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Angry Silents, Disengaged Millennials

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## The Generation Gap and the 2012 Election

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# THE GENERATION GAP AND THE 2012 ELECTION

November 3, 2011

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## Angry Silents, Disengaged Millennials

# The Generation Gap and the 2012 Election

In the last four national elections, generational differences have mattered more than they have in decades. According to the exit polls, younger people have voted substantially more Democratic than other age groups in each election since 2004, while older voters have cast more ballots for Republican candidates in each election since 2006.

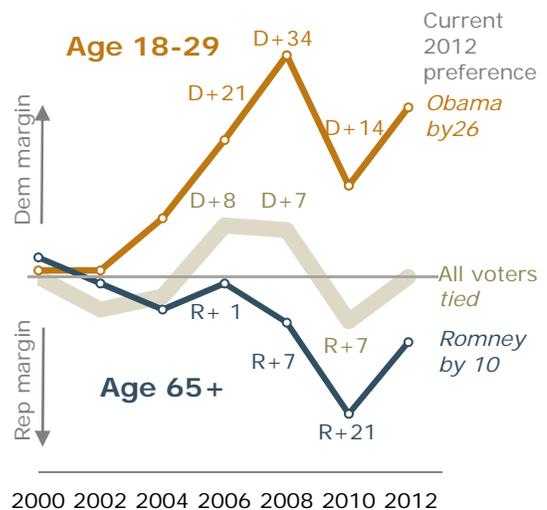
The latest national polls suggest this pattern may well continue in 2012. **Millennial generation** voters are inclined to back Barack Obama for reelection by a wide margin in a matchup against Mitt Romney, the Republican candidate who has run the strongest against Obama in many polls. By contrast, **Silent generation** voters are solidly behind Romney.

In between the youngest and the oldest voters are the **Baby Boom generation** and **Generation X**. Both groups are less supportive of Obama than they were in 2008 and are now on the fence with respect to a second term for the president.

One of the largest factors driving the current generation gap is the arrival of diverse and Democratic-oriented Millennials. Shaped by the politics and conditions of the Bill Clinton and George W. Bush presidencies, this group holds liberal attitudes on most social and governmental issues.

In contrast, the Silent generation – whose members reached adulthood between the late 1940s and early 1960s and now make up over 80% of Americans age 65 and older – has held relatively conservative views on social issues and the role of government for most of their lives. Their growing unease, and even anger, about the direction of the country in recent years has moved them further toward the GOP, largely erasing the Democratic Party's advantage in affiliation.

### Recent Age Gap Persists in Early 2012 Preferences



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. 2000-2010 data from national exit polls. 2012 preference based on registered voters.

While the political divides between young and old are deep, there are potential fissures at both ends of the age spectrum. Millennials continue to support Obama at much higher levels than older generations. But Obama's job ratings have fallen steeply among this group, as well as among older generations, since early 2009. Perhaps more ominously for Obama, Millennials are much less engaged in politics than they were at this stage in the 2008 campaign.

In contrast, Silents – particularly those who affiliate with or lean to the Republican Party – are far more engaged in the presidential campaign than they were at this point in the contest four years ago. While Silents support Romney over Obama by a wide margin, they express highly unfavorable views of *both* the GOP and the Democratic Party.

Silents prefer the Republican Party on most issues, with Social Security a notable exception. Silents are about evenly divided over whether the Democrats or the Republicans can better handle Social Security. If debate over Social Security and Medicare comes to the forefront, it raises potentially significant cross pressures for Silent generation voters, who rank Social Security among the top issues affecting their 2012 vote.

Growing racial and ethnic diversity, which is concentrated among younger generations, has benefited Democrats. Race and ethnicity are strongly associated with views about government, and in no small part account for some of the greater liberalism of the younger age groups and greater conservatism of older groups.

The polling finds that older generations – Boomers and especially Silents – do not fully embrace diversity. Fewer in these groups see the increasing populations of Latinos and Asians, as well as more racial intermarriage, as changes for the better. For many Silents in particular, Obama himself may represent an unwelcome indicator of the way the face of America has changed. Feelings of “unease” with Obama, along with higher levels of anger, are the emotions that most differentiate the attitudes of Silents from those of the youngest generation.

The nation's ongoing economic difficulties have affected all generations. But Boomers and Gen Xers are far more likely than either Silents or Millennials to have little or no confidence they will have enough money to finance their retirement. And two-thirds of Boomers ages 50 to 61 who are still working expect to delay retirement because of current economic conditions.

These are the principal findings from two major national surveys exploring generational differences in political attitudes conducted by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press (Sept. 22-Oct. 4) and the Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends project (Sept. 1-15). Together, these surveys interviewed 4,413 adults. They have been supplemented with data from other polling over the course of the year and analyses of census data by Pew Social & Demographic Trends.

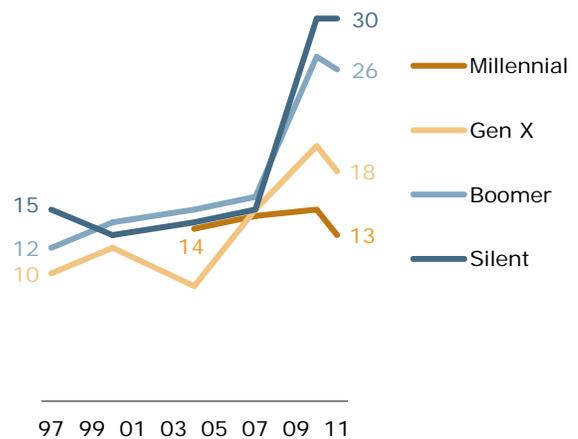
The study provides a detailed look at the current generational dynamics of American politics. Why are **Silent generation** voters so angry? How have the political leanings of **Baby Boomers** evolved? Is the Reagan-era **Generation X** moving closer to the Democratic column? Will **Millennials** be as engaged and enthused about Obama as they were in 2008? The answers lie in understanding the broad political, social and economic changes of the past decades and how they have shaped the political leanings of these generations over time.

### A Closer Look at ... Older Americans

The vast majority of Americans who are 65 and older are members of the Silent generation (ages 66 to 83). They came of age in the Truman, Eisenhower and Kennedy years. Silents favored the Democrats at times during the 1990s, but in recent elections have strongly supported the Republicans. While they aligned more with the Democrats in the 1990s, they have become much more Republican in recent years. The Silent generation "replaced" the **Greatest generation**, who were more reliable Democratic voters when they constituted the bulk of the senior vote.

Silents increasingly call themselves conservative and they hold the most consistently conservative views about government, social issues and America's place in the world. Unlike other generations that in recent years have become more supportive of smaller government, they have held conservative views about government for years.

Percent "Angry" With Government



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q18.

Today, an overwhelming majority of Silents are either angry or frustrated with government. They are the generation that is most strongly disapproving of Barack Obama, for whom a majority did not vote. Silents also are the most politically energized generation, as they demonstrated in the 2010 midterms.

More often than the younger generations, Silents take the American exceptionalist view that the United States is the greatest nation in the world. But fewer older people than young people think that “America’s best days are ahead of us.”

The political discontent of the Silent generation is not economically based. A greater proportion of Silents than younger people say they are financially satisfied, and Silents are less likely to say they often do not have enough money to make ends meet.

Race is a factor in their political attitudes. Silents are the whitest of the generations and are the least accepting of the new face of America. Compared with younger generations, relatively few Silents see racial intermarriage and the growing population of immigrants as changes for the better.

As was the case in 2008, racial attitudes are associated with views of Obama and voting intentions. And while there is racial intolerance in all generations, it is more prevalent among older than younger age groups.

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## The Silent Generation

**Born:** 1928 to 1945  
**Turned 18 in:** 1946 to 1963  
**Current age:** 66-83

- 81% of Americans age 65 and older
- Conservative views on government and society for most of their lives
- Once one of the most Democratic generations, today they are the most Republican
- Silents make up 17% of all registered voters
- More uncomfortable than younger people with many social changes, including racial diversity and homosexuality
- Only group to favor McCain over Obama in 2008
- Highly engaged in 2012 election, as in 2010
- More likely to rate Social Security as top voting issue
- Favor Republicans on most issues, but not Social Security
- 79% are non-Hispanic whites

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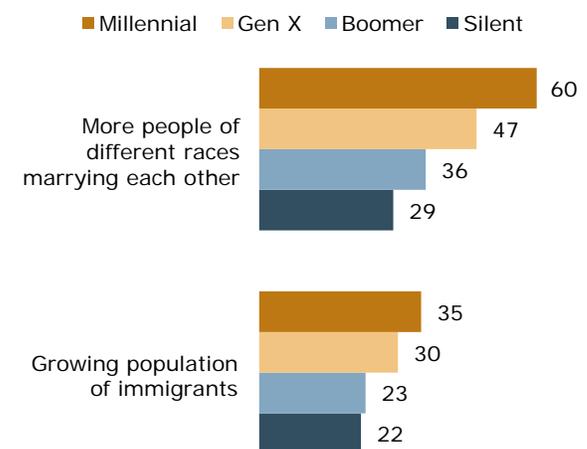
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## Silents Not So Positive about New Face of America

*% saying each is a “change for the better”*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q18a-b.

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While Silent generation voters say they are solidly behind Obama's Republican challengers, there are some signs of potential opportunity for the Democrats. Silents cite Social Security as often as they name jobs as their top voting issue. And while seniors tend to favor the Republican Party on most issues, they are as likely to favor the Democrats as Republicans on Social Security.

## Young People

Millennials, who are 18 to 30, have voted more Democratic than older voters in the last four national elections. They came of age in the Clinton and Bush eras, and hold liberal attitudes on most social and governmental issues, as well as America's approach to foreign policy.

Just as members of the Silent generation are long-term backers of smaller government, Millennials, at least so far, hold "baked in" support for a more activist government.

Millennials have come of age professing an allegiance to the Democratic Party and profoundly little identification with the GOP. Today, half of Millennials (50%) think of themselves as Democrats or Democratic-leaning independents while just 36% affiliate with or lean toward the GOP.

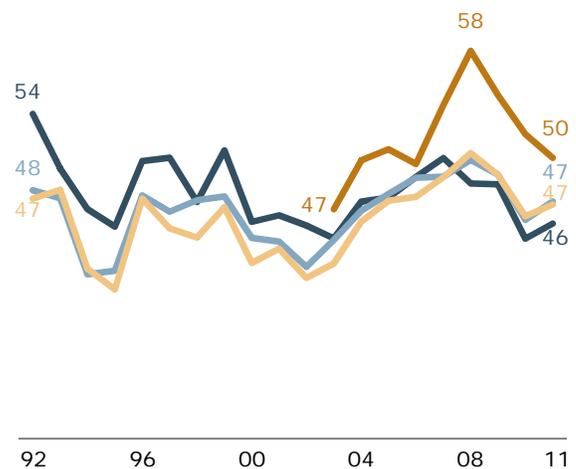
Although they back Barack Obama for reelection by a wide margin in matchups against both Mitt Romney and Rick Perry, just 49% approve of his job performance, down 24 points since February 2009.

Millennials are a racially and ethnically diverse generation. Only 59% of Millennials are white non-Hispanic. They are well acquainted with changing face of America and overwhelmingly think these changes are good for the country.

### Millennials' Faltering Allegiance to the Democratic Party

Democrat/Lean Democratic

— Millennial — Gen X — Boomer — Silent



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. Yearly figures based on all polls conducted in that year.

The racial gap also helps explain the greater liberalism of Millennials when compared with older generations. The racial factor, however, mutes rather than explains away the ideological and partisan gaps between Millennials and older voters. For example, while 57% of all Millennials favor a bigger government with more services, just 44% of white Millennials do. But only about a quarter of whites in older generations (27%) support an activist government.

Similarly, while 61% of all Millennials back Obama in a matchup against Romney, only 49% of white Millennials do. But this compares to 37% of older whites who back the president.

### Middle-Aged Americans

Baby Boomers (ages 47 to 65) are the largest generation. They came of age under presidents Johnson, Nixon, Ford, Carter and Reagan. Boomers had very little allegiance to the GOP during the 1960s and 70s, but were increasingly drawn to the Republican Party starting in the 1980s. Since then, they have tilted to the Democratic Party.

Historically, there has been an age gap within the Baby Boom generation. Older Boomers, who cast their first ballots in the Nixon elections of 1968 and 1972, have voted more Democratic than have younger Boomers who came of age under Ford, Carter and Reagan. In 2008, for example, Obama performed better among older Boomers (currently 56 to 65) than younger Boomers (47 to 55).

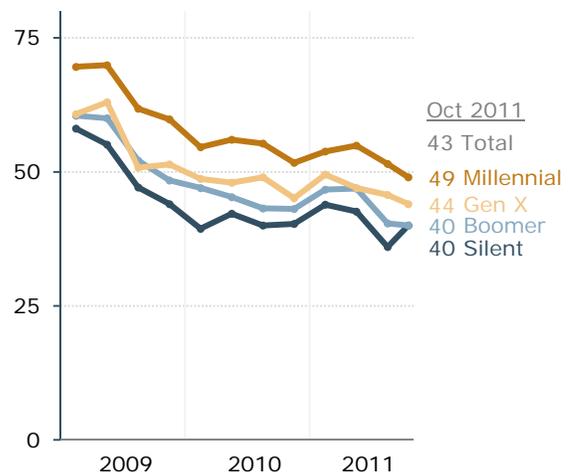
### The Millennial Generation

**Born:** 1981 to 1993  
**Turned 18 in:** 1999 to 2011  
**Current age:** 18-30

- Voted for Obama by two-to-one in 2008, the largest margin within any age group since 1972
- Much less politically engaged than in 2008
- The most diverse generation – 41% are Hispanic or nonwhite
- 17% of registered voters
- Consistently liberal views on many social and governmental issues
- Experiencing high rates of unemployment, but still upbeat
- Welcome the new face of America

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### Obama Job Approval Below 50% Across All Generations



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Quarterly averages from Q1 2009 through Q3 2011.

Boomers supported Republican candidates in 2010. Currently, they are almost as disillusioned with Obama as are Silents, yet are divided in a matchup between Obama and Romney.

In recent years, more Boomers have come to call themselves conservatives. A majority of Boomers now favors a smaller government that provides fewer services. When they were in their 20s and 30s, Boomers were more supportive of big government. Today, almost as many Boomers as Silents say they are angry with government.

Boomers' current attitudes bear little imprint from coming of age in an era of great social change. On most social issues, their opinions generally fall between the Silents and the younger age cohorts. And many Boomers express reservations about the changing face of America.

Like younger generations, many Boomers say they are dissatisfied with their financial situation and their anxieties about retirement have increased. In a survey conducted last year, a majority of Boomers (54%) said they were in worse shape financially than they were before the recession. Today, 38% say they are not confident that they will have enough income and assets to last through their retirement years.

Like other generations, Boomers oppose cutting entitlement benefits in order to reduce the budget deficit. They are also part of a multi-generational majority that supports reducing Social Security and Medicare benefits for seniors with higher incomes.

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## The Boomer Generation

**Born:** 1946 to 1964  
**Turned 18 in:** 1964 to 1982  
**Current age:** 47-65

- Boomers make up 37% of registered voters, the largest share of any generation
- Now express as much frustration with government as the Silents
- Particularly concerned about their own financial future
- Uncertainty about retirement security has many planning to delay retirement
- Older Boomers are somewhat more Democratic than younger Boomers
- Nearly half say life in U.S. has gotten worse since the 1960s

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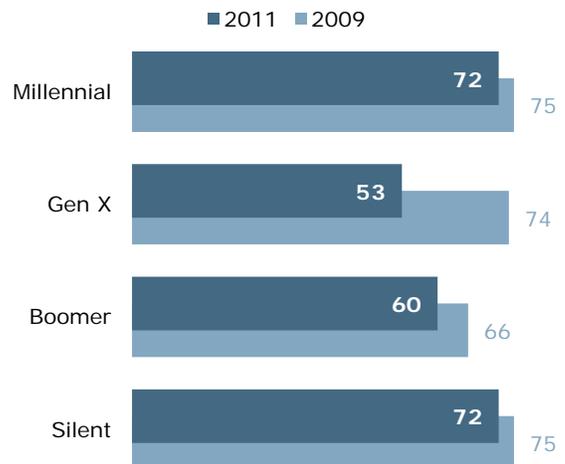
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## Boomers, Xers Less Confident about Retirement Resources

*% confident that income/assets will last through retirement*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q23.

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However, unlike Silents, Boomers oppose raising the eligibility age for Social Security and Medicare.

Generation X, ages 31 to 46, is the in-between generation. They represent the dividing line on many issues between young and old, but they are not as Democratic and liberal as the younger Millennial generation.

Gen Xers mostly came of age politically in the Reagan, George H.W. Bush and Clinton years. In the 1990s, they divided their loyalties between the parties. In 2000, they split their votes between George W. Bush and Al Gore; they narrowly supported Bush in 2004 and favored Obama by clear margin in 2008.

Gen Xers are less supportive of larger government than they once were. And along with other generations, their views of Obama have become more negative. Gen Xers supported GOP candidates by a small margin in 2010. Currently, as many Gen Xers favor Romney as Obama.

On a range of social issues Gen Xers take a more liberal position than do older voters. Gen Xers are more likely than both Boomers and Silents to favor gay marriage and marijuana legalization, and Gen Xers are far more comfortable with the social diversity of 21<sup>st</sup> century America.

As with Millennials and Boomers, jobs are the number one voting issue for Gen Xers. And they are increasingly anxious over their financial futures. Fully 46% say they are not confident that they will have enough income and assets to last through their retirement years – the highest percentage in any generation.

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## Generation X

**Born:** 1965 to 1980  
**Turned 18 in:** 1983 to 1998  
**Current age:** 31-46

- Similar to Millennials on social issues
- Grown more critical of government over the last decade
- Backed Obama in 2008, but tilted toward GOP in 2010
- Since '09, sharp drop in financial satisfaction
- Older Xers tend to vote more Republican, younger Xers vote more Democratic
- Gen Xers make up 26% of registered voters

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## Entitlements: Agreement on Principles, Not Policies

The poll finds a fair amount generational agreement on entitlement issues.

Majorities across generations say that the federal government does too little for older people. And there is broad agreement that it is more important to maintain current retirement benefits than to reduce the budget deficit, though that view is more widely shared among older than younger generations.

But wide generation gaps exist with respect to a number of proposed reforms to the retirement programs. Silents are lukewarm toward allowing younger workers to invest their Social Security taxes in private accounts and using their Medicare benefits to purchase private insurance. Millennials, in particular, enthusiastically embrace these proposed changes.

Moreover, Silents are more supportive than are younger generations of gradually raising the retirement age for receiving Social Security and Medicare benefits. Roughly half of Silents favor raising the retirement age for these programs; no more than four-in-ten in younger generations agree.

### Generations Agree that Government Does Too Little for Older People

	Mill- ennial	Gen X	Boom- er	Silent	Mill- Silent Diff
<i>Federal gov't does _____ for older people</i>	%	%	%	%	
Not enough	55	64	64	52	+3
Too much	7	6	5	5	+2
Right amount	36	27	29	39	-3
<i>More important to ...</i>					
Maintain current Social Security, Medicare benefits	53	56	62	64	-11
Reduce budget deficit	43	38	31	27	+16
<i>% who favor</i>					
Reducing Social Security benefits for higher income seniors	51	57	56	50	+1
Reducing Medicare benefits for higher income seniors	54	55	57	56	-2

### But Young Are More Supportive of Privatization Proposals

	Mill- ennial	Gen X	Boom- er	Silent	Mill- Silent Diff
<i>% who favor ...</i>					
Allowing younger workers put Social Security taxes into private accounts	86	69	58	52	+34
Allowing future Medicare participants to purchase private health insurance	74	60	61	48	+26
Gradually raising the Social Security retirement age	40	30	39	51	-11
Gradually raising the Medicare eligibility age	35	35	38	50	-15

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q21, Q77, Q79F1a-c, Q80F2a-c.

## Generational Voting in Red and Blue

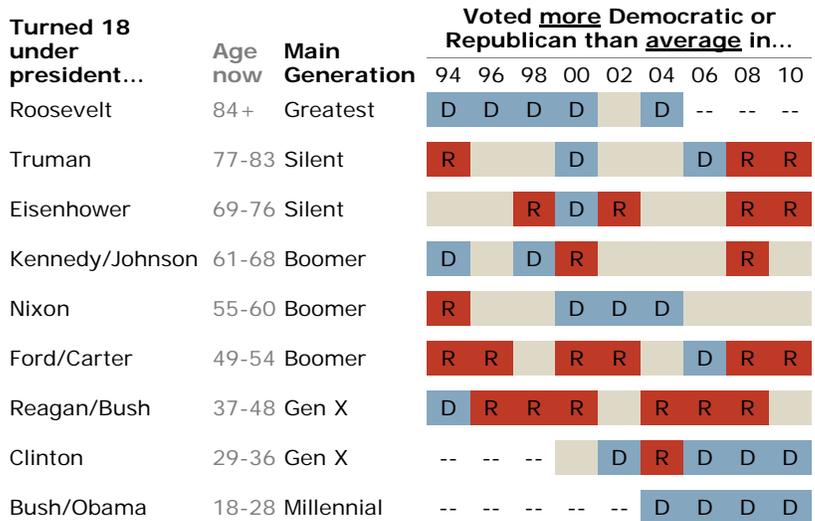
One way to look at the political leanings of generations is to sort people by the political environment when they became politically engaged. For example, not so long ago, voters 65 and older were predominantly members of the Greatest generation, most of whom came of age during FDR’s presidency and were fairly reliable supporters of Democrats even into their later years.

As recently as 2004, members of the Greatest generation supported John Kerry by a greater margin than did all voters in that election.

As the Greatest generation has mostly passed from the scene, members of the Silent generation – most of whom came of age politically during the Truman and Eisenhower presidencies – have come to make up an increasing share of voters 65 and older. They have long voted less Democratic than the Greatest generation; in both 2008 and 2010, both Truman- and Eisenhower-era Silents voted more Republican than average.

The Baby Boom is a long generation, spanning many presidencies. The oldest, who turned 18 when LBJ was president, have mostly voted with the national electorate in recent years, though they voted more Republican than average in 2008. Those Boomers who came of age when Nixon was president retained a Democratic leaning, although they have voted with the overall electorate since 2006. The youngest Boomers, who mostly came of age in the Ford and Carter years, have been one of the most reliable Republican voting groups.

### Generational Voting History



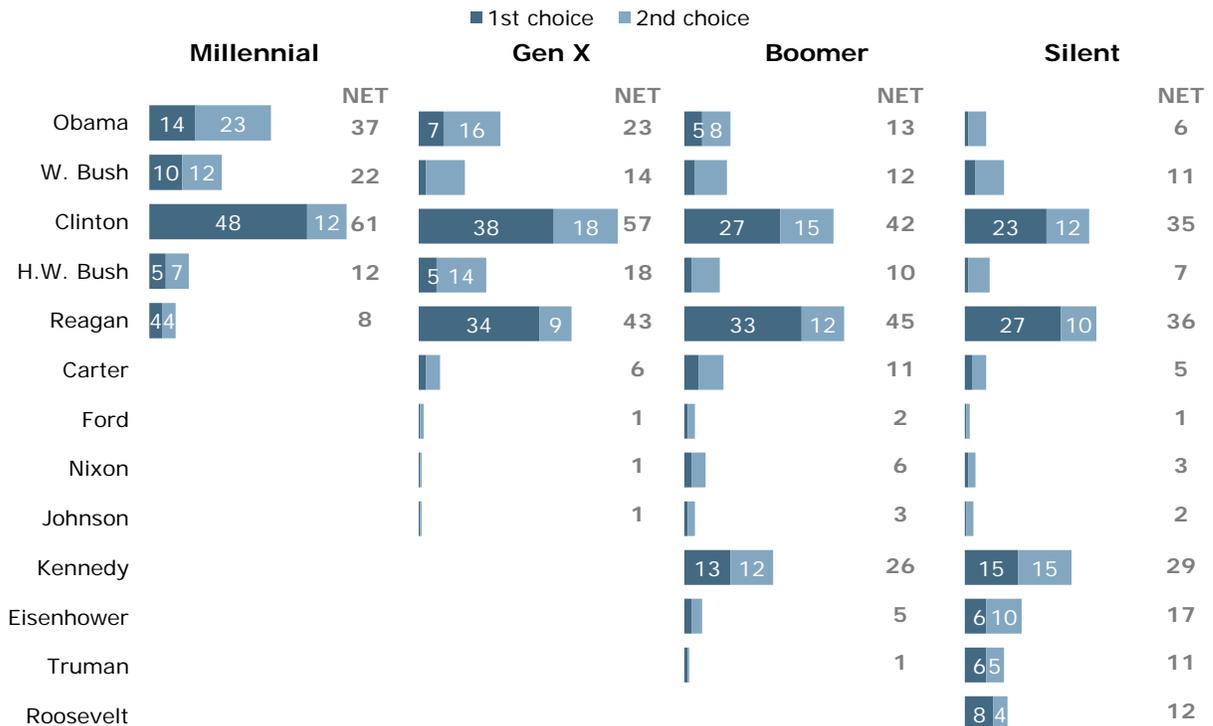
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Based on pre-election polls conducted in each election year. Data from some years not available for oldest and youngest generations due to small sample sizes. Years in which an age group’s vote was roughly equal to the national average shown in tan. **Main Generation** shows where the majority of that age group is traditionally categorized (i.e. most people who turned 18 under Clinton are Gen X, though the very youngest are classified as Millennials.)

Internal divisions within Generation X are even more notable. The older portion of Generation X who came of age during the Reagan and George H.W. Bush presidencies, have voted more Republican than the electorate. In contrast, younger Xers, who became active politically during the Clinton administration, have mostly voted more Democratic than average. Millennials largely came of age during George W. Bush's presidency and have consistently voted more Democratic by large margins.

### Best President in Your Lifetime?

When asked which president has done the best job in their lifetime, more respondents name Bill Clinton and Ronald Reagan than any other presidents. Sizeable numbers in each of the four generational groups, including majorities of Millennials and Gen Xers, cite Clinton as either their first or second choice as the best president. Reagan matches Clinton in mentions among Baby Boomers and members of the Silent generation.

### Which President During Your Lifetime Has Done the Best Job?



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q9-10. Open end; the sum of 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> choice figures may not equal the net because of rounding.

Despite the fact that many of them were quite young during Clinton's years in office, nearly half (48%) of Millennials say Bill Clinton did the best job of any president in their lifetime. Another 12% cite him as second best. Fewer Millennials (37%) cite Obama as best or second-best. Relatively few (22%) say that George W. Bush was a favorite.

A majority of Xers also named Clinton as best (38%) or second-best (18%), while 43% cite Reagan (34% as best, 9% as second-best). Just 23% of Xers say that Obama is the best or second best president of their lifetimes; 18% cite George H. W. Bush and 14% cite George W. Bush.

Baby Boomers divide their loyalties about evenly between Clinton and Reagan, with 45% citing Reagan in either first (33%) or second (12%) place. About as many name Clinton as the best president (27%) or second-best (15%). About a quarter of Boomers (26%) cite John F. Kennedy.

Only among the Silent generation do presidents in office before Kennedy receive a significant number of mentions. But even among this older group, Clinton and Reagan are essentially tied for the top positions. Reagan is cited by 36% and Clinton by 35% as best or second-best. Kennedy is mentioned by 29%, Dwight D. Eisenhower by 17%, and Harry S Truman and Franklin D. Roosevelt are named by 11% and 12%, respectively.

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## About the Surveys

This study of political differences among generations is a collaboration of two projects of the Pew Research Center: the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and Pew Social & Demographic Trends. Most of the analysis in the report is from two telephone surveys conducted by landlines and cell phones in English and Spanish. One survey was conducted September 22-October 4, 2011 among 2,410 adults. The margin of sampling error that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for the total sample from this survey is plus or minus 2.5 percentage points. Another survey was conducted September 1-15, 2011 among 2,013 adults. The margin of sampling error for the total sample from this survey is plus or minus 3.0 percentage points. The margins of error for the generational groups range from plus or minus 4.0 to 6.5 percentage points.

Additional analysis in the report is based on another telephone survey conducted by landlines and cell phones in English September 22-25, 2011 among 1,000 adults. The margin of sampling error for the total sample from this survey is plus or minus 4.0 percentage points. For additional information about the survey methodology, see the About the Survey section. These surveys were supplemented with data from other surveys previously conducted by the Pew Research Center, as well as analyses of Census data by Pew Social & Demographic Trends. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. References to whites are based only on non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

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## SECTION 1: HOW GENERATIONS HAVE CHANGED

The age differences in political attitudes and voting choices in the past three election cycles have been driven by three broad social and political trends. The first is the growing racial and ethnic diversity of the country, reflected in the rising percentage of non-whites among younger age cohorts. Non-whites have been far more supportive of the Democratic Party in the last several decades. Among members of the Silent generation today, 79% are non-Hispanic whites; among the Millennial generation, just 59% are non-Hispanic whites.

A second factor is the political environment experienced by successive generations as they have come of age politically. The relative popularity of the president and the two major political parties at the time an individual turns 18 has clear consequences for their voting preferences in subsequent elections.

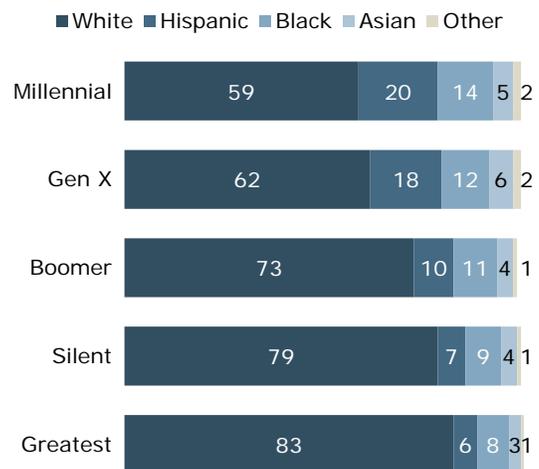
A third factor is the broader societal changes that occur within a generation's life cycle. These changes have a bigger impact on the political views of younger people, who are still in the process of forming opinions. Older people are more likely to reflect the values prevalent when they were growing up. The greater acceptance of homosexuality and interracial dating among young people than older ones today are examples of this.

### Changing Demographics

The contrasting race and ethnic compositions of the nation's older and younger adults reflect overall change in the U.S., where non-Hispanic whites are a dwindling share of the population. The youngest adults today—Millennials, born after 1980—are far less likely to be non-Hispanic white than are the oldest Americans. While 59% of Millennials are non-Hispanic white, each earlier generation is more likely to be non-Hispanic white, culminating with an 83% share among the oldest Americans, the Greatest generation, born before 1928.

### Nation's Race & Ethnicity in 2011

% by generation



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Tabulations from the March 2011 Current Population Survey for the civilian, non-institutional population. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Hispanics are of any race; other groups include only those who are not Hispanic.

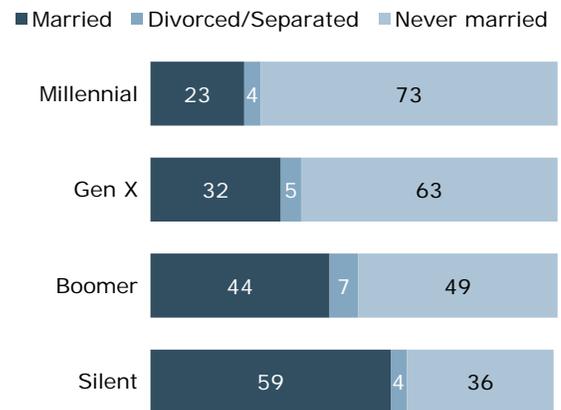
One-in-five Millennials is Hispanic (20%), compared with only 6% among Greatest generation Americans (now ages 84 and older) and 7% among Silent generation adults (ages 66 to 83). The same pattern of greater population share among younger generations is true for blacks, although the contrast between young and old is not as dramatic.

The generational pattern is more complex when it comes to immigration. The recent wave of immigration has contributed to the nation's growing racial and ethnic diversity, but the youngest adults are not the most likely to be foreign-born. Generation X, ages 31 to 46, contains a higher percentage of immigrants (22%) than the Millennial generation (15%). Millennials, however, stand out as being more likely than all but the oldest Americans to be U.S.-born children of at least one immigrant parent (12%). Among the Greatest generation, many of whose parents came to the United States during the nation's immigration influx that began in the late 1800s, 17% are U.S.-born children of immigrants.

Millennials are far less likely to be married than earlier generations were when they were young. Currently, 23% of 18- to-30-year-olds are married. When Generation X was the same age in 1997 (ages 18 to 30), 32% were married. The equivalent share for Baby Boomers, in 1980, was 44%; for the Silent generation, in 1962, it was 59%. *(For more on changes in marriage and the family, see Pew Social & Demographic Trends' "The Decline of Marriage and Rise of New Families," Nov. 18, 2010.)*

### Marriage No Longer a Rite of Passage for the Young

% who were married when they were ages 18-30



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Tabulations from the March Current Population Surveys (1962, 1980, 1997 and 2011) for the civilian, non-institutional population. For generations spanning more than 12 years, the middle 12-year range of the generation shown.

## Politics and Early Adulthood

Another major influence on the political character of successive generations is the political climate and events that people in each generation experienced as they reached adulthood and began to form their political identities.

The graphic below shows the relative partisan voting patterns of individuals who reached the age of 18 during the presidential terms of the past 13 presidents. (In some cases, presidential terms are combined.) The label after the president's names shows the current age of the individuals who turned 18 during those presidential terms. Each bar shows how much more Democratic or Republican that group voted, compared with the average vote for each election.

