contrast, more Democrats and Democratic leaners say he is not qualified to serve (49%) than say he is qualified (37%).

Narrow majority says Pence is qualified to be president, if necessary

Do you think that Mike Pence is qualified to be president if something were to happen to Donald Trump? (%)

	Yes, is qualified	No, is not qualified	DK
	%	%	%
Total	54	30	15=100
Rep/Lean Rep	80	8	12=100
Conserv	86	3	11=100
Mod/Liberal	66	19	15=100
Dem/Lean Dem	37	49	14=100
Conserv/Mod	42	40	18=100
Liberal	32	59	9=100

Note: Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Q91. Source: Survey conducted Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016.

6. Awareness of election results

In the wake of Trump's victory, most Americans are able to correctly identify which candidate won the most Electoral College votes, most

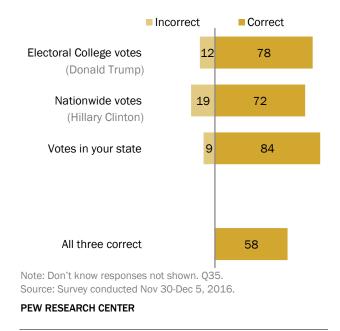
individual votes nationwide and the most votes in the state they live in.

About eight-in-ten (78%) correctly identify Trump as the candidate who received the most Electoral College votes. Most also correctly identify Hillary Clinton (72%) as the candidate who won the most individual votes nationwide. A slightly larger majority (84%) can correctly identify the candidate who received the most votes in the state where they live. Taken together, 58% of the public correctly responds to all three questions and can name the candidate who won the Electoral College, the popular vote and their home state.

Following the 2000 election between George W. Bush and Al Gore, 78% could identify Gore as the candidate who won the popular vote in January 2001; this is slightly higher than the

Most know 2016 election results nationwide and in their state

% who know which of the 2016 candidates received the most ...



72% who identify Clinton as the winner of the popular vote in the current survey.

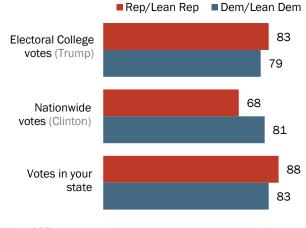
Those who live in states Trump won and those who live in states that Clinton won are equally knowledgeable about which candidate won their home state. Fully 85% of those currently living in states where Trump won correctly say he received the most votes in their state; 83% of those living in states where Clinton won say that she received the most votes in their state.

There is a significant partial divide in knowledge of which candidate won the popular vote. About eight-in-ten Democrats and Democratic leaners (81%) say that Clinton won the most votes nationwide, compared with a smaller 68%-majority of Republicans and Republican leaners.

There is not much of a knowledge gap when it comes to the Electoral College vote and the vote count in a respondents' home state.

Comparable majorities of Republicans (88%) and Democrats (83%) correctly identify the candidate who won the most votes in their home state. Similarly, most Republicans (83%) and Democrats (79%) know Trump won the most Electoral College votes.

More Democrats than Republicans know Clinton won popular vote



% who know which of the 2016 candidates received the most ...

Note: Q35.

Source: Survey conducted Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016.

There are significant demographic differences in the share who answer all three of the election results questions correctly.

Men (62%) are more likely than women (53%) to know which candidate received the most votes nationwide (Clinton), the most Electoral College votes (Trump) and which candidate won their state.

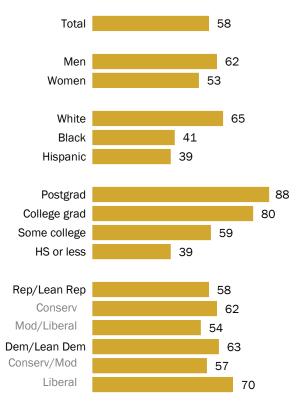
About two-thirds of white respondents (65%) are able to answer all three questions correctly; only about four-in-ten blacks (41%) and Hispanics (39%) get all three questions right.

There are wide differences in election knowledge by levels of education. Nearly ninein-ten postgraduates (88%) answer all three questions correctly, compared with 80% of college graduates, 59% of those with some college experience and 39% of those with no more than a high school diploma.

About as many Democrats and Democratic leaners (63%) as Republicans and Republican leaners (58%) get all three election results questions rights. Within both parties there are divides by ideology. Among Democrats, 70%

Knowledge of presidential election results differs by demographics

% who know 2016 pres. election winner of: **Electoral College**, **popular vote** <u>and</u> **their state's vote**...



Note: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Q35. Source: Survey conducted Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016.



of liberals answer all three questions correctly compared with 57% of those who describe themselves as moderate or conservative. Among Republicans, 62% of conservatives know which candidate won the most Electoral College votes, the popular vote and their home state, compared with 54% of moderate and liberal Republicans.

Acknowledgements

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

Research team

Carroll Doherty, *Director, Political Research* Jocelyn Kiley, *Associate Director, Political Research* Alec Tyson, *Senior Researcher* Bradley Jones, *Research Associate* Baxter Oliphant, *Research Associate* Rob Suls, *Research Associate* Hannah Fingerhut, *Research Assistant* Shiva Maniam, *Research Assistant* Samantha Smith, *Research Assistant*

Communications and editorial

Bridget Johnson, Communications Associate

Graphic design and web publishing

Peter Bell, Information Graphics Designer

Methodology

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted November 30-December 5, 2016 among a national sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (375 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,127 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 664 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted under the direction of Abt SRBI. 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 2014 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 2015 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.

Survey conducted Novembe	er 30-December 5, 2016	
Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus
Total sample	1,502	2.9 percentage points
Form 1	750	4.1 percentage points
Form 2	752	4.1 percentage points
Republican	378	5.7 percentage points
Democrat	501	5.0 percentage points
Independent	517	4.9 percentage points
Republican/Lean Rep	597	4.6 percentage points
Democrat/Lean Dem	743	4.1 percentage points

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:

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

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

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

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER DECEMBER 2016 POLITICAL SURVEY FINAL TOPLINE NOVEMBER 30-DECEMBER 5, 2016 N=1,502

QUESTION 1 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

RANDOMIZE Q.1 AND Q.2

ASK ALL:

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

	Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref		Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	30	65	5	Dec 1-5, 2010	21	72	7
Oct 20-25, 2016	33	63	4	Nov 4-7, 2010	23	69	8
Aug 9-16, 2016	31	66	3	Sep 23-26, 2010	30	63	7
Jun 15-26, 2016	24	71	5	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	25	71	5
Apr 12-19, 2016	26	70	3	Jun 24-27, 2010	27	64	9
Mar 17-26, 2016	31	65	4	May 13-16, 2010	28	64	7
Jan 7-14, 2016	25	70	5	Apr 21-26, 2010	29	66	5
Dec 8-13, 2015	25	72	3	Apr 1-5, 2010	31	63	6
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	27	67	5	Mar 11-21, 2010	25	69	5
Sep 22-27, 2015	27	69	4	Mar 10-14, 2010	23	71	7
Jul 14-20, 2015	31	64	4	Feb 3-9, 2010	23	71	6
May 12-18, 2015	29	67	4	Jan 6-10, 2010	27	69	4
Mar 25-29, 2015	31	64	5	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7
Feb 18-22, 2015	33	62	5	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7
Jan 7-11, 2015	31	66	4	Sep 10-15, 2009 ¹	30	64	7
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)	26	71	3	Aug 20-27, 2009	28	65	7
Nov 6-9, 2014	27	68	4	Aug 11-17, 2009	28	65	7
Oct 15-20, 2014	29	65	6	Jul 22-26, 2009	28	66	6
Sep 2-9, 2014	25	71	4	Jun 10-14, 2009	30	64	5
Aug 20-24, 2014	24	72	4	Apr 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8
Jul 8-14, 2014	29	68	4	Apr 14-21, 2009	23	70	7
Apr 23-27, 2014	29	65	6	Jan 7-11, 2009	20	73	7
Feb 12-26, 2014	28	66	6	December, 2008	13	83	4
Jan 15-19, 2014	26	69	5	Early October, 2008	11	86	3
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	21	75	3	Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6
Oct 9-13, 2013	14	81	5	August, 2008	21	74	5
Jul 17-21, 2013	27	67	6	July, 2008	19	74	7
May 1-5, 2013	30	65	5	June, 2008	19	76 76	5
Feb 13-18, 2013 (U)	31	64 66	5	Late May, 2008	18	76 72	6
Jan 9-13, 2013	30 25	66 68	4 7	March, 2008 Early Eabruary, 2008	22 24	72 70	6 6
Dec 17-19, 2012	33	62	5	Early February, 2008	24	66	7
Dec 5-9, 2012 Oct 18-21, 2012	32	61	8	Late December, 2007 October, 2007	28	66	6
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	31	64	5	February, 2007	30	61	9
Jun 7-17, 2012	28	68	5	Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	29	64	7	Early January, 2007	30	63	, 7
Apr 4-15, 2012	24	69	6	December, 2006	28	65	, 7
Feb 8-12, 2012	28	66	6	Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8
Jan 11-16, 2012	21	75	4	Early October, 2006	30	63	7
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	17	78	5	July, 2006	30	65	5
Aug 17-21, 2011	17	79	4	May, 2006*	29	65	6
Jul 20-24, 2011	17	79	4	March, 2006	32	63	5
Jun 15-19, 2011	23	73	4	January, 2006	34	61	5
May 5-8, 2011	30	62	8	Late November, 2005	34	59	7
May 2, 2011	32	60	8		-		
Mar 8-14, 2011	22	73	5	¹ In September 10-	15 2009	and other s	irvevs
Feb 2-7, 2011	26	68	5	noted with an aste			
Jan 5-9, 2011	23	71	6	"Overall, are you	satisfied c	, dissatisfie	d with the
				way things are go	ing in our	country tod	ay?"

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Q.2 CONTINUED							
	Satis-	Dis-	(VOL.)		Satis-	Dis-	(VOL.)
	<u>fied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>		<u>fied</u>	<u>satisfied</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Early October, 2005	29	65	6	May, 2002	44	44	12
July, 2005	35	58	7	March, 2002	50	40	10
Late May, 2005*	39	57	4	Late September, 2001	57	34	9
February, 2005	38	56	6	Early September, 2001	41	53	6
January, 2005	40	54	6	June, 2001	43	52	5
December, 2004	39	54	7	March, 2001	47	45	8
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6	February, 2001	46	43	11
July, 2004	38	55	7	January, 2001	55	41	4
May, 2004	33	61	6	October, 2000 <i>(RVs)</i>	54	39	7
Late February, 2004*	39	55	6	September, 2000	51	41	8
Early January, 2004	45	48	7	June, 2000	47	45	8
December, 2003	44	47	9	April, 2000	48	43	9
October, 2003	38	56	6	August, 1999	56	39	5
August, 2003	40	53	7	January, 1999	53	41	6
July, 2004	38	55	7	November, 1998	46	44	10
May, 2004	33	61	6	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
Late February, 2004*	39	55	6	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
Early January, 2004	45	48	7	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
December, 2003	44	47	9	February, 1998	59	37	4
October, 2003	38	56	6	January, 1998	46	50	4
August, 2003	40	53	7	Gallup: Late Feb, 1991	66	31	3
April, 2003	50	41	9	August, 1990	47	48	5
January, 2003	44	50	6	May, 1990	41	54	5
November, 2002	41	48	11	January, 1989	45	50	5
September, 2002	41	55	4	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5
Late August, 2002	47	44	9				

NO QUESTIONS 3-10, 15-26

QUESTIONS 11-14 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL:

On a different topic...

Q.27 In all countries, there are differences or conflicts between different social groups. In your opinion, in AMERICA, are conflicts between ... [READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU f., OBSERVE FORM SPLITS; ALWAYS READ ITEM g. LAST] ...Very strong conflicts, strong conflicts, not very strong conflicts, or there are not conflicts? How about conflicts between-[INSERT NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Are conflicts in America between [ITEM] very strong, strong, not very strong, or there are not conflicts?

	Very strong conflicts	Strong <u>conflicts</u>	Not very strong <u>conflicts</u>	There are not <u>conflicts</u>	(VOL.) Can't <u>choose</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.F1 Young people and older people						
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	13	27	40	17	*	2
Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 ² (SDT)	8	20	52	15	1	3
Dec 6-19, 2011 (SDT)	10	24	50	12	1	3
Jul 20-Aug 2, 2009 (SDT)	6	19	56	14	1	4
GSS: February, 2000 ³	10	31	48	7	4	
GSS: February, 1992	11	31	43	10	5	

²

In 2012, 2011, 2009 and 2000, question was worded: "In all countries, there are differences or conflicts between different social groups. In your opinion, in AMERICA, how much conflict is there between ... [READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU d. ALWAYS READ ITEM e. LAST] ...Very strong conflicts, strong conflicts, not very strong conflicts, or there are not conflicts?" In 1992 GSS, question was worded: "The question wording is slightly different in the 1992 GSS: "In all countries there are differences or even conflicts between different social groups. In your opinion, in AMERICA, how much conflict is there between ... [READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU d. ALWAYS READ ITEM e. LAST] ...Very strong conflicts, strong conflicts, not very strong conflicts, or there are not conflicts, not very strong conflicts, or there are not conflicts, not very strong conflicts, or there are not conflicts, not very strong conflicts, strong conflicts, not very strong conflicts, strong conflicts, strong conflicts, not very strong conflicts, strong conflicts, strong conflicts, not very strong conflicts, or there are not conflicts?"

