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Stark Partisan Divisions Over Russia Probe, Including Its Importance to the Nation

Trump's style, Twitter use top 'disappointments' among supporters

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Stark Partisan Divisions Over Russia Probe, Including Its Importance to the Nation

Trump's style, Twitter use top 'disappointments' among supporters

A majority of Americans say they think senior members of Donald Trump's administration definitely or probably had improper contacts with Russia during last year's presidential campaign. And most are at least somewhat confident that special counsel Robert Mueller will conduct a fair investigation into the matter.

Republicans and Democrats are deeply divided in views of possible wrongdoing by senior administration officials, as well as in confidence in Mueller to conduct a fair investigation. In addition, while just 19% of Republicans view the Russia probe as "very important" to the nation, more than three times as many Democrats (71%) say the same.

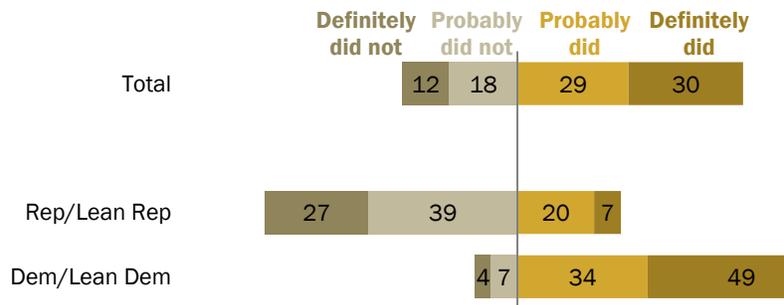
The new national survey by Pew Research Center, conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4 among 1,503 adults, finds that President Trump's job approval rating has declined over the course of his first year in office.

Currently, 32% of the public approves of the way Trump is handling his job as president,

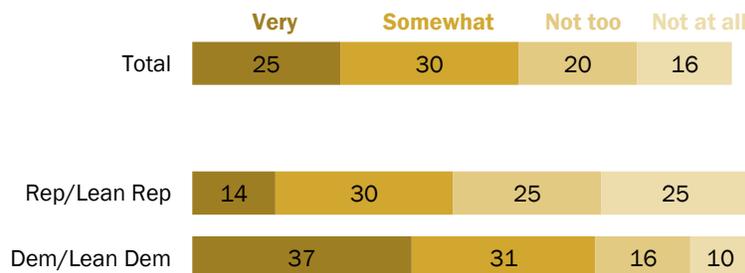
while 63% disapprove. Trump's job approval is little changed since October (34%), but lower than in early February (39%), a few weeks after Trump's inauguration. Pew Research Center surveys are

Most Americans say senior Trump officials likely had 'improper' campaign contacts with Russia

% who think senior members of the Trump administration ____ have improper contact with Russia during the 2016 presidential campaign



% who are ____ confident that special counsel Robert Mueller will conduct a fair investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 election



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q50 & Q51.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

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based on the general public, rather than registered or likely voters. Trump's approval rating in the current survey among registered voters is 34%. (*For more on the differences in these bases, see [“A basic question when reading a poll: Does it include or exclude nonvoters?”](#)*).

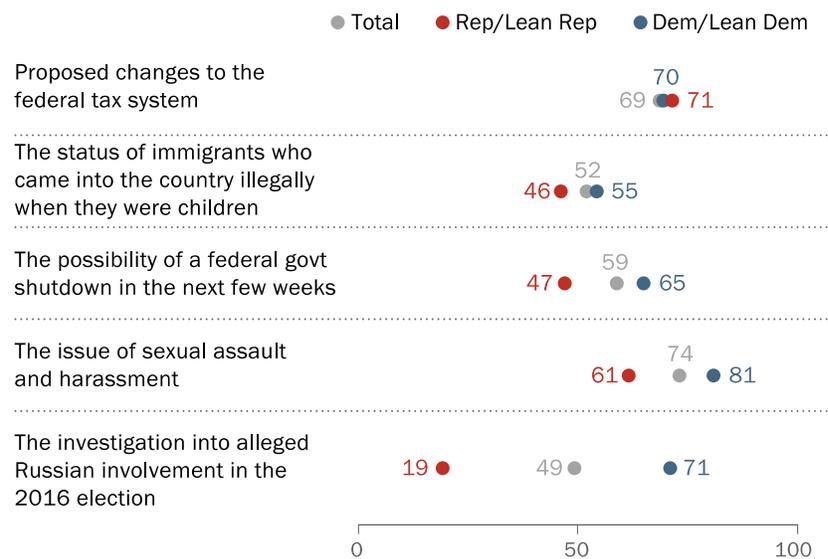
While just 30% of Americans think senior Trump officials *definitely* had improper contacts with Russia during the campaign, a majority (59%) thinks such contacts definitely or probably occurred; 30% think they definitely or probably did not happen. In views of Mueller's investigation, 56% are very or somewhat confident he will conduct the probe fairly.