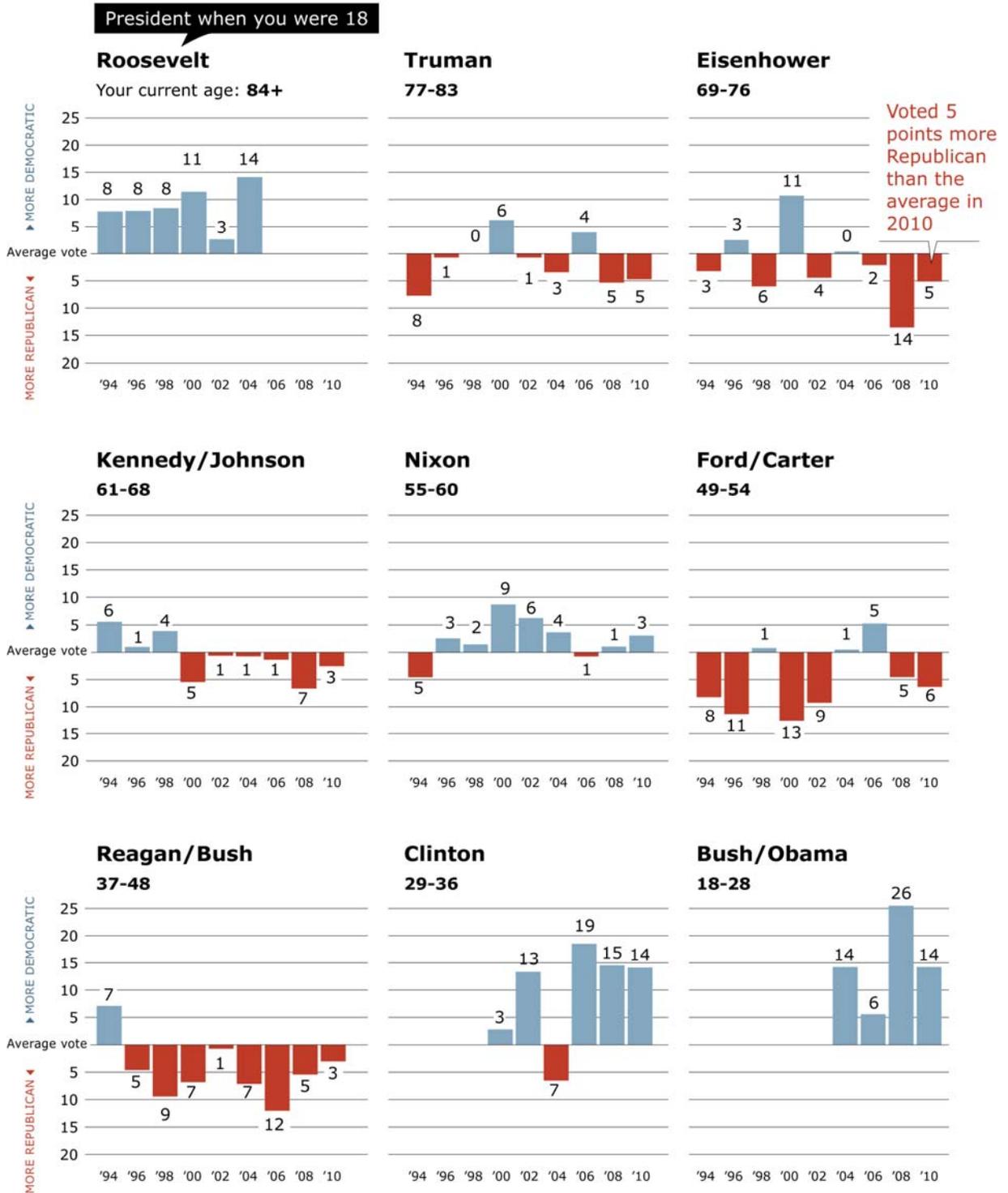
The clearest pattern is that younger voters who turned 18 during the presidencies of Clinton, Bush or Obama –the younger members of Gen X and the Millennial generation – have typically voted much more Democratic than the average. In contrast, voters who turned 18 during the Ford, Carter, Reagan and Bush Sr. presidencies –much of Generation X and younger Baby Boomers– have voted somewhat more Republican than the average.

The picture is less clear for older generations. Those who turned 18 during the Nixon administration – a segment of older Baby Boomers – have tended to be slightly more Democratic than average in their voting. Those who came of age during the Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson years – mostly members of the Silent generation and the very oldest of the Baby Boomers –have tended to be more Republican than the average, especially in 2008.

The Greatest generation is dwindling in numbers, but at least until recently their Democratic tendencies were still evident. Voters who turned 18 during the presidency of Franklin Roosevelt consistently voted more Democratic than average.

## Presidential Legacies: How Those Who Came of Age Under Different Presidents Have Voted

How much more Democratic or Republican each group voted relative to the national average in each election



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Based on likely voters from Pew Research Center surveys conducted in the fall of each election year. Presidential vote for 1996, 2000, 2004 and 2008. Generic House vote for 1994, 1998, 2002, 2006 and 2010.

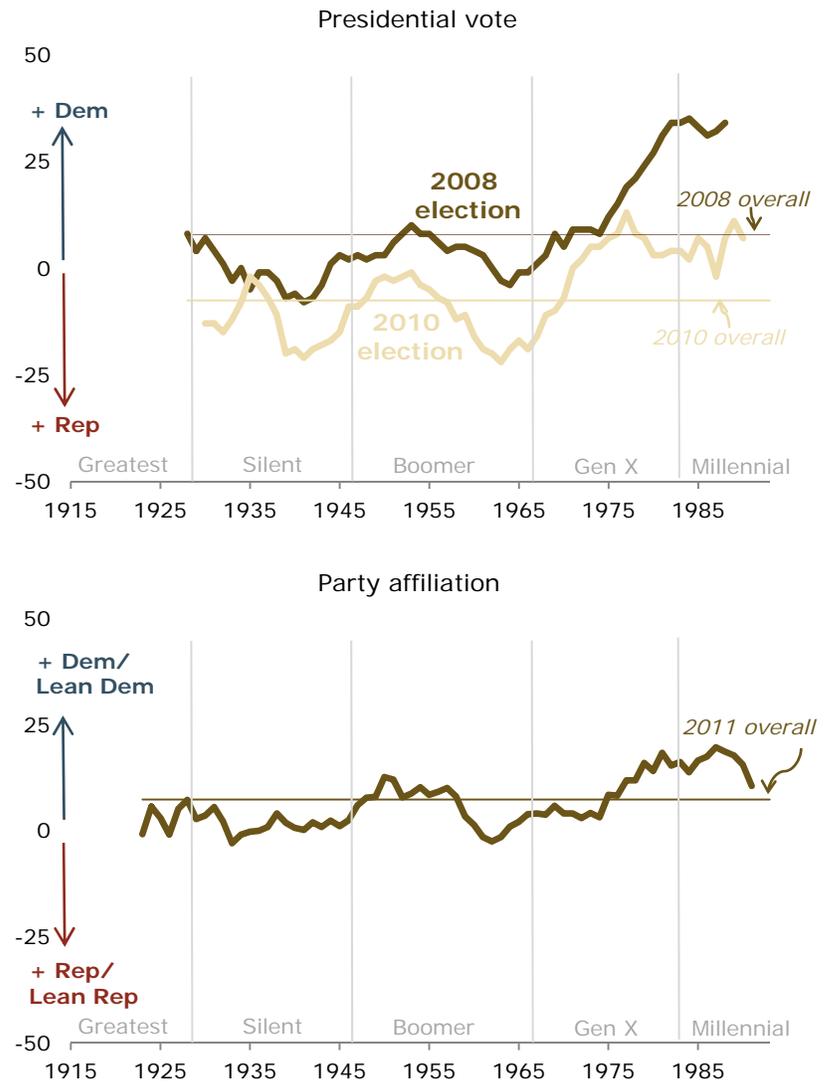
## Recent Shifts in Voting, Party Affiliation

The mark of these early adult political experiences can be seen in recent party affiliation and voting tendencies of individuals according to their year of birth. This graph shows the partisan vote advantage in both 2008 and 2010 (percent Democratic minus percent Republican), as well as party affiliation in 2011.

In addition to showing the pattern according to year of birth, the conventional generational labels defining each birth cohort are also shown. For the vote in 2008 and 2010, the higher the line on the graph, the more Democratic the vote; conversely, the lower the line the more Republican the vote.

For party affiliation among the general public, the line shows the percent in 2011 identifying or leaning Democratic, minus the percent identifying or leaning Republican. The higher the line on the graph, the larger the Democratic advantage.

### Partisan Advantages by Year of Birth



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Top graph based on merged pre-election surveys among likely voters. 2008 is presidential vote; 2010 is House vote. Bottom graph based on merged 2011 surveys of general public. Five-year moving averages shown.

With the possible exception of the Millennial generation, the voting tendency and partisan leanings vary a great deal *within* generations, as well as across generations. Voters who came of age during the Eisenhower presidency – the younger half of the Silent generation – have been significantly more supportive of Republican candidates than average in recent elections. On the other hand, older Silents have voted less Republican, especially in 2008. In addition, in 2011 about equal numbers of Silents identify as Democrats and Republicans; for the adult population as a whole in 2011, Democratic affiliation surpasses Republican affiliation by about seven percentage points.

Older Baby Boomers, who came of age during Richard Nixon's presidency, are more Democratic in their voting. But younger Boomers have been significantly more Republican than average in their party affiliation and voting preferences. The younger half of the Boomer generation came of age during a period of disillusionment with Democrat Jimmy Carter and during the beginning of the popular presidency of Republican Ronald Reagan. In this regard, younger Boomers have more in common with the older portion of Generation X, whose formative political experiences occurred during the later Reagan presidency and the early years of George H. W. Bush, than with older Boomers.

Generation X also is divided: Younger Gen Xers have more in common politically with the Millennial generation than with older Xers, reflecting a clear advantage for the Democratic Party. The percentage of this cohort identifying with or leaning to the Democratic Party or voting Democratic was significantly higher than among older cohorts and grew steadily into the presidency of George W. Bush.

This trend peaked with the election of Barack Obama, but has receded somewhat with the ongoing economic problems in the U.S. The voting preferences of those in the Millennial generation have been more Democratic than in older generations, but the gap was much smaller in 2010 than in 2008.

## Generations, Social Issues and Religion

Generational differences in voting and party affiliation also are shaped by underlying values and attitudes that have been undergoing change in the past few decades. One of the clearest examples of generational change in social values is on views of homosexuality. Over the past 15 years, growing percentages in all generations favor gays and lesbians marrying legally.

However, Millennials and Xers remain more supportive of gay marriage than Boomers and Silents, whose early views on the issue were far more conservative than those of Millennials and Xers.

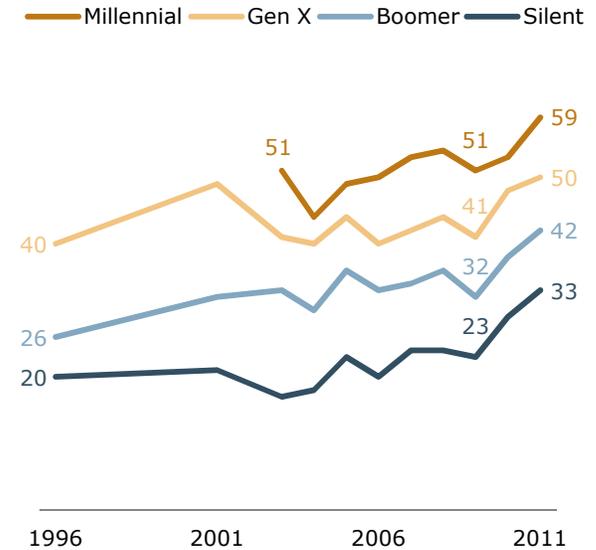
Nearly six-in-ten Millennials (59%) favor gay marriage compared with just 33% of Silents; this wide attitude gap persists even as Silents have become 13 points more likely to favor gay marriage over the past decade and a half.

Among middle-aged generations, more Gen Xers favor (50%) than oppose (42%) allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally. Boomers oppose gay marriage by a modest margin (48% to 42%); however, in 1996 Boomers opposed gay marriage by more than two-to-one (66% to 26%).

Attitudes about race also have changed, with younger generations leading the way. While large majorities of all generations now agree that it is all right for blacks and whites to date each other, the percent who completely agree with this statement is dramatically higher among Millennials and Xers than among Boomers and Silents. About three-quarters of Millennials (75%) and Xers (73%) *completely* agree with interracial dating, compared with far lower percentages of Boomers (57%) and Silents (37%).

### Generational Divides over Same-Sex Marriage

*% favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q69b.

### Interracial Dating

*It's all right for blacks and whites to date each other*

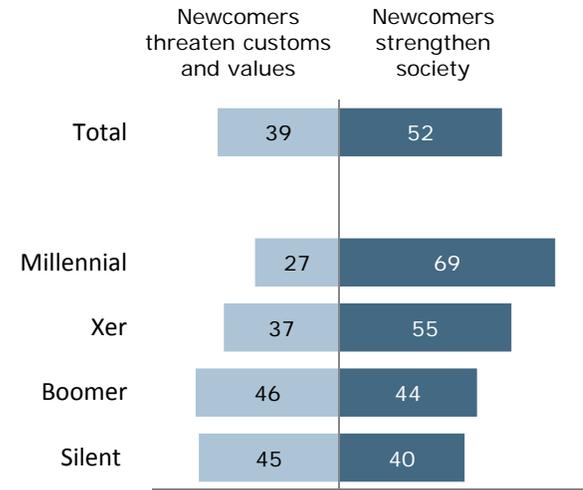
	NET agree %	Completely agree %
Total	87	62
Millennial	91	75
Gen X	92	73
Boomer	87	57
Silent	76	37

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q86d.

The greater acceptance of diversity among young people extends to views of immigrants and immigration. Overall, about half of the public (52%) says newcomers from other countries strengthen American society, while 39% say they threaten traditional American customs and values.

By a wide margin (69% to 27%), Millennials say newcomers strengthen American society, and most Xers (55%) share this view. Older generations are more divided: Boomers and Silents are about as likely to say newcomers threaten traditional American customs and values as to say they strengthen society.

### Views of Immigrants



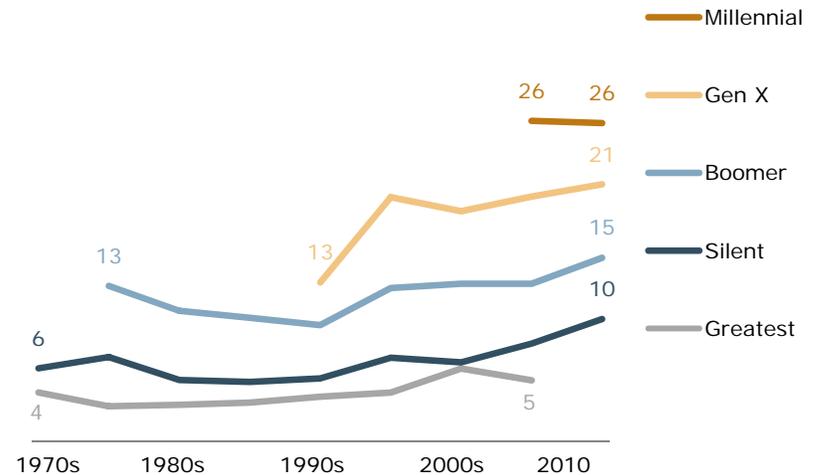
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Feb. 22-Mar. 14, 2011.

Younger generations also are significantly less likely than older ones to affiliate with a religious tradition. This pattern began in the 1970s when 13% of Baby Boomers were unaffiliated with any particular religion, according to the General Social Survey. That compared with just 6% among the Silent generation and 3% among the Greatest generation.

In the most recent General Social Survey, 26% of Millennial generation respondents said they were unaffiliated, as did 21% of Gen Xers. Among Baby Boomers, 15% were unaffiliated – not significantly different from when they were first measured in the 1970s. And just 10% of the Silent Generation said that they were unaffiliated.

### Rise of Religiously Unaffiliated Among Younger Generations

% unaffiliated with a religion



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Data from General Social Surveys, 1972-2010. For each decade, data from surveys conducted during the first and second halves are combined separately.

## Opinions about Government

There also are deep generational divides in opinions about government. Overall, 48% of the public prefers a smaller government providing fewer services, while 41% would rather have a bigger government providing more services. This is little changed since 2009; in 2007 and 2008, opinion was more evenly divided.

Silents have long favored a smaller government and this continues to be the case today: Nearly six-in-ten (59%) Silents favor a smaller government providing fewer services, while just 25% favor a bigger government with more services.

Millennials, by contrast, prefer a bigger government providing more services (56%) over a smaller government providing fewer services (35%). Millennials' preference for bigger government has declined since 2007 when about two-thirds (68%) favored a larger government.

Generation X is divided about evenly: 47% prefer smaller government, 45% bigger government. This marks a change from 2007 and earlier when a modest majority of Xers favored a bigger government.

More Boomers (54%) prefer smaller government than bigger government (35%), a point of view they have held since the 1990s. However, Boomers have not always felt this way: In 1989 more preferred a bigger government providing more services (52%) than a smaller government providing fewer services (40%).

### Generational Differences over Size of Government

<i>Smaller govt, fewer services, bigger govt more services</i>	1980	1989	1996	1999	2007	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Total</b>						
Smaller	54	41	61	46	45	48
Bigger	32	48	30	43	43	41
<b>Millennial</b>						
Smaller	--	--	--	--	30	35
Bigger	--	--	--	--	68	56
<b>Gen X</b>						
Smaller	--	--	44	37	39	47
Bigger	--	--	53	54	51	45
<b>Boomer</b>						
Smaller	49	40	66	49	52	54
Bigger	45	52	24	41	33	35
<b>Silent</b>						
Smaller	62	50	71	56	56	59
Bigger	25	35	19	34	30	25
<b>Greatest</b>						
Smaller	57	49	60	50	--	--
Bigger	22	33	23	30	--	--

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sep. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q8. 1980-1996 trends from CBS/NYT surveys.

## Trust in Government Falls

Just 20% of Americans say they can trust the government in Washington to do what is right just about always or most of the time. Nearly eight-in-ten (79%) say they can trust the government only some of the time (72%) or volunteer that they can never trust the government (7%).

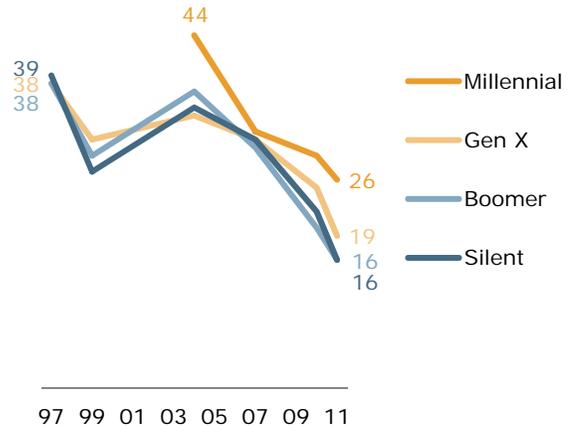
Overall trust in government has changed little over the past year, but is at one of its lowest levels in more than half a century. (*For more, see People-Press's "Distrust, Discontent, Anger and Partisan Rancor," April 18, 2010.*)

Trust in government has fallen among all generations in the past few years. Just 26% of Millennials say they can trust the government always or most of the time, down from 44% in 2004. There have been comparable declines among Gen Xers, Boomers and Silents. In all three groups, no more than about one-in-five says they can trust in government always or most of the time.

Most Americans also say they feel frustrated with the federal government and anger at the government has been increasing across generations, with the exception of Millennials.

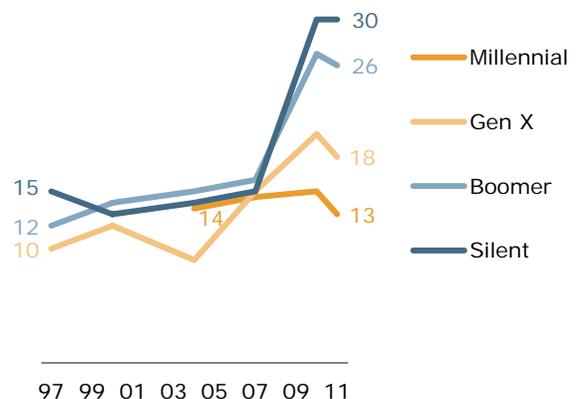
In 2004, just 14% of Silents said they were angry with government – no different from the 14% of Millennials who said the same. Since then, the percentage of Silents who are angry at the government has more than doubled to

### Trust in Government Declines Across Generations



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q19.

### Anger with Government Rises Among Silents, Boomers



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q18.

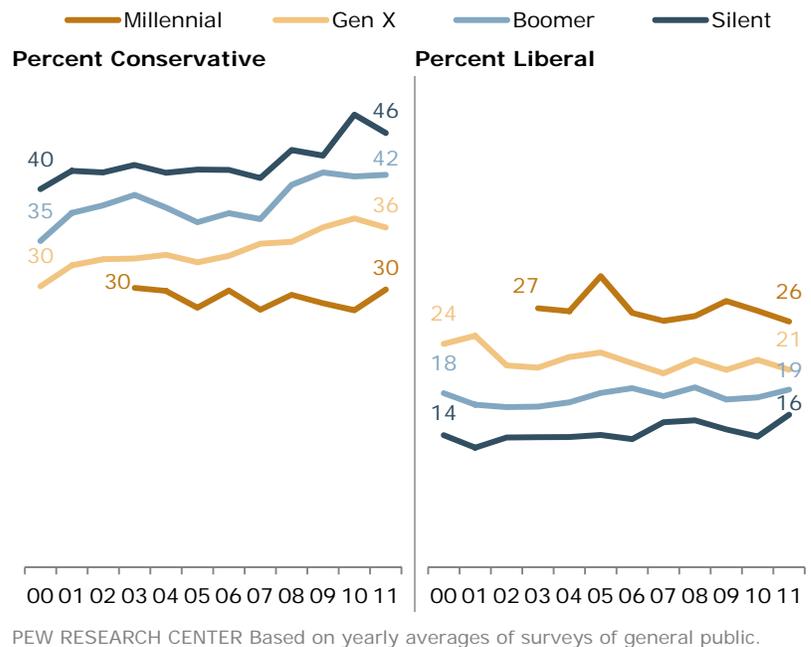
30%. But there has been virtually no increase in anger among Millennials (13% currently). Like Silents, more Boomers and Gen Xers say they are angry at the government than did so in 2004 (up 11 points and nine points, respectively).

## Liberal and Conservative, by Generation

The generation gap in opinions across a number of issues is reflected in deep differences in how members of each generation describe their political views.

Fully 46% of Silents say they are conservative, while just 16% of Silents say their views are liberal. Since 2000, the percentage of Silents describing their political views as conservative has increased by six points, while the number of self-described liberals has remained largely unchanged.

### Ideology by Generation



Among Boomers and Gen Xers, there also are far more conservatives than liberals. And in both groups, the percentage of self-described conservatives has increased since 2000: from 35% to 42% among Boomers, and from 30% to 36% among Gen Xers.

Millennials are the only generation where about as many describe their views as liberal as conservative (26% vs. 30%). Self-reported ideology among Millennials has changed little in recent years.

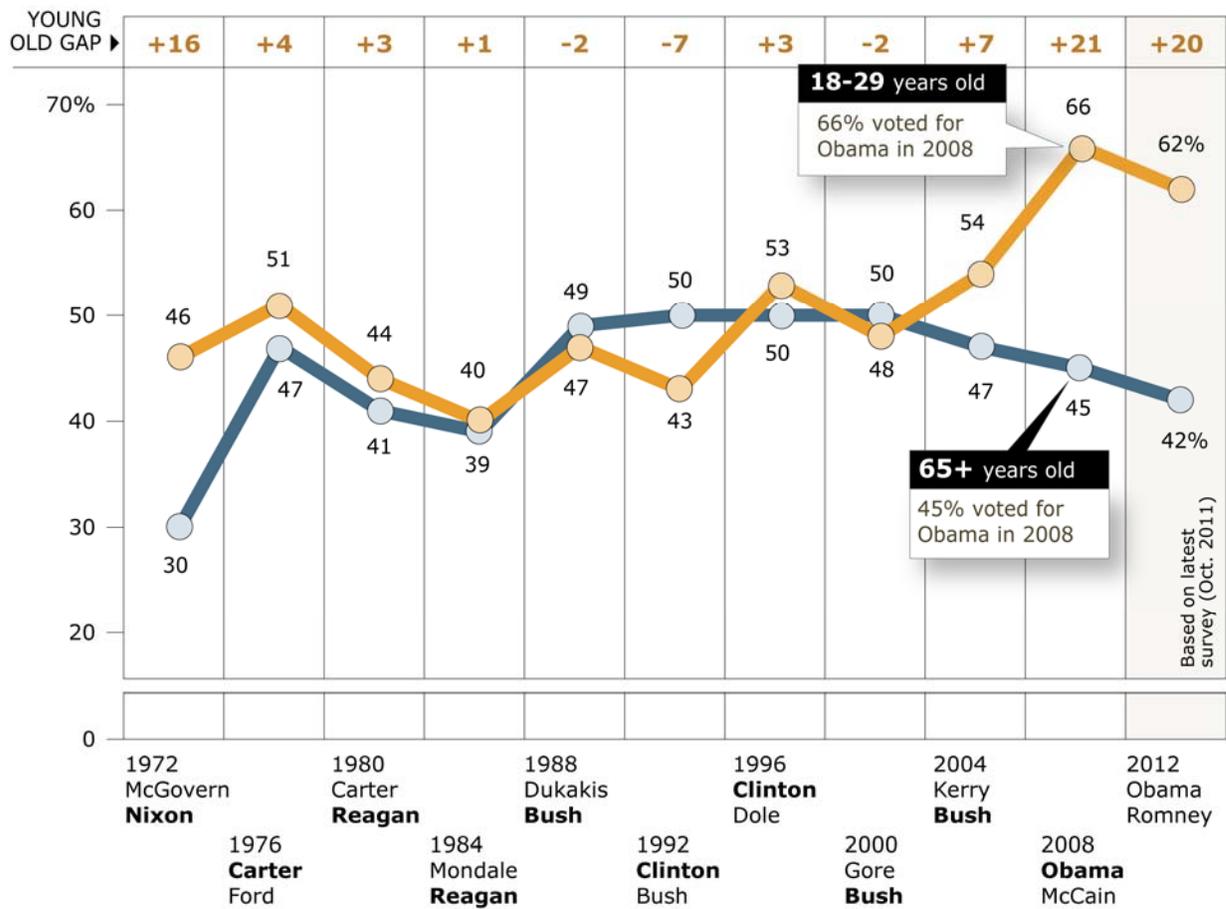


## SECTION 2: GENERATIONS AND THE 2012 ELECTION

The age gap in voting, which began to open in the 2004 election and became a major factor in Barack Obama's 2008 victory over John McCain, is not the political norm. In fact, for most of the past four decades, there was little difference in the voting preferences of younger and older Americans. As recently as the 2000 election, younger and older voters – as well as those in-between – were virtually indistinguishable.

### Young-Old Voting Gap Largest Since Nixon v. McGovern in 1972

Percent voting for Democratic presidential candidate



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Current figures based on registered voters, Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Previous data based on exit polls. 1972 and 1976: CBS. 1980-1988: CBS/New York Times. 1992: Voter Research & Surveys. 1996 and 2000: Voter News Service. 2004 and 2008: National Election Pool. NOTE: From 1972 through 1988 oldest age category is 60 and older.

Going back 20 years to the 1992 election, younger generations were *less* likely than seniors to vote Democratic. This partly reflects Ross Perot's independent appeal, but also the Republican leaning of the early Generation Xers who came of age under Ronald Reagan. The last time age correlated as strongly with Democratic voting as it has in recent years is the 1972 matchup between George McGovern and Richard Nixon, when 18-to-29-year-old voters were 16 points more likely to back the Democrat than were older voters.

Since his 2008 victory, Obama's support has slipped across all generations, but the age gap has not narrowed. He continues to hold a substantial edge among 18-to-29-year-old voters, while voters age 65 and older currently favor Romney by a slightly larger margin than they backed McCain.

At least as critical to Obama's fortunes in 2012 is evidence that the enthusiasm and engagement Millennials exhibited four years ago is substantially depleted. While overall interest and engagement levels at this early point in the 2012 election cycle are no lower than they were at a comparable point four years ago, there has been a substantial decline in interest among Millennials, combined with a spike in interest among older voters. As a result, where there was virtually no generation gap in voter engagement four years ago, there is a substantial divide today.

And these shifts have clear partisan implications – it is the younger Democrats who are the most disengaged, while attention among the older Republicans has surged.

## 2012 Preferences

As voters look toward the 2012 general election, the generational differences that came to the surface in recent election cycles appear to be just as strong. Among all registered voters nationwide, Obama and Romney, who has run strongest against Obama in many polls, are tied: 48% say they would back each at

### Generational Gap in Voting Preferences Persists

	2008 voters exit polls*			Oct 2011 registered voters		
	Obama	McCain	Diff	Obama	Romney	Diff
	%	%		%	%	
All voters	53	46	D+7	48	48	even
Millennial	66	32	D+34	61	37	D+24
Gen X	52	46	D+6	47	48	R+1
Boomer	50	49	D+1	45	51	R+6
Silent	45	53	R+8	41	54	R+13

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q35/Q35a. October 2011 figures based on registered voters. \*2008 exit poll conducted by National Election Pool. Generational breaks had to be approximated in the 2008 exit poll data as follows: Millennial 18-29, Gen X 30-44, Boomer 45-64, Silent 65+.

this point. But across generations, Millennial voters (ages 18 to 30) favor Obama by a 61% to 37% margin, while Silent voters (ages 66 to 83) favor Romney by 54% to 41%. The 20-point gap in support for Obama (61% among Millennials vs. 41% among Silents) is almost identical to the 21-point generation gap in the 2008 National Election Pool exit polls, when 66% of younger voters backed Obama, compared with 45% of older voters.

Obama's support has slipped by similar margins across all generations compared to when he defeated McCain. This erosion of support has particular implications for balance of support among the two middle-aged generations. Generation X voters (ages 31 to 46 today) voted for Obama over McCain by 52% to 46% in 2008, but are split evenly now (47% Obama, 48% Romney). Baby Boomers (ages 47 to 65) split their vote evenly in 2008, but Romney now holds a six-point edge among these voters today.

The racial and ethnic diversity of Millennials and Generation X plays a role in these generational gaps. Overall, fully 95% of African-American voters, and 60% of Hispanic voters, say they would vote for Obama over Romney; both groups overwhelmingly supported Obama over McCain in 2008. The critical shift between 2008 and 2012 is

among white voters, who tend to be older. Romney holds a 20-point lead over Obama among non-Hispanic white voters (58% to 38%). Whites favored McCain over Obama in 2008 by a 12-point margin (55% to 43%).

Obama's 24-point advantage over Romney among all Millennial voters disappears when looking just at white Millennial voters – he currently runs even with Romney among this group (49% each). In 2008, white

Millennials voted for Obama over McCain by a 54% to 44% margin in 2008.

### Obama-Romney Tied among White Millennials

	2008 voters exit polls			Oct 2011 registered voters		
	Obama %	McCain %	Diff	Obama %	Romney %	Diff
All voters	53	46	D+7	48	48	even
White	43	55	R+12	38	58	R+20
Black	95	4	D+91	95	3	D+92
Hispanic	67	31	D+36	60	37	D+23
<i>Among whites</i>						
Millennial	54	44	D+10	49	49	even
Gen X	41	57	R+16	35	59	R+24
Boomer	42	56	R+14	38	59	R+21
Silent	40	58	R+18	35	60	R+25

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q35/Q35a. October 2011 figures based on registered voters. 2008 exit poll conducted by National Election Pool. Whites and blacks are non-Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race. Generational breaks had to be approximated in the 2008 exit poll data as follows: Millennial 18-29, Gen X 30-44, Boomer 45-64, Silent 65+.

Similarly, while Obama and Romney are virtually tied among all Generation X voters, Romney has a sizable 24-point lead over Obama among white Xers. That margin is comparable to Romney's lead over Obama among older generations of white voters.

## Campaign Interest and Engagement

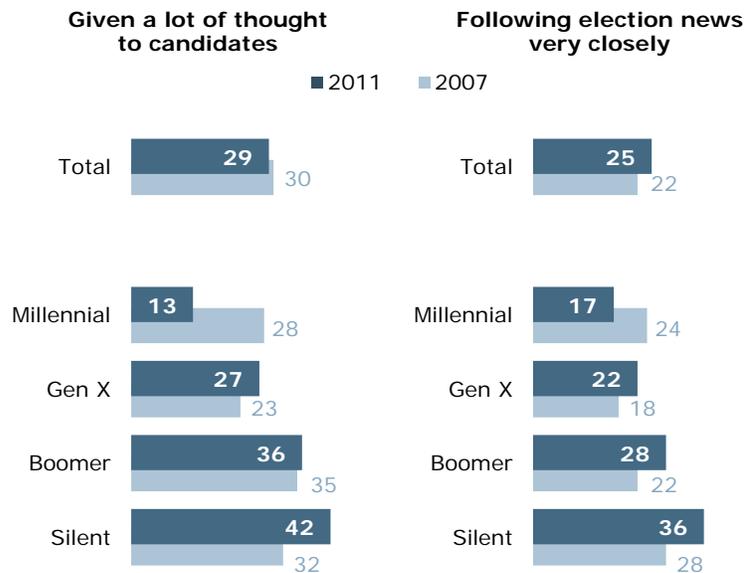
Even at this early stage in the presidential campaign, a sizeable minority of people say they have given a lot of thought to candidates who may be running (29%) and are following news about the presidential candidates very closely (25%). Interest in the presidential campaign is as high as it was at a comparable point in 2007, when both parties had nomination contests underway.

But because of a steep drop in attention among younger people and a notable increase in attention among older people, there is a wide generational gap in attention to the campaign that was not present in 2007. Just 13% of Millennials have given a lot of thought to the 2012 candidates, down from 28% four years ago. And 17% are following election news very closely, down from 24% in the fall of 2007.

Meanwhile, fully 42% of Silents have given a lot of thought to the candidates running for president, up 10 points from four years ago. And the Silent generation is also following election news more closely than in 2007 – 36% are following very closely now, up from 28% in 2007.

So far this cycle, Silents are three times as likely as Millennials to say they have given a lot of thought to the campaign (42% vs. 13%), and twice as likely to be following election

### Generational Gap in Campaign Interest



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q25. Figures for campaign news interest based on aggregated data from mid-September to early October. Both measures based on general public. Generational breaks in the 2007 news interest data had to be approximated as follows: Millennial 18-29, Gen X 30-44, Boomer 45-64, Silent 65+.

news very closely (36% vs. 17%). On both measures, there was very little difference across generations four years ago.