³ In 2000 and 1992 GSS, questions did not include "Don't know/Refused" volunteered option.

•		Very strong conflicts	Strong <u>conflicts</u>	Not very strong <u>conflicts</u>	There are not <u>conflicts</u>	(VOL.) Can't <u>choose</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
b.F1	Poor people and rich people Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 (SDT) Dec 6-19, 2011 (SDT) Jul 20-Aug 2, 2009 (SDT) <i>GSS:</i> February, 2000 <i>GSS:</i> February, 1992 <i>GSS:</i> February 1987	30 22 30 15 14 20 15	33 36 36 32 41 46 44	25 28 23 34 37 26 33	9 8 7 10 3 3 3	2 2 1 3 6 5 5	2 5 4 6
ASK A c.	ALL: Blacks and whites Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 (SDT) Dec 6-19, 2011 (SDT) Jul 20-Aug 2, 2009 (SDT)	26 11 10 9	40 28 28 30	24 47 47 45	6 7 7 8	2 2 2 3	2 6 5 6
d.	Immigrants and people born in the United States Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 (SDT) Dec 6-19, 2011 (SDT) Jul 20-Aug 2, 2009 (SDT)	24 17 24 18	35 38 38 36	28 32 26 30	9 6 6 8	2 2 1 3	2 5 4 5
ASK F e.F2	CORM 2 ONLY [N=752]: People with a college degree an people who did not go to college Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016		26	33	24	2	4
f.F2	People who live in cities and people who live in rural areas Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	13	27	29	23	4	5
ASK A g.	LL: Democrats and Republicans Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 (SDT)	56 47	29 35	9 10	3 3	2 1	2 5

NO QUESTIONS 28-34

ASK ALL:

Q.35 Do you happen to know which candidate in the 2016 presidential election – [RANDOMIZE: Donald Trump or Hillary Clinton] -- [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a AND b; c ALWAYS LAST]? And which candidate [INSERT NAMES IN SAME ORDER] [NEXT ITEM]? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION, IF RESPONDENT ASKS IF ITEM a MEANS THE "popular vote" CONFIRM THAT IT IS]

		Donald Trump	Hillary Clinton	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Received the most individual votes nationwide			
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	19	72	9

TREND FOR COMPARISON: In the 2000 presidential election, which candidate received more votes in the whole country and led in the popular vote – George W. Bush or Al Gore?

	CBS News: January, 2001	<u>George W. Bush</u> 13	<u>Al Gore</u> 78	<u>Don't know</u> 6
h	Dessived the mest electoral college veter	Donald Trump	Hillary Clinton	(VOL.) DK/Ref
b. Re	Received the most electoral college votes Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	78	12	10
c.	Received the most votes in the state you now live	Donald Trump	Hillary Clinton	(VOL.) DK/Ref
с.	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	54	39	7
	In states that Trump won [N=879]:	85	8	7
	In states that Clinton won [N=623]:	10	83	7
	Nov 30-Dec 5 <u>2016</u>			
	84 NET Correct			

9 NET Incorrect7 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

TREND FOR COMPARISON: *Do you happen to know which candidate in the 2008 election – Barack Obama or John McCain – received the most votes in the state you now live in?*

			(
	<u>Barack Obama</u>	<u>John McCain</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Jul 26-29, 2012	53	21	25

(VOL.)

NO QUESTIONS 36-49

ASK ALL:

Q.50 Is your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT NAME]? [IF NECESSARY: Just in general, is your overall opinion of [NAME] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]

		<u>Total</u>	Favorat <u>Very</u>	le <u>Mostly</u>	U <u>Total</u>	Infavora <u>Very</u>	ble <u>Mostly</u>	(VOL.) Never C <u>heard of</u>	(VOL.) Can't rate/ <u>Ref</u>
ITEMS	ITEMS a. AND b. HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE								
ASK F c.F1	ORM 1 ONLY [N=750]: Donald Trump Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	37 32	14 11	23 21	58 64	38 42	20 22	* 1	5 4
d.F1	Mike Pence Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	39	20	20	42	23	19	7	11

NO QUESTIONS 51-67

On another subject...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:

Q.68F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the job President-elect Trump has done so far in explaining his policies and plans for the future to the American people?

		Obama	Bush	Clinton	Gallup Bush
Nov 30-Dec	5	December	January	January	March
<u>2016</u>		<u>2008</u>	2001	<u>1993</u>	<u>1989</u>
41	Approve	72	50	62	65
55	Disapprove	18	36	24	28
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	14	14	7

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:

Q.69F1 So far, would you say you approve or disapprove of Donald Trump's cabinet choices and other high level appointments?

				U.S. News &	
				World Report	ABC
		Obama	Bush	Clinton	Bush
Nov 30-Dec	5	December	January	January	January
<u>2016</u>		<u>2008</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1989</u>
40	Approve	71	58	64	59
51	Disapprove	17	16	15	15
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)) 12	26	21	26

TREND FOR COMPARISON: Now let me ask you about President-elect Reagan's Cabinet appointments. How would you rate his appointment of... the cabinet as a whole? Would you say it was an excellent, pretty good, only fair or poor appointment?"

Harris	
January	
<u>1981</u>	
52	Excellent/Good
34	Only fair/Poor
14	Don't know

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.70F2 What kind of president do you think Donald Trump will be - a great, good, average, poor, or terrible president?

	Great <u>president</u>	Good <u>president</u>	Average <u>president</u>	Poor <u>president</u>	Terrible <u>president</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	14	22	18	13	25	8
Oct 20-25, 2016 ⁴ (<i>RVs</i>)	9	17	16	11	44	2
Aug 9-16, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	9	18	15	12	43	3
Mar 17-26, 2016 (RVs)	10	16	12	15	44	3
Jan 7-14, 2016	10	19	13	15	39	5

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.71F2 Which comes closer to your view about Donald Trump? Once he becomes president [READ IN ORDER] [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT KNOW WHAT "TWEETS" MEANS, CLARIFY "What he posts online"]

Nov 30-Dec 5

<u>2016</u>

- 82 He will need to be more cautious in the kinds of things he says and tweets [OR]
- 15 There's no need for him to change the kinds of things he says and tweets
- 3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

NO QUESTIONS 72-82

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:

Q.83F1 How concerned are you that Donald Trump's relationships with organizations, businesses or foreign governments conflict with his ability to serve the country's best interests? Are you ... [READ IN ORDER]?