Only about a quarter of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (26%) say Trump officials definitely or probably had improper contacts with Russia during the campaign; 82% of Democrats and Democratic leaners think there were improper contacts – with 49% saying they definitely took place. About two-thirds of Democrats (68%) and 44% Republicans say they are at least somewhat confident Mueller's investigation will be conducted fairly.

The survey was being conducted when Trump's former national security adviser, Michael Flynn, pleaded guilty to lying about contacts with Russian officials during the presidential transition. There are no significant differences in opinions about whether senior administration officials had improper campaign contacts with Russia, or in views of Mueller's investigation, in interviewing conducted before and after Flynn pleaded guilty on Dec. 1.

Republicans and Democrats diverge on importance of Russia investigation

% who say each is a 'very important' issue for the country



Note: Q3.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

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The survey finds broad partisan agreement about the importance of the tax debate in Congress: 71% of Republicans and 70% of Democrats say “proposed changes to the federal tax system” are a very important issue for the country. However, Democrats are more likely to view several other current developments as very important, including the issue of sexual harassment and assault (81% of Democrats say this is very important, compared with 61% of Republicans) and the possibility of a government shutdown in coming weeks (65% vs. 47%).

In addition, more Democrats (55%) than Republicans (46%) say the status of immigrants who came to the U.S. illegally as children is a very important issue.

No current development or issue, among five tested, is as divisive as the investigation into Russia’s alleged involvement in the 2016 election. Few Republicans (19%) regard the investigation as very important, while another 15% say it is somewhat important; a majority (64%) say it is not too important (19%) or not at all important (45%). By comparison, just 10% of Democrats view the Russia investigation as either not too important or not at all important.

Views of Trump among his approvers and disapprovers

Trump’s job rating of 32% is lower than those of recent presidents dating back to Ronald Reagan near the end of their first year in office. In follow-up questions, those who approve of Trump were asked if he has done things that have disappointed them, while those who disapprove (63% of the public) were asked if he has done things they have been happy with.

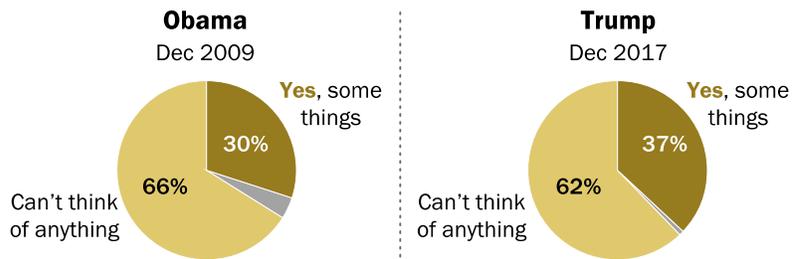
Overall, 37% of Trump approvers cite something Trump has done to disappoint them (62% say they can’t think of anything). In December 2009, by comparison, somewhat fewer (30%) of those who approved of Barack Obama’s job performance said there was something Obama had done that had made them unhappy; at the time, Obama’s job approval was 49%.

The criticisms raised by Trump supporters are quite different from those cited by

Obama’s backers eight years ago. About a quarter (26%) say they have been disappointed by aspects of Trump’s personal style, with 14% specifically mentioning his use of Twitter or social media. An identical share (14%) points to his behavior or speech. Only 13% of those who approve of Trump cite a disappointment related to policy.

Among his supporters, disappointments with Trump focus on style, temperament

Among those who **approve** of the job the president is doing, are there things he has done that you have been disappointed/unhappy with?



Asked of those who said yes: What things have you been disappointed or unhappy with?

| Category | Percentage | Category | Percentage |
|----------------------------|------------|-------------------------|------------|
| Style | 5 | Style | 26 |
| Not firm enough/No results | 4 | Twitter/Social media | 14 |
| Domestic policy | 15 | Unprofessional behavior | 14 |
| Health care | 7 | Domestic policy | 11 |
| Economy/Spending/Taxes | 3 | Appointments/Staffing | 3 |
| Banks/Bailout/Wall St. | 3 | Immigration/Border wall | 3 |
| Gay rights | 2 | Health care | 2 |
| Foreign policy | 14 | Other domestic policies | 4 |
| Afghanistan/Troop increase | 9 | Foreign policy | 2 |
| End war/Troops home | 3 | | |
| Iraq | 2 | | |

Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q2a.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

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In December 2009, disappointments among those who gave Obama a positive job rating were mostly about policies, not Obama's personal style. Just 5% of those who approved of Obama cited an aspect of Obama's personality or style, while 29% said they had been disappointed by policies such as Afghanistan or health care.

Among the majority of Americans who disapprove of Trump's job performance, 14% say there is something he has done that they have been happy with (84% say they are unable to think of anything). The most frequent responses focus on Trump's domestic policies (8%), while just 3% mention his personal style. Eight years ago, a higher share of those who disapproved of Obama (24%) said there was something they had been happy with; as with Trump, most who disapproved of Obama's job performance in 2009 cited policies, rather than his style, as what they had been happy with.