## Younger Democrats and Older Republicans

There also is a substantial partisan gap in attention to the campaign. Compared with four years ago, engagement is up among Republicans and Republican leaning independents, and down among Democrats and Democratic leaning independents.

The increased attention among Republicans is in large part driven by the intense interest of older generations. About half (52%) of Republican and Republican-leaning Silents have given a lot of thought to the candidates. That is 20 points higher than in October 2007. There has been a similar shift among GOP Silents in the percentage following election news very closely – from 25% in 2007 to 46% currently. Baby Boomer Republicans also have given more thought to the candidates and are following campaign news more closely now than at a similar point in 2007.

Meanwhile, the drop in Democratic engagement is driven predominantly by the relative disinterest of Millennial Democrats this year. Just 13% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning Millennials have given a lot of thought to the candidates, down from 31% in 2007. And they are following campaign news less closely now than at a similar point in 2007 (19% now, 32% in 2007). All other generations of Democrats are following the campaign about as closely today as they were four years ago.

The lack of attention among Millennial Democrats may simply reflect the fact that there is only a GOP primary this year. Moreover, it is still very early in the campaign cycle and these dynamics may change. However, there are signs that the fundamental imperative to vote that Millennials felt in 2008 may be less intense in 2012. The share of Millennials

### Silent Republicans More Engaged, Millennial Democrats Less So

	<i>Given a lot of thought to candidates</i>		<i>Following election news very closely</i>	
	2007	2011	2007	2011
	%	%	%	%
Rep/Lean Rep	29	34	19	32
Millennial	26	16	17	21
Gen X	24	30	16	27
Boomer	32	42	20	35
Silent	32	52	25	46
Dem/Lean Dem	33	27	28	23
Millennial	31	13	32	19
Gen X	27	29	22	22
Boomer	40	34	27	24
Silent	33	35	33	31

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q25. Figures for campaign news interest based on aggregated data from mid-September to early October. Both measures based on general public. Generational breaks in the 2007 news interest data had to be approximated as follows: Millennial 18-29, Gen X 30-44, Boomer 45-64, Silent 65+.

who say that they personally care a good deal who wins the 2012 presidential election stands at 69%, down from 81% four years ago. All older generations are far more likely to say the election outcome matters to them personally, with no slippage from four years ago.

And there is some evidence that Millennials feel more disillusioned about the impact of their vote now than in the days after Obama's victory. In April 2009 – three months after Obama took office – 73% of Millennials agreed with the statement “Voting gives people like me some say about how the government runs things.” That has slipped to 63% today. Over that same stretch, the share of Millennials saying “Elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly” jumped from 67% to 78%. On both questions, other generations have not moved.

### Most Care a Good Deal Who is Elected President Next Year

	Oct 2007	Oct 2011
<i>% care a good deal who wins presidency</i>	%	%
Total	84	81
Republican/Ln Rep	87	85
Democrat/Ln Dem	87	82
Millennial	81	69
Gen X	82	83
Boomer	88	86
Silent	85	84

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q26. Based on general public.

### Top Issues: Jobs, Deficit and Health Care

Jobs top the list of issues that matter most in deciding which presidential candidate to vote for next year – 63% of voters say jobs is one of the issues that will matter most in their vote. About four-in-ten say the budget deficit (43%) or health care (40%) will matter most. Fewer (29%) report that Social Security will be one of the most important issues to their vote next year. Just 15% of voters say immigration and only 4% report abortion will be among the most important issues to their vote.

### Which Issues Matter Most to Your Vote?

	All voters	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
	%	%	%	%	%
Jobs	63	69	65	66	52
Deficit	43	41	49	41	39
Health care	40	43	42	37	38
Social Security	29	13	20	33	45
Immigration	15	19	15	13	15
Abortion	4	5	5	4	3
Other	3	4	2	2	2
Don't know	2	3	1	1	2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept 22-Oct 4, 2011. Q42/42a. Based on registered voters. Figures add to more than 100% because two responses were allowed.

Jobs lead the list across all generations. About two-thirds of Millennials, Generation X and Boomers say jobs will be the most or second-most important issue to their vote. Fewer Silent voters (52%) report that jobs will matter most.

Fully 45% of Silent voters say Social Security will matter most to their vote, nearly as many as say jobs is the issue that will be most important. A third (33%) of Baby Boomers say Social Security is one of the issues that matters most to their vote. Far fewer Gen X voters (20%) and Millennials (13%) say Social Security is a top issue in their vote choice.

Gen Xers are more likely than older voters to cite the budget deficit as an issue that matters most to them. About half (49%) of Xers say the deficit is a top issue in their vote.

Voters who support Obama are more likely than those who support Romney to cite jobs, health care and Social Security as the issues that matter most to their vote. About half (49%) Of voters who Obama supporters say health care will matter most, compared with 34% of Romney voters. And 32% of Obama backers say Social Security will matter most; fewer Romney supporters (24%) say this is a top issue for them.

Romney supporters are more likely to cite the deficit, immigration and abortion as the issues that matter most to their vote. Nearly as many Romney voters say the deficit is the issue that matters most as say jobs (52% deficit, 60% jobs). By comparison, 34% of Obama voters say the deficit is the issue that matters most to their vote.

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**Obama & Romney Voters Agree that Jobs Are Top Priority**

	<b>All voters</b>	<b>Obama voters</b>	<b>Romney voters</b>
	%	%	%
Jobs	63	67	60
Deficit	43	34	52
Health care	40	49	34
Social Security	29	32	24
Immigration	15	9	20
Abortion	4	2	7
Other	3	3	3
Don't know	2	2	1

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept 22-Oct 4, 2011. Q42/42a. Based on registered voters who support or lean toward Obama or Romney. Figures add to more than 100% because two responses were allowed.

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## Size of Government and 2012 Voter Preferences

While the job situation is a nearly universal priority in 2012, one of the largest factors shaping voter preferences at this early stage in the campaign is views about the size of government. They are more closely related to voter's preferences for president in 2012 than opinions about social issues, trust and frustration with government, views on immigration, racial attitudes and opinions about entitlement reform.

Fully 69% of voters who prefer a smaller government with fewer services support or lean toward Romney while just 26% back Obama. Among those who prefer a bigger government with more services, candidate preferences are reversed – 78% support or lean toward Obama while 20% back Romney. Overall, 55% of all voters prefer a smaller government.

This pattern holds across all of the generations, and the differences are particularly large among the Boomer and Silent generations, the groups most likely to prefer a smaller government. Among Millennials, the only group in which more prefer a bigger government than a smaller one, the gap is somewhat narrower.

### Views about Size of Government Predict Voter Preferences

	All	Which do you prefer?	
		Smaller govt	Bigger govt
<b>All voters</b>	%	%	%
Obama	48	26	78
Romney	48	69	20
Other/DK	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
<b>Millennial</b>			
Obama	61	44	78
Romney	37	53	21
Other/DK	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100
<b>Gen X</b>			
Obama	47	27	75
Romney	48	66	24
Other/DK	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100
<b>Boomer</b>			
Obama	45	22	80
Romney	51	75	16
Other/DK	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100
<b>Silent</b>			
Obama	41	22	75
Romney	54	73	19
Other/DK	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept 22-Oct 4, 2011. Q35/35a. Based on registered voters. NOTE: 200 Millennial voters; 100 prefer bigger government, 84 smaller government, 16 express no opinion on size of government.

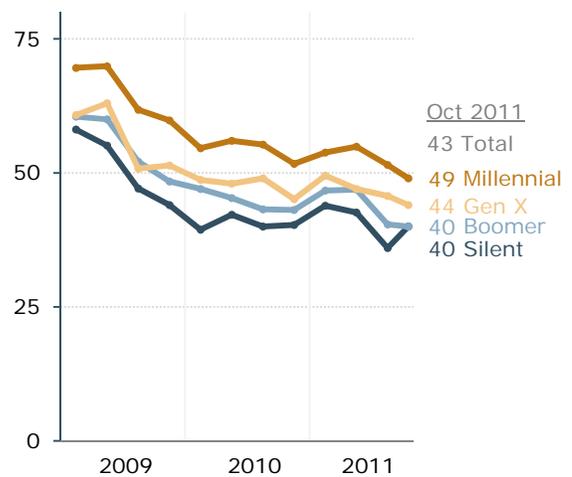
## SECTION 3: VIEWS OF OBAMA AND THE POLITICAL PARTIES

Barack Obama was elected president in 2008 in large part because of the overwhelming support he received from young people. And in early 2012 matchups, Obama holds substantial leads among Millennials over both Mitt Romney and Rick Perry. However, since early in his presidency, Obama's job approval rating has fallen substantially across all age cohorts, Millennials included.

Only about half of Millennials (49%) approve of the way Obama is handling his job as president, down 24 points from February 2009. Obama's job approval is little different among Gen Xers (44% approve), and somewhat lower among Boomers and Silents (40% each).

Throughout much of his presidency, Obama's job rating has been higher among Millennials than among older age cohorts. In February 2009, shortly after he took office, 73% of Millennials, 63% of Boomers, and 62% each of Gen Xers and the Silent Generation approved of the way Obama was handling his job as president.

### Obama Job Approval Declines Across Generations



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q1. Quarterly averages from Q1 2009 through Q3 2011.

Age *and* race are factors in the positive opinion of Obama among Millennials. Non-whites generally are much more approving of Obama's job performance than are whites and Millennials are by far the most racially and ethnically diverse age cohort. In addition, white Millennials have less negative views of Obama than do older whites.

Currently, 39% of white Millennials approve of Obama's job performance while 47% disapprove.

Among whites in older age cohorts, comparable

percentages approve of Obama's job performance but more disapprove. Roughly six-in-ten white Gen Xers (60%), Boomers (61%) and Silents (62%) disapprove of the way Obama is handling his job as president.

White Millennials also are less likely to strongly disapprove of Obama's job performance: 30% of white Millennials very strongly disapprove, compared with 43% of white Gen Xers, 48% of white Boomers and 52% of white Silents. Nonetheless, among Millennials and the older cohorts, more whites strongly disapprove than strongly approve of the way Obama is handling his job.

There is little difference in views of Obama among non-white Millennials, Gen Xers and Boomers. About six-in-ten or more in all three cohorts approve of his job performance. And substantially more in each age cohort strongly approve than disapprove of the way Obama is handling his job. Among the predominantly white Silents, there are too few non-whites to analyze.

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### Obama's Job Rating So-So among Millennials, Worse among Boomers, Silents

	App- rove %	Very strongly %	Dis- approve %	Very strongly %	N
<b>Total</b>	<b>43</b>	26	<b>48</b>	34	2410
White	<b>33</b>	18	<b>58</b>	43	1758
Non-white	<b>65</b>	45	<b>26</b>	13	626
<b>Millennial</b>	<b>49</b>	26	<b>39</b>	21	381
White	<b>39</b>	17	<b>47</b>	30	206
Non-white	<b>63</b>	37	<b>28</b>	11	173
<b>Gen X</b>	<b>44</b>	27	<b>46</b>	31	493
White	<b>30</b>	16	<b>60</b>	43	317
Non-white	<b>69</b>	46	<b>24</b>	13	173
<b>Boomer</b>	<b>40</b>	26	<b>52</b>	40	905
White	<b>33</b>	19	<b>61</b>	48	700
Non-white	<b>61</b>	48	<b>27</b>	17	194
<b>Silent</b>	<b>40</b>	26	<b>56</b>	46	513
White	<b>34</b>	19	<b>62</b>	52	441

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q1/1a. Whites do not include Hispanics; non-whites include Hispanics.

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## How Does Obama Make You Feel?

There are sharp generational differences in negative personal reactions toward Obama, particularly when it comes to feelings of anger and unease. Overall, when asked if Obama makes them feel angry, 29% say yes while 70% say no. Four-in-ten (40%) say Obama makes them feel uneasy, while 53% say they have been disappointed by Obama.

Silents are more likely than those in younger age cohorts to say that Obama makes them feel angry: 40% of Silents say Obama makes them feel this way, compared with 32% of Boomers, 28% of Gen Xers and just 19% of Millennials. In a callback survey of voters shortly after the 2008 presidential election, just 11% of Silents, and comparable percentages of voters in other age cohorts, said Obama made them feel angry.

Even in the afterglow of Obama's victory, Silents and Boomers were more likely than Gen Xers or Millennials to express unease with Obama, and these differences have persisted. In the current survey, Silents are the only age cohort in which a majority (52%) says Obama makes them feel uneasy; 43% of Boomers, 36% of Gen Xers and 33% of Millennials say Obama makes them feel uneasy.

### Silents' Anger at Obama Has Increased, Unease with Obama Has Persisted

	Nov 2008	Mar 2010	Oct 2011	08-11 Change*
<i>% saying Obama makes them feel ...</i>	%	%	%	
<b>Angry</b>				
Total	8	30	29	+21
Millennial	9	24	19	+10
Gen X	7	29	28	+21
Boomer	8	33	32	+24
Silent	11	36	40	+29
<b>Millennial-Silent diff</b>	<b>-2</b>	<b>-12</b>	<b>-21</b>	
<b>Uneasy</b>				
Total	35	--	40	+5
Millennial	23	--	33	+10
Gen X	30	--	36	+6
Boomer	39	--	43	+4
Silent	43	--	52	+9
<b>Millennial-Silent diff</b>	<b>-20</b>		<b>-19</b>	
<b>Disappointed</b>				
Total	--	44	53	+9
Millennial	--	40	47	+7
Gen X	--	42	53	+11
Boomer	--	47	56	+9
Silent	--	52	59	+7
<b>Millennial-Silent diff</b>		<b>-12</b>	<b>-12</b>	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q81c-e.

\* Change for "Disappointed" from March 2010.

November 2008 survey based on callback of voters in 2008 election.

Notably, the differences between Silents and Millennials in feelings of anger and unease toward Obama are as wide among whites as the overall public. Nearly half of white Silents (46%) say Obama makes them feel angry; 58% say he makes them feel uneasy. Among white Millennials, 22% say he makes them feel angry, while 39% say he makes them feel uneasy.

Overall, there are more modest generational differences in views of whether people feel disappointed by Obama: 59% of Silents express this view, as do 56% of Boomers, 53% of Gen Xers and 47% of Millennials.

## Obama Inspires Less Hope, Pride

In the days after the 2008 election, large majorities of those who reported voting in the election said that Obama made them feel hopeful (69%) and proud (65%). Today, just 43% of the public says Obama makes them feel hopeful and 45% say he makes them feel proud.

There have been substantial declines in positive reactions toward Obama across all age cohorts. Yet the change among young people has been particularly striking. Shortly after the 2008 election, 81% of Millennials said Obama made them feel hopeful, while 80% felt

proud. Today, only about half of Millennials say Obama makes them feel hopeful (48%) or proud (49%).

### Feelings of Hope, Pride in Obama Decline, Especially among Millennials

	Nov 2008	Mar 2010	Oct 2011	08-11 Change
<i>% saying Obama makes them feel ...</i>	%	%	%	
<b>Hopeful</b>				
Total	69	54	43	-26
Millennial	81	63	48	-33
Gen X	68	54	45	-23
Boomer	68	50	42	-26
Silent	66	49	37	-29
<b>Millennial-Silent diff</b>	<b>+15</b>	<b>+14</b>	<b>+11</b>	
<b>Proud</b>				
Total	65	49	45	-20
Millennial	80	57	49	-31
Gen X	63	46	45	-18
Boomer	65	47	45	-20
Silent	58	44	38	-20
<b>Millennial-Silent diff</b>	<b>+22</b>	<b>+13</b>	<b>+11</b>	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q81a-b.  
November 2008 survey based on callback of voters in 2008 election.

## Views of Obama's Economic Policies

Nearly twice as many Americans say Obama's economic policies have made economic conditions worse than say his policies have made things better (38% vs. 20%). Close to four-in-ten (37%) say that, nearly three years into his presidency, Obama's policies have not had an effect so far.

The balance of opinion regarding the impact of

Obama's economic policies has grown much more negative since 2009. And it has turned more negative just since the beginning of this year: In January, about as many said Obama's policies had made things better (28%) as said his policies had made conditions worse (31%).

Boomers and Gen Xers have become critical of the impact of Obama's economic policies. In January, about the same percentages in both cohorts said Obama's policies had made conditions better as worse. Currently, more than twice as many Boomers say Obama's policies have made conditions worse than better (44% vs. 19%). Among Gen Xers, 37% say Obama's policies have made conditions worse, while 22% say his policies have made things better.

The balance of opinion among Silents, already tilting negative at the start of the year, has grown more so. Millennials, however, continue to express mixed views of the impact of Obama's economic policies: 26% say his policies have made conditions worse, the lowest percentage of any age cohort, while 22% say they have made conditions better.

### More Say Obama's Economic Policies Have Made Conditions Worse

<i>Obama's economic policies have made conditions ...</i>	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Oct 2011</b>					
Better	20	22	22	19	13
Worse	38	26	37	44	46
No effect so far	37	47	37	33	34
<b>Jan 2011</b>					
Better	28	29	28	30	27
Worse	31	24	30	35	37
No effect so far	35	39	38	31	28
<b>Change in "worse"</b>	<b>+7</b>	<b>+2</b>	<b>+7</b>	<b>+9</b>	<b>+9</b>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q71.

## Views of the Political Parties

About a year ago, as the GOP headed toward major victories in the 2010 midterm elections, Xers and older age cohorts expressed mixed views of the Republican Party. In September 2010, for example, 48% of Silents said they had a favorable opinion of the Republican Party, while 44% had an unfavorable view.

Today, however, views of the GOP have turned negative among all cohorts – just 38% of Silents have a favorable opinion of the Republican Party, while 55% view it unfavorably. Silents' opinions of the Democratic Party are equally negative: 39% have a favorable opinion of the Democratic Party and 56% have an unfavorable opinion.

Boomers also have a more unfavorable opinion of the Republican Party than they did about a year ago. In September 2010, 44% viewed the GOP favorably and 49% had an unfavorable impression. Currently, just a third of Boomers (33%) have a favorable opinion of the GOP, while 58% have an unfavorable view. In the current survey, Boomers' favorable rating for the Democratic Party is 10 points higher than the GOP's (43% vs. 33%).

Currently, more Gen Xers (47%) have a favorable opinion of the Democratic Party than the Republican Party (39%). And Democrats continue to hold a wide favorability advantage among Millennials (51% favorable toward Democratic Party vs. 34% for GOP).

### Silents Take a Dim View of Both Political Parties

	Sept 2010		Oct 2011		Change in fav
	Fav %	Unfav %	Fav %	Unfav %	
<b>Republican Party</b>					
Total	43	49	36	55	-7
Millennial	40	51	34	53	-6
Gen X	43	49	39	52	-4
Boomer	44	49	33	58	-11
Silent	48	44	38	55	-10
<b>Democratic Party</b>					
Total	50	44	46	45	-4
Millennial	56	36	51	36	-5
Gen X	50	43	47	42	-3
Boomer	47	47	43	49	-4
Silent	42	50	39	56	-3

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q7.

## Parties and Issues

While most Silents view the GOP unfavorably, they prefer the Republicans on several key issues. By 51% to 30%, more Silents say Republicans can better handle the budget deficit than Democrats; Silents also favor the GOP on immigration (by 15 points) and improving the job situation (10 points).

But Silents are divided over which party can better handle health care, abortion and Social Security. More than four-in-ten (44%) say the Democratic Party can do a better job in dealing with the Social Security system while about the same percentage (41%) favors the Republicans.

Millennials have a much more favorable opinion of the Democratic Party than the Republican Party, but they clearly prefer the Democrats on only two issues – representing their

views on abortion (by 52% to 32%) and dealing with health care (52% to 36%).

Millennials are split over which party can better deal with the Social Security system, improve the job situation, deal with immigration and deal with the federal budget deficit.

### Silents Favor GOP on Deficit, Jobs – Not Social Security

<i>Which party can do a better job of ...</i>	Total %	Millennial %	Gen X %	Boomer %	Silent %
<b>Dealing w/ health care</b>					
Republican Party	38	36	36	39	46
Democratic Party	49	52	49	49	41
<b>Advantage</b>	<b>D+11</b>	<b>D+16</b>	<b>D+13</b>	<b>D+10</b>	<b>R+5</b>
<b>Representing your views on abortion</b>					
Republican Party	36	32	37	39	38
Democratic Party	44	52	46	42	36
<b>Advantage</b>	<b>D+8</b>	<b>D+20</b>	<b>D+9</b>	<b>D+3</b>	<b>R+2</b>
<b>Dealing w/ Social Security system</b>					
Republican Party	39	40	41	38	41
Democratic Party	45	44	43	45	44
<b>Advantage</b>	<b>D+6</b>	<b>D+4</b>	<b>D+2</b>	<b>D+7</b>	<b>D+3</b>
<b>Improving the job situation</b>					
Republican Party	42	40	40	43	47
Democratic Party	42	45	43	41	37
<b>Advantage</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>D+5</b>	<b>D+3</b>	<b>R+2</b>	<b>R+10</b>
<b>Dealing w/immigration</b>					
Republican Party	45	43	49	44	46
Democratic Party	37	45	34	36	31
<b>Advantage</b>	<b>R+8</b>	<b>D+2</b>	<b>R+15</b>	<b>R+8</b>	<b>R+15</b>
<b>Dealing w/ federal budget deficit</b>					
Republican Party	46	46	43	47	51
Democratic Party	37	39	38	37	30
<b>Advantage</b>	<b>R+9</b>	<b>R+7</b>	<b>R+5</b>	<b>R+10</b>	<b>R+21</b>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q60. Significant differences in bolded colors.

Gen Xers say the Democratic Party can do better on dealing with health care (by 49% to 36%). But more say the GOP than the Democrats can do better on dealing with immigration (49% to 34%).

Boomers are conflicted in evaluating which party can better handle major issues. By 49% to 39%, more Boomers say the Democratic Party can do better on health care. Boomers also prefer the Democrats on Social Security (45% to 38%). Notably, older Boomers – those ages 56 to 65 – favor the Democrats on Social Security by 13 points (48% to 35%), while younger Boomers (ages 47 to 55) are divided over which party can better handle this issue. By contrast, Boomers are more likely to say that Republicans can do a better job than Democrats dealing with the federal deficit (47% vs. 37%) and dealing with immigration (44% vs. 36%).

### Party Traits: Democrats Lead on Empathy

By wide margins, Millennials, Gen Xers and Boomers say the Democratic Party is “more concerned with the needs of people like me.” Silents are divided; 45% say Democrats are more concerned with the needs of people like them and 42% say the Republicans.

By 50% to 31%, Millennials see the Democrats as better able to bring about the kind of changes the country needs. By contrast, slightly more Silents say the GOP can bring about needed changes (44% to 35%). Gen Xers and Boomers are split over which party can better bring needed change.

#### Majorities of Millennials and Gen Xers See GOP as “More Extreme”

Which party ...	Total %	Millennial %	Gen X %	Boomer %	Silent %
<b>Is more concerned with people like me</b>					
Republican Party	35	31	36	35	42
Democratic Party	51	55	51	51	45
<b>Advantage</b>	<b>D+16</b>	<b>D+24</b>	<b>D+15</b>	<b>D+16</b>	D+3
<b>Can bring about needed changes</b>					
Republican Party	37	31	36	39	44
Democratic Party	43	50	40	43	35
<b>Advantage</b>	<b>D+6</b>	<b>D+19</b>	D+4	D+4	<b>R+9</b>
<b>Is more extreme in its positions</b>					
Republican Party	50	55	52	47	45
Democratic Party	38	33	37	41	43
<b>Advantage</b>	<b>R+12</b>	<b>R+22</b>	<b>R+15</b>	R+6	R+2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q59. Significant differences in bolded colors.

Roughly half of Millennials (55%) and Gen Xers (52%) view the Republican Party as “more extreme in its positions,” and 47% of Boomers agree. About as many Silents see the Democrats (43%) as the Republicans (45%) as having more extreme positions.

## How Generations View the Tea Party

In 2010, Boomers and Silents, on balance, were more likely to say they agreed than disagreed with the Tea Party movement. But that is no longer the case.

Combining all surveys conducted last year, 34% of Silents said they agreed with the Tea Party, while 22% disagreed. More than four-in-ten (44%) offered no opinion of the Tea Party movement. In surveys conducted through October of this year, opinion is evenly divided: 26% agree and 27% disagree with the Tea Partiers. Nearly half (47%) still offer no opinion.

Among Boomers, the balance among those who offer an opinion has shifted from positive to negative. In 2010, 31% of Boomers said they agreed with the new movement, while 24% said they disagreed; 45% offered no opinion. This year, 24% agree, 28% disagree and 47% offer no opinion.

Opinion among Gen Xers also has turned more negative. In 2010, 23% said they agreed with the Tea Party, while 21% disagreed. In 2011, 19% say they agree with the movement, while 24% disagree. In both years, almost six-in-ten offered no opinion.

### Tea Party Loses Support Since Last Year

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion/DK*	N
<b>2011</b>				
Total	20	25	54=100	15615
Millennial	13	21	65=100	2401
Gen X	19	24	57=100	3248
Boomer	24	28	47=100	6192
Silent	26	27	47=100	3301
<b>2010</b>				
Total	26	21	53=100	16742
Millennial	13	17	71=100	2191
Gen X	23	21	56=100	3463
Boomer	31	24	45=100	6762
Silent	34	22	44=100	3738

PEW RESEARCH CENTER. Based on yearly averages. \*March-October 2010 includes those who had never heard of Tea Party movement. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

More Millennials offer an opinion of the Tea Party movement in 2011 than did so in 2010, but the balance of opinion is largely unchanged. In 2011, 21% say they disagree and 13% agree; nearly two-thirds (65%) offer no opinion. In 2010, 17% disagreed, 13% agreed and 71% offered no opinion.

## SECTION 4: VIEWS OF THE NATION

The last 50 years have seen dramatic demographic, social and technological changes in this country, and different generations of Americans have their own distinct reactions to these changes. The racial and ethnic makeup of the country has been transformed. The 1950s-era nuclear family is now just one of a growing variety of family arrangements. And the old means of communicating have given way to digital platforms that were unimaginable 50 years ago.

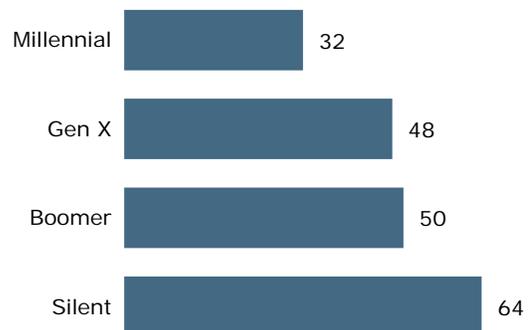
In general, older generations are having a harder time processing these changes, while younger generations are more likely to take them in stride. Among older adults, there is a tension between their belief that America is the greatest country in the world and a sense of pessimism about the country's future. Younger adults are less convinced of America's greatness but more comfortable with the path the country is currently on.

Overall, nearly half (48%) say America is the greatest country in the world, and another 42% say it is one of the greatest countries in the world. Fewer than one-in-ten (8%) say the U.S. is not one of the greatest countries in the world.

There are sharp differences across generations on this question. Millennials are the least likely to say the U.S. is the greatest country in the world – 32% hold this view. The share rises with each successive generation, with nearly two-thirds of Silents (64%) saying the U.S. stands above all other nations. This comes in spite of the Silents' discomfort with many of the societal changes they have witnessed in the past 50 years. Within the Silent generation it is the oldest members who feel most strongly about America's greatness – fully 72% of those ages 76 to 83 say the U.S. is the greatest country in the world.

### Generational Divide Over American Exceptionalism

% saying U.S. is "the greatest country in the world"



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q6.

## The Patriotism Gap

Millennials also are less likely to express strong patriotic sentiments than are older generations. A large majority of Millennials (70%) agree with the statement “I am very patriotic.” But even larger percentages of Gen Xers (86%) Boomers (91%) and Silents (90%) say they are very patriotic.

This gap is not new. In surveys dating to 2003, Millennials have been less likely to say they are very patriotic than have older generations.

### Millennials Less Likely To Say They Are “Very Patriotic”

<i>% saying they are “very patriotic”</i>	2003	2007	2009	2011
	%	%	%	%
Total	91	90	88	85
Millennial	80	76	77	70
Gen X	88	91	90	86
Boomer	93	94	91	91
Silent	94	93	91	90

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-25, 2011. PEW5v.

## Keys to the Nation’s Success

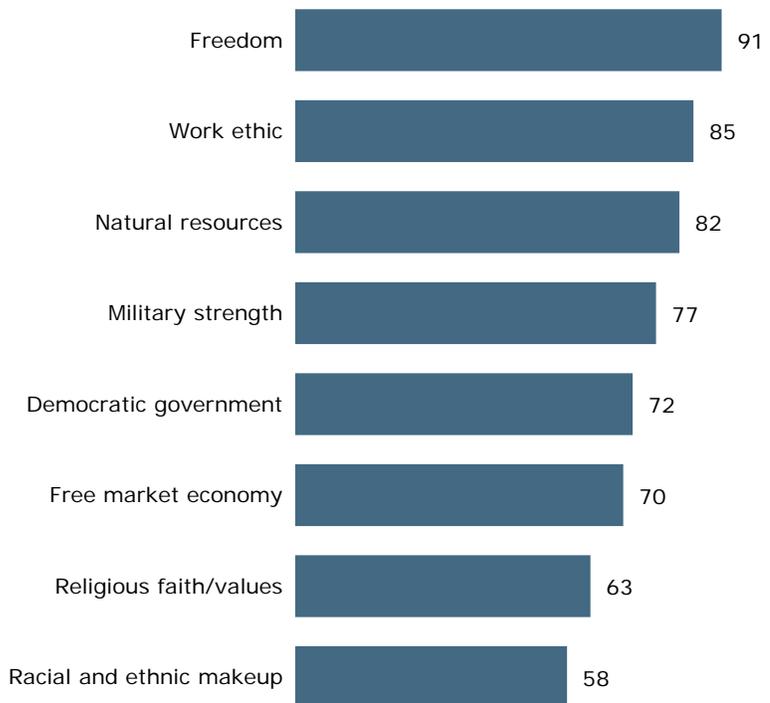
Despite differences over American exceptionalism and feelings of patriotism, generations are largely in agreement about the factors that have contributed to America’s success.

Overwhelming majorities – more than 90% across all generations – say “the freedoms we have” are very important in contributing to America’s success.

“Our work ethic” is viewed as a very important factor in America’s success by more than 80% of respondents from each of the four

### Factors Behind America’s Success

*% saying each is very important ...*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q7.

generations. And “our natural resources” are viewed as very important by nearly as many (82% overall).

Roughly three-quarters of all adults (77%) say “our military strength” is very important in contributing to America’s success. Here there are significant differences across generations. While at least eight-in-ten Boomers and Silents say this has been very important to America’s success, only about seven-in-ten Millennials and Gen Xers agree.

Millennials are less likely than others to say “our democratic system of government” has been an important factor in America’s success. Only 62% of Millennials say this has been very important, compared with roughly three-quarters of those older than 30. For the most part, the generations are in agreement about the value of the free market economy in terms of America’s success. Overall 70% of adults say this has been very important – this includes 66% of Millennials, 71% of Gen Xers, 75% of Boomers, and 69% of Silents. There is much less consensus over the importance of “our religious faith and values.”

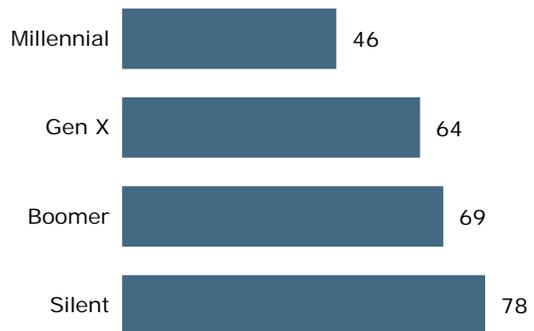
Fewer than half of Millennials (46%) say religious faith and values have been very important in America’s success. This compares with 64% of Xers, 69% of Boomers and 78% of Silents.

The country’s racial and ethnic makeup is viewed as a somewhat less important factor in America’s success. Overall, 58% of the public says this is a very important factor, and there are no significant differences across generations. However, when respondents were separately asked about specific trends contributing to the increased racial and ethnic diversity of the country, wide generational gaps emerged.

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### Fewer Millennials See Religion as Key to Nation’s Success

*% citing religious faith and values as very important*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q7c.

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## Life in the U.S.: Past and Future

While older Americans are more likely than their younger counterparts to believe the U.S. is the greatest nation in the world, they are more ambivalent about the country's current trajectory. In a January 2011 Pew Research Center [survey](#), half of Silents (50%) said that life in the United States has gotten worse since the 1960s; 31% said life has gotten better while 17% said life in this country has stayed about the same. Boomers expressed similar views about how life has changed in the U.S.: 46% said it has gotten worse, 29% better, and 20% said it has stayed about the same.

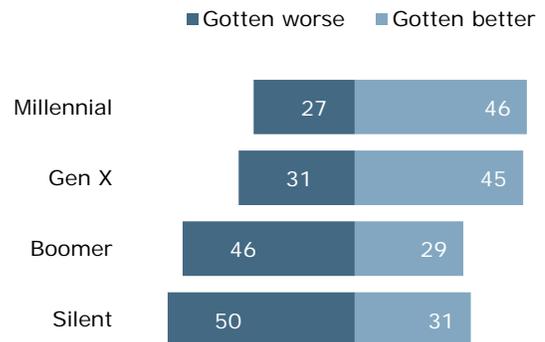
The balance of opinion is just the opposite among Millennials and Xers. Some 46% of Millennials and 45% of Xers say life in the U.S. has gotten better in the past 50 years. Less than one-third of either group says life has gotten worse while roughly one-in-five said it has not changed.

In the same January 2011 survey, a narrow majority (54%) of all adults said they were very or somewhat optimistic about the future of the U.S. over the next 50 years, while 42% felt very or somewhat pessimistic. Majorities across generations expressed optimism about the nation's long-term future, with one important exception. Fewer than half (46%) of Boomers said they were optimistic, while 51% were pessimistic.