Nov 30-Dec 5

<u>2016</u>

- 45 Very concerned
- 20 Somewhat concerned
- 14 Not too concerned [OR]
- 20 Not at all concerned
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

TREND FOR COMPARISON: If Donald Trump wins the presidential election, how concerned are you that he may have relationships with organizations, businesses or foreign governments that would conflict with his ability to serve the country's best interests? Are you ...

(RVs)	
Oct 20-25	
<u>2016</u>	
42	Very concerned
20	Somewhat concerned
22	Not too concerned [OR]
15	Not at all concerned
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

NO QUESTIONS 84-85

4

In Oct 20-25, 2016 and earlier, question was asked in a list with other candidates: "Regardless of who you currently support in the election, what kind of president do you think [INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE] would be - a great, good, average, poor, or terrible president?" In Oct 20-25, 2016 and earlier, volunteered responses of "Never heard of" included in the "Don't know/Refused" category.

Next,

ASK ALL:

Q.86 Which comes closer to your view — even if neither is exactly right.[FOR ALL ITEMS READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS. FOR ITEMS a.-e. DO <u>NOT</u> RANDOMIZE STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]. Next, [NEXT PAIR] [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]

a.		Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest	Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	45	48	7
	Aug 9-16, 2016	44	51	5
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	45	50	5
	Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	47	47	5
	Feb 8-12, 2012 ⁵	40	52	7
	Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	47	45	8
	December, 2008	47	43	10
	October, 2008	50	38	12
	January, 2008	41	50	9
	December, 2004	49	41	10
	July, 2002	54	36	10
	February, 2002	50	41	9
	August, 1999	48	44	8
	October, 1996	45	46	9
	October, 1995	45	50	5
	April, 1995	43	51	6
	October, 1994	38	55	7
	July, 1994	41	54	5

b.		Our country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites	Our country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ DK/Ref
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	37	57	6
	Feb 29-May 8, 2016 (SDT)	30	61	9
	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 <i>(RVs)</i>	48	45	8
	Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	47	43	10

C.		Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work <u>and talents</u>	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health <u>care</u>	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	63	27	10
	Mar 17-26, 2016	59	33	8
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	53	38	10
	May 12-18, 2015	51	41	8
	Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	57	35	8

5

In Feb 8-12, 2012 survey, question was asked as a stand-alone item.

Q.86 CONTINUED...

d.

.86 CONTINUED	Too set of a dealer	Immigrants today are a	
	Immigrants today strengthen our country	burden on our country because they take our	(VOL.)
	because of their hard work	jobs, housing and health	Both/Neither/
	and talents	<u>care</u>	DK/Ref
Dec 3-8, 2013	53	35	11
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	49	40	11
Mar 13-17, 2013	49	41	10
Jan 4-8, 2012	48	37	15
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	45	44	12
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <i>(RVs)</i>	44	42	14
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	42	45	13
Jun 16-20, 2010	39	50	11
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	46	40	14
October, 2006	41	41	18
March, 2006	41	52	7
December, 2005	45	44	11
December, 2004	45	44	11
June, 2003	46	44	10
September, 2000	50	38	12
August, 1999	46	44	10
October, 1997	41	48	11
June, 1997	41	48	11
April, 1997	38	52	10
June, 1996	37	54	9
July, 1994	31	63	6
	Stricter environmental		
	laws and regulations cost	Stricter environmental	(VOL.)
	too many jobs and hurt	laws and regulations are	Both/Neither/
	the economy	worth the cost	DK/Ref
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	34	59	7
Aug 23-Sep 2, 2016	39	54	7
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	36	59	4

	too many jobs and hurt	laws and regulations are	Both/Neither/
	<u>the economy</u>	<u>worth the cost</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	34	59	7
Aug 23-Sep 2, 2016	39	54	7
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	36	59	4
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	39	56	5
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	39	53	7
November, 2007	27	63	10
July, 2006	31	57	12
March, 2006	29	65	6
December, 2005	37	56	7
December, 2004	31	60	9
September, 2000	31	61	8
August, 1999	28	65	7
October, 1996	30	63	7
October, 1995	35	61	4
April, 1995	39	57	4
October, 1994	32	62	6
July, 1994	33	62	5

Q.86 CONTINUED e.	U.S. efforts to solve problems around the world usually end up making things worse	Problems in the world would be even worse without U.S. involvement	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	34	57	9
Mar 17-26, 2016	36	57	6
Dec 8-13, 2015	38	55	7
Jan 23-Mar 16, 2014	40	53	7

NO QUESTION 87

ASK ALL:

Q.88 Which statement comes closer to your own views even if neither is exactly right [READ]?

Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Dec 8-13, 2015 Sep 2-9, 2014 Jul 8-14, 2014 Feb 12-26, 2014 May 1-5, 2013 Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 Aug 19-22, 2010 Aug 11-17, 2009 August, 2007 July, 2005	The Islamic religion is more likely than others to encourage violence among its believers 41 46 50 43 38 42 40 35 38 45 36	The Islamic religion does not encourage violence <u>more than others</u> 49 45 39 44 50 46 42 42 42 42 45 39 47	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ <u>DK/Ref</u> 10 9 11 13 12 13 18 24 16 16 16 16 17
Aug 11-17, 2009 August, 2007	38 45	45 39	16 16
July, 2005 July, 2004 Mid-July, 2003	46 44	37 41	17 17 15
March, 2002	25	51	24

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.89F2 In your opinion, which is generally more often to blame if a person is poor? Lack of effort on his or her own part, or circumstances beyond his or her control?

Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Dec 8-13, 2015 Jan 23-Feb 9, 2014 Jan 15-19, 2014 (U)	Lack of <u>effort</u> 34 37 39 35	Circumstances <u>beyond control</u> 53 48 50 50 50	(VOL.) Both 10 11 8 11	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> 3 3 3 4
Apr 4-15, 2012	38	46	11	5
Mar 11-21, 2010 October, 1997	32 39	49 44	14 14	5 3
CBS/NYT: 1995	35	42	18	4
<i>CBS/NYT:</i> 1994	44	34	18	4
<i>LAT:</i> 1992	27	52	18	3
NYT: December, 1990	30	48	20	2
<i>Gallup:</i> May, 1990	35	45	17	3
Gallup: 1989	38	42	17	3
Gallup: 1988	40	37	17	6
Gallup: 1984	33	34	31	2
<i>CBS/NYT:</i> 1982	37	39	17	7

Q.89F2 CONTINUED...

l	_ack of	Circumstances	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>effort</u>	<u>beyond control</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Gallup: 1967	42	19	36	3
Gallup: 1965	40	29	28	3
Gallup: November, 1964	31	31	34	5
Gallup: September, 1964	34	25	38	3
Gallup: March, 1964	34	29	32	6

NO QUESTION 90

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.91F2 Do you think that Mike Pence is qualified to be President if something were to happen to Donald Trump?