Trump's first-year job rating

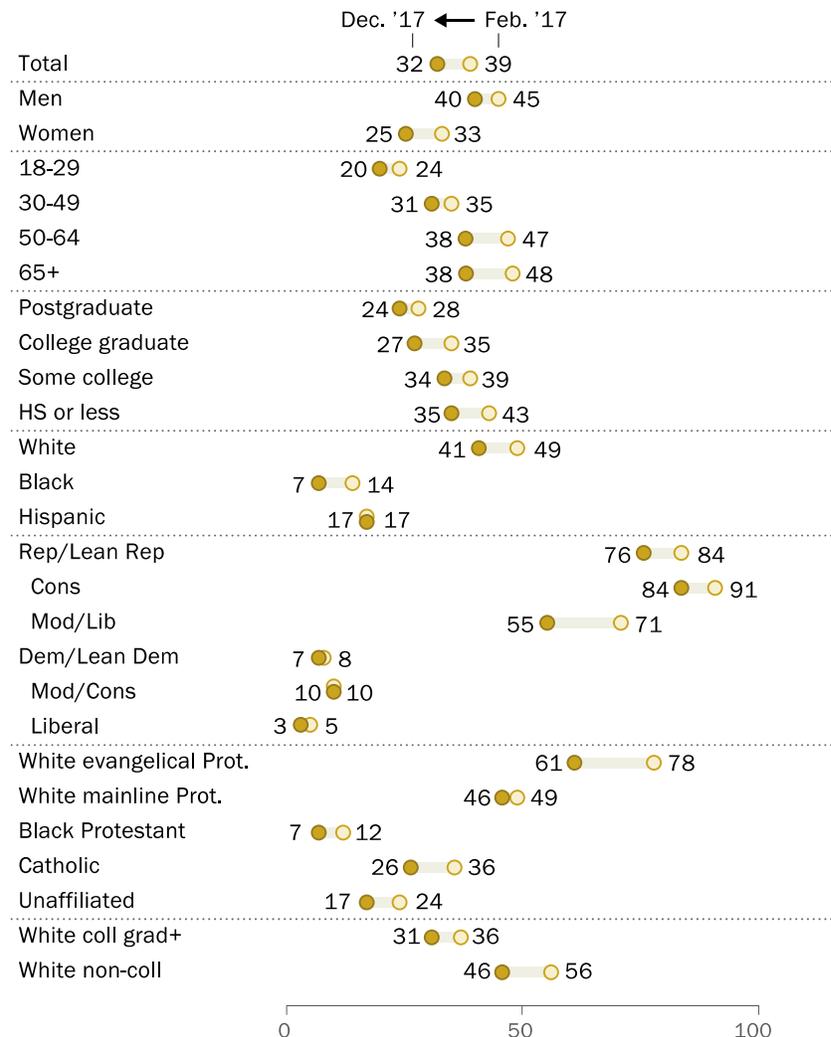
Since [Trump became president](#), his job approval ratings have been more polarized than past presidents during their first year in office. That remains the case today, but his job ratings are lower today among Republicans than they were in February. His ratings are virtually unchanged among Democrats.

Currently, 76% of Republicans and Republican leaners approve of Trump's job performance, compared with 84% who did so in February. Trump's job approval among Democrats and Democratic leaners is 7%, about the same as in February (8%).

In addition, Trump's job rating has declined among several groups that gave him relatively high ratings in February, including older adults (38% of those 50 and older approve today, compared with 47% who did so in February) and whites (41% now, 49% then), as well as white evangelical Protestants (61% now, 78% then).

Since February, Trump's job approval has ticked down among Republicans, Republican leaners

% who approve of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as president



Notes: Whites and blacks include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Q2.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

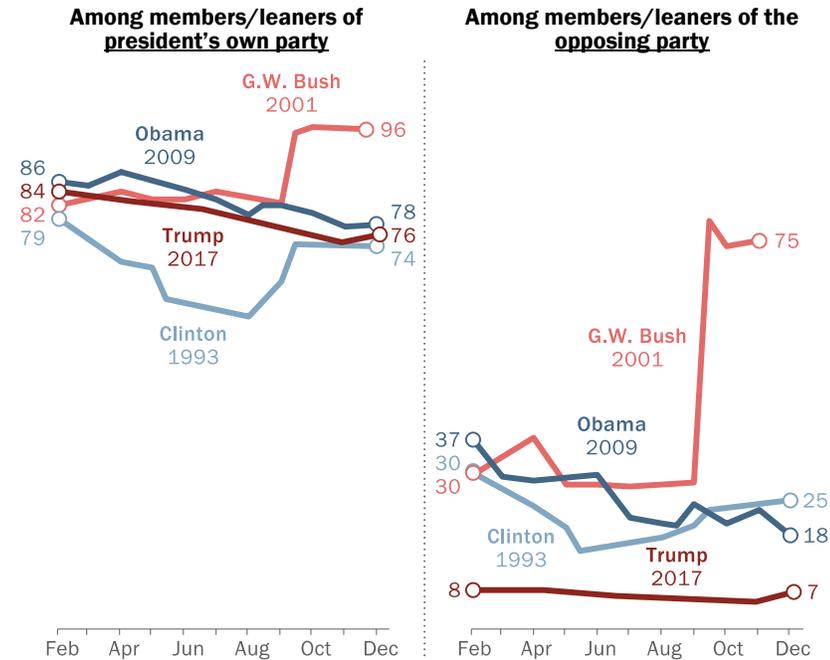
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Trump’s job ratings continue to be divided by gender and education. While 40% of men approve of the way Trump is handling his job as president, only 25% of women do so. Fewer than a third of adults with postgraduate degrees (24%) or four-year college degrees (27%) approve of the way Trump is handling his job, compared with 35% of those who have not completed college.