In the current poll, respondents were asked whether America's best days are ahead of us or behind us. Roughly half (51%) of the public says our best days are ahead of us, while 39% say our best days are behind us.

### Has Life in the U.S. Changed for Better or Worse?

Since 1960s life in the U.S. has...



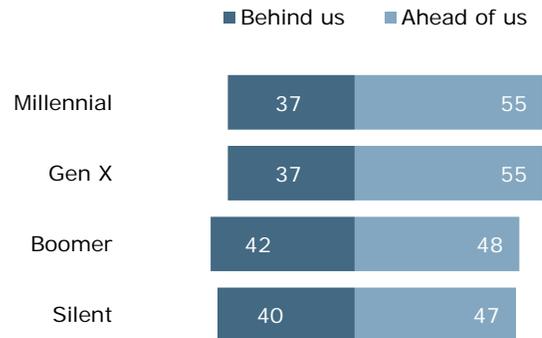
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jan. 6-9, 2011.  
Note: "Stayed the same" and "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

Millennials and Gen Xers are somewhat more positive than Boomers and Silents about America's prospects: 55% of both Millennials and Xers say our best days are ahead of us, and 37% from each group say our best days are behind us. Boomers and Silents are more divided; about half of Boomers (48%) and Silents (47%) say America's best days are still to come.

There is a substantial split among Gen Xers on this question, with younger Xers looking more like Millennials and older Xers looking more like Boomers. Among young Xers, ages 31-38, 61% say America's best days are ahead of us; among those ages 39-46, only 49% agree.

## Are Nation's Best Days in the Past?

America's best days are ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q8.  
Note: "Depends" and "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

## Changing Face of America

Underpinning these concerns about America's future are views about specific societal trends which have transformed the country. Respondents were asked to evaluate a variety of changes that have taken place over the last 50 years in American society. The items ranged from the country's racial and ethnic makeup to the invention of the internet. Millennials consistently express a more positive view of these changes than do older generations.

There are several factors contributing to the nation's changing racial and ethnic composition. The influx of immigrants has been a key factor, but so has the increase in interracial and interethnic marriage. One-in-seven new marriages in the U.S. in 2008 were between spouses of a different race or ethnicity from one another, [according to an analysis of data](#) from the Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) by the Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends project.

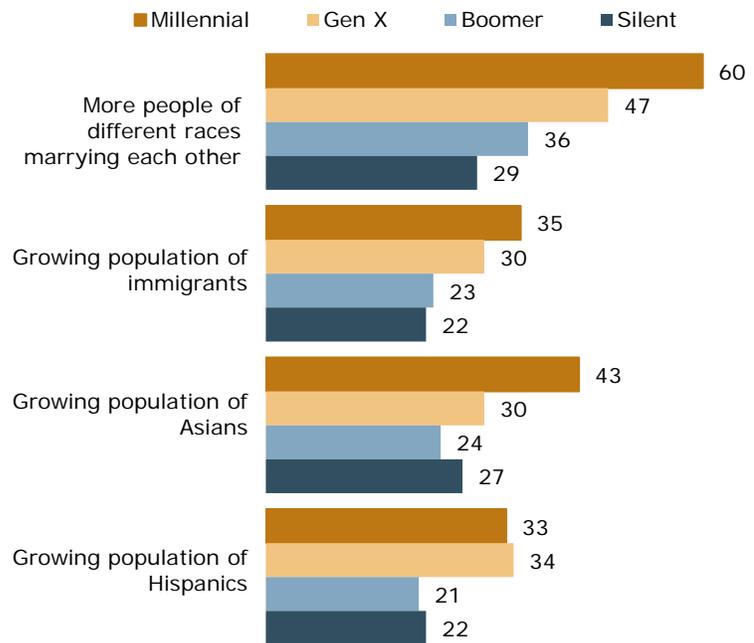
Overall, the public has a fairly positive reaction to the trend toward inter-marriage. Some 43% of all adults say more people of different races marrying each other has been a change for the better. Only 11% say this has been a change for the worse, and 44% say it

has not made much difference. On this measure and others relating to changing racial and ethnic patterns, there are significant differences of opinion across the generations.

Millennials are extremely positive about the trend toward inter-marriage. Six-in-ten say this has been a change for the better. Gen Xers are more ambivalent about this change: 47% see it as a change for the better while 46% say it hasn't made much difference. Boomers are less likely to see this as a change for the better (36%), though only 14% say it has been a change for the worse. Among Silents, 29% say this has been a change for the better, 16% say it's been a change for the worse, and 49% say it has not made a difference.

### Silents, Boomers Less Positive about Nation's Changing Racial and Ethnic Makeup

% saying each is a change for the better ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q18.

The public is less positive about the influx of new immigrants. Overall, 27% say the nation's growing population of immigrants has been a change for the better, 37% say this has been a change for the worse, and 29% say it has not made much difference. Roughly one third of Millennials and Gen Xers see the rising share of immigrants as a positive change. Only about one-in-five Boomers and Silents agree. Among the older generations, roughly four-in-ten say the growing population of immigrants has been a change for the worse.

These differences are due in part to the racial and ethnic composition of the generations. Fewer than six-in-ten (59%) Millennials are non-Hispanic whites. This compares with about 79% of Silents. As a result, after controlling for race and ethnicity, the generational differences are more muted. Among non-Hispanic white Millennials, 28% say the growing population of immigrants has been a change for the better; this is not significantly different from the 21% of non-Hispanic white Silents who say the same.

The two largest groups immigrating to the U.S. over the past 50 years have been Asians and Hispanics. Overall, 30% say the growing population of Asians has been a change for the better; about the same percentage (28%) views the growing Hispanic population positively. However, more people say the growing share of Hispanics has been a change for the worse (22%) than say that about the growing share of Asians (12%). Millennials are more positive than any other generational group about the growing population of Asians – 43% say this has been a

change for the better, compared with 30% of Gen Xers, 24% of Boomers and 27% of Silents. With regard to Hispanic immigrants, roughly one-third of Millennials and Xers say this group's growing population has been a change for the better. Among Boomers and Silents, smaller numbers (21% and 22% respectively) say this.

### Race, Ethnicity and Views of Immigration

	<i>Total</i>		<i>White</i>	
	<i>Millennial</i>	<i>Silent</i>	<i>Millennial</i>	<i>Silent</i>
<i>Growing population of immigrants has been ...</i>	%	%	%	%
Change for the better	35	22	28	21
Change for the worse	28	40	37	43
Hasn't made much difference	33	27	33	26
Mixed/Don't Know	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q18a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Whites include only those who are not Hispanic.

### Social Changes: Family and Gender

The generations are also divided over several major social changes that have occurred over the past 50 years. Women have assumed a more prominent role in the labor force, marriage rates have fallen sharply, and the definition of what constitutes a family has broadened considerably. In general, Millennials embrace these changes to a much greater extent than do their older counterparts. Silents, who have witnessed the greatest amount of change over their lifetime, are having the hardest time adjusting to these changes.

Most adults agree that the trend toward more women in the workforce has been a change for the better. Millennials are the most enthusiastic about this change – 82% view it positively. Among Gen Xers and Boomers more than seven-in-ten say this has been a change for the better. Among Silents, 62% say the same.

Views about the changing American family are more sharply divided by generation. In 1960, nearly half of all U.S. households consisted of a married mother and father living with one or more of their own children. By 2008, that share had fallen to roughly one-in-four households. Over this period, falling marriage rates, increasing divorce rates, the growth in cohabitation and the dramatic increase in single parenthood, gave rise to a variety of new family arrangements, according to [a report last year by Pew Social & Demographic Trends](#).

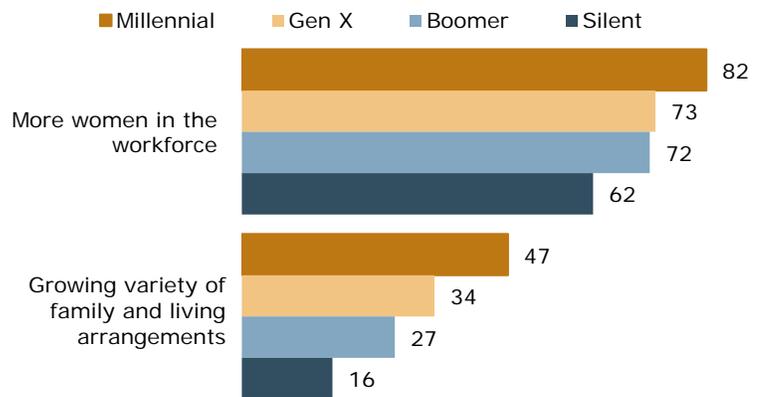
Millennials have a mostly positive view of this overall trend. Nearly half (47%) say the growing variety of family and living arrangements has been a change for the better. Only 16% view this as a change for the worse, and one third (32%) say it has not made much difference. On balance, Gen Xers also see this as a change for the better, however they are less positive than Millennials: 34% say this has been a change for the better, 24% see it as a change for the worse and 34% say it has not made much difference.

Boomers are conflicted about the changes in family structure: 27% say this has been a change for the better, 33% a change for the worse and 31% say it has not made much difference. Silents are much more negative. Only 16% say the growing variety of family types has been a change for the better, while 30% say it has been a change for the worse.

Over the past 50 years, the link between marriage and parenthood also has become much more tenuous. The share of babies born to unmarried mothers increased eight-fold from 1960 to 2008. By 2008 four-in-ten babies born in the U.S. were born to an unwed mother. The public tends to react negatively to this trend. Very few adults, regardless of their generation, say this represents a change for the better. However, even on this issue there are sharp generational differences.

### Changing Gender Roles and Family Structure

% saying each is a change for the better ...



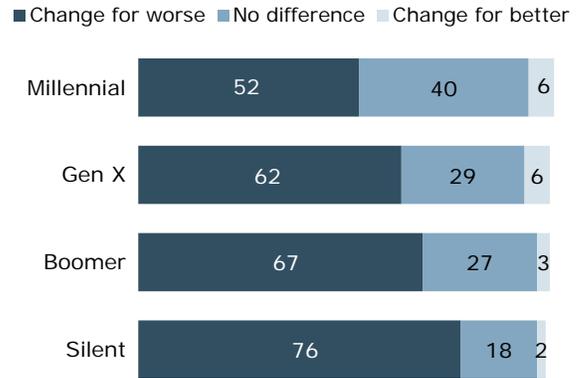
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q18d.g.

Silents overwhelmingly view the trend toward more unmarried parents negatively (76% change for the worse). Two-thirds (67%) of Boomers and 62% of Gen Xers also say more people having children without being married has been a change for the worse. Fewer Millennials (52%) agree; 40% of Millennials say this change has not made much difference.

Previous surveys by the Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends project show similar generational splits on other trends relating to family and living arrangements. In a [2010 survey](#), a majority of Silents (62%) said the trend toward more unmarried couples living together was a bad thing for society. Only 27% of Millennials said the same. Similarly, while 58% of Silents said more gay and lesbian couples raising children was bad for society, only 28% of Millennials agreed. On both of these measures pluralities of Millennials said the trend didn't make much difference.

### Millennials Less Concerned By Rise of Unmarried Parents

*% saying more people having children without getting married has been a...*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q18c.  
Note: "Mixed changes" and "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

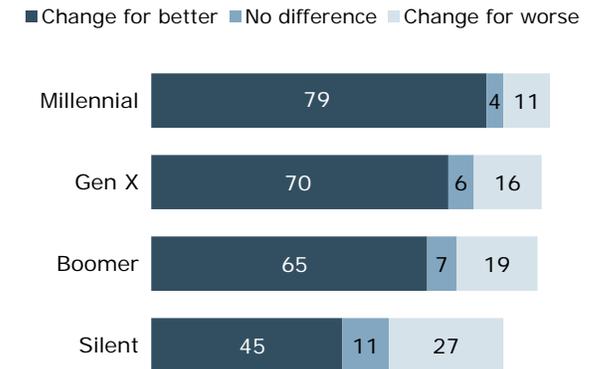
## Silents Less Positive about Technology Changes

Technological change is another dimension of American life that divides the generations. Millennials grew up with the internet, and they overwhelmingly view its emergence as a change for the better (79%). Strong majorities of Gen Xers (70%) and Boomers (65%) also say the invention of the internet has been a change for the better. Silents are less persuaded: 45% say the internet has been a change for the better, 27% say it has been a change for the worse, and 11% say it hasn't made much difference.

Pew Research surveys have consistently found that Millennials outpace older generations in virtually all types of technology use – including the use of social networking sites, cell phone use, texting, and wireless internet use. And Millennials are much more likely than their older counterparts to believe that technology simplifies life rather than making it more complicated. In the Pew Research Center's [2010 report on Millennials](#), 74% of this generation said new technologies such as cell phones and the internet make life easier; only 18% said these technologies make life more complicated. Silents are had a much more skeptical view: only 50% said technology makes life easier, while more than one-third (36%) said it makes life more complicated.

### Silents Not Wild About the Web

% saying the invention of the internet has been a...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q18e.  
Note: "Mixed changes" and "Don't know/Refused" responses not shown.

## Changing Moral Values

The vast majority of American adults – nine-in-ten or more across generations – believe that moral values in this country have changed in the past 50 years. However, the generations differ over whether this has been a change for the better or a change for the worse.

Among Millennials, only 54%

say the change in moral values has been for the worse. This compares with 70% of Gen Xers, 77% Boomers and 78% of Silents. Millennials are twice as likely as Xers to say the change in moral values has been for the better (19% vs. 9%), and they are more than three times as likely as Boomers and Silents to view this change positively.

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### Fewer Millennials See Long-Term Moral Decline

	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
<i>Moral values over past 50 years have ...</i>	%	%	%	%
Changed				
For the better	19	9	6	3
For the worse	54	70	77	78
But hasn't made much difference/mixed/DK	19	14	9	13
Not changed/not sure/DK	8	7	9	6
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q17/17a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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## SECTION 5: GENERATIONS AND THE GREAT RECESSION

The nation's worst economic meltdown since the Great Depression has had a disproportionate impact across generations. While Americans of all ages have felt the effects of the recession, Millennials have been hit harder on the job front, and Boomers and Generation Xers have suffered the greatest losses in terms of home values, household finances, and retirement savings. The Silent generation has survived the economic downturn in better shape. With the help of income from Social Security, Silents view their financial situations more positively than do younger generations.

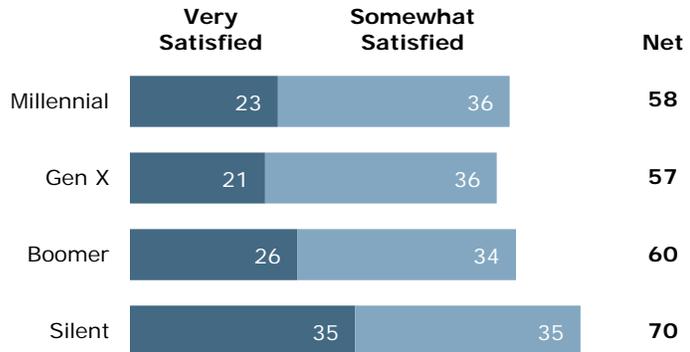
Moreover, a forthcoming report by the Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends project will show that Americans 65 and older have made dramatic gains relative to younger adults in their overall economic well-being over the past quarter of a century.

In the current poll, Silents express a higher level of satisfaction with their personal financial situation than do younger people. Seven-in-ten Silents say they are satisfied with their current finances (35% are very satisfied, another 35% are somewhat satisfied).

Among Boomers, six-in-ten are satisfied with their personal financial situation, with only one-in-four (26%) saying they are very satisfied. Similar shares of Gen Xers (21%) and Millennials (23%) say they are very satisfied with their finances.

### Silents More Satisfied with Personal Finances

% saying they are...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q2b. Figures may not add to "net" category because of rounding.

In a survey last year by Pew Social & Demographic Trends, nearly half of the public (48%) said that their household finances were in worse shape than before the recession. Boomers suffered the most in this regard: More than half of Boomers (54%) said their household finances gotten worse over the course of the recession, with as many as one-in-five saying their finances were in *much* worse shape. Among Silents, 44% said they were in worse financial shape as a result of the recession, but just as many volunteered that their finances had not changed during the recession.

Millennials, despite their precarious situation in the job market, were more likely than any other generation to say their finances had improved over the course of the recession (33%). Gen Xers said they suffered more than Millennials but slightly less than Boomers. (For more, see *Pew Social & Demographic Trends*' "[How the Great Recession Changed Life in America](#)," June 30, 2010.)

## Gen Xers Feeling More Pinched

Overall, Americans are less satisfied with their personal financial situation now than they were in 2009. Millennials, Gen Xers and Boomers all express lower levels of satisfaction now than they did two years ago. Silents' assessments about their personal financial situation have not changed significantly over this period.

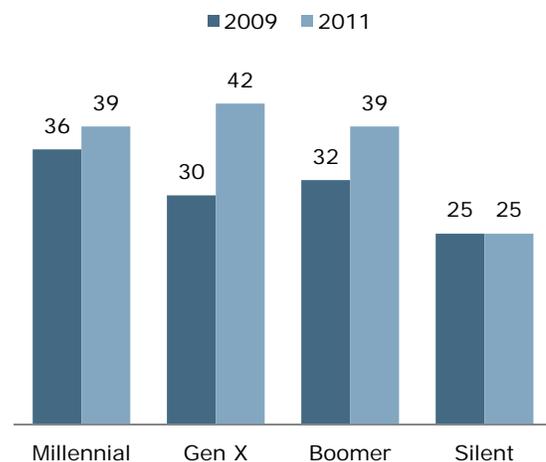
Gen Xers show the most dramatic change in this regard. In the current survey, 57% of Gen Xers say they are satisfied with their personal financial situations while 42% are dissatisfied. In early 2009, more than twice as many Gen Xers were satisfied than dissatisfied with their personal finances (68% vs. 30%).

More Boomers also express dissatisfaction with their finances: 39% are currently dissatisfied, compared with 32% two years ago. Millennials' views of their personal finances, like those of Silents, have changed very little since 2009.

The increased anxiety about personal finances among Gen Xers and Boomers may be fueled in part by mounting concerns about retirement savings. Although the stock market has rebounded somewhat from its low point in early 2009, Americans have less confidence now than they did in early 2009 in their ability to provide for themselves in retirement. In 2009, roughly seven-in-ten adults were at least somewhat confident that they would have

## Middle-Aged and More Dissatisfied

% dissatisfied with personal financial situation



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q2b. Feb. 23-Mar. 23, 2009.

enough income and assets to last throughout their retirement years. In the current poll, 63% expressed at least some confidence.

Over the past two years Gen Xers have lost a great deal of confidence in their ability to provide for themselves in retirement. In the current survey, only 18% of Gen Xers say they are very confident they will have enough income and assets to last throughout their retirement years, down from 30% who were very confident in just two years ago.

Boomers, like Xers, are not highly confident in their retirement finances, though their opinions are largely unchanged from two years ago. Just one-in-five Boomers (20%) say they are very confident in their retirement finances; in March 2009, 25% said the same.

### Older Workers and Retirement

Retirement is still a long way off for most Gen Xers, but it is right around the corner for many Boomers. In the current survey, about two-thirds of Boomers (67%) say they are not retired. Among that group, the average age at which they expect to retire is 66. Nearly one-in-four (23%) say they expect to work until they are 70 or older, and 12% say they never plan to retire.

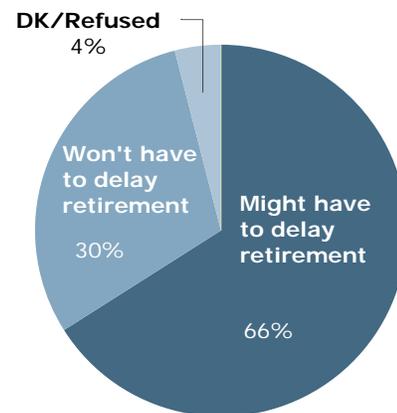
The recession has had a major impact of some Boomers' retirement plans. Among Boomers ages 50-61 who are still in the labor force, fully two-thirds (66%) say they might have to delay their retirement because of current economic conditions.

### Fewer Gen Xers Very Confident in Retirement Finances

<i>% very confident they will have enough money for retirement</i>	March 2009	Sept 2011	Change
<b>Millennial</b>	35	33	-2
<b>Gen X</b>	30	18	-12
<b>Boomer</b>	25	20	-5
<b>Silent</b>	36	31	-5

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q23.

### Retirement May Be a Dream Deferred for Those in their 50s



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q22. Based on those ages 50-61 who are not retired (N=336).

The vast majority of Silents are already retired – 90% in the current survey. A small share of Silents and Boomers who are retired report that they still do some type of work for pay. Among older Boomers and Silents who are not yet retired, 42% say they already have had to delay their retirement because of the economy.

## Housing and Jobs

The collapse in the housing market has had relatively little impact on Millennials, largely because they are less likely than older Americans to own a home. In a Pew Research survey conducted earlier this year, only 18% of Millennials reported that they owned their own home.

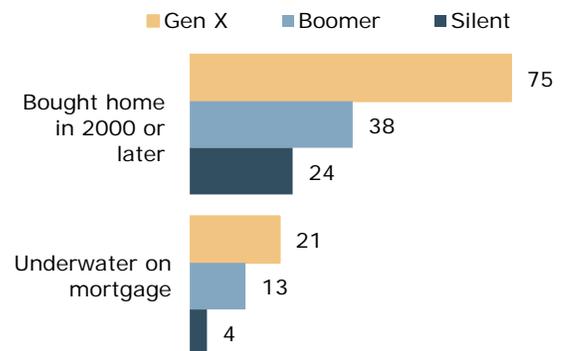
The share of homeowners among Gen X is much higher – 57%. And among Gen Xers who own homes, three-in-four say they bought their home in 2000 or later, during the dramatic rise and fall in home values. One-in-four of these homeowners say their house is worth a lot less than it was before the recession, and 21% say they are underwater on their mortgage – that is, they owe more on their home than they could sell it for today.

Boomers are more likely than Gen Xers to own a home (75%), but they are less likely to have bought their home during the real estate bubble of the past decade. Fewer Boomers than Gen Xers (13%) say that they are underwater on their mortgages.

Silents – the vast majority (82%) of whom are homeowners – are even more removed from the housing crisis. Only 24% of homeowners from the Silent generation bought their home in the past decade; twice as many (50%) bought their home before 1990. Just 4% of Silents report that they are underwater on their mortgages. *(For more, see Pew Social & Demographic Trends’ “Home Sweet Home. Still.” April 12, 2011.)*

### Gen Xers Hit Harder by Housing Collapse

% of homeowners who ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Mar. 15-29, 2011. Millennials not shown because of small share who are homeowners.

Finding a job during the recession has been a challenge for Americans of nearly all ages, but Millennials have been hit particularly hard. Over the course of the recession, the

overall unemployment rate increased by roughly five percentage points. The increase was sharpest among the nation's youngest workers. Pew Social & Demographic Trends' [2010 report on the differential impact of the recession](#) showed that 19.1% of workers ages 16 to 24 were unemployed in the fourth quarter of 2009, according to the Bureau of Labor Statistics. That was eight points higher than the unemployment rate for this age group in the fourth quarter of 2007. Both the levels and changes in the unemployment rate were less sizable among older age groups.

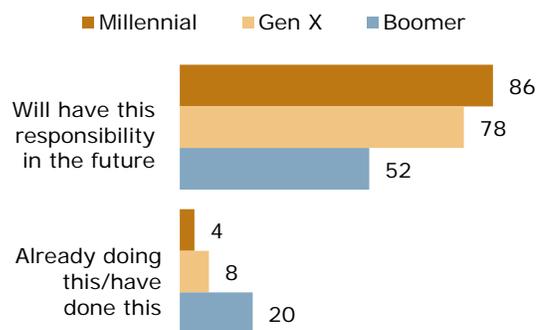
In the current survey, two-thirds of Millennials (67%) say they are employed: 38% are employed full-time and 29% are employed part-time. Among Millennials who are not currently employed, 63% say they are looking for work. A similar proportion of Gen Xers who are not working (59%) say they are looking for a job. Among Boomers, only 27% of those who are not working are actively looking for work.

## Family Responsibilities

In addition to the broader economic forces that have battered Americans over the past few years, there are other financial burdens and responsibilities closer to home. Many parents and children feel a sense of financial obligation to each other. With the population growing older, the need for family members to provide assistance to one another may increase.

Roughly six-in-ten Americans (62%) think that at some point in their life they will be responsible for caring for an aging parent or another elderly person. Another 13% volunteer that they are currently caring for an aging adult or have done so in the past.

### Care for an Aging Parent or Another Elderly Person?



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q11. "Already doing this/have done this" responses were volunteered.

Large majorities of Millennials (86%) and Gen Xers (78%) say they think they will end up caring for an aging parent or another elderly person. Fewer Boomers (52%) expect to care for an aging adult, but 20% say they currently do so or already have done so.

There are wide generational differences in opinions about the responsibilities of family members to each other. On issues relating to aging parents, Millennials advocate a greater level of responsibility on the part of both the parents and the adult children than do older generations.

More than nine-in-ten Millennials and Gen Xers say adult children have a responsibility to care for their elderly parents if they need help. A strong majority of Boomers (83%) agrees this is a responsibility. Most Silents (73%), many of whom are elderly parents themselves, also see this as a responsibility. However, more than one-in-five disagree.

Fully seven-in-ten Millennials (71%) and 64% of Gen Xers say adult children have a responsibility to take an elderly parent into their home if that's what the parent desires. Among Boomers, 60% say this is a responsibility. Silents are much less likely to agree: 48% say adult children have this responsibility, nearly as many (46%) say they do not.

## Generational Views on Family Responsibilities

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent diff
<b>Parents saving money to hand down to children</b>						
Responsibility	33	46	36	26	22	+24
Not really a responsibility	65	54	62	72	75	-21
Don't know	2	1	1	2	3	-2
	100	100	100	100	100	
<b>Adult children taking in an elderly parent</b>						
Responsibility	61	71	64	60	48	+23
Not really a responsibility	35	27	35	38	46	-19
Don't know	3	3	2	3	6	-3
	100	100	100	100	100	
<b>Adult children taking care of parent needing help</b>						
Responsibility	85	93	91	83	73	+20
Not really a responsibility	12	7	8	15	22	-15
Don't know	2	*	1	3	5	-5
	100	100	100	100	100	
<b>Parents paying for a child's college education</b>						
Responsibility	59	58	62	59	55	+3
Not really a responsibility	37	40	35	37	37	+3
Don't know	4	2	2	3	8	-6
	100	100	100	100	100	
<b>Parents allowing adult child to live in their home</b>						
Responsibility	32	33	33	31	32	+1
Not really a responsibility	64	65	65	67	61	+4
Don't know	3	2	2	3	7	-5
	100	100	100	100	100	

PEW SOCIAL TRENDS Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q16. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding

Millennials are also more likely than those in older generations to say parents have an obligation to leave an inheritance for their children. Nearly half (46%) say parents have a responsibility to save money to hand down to their children after they die. Gen Xers are less likely to see this as a responsibility (36%). Just 26% of Boomers and 22% of Silents agree.

There is much more agreement across generations on the two additional items tested in the poll. Most adults, regardless of generation, agree that parents should pay for a child's college education. Roughly six-in-ten Millennials, Gen Xers, Boomers and Silents say this is a responsibility.

And most adults agree that parents are not obliged to take in their adult children. Only about one-third from each generation says parents have a responsibility to allow their adult child to live in their home if the child wants to. Roughly two-thirds from each generation say this is not a parent's responsibility.

Whether or not it is viewed as a responsibility, many families are living together in multi-generational households these days. A recent Pew Research analysis of data collected by the U.S. Census Bureau showed that a record share of Americans now reside in a multi-generational household and that, for many, this has become an economic lifeline. An earlier Pew Research analysis showed that during the recession, many Millennials moved back in with their parents (as many as one-in-four adults ages 18-24 did this). *(For more, see Pew Social & Demographic Trends' "[Fighting Poverty in a Bad Economy. Americans Move in with Relatives](#)," Oct. 3, 2011.)*

## Families Providing Financial Support

Within families, generations support each other financially – and the support runs both ways. Among adults who have a parent age 65 or older, 39% say they have given financial support to their parent in the past 12 months.

Among adults ages 65 and older, a similar share (44%) say they have given financial support to an adult child.

This financial assistance tends to be more for ongoing expenses than a one-time gift or loan. Among adult children who have given their parents money over the past year, eight-in-ten say that money was for ongoing expenses. Similarly, among older adults who have given money to their adult children, about seven-in-ten say the money was for ongoing expenses.

Survey respondents are more willing to acknowledge giving financial support than they are to say they have received support. Among adult children with a parent age 65 or older, 21% say they have received money from their parent in the past 12 months. Among older adults, just 10% say they have received financial support from their adult children.

The share of adult children who have provided financial support for an elderly parent is significantly higher among blacks and Hispanics than among whites. Fully 64% of black and Hispanic adults with a parent or parents age 65 or older say they have given their parents money in the past year. Among non-Hispanic whites with a parent age 65 or older, only 30% have given money to a parent.

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### Adult Children, Parents and Financial Transfers

*% saying in the past 12 months they have...*

#### *Given financial support*



#### *Received financial support*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q12-15. Based on respondents with a parent age 65 or older (N=658), and respondents age 65 or older who have an adult child (N=445).

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## SECTION 6: GENERATIONS AND ENTITLEMENTS

The policy debates over Social Security and Medicare are potentially cross-cutting issues for older generations. Silents, as well as many Boomers, place a high priority on these issues politically and are generally more resistant to major changes or reforms than are younger Americans. As a result, while Silents favor the GOP by wide margins on jobs and the budget deficit, they are as likely to prefer the Democrats when it comes to Social Security. Silent and Baby Boom generation voters who are the most dependent on Social Security, and those who say it is an important issue to their vote, back Obama over Romney by significant margins.

While there are sharp generational differences over entitlement policies and the importance of the issue, there is little evidence of generational resentment or friction over what government provides for seniors. Millennial voters are just as likely as Xers, Boomers and Seniors to say the government does too little, not too much, to support seniors, and young and old alike are more concerned that the programs will run out of money for benefits than about the burden maintaining current benefit levels puts on younger people.

### Impressions of Social Security and Medicare

When it comes to the two core entitlement programs serving seniors in America – Social Security and Medicare – there is broad consensus regarding their value to the nation as well as the precariousness of their finances.

Nearly nine-in-ten Americans say each of these programs has been good for the country over the years, and this includes at least eight-in-ten across all

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#### Generations Agree: Entitlement Programs Have Been Good for Country, Face Financial Trouble

		Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
<b>Social Security</b>		%	%	%	%	%
<i>Over the years, has been...</i>	Good for the country	87	81	88	88	91
	Bad for the country	11	16	10	10	6
<i>Current financial condition</i>	Excellent/Good	18	20	10	18	26
	Only fair/Poor	77	74	86	79	67
<b>Medicare</b>						
<i>Over the years, has been...</i>	Good for the country	88	87	89	85	92
	Bad for the country	10	10	10	13	6
<i>Current financial condition</i>	Excellent/Good	18	24	11	16	24
	Only fair/Poor	74	69	79	78	66

PEW RESEARCH CENTER June 15-19, 2011, June 16-19 2011.

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generations young and old. Similarly, roughly three quarters say these programs are in only fair or poor shape financially, and this view crosses generational lines as well.

Where the generations differ is in their evaluations of the current effectiveness of these programs. Only members of the Silent generation – the vast majority of whom receive Social Security and Medicare – say these programs do a good job of serving the people they cover. Majorities of Millennials, Generation Xers, and Boomers say the programs do only a fair or poor job.

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### Only Silents Say Social Security, Medicare Do Well in Serving Recipients

<i>Job each does serving the people it covers ...</i>	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
<b>Social Security</b>	%	%	%	%	%
Excellent/Good	39	33	32	39	<b>57</b>
Only fair/Poor	<b>56</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>57</b>	40
<b>Medicare</b>					
Excellent/Good	41	39	35	37	<b>63</b>
Only fair/Poor	<b>53</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>56</b>	33

PEW RESEARCH CENTER June 15-19, 2011..

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The younger generations are more supportive of seeing the programs overhauled. Most Millennials (56%) and Gen Xers (66%) say Social Security needs major changes or a complete overhaul. By contrast, most in the Silent generation (62%) say the system works pretty well and needs only minor changes. Boomers, many of whom are on the cusp of receiving Social Security themselves, are more divided – 45% say they think only minor changes are in order, while 50% say major changes need to be made.

## Entitlement Policy Proposals

In keeping with their support for major changes, the vast majority of Millennials back proposals that involve some degree of privatization of Social Security and Medicare.

Fully 86% of Millennials support changing the system so younger workers can invest their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts. And 74% of Millennials favor changing Medicare so future participants can use the benefit toward purchasing private health insurance. Support for both of these ideas drops off among older generations and they garner a decidedly mixed reaction from those in the Silent generation.

When it comes to proposals to gradually raise the eligibility age for these programs, there is substantially more support from those who are mostly retired than from those who are not. About half in the Silent generation favor gradually raising the Social Security retirement age and the Medicare eligibility age. Majorities across all younger generations oppose these ideas.

A third area of proposed entitlement changes – means-testing benefits to reduce what high income seniors receive – divide the country, but not along generational lines. About half (53%) of Americans favor reducing Social Security benefits for seniors with higher incomes as a way to address financial problems with the system, and there is no

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### Younger Generations Support Privatization Proposals

	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent Diff
<i>Percent who favor</i>					
Changing Social Security to let younger workers put SS taxes in private accounts	86	69	58	52	+34
Changing Medicare so people can use benefits toward purchasing private health insurance	74	60	61	48	+26

### Silents Support Raising Retirement Age

	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent Diff
<i>Percent who favor</i>					
Gradually raising the Social Security retirement age	40	30	39	51	-11
Gradually raising the Medicare eligibility age	35	35	38	50	-15

### No Generational Divide over Means Testing

	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent Diff
<i>Percent who favor</i>					
Reducing Social Security benefits for higher income seniors	51	57	56	50	+1
Reducing Medicare benefits for higher income seniors	54	55	57	56	-2

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q79F1 & Q80F2.