Nov 30-Dec 5

<u>2016</u>

- 54 Yes, is qualified
- 30 No, is not qualified
- 15 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

TRENDS FOR COMPARISON: Do you think that Dan Quayle is qualified to be President if something were to happen to George Bush?

			- Time/CNN/\	Time/CNN/Yankelovich		
	January	July	November	May	December	June
	<u>1989</u> 6	1990	<u>1990⁷ </u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1991</u>	<u>1992</u>
Yes, is qualified	30	25	24	36	36	28
No, is not qualified	52	65	65	50	55	66
Not sure	18	10	11	14	9	6

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.92F2 How much influence do you think Mike Pence will have within the Trump administration?

		TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:	
			CBS/NYT
		Cheney/Bush	Gore/Clinton
Nov 30-Dec 5		January	February
<u>2016</u>		<u>2001</u> ⁸	<u>1993</u> 9
21	Too much	12	6
21	Too little	12	25
50	About the right amount	58	52
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	18	17

⁶ In January 1989 survey, question was worded: "Do you think that Senator Quayle is qualified to be President if something were to happen to George Bush?"

⁷ In January 1989 survey, question was worded: "Do you think that (Vice President) Quayle is qualified to be President if something were to happen to George Bush?"

⁸ In January 2001 survey, question was worded: "How much influence do you think Dick Cheney is having within the Bush Administration... too much, too little or about the right amount?"

⁹ In February 1993 survey, question was worded: "Do you think Al Gore will have too much influence, or about the right amount of influence on the decisions Bill Clinton makes as President?"

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.93F2 How much influence do you think Donald Trump's adult children will have within the Trump administration?

Nov 30-Dec 5

<u>2016</u>

- 39 Too much
- 15 Too little
- 39 About the right amount
- 7 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.94 As you may know, Medicare is the government program that provides health care to seniors and people with permanent disabilities. How much, if anything, have you heard about a proposal to change Medicare into a program that would give future participants a credit toward purchasing private health insurance coverage? Have you heard a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

Nov 30-Dec 5		Aug 16-19	May 25-30
<u>2016</u>		<u>2012</u>	<u>2011</u>
12	A lot	30	20
39	A little	42	50
48	Nothing at all	28	28
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1

ASK ALL:

Q.95 Generally, do you favor or oppose this proposal? **[REPEAT PROPOSAL AS NEEDED:** Would you favor or oppose a proposal to change Medicare into a program that would give future participants a credit toward purchasing private health insurance coverage?]

Nov 30-Dec 5		Aug 16-19	May 25-30
<u>2016</u>		<u>2012</u>	<u>2011</u>
39	Favor	32	36
43	Oppose	44	41
18	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	24	23

QUESTIONS Xa-c HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:

Q.96F1 In 1973 the Roe versus Wade decision established a woman's constitutional right to an abortion, at least in the first three months of pregnancy. Would you like to see the Supreme Court completely overturn its Roe versus Wade decision, or not?

								-Gallup)
								(RVs)	
Nov 30-Dec	5	Jan 9-13	Nov	Jul	Jun	Jan	Mar	Aug	Oct
<u>2016</u>		<u>2013</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2003</u>	2002	<u>1992</u>	<u>1989</u>
28	Yes, overturn Roe versus Wade	29	25	29	30	31	36	34	33
69	No, not overturn Roe versus Wade	63	65	65	63	62	60	60	61
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7	9	6	7	7	4	6	6

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.97F2 Do you approve or disapprove of the health care law passed by Barack Obama and Congress in 2010?

			(VOL.)
	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	DK/Ref
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	48	47	5
Oct 20-25, 2016	46	51	4
Apr 12-19, 2016	44	54	3
Jul 14-20, 2015	48	49	3
Feb 18-22, 2015	45	53	3
Nov 6-9, 2014	45	51	4
Oct 15-20, 2014	43	51	5
Sep 2-9, 2014	44	52	4
Apr 23-27, 2014	41	55	4
Apr 3-6, 2014 (U)	37	50	12
Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014	41	53	5
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	41	54	5
Oct 9-13, 2013	41	52	7
Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)	42	53	5
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 ¹⁰	47	43	9
Jun 7-17, 2012	43	48	9
Apr 4-15, 2012	41	49	10
Mar 7-11, 2012	47	45	8
Jan 5-9, 2011	41	48	11
Nov 4-7, 2010	43	47	10
Sep 9-12, 2010	38	45	17
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	44	46	10
Jul 8-11, 2010	35	47	17
Apr 1-5, 2010	40	44	16

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.98F2 What, if anything, do you think Congress should do with the law now? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

Nov 30-Dec 5		Oct 20-25	Mar 7-11	Sep 22-Oct 4	Jan 5-9	Nov 4-7
<u>2016</u>		<u>2016</u>	<u>2012</u>	2011^{11}	<u>2011</u>	<u>2010</u>
39	Expand it	40	33	31	35	30
15	Leave it as is	13	20	22	20	22
39	Repeal it	44	38	38	37	40
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)) 4	9	9	8	8

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.99F2 Regardless of your opinion of the health care law, do you think the major provisions of the law are probably here to stay, or do you think they will probably be eliminated? **[INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION:** If necessary, probe to clarify that this is what respondent *thinks* will happen, not what they *want* to see happen]

				(U)
Nov 30-Dec 5		Jul 14-20	Feb 18-22	Apr 23-27
<u>2016</u>		<u>2015</u>	<u>2015</u>	2014
39	Probably here to stay	51	50	49
53	Will probably be eliminated	43	45	43
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	6	8

¹⁰ Prior to September 2013, the question asked about "the health care legislation." In addition, the reference to when the law was passed has changed over time: January 2011 referenced the legislation passed "last year," November 2010 used "earlier this year." September through July. 2010 used "in March." and April 2010 used "last month."

 ^{*}earlier this year," September through July, 2010 used "in March," and April 2010 used "last month."
¹¹ In October 2011, question did not follow the approval question and began: "Thinking about the health care legislation passed by Barack Obama and Congress last year..."

NO QUESTION 100

ASK ALL:

On a different subject...

Q.101 Please tell me how much discrimination there is against each of these groups in our society today. How about...[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? Would you say there is a lot of discrimination, some, only a little, or none at all? And how much discrimination is there against [INSERT NEXT ITEM], [IF NECESSARY: a lot, some, only a little, or none at all]?