Trump’s job approval rating among members of his own party, while lower today than at the beginning of the year, is in line with those of most of his predecessors. The lone exception is George W. Bush, whose job rating surged after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001.

Trump job approval among the opposing party remains historically low

% who approve of the way the president is handling his job



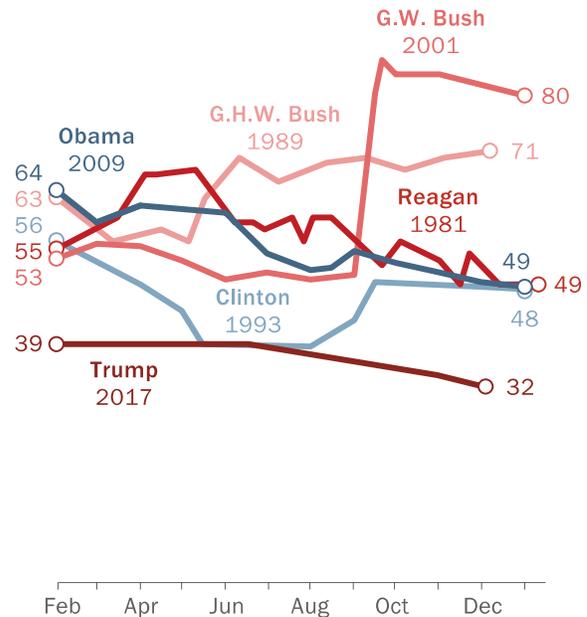
Note: Q2.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

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However, Trump's job ratings among members of the opposing party have been consistently lower than those of recent presidents. For example, Obama lost considerable support among Republicans in 2009, his first year in office; his job rating among Republicans plummeted from 37% to 18% over the course of the year. Still, Obama's year-end job rating of 18% among Republicans was more than double Trump's current job approval among Democrats (7%).

Public's job approval of first-year presidents: Reagan to Trump

% who approve of the way the president is handling his job



Note: Data for Reagan and George H.W. Bush from Gallup. Q2.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

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Little change in views of Congress' productivity

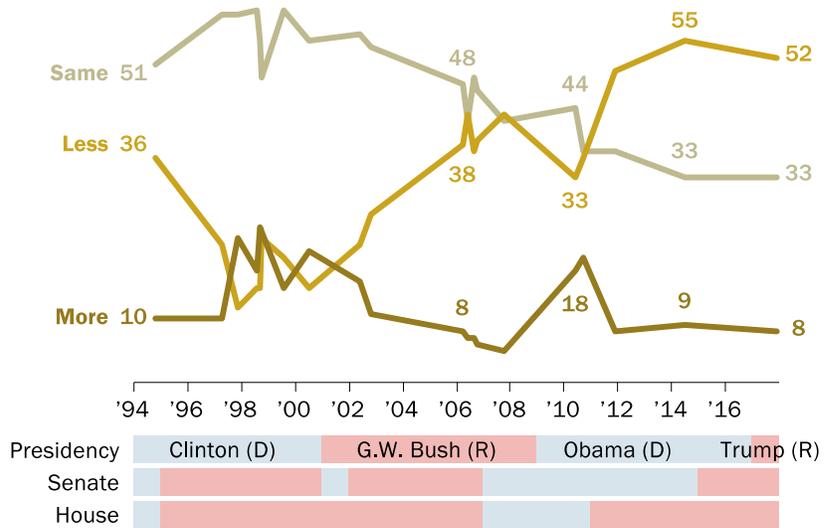
Overall, views of the productivity of Congress are little changed over the past few years. When asked to compare the current Congress to recent sessions, about half of Americans (52%) say that it has accomplished less than usual, 8% say that it has accomplished more, and a third (33%) say that it has accomplished about the same amount as recent sessions of Congress.

The public expressed similar views about congressional productivity in 2014 and 2011. However, earlier in the 2000s and in the late 1990s, views of Congress' accomplishments were less negative; no more than about four-in-ten said those Congresses had accomplished less than their predecessors.

While overall opinions about congressional productivity have changed little in recent years, there has been substantial movement among partisans.