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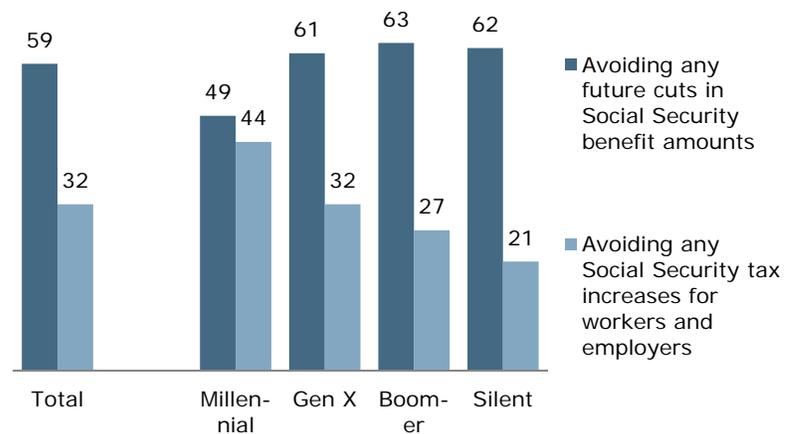
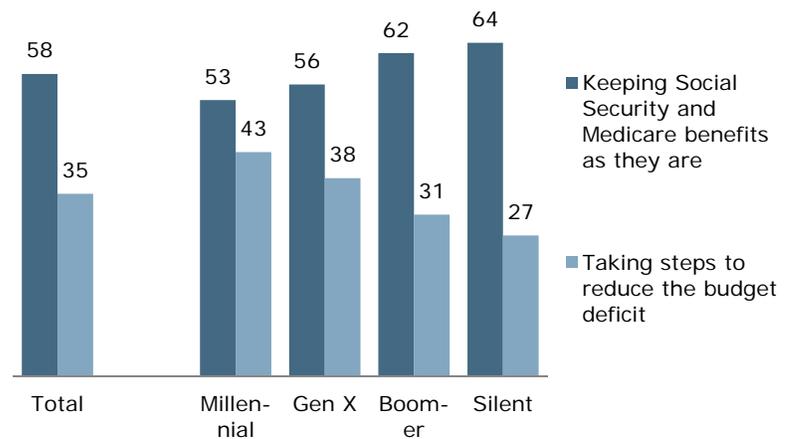
difference in levels of support across generational lines. Similarly, 55% of the public, including nearly identical percentages across generations, favor reducing Medicare benefits for higher-income seniors.

### The Tradeoffs: Priority on Maintaining Entitlement Benefits

Generally, the public is resistant to any cuts in entitlement benefits in order to reduce the budget deficit or reduce the tax burden. By 58% to 35%, most say keeping entitlement benefits as they are is more important than reducing the budget deficit. And by an almost identical 59% to 32% margin, more say that higher priority should be placed on avoiding future Social Security benefit cuts than on avoiding any Social Security tax increases for workers and employers.

Resistance to benefit cuts increases across generations, with both Boomers and Silents siding with preserving entitlement benefits by at least two-to-one. By contrast, Millennials are more divided on both of these questions.

#### Maintaining Benefits Trumps Deficit Reduction



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q77 & Q78.

## Dependence on Social Security

One factor strongly related to attitudes about entitlements is people's reliance – or expected reliance – on these programs. A majority of retired adults (56%) say that Social Security is their main source of income. But among those who are not yet retired, two-thirds (65%) say Social Security will *not* be their main source of income in retirement, while only a 32% minority say that it will.

When probed further, nearly a third (31%) of non-retired adults think they will end up getting no money from Social Security in their retirement.

Not surprisingly, experiences with and expectations about Social Security vary significantly across generations. Among those in the Silent generation – 84% of whom are retired – 58% cite Social Security as their main source of retirement income. Among these, 28% say it is (or will be) their only source of income in retirement, while 30% have other sources to supplement Social Security.

### Social Security: Who Relies on It? Who Expects To?

<i>How much of your retirement income is (will be) from Social Security?</i>	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
	%	%	%	%
SS is main source	24	31	42	58
Only source	10	13	24	28
Have other	13	17	16	30
Not main source	72	65	56	42
Some from SS	26	25	35	39
Nothing from SS	42	35	19	3
Don't know	4	4	2	*
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q87, Q88. Based on total. Retirees asked about Social Security and their current income. Non-retirees asked about sources of income when they are retired. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Millennials, currently ages 18 to 30, have starkly different expectations. More than seven-in-ten (72%) Millennials do not expect Social Security to be their main source of retirement income. In fact, 42% of Millennials think they will get no retirement income from Social Security at all, as do 35% of Generation Xers (currently ages 31 to 46).

While around one-in-five Baby Boomers (22%) say they are already retired, most are not, and their expectations about Social Security are mixed. Fewer than half (42%) of Boomers say that Social Security is or will be their main source of income in retirement, with about a quarter (24%) saying it is or will be their only source of income. A majority (56%) says they will have other sources of income that are more important during retirement, though most of these (35% of all Boomers) say they expect to get at least some income from Social Security to supplement their other sources.

People's dependence, or expected dependence, on Social Security has a significant effect on their attitudes about Social Security policy. In particular, those who say Social Security is or will be their main source of income in retirement overwhelmingly favor maintaining entitlement benefits over deficit reduction as the bigger policy priority. This is particularly true among those in the Silent generation, who have mostly retired already, but also true among Boomers and younger people as well.

Similarly, those who are counting on Social Security as their own primary income source are far more opposed to raising the retirement age

for Social Security eligibility. The link between personal need and views on this issue is notably strong among Baby Boomers. Boomers who say Social Security is or will be their main source of income oppose raising the retirement age by more than two-to-one (69% oppose, 29% favor) while Boomers who say other sources of income will be more important are divided (52% oppose, 47% favor).

### Those Dependent on Social Security Are More Resistant to Changes

	Millennial/Xer		Boomer		Silent	
	SS main source	Not main source	SS main source	Not main source	SS main source	Not main source
<i>Which is the higher priority?</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%
Preserving benefits	68	49	75	53	77	47
Reducing deficit	28	47	19	40	16	41
Both/Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Raise Soc. Sec. retirement age?</i>						
Favor	31	38	29	47	44	61
Oppose	67	60	69	52	52	36
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011 Q77, Q79F1a.  
Generations are divided into those who are receiving or expect to receive most of their retirement income from Social Security, and those who do not.  
The Millennial and Generation X groups have been combined here to achieve significant sample sizes. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## Social Security Matters More to Older Voters

Social Security trails well behind the job situation, the budget deficit, and health care as key voting issues in 2012. But it is clearly among the top issues for older voters – 45% of Silent generation voters cite Social Security as the most important (25%) or second most important (20%) issue to their vote – rivaling the 52% who say jobs, and slightly more than the percentages citing the budget deficit (39%) or health care (38%) as a top voting issue.

Among Baby Boomers, the job situation outranks Social Security as a top voting issue by two-to-one (66% to 33%), and the gap is even wider among Millennials and Generation Xers.

Financial reliance on Social Security is strongly linked to the importance of the issue to voters. Within the Silent generation, 59% of those who get most of their income from Social Security say it is a top voting issue, compared with just 29% of those who say it is not a main source.

### Social Security Among Top Issues for Silents

<i>Which issues matter most to you in deciding your vote for president next year? (1<sup>st</sup> &amp; 2<sup>nd</sup> choice combined)</i>	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
	%	%	%	%	%
Jobs	63	69	65	66	52
The budget deficit	43	41	49	41	39
Health care	40	43	42	37	38
<b>Social Security</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>45</b>
Immigration	15	19	15	13	15
Abortion	4	5	5	4	3
Other (Vol.)	3	4	2	2	2
Don't know	2	3	1	1	2
<i>Social Security ranks as...</i>					
Most important issue	13	3	9	14	25
2 <sup>nd</sup> most important issue	16	10	11	18	20
Neither	<u>71</u>	<u>87</u>	<u>80</u>	<u>68</u>	<u>54</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q42/42a. Based on registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

### Social Security a Much More Important Voting Issue for Those Who Rely on It

	Millennial/Xer		Boomer		Silent	
	SS main source	Not main source	SS main source	Not main source	SS main source	Not main source
SS is a top voting issue in 2012*	% 25	% 14	% 48	% 23	% 59	% 29
Single most important issue	12	4	23	9	33	15
Other issues more important	74	84	51	76	39	68
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q87, Q88.

Generations are divided into those who are receiving or expect to receive most of their retirement income from Social Security, and those who do not.

The Millennial and Generation X groups have been combined here to achieve significant sample sizes.

\* Percent choosing Social Security as the first or second most important issue in their presidential vote.

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

The difference is nearly as large among Boomers – 48% of those who receive or expect to receive most of their retirement income from Social Security rate it as a top voting issue, compared with 23% of Boomers who get most of their income elsewhere.

## Social Security and Voting Preferences

Not only is Social Security a higher priority for Silent voters, it is a significantly bigger factor shaping voting preferences among Silents than among younger generations.

Among all Silents, Mitt Romney holds a 13-point lead (54% to 41%) over Barack Obama. But among the half of Silent voters who rate Social Security as their first or second most important issue, Obama leads by 10 points (51% vs. 41%). Silent generation voters who do not prioritize Social Security favor Romney by two-to-one (64% to 32%).

The gap is somewhat narrower among Boomers: Those who say Social Security is important to their vote favor Obama by 10 points, while Boomers who do not favor Romney by 13 points. Because just a third of Boomers cite Social Security as a top voting issue, Romney holds a modest six-point lead (51% to 45%) among all voters in this cohort.

These gaps reflect the fact that those who prioritize Social Security tend to favor keeping the program unchanged, and tend to be more reliant on the programs, meaning they are typically from lower income households.

### Social Security Voters Favor Obama

	All	Social Security important to your vote?*		Obama Diff
		Yes	No	
<b>Millennial/Gen X (Under 47)</b>	%	%	%	
Obama	53	57	52	+5
Romney	44	38	45	
Other/DK	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	
	100	100	100	
<b>Boomer (47-65)</b>				
Obama	45	53	42	+11
Romney	51	43	55	
Other/DK	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	
	100	100	100	
<b>Silent (66-83)</b>				
Obama	41	51	32	+19
Romney	54	41	64	
Other/DK	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	
	100	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q42/42a.

\* List Social Security as the first or second most important issue in their presidential vote.

The Millennial and Generation X groups have been combined here to achieve significant sample sizes.

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## Future Concerns about Entitlements

Across generations, there is broad agreement that the entitlement programs are not on sound financial footing. And there is considerable concern – again, among young and old alike – that in the future there may not be enough money to provide Social Security and Medicare benefits at their current levels.

By contrast, the possibility that keeping these benefits at their current levels may put too much of a financial burden on younger generations is less of a concern – even among young generations themselves.

Majorities of Gen Xers (70%) and Millennials (57%) say they are very concerned that financial shortfalls in Social Security and Medicare may lead to reduced benefits.

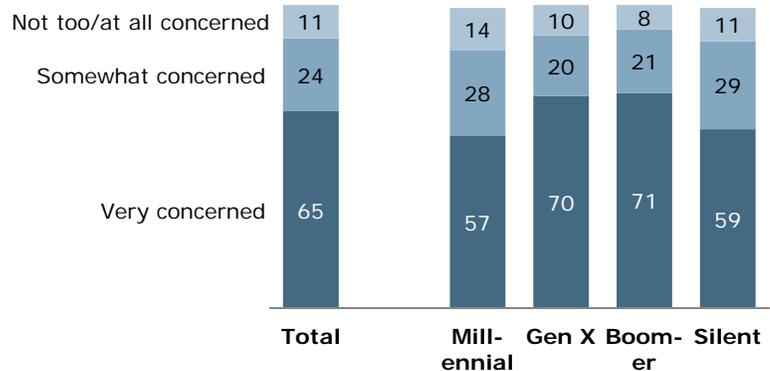
Fewer Gen Xers (45%) and Millennials (41%) are very concerned that maintaining current benefits may excessively burden young people.

In this regard, Gen Xers and Millennials are in synch with Boomers and Silents; among both groups, more are very concerned about possible benefit reductions than by the possibility that keeping benefits at current levels may place too much burden on younger generations.

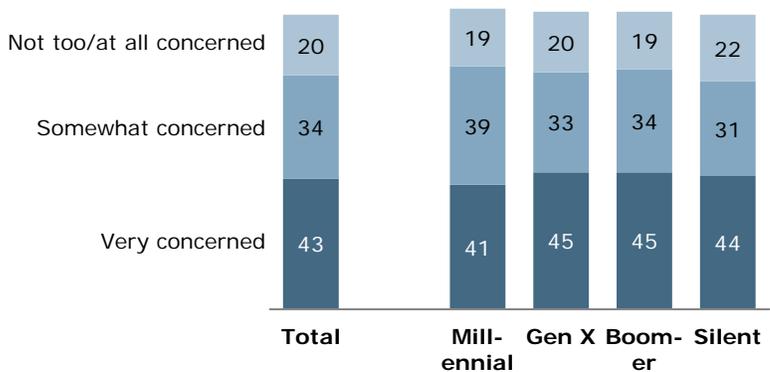
### More Concern Over Keeping Current Benefits Than Burdening Young People

#### How concerned are you that...

*In the future there may not be enough money to provide Social Security and Medicare benefits at their current levels*



*Keeping Social Security and Medicare benefits at their current levels may put too much of a financial burden on younger generations*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q25a-b.

## Few Think Government Does Too Much for Seniors

Majorities of the public say the federal government does not do enough for older people (60%), the middle class (58%), poor people (57%) and children (57%). On the other hand, nearly two thirds (64%) say the government does too much for wealthy people.

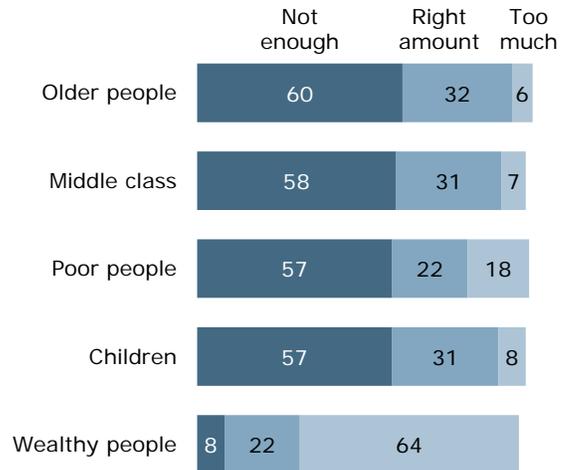
More than half of each generation agrees that the government does not do enough for older people, including 64% among Baby Boomers and those in Generation X. The numbers saying this are slightly lower among the youngest and the oldest generations: 55% of Millennials and 52% of Silents say the government does not do enough for the elderly.

Notably, majorities of Democrats (69%), Republicans (52%) and independents (56%) say the federal government does not do enough for older people.

In addition to their agreement that the government does too little for the elderly, the youngest and the oldest generations both say the government does too much for the wealthy (62% and 63%, respectively). Similar majorities of Gen Xers (66%) and Baby Boomers (68%) say this as well. Substantial majorities of Democrats (76%) and independents (66%) say the government does too much for the wealthy; only about half of Republicans (49%) agree.

### Gov't Seen as Shortchanging Old, Young, Middle Class and Poor

% saying government does ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct 4, 2011. Q21a-e.

### Young and Old Agree: Government Does Too Little for Seniors, Too Much for the Wealthy

	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent diff
<i>Government doesn't do enough for...</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Children	57	64	59	44	+13
The poor	62	54	57	53	+9
The middle class	56	59	62	50	+6
Older people	55	64	64	52	+3
<i>Does too much for...</i>					
The wealthy	62	66	68	63	-1

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q21a-e.

The Silent generation is least likely to say the government does not do enough for children. Just more than four-in-ten (44%) say this, compared with 64% of Gen Xers, 59% of Baby Boomers and 57% of Millennials.

On the other hand, the youngest generation is most likely to say that the government does not do enough for the poor: 62% of Millennials express this view, compared with 53% of the Silent generation. Nearly six-in-ten Boomers agree (57%), as well as 54% of those in Gen X.

## Looking Out for Older People

The public is divided over whether the government or individuals and their families should be mainly responsible for making sure that retired older adults have at least a minimum standard of living. The differences among generations on this question are relatively small.

Looking at the public as a whole, about four-in-ten (43%) say the government is mainly responsible for ensuring at least a minimal standard of living for older people, while 40% say individuals and their families are mostly responsible. More than one-in-ten (14%) volunteer that both are equally responsible.

### Whose Job to Look Out for Older People?

<i>Who should be <u>mainly</u> responsible for ensuring retired adults have at least a minimum standard of living?</i>	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
	%	%	%	%	%
Government	43	44	47	43	36
Individuals and families	40	42	34	39	44
Both equally (Vol.)	14	13	16	14	14
Other/Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

#### *If individuals/families mainly responsible...*

If people or families cannot do this, gov't should be responsible	30	33	26	29	30
Gov't should still not be responsible	9	8	7	9	12
Other/Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	40	42	34	40	44

<i>NET: Government is mainly responsible, jointly responsible, or responsible if families cannot do so themselves</i>	87	90	89	86	80
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PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q9/9a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Millennials and Boomers are nearly evenly divided. The balance among Gen Xers tilts toward the government (47% vs. 34%), while the Silents tilt slightly more toward individual responsibility (44% vs. 36%).

On this question, the divides are greater across income levels than the generations. Among those with household incomes of \$75,000 or more, 51% say individuals should be mainly responsible for making sure older adults getting a basic level of care, while 33% say the government should be. The numbers are reversed among those with household incomes of less than \$30,000 (53% say the government should be mainly responsible, 29% say individuals and their families.) Those with incomes between \$30,000 and \$74,999 are evenly divided (42% each).

When those who say that individuals are mainly responsible are questioned further about whether the government should be responsible if individuals fall short, most agree that the government should be the ultimate backstop. Substantial majorities across all generations say the government should be mainly or partly responsible for ensuring that retired people have a minimum standard of living.

## SECTION 7: VIEWS OF GOVERNMENT

For most of their adult lives, members of the Silent generation have been one of the more conservative generations with respect to their view of the role of government. At least as far back as 1980, when Silents were between the ages of 35 and 52, and in the years since, they have generally been more likely than younger generations to say they prefer a smaller government providing fewer services rather than a bigger government providing more services.

Millennials are at the other end of the spectrum; most favor a bigger government; just 35% prefer a smaller government. And over the last few decades, the relative position of Boomers has shifted in a conservative direction. In 1980, when the oldest Boomers were 34, they were slightly more supportive of bigger government than the rest of the country. But by 1996, when the oldest Boomers were 50, they had become more supportive of smaller government than average. That pattern has continued.

Generation X also has shifted in a less liberal direction. In 1996, when the oldest Gen Xers were 31, they were substantially more supportive of a bigger government than the rest of the country. But today, the balance of opinion among Gen Xers is almost identical to that of the nation at large.

### Majorities of Silents, Boomers Favor Smaller Government

<i>% favoring smaller govt, fewer services</i>	1980	1989	1996	1999	2007	2011
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	54	41	61	46	45	48
Millennial	--	--	--	--	30	35
Gen X	--	--	44	37	39	47
Boomer	49	40	66	49	52	54
Silent	62	50	71	56	56	59
Greatest	57	49	60	50	--	--
<i>Difference from total</i>						
Millennial	--	--	--	--	-15	-13
Gen X	--	--	-17	-9	-6	-1
Boomer	-5	-1	+5	+3	+7	+6
Silent	+8	+9	+10	+10	+11	+11
Greatest	+3	+8	-1	+4	--	--

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q8. 1980-1996 trends from CBS/NYT surveys.

## Current Economic and Political Debates

The public is equally divided about how the government should address the current economic situation: 48% say reducing the deficit should be the more important priority, while 47% put a higher priority on spending to help the economy recover. In keeping with their broader values about government, the generations differ on this fundamental question. Millennials put economic stimulus (55%) ahead of the deficit (41%), while Boomers and Silents tend to prioritize deficit reduction over stimulus spending. Gen X is about evenly divided on this issue.

### Deficit Reduction vs. Economic Stimulus

<i>Which is the higher priority for the federal government?</i>	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent diff
	%	%	%	%	%	
Reducing budget deficit	48	41	47	51	52	-11
Spending to help the economy recover	47	55	49	44	40	+15
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q48. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

The public is also divided over what to do with the health care reform legislation that became law in 2010. Fully 38% want to repeal it, but another 31% want to see the law expanded. Only about one-in-five (22%) want to leave it as is.

### What To Do With the Health Care Legislation

<i>What should Congress do about the 2010 health care legislation?</i>	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent diff
	%	%	%	%	%	
Expand it	31	44	33	27	17	+27
Leave it as is	22	23	21	20	24	-1
Repeal it	38	27	37	44	46	-19
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept 22.-Oct. 4, 2011. Q65. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Overall, the Silent generation is the least supportive of the health care law, with nearly half (46%) favoring repeal and just 17% saying the law should be expanded. Boomers express similar views with 44% favoring repeal and 27% expansion. Gen X's attitudes mirror those of the general public, with 37% calling for repeal, 33% calling for expansion and 21% saying the law should be left as is. Millennials are most likely to favor expansion of the law (44%) and least likely to favor its repeal (27%).

The generation gap on this issue is not new. Just prior to the law's passage in the spring of 2010, Silents were the least likely to favor it. After passage, just a third of Silents

(33%) and Boomers (34%) approved, compared with 43% of Xers and 53% of Millennials.

## Most See Government as Inefficient

Over the past quarter century, Silents and Boomers have been particularly critical of government performance.

Currently, about three-quarters in both groups say that when something is run by the government it is usually inefficient and wasteful. Gen Xers and Millennials have been less critical by comparison. Currently, 57% of Xers and 51% of Millennials say government is usually inefficient and wasteful.

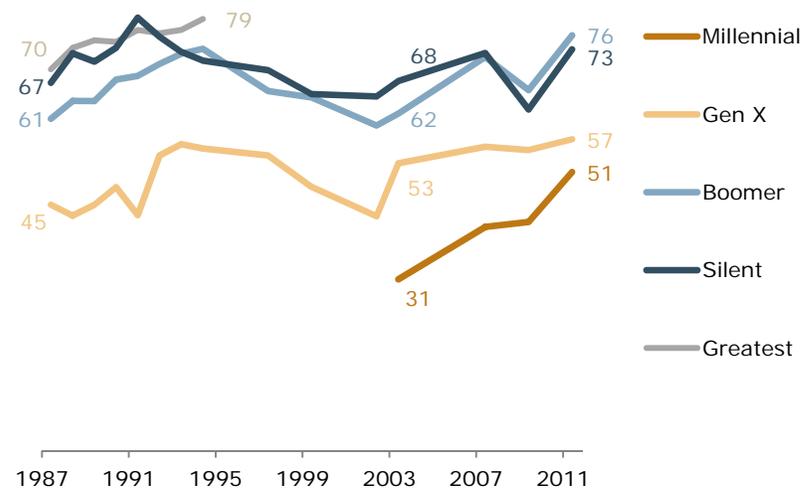
While Millennials are currently among the most positive toward government, their criticism of government performance has risen substantially in recent years. In 2009, 42% described the government as usually inefficient and wasteful. That figure was 31% in 2003.

Concerns about government efficiency have also risen substantially among Boomers. In 2003, 62% described the government as wasteful; that has increased to 76% today. The share of Xers criticizing government performance rose from 43% in 2002 to 53% a year later but has since remained fairly stable.

The Silent generation has been critical of government performance throughout the past quarter century. Yet the percentage of Silents describing government as inefficient and wasteful has risen in the past two years (from 62% in 2009 to 73% currently).

### Silents, Boomers More Likely to Say that Government Is Inefficient and Wasteful

*% agree when something is run by government it is usually inefficient and wasteful*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-25, 2011. PEW5k.

## Government for the People?

Beyond the issue of government efficiency is the question of fairness. Across all generations, fewer than half now believe that “the government is really run for the benefit of all of the people.” There are only modest generational differences in these attitudes. But in 2009, Millennials were more likely than older generations to say that government was run for the benefit of all.

In the current survey, 42% of Millennials, 45% of Xers, 43% of Boomers and just 32% of Silents say the government is really run for the benefit of all the people. In April 2009, just a few months after Barack Obama took office, fully 59% of Millennials said the government is run for the benefit of all.

There also has been a decrease in the percentage of Gen Xers saying this, though the decline has been more gradual. In 2003, 57% said the government was run for all, 12 points higher than today.

Silents have consistently been more negative than Millennials and Xers in views of government fairness over the past decade. But in just the last two years, the percentage saying the government is run for all has slipped from 41% to 32%. As a result, Silents are now less likely than Boomers to say this.

### Silents More Skeptical that Government Is Really Run for the Benefit of All

*% agree government is really run for the benefit of all the people*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-25, 2011. PEW5m.

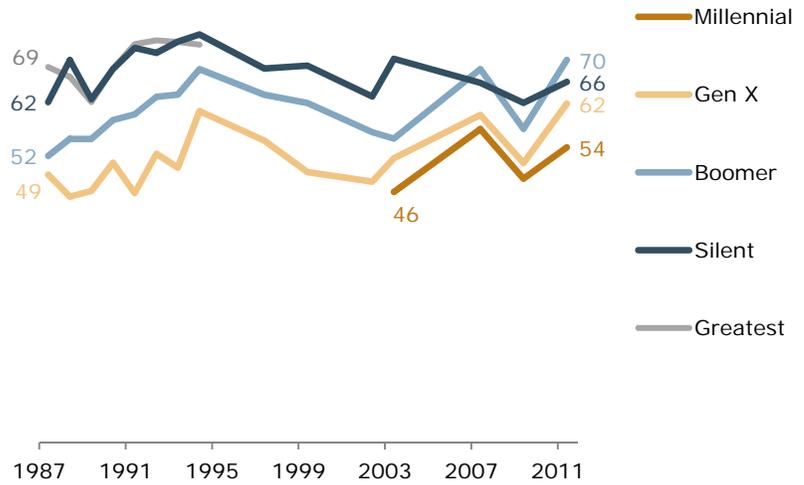
## Government in Daily Lives

Over the course of the past quarter century, a majority has agreed that “the government controls too much of our daily lives.” Currently, 70% of Boomers say this, as do 66% of Silents and 62% of Xers.

Millennials are less likely than Silents or Boomers to express this view, though 54% agree that the government is too involved in people’s daily lives.

### Most Say Government Controls Too Much of Daily Life

*% agree government controls too much of our daily lives*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-25, 2011. PEW51.

## Social Safety Net

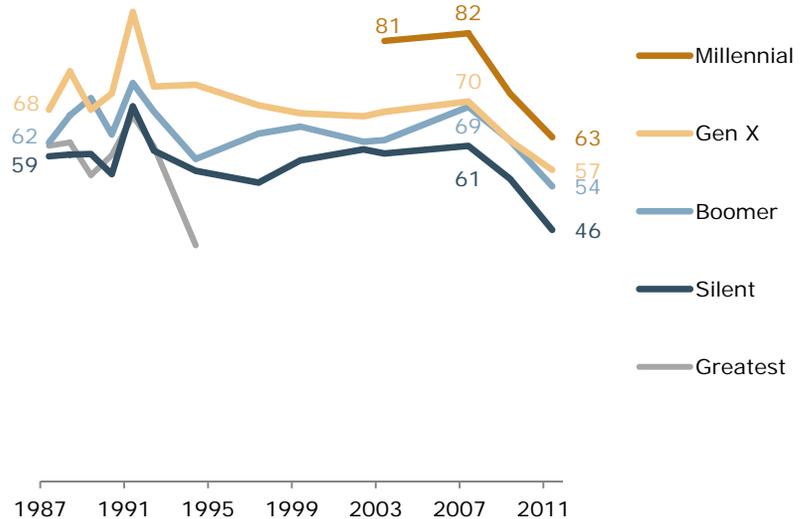
Generational differences also are evident in views of the government's responsibilities toward the poor. Silents, in keeping with their preference for smaller government, have been among the least likely to say the government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep.

Over the past four years, support for the government safety net has dropped. Currently, just 56% of Americans say the government should guarantee everyone food and shelter – the lowest since 1994. This trend has occurred across all generations, but the divide between Silents and Millennials has remained about as large as it was four years ago.

There have been much smaller generational differences when people are asked specifically about the government's responsibility to take care of people who

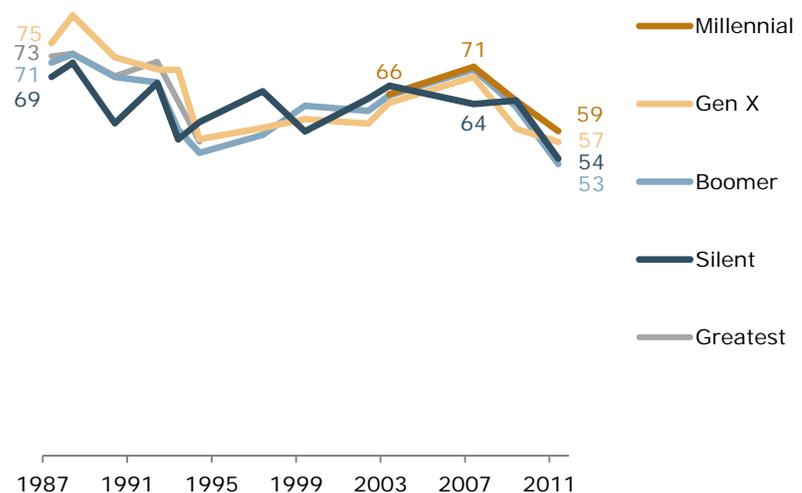
### Fewer Support Government Guaranteeing Food and Shelter

*% agree government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep*



### No Generational Divide Over Helping the Needy

*% agree it is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-25, 2011. PEW5r,t.

cannot take care of themselves. Comparable percentages of Millennials (59%), Xers (57%), Boomers (53%) and Silents (54%) say it is the government's responsibility to take care of the needy.

## Equal Rights

Roughly four-in-ten Americans (39%) say they agree that “we have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country.” About six-in-ten (59%) disagree.

Since the question was first asked in 1987, there generally has been a generational divide in public attitudes, with older generations more likely to say the push for equal rights has gone too far. Currently, 46% of Silents say this, compared with 41% of Boomers, 39% of Gen Xers, and just 28% of Millennials.

### Millennials Least Likely to Say Nation Has Gone Too Far in Pushing Equal Rights

*% agree we have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-25, 2011. PEW5q.



## SECTION 8: DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY VIEWS

### Generations Divide on Some—Not All—Social Issues

As discussed in Sections 1 and 4, different generations of Americans have starkly different views on some of the social changes occurring in the country today. That's particularly the case when it comes to trends related to diversity, homosexuality, and secularism.

While Millennials tend to take a more liberal position on most social issues, this is not universally true. Most notably, there is no significant generational difference on one of the most divisive issues in the nation: abortion rights.

#### Views on Social Issues by Generation

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent diff
<i>Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally:</i>						
	%	%	%	%	%	
Favor	46	59	50	42	33	+26
Oppose	44	35	42	48	55	-20
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>Should marijuana use be made legal?*</i>						
Yes	45	55	49	41	31	+24
No	50	42	47	52	65	-23
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>We've gone too far pushing for equal rights**:</i>						
Agree	39	28	39	41	46	-18
Disagree	59	68	59	58	53	+15
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>Death penalty for those convicted of murder:</i>						
Favor	58	51	63	60	59	-8
Oppose	36	46	33	34	31	+15
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>What is more important?</i>						
Protecting gun rights	47	43	46	50	49	-6
Controlling gun ownership	49	55	50	44	44	+11
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>Abortion should be:</i>						
Legal	54	53	55	56	51	+2
Illegal	41	43	40	39	43	0
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. \*From Feb. 22-Mar. 1, 2011. \*\*From Sept. 22-25, 2011.

## Gay Marriage

The American public divides almost evenly today on the issue of allowing gay marriage: 46% favor allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally, while 44% are opposed. Public views on this issue have changed gradually over time; five years ago – in 2006 – 33% favored gay marriage while 56% were opposed. Fifteen years ago – in 1996 – just 27% favored gay marriage while 65% were opposed. But support has grown much more steeply recently. It is up nine points in just the past two years (37% in 2009, 46% today).

Almost six-in-ten Millennials (59%) favor gay marriage, but just a third (33%) of the Silent generation shares this view. About four-in-ten Boomers (42%) support legal marriage for same-gender couples, as does half (50%) of Generation X.

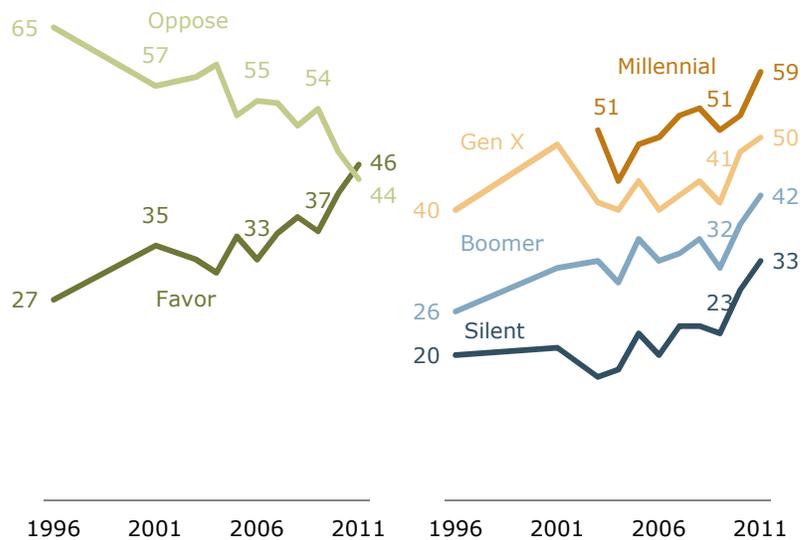
The gradual change over the long term largely reflects the arrival of the new generations politically. Over the course of the past 15 years each younger generation has been more supportive of gay marriage than those older than them. As the younger generations make up a larger share of the public, the balance of opinion shifts inexorably in that direction.