2	Blacks	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	Only a <u>little</u>	None at <u>all</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON: African Americans	41	35	17	6	1
	May 1-5, 2013 Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 (SDT)	22 18	39 51	27 21	9 6	3 3
	WaPo/Kaiser/Harvard: April 2001	25	49	16	7	3
b.	Hispanics Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON: Hispanic Americans	32	38	20	8	2
	May 1-5, 2013	25	40	23	8	3
	Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 (SDT) WaPo/Kaiser/Harvard: April 2001	23 19	47 47	19 23	6 8	5 3
c.	Gays and lesbians	12			_	
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 May 1-5, 2013	43 39	33 33	15 18	7 5	2 4
	Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 (SDT)	45	33	12	5	6
d.	Women				. –	
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 May 1-5, 2013	23 15	37 35	24 32	15 16	1 2
	Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009 (SDT)	13	43	29	12	2
	WaPo/Kaiser/Harvard: April 2001	14	46	27	13	1
e.	Muslims Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 TREND FOR COMPARISON:	57	25	10	6	3
	Muslim Americans May 1-5, 2013	45	28	13	6	8
f.	Whites Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	14	25	28	33	1
g.	Jews Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	13	31	32	19	5
h.	Evangelical Christians Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	15	27	27	26	5

NO QUESTIONS 102-104

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]: Thinking about the nation's economy... Q.105F1 How would you rate economic conditions in this country today... as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

			Only		(VOL.)
	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>fair</u>	Poor	DK/Ref
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	3	28	44	24	1
Jun 15-26, 2016	3	25	44	28	1
Mar 17-26, 2016	3	26	43	28	1
Dec 8-13, 2015	3	24	45	28	1
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	3	21	43	33	*
May 12-18, 2015	3	24	43	30	*
Feb 18-22, 2015	2	23	43	31	*
Jan 7-11, 2015	4	23	48	24	*
Oct 15-20, 2014	2	19	45	33	1
Aug 20-24, 2014	1	19	48	31	1
Jul 8-14, 2014	2	17	46	35	*
Apr 23-27, 2014 (∪)	2	15	43	40	1
Jan 15-19, 2014 (U)	1	15	45	39	1
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	1	14	48	36	1
Oct 9-13, 2013	1	12	39	48	*
Sep 4-8, 2013	2	17	48	32	*
Jul 17-21, 2013	2	15	45	37	1
Jun 12-16, 2013	2	21	47	29	*
Mar 13-17, 2013	1	15	43	40	1
Jan 9-13, 2013	2	11	38	49	1
Dec 5-9, 2012	1	14	50	35	1
Oct 24-28, 2012	1	12	42	44	1
Sep 12-16, 2012	1	12	43	44	1
Jun 7-17, 2012	1	9	47	42	1
Mar 7-11, 2012	1	9	38	51	1
Feb 8-12, 2012	1 2	10	46	43	1
Jan 11-16, 2012	×	9 8	42 38	47 53	1 1
Dec 7-11, 2011 Aug 17-21, 2011	1	6	37	56	1
Jun 15-19, 2011	*	8	45	46	1
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	1	7	38	53	1
Feb 2-7, 2011	1	11	45	42	1
Dec 1-5, 2010	1	8	44	45	1
Oct 13-18, 2010	1	7	38	54	1
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	1	7	43	48	1
Jun 3-6, 2010	1	8	48	43	1
Apr 21-26, 2010	*	11	39	49	1
Mar 10-14, 2010	1	6	39	53	1
Feb 3-9, 2010	1	7	38	53	1
Dec 9-13, 2009	1	7	41	50	1
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	*	8	41	50	1
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	1	8	43	48	1
Aug 11-17, 2009	*	8	38	52	2
Jun 10-14, 2009	1	8	39	52	1
Mar 9-12, 2009	*	6	25	68	1
Feb 4-8, 2009	*	4	24	71	1
December, 2008	*	7	33	59	1
November, 2008	1	6	28	64	1
Late October, 2008	*	7	25	67	1
Early October, 2008	1	8	32	58	1
Late September, 2008	*	7	27	65	1
July, 2008	1	9	39	50	1

Q.105F1 CONTINUED...

			Only		(VOL.)
	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
April, 2008	1	10	33	56	*
March, 2008	1	10	32	56	1
Early February, 2008	1	16	36	45	2
January, 2008	3 3 3	23	45	28	1
November, 2007	3	20	44	32	1
September, 2007		23	43	29	2
June, 2007	6	27	40	25	2
February, 2007	5	26	45	23	1
December, 2006	6	32	41	19	2
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	9	35	37	17	2
Late October, 2006	6	27	40	25	2
September, 2006	5	32	41	20	2
March, 2006	4	29	44	22	1
January, 2006	4	30	45	19	2
Early October, 2005	2	23	45	29	1
Mid-September, 2005	3	28	44	24	1
Mid-May, 2005	3 3	29	47	20	1
January, 2005		36	45	15	1
December, 2004	3	33	43	20	1
Early November, 2004 (RVs)	5	31	37	26	1
Mid-September, 2004	4	34	40	20	2
August, 2004	3	30	45	21	1
Late April, 2004	4	34	38	22	2
Late February, 2004 ¹²	2	29	42	26	1

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:

Q.106F1

A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

	Better	<u>Worse</u>	Same	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	<u>37</u>	28	<u>Same</u> 33	2
Jun 15-26, 2016	29	13	55	5
Mar 17-26, 2016	22	17	55	6
Dec 8-13, 2015	20	22	54	4
Sep 16-Oct 4, 2015	23	21	53	3
May 12-18, 2015	25	20	53	2
Feb 18-22, 2015	27	20	52	1
Jan 7-11, 2015	31	17	51	1
Oct 15-20, 2014	27	21	50	3
Aug 20-24, 2014	22	22	54	2
Jul 8-14, 2014	26	22	51	1
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)	25	24	49	2
Jan 15-19, 2014 (U)	27	22	50	1
Oct 9-13, 2013	25	28	44	3
Sep 4-8, 2013	28	25	46	1
Jun 12-16, 2013	33	19	47	1
Mar 13-17, 2013	25	32	41	1
Jan 9-13, 2013	33	25	40	2
Dec 5-9, 2012	37	25	36	2
Sep 12-16, 2012	43	8	42	8
Jun 7-17, 2012	34	11	50	5
Mar 7-11, 2012	44	14	38	4
Feb 8-12, 2012	44	10	42	3

¹² Earlier trends available from Gallup.

Q.106F1 CONTINUED...