About half of Americans say Congress is less productive than in the past

% who say that, compared to recent Congresses, this Congress has accomplished ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q34.
 Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

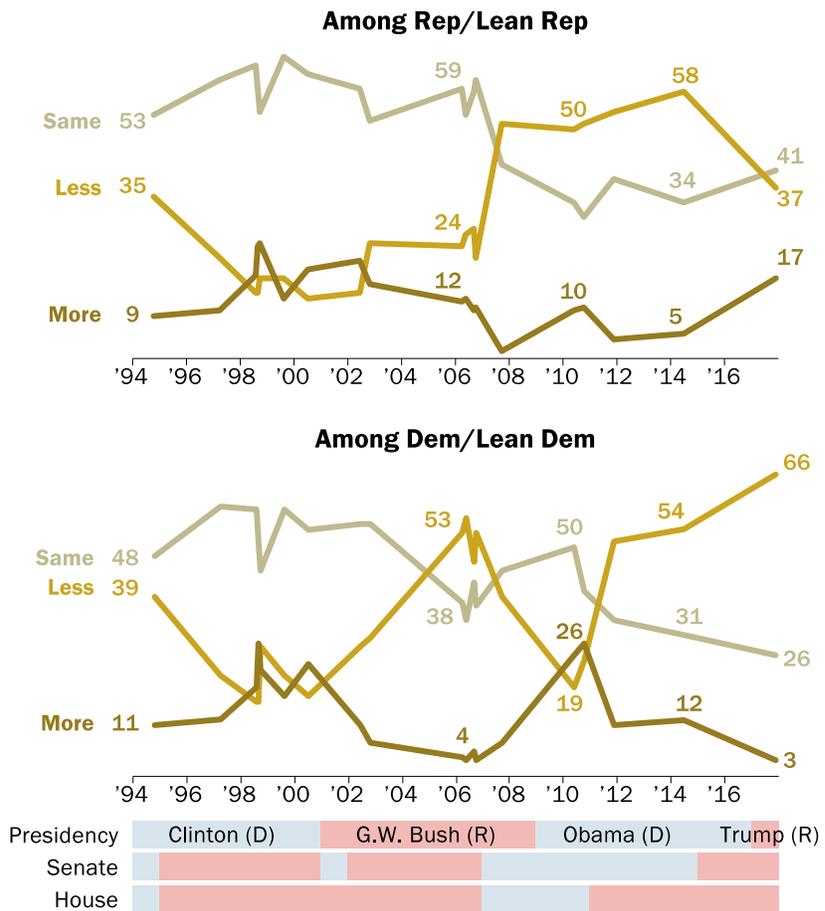
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In July 2014, when Democrats held a narrow majority in the Senate and Republicans held a majority of seats in the House, about six-in-ten (58%) Republicans and Republican leaners said that Congress had accomplished less than usual. Now that Republicans are in control of the White House and Congress, that figure has declined to 37%.

By contrast, Democrats have become much more critical of congressional productivity since 2014. Currently, 66% of Democrats say Congress has accomplished less than in the past, up from 54% three years ago and the highest share saying this in more than 20 years.

Share of Democrats saying Congress is less productive hits two-decade high

% who say that, compared to recent Congresses, this Congress has accomplished ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q34.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

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Among those who say Congress has accomplished less, more than half (56%) blame Republican leaders for this lack of accomplishment. A smaller share (23%) volunteer that leaders of both parties are to blame, and only a small minority (16%) says Democratic leaders are most to blame for the lack of accomplishments by Congress.

This figure is similar to other points when Republicans held united control of the government. In April 2006, for example, Republicans controlled the presidency and both chambers of Congress, as they do today. At that time, fewer people said Congress had accomplished less (38% then, 52% today), but GOP leaders received most of the blame for this, as they do today.

GOP leaders blamed for Congress achieving less

Among those who say Congress has accomplished less, % saying ___ are most to blame

| | Rep leaders | Dem leaders | Both (Vol.) |
|---------|------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|
| | % | % | % |
| Dec '17 | 56 | 16 | 23 |
| Jul '14 | 44 | 28 | 22 |
| Dec '11 | 40 | 23 | 32 |
| Jun '10 | 16 | 49 | 28 |
| Oct '07 | 30 | 26 | 34 |
| Oct '06 | 59 | 10 | 21 |
| Jun '06 | 56 | 16 | 22 |
| Apr '06 | 58 | 13 | 21 |

Notes: Don't know responses not shown.
Based on those who say that Congress accomplished less than usual. Q35.
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

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Views of Mueller's investigation into Russian involvement in 2016 election

Overall, 56% of Americans are either very (25%) or somewhat (30%) confident that Mueller will conduct a fair investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 election, while 36% say they are not too (20%) or not at all confident (16%) he will do so.

As with opinions about whether or not senior Trump administration officials had improper contact with Russia during the campaign, there are partisan differences in confidence in Mueller: 44% of Republicans and Republican leaners are at least somewhat confident that Robert Mueller will conduct a fair investigation, compared with 68% of Democrats and Democratic leaners. (By comparison, 82% of Democrats vs. just 26% of Republicans say improper contacts definitely or probably occurred).