But the shift toward support for gay marriage has been steeper in recent years because this generational replacement has been augmented by significant attitude changes within generations as well. As recently as 2009, just 23% of Silents supported allowing gay marriage. Now 33% say they do. The increase in the past two years also has been notable among Boomers (from 32% to 42%), Gen Xers (from 41% to 50%) and Millennials (from 51% to 59%).

### Allowing Gays and Lesbians to Marry Legally

General Public

Percent Favor, by Generation



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q69b. Data from 1996, 2001 and 2005 from single surveys. Data from 2003 to 2010 represent annual averages of polls conducted in each year. 2011 data from current poll only.

Attitudes about this issue vary by race across generations. Among whites, 50% support gay marriage; among non-whites, the figure is 39%. Even among Millennials – the generation most in favor of gay marriage – the race gap is large. Two-thirds of white Millennials (67%) favor legalizing gay marriage, compared with 48% of non-white Millennials.

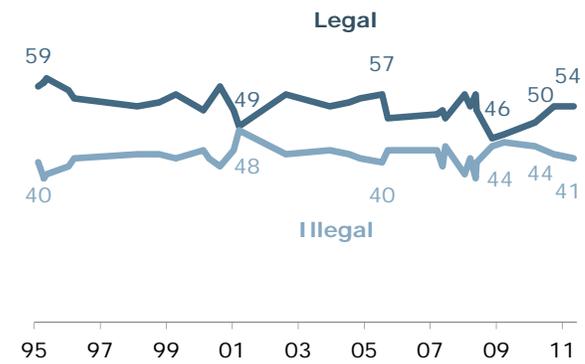
### Abortion

The dynamics of public opinion regarding abortion stand in stark contrast to the issue of gay marriage. While attitudes about legalizing gay marriage have shifted dramatically, public views on the legality of abortion have been far more stable. And while there are huge generational differences when it comes to gay marriage, the same is not true for abortion.

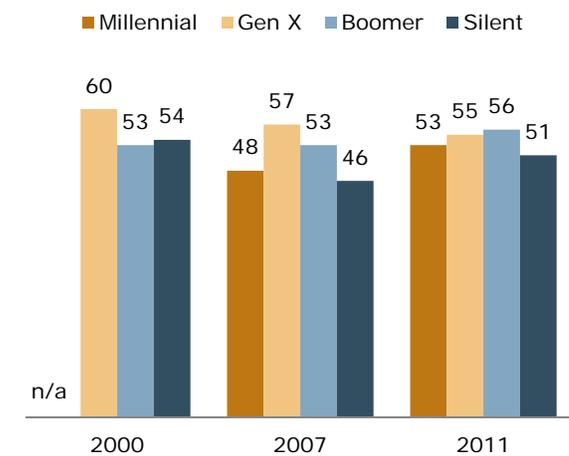
Just more than half of Americans (54%) think abortion should be legal in most (35%) or all (19%) cases. Fewer (41%) say it should be illegal in most (25%) or all (16%) cases. This is comparable to the balance of opinion in Pew Research Center and ABC/Washington Post surveys over the past 15 years, aside from a brief period in 2009 when the balance of opinion ran about even.

As has been the case in the past, differences by generation are small. About half of Silents (51%) say abortion should be legal in all or most cases. That view is shared by 56% of Boomers, 55% of Generation X and 53% of Millennials. Meanwhile, about four-in-ten in each generation say abortion should be illegal in all or most cases.

Little Change in Abortion Attitudes



Percent saying abortion should be legal in all or most cases among...



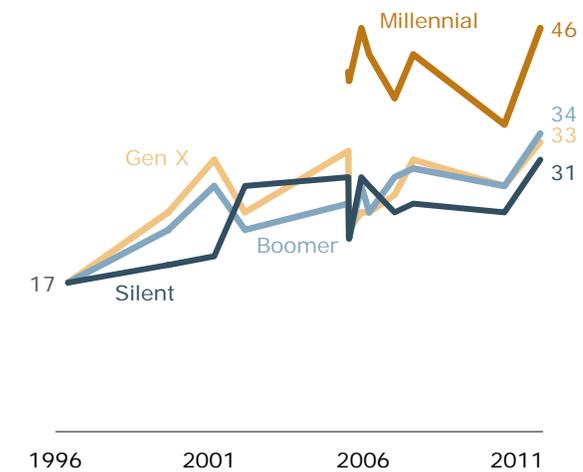
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q70.

## The Death Penalty

A majority of Americans – including over half within each generation – favors the death penalty for persons convicted of murder. Still, support has declined substantially over the past 15 years. The change reflects shifting personal attitudes on this issue, as well as more consistent opposition among Millennials.

Overall, more Americans favor (58%) than oppose (36%) the death penalty for persons convicted of murder. But opposition to the death penalty, while still the minority view, has been on the rise for the past 15 years. In 1996, just 18% of Americans opposed the death penalty. Opposition is up six points in just the past year – from 30% in 2010 to 36% today. (A longer Gallup trend shows that the period from the late 1980s to the mid 1990s was a high point in support for the death penalty. Support had been much lower in a trend going back to 1936. *For more, see Gallup’s report: “[In U.S., Support for Death Penalty Falls to 39-Year Low.](#)”*)

### More Millennials Opposed to Death Penalty for Murderers



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q69a.

Millennials have been consistently more opposed to the death penalty than have older generations. Currently, 51% of Millennials favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder, while 46% are opposed. In each other generation, support outweighs opposition by nearly two-to-one, with little difference between Silents, Boomers and Generation X.

Overall, support for the death penalty remains higher for whites than for people of other races. Whites favor the death penalty by a 65% to 30% margin. Among nonwhites, just 43% favor the death penalty while 50% are opposed. The greater opposition to the death penalty among Millennials in part reflects the racial and ethnic diversity of that generation. The size of this racial gap is similar across all generations, but nonwhites make up a larger share of the younger groups. Still, younger whites and nonwhites express more opposition to the death penalty than their over-30 counterparts.

## Gun Rights and Gun Control

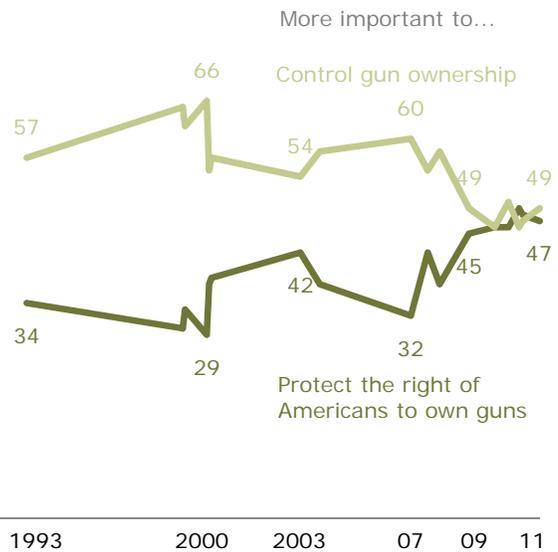
Public attitudes about gun control and gun rights took a sharp turn after Barack Obama took office. Over the previous two decades, majorities of Americans consistently put a higher priority on controlling gun ownership than protecting the right of Americans to own guns. But since early 2009, the public has been divided almost evenly.

In the past, major events have affected the public's views. Most notably, there was an uptick in support for gun control following the Columbine High School shootings in 1999, and more recently, following the mass killings at Virginia Tech in 2007. But there was no such shift following the Tucson shootings earlier this year that left six dead and Rep. Gabrielle Giffords severely injured.

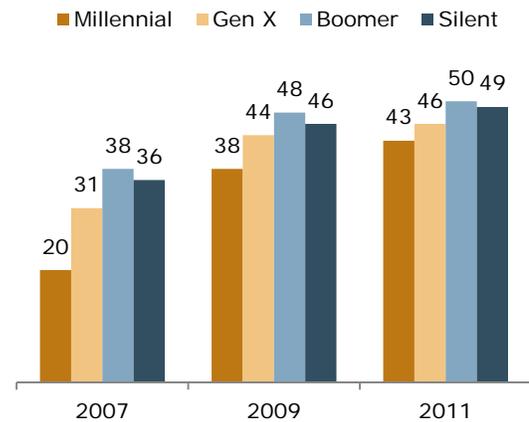
Millennials continue to be somewhat more supportive of gun control than older generations, but the difference is relatively small. Currently, Millennials support controlling gun ownership over protecting gun rights by a 55% to 43% margin. All other generations are divided about evenly.

### Public Divided on Gun Control vs. Gun Rights

General Public



Percent prioritizing gun rights, by generation



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q64.

## Marijuana Legalization

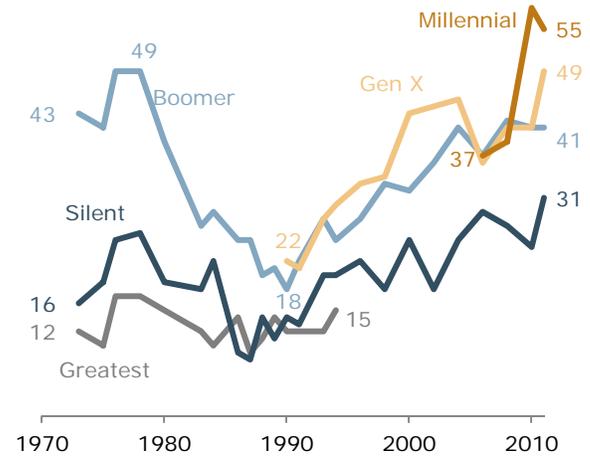
Public attitudes about the legalization of marijuana have shifted dramatically over the past four decades. In 1973, just 20% of Americans said the use of marijuana should be made legal, though this included a substantial 43% of Baby Boomers, who were then still under age 25. Overall support rose to 31% by 1978, but then fell significantly in the 1980s, bottoming out at 16% from 1987 to 1990. Once popular among Baby Boomers, just 18% of Boomers supported marijuana legalization in 1990, when they were between the ages of 26 and 44.

But over the past two decades a growing share of Americans have backed the legalization of marijuana. That number rose to 31% in 2000, 41% in 2010 and 45% in the latest Pew Research Center survey on the issue in March 2011. Still, 50% in the latest survey say the use of marijuana should remain illegal.

Millennials are the only age group in which a majority favors legalizing the use of marijuana – 55% say yes, while 42% say no. Gen Xers are divided about evenly (49% yes, 47% no). Among Silents, opposition continues to outweigh support by roughly two to one (31% yes, 65% no). Though Silents are the least likely to say marijuana should be legal, their current level of support is about the highest it has ever been.

And Baby Boomers, who turned the most sharply against legalizing marijuana in their late 20s and 30s, have now shifted their views again. Currently, 41% of Boomers support legalizing the use of marijuana, while 52% are opposed, roughly the same balance of opinion among Boomers as in 1973.

### Support for Marijuana Legalization



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Feb. 22-Mar. 1, 2011.  
2008 and earlier from General Social Survey.

## Foreign Policy

Younger generations hold more liberal values when it comes to U.S. foreign policy. They are more likely than older people to favor multilateralism over unilateralism and the use of diplomacy to ensure peace, rather than a reliance on military strength.

Two-thirds of Millennials (66%) say that relying too much on military force to defeat terrorism creates hatred that leads to more terrorism. A slimmer majority of Gen Xers (55%) agree. But Boomers and Silents are evenly split between this view and the position that using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism.

### Views on Foreign Policy by Generation

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent diff
<i>In foreign policy, the U.S. should ...</i>	%	%	%	%	%	
Take allies' interests into account even if it means making compromises	53	63	56	49	40	+23
Follow its own national interests, even when allies strongly disagree	36	29	34	39	44	-15
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>17</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>The best way to ensure peace is through...</i>						
Good diplomacy	58	66	62	52	49	+17
Military strength	31	27	28	35	36	-9
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
Relying too much on military force creates hatred that leads to more terrorism	52	66	55	46	41	+15
Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism	38	29	37	43	45	-16
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>15</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
It's OK to refuse to fight in a war you believe is morally wrong	47	62	48	43	36	+26
We should all be willing to fight for our country, whether it is right or wrong	45	33	47	47	56	-23
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Feb. 22-Mar. 1, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## The Iraq and Afghanistan Wars

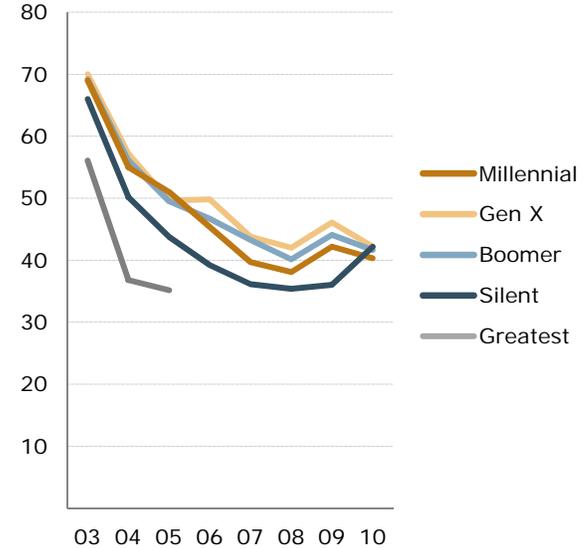
Millennials, more than any other generation, question the value of the unilateral use of military force and encourage diplomatic engagement. But over the years, Millennials have not been more likely than older generations to oppose the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. When it comes to Afghanistan, in particular, it is the Silents, who have the greatest reservations.

When asked whether the war in Iraq has been worth fighting considering the costs and benefits, comparable majorities in all generations say no. Overall, 57% say the war has not been worth fighting, while 36% say it has.

A majority of Americans (52%) also says the war in Afghanistan has not been worth fighting, considering its costs and benefits. There are relatively small generational differences in opinions on this question. But just 32% of Silents say the war has been worth fighting, compared with at least four-in-ten in younger generations

### Support for the War in Iraq

Percent saying military action in Iraq was the "right decision"



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. Based on yearly averages from surveys 2003-2010.

### Iraq and Afghanistan: Wars Worth Fighting?

*Considering the costs versus benefits to the U.S., have the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan been worth fighting?*

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
<b>Iraq</b>	%	%	%	%	%
Yes, worth fighting	36	37	38	35	33
No, not worth fighting	57	57	57	60	55
Don't know	7	7	5	5	12
	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Afghanistan</b>					
Yes, worth fighting	41	44	44	40	32
No, not worth fighting	52	49	50	54	55
Don't know	8	7	6	6	14
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q31. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Younger generations are far more optimistic about the situation in Afghanistan than are their older counterparts. Millennials, and Gen Xers to a slightly lesser degree, mostly think the U.S. will succeed in achieving its goals there. And they are more confident than older generations that Afghanistan will be able to maintain a stable government after most U.S. forces leave the country. Consistent with these views, Millennials and Gen Xers tend to express more support for keeping troops in Afghanistan until the situation has stabilized.

### Assessing Afghanistan

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
	%	%	%	%	%
U.S. will succeed in achieving its goals	58	72	63	52	43
Country will remain stable after U.S. forces leave	38	47	44	32	33
U.S. made the right decision in using force in Afghanistan	57	60	62	58	46
U.S. should keep troops in Afghanistan until the situation is stable	39	45	44	36	33

PEW RESEARCH CENTER June 15-19, 2011.

Americans are divided over whether it is appropriate (45%) or inappropriate (48%) for the military to engage in non-combat missions – as it has in Iraq and Afghanistan – such as reconstruction operations intended to strengthen a country’s social, political and economic institutions. A majority of Millennials (53%) view these missions – sometimes called “nation building” – as appropriate, but just a third of Silents (33%) agree.

### Role of Military in “Nation Building”

*In Afghanistan and Iraq, the military has been asked to engage in non-combat missions like reconstruction and operations designed to strengthen the country’s social, political and economic institutions, sometimes called “nation building.” Do you think these are appropriate or inappropriate roles for the U.S. military?*

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
	%	%	%	%	%
Appropriate	45	53	46	43	33
Inappropriate	48	42	47	51	52
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 1-15, 2011. Q33. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Generations also differ over the nation’s foreign policy priorities. While 24% overall say promoting human rights in foreign countries should be a top long-range foreign policy priority, Millennials are more likely to rate this as a top priority than are Silents (29% vs. 14%). By contrast, Silents are about twice as likely as Millennials to say solving that the Israel-Palestinian conflict should be a top priority (39% vs. 21%).

## Terrorism and Civil Liberties

Though many Millennials were very young at the time of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks in 2001 there is little doubt that it remains a vivid memory. Virtually all adults (97%) say they can remember exactly where they were or what they were doing when they first heard the news. This

includes nearly all Millennials (97%), who were between 8 and 20 years old at the time of the attacks.

The figure is just as high among the youngest Millennials – who were ages 8 to 12 at the time – as among the oldest.

While the recollection is distinct, Millennials are far less likely to describe the attacks as something that moved them or affected them emotionally. More than half (55%) of Millennials say the

9/11 attacks affected them a great deal emotionally, but among older generations, at least eight-in-ten say this. Still, Millennials are about as likely as the public as a whole to say that the Sept. 11 attacks fundamentally changed life in America (68% of Millennials, 61% of public).

One stark difference across generational lines is how people look back at America's actions prior to the attacks. Younger Americans are far more likely to say that there are things the U.S. did wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the Sept. 11 attacks. A slim majority (53%) of Millennials, along with 47% of Gen Xers, say the U.S. did things that may have motivated the attacks. This view is less prevalent among Boomers (39%) and especially Silents (30%).

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### How Generations Look Back At 9/11

	Total	Millennial 8-20	Gen X 21-36	Boomer 37-55	Silent 56-73
Age in 2001	--	8-20	21-36	37-55	56-73
Remember exact moment you heard about 9/11 attacks	97	97	99	97	95
Attacks affected you "a great deal" emotionally	75	55	81	81	84
Attacks changed life in America "in a major way"	61	68	55	63	60
<i>Is there anything the U.S. did wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the 9/11 attacks?</i>					
Yes	43	53	47	39	30
No	45	37	45	47	50
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>21</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug. 17-21, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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## Civil Liberties

Millennials take a starkly different position than older generations when it comes to the tradeoff between civil liberties and security from terrorism. By nearly three-to-one (72% vs. 25%) Millennials say it will not be necessary for the average American to give up some civil liberties in order to curb terrorism. All other age groups are divided over this issue.

There are only modest generational differences in opinions about whether airports should be allowed to conduct extra checks on people of Middle Eastern descent. However, Millennials are more concerned than older generations about government monitoring of Muslims. Most Millennials (55%) believe U.S. policies single out Muslims for increased surveillance, and 37% say this bothers them. Far fewer Xers (23%), Boomers (20%) or Silents (19%) are bothered by this kind of policy.

### Generations and Civil Liberties

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
<i>To curb terrorism, will it be necessary for Americans to give up some civil liberties?</i>					
	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	40	25	48	45	42
No	54	72	46	49	47
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Percent who favor...</i>					
Requiring national ID cards for all citizens	57	58	57	59	49
Allowing airports to do extra checks on people of Middle Eastern descent	53	47	48	56	63
Government monitoring credit card purchases	42	50	45	39	32
<i>Torture against suspected terrorists to gain important information can be justified...</i>					
Often	19	16	20	21	21
Sometimes	34	31	39	35	29
Rarely	18	23	15	16	19
Never	24	24	23	25	26
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>How much support for extremism is there among Muslim Americans?</i>					
Great deal/Fair amount	40	32	38	44	49
Not too much/None	45	57	45	43	37
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Do U.S. policies single out Muslims for increased surveillance and monitoring?</i>					
Yes	44	55	44	39	38
<i>Does this bother you?</i>					
A lot/Some	25	37	23	20	19
Not much/None	19	18	20	19	18
No	46	36	46	52	46
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 20-24, 2011 and Aug. 17-21, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

But Millennials are not uniformly opposed to government anti-terrorism policies that could be seen as infringing on civil liberties. For example, half of Millennials (50%) favor government monitoring of credit card purchases as a measure to curb terrorism. Just 32% of Silents agree. And there are no substantial generational differences over requiring a national ID card.

In addition, there are only modest differences in attitudes about the government use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information. Overall, 54% of Americans believe this can be often or sometimes justified, including roughly half in all generational groups.

## Free Trade and China

Millennials stand out for their strong support of free trade. By about two-to-one (63% to 30%) more Millennials say free trade agreements are good for the country rather than bad. Other generations are divided about evenly on this question.

Moreover, nearly seven-in-ten Millennials (69%) say it is more important to build a stronger economic relationship with China; just 24% say it is more important

to get tough with China on economic issues. Gen Xers on balance favor building stronger economic ties with China, but by a much smaller margin (53% to 41%). Boomers and Silents are about evenly divided over this.

### Millennials View Free Trade Positively, Favor Stronger Economic Ties with China

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent diff
<i>More important to...</i>						
	%	%	%	%	%	
Build a stronger economic relationship with China	53	69	53	47	42	+27
Get tough with China on economic issues	40	24	41	47	49	-25
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>10</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>Free trade agreements...</i>						
Good thing	48	63	45	41	41	+22
Bad thing	41	30	43	48	43	-13
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>16</u>	
	100	100	100	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Feb. 22- Mar. 1, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## Immigration

The public has long endorsed measures aimed at restricting the flow of illegal immigration, as well as a so-called path to citizenship for people in this country illegally. A large majority (78%) favors stronger enforcement of immigration laws and border security. Nearly as many (72%) favor providing a way for illegal immigrants already in the country to gain legal citizenship if they meet certain requirements.

Younger generations are more likely to favor creating a path to citizenship than are older ones. Eight-in-ten Millennials (81%) favor providing a way for illegal immigrants currently in the country to gain legal citizenship if they pass background checks, pay fines and have jobs. Three-quarters of Gen X (76%) also favor this approach, but fewer Boomers (68%) and Silents (61%) do.

When it comes to immigration enforcement, at least eight-in-ten Xers, Boomers and Silents favor enhancing it. Fewer Millennials (68%) favor stronger enforcement of immigration laws and border security.

### Views on Immigration Policies

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent	Mill-Silent diff
<i>Building a fence along the entire Mexican border</i>						
Favor	46	42	46	50	49	-7
Oppose	47	55	48	43	40	+15
Don't know	6	4	6	7	10	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>Stronger enforcement of immigration laws and border security</i>						
Favor	78	68	80	85	80	-12
Oppose	19	31	17	13	16	+15
Don't know	3	2	3	2	4	
	100	100	100	100	100	
<i>Providing a path to citizenship for illegal immigrants</i>						
Favor	72	81	76	68	61	+20
Oppose	24	17	22	27	34	-17
Don't know	3	2	1	5	5	
	100	100	100	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 22-Oct. 4, 2011. Q69c. Feb. 22-Mar. 1, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Americans are divided over whether to build a fence along the entire border with Mexico: 46% favor this idea and 47% oppose it. Millennials are the only generation in which a majority (55%) opposes building a fence along the border with Mexico.

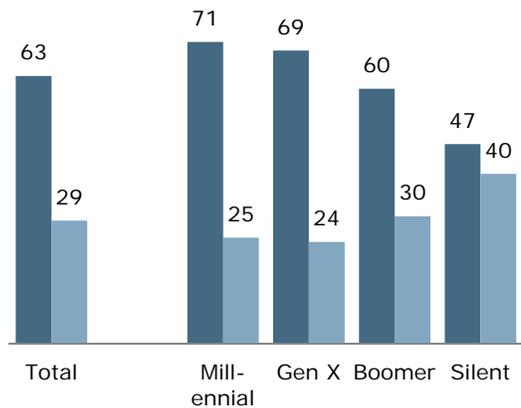
## The Environment, Energy and Climate Change

There are deep generational divides over the nation's energy and environmental priorities, and in terms of general values, it is the Silent generation that stands apart. In setting America's energy policy priorities, 71% of Millennials say we should focus on developing alternative energy sources rather than expanding oil, coal and natural gas exploration. Roughly the same number of Gen Xers (69%), and a broad majority of Boomers (60%) agree. But among Silents, opinion is more divided; 47% say alternative energy should be the priority, while 40% say the country should focus on expanding exploration and production of fossil fuels.

The pattern is similar in how the generations evaluate the impact of environmental laws and regulations. Just over half (53%) of Americans say these laws are worth the cost, including most Millennials, Gen Xers and Boomers. A 39% minority of Americans say stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy. This figure rises to 49% among the Silents.

### What Should Be America's Energy Policy Priority?

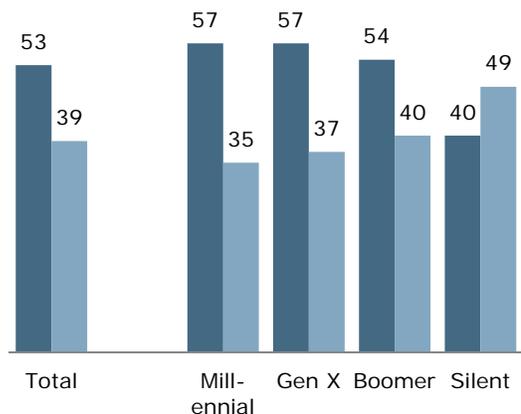
- Developing alternative sources of energy such as wind, solar and hydrogen technology
- Expanding exploration and production of oil, coal and natural gas



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Feb. 22-Mar. 1, 2011.

### Stricter Environmental Laws and Regulations...

- Are worth the cost
- Cost too many jobs and hurt the economy



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Feb. 22-Mar. 1, 2011.

These generational differences extend to specific policy proposals as well. A March Pew Research Center survey found overwhelming majorities of Millennials (82%), Xers (80%) and Boomers (74%) favoring increased federal funding for wind, solar and hydrogen technologies. Barely half of Silents (54%) agreed. And while the three younger generations clearly favor tax incentives for people who buy hybrid or electric vehicles, Silents tend to be opposed.

While Americans, on balance, prioritize investment in alternative energy sources over

expanding fossil fuel production, most support both ideas. By a 57% to 37% margin, most favor allowing greater offshore oil and gas drilling in U.S. waters. (Support had decreased to a low of 44% in the wake of the summer 2010 BP oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico.) Both Boomers and Silents endorse expanded offshore drilling by more than two-to-one, while Xers and Millennials are more divided.

Public support for promoting the increased use of nuclear power fell to 39% in the wake of the catastrophic damage to a Japanese nuclear power plant following the March 2011 earthquake and tsunami there. Even so, a modest generational divide persisted, with Millennials and Xers expressing more opposition to expanded nuclear power (58% each) than Silents (38%).

## Policies to Address America's Energy Supply

<i>Policies to address America's energy supply</i>	Total %	Millennial %	Gen X %	Boomer %	Silent %	Mill-Silent diff
More federal funding for wind, solar, hydrogen technology						
Favor	74	82	80	74	54	+28
Oppose	21	15	16	23	34	-19
Spending more on subway, rail and bus systems						
Favor	61	65	62	62	47	+18
Oppose	34	32	32	34	41	-9
Tax incentives for buying hybrid/electric vehicles						
Favor	58	69	67	56	38	+31
Oppose	35	26	29	37	52	-26
Allowing more offshore oil and gas drilling in U.S. waters						
Favor	57	46	51	66	67	-21
Oppose	37	52	41	29	23	+29
Promoting the increased use of nuclear power*						
Favor	39	38	34	42	48	-10
Oppose	52	58	58	50	38	+20

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Mar. 17-20, 2011.

\* Note: survey conducted roughly a week after a major tsunami caused catastrophic damage to a Japanese nuclear power plant.

## Perspectives on Climate Change

A majority of Americans (58%) say there is solid evidence that the average temperature on earth has been getting warmer, according to the most recent Pew Research Center survey on this issue in March of this year. Among those who say the earth is warming, more say it is caused by human activity (36%) rather than natural patterns (18%).

### Generational Gap in Views on Global Warming

	Total	Millennial	Gen X	Boomer	Silent
<i>Is there solid evidence the earth is warming?</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	58	64	59	55	55
Because of human activity	36	43	41	32	22
Because of natural patterns	18	18	16	18	22
Don't know	5	3	2	5	11
No	34	28	35	39	36
Mixed/Don't know	7	8	6	6	9
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Feb. 22-Mar. 1, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Millennials are slightly more likely than the older generations to say there is solid evidence of warming and that the warming is caused mostly by human activity. Currently, 64% of Millennials say they think the earth is getting warmer, a view shared by 59% of Xers and 55% of Silents and Boomers. And Millennials are almost twice as likely as Silents to say that global warming is caused mostly by human activity (43% vs. 22%).

The overall share of Americans who say the earth is warming has declined over the past five years. In 2006, 77% said there is solid evidence of global warming. That fell sharply from 71% in 2008 to 57% in 2009 and now stands at 58%.

### Fewer Say Earth is Warming Across all Generations

% who say earth is warming	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	06-11 Change
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Total	77	77	71	57	59	58	-19
Millennial	80	80	78	64	66	64	-16
Gen X	76	76	70	56	58	59	-17
Boomer	77	76	72	57	57	55	-22
Silent	76	74	67	48	56	55	-21

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Feb. 22- Mar. 1, 2011.

The decline in the view that the earth is warming has occurred across generational lines. Currently, 64% of Millennials say there is solid evidence that the average temperature on earth has been warming, down from 80% in 2006. There has been a similar shift among Silents from 76% in 2006 to 55% this year.

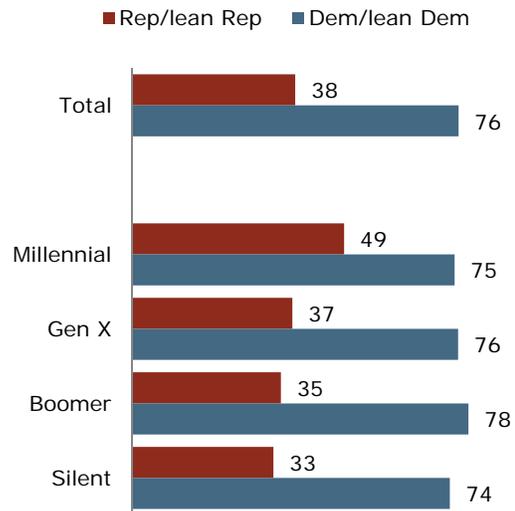
As reported in [2009](#), the public's views on climate change have become increasingly partisan, and there continues to be a wide partisan divide on this issue. Pew Research Center polling over the past three years has found that twice as many Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents say there is solid evidence of global warming than Republicans and GOP-leaning independents (76% vs. 38%).

Among Democrats and leaners, there is virtually no generational divide on whether there is solid evidence of warming (about three-fourths in all generations say this) and only a modest divide on whether warming is caused by human activity (55% of Millennial Democrats say this, compared with 43% of Silent Democrats).

But there are generational differences among Republicans. About half (49%) of Millennial Republicans and Republican leaners say global warming is occurring, compared with 33% of Silent Republicans. There also is a generational gap among Republicans on whether warming is caused mostly by human activity (29% of Millennial Republicans say this compared with just 9% of Silent Republicans).

### Partisan Division over Climate Change, Generation a Factor Within GOP

*% saying there is solid evidence earth is warming*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER. Average of 2009, 2010 and 2011 polls.



## About the Surveys

Most of the analysis in this report is drawn from two telephone surveys.

The survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press was conducted September 22-October 4, 2011, among a national sample of 2,410 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (1,442 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 968 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 462 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <http://people-press.org/methodology/>

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

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	2,410	2.5 percentage points
<i>Generations</i>		
Millennial (18-30 year olds)	381	6.5 percentage points
Generation X (31-46 year olds)	493	5.5 percentage points
Baby Boomer (47-65 year olds)	905	4.0 percentage points
Silent (66-83 year olds)	513	5.5 percentage points
Total registered voters	1,901	3.0 percentage points
Millennial voters	200	8.5 percentage points
Generation X voters	367	6.5 percentage points
Baby Boomer voters	773	4.5 percentage points
Silent voters	459	5.5 percentage points

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

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

The survey by the Pew Research Center's Social and Demographic Trends project was conducted September 1-15, 2011, among a national sample of 2,003 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (1,203 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 800 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 349 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older.

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

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	2,003	3.0 percentage points
<i>Generations</i>		
Millennial (18-30 year olds)	353	6.5 percentage points
Generation X (31-46 year olds)	435	6.0 percentage points
Baby Boomer (47-65 year olds)	719	4.5 percentage points
Silent (66-83 year olds)	412	6.0 percentage points

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

Additional analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted September 22-25, 2011, among a national sample of 1,000 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (600 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 400 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 186 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English. 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.

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

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	1,000	4.0 percentage points
<i>Generations</i>		
Millennial (18-30 year olds)	182	9.0 percentage points
Generation X (31-46 year olds)	195	8.5 percentage points
Baby Boomer (47-65 year olds)	362	6.5 percentage points
Silent (66-83 year olds)	199	8.5 percentage points

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



**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**OCTOBER 2011 GENERATIONS SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**September 22- October 4, 2011**  
**N=2410**

**RANDOMIZE Q.1/Q1.a BLOCK AND Q.2****ASK ALL:**

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

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

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

Q.1a Do you [approve/disapprove] very strongly, or not so strongly?