5F1 CONTINUED				
	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>Same</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jan 11-16, 2012	34	16	46	3
Dec 7-11, 2011	28	18	50	4
Aug 17-21, 2011	29	18	50	2
Jun 15-19, 2011	29	23	46	2
Oct 13-18, 2010	35	16	45	4
Apr 21-26, 2010	42	19	36	3
Feb 3-9, 2010	42	16	40	3
Dec 9-13, 2009	42	17	38	3
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	39	19	39	2
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	45	15	38	3
Aug 11-17, 2009	45	19	33	3 3
Jun 10-14, 2009	48	16	34	2
Mar 9-12, 2009	41	19	37	3
Feb 4-8, 2009	40	18	38	4
December, 2008	43	17	36	4
Early October, 2008	46	16	30	8
July, 2008	30	21	41	8
March, 2008	33	22	39	6
January, 2008	20	26	48	6
September, 2007	19	23	53	5
June, 2007	16	24	55	5
February, 2007	17	24	58	5
December, 2006	22	18	56	4
	16	25	55	4
September, 2006	20	22	55	
January, 2006 Early October, 2005	20	32	45	3 3 2 3
Early October, 2005 Mid Soptombor, 2005	18	37	43	2
Mid-September, 2005	18	24	43 55	2
Mid-May, 2005	27	24 18		3
January, 2005		9	52	8
August, 2004	36	-	47	8
Late February, 2004	39	12	41	8 3
September, 2003	37	17	43	3
May, 2003	43	19	35	
Late March, 2003	33	23	37	7
January, 2003	30	20	44	6
January, 2002	44	17	36	3 5
Newsweek: January, 2001	18	33	44	
June, 2000	15	24	55	6
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	16	22	57	5
Early September, 1998	18	17	61	4
May, 1990	18	31	45	6
February, 1989	25	22	49	4
September, 1988 (RVs)	24	16	51	9
May, 1988	24	20	46	10
January, 1988	22	26	45	7
Newsweek: January, 1984 (RVs)	35	13	49	3

ASK FORM	2 ONLY [N=752]:
Thinking abo	ut your personal finances
Q.107F2	How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent
	shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape financially?

	Excellent	<u>Good</u>	Only <u>fair</u>	Poor	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	9	37	33	19	1
Oct 20-25, 2016	10	37	37	15	1
Jun 15-26, 2016	10	36	37	15	1
Dec 8-13, 2015	8	35	39	17	1
May 12-18, 2015	8	35	37	19	1
Jan 7-11, 2015	7	35	37	21	1
Aug 20-24, 2014	8	34	36	21	1
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)	6	31	39	23	1
Jan 15-19, 2014 (U)	6	34	38	22	1
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	6	34	40	19	1
Jun 12-16, 2013	7	33	39	20	1
Mar 13-17, 2013	6	32	41	21	1
Dec 5-9, 2012	7	32	38	22	1
Oct 24-28, 2012	8	35	36	20	1
Sep 12-16, 2012	8	35	36	20	1
Jun 7-17, 2012	7	34	38	21	1
Jan 11-16, 2012	6	29	42	22	1
Dec 7-11, 2011	6	32	37	24	1
Jun 15-19, 2011	5 7	33 29	40 36	21 26	1 2
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 Feb 2-7, 2011	7	29	41	20	1
Dec 1-5, 2010	5	30	41	22	2
Oct 13-18, 2010	6	33	36	23	1
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	6	30	40	23	1
Jun 3-6, 2010	6	32	38	20	4
Mar 10-14, 2010	6	31	39	22	2
Dec 9-13, 2009	7	28	39	24	2
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	5	30	40	25	1
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	6	32	38	22	1
Aug 11-17, 2009	6	31	36	26	2
Jun 10-14, 2009	6	32	39	22	1
Feb 4-8, 2009	5	33	41	20	1
December, 2008	6	32	40	21	1
Early October, 2008	6	35	40	18	1
July, 2008	9	33	37	19	2
April, 2008	8	35	39	16	2
March, 2008	8	39	34	17	2
Early February, 2008	9	36	37	16	2
January, 2008	10	39 41	34	15	2 1
November, 2007 September, 2007	9 10	38	34 34	15 16	2
February, 2007	8	38 41	36	10	1
December, 2006	8	40	35	14	1
Late October, 2006	9	40	33	16	2
March, 2006	9	39	36	15	1
January, 2006	7	39	37	15	2
Mid-May, 2005	7	37	39	16	1
January, 2005	10	41	34	14	1
August, 2004	9	42	34	14	1
September, 2003	10	38	36	15	1
Late March, 2003	10	43	31	12	4
January, 2003	7	38	39	15	1

Q.107F2 CONTINUED...

		Only		(VOL.)
<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
7	39	37	16	1
5	40	37	16	2
7	40	37	14	2
6	38	39	16	1
9	43	35	11	2
6	43	41	9	1
7	43	38	11	1
8	47	34	10	1
8	39	38	14	1
5	41	40	13	1
5	34	45	15	1
4	33	46	16	1
6	34	40	19	1
5	30	47	17	1
4	35	45	15	1
4	32	45	18	1
	7 5 7 6 9 6 7 8 8 5 5 4 6 5 4 5	$\begin{array}{cccc} 7 & 39 \\ 5 & 40 \\ 7 & 40 \\ 6 & 38 \\ 9 & 43 \\ 6 & 43 \\ 7 & 43 \\ 8 & 47 \\ 8 & 39 \\ 5 & 41 \\ 5 & 34 \\ 4 & 33 \\ 6 & 34 \\ 5 & 30 \\ 4 & 35 \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c ccc} \underline{Excellent} & \underline{Good} & \underline{fair} \\ \hline 7 & 39 & 37 \\ \hline 5 & 40 & 37 \\ \hline 7 & 40 & 37 \\ \hline 6 & 38 & 39 \\ 9 & 43 & 35 \\ \hline 6 & 43 & 41 \\ \hline 7 & 43 & 38 \\ \hline 8 & 47 & 34 \\ \hline 8 & 39 & 38 \\ \hline 5 & 41 & 40 \\ \hline 5 & 34 & 45 \\ \hline 4 & 33 & 46 \\ \hline 6 & 34 & 40 \\ \hline 5 & 30 & 47 \\ \hline 4 & 35 & 45 \\ \end{array}$	$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:

Q.108F2

Over the course of the next year, do you think the financial situation of you and your family will improve a lot, improve some, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