Views of the investigation are related to beliefs about whether there were improper contacts between senior Trump officials and Russia during the 2016 campaign.

Among those who say that it is at least probable that senior members of the Trump administration had improper contact with Russia, 36% are very confident that Mueller's investigation will be fair and another 31% are somewhat confident. Among those who think that there was probably or definitely no improper contact, only 12% are very confident in a fair investigation, while 30% are somewhat confident.

Confidence in Mueller to conduct a fair investigation linked to view of investigation's merit

% who are ____ confident that special counsel Robert Mueller will conduct a fair investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 election

| | Very | Somewhat | Not too | Not at all |
|--------------|------|----------|---------|------------|
| Total | 25 | 30 | 20 | 16 |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 14 | 30 | 25 | 25 |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 37 | 31 | 16 | 10 |

Among those who say senior members of Trump admin definitely or probably ____ have improper contact with Russia during 2016 campaign

| | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|
| Did (59%) | 36 | 31 | 19 | 9 |
| Did not (30%) | 12 | 30 | 22 | 31 |

Among Rep/Lean Rep who say senior members of Trump admin definitely or probably ____ have improper contact with Russia during 2016 campaign

| | | | | |
|---------------|----|----|----|----|
| Did (26%) | 22 | 35 | 32 | 9 |
| Did not (65%) | 11 | 28 | 24 | 32 |

Note: Don't know responses not shown. Q51.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017.

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Among Republicans and Republican leaners, 58% of those who say senior Trump officials probably or definitely had improper contact with Russia during the 2016 campaign are at least somewhat confident in Mueller to conduct a fair investigation, compared with 39% of those who think no improper contact occurred.

Acknowledgements

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

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Methodology

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted November 29-December 4, 2017 among a national sample of 1,503 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (377 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,126 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 728 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers under the direction of Abt Associates. 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 2016 Census Bureau's American Community Survey one-year estimates 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 2016 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. The margins of error reported and statistical tests of significance are adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, a measure of how much efficiency is lost from the weighting procedures.

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

Survey conducted Nov. 29-Dec. 4, 2017

| Group | Unweighted sample size | Plus or minus ... |
|--------------|-----------------------------------|--------------------------|
| Total sample | 1,503 | 2.9 percentage points |
| Rep/Lean Rep | 522 | 4.9 percentage points |
| Dem/Lean Dem | 769 | 4.1 percentage points |
| Men | 841 | 3.9 percentage points |
| Women | 662 | 4.4 percentage points |

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

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

Pew Research Center 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 2017 POLITICAL SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
NOVEMBER 29-DECEMBER 4, 2017
N=1,503**

ASK ALL:

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

| | Satis- <u>fied</u> | Dis- <u>satisfied</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> | | Satis- <u>fied</u> | Dis- <u>satisfied</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 27 | 68 | 6 | Jun 15-19, 2011 | 23 | 73 | 4 |
| Oct 25-30, 2017 | 26 | 70 | 5 | May 5-8, 2011 | 30 | 62 | 8 |
| Jun 27-Jul 9, 2017 | 28 | 67 | 5 | May 2, 2011 | 32 | 60 | 8 |
| Apr 5-11, 2017 | 30 | 66 | 4 | Mar 8-14, 2011 | 22 | 73 | 5 |
| Feb 7-12, 2017 | 30 | 65 | 5 | Feb 2-7, 2011 | 26 | 68 | 5 |
| Jan 4-9, 2017 | 28 | 68 | 4 | Jan 5-9, 2011 | 23 | 71 | 6 |
| 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 | 5 |
| Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 31 | 64 | 5 | Late May, 2008 | 18 | 76 | 6 |
| Jan 9-13, 2013 | 30 | 66 | 4 | March, 2008 | 22 | 72 | 6 |
| Dec 17-19, 2012 | 25 | 68 | 7 | Early February, 2008 | 24 | 70 | 6 |
| Dec 5-9, 2012 | 33 | 62 | 5 | Late December, 2007 | 27 | 66 | 7 |
| Oct 18-21, 2012 | 32 | 61 | 8 | 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 | | | | |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 21 | 75 | 4 | | | | |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 17 | 78 | 5 | | | | |
| Aug 17-21, 2011 | 17 | 79 | 4 | | | | |
| Jul 20-24, 2011 | 17 | 79 | 4 | | | | |

¹ In September 10-15, 2009 and other surveys noted with an asterisk, the question was worded "Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?"

Q.1 CONTINUED...

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

ASK ALL:

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

| | Approve | Disapprove | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|--------------------|---------|------------|------------------|
| Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 32 | 63 | 5 |
| Oct 25-30, 2017 | 34 | 59 | 7 |
| Jun 8-18, 2017 | 39 | 55 | 7 |
| Apr 5-11, 2017 | 39 | 54 | 6 |
| Feb 7-12, 2017 | 39 | 56 | 6 |

See past presidents' approval trends: [Barack Obama](#), [George W. Bush](#), [Bill Clinton](#)

ASK IF APPROVE (Q.2=1):

Q.2a While you approve of Trump's performance overall, are there any things he has done that you have been disappointed or unhappy with, or can't you think of anything?