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

Sep 22-Oct 4		Aug 17-21	Feb 22-	Jan 5-9	Aug 25-	Jun 16-20	Jan 6-10	Apr 14-21
<u>2011</u>		<u>2011</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2010</u>	<u>2009</u>
43	Approve	43	51	46	47	48	49	63
26	Very strongly	26	32	27	28	29	30	45
15	Not so strongly	15	18	16	17	17	15	13
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2	2	2	2	3	5
48	Disapprove	49	39	44	44	43	42	26
34	Very strongly	38	29	30	32	31	30	18
13	Not so strongly	11	10	13	11	11	11	8
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	1	1	1	1	*
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7	10	10	9	9	10	11

**RANDOMIZE Q.1/Q1.a BLOCK 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- fied	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref		Satis- fied	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	17	78	5	Late November, 2005	34	59	7
Aug 17-21, 2011	17	79	4	Early October, 2005	29	65	6
Jul 20-24, 2011	17	79	4	July, 2005	35	58	7
Jun 15-19, 2011	23	73	4	Late May, 2005*	39	57	4
May 5-8, 2011	30	62	8	February, 2005	38	56	6
May 2, 2011	32	60	8	January, 2005	40	54	6
Mar 8-14, 2011	22	73	5	December, 2004	39	54	7
Feb 2-7, 2011	26	68	5	Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6
Jan 5-9, 2011	23	71	6	July, 2004	38	55	7
Dec 1-5, 2010	21	72	7	May, 2004	33	61	6
Nov 4-7, 2010	23	69	8	Late February, 2004*	39	55	6
Sep 23-26, 2010	30	63	7	Early January, 2004	45	48	7
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	25	71	5	December, 2003	44	47	9
Jun 24-27, 2010	27	64	9	October, 2003	38	56	6
May 13-16, 2010	28	64	7	August, 2003	40	53	7
Apr 21-26, 2010	29	66	5	April 8, 2003	50	41	9
Apr 1-5, 2010	31	63	6	January, 2003	44	50	6
Mar 11-21, 2010	25	69	5	November, 2002	41	48	11
Mar 10-14, 2010	23	71	7	September, 2002	41	55	4
Feb 3-9, 2010	23	71	6	Late August, 2002	47	44	9
Jan 6-10, 2010	27	69	4	May, 2002	44	44	12
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7	March, 2002	50	40	10
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7	Late September, 2001	57	34	9
Sep 10-15, 2009 <sup>1</sup>	30	64	7	Early September, 2001	41	53	6
Aug 20-27, 2009	28	65	7	June, 2001	43	52	5
Aug 11-17, 2009	28	65	7	March, 2001	47	45	8
Jul 22-26, 2009	28	66	6	February, 2001	46	43	11
Jun 10-14, 2009	30	64	5	January, 2001	55	41	4
Apr 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7
Apr 14-21, 2009	23	70	7	September, 2000	51	41	8
Jan 7-11, 2009	20	73	7	June, 2000	47	45	8
December, 2008	13	83	4	April, 2000	48	43	9
Early October, 2008	11	86	3	August, 1999	56	39	5
Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6	January, 1999	53	41	6
August, 2008	21	74	5	November, 1998	46	44	10
July, 2008	19	74	7	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
June, 2008	19	76	5	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
Late May, 2008	18	76	6	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
March, 2008	22	72	6	February, 1998	59	37	4
Early February, 2008	24	70	6	January, 1998	46	50	4
Late December, 2007	27	66	7	September, 1997	45	49	6
October, 2007	28	66	6	August, 1997	49	46	5
February, 2007	30	61	9	January, 1997	38	58	4
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7	July, 1996	29	67	4
Early January, 2007	30	63	7	March, 1996	28	70	2
December, 2006	28	65	7	October, 1995	23	73	4
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8	June, 1995	25	73	2
Early October, 2006	30	63	7	April, 1995	23	74	3
July, 2006	30	65	5	July, 1994	24	73	3
May, 2006*	29	65	6	March, 1994	24	71	5
March, 2006	32	63	5	October, 1993	22	73	5
January, 2006	34	61	5	September, 1993	20	75	5
				May, 1993	22	71	7
				January, 1993	39	50	11
				January, 1992	28	68	4
				November, 1991	34	61	5

<sup>1</sup> 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.2 CONTINUED...**

	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>
<i>Gallup</i> : Late Feb, 1991	66	31	3	January, 1989	45	50	5
August, 1990	47	48	5	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5
May, 1990	41	54	5				

**NO QUESTIONS 3-6**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.7 Would you say your overall opinion of... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about **[NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: do you have a very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable opinion of [ITEM]?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.) Never	(VOL.) Can't rate/ Ref
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>heard of</u>	<u>Ref</u>
a. The Republican Party								
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	36	7	29	55	27	28	*	9
Aug 17-21, 2011	34	5	29	59	27	32	*	7
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	42	9	32	51	22	28	1	7
Feb 2-7, 2011	43	8	35	48	19	29	*	9
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	8	35	49	21	28	*	8
July 1-5, 2010	39	10	29	49	24	25	*	12
April 1-5, 2010	37	8	29	53	26	27	*	9
Mar 18-21, 2010	37	5	32	51	20	31	*	12
Feb 3-9, 2010	46	5	41	46	14	32	0	8
Aug 20-27, 2009	40	6	34	50	19	31	*	10
Aug 11-17, 2009	40	7	33	50	18	32	*	10
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	40	7	33	51	17	34	0	9
Jan 7-11, 2009	40	5	35	55	21	34	*	5
Late October, 2008	40	10	30	50	23	27	*	10
Mid-September, 2008	47	11	36	46	22	24	*	7
August, 2008	43	9	34	49	18	31	1	7
Late May, 2008	39	7	32	53	20	33	*	8
July, 2007	39	7	32	53	22	31	0	8
Early January, 2007	41	9	32	48	21	27	1	10
Late October, 2006	41	9	32	50	20	30	*	9
July, 2006	40	10	30	52	23	29	1	7
April, 2006	40	10	30	50	21	29	*	10
February, 2006	44	11	33	50	24	26	*	6
Late October, 2005	42	12	30	49	24	25	*	9
July, 2005	48	13	35	43	18	25	*	9
June, 2005	48	11	37	44	20	24	0	8
December, 2004	52	15	37	42	17	25	0	6
June, 2004	51	12	39	40	14	26	0	9
Early February, 2004	52	14	38	42	16	26	*	6
June, 2003	58	14	44	33	10	23	0	9
April, 2003	63	14	49	31	10	21	*	6
December, 2002	59	18	41	33	11	22	*	8
July, 2001	48	11	37	42	15	27	*	10
January, 2001	56	13	43	35	13	22	*	9
September, 2000 (RVs)	53	11	42	40	12	28	0	7
August, 1999	53	8	45	43	12	31	*	4
February, 1999	44	7	37	51	15	36	0	5
January, 1999	44	10	34	50	23	27	0	6
Early December, 1998	46	11	35	47	20	27	*	7
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	9	43	42	14	28	0	6
Early September, 1998	56	9	47	37	11	26	*	7
March, 1998	50	10	40	43	12	31	*	7

## Q. 7 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
August, 1997	47	9	38	47	11	36	*	6
June, 1997	51	8	43	42	11	31	1	6
January, 1997	52	8	44	43	10	33	*	5
October, 1995	52	10	42	44	16	28	*	4
December, 1994	67	21	46	27	8	19	*	6
July, 1994	63	12	51	33	8	25	*	4
May, 1993	54	12	42	35	10	25	0	11
July, 1992	46	9	37	48	17	31	*	6
b. The Democratic Party								
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	46	13	32	45	19	26	*	9
Aug 17-21, 2011	43	9	34	50	21	29	*	7
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	48	14	34	45	18	27	*	6
Feb 2-7, 2011	47	13	35	46	17	29	*	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	50	13	36	44	20	24	*	7
July 1-5, 2010	44	12	31	45	22	23	*	11
April 1-5, 2010	38	9	29	52	27	25	*	9
Mar 18-21, 2010	40	8	32	49	25	24	*	11
Feb 3-9, 2010	48	9	39	44	17	27	*	8
Aug 20-27, 2009	48	11	37	43	19	24	*	10
Aug 11-17, 2009	49	12	37	40	16	25	*	10
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	59	15	44	34	13	21	*	7
Jan 7-11, 2009	62	19	43	32	12	20	*	6
Late October, 2008	57	19	38	33	15	18	*	10
Mid-September, 2008	55	18	37	39	14	25	*	6
August, 2008	57	16	41	37	13	24	*	6
Late May, 2008	57	14	43	37	14	23	*	6
July, 2007	51	13	38	41	14	27	0	8
Early January, 2007	54	15	39	35	12	23	*	11
Late October, 2006	53	13	40	36	11	25	*	11
July, 2006	47	13	34	44	13	31	2	7
April, 2006	47	12	35	42	14	28	*	11
February, 2006	48	14	34	44	17	27	0	8
Late October, 2005	49	14	35	41	15	26	*	10
July, 2005	50	15	35	41	14	27	*	9
June, 2005	52	12	40	39	13	26	*	9
December, 2004	53	13	40	41	14	27	*	6
June, 2004	54	12	42	36	11	25	0	10
Early February, 2004	58	14	44	37	9	28	*	5
June, 2003	54	11	43	38	10	28	0	8
April, 2003	57	13	44	36	11	25	*	7
December, 2002	54	15	39	37	10	27	*	9
July, 2001	58	18	40	34	10	24	*	8
January, 2001	60	18	42	30	9	21	1	9
September, 2000 (RVs)	60	16	44	35	12	23	*	5
August, 1999	59	14	45	37	9	28	*	4
February, 1999	58	11	47	37	11	26	0	5
January, 1999	55	14	41	38	12	26	0	7
Early December, 1998	59	18	41	34	10	24	0	7
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	56	11	45	38	9	29	*	6
Early September, 1998	60	13	47	33	8	25	*	7
March, 1998	58	15	43	36	10	26	*	6
August, 1997	52	11	41	42	10	32	0	6
June, 1997	61	10	51	33	8	25	*	6
January, 1997	60	13	47	35	7	28	*	5
October, 1995	49	9	40	48	11	37	0	3
December, 1994	50	13	37	44	13	31	*	6
July, 1994	62	13	49	34	7	27	*	4
May, 1993	57	14	43	34	9	25	0	9

## Q.7 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
July, 1992	61	17	44	33	9	24	*	6

## ASK ALL:

Q.8 If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing fewer services, or a bigger government providing more services?

	Smaller government, <u>fewer services</u>	Bigger government, <u>more services</u>	(VOL.) <u>Depends</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	48	41	2	8
Mar 8-14, 2011	50	42	3	5
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	50	42	3	5
Apr 1-5, 2010	50	39	4	8
Feb 3-9, 2010	50	40	3	7
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	51	40	4	6
Mar 9-12, 2009	48	40	3	9
Late October 2008	42	43	4	11
November 2007	47	42	4	7
January 2007	45	43	4	8
<i>LA Times/Bloomberg</i> : January 2006	49	38	--	13
<i>LA Times</i> : January 2005	52	36	--	12
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : June 2004	50	46	--	4
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : November 2003	45	42	4	9
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : July 2003	48	40	5	7
<i>ABC</i> : November 2002 ( <i>Likely voters</i> )	60	35	--	5
<i>Wash Post</i> : September 2002	54	39	--	7
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : July 2002	53	42	--	6
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : January 2002	54	41	--	5
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : January 2002	46	40	3	11
<i>LA Times</i> : November 2001	48	41	--	11
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : October 2001	48	39	3	11
<i>LA Times</i> : March 2001	59	29	--	12
<i>CBS</i> : January 2001	51	36	5	8
<i>CBS</i> : November 2000	54	31	5	10
<i>CBS</i> : October 2000	57	32	5	6
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : October 2000 ( <i>RVs</i> )	58	32	--	10
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : Early October 2000 ( <i>RVs</i> )	58	33	--	9
<i>LA Times</i> : September 2000 ( <i>RVs</i> )	59	26	--	15
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : July 2000	59	34	--	7
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : April 2000	56	38	--	7
<i>CBS</i> : September 1999	46	43	5	6
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : August 1998	59	35	--	6
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : August 1996	63	32	--	5
<i>LA Times</i> : April 1996	62	28	--	10
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : February 1996	61	30	4	5
<i>LA Times</i> : October 1995	68	23	--	9
<i>LA Times</i> : September 1995	62	27	--	11
<i>LA Times</i> : January 1995	63	27	--	10
<i>LA Times</i> : June 1993	60	29	--	11
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : February 1993	67	30	--	2
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : July 1992	55	38	--	7
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : October 1991	42	43	7	8
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : January 1989 <sup>2</sup>	41	48	4	7
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : October 1988 ( <i>Likely voters</i> )	47	37	7	9
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : July 1988	49	45	--	6
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : May 1988	43	44	5	8

<sup>2</sup> In 1989 and earlier, CBS/NYT question read, "In general, government grows bigger as it provides more services. If you had to choose, would you rather have a smaller government providing less services or a bigger government providing more services?"

## Q.8 CONTINUED...

	Smaller government, <u>fewer services</u>	Bigger government, <u>more services</u>	(VOL.) <u>Depends</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
<i>ABC/Wash Post</i> : July 1984	49	43	--	7
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : March 1980	54	32	--	14
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : June 1978	53	36	--	11
<i>Wash Post</i> : January 1978	40	39	--	21
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : November 1976	42	45	--	13
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : October 1976 (RVs)	49	37	--	14
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : September 1976 (RVs)	48	41	--	11
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : June 1976	42	43	--	15
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : May 1976	41	43	--	16
<i>CBS/NYT</i> : April 1976	40	44	--	16

## ASK ALL:

Q.9 Now thinking about all of the U.S. presidents during your lifetime, which ONE has done the best job as president? [OPEN END **DO NOT READ**] [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTIONS: ACCEPT LAST NAME BUT PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN GEORGE W. BUSH AND GEORGE H.W. BUSH. IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS A NAME NOT LISTED, CLARIFY "a president during your lifetime"]

## ASK IF NAMED A PRESIDENT (Q.9=1-15)

Q.10 And which president, if any, would you name second?

Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011

First choice	Second choice	Total	
34	15	49	Bill Clinton
25	9	34	Ronald Reagan
7	7	15	John F. Kennedy
7	13	20	Barack Obama
5	10	15	George W. Bush
3	9	12	George H.W. Bush
2	4	6	Jimmy Carter
2	1	3	Franklin Roosevelt
2	3	4	Dwight Eisenhower
2	1	2	Harry Truman
1	2	3	Richard Nixon
1	1	2	Lyndon Johnson
*	1	1	Gerald Ford
0	*	*	Herbert Hoover
3	8	3	None
7	7	7	Don't know/Refused
--	10	--	No first choice

## NO QUESTIONS 11-16

## ASK ALL:

Q.17 Would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs [READ]?

	Most of <u>the time</u>	Some of <u>the time</u>	Only now <u>and then</u>	Hardly <u>at all</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	47	28	15	8	1
Feb 22-Mar 14, 2011	50	29	14	6	1
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	56	29	10	5	*
Oct 13-18, 2010	49	28	12	10	1
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 <sup>3</sup>	52	25	13	10	1
January, 2007	53	28	11	7	1
November, 2006 (RVs)	58	26	10	6	*

<sup>3</sup> In January 2007 and earlier, the question read: "Some people seem to follow what's going on in government and public affairs most of the time, whether there's an election or not. Others aren't that interested. Would you ...?" A wording experiment was conducted in the Aug. 25-Sept. 6, 2010 survey comparing the new and old question wording and no significant differences were found. Results for two questions in that survey are combined.

## Q.17 CONTINUED...

	<u>Most of the time</u>	<u>Some of the time</u>	<u>Only now and then</u>	<u>Hardly at all</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
Late October, 2006 (RVs)	57	30	8	5	*
December, 2005	50	28	14	8	*
December, 2004	45	35	14	5	1
November, 2004 (RVs)	61	27	9	3	*
Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	63	26	8	3	*
June, 2004	44	34	15	7	*
August, 2003	48	33	12	6	1
November, 2002	49	27	14	9	1
August, 2002	54	30	11	5	*
March, 2001	49	27	13	10	1
Early November, 2000 (RVs)	51	32	12	5	*
September, 2000 (RVs)	51	34	10	4	1
June, 2000	38	32	19	11	*
Late September, 1999	39	32	20	9	*
August, 1999	40	35	17	8	*
November, 1998	46	27	14	13	*
Late October, 1998 (RVs)	57	29	10	4	*
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	51	33	11	5	*
Early September, 1998	45	34	15	6	*
June, 1998	36	34	21	9	*
November, 1997	41	36	16	7	*
November, 1996 (RVs)	52	32	12	4	*
October, 1996 (RVs)	43	37	13	6	1
June, 1996	41	34	17	8	*
October, 1995	46	35	14	5	*
April, 1995	43	35	16	6	*
November, 1994	49	30	13	7	1
October, 1994	45	35	14	6	*
July, 1994	46	33	15	6	*
May, 1990	39	34	18	9	*
February, 1989	47	34	14	4	1
October, 1988 (RVs)	52	33	12	3	*
May, 1988	37	37	17	6	3
January, 1988	37	35	18	8	2
November, 1987	49	32	14	4	1
May, 1987	41	35	15	7	2
July, 1985	36	33	18	12	1

## ASK ALL:

Q.18 Some people say they are basically content with the federal government, others say they are frustrated, and others say they are angry. Which of these best describes how you feel?

	<u>Basically content</u>	<u>Frustrated</u>	<u>Angry</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	17	58	21	3
Aug 17-21, 2011	11	60	26	3
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	22	59	14	5
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	21	52	23	4
Apr 1-5, 2010	23	52	21	4
Mar 11-21, 2010	19	56	21	5
Early Jan, 2007	21	58	16	5
Early Oct, 2006	21	54	20	5
March, 2004	32	52	13	3
Mid Nov, 2001	53	34	8	5
Jun, 2000	28	53	13	6
Feb, 2000	33	54	10	3
Oct, 1997	29	56	12	3

**ASK ALL:**

Q.19 How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right? Just about always, most of the time, or only some of the time?

	<u>Just about always</u>	<u>Most of the time</u>	<u>Only some of the time</u>	<b>(VOL.) Never</b>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	3	17	72	7	2
Aug 17-21, 2011	3	16	72	8	1
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	4	25	65	4	2
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	3	21	65	10	1
Apr 1-5, 2010	5	20	61	13	1
Mar 11-21, 2010	3	19	65	11	2
January, 2007	3	28	63	5	1
February, 2006	4	30	59	6	1
Mid-September, 2005	3	28	63	4	2
Mid-March, 2004	4	32	59	4	1
February, 2000	5	35	56	3	1
May, 1999	3	28	62	5	2
February, 1999	4	27	64	4	1
November, 1998 <sup>4</sup>	4	22	61	11	2
February, 1998	5	29	61	4	1
October, 1997	3	36	59	2	*

**NO QUESTION 20****ASK ALL:**

Q.21 Next, we'd like to ask you about how much help the federal government provides to some different groups. First, do you think the government does too much, not enough, or about the right amount for **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? What about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: does the government do too much, not enough, or about the right amount for ITEM?]**

	<u>Too much</u>	<u>Not enough</u>	<u>About the right amount</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
a. Older people Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	6	60	32	3
b. Children Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	8	57	31	4
c. Wealthy people Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	64	8	22	6
d. Poor people Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	18	57	22	3
e. Middle class people Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	7	58	31	4

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

Thinking about the 2012 Presidential election...

Q.25 How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who may be running for president in 2012?  
**[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not much</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	29	29	22	19	2
Aug 17-21, 2011	27	30	23	18	1

<sup>4</sup> The November, 1998 survey was conducted Oct. 26-Dec. 1, 1998. The question asked, "How much of the time do you trust the government in Washington to do the right thing? Just about always, most the time, or only some of the time?"

## Q.25 CONTINUED...

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not much</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
Jul 20-24, 2011	20	29	27	23	1
May 25-30, 2011	23	30	27	19	1
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>					
<b>2008 Presidential Election</b>					
December, 2007	35	33	13	18	1
November, 2007	34	35	16	14	1
October, 2007	30	37	17	14	2
September, 2007	27	33	21	17	2
July, 2007	30	38	16	15	1
June, 2007	29	34	20	16	1
April, 2007	26	34	21	17	2
March, 2007	24	36	20	18	2
February, 2007	24	34	22	18	2
December, 2006	23	36	20	20	1

**ASK ALL:**

Q.26 Generally speaking would you say that you personally care a good deal WHO wins the 2012 presidential election or that you don't care very much who wins?

Sep 22-Oct 4 <u>2011</u>		Oct <u>2007</u> <sup>5</sup>	Feb <u>2007</u>	Oct <u>2003</u>	Feb <u>1999</u>	Oct <u>1995</u>	Oct <u>1991</u>	May <u>1987</u>
81	Care a good deal	84	83	77	83	78	73	76
18	Don't care very much	14	14	21	16	19	22	20
1	Don't know/Refused	2	3	2	1	3	5	4

**ASK ALL:**

Q.27 As I name some possible Republican candidates for president in 2012, please tell me which one, if any, you would most like to see nominated as the Republican Party's candidate? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE] [PROBE IF NECESSARY: As of today, who would you say you LEAN toward?]** <sup>6</sup>

Sep 22-Oct 4 <u>2011</u>		Jul 20-24 <u>2011</u>	Mar 8-14 <u>2011</u>	Nov 4-7 <u>2010</u>
16	Mitt Romney	16	14	13
10	Rick Perry	6	--	--
9	Sarah Palin	10	13	15
8	Ron Paul	8	8	9
6	Herman Cain	4	--	--
5	Michele Bachmann	8	--	--
5	Newt Gingrich	3	6	6
3	Jon Huntsman	2	--	--
1	Rick Santorum	1	2	2
1	Other <b>(VOL.)</b> <sup>7</sup>	1	1	4
*	Tim Pawlenty	2	2	4
*	Mike Huckabee	0	13	15
*	Mitch Daniels	0	2	--
0	Haley Barbour	0	2	3
20	None <b>(VOL.)</b>	21	21	14
4	Too early to tell <b>(VOL.)</b>	5	2	--
10	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	13	12	14

5 In 2007, the question referred to the 2008 presidential election; in 2003, the question referred to the 2004 presidential election; in 1999, it referred to the 2000 presidential election; in 1995, it referred to the 1996 presidential election; in 1991, it referred to the 1992 presidential election; in 1987, it referred to the 1988 presidential election.

6 In November 2010, the question read, "Now I am going to read you the names of some possible candidates for the Republican nomination for President in 2012. After I read all the names, please tell me which one you would most like to see nominated as the Republican Party's candidate for President or if there is someone else you support."

7 Pawlenty, Huckabee, Daniels and Barbour were explicitly named in previous surveys. In surveys where they get less than 1% support, they are included in other.

**ASK IF SARAH PALIN IS FIRST CHOICE (Q.27=5):**

Q.28 Who, if anyone, would be your second choice for the Republican nomination in 2012? **[READ OPTIONS IF NECESSARY]**

*Republican primary preference , with second choice substituted for those who chose Sarah Palin in Q.27.*

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

Sep 22-Oct 4 <u>2011</u>		Jul 20-24 <u>2011</u>	Mar 8-14 <u>2011</u>
18	Mitt Romney	18	15
11	Rick Perry	6	--
9	Ron Paul	9	10
7	Michele Bachmann	10	--
7	Herman Cain	5	--
6	Newt Gingrich	3	8
3	Jon Huntsman	2	--
2	Rick Santorum	1	3
1	Other <b>(VOL.)</b> <sup>8</sup>	1	2
*	<i>Tim Pawlenty</i>	2	3
*	<i>Mike Huckabee</i>	0	17
*	<i>Mitch Daniels</i>	0	3
0	<i>Haley Barbour</i>	0	3
21	None <b>(VOL.)</b>	23	23
4	Too early to tell <b>(VOL.)</b>	5	2
11	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	14	13

**NO QUESTIONS 29-34****RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.35-Q.35a IN BLOCK & Q.36-Q36a IN BLOCK****ASK BEFORE FIRST BLOCK:**

Now, suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY...

**ASK BEFORE SECOND BLOCK:**

And if the 2012 election were being held TODAY...

**ASK ALL:**

Q.35 If you had to choose between,-**[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**, who would you vote for?

**ASK IF OTHER OR DK (Q.35=3,9):**

Q.35a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.35]**?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1901]:**

Sep 22-Oct 4 <u>2011</u>	
48	Barack Obama, the Democrat
47	Vote for Obama
1	Lean towards Obama
48	Mitt Romney, the Republican
46	Vote for Romney
2	Lean towards Romney
1	Other candidate <b>(VOL.)</b>
4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

8 Pawlenty, Huckabee, Daniels and Barbour were explicitly named in previous surveys. In surveys where they get less than 1% support, they are included in other.

**ASK ALL:****RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.35-Q.35a IN BLOCK & Q.36-Q36a IN BLOCK**

Q.36 If you had to choose between, [READ AND RANDOMIZE], who would you vote for?

**ASK IF OTHER OR DK (Q.36=3,9):**

Q.36a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.36]?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1901]:**

Sep 22-Oct 4

2011

50	Barack Obama, the Democrat
49	Vote for Obama
1	Lean towards Obama
46	Rick Perry, the Republican
44	Vote for Perry
2	Lean towards Perry
1	Other candidate (VOL.)
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK IF Q35/Q35a FOLLOWS Q36/Q36a AND CHOSE MITT ROMNEY (Q.35=2 OR Q.35a=2):**

Q.37a Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Mitt Romney or more a vote AGAINST Barack Obama?

**ASK IF Q35/Q35a FOLLOWS Q36/Q36a AND CHOSE BARACK OBAMA (Q.35=1 OR Q.35a=1):**

Q.37b Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Barack Obama or more a vote AGAINST Mitt Romney?

**BASED ON RVS WHO WERE ASKED OBAMA-ROMNEY MATCHUP SECOND [N=933]:**

	<u>Romney</u>	<i>Pro-Romney</i>	<i>Anti-Obama</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Obama</u>	<i>Pro-Obama</i>	<i>Anti-Romney</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Other/DK/Ref</u>
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 <sup>9</sup>	48	15	33	1	48	33	11	3	4

**ASK IF Q36/Q36a FOLLOWS Q35/Q35a AND CHOSE RICK PERRY (Q.36=2 OR Q.36a=2):**

Q.38a Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Rick Perry or more a vote AGAINST Barack Obama?

**ASK IF Q36/Q36a FOLLOWS Q35/Q35a AND CHOSE BARACK OBAMA (Q.36=1 OR Q.36a=1):**

Q.38b Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Barack Obama or more a vote AGAINST Rick Perry?

**BASED ON RVS WHO WERE ASKED OBAMA-PERRY MATCHUP SECOND [N=968]:**

	<u>Perry</u>	<i>Pro-Perry</i>	<i>Anti-Obama</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Obama</u>	<i>Pro-Obama</i>	<i>Anti-Perry</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Other/DK/Ref</u>
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 <sup>10</sup>	46	12	31	2	50	34	15	2	4

**TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:****BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:**

	<u>McCain</u>	<i>Pro-McCain</i>	<i>Anti-Obama</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Obama</u>	<i>Pro-Obama</i>	<i>Anti-McCain</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Nader</u> <sup>11</sup>	<u>Barr</u>	<u>Other/DK/Ref</u>
November, 2008	39				50				1	1	9
Late October, 2008	36				52				3	1	8
Mid-October, 2008	38	24	12	2	52	40	10	2	n/a	n/a	10
Early October, 2008	40				50				n/a	n/a	10
Late September, 2008 <sup>42</sup>					49				n/a	n/a	9
Mid-September, 2008	44	29	13	2	46	32	11	3	n/a	n/a	10
August, 2008	43	25	16	2	46	33	12	1	n/a	n/a	11

<sup>9</sup> Pro- and Anti- percentage may not sum to candidate's overall percentage, because they were asked only of half-sample.

<sup>10</sup> Pro- and Anti- percentage may not sum to candidate's overall percentage, because they were asked only of half-sample.

<sup>11</sup> The question regarding whether a vote was more for one's candidate of choice or more against his opponents was not asked of Nader or Barr supporters in 2008, Nader supporters in 2004, or Nader or Buchanan supporters in 2000.

## Q.37a/Q.37b AND Q.38a/Q.38b TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

	<u>McCain</u>	<i>Pro-McCain</i>	<i>Anti-Obama</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Obama</u>	<i>Pro-Obama</i>	<i>Anti-McCain</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Nader</u> <sup>12</sup>	<u>Barr</u>	<u>Other/DK/Ref</u>
July, 2008	42	25	14	3	47	32	12	3	n/a	n/a	11
June, 2008	40				48				n/a	n/a	12
Late May, 2008	44	28	14	2	47	35	11	1	n/a	n/a	9
April, 2008	44				50				n/a	n/a	6
March, 2008	43				49				n/a	n/a	8
Late February, 2008	43	27	14	2	50	38	10	2	n/a	n/a	7
	<u>Bush</u>	<i>Pro-Bush</i>	<i>Anti-Kerry</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Kerry</u>	<i>Pro-Kerry</i>	<i>Anti-Bush</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/DK/Ref</u>
November, 2004	45	34	9	2	46	20	23	3	1	n/a	8
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	10	3	45	18	24	3	1	n/a	9
Early October, 2004	48	36	10	2	41	15	23	3	2	n/a	9
September, 2004	49	38	9	2	43	15	26	2	1	n/a	7
August, 2004	45	34	8	3	47	20	24	3	2	n/a	6
July, 2004	44				46				3	n/a	7
June, 2004	46				42				6	n/a	6
May, 2004	43				46				6	n/a	5
Late March, 2004	44				43				6	n/a	7
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	n/a	5
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>											
June, 2004	48	35	11	2	46	17	27	2	n/a	n/a	6
May, 2004	45	33	10	2	50	15	32	3	n/a	n/a	5
Late March, 2004	46	36	8	2	47	17	27	3	n/a	n/a	7
Mid-March, 2004	43	34	7	2	52	21	29	2	n/a	n/a	5
Late February, 2004	44				48				n/a	n/a	8
Early February, 2004	47	39	6	2	47	15	30	2	n/a	n/a	6
Early January, 2004	52				41				n/a	n/a	7
October, 2003	50				42				n/a	n/a	8
	<u>Bush</u>	<i>Pro-Bush</i>	<i>Anti-Gore</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Gore</u>	<i>Pro-Gore</i>	<i>Anti-Bush</i>	<i>DK</i>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Buchanan</u>	<u>Other/DK/Ref</u>
November, 2000	41	27	12	2	45	29	14	2	4	1	9
Late October, 2000	45				43				4	1	7
Mid-October, 2000	43				45				4	1	7
Early October, 2000	43				44				5	*	8
September, 2000	41	24	14	3	47	30	14	3	2	1	9
July, 2000	42				41				6	2	9
Late June, 2000	42				35				2	2	19
Mid-June, 2000	41				42				4	3	10
January, 2000	51				39				n/a	4	6
September, 1999	49				35				n/a	10	6
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>											
July, 2000	48				46				n/a	n/a	6
Mid-June, 2000	45				46				n/a	n/a	9
May, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9
March, 2000	43				49				n/a	n/a	8
February, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9
December, 1999	55				40				n/a	n/a	5
October, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7
September, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7
July, 1999	53				42				n/a	n/a	5
March, 1999	54				41				n/a	n/a	5
January, 1999	50				44				n/a	n/a	6
September, 1998	53				40				n/a	n/a	7

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The question regarding whether a vote was more for one's candidate of choice or more against his opponents was not asked of Nader or Barr supporters in 2008, Nader supporters in 2004, or Nader or Buchanan supporters in 2000.

**Q.37a/Q.37b AND Q.38a/Q.38b TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...**

	<u>Dole</u>	<i>Pro-</i> <u>Dole</u>	<i>Anti-</i> <u>other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<i>Pro-</i> <u>Clinton</u>	<i>Anti-</i> <u>other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<i>Pro-</i> <u>Perot</u>	<i>Anti-</i> <u>other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
November, 1996	32	15	15	2	51	33	15	3	9	4	5	*	8
October, 1996	34	15	18	1	51	33	16	2	8	4	4	*	7
Late September, 1996	35				51				7				7
Early September, 1996	34	16	17	1	52	35	15	2	8	3	5	0	6
July, 1996	34				44				16				6
March, 1996	35				44				16				5
September, 1995	36				42				19				3
July, 1994	36				39				20				5
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>													
July, 1996	42				53				n/a				5
June, 1996	40				55				n/a				5
April, 1996	40				54				n/a				6
March, 1996	41	15	25	1	53	30	20	3	n/a				6
February, 1996	44				52				n/a				4
January, 1996	41				53				n/a				6
July, 1994	49				46				n/a				5

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<i>Pro-</i> <u>Bush</u>	<i>Anti-</i> <u>other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<i>Pro-</i> <u>Clinton</u>	<i>Anti-</i> <u>other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<i>Pro-</i> <u>Perot</u>	<i>Anti-</i> <u>other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
Late October, 1992	34	19	13	2	44	25	17	2	19	10	7	2	3
Early October, 1992	35	19	13	3	48	23	22	3	8	3	5	*	9
June, 1992	31				27				36				6
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>													
September, 1992	38	20	16	2	53	21	29	3	n/a				9
August, 1992	37	20	16	1	57	27	28	2	n/a				6
June, 1992	46				41				n/a				13
May, 1992	46				43				n/a				11
Late March, 1992	50	33	15	2	43	13	28	2	n/a				7

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<i>Pro-</i> <u>Bush</u>	<i>Anti-</i> <u>Dukakis</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Du-</u> <u>kakis</u>	<i>Pro-</i> <u>Dukakis</u>	<i>Anti-</i> <u>Bush</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Third party</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
October, 1988	50	31	16	3	42	23	15	4	n/a	n/a	8
September, 1988	50	31	15	4	44	21	19	4	n/a	n/a	6
May, 1988	40	26	11	3	53	23	26	4	n/a	n/a	7

**NO QUESTIONS 39-41**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.42 Which ONE of the following issues matters most to you in deciding your vote for president next year? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

**ASK IF CHOSE ISSUE (Q.42=1-7):**

Q.42a And what would be the next most important issue? **[READ FULL LIST IN SAME ORDER AS Q.42, ELIMINATING ISSUE CHOSEN IN Q.42]**

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1901]:**

Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011			
<u>First choice</u>	<u>Second choice</u>	<u>Total</u>	
39	25	63	Jobs
23	20	43	The budget deficit
14	25	40	Health care
13	16	29	Social Security
6	9	15	Immigration
2	2	4	Abortion
2	1	3	Other, not on this list (VOL.)
2	1	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
--	2	--	No first choice

## NO QUESTIONS 43-47

## ASK ALL:

Q.48 If you were setting priorities for the federal government these days, would you place a higher priority on [OPTION] or a higher priority on [OPTION]?

Sep 22-Oct 4 <u>2011</u>		Aug 17-21 <u>2011</u>	Jun 15-19 <u>2011</u>	Feb 2-7 <u>2011</u>
47	Spending to help the economy recover	47	42	46
48	Reducing the budget deficit	46	52	49
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7	6	5

## TREND FOR COMPARISON

If you were setting priorities for the government these days, would you place a higher priority on [OPTION] or a higher priority on [OPTION]?