	Improve	Improve	Get a	Get a lot	(VOL.) Stay the	(VOL.)
	<u>a lot</u>	<u>some</u>	little worse	worse	same	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	13	49	13	5	15	4
Oct 20-25, 2016	10	50	14	5	13	7
Jun 15-26, 2016	12	54	12	4	13	5
Dec 8-13, 2015	9	53	17	6	14	2
May 12-18, 2015	11	52	13	7	16	1
Jan 7-11, 2015	11	56	14	5	12	2
Aug 20-24, 2014	10	56	15	5	11	3 3
Apr 23-27, 2014 (U)	8	51	19	8	12	3
Jan 15-19, 2014 (U)	10	50	17	6	14	2
Jun 12-16, 2013	12	51	18	7	11	2
Mar 13-17, 2013	8	52	19	9	10	2
Dec 5-9, 2012	9	50	18	8	13	2
Sep 12-16, 2012	12	54	11	4	11	7
Jun 7-17, 2012	10	53	15	5	14	4
Jan 11-16, 2012	10	50	18	7	11	3
Dec 7-11, 2011	9	49	17	5	15	4
Jun 15-19, 2011	7	49	21	7	13	3
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	7	44	23	10	13	3
Dec 1-5, 2010	7	49	20	6	14	4
Oct 13-18, 2010	9	48	16	6	17	5
Mar 10-14, 2010	9	52	15	8	12	4
Dec 9-13, 2009	9	44	19	8	15	4
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	6	50	19	8	13	4
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	10	49	17	6	13	4
Aug 11-17, 2009	8	47	17	8	15	5
Jun 10-14, 2009	9	54	17	7	9	4
Feb 4-8, 2009	7	47	22	7	13	4
December, 2008	7	49	21	6	13	4
Early October, 2008	8	51	20	6	9	6
July, 2008	7	44	21	7	14	7
March, 2008	10	45	20	7	13	5
January, 2008	11	49	16	6	14	4

Q.108F2 CONTINUED...

SF2 CONTINUED					<i></i>	
	T	T	C - h -		(VOL.)	
	Improve	Improve	Get a	Get a lot	Stay the	(VOL.)
	<u>a lot</u>	some	little worse	worse	<u>same</u>	DK/Ref
September, 2007	10	52	14	4	16	4
February, 2007	11	52	12	3	19	3
December, 2006	10	57	13	3	14	3
January, 2006	10	51	14	5	16	4
Mid-May, 2005	10	51	15	5	15	4
January, 2005	10	54	14	4	15	3
August, 2004	13	57	9	3	12	6
September, 2003	11	53	15	4	14	3
Late March, 2003	12	51	15	4	11	7
January, 2003	9	51	18	5	13	4
Early October, 2002	10	54	13	5	12	6
June, 2002	11	55	15	4	11	4
January, 2002	12	53	15	5	11	4
Late September, 2001	9	46	16	4	17	8
June, 2001	11	52	15	4	14	4
January, 2001	11	46	18	9	12	4
January, 1999	17	55	7	3	14	4
May, 1997	12	56	10	2	17	3
February, 1995	11	53	13	3	17	3
March, 1994	10	57	11	3	16	3
U.S. News: October, 1992	9	51	14	3	15	8
U.S. News: August, 1992	6	50	20	5	14	5
U.S. News: May, 1992	8	49	22	4	13	4
U.S. News: January, 1992	9	46	19	5	16	5

NO QUESTIONS 109-114

ASK ALL

Q.115 Please tell me whether you think each of the following describes Donald Trump. First, **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE.]** do you think of Donald Trump as **[FIRST ITEM]** or not? Do you think of Trump as **[NEXT ITEM]** or not?

		Yes, describes	No	(VOL.) DK/Ref
	ORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:	<u>Trump</u>	<u>No</u>	DK/Kei
a.F1	Well-qualified Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	37 32	61 66	2 2
b.F1	A good role model Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	26 25	71 73	3 2
c.F1	Patriotic Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	60 61	36 37	4 2
d.F1	Reckless Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	65 69	33 29	3 2
e.F1	Moral Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	31 32	64 65	4 3

80 PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q.115 CONTINUED...

-		Yes, describes <u>Trump</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
No ite	ms gh.			
ASK F i.F2	ORM 2 ONLY [N=752]: Honest Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 (<i>RVs</i>)	41 37	56 61	3 2
j.F2	A strong leader Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	52 46	43 53	5 1
k.F2	Having poor judgment Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	62 65	35 34	3 1
l.F2	Hard to like Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	68 70	29 28	3 2
m.F2	Inspiring Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Oct 20-25, 2016 <i>(RVs)</i>	41 35	56 64	3 1

NO QUESTIONS 116-119

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:

Q.120F1 I'd like you to think about Donald Trump's ability to handle a number of things over the next four years. Please tell me whether you are very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, or not at all confident that Trump can **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?** How about **[NEXT ITEM]**

		Very <u>confident</u>	Somewhat <u>confident</u>	Not too <u>confident</u>	Not at all <u>confident</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Handle an international crisis Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Bush	21	24	18	35	2
	<i>Gallup/CNN/USA Today:</i> January, 2005 <i>Gallup/CNN/USA Today:</i>	36	28	17	18	1
	January, 2001	32	39	19	9	1
b.	Prevent major scandals in his administration	20	24	10	25	2
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Bush	20	24	18	35	2
	<i>Gallup/CNN/USA Today:</i> January, 2005 <i>Gallup/CNN/USA Today:</i>	30	37	18	14	1
	January, 2001	39	38	13	8	2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Q.120 CONTINUED...

-		Very confident	Somewhat <u>confident</u>	Not too confident	Not at all <u>confident</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
с.	Work effectively with Congress Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Bush	26	35	17	21	1
	Gallup/CNN/USA Today: January, 2005 ¹³ Gallup/CNN/USA Today:	26	44	17	12	1
	January, 2001	27	47	17	8	1
d.	Use military force wisely Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Bush	24	20	18	35	2
	Gallup/CNN/USA Today: January, 2005 Gallup/CNN/USA Today:	34	22	19	24	1
	January, 2001	41	37	14	7	1
e.	Manage the Executive Branch effectiv Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 Bush	ely 26	26	20	26	2
	<i>Gallup/CNN/USA Today:</i> January, 2001	33	44	15	7	1

NO QUESTIONS 121-123

QUESTIONS 124-126 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

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.)			
				No	Other	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
<u> </u>	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	Independent	preference	<u>party</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	24	33	35	5	1	3	15	16
Oct 20-25, 2016	26	33	36	3	*	2	15	17
Aug 23-Sep 2, 2016	27	32	33	5	*	3	11	16
Aug 9-16, 2016	27	32	35	2	1	2	13	16
Jun 15-26, 2016	24	33	37	4	1	2	16	16
Apr 12-19, 2016	25	32	37	3	1	2	16	17
Mar 17-26, 2016	25	31	38	3	*	2	15	20
Jan 7-14, 2016	24	30	38	5	1	2	14	17
Dec 8-13, 2015	26	31	37	4	*	2	16	15
Yearly Totals								
2015	23.7	30.4	40.1	3.6	.4	1.8	16.4	17.3
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
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

¹³ In January 2005 and January 2001 surveys, item was worded: "Work effectively with Congress to get things done."

PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

						(VOL.)		
				No	Other	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>preference</u>	<u>party</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>
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					

Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:

(U)	Pew Research Center/USA Today polls
(SDT)	Pew Research Center Social and Demographic Trends