ASK IF DISAPPOINTED/UNHAPPY (Q.2a=1):

Q.2c What have you been disappointed or unhappy with? [**OPEN END-PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL ANSWER: "Anything else?"**]

BASED ON THOSE WHO APPROVE OF TRUMP [N=493]

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

37 Been disappointed or unhappy with things

26 STYLE (NET)

- 14 Twitter/Social media
- 14 Unprofessional behavior
- 2 No results/Not keeping promises
- 1 Treatment of women

11 DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)

- 3 Appointments/Staffing
- 3 Immigration/Border wall
- 2 Health care
- 4 Other domestic policies

2 FOREIGN POLICY

- * Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

62 Can't think of anything

1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

TREND FOR COMPARISON: While you approve of Obama's performance overall, are there any things he has done that you have been disappointed or unhappy with, or can't you think of anything? What have you been disappointed or unhappy with? [**OPEN END - PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL ANSWER: "Anything else?"**]

BASED ON THOSE WHO APPROVE OF OBAMA [N=697]:

Dec 9-13

2009

30 Been disappointed or unhappy with things

15 DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)

- 7 Health care
- 3 Economy/Spending/Deficit/Taxes/Jobs
- 3 Banks/Corporations/Bonuses/Bailouts/Wall Street
- 2 Gay rights
- 1 Abortion

14 FOREIGN POLICY (NET)

- 9 Afghanistan/Troop increase
- 3 End war/Troops home
- 2 Iraq
- 1 Other foreign policy

5 STYLE (NET)

- 4 Not firm enough/No results
- 1 Other style
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

66 Can't think of anything

4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK IF DISAPPROVE (Q.2=2):

Q.2b While you disapprove of Trump's performance overall, are there any things he has done that you have been happy with, or can't you think of anything?

ASK IF HAPPY WITH ANYTHING (Q.2b = 1):

Q.2d What have you been happy with? [**OPEN END-PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL ANSWER:** "Anything else?"]

BASED ON THOSE WHO DISAPPROVE OF TRUMP [N=938]

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

14 Been happy with things

- 8 DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)**
- 2 Economy/Jobs/Stock market
- 1 Immigration
- 1 Taxes
- 4 Other domestic policies
- 3 STYLE**
- 2 FOREIGN POLICY**
- 1 Other
- * Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

84 Can't think of anything

2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

TREND FOR COMPARISON: While you disapprove of Obama's performance overall, are there any things he has done that you have been happy with, or can't you think of anything? What have you been happy with? [**OPEN END – PROBE ONCE FOR ADDITIONAL ANSWER:** "Anything else?"]

BASED ON THOSE WHO DISAPPROVE OF OBAMA [N=655]:

Dec 9-13

2009

24 Been happy with things

- 11 FOREIGN POLICY (NET)**
- 7 Afghanistan
- 1 Iraq
- 3 Other foreign policy
- 9 DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)**
- 6 Economy/Stimulus/Taxes/Benefits
- 3 Health care
- 1 Other domestic policy
- 5 STYLE (NET)**
- 3 Speeches/Communication
- 1 Reaching out/Willing to talk/Uniting
- 1 Other style
- * Effort/Trying
- 1 Other
- 1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

73 Can't think of anything

3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.3 Please tell me how important each of the following issues is for the country ... First, is **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all important for the country? Next, how about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Is [ITEM] very important, somewhat important, not too important or not at all important for the country?]**

| | <u>Very important</u> | <u>Somewhat important</u> | <u>Not too important</u> | <u>Not at all important</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------|
| a. The investigation into alleged Russian involvement in the 2016 election Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 49 | 17 | 11 | 19 | 4 |
| b. Proposed changes to the federal tax system Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 69 | 18 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| c. The possibility of a federal government shutdown in the next few weeks Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 59 | 19 | 8 | 9 | 5 |
| d. The issue of sexual assault and harassment Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 74 | 18 | 5 | 3 | 1 |
| e. The status of immigrants who came into the country illegally when they were children Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 52 | 28 | 11 | 8 | 2 |

QUESTIONS 4, 6-7, 11-12, 15-17, 21-24, 26, 28-29 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**NO QUESTIONS 5, 8-10, 13-14, 18-20, 25, 27, 30-33****ASK ALL:**

Next,

Q.34 Compared to recent Congresses, would you say THIS Congress has accomplished more, accomplished less, or accomplished about the same amount?

| | <u>More</u> | <u>Less</u> | <u>Same amount</u> | (VOL.) DK/Ref |
|----------------------------|-------------|-------------|------------------------|--------------------------|
| Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 8 | 52 | 33 | 7 |
| Jul 8-14, 2014 | 9 | 55 | 33 | 3 |
| Dec 7-11, 2011 | 8 | 50 | 37 | 5 |
| Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010 | 20 | 36 | 37 | 7 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 18 | 33 | 44 | 6 |
| October, 2007 | 5 | 43 | 42 | 10 |
| October, 2006 | 6 | 39 | 47 | 8 |
| Early September, 2006 | 7 | 37 | 49 | 7 |
| June, 2006 | 7 | 43 | 42 | 8 |
| April, 2006 | 8 | 38 | 48 | 6 |
| Early November, 2002 (RVs) | 11 | 27 | 54 | 8 |
| June, 2002 | 16 | 22 | 56 | 6 |
| July, 2000 | 21 | 15 | 55 | 9 |
| August, 1999 | 15 | 20 | 60 | 5 |
| Early October, 1998(RVs) | 24 | 23 | 49 | 4 |
| Early September, 1998 | 25 | 15 | 55 | 5 |
| Early August, 1998 | 18 | 15 | 60 | 7 |
| November, 1997 | 23 | 12 | 59 | 6 |
| April, 1997 | 10 | 22 | 59 | 9 |
| Gallup: October, 1994 | 10 | 36 | 51 | 3 |

ASK IF LESS (Q.34=2) [N=859]:Q.35 Who do you think is most to blame for this **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

| | Republican <u>leaders</u> | Democratic <u>leaders</u> | (VOL.) <u>Both</u> | (VOL.) <u>Neither</u> | (VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> |
|--------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|------------------------------|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 56 | 16 | 23 | 2 | 3 |
| Jul 8-14, 2014 | 44 | 28 | 22 | 2 | 3 |
| Dec 7-11, 2011 | 40 | 23 | 32 | 1 | 3 |
| Jun 16-20, 2010 | 16 | 49 | 28 | 5 | 3 |
| October, 2007 | 30 | 26 | 34 | 5 | 5 |
| October, 2006 | 59 | 10 | 21 | 4 | 6 |
| June, 2006 | 56 | 16 | 22 | 2 | 4 |
| April, 2006 | 58 | 13 | 21 | 4 | 4 |

NO QUESTIONS 36-40, 43-49**QUESTIONS 41-42 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****ASK ALL:**

Q.50 Thinking about the investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 election... just your impression, do you think senior members of the Trump administration definitely did, probably did, probably did NOT or definitely did NOT have improper contact with Russia during the 2016 presidential campaign?

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

| | |
|----|----------------------------------|
| 30 | Definitely did |
| 29 | Probably did |
| 18 | Probably did not |
| 12 | Definitely did not |
| 10 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

ASK ALL:Q.51 How confident, if at all, are you that the Justice Department special counsel Robert Mueller **[PRONOUNCED: "MULL-er"]** will conduct a fair investigation into Russian involvement in the 2016 election **[READ]**?

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

| | |
|----|----------------------------------|
| 25 | Very confident |
| 30 | Somewhat confident |
| 20 | Not too confident |
| 16 | Not at all confident |
| 8 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

NO QUESTIONS 52-55**ASK ALL:**Q.56 How much, if anything, have you read or heard about recent allegations of sexual harassment and assault against prominent men in entertainment, politics and the media? **[READ]**

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

| | |
|----|----------------------------------|
| 74 | A lot |
| 18 | A little [OR] |
| 8 | Nothing at all |
| 1 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |

ASK ALL:

Q.57 Which comes closer to your view about recent allegations of sexual harassment and assault? **[READ; RANDOMIZE]**?

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

28 They are mainly isolated incidents of individual misconduct [OR]
 66 They mainly reflect widespread problems in society
 6 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

NO QUESTIONS 58-75

QUESTIONS 76-79 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.) | (VOL.) | Lean | Lean |
|----------------------|-------------------|-----------------|--------------------|------------|--------|---------------|------------|------------|
| | <u>Republican</u> | <u>Democrat</u> | <u>Independent</u> | No | Other | <u>DK/Ref</u> | <u>Rep</u> | <u>Dem</u> |
| | | | | preference | party | | | |
| Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017 | 20 | 32 | 40 | 4 | 1 | 3 | 13 | 19 |
| Oct 25-30, 2017 | 22 | 32 | 41 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 17 | 19 |
| Jun 8-Jul 9, 2017 | 25 | 31 | 39 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 16 | 18 |
| Apr 5-11, 2017 | 24 | 31 | 42 | 2 | 1 | * | 17 | 20 |
| Feb 7-12, 2017 | 23 | 34 | 37 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 15 | 18 |
| Jan 4-9, 2017 | 25 | 28 | 41 | 4 | * | 1 | 18 | 19 |
| Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016 | 24 | 33 | 35 | 5 | 1 | 3 | 15 | 16 |
| Yearly Totals | | | | | | | | |
| 2016 | 25.4 | 32.0 | 36.5 | 3.4 | .5 | 2.2 | 14.6 | 17.0 |
| 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 |
| 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 |

PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

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