	Nov 4-7 <u>2010</u>	Jul 15-18 <u>2010</u>	Feb 3-9 <u>2010</u>	Jul 22-26 <u>2009</u> <sup>13</sup>	Jun 18-21 <u>2009</u>
Spending more to help the economy recover	43	51	47	53	48
Reducing the budget deficit	50	40	47	38	46
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7	9	6	9	6

## ASK ALL:

Q.49 When it comes to the deficit and the economy, would you like lawmakers who share your views to [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

Sep 22-Oct 4 <u>2011</u>	
35	Stand by their principles, even if that means the problems don't get dealt with-[OR]
56	Be willing to compromise, even if that means a deal that includes things you don't like
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## NO QUESTIONS 50-58

Thinking about the political parties ...

## ASK ALL:

Q.59 Please tell me if you think each phrase I read better describes the REPUBLICAN Party and its leaders or the DEMOCRATIC Party and its leaders (First.) which party do you think is better described by the phrase... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE.] Which party [NEXT ITEM]?

	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) <u>Both</u> <u>equally</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Is more concerned with the needs of people like me					
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	35	51	1	6	7
Jul 20-24, 2011	30	51	2	11	6
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	32	54	2	5	8
Oct 13-18, 2010	36	46	2	8	9
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	33	53	2	7	5
Jun 16-20, 2010	34	50	2	9	5
Feb 3-9, 2010	31	51	3	8	7
Aug 27-30, 2009	27	51	4	10	7
October, 2007	25	54	4	8	9
March, 2007	26	55	2	7	10
Early October, 2006	27	55	3	8	7
April, 2006 <sup>14</sup>	28	52	3	10	7
Early October, 2005	30	52	5	7	6

<sup>13</sup> In July, 2009, question was asked as part of a list that included items on: spending on education, spending on health care and spending to develop energy technology.

<sup>14</sup> In April 2006 and earlier, the item was worded: "Is concerned with the needs of people like me."

## Q.59 CONTINUED...

	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both <u>equally</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
July, 2004	30	50	5	8	7
Early September, 1998	31	46	5	9	9
March, 1998	30	51	4	8	7
August, 1997	31	49	3	10	7
July, 1996	35	50	2	7	6
April, 1995	39	49	2	7	3
July, 1994	35	49	4	8	4
May, 1990	21	42	12	18	7
May, 1988	23	51	8	11	7
January, 1988	22	47	11	13	7
b. Can bring about the kind of changes the country needs					
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	37	43	3	10	7
Jul 20-24, 2011	36	43	3	9	8
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	41	44	2	8	5
Oct 13-18, 2010	35	41	3	10	10
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	35	46	4	8	6
Jun 16-20, 2010	33	45	3	12	7
Feb 3-9, 2010	34	46	4	9	7
Aug 27-30, 2009	25	47	5	13	9
October, 2007	26	48	5	11	10
March, 2007	26	52	4	9	9
Early October, 2006	28	48	4	10	10
April, 2006	32	47	2	12	7
Early October, 2005	32	48	4	9	7
July, 2004	35	46	3	7	9
Early September, 1998	34	40	7	8	11
March, 1998	32	45	7	8	8
August, 1997	38	40	4	11	7
July, 1996	39	46	2	7	6
April, 1995	51	34	4	7	4
July, 1994	39	42	4	10	5
May, 1993	30	49	2	10	9
July, 1992	24	47	2	16	11
May, 1990	27	31	13	18	11
May, 1988	27	43	9	11	10
January, 1988	28	37	14	11	10
May, 1987	26	36	14	14	10
c. Is more extreme in its positions					
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	50	38	3	1	7
Jul 20-24, 2011	50	35	4	2	9

## ASK ALL:

Q.60 Please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do a better job in each of the following areas. First, which party could do a better job of **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? How about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Which party could do a better job of ITEM?]**

	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both <u>equally</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Improving the job situation					
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	42	42	3	6	7
Jul 20-24, 2011	39	39	5	7	9
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	39	39	10	6	6
Oct 13-18, 2010	35	31	8	13	13

## Q.60 CONTINUED...

	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both <u>equally</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	39	41	6	8	7
Apr 21-26, 2010	36	37	8	9	10
September, 2006	29	47	6	5	13
March, 1998	30	51	7	5	7
October, 1994	37	42	6	7	8
<b>b. Dealing with the federal budget deficit</b>					
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	46	37	4	6	7
Jul 22-24, 2011	43	37	5	6	8
May 25-30, 2011 <sup>15</sup>	41	38	4	9	8
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	46	34	8	6	7
Oct 13-18, 2010	35	28	7	16	14
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	36	5	9	7
May 20-23, 2010	33	30	8	16	12
Apr 21-26, 2010	38	35	6	11	10
Feb 3-9, 2010	42	36	6	8	7
Aug 27-30, 2009	35	36	6	13	10
September, 2006	27	47	4	8	14
February, 2006	33	45	6	9	7
Early October, 2005	29	47	6	10	8
June, 1999	37	41	5	8	9
July, 1994	42	36	2	13	7
December, 1993	31	36	--	18	15
<b>c. Dealing with the Social Security system</b>					
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	39	45	3	5	8
Jul 22-24, 2011	37	42	7	5	9
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 <sup>16</sup>	39	39	9	6	7
Sep 16-19, 2010	35	35	9	11	11
September, 2006	26	46	4	11	13
September, 2005	33	45	6	9	7
Late October, 2002 (RVs)	31	42	6	9	12
Early September, 2002	30	38	8	10	14
May, 2002	32	38	--	9	21
January, 2002	28	40	--	6	26
May, 2001	35	43	6	5	11
January, 2001	36	44	--	7	13
June, 1999	33	41	4	9	13
January, 1999	27	46	--	7	20
Early September, 1998	37	42	7	5	9
May, 1990	28	41	--	16	15
<b>d. Dealing with immigration</b>					
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	45	37	3	6	9
May 25-30, 2011	39	37	4	9	11
Oct 13-18, 2010	35	28	9	12	16
May 20-23, 2010	35	27	10	14	14
Apr 21-26, 2010	36	35	7	11	12
Aug 27-30, 2009	31	36	6	13	13

<sup>15</sup> From February 2006 to May 2011 item read "Reducing the federal budget deficit;" experiment conducted in July 2011 showed no significant difference between the current wording and this wording. In Early October 2005, the item was asked as a stand alone question. In June 1999, the item was worded: "Keeping the federal budget balanced." In December 1993 the item was worded: "Reducing the budget deficit."

<sup>16</sup> From January 2002 to May 2011 item read "Taking steps to make the Social Security system financially sound;" experiment conducted in July 2011 showed no significant difference between the current wording and this wording. For May 2001, June 1999, Early September 1998 and May 1990, the question was worded, "Please tell me if you think the Republican Party or the Democratic Party could do a better job in each of the following areas ... keeping Social Security financially sound?"

## Q.60 CONTINUED...

	Republican <u>Party</u>	Democratic <u>Party</u>	(VOL.) Both <u>equally</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
February, 2008	38	43	4	6	9
October, 2006	35	33	6	8	18
September, 2006	32	37	5	10	16
April, 2006	27	43	6	11	13
February, 2006	34	38	8	9	11
e. Representing your views on abortion					
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	36	44	2	5	13
August 27-30, 2009	33	41	3	9	14
September, 2006	33	44	2	6	15
January, 1992 <sup>17</sup>	29	39	--	11	21
August, 1990	30	40	--	12	18
f. Dealing with health care					
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	38	49	3	4	6
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	40	42	6	5	7
Oct 13-18, 2010	32	39	5	11	13
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	36	46	5	7	6
<b>TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:</b>					
<i>Reforming the U.S. health care system</i>					
Feb 3-9, 2010	32	45	6	10	7
Aug 27-30, 2009	27	46	4	14	9
February, 2008	26	56	3	8	7
October, 2006	25	46	4	8	17
September, 2006	24	48	5	10	13
February, 2006	27	49	6	9	9
Mid-September, 2005	28	51	4	10	7
July, 2004	23	50	4	10	13
Early July, 2003	31	38	6	10	15
<i>Regulating health maintenance organizations (HMOs) and managed health care plans</i>					
January, 2002	20	45	--	6	29
January, 2001	30	47	--	7	16
January, 1999	25	46	--	7	22
<i>Reforming the U.S. health care system</i>					
Early September, 1998	31	43	7	7	12
March, 1998	25	53	6	8	8
October, 1994	34	41	5	10	10
July, 1994	34	48	2	8	8
<i>Reforming health care</i>					
December, 1993	25	47	--	10	18
<i>Improving health care in the U.S.</i>					
January, 1992	21	56	--	8	15
May, 1990	20	50	--	16	14

## NO QUESTIONS 61-63

<sup>17</sup> In January 1992 and August 1990, the item was worded, "Which political party - the Republican Party or the Democratic party do you think could do a better job of: representing your views on abortion?"

**ASK ALL:**

Q.64 What do you think is more important – to protect the right of Americans to own guns, OR to control gun ownership?

	<u>Protect right to own guns</u>	<u>Control gun ownership</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	47	49	5
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	48	47	6
Jan 13-16, 2011	49	46	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	46	50	4
Mar 10-14, 2010	46	46	7
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	45	49	6
April, 2008	37	58	5
November, 2007	42	55	3
April, 2007	32	60	8
February, 2004	37	58	5
June, 2003	42	54	4
May, 2000	38	57	5
April, 2000	37	55	8
March, 2000	29	66	5
June, 1999	33	62	5
May, 1999	30	65	5
December, 1993	34	57	9

**ASK ALL:**

Q.65 Thinking about the health care legislation passed by Barack Obama and Congress last year, what, if anything, do you think Congress should do with the law now? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

<u>Sep 22-Oct 4 2011</u>		<u>Jan 5-9 2011<sup>18</sup></u>	<u>Nov 4-7 2010</u>
31	Expand it	35	30
22	Leave it as is	20	22
38	Repeal it	37	40
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8	8

**NO QUESTIONS 66-68****ASK ALL:**

Q.69 Do you favor or oppose **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**?

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a. The death penalty for persons convicted of murder			
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	58	36	6
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	62	30	8
August, 2007	62	32	6
Early January, 2007	64	29	7
March, 2006	65	27	8
July, 2005	68	24	8
Mid-July, 2003	64	30	6
March, 2002	67	26	7
March, 2001	66	27	7
September, 1999	74	22	4
June, 1996	78	18	4

<sup>18</sup>

In January 2011 and November 2010, question read "What, if anything, do you think Congress should do with the health care law?" and followed the question "Do you approve or disapprove of the health care legislation passed by Barack Obama and Congress last year?"

## Q.69 CONTINUED...

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
b. Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally			
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	46	44	9
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011 <sup>19</sup>	45	46	9
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	43	47	10
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	41	48	10
Aug 11-17, 2009	39	53	8
Mid-April, 2009	35	54	11
August, 2008	39	52	9
June, 2008	40	52	8
Late May, 2008	38	49	13
November, 2007	36	54	10
August, 2007	36	55	9
Early January, 2007	37	55	8
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	30	57	13
July, 2006	35	56	9
June, 2006	33	55	12
March, 2006	39	51	10
July, 2005	36	53	11
December, 2004	32	61	7
August, 2004	29	60	11
July, 2004	32	56	12
Mid-March, 2004	32	59	9
Early February, 2004	30	63	7
November, 2003	30	62	8
October, 2003	30	58	12
Mid-July, 2003	38	53	9
March, 2001	35	57	8
June, 1996	27	65	8

c. Building a fence along the entire border with Mexico			
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	46	47	6

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

*Building a fence along 700 miles of the border with Mexico?*

January, 2007	46	48	6
CNN: September, 2006	54	44	2

**ASK ALL:**

Q.70 Do you think abortion should be **[READ]**

	<u>Legal in all cases</u>	<u>Legal in most cases</u>	<u>Illegal in most cases</u>	<u>Illegal in all cases</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>	<u>NET Legal in all/most</u>	<u>NET Illegal in all/most</u>
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	19	35	25	16	5	54	41
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	18	36	26	16	4	54	42
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	17	33	27	17	7	50	44
August 11-27, 2009	16	31	27	17	8	47	45
April, 2009	18	28	28	16	10	46	44
Late October, 2008	18	35	24	16	7	53	40
Mid-October, 2008	19	38	22	14	7	57	36
August, 2008	17	37	26	15	5	54	41
June, 2008	19	38	24	13	6	57	37
November, 2007	18	33	29	15	5	51	44

<sup>19</sup> In March 2011, September 2010, May and June 2008, November 2007, June and July 2006, mid-March through August 2004, and October 2003, the question was not part of a list of items. In May and June 2008 the question asked about "allowing gay and lesbian couples to marry legally."

## Q. 70 CONTINUED...

	Legal in all <u>cases</u>	Legal in most <u>cases</u>	Illegal in most <u>cases</u>	Illegal in all <u>cases</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref	NET <i>Legal in all/most</i>	NET <i>Illegal in all/most</i>
October, 2007	21	32	24	15	8	53	39
August, 2007	17	35	26	17	5	52	43
AP/Ipsos-Poll: February, 2006	19	32	27	16	6	51	43
ABC/WaPo: December, 2005	17	40	27	13	3	57	40
ABC/WaPo: April, 2005	20	36	27	14	3	56	41
ABC/WaPo: December, 2004	21	34	25	17	3	55	42
ABC/WaPo: May, 2004	23	31	23	20	2	54	43
ABC/WaPo: January, 2003	23	34	25	17	2	57	42
ABC/WaPo: August, 2001	22	27	28	20	3	49	48
ABC/BeliefNet: June, 2001	22	31	23	20	4	53	43
ABC/WaPo: January, 2001	21	38	25	14	1	59	39
ABC/WaPo: September, 2000 (RVs)	20	35	25	16	3	55	41
ABC/WaPo: July, 2000	20	33	26	17	4	53	43
ABC/WaPo: September, 1999	20	37	26	15	2	57	41
ABC/WaPo: March, 1999	21	34	27	15	3	55	42
ABC/WaPo: July, 1998	19	35	29	13	4	54	42
ABC/WaPo: August, 1996	22	34	27	14	3	56	41
ABC/WaPo: June, 1996	24	34	25	14	2	58	39
ABC/WaPo: October, 1995	26	35	25	12	3	61	37
ABC/WaPo: September, 1995	24	36	25	11	4	60	36
ABC/WaPo: July, 1995	27	32	26	14	1	59	40

## ASK ALL:

Q.71 Since taking office, have Barack Obama's economic policies made economic conditions better, worse, or not had an effect so far?

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	No effect <u>so far</u>	(VOL.) Too soon/ <u>early to tell</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	20	38	37	1	4
Jun 15-19, 2011	27	34	33	2	5
Jan 5-9, 2011	28	31	35	2	4
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	27	32	36	2	4
Jun 3-6, 2010	23	29	35	3	9
Feb 3-9, 2010	24	27	42	3	5
Dec 9-13, 2009	30	24	39	3	4
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	31	20	42	4	3
Jul 20-26, 2009	24	21	46	3	6
Jun 10-14, 2009	26	16	49	4	4
Apr 14-21, 2009	26	17	47	6	4
Mar 9-12, 2009	14	15	64	4	3

## NO QUESTIONS 72-76

Next,

## ASK ALL:

Q.77 What is more important, taking steps to reduce the budget deficit or keeping Social Security and Medicare benefits as they are?

Sep 22-Oct 4 <u>2011</u>		Jun 15-19 <u>2011</u>	Feb <u>1995</u>
35	Taking steps to reduce the budget deficit	32	24
58	Keeping Social Security and Medicare benefits as they are	60	70
2	Both equally (VOL.)	4	2
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	4

**ASK ALL:**

Thinking specifically about Social Security

Q.78 Which do you think is MORE important when it comes to Social Security's future **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

Sep 22-Oct 4 <u>2011</u>		Jun 15-19 <u>2011</u>	Feb <u>2005</u> <sup>20</sup>	<i>Americans Discuss Soc. Sec.</i>		
				May <u>1999</u>	Feb <u>1999</u>	Aug <u>1998</u>
32	Avoiding any Social Security tax increases for workers and employers	33	30	34	32	33
59	Avoiding any future cuts in Social Security benefit amounts	56	60	53	59	55
3	Both/Neither/Other (VOL.)	4	4	8	5	7
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	6	5	4	5

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=1191]:**Q.79F1 To address financial concerns about the Social Security program would you favor or oppose **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? How about **[INSERT NEXT ITEM] [REPEAT AS NECESSARY: would you favor or oppose (ITEM)?]**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a. Gradually raising the age at which people can begin receiving Social Security benefits Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	39	59	2
b. Reducing Social Security benefits for seniors with higher incomes Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	53	42	5
c. Changing the program so younger workers can invest their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	67	28	5

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1219]:**Q.80F2 To address financial concerns about the Medicare program would you favor or oppose **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? How about **[INSERT NEXT ITEM] [REPEAT AS NECESSARY: would you favor or oppose (ITEM)?]**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a. Gradually raising the age at which people can begin receiving Medicare benefits Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	38	58	4
b. Reducing Medicare benefits for seniors with higher incomes Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	55	40	5
c. Changing the program so future participants can use their Medicare benefit towards purchasing private health insurance Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	62	29	9

<sup>20</sup>

In 2005 and Americans Discuss Social Security trend, first response option read "Avoiding any tax increases for workers and employers." In February 2005 question began "When decisions about Social Security's future are being made, which do you think is more important?" For surveys in May 1999, February 1999, and August 1998, question was asked as part of a list and began "People have different opinions about how the Social Security system might be changed for the future. We'd like your opinion on what policymakers' priorities should be when they are making decisions about Social Security's future."

Next,

**ASK ALL:**

Q.81 Does Barack Obama make you feel **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** or not? Does Obama make you feel **[NEXT ITEM]** or not?

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a.	Hopeful			
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	43	54	3
	Mar 10-14, 2010	54	43	3
	November, 2008 ( <i>Voters</i> )	69	29	2
	March, 2008 <sup>21</sup> ( <i>RVs</i> )	54	43	3
b.	Proud			
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	45	52	4
	Mar 10-14, 2010	49	47	5
	November, 2008 ( <i>Voters</i> )	65	32	3
	March, 2008 ( <i>RVs</i> )	42	53	5
c.	Angry			
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	29	70	1
	Mar 10-14, 2010	30	68	2
	November, 2008 ( <i>Voters</i> )	9	91	*
	March, 2008 ( <i>RVs</i> )	26	71	3
d.	Disappointed			
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	53	45	2
	Mar 10-14, 2010	44	53	3
e.	Uneasy			
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	40	58	2
	November, 2008 ( <i>Voters</i> )	35	64	1
	March, 2008 ( <i>RVs</i> )	38	60	2

**NO QUESTIONS 82-85**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.86 As I read a few statements on some different topics, please tell me if you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly DISagree or completely disagree with each. First **[INSERT ITEM; READ IN ORDER]**. Next **[INSERT ITEM] [IF NECESSARY: Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly DISagree or completely disagree?]** **[INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: If respondent indicates only that they agree or disagree, probe "Do you completely (dis)agree or mostly (dis)agree?]**

		-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
		<u>Net</u>	<u>pletely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>pletely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	
a.	I often don't have enough money to make ends meet							
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	52	25	27	46	18	28	2
b.	The growing number of newcomers from other countries are a threat to traditional American customs and values							
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	43	19	23	54	28	26	3
	Late October, 2008	37	13	24	57	23	34	6
	March, 2008	45	19	26	50	20	30	5
c.	We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country							
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	40	14	25	57	31	26	4

<sup>21</sup> In March 2008, the question was worded "Has Barack Obama ever made you feel [INSERT ITEM] or not?"

**Q.86 CONTINUED...**

	-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			<b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref
	Com-			Com-			
	<u>Net</u>	<u>pletely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Net</u>	<u>pletely</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	
Late October, 2008	33	13	20	62	30	32	5
June, 2008	34	15	19	61	34	27	5
March, 2008	34	12	22	61	32	29	5
<b>d. I think it's all right for blacks and whites to date each other</b>							
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	87	62	25	9	4	5	3
Late October, 2008	83	59	24	12	7	5	5
June, 2008	81	58	23	14	8	6	5
March, 2008	79	52	27	16	8	8	5

**ASK ALL:**

EMPLOY Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

Sep 22-Oct 4  
2011

44	Full-time
14	Part-time
42	Not employed
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK IF NOT FULL TIME (EMPLOY=2-9):**

RETIRED Are you currently retired, or not?

**BASED ON TOTAL**Sep 22-Oct 4  
2011

22	Yes, retired
3	Yes, semi-retired or "still do some type of work for pay" <b>(VOL.)</b>
32	No, not retired
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

44 *Employed full-time***ASK IF NOT RETIRED (EMPLOY=1 OR RETIRED=2-9):**

Q.87 Do you think Social Security will be your main source of income during retirement, or not?

**ASK IF NOT RETIRED AND SS IS MAIN SOURCE (Q.87=1):**

Q.87a Do you think Social Security will be your ONLY source of income in retirement, or do you think you will have any other source of income during retirement?

**ASK IF NOT RETIRED AND SS NOT MAIN SOURCE (Q.87=2)**

Q.87b Do you think you will receive any money from Social Security in retirement, or not?

**BASED ON NOT RETIRED [N=1656]:**Sep 22-Oct 4  
2011

32	Yes, Social Security will be main source of income
15	Social Security will be only source of retirement income
15	Expect to have other source of retirement income
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
65	No, Social Security will not be main source of income
30	Yes, think will receive money from Social Security
31	No, no money from Social Security
4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
3	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK IF RETIRED (RETIRED=1):**

Q.88 Is Social Security your main source of income, or not?

**ASK IF RETIRED AND SS IS MAIN SOURCE (Q.88=1):**

Q.88a Is Social Security your ONLY source of income, or do you have any other source of income?

**ASK IF RETIRED AND SS NOT MAIN SOURCE (Q.88=2)**

Q.88b Do you receive any money from Social Security, or not?

**BASED ON RETIRED [N=754]:**

Sep 22-Oct 4

2011

56	Yes, Social Security is main source of income
29	Social Security only source of income
26	Have other source of income
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
43	No, Social Security is not main source of income
34	Yes, get any money from Social Security
9	No, get no money from Social Security
0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

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

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

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

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	No preference	Other party	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	23	33	38	2	1	3	18	16
Aug 17-21, 2011	24	30	40	3	*	3	17	18
Jul 20-24, 2011	24	32	38	4	*	2	16	14
Jun 15-19, 2011	26	34	32	4	*	4	13	13
May 25-30, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	15	17
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	25	32	37	3	*	3	17	16
Mar 8-14, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	17	15
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	24	33	37	3	*	3	15	16
Feb 2-7, 2011	24	31	39	3	*	2	16	16
Jan 5-9, 2011	27	32	35	4	*	2	15	14
Dec 1-5, 2010	25	33	34	5	1	2	13	14
Nov 4-7, 2010	26	30	37	4	*	2	17	13
Oct 27-30, 2010	25	34	31	6	1	4	13	11
Oct 13-18, 2010	25	31	36	4	*	3	16	13
<b>Yearly Totals</b>								
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

## PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	No preference	Other party	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3	--	3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
1990	30.9	33.2	29.3	1.2	1.9	3.4	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

## ASK ALL:

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

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion either way	(VOL.) Haven't heard of	(VOL.) Refused	Not heard of/ DK
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	19	27	51	2	1	--
Aug 17-21, 2011	20	27	50	1	1	--
Jul 20-24, 2011	20	24	53	1	1	--
Jun 15-19, 2011	20	26	50	3	2	--
May 25-30, 2011	18	23	54	2	2	--
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	22	29	47	1	1	--
Mar 8-14, 2011	19	25	54	1	1	--
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	20	25	52	2	2	--
Feb 2-7, 2011 <sup>22</sup>	22	22	53	2	2	--
Jan 5-9, 2011	24	22	50	2	1	--
Dec 1-5, 2010	22	26	49	2	2	--
Nov 4-7, 2010	27	22	49	1	1	--
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	29	25	32	--	1	13
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)	28	24	30	--	1	16
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	29	26	32	--	1	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	22	18	37	--	1	21
Jun 16-20, 2010	24	18	30	--	*	27
May 20-23, 2010	25	18	31	--	1	25
Mar 11-21, 2010	24	14	29	--	1	31

## ASK ALL:

PVOTE08A In the 2008 presidential election between Barack Obama and John McCain, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

## ASK IF YES (PVOTE08A=1):

PVOTE08B Did you vote for Obama, McCain or someone else?

## BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1901]:

	Voted	Obama	McCain	Other candidate	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Did not vote	(VOL.) Don't remember/Ref
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	88	46	32	5	4	12	*
Aug 17-21, 2011	89	46	33	6	5	11	1
Mar 8-14, 2011	88	46	32	5	5	12	*
Nov 4-7, 2010	89	45	33	6	4	11	1
Oct 27-30, 2010	88	44	35	4	5	10	2
Oct 13-18, 2010	89	45	35	4	4	10	1
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	89	46	34	4	4	10	1

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

## PVOTE08A/PVOTE08B CONTINUED...

	<u>Voted</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Other</u> <u>candidate</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>	Did not vote	<b>(VOL.)</b> Don't remember/ <u>Ref</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	92	44	37	4	6	8	*
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	93	47	34	5	7	7	*
Feb 4-8, 2009	93	48	33	4	8	7	*
Jan 7-11, 2009	93	48	35	4	6	7	*
December, 2008	93	50	32	3	9	7	*

PEW RESEARCH CENTER  
 SOCIAL & DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS  
 SEPTEMBER 2011 GENERATIONAL CHANGE SURVEY  
 FINAL TOPLINE  
 SEPTEMBER 1-SEPTEMBER 15, 2011  
 TOTAL N=2,003

**NOTE: ALL NUMBERS ARE PERCENTAGES. THE PERCENTAGES GREATER THAN ZERO BUT LESS THAN 0.5 % ARE REPLACED BY AN ASTERISK (\*). COLUMNS/ROWS MAY NOT TOTAL 100% DUE TO ROUNDING. UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED, ALL TRENDS REFERENCE SURVEYS FROM SOCIAL & DEMOGRAPHIC TRENDS AND THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS. PERCENTAGES FOR SUB-GROUPS ARE NOT REPORTED WHEN N IS LESS THAN 100.**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.1 Generally, how would you say things are these days in your life -- would you say that you are very happy, pretty happy, or not too happy?

	<i>Millennial</i>	<i>Gen X</i>	<i>Boomers</i>	<i>Silent</i>	
<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
30	32	32	25	31	Very happy
47	53	46	48	43	Pretty happy
20	13	20	25	22	Not too happy
3	1	2	3	5	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
	(n=353)	(n=435)	(n=719)	(n=412)	

**Trends:**

	<u>Very</u>	<u>Pretty</u>	<u>Not too</u>	<u>DK/Refused</u>
	<u>happy</u>	<u>happy</u>	<u>happy</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u>
Sep 2011	30	47	20	3
Mar 2011	30	52	16	2
Jan 2010	28	54	16	2
Jul 2009	33	50	14	3
Apr 2009	29	52	16	4
Feb 2009	32	49	15	4
Oct 2008	29	51	17	3
Jun 2008	35	48	14	3
Sep 2006	36	51	12	1
Oct 2005	34	50	15	1
Late Mar 2003	29	51	16	4
Feb 2003	29	51	17	3
Sep 1996	34	53	11	2

**ASK ALL:**

Q.2 Next, please tell me whether you are satisfied or dissatisfied, on the whole, with the following aspects of your life:  
(First/Next) **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**  
**[IF NECESSARY: Are you satisfied or dissatisfied?]**

**REQUIRED PROBE:** Would you say you are VERY (dis)satisfied or SOMEWHAT (dis)satisfied?

a. Your family life

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
89	89	90	89	89	Satisfied ( <b>NET</b> )
67	68	66	68	65	Very satisfied
22	20	24	21	24	Somewhat satisfied
8	9	8	10	5	Dissatisfied ( <b>NET</b> )
5	6	4	5	2	Somewhat dissatisfied
4	3	4	5	3	Very dissatisfied
3	2	2	1	6	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )

b. Your personal financial situation

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
60	58	57	60	70	Satisfied ( <b>NET</b> )
25	23	21	26	35	Very satisfied
35	36	36	34	35	Somewhat satisfied
37	39	42	39	25	Dissatisfied ( <b>NET</b> )
19	22	21	19	12	Somewhat dissatisfied
18	17	20	19	13	Very dissatisfied
2	2	2	2	5	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )

c. Your health

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
82	90	86	78	73	Satisfied ( <b>NET</b> )
53	62	54	47	45	Very satisfied
30	28	31	31	28	Somewhat satisfied
16	9	13	21	22	Dissatisfied ( <b>NET</b> )
9	5	7	12	14	Somewhat dissatisfied
7	4	6	9	9	Very dissatisfied
2	1	2	1	5	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )

**Trends:**

	<u>Very satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat satisfied</u>	<u>Somewhat dissatisfied</u>	<u>Very dissatisfied</u>	<u>Doesn't Apply (VOL.)</u>	<u>DK/Ref (VOL.)</u>
a. Your family life						
Sep 2011	67	22	5	4	n/a	3
Mar 2011	72	19	4	3	*	2
Oct 2010	75	19	4	2	*	1
Oct 2005	72	19	4	3	1	1
Jan 1999	71	20	4	3	0	2
Dec 1996	69	21	6	3	0	1
b. Your personal financial situation						
Sep 2011	25	35	19	18	n/a	2
Mar 2011	28	39	17	14	*	2
Oct 2010	29	40	14	14	*	2
Feb 2009	23	43	18	13	*	3

## NO QUESTIONS 3-5

## ASK ALL:

Now thinking about the country...

Q.6 Which of these statements best describes your opinion about the United States today? **[READ IN ORDER; REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF OF SAMPLE]**

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
48	32	48	50	64	The U.S. is the greatest country in the world,
42	55	43	40	27	The U.S. is one of the greatest countries in the world
8	11	7	9	6	The U.S. is not one of the greatest countries in the world.
2	3	2	2	2	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

## ASK ALL:

Q.7 Please tell me how important you think each of the following is in contributing to America's success. (First/Next) **[READ AND RANDOMIZE][READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN REPEAT ONLY IF NECESSARY:]** Would you say this is very important, somewhat important or not important in contributing to America's success?

a. Our democratic system of government

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
72	62	72	77	78	Very important
19	30	18	16	14	Somewhat important
5	7	6	4	3	Not important
3	2	4	3	4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

b. The racial and ethnic makeup of our population

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
58	58	60	57	58	Very important
27	28	24	28	25	Somewhat important
13	13	14	12	10	Not important
3	1	2	3	7	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

c. Our religious faith and values

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
63	46	64	69	78	Very important
24	35	22	21	16	Somewhat important
12	19	14	9	4	Not important
1	*	1	1	1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

d. Our work ethic

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
85	86	83	86	84	Very important
12	12	13	11	11	Somewhat important
1	1	2	1	*	Not important
2	1	1	2	5	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

## Q.7 CONTINUED...

## e. Our natural resources

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
82	79	82	85	84	Very important
15	18	15	14	13	Somewhat important
1	2	1	1	1	Not important
1	1	2	1	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## f. Our free market economy

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
70	66	71	75	69	Very important
22	27	22	20	18	Somewhat important
3	3	3	3	4	Not important
5	4	4	3	9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## g. Our military strength

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
77	72	73	80	84	Very important
18	22	22	17	11	Somewhat important
3	5	3	2	2	Not important
1	1	2	*	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## h. The freedoms we have

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
91	90	92	92	93	Very important
7	8	7	7	5	Somewhat important
1	1	1	1	*	Not important
1	0	*	1	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## ASK ALL:

Q.8 In general, do you think America's best days are ahead of us or behind us?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
51	55	55	48	47	Ahead of us
39	37	37	42	40	Behind us
4	3	2	5	2	Depends (VOL.)
6	5	6	5	11	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

On another subject...

Q.9 Who do you think should be MAINLY responsible for making sure that retired older adults have at least a minimum standard of living? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

**ASK Q.9a IF INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR FAMILIES (Q.9=2):**

Q.9a If individuals and their families cannot do this, should the government be responsible for making sure that retired older adults have at least a minimum standard of living, or not?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
43	44	47	43	36	The government
40	42	34	39	44	Individuals and their families
30	33	26	29	30	If they cannot, government should be responsible
9	8	7	9	12	If they cannot, government should not be responsible
1	1	1	2	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
14	13	16	14	14	Both equally (VOL.)
*	0	*	*	*	Other [SPECIFY] (VOL.)
3	2	2	3	6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**NO QUESTION 10****ASK ALL:**

Q.11 At some point in your life do you think you will be responsible for caring for an aging parent or another elderly person, or not?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
75	90	86	71	45	Yes (NET)
62	86	78	52	25	Will in future
13	4	8	20	21	Already have/currently doing (VOL.)
22	8	11	26	49	No
1	2	1	2	2	Depends (VOL.)
2	1	2	1	4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

On another subject...

MARITAL Are you currently married, living with a partner, divorced, separated, widowed, or have you never been married?  
(IF R SAYS "SINGLE," PROBE TO DETERMINE WHICH CATEGORY IS APPROPRIATE)

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
48	20	58	62	51	Married
51	80	42	38	47	Not Married (NET)
7	13	8	4	5	Living with a partner
10	2	9	16	10	Divorced
4	3	7	3	2	Separated
7	*	1	4	27	Widowed
24	61	18	10	4	Never been married
1	0	*	*	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

F.1 Is your mother living?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
62	97	85	46	6	Yes
37	3	14	54	94	No
*	*	*	*	0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

F.2 Is your father living?

Total	18-30	31-46	47-65	66-83	
48	89	66	26	1	Yes
50	8	31	73	99	No
2	2	3	1	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK F.6 IF MOTHER IS LIVING (F.1=1): [n=1,071]**

F.6 How old is your mother [READ IF NECESSARY: Just your best guess is fine.]

57	Younger than 65
41	65 or older
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK F.7 IF FATHER IS LIVING (F.2=1): [n=809]**

F.7 How old is your father? [READ IF NECESSARY: Just your best guess is fine.]

58	Younger than 65
40	65 or older
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK Q.12 IF MOTHER OR FATHER IS 65 OR OLDER (F.7>64 OR F.6>64): [n= 658]**

Q.12 Have you GIVEN any financial support to your [IF F1=1 &amp; F2=2, 9: mother/ IF F2=1 &amp; F1=2,9: father/IF F1=1 &amp; F2=1: parents] in the past 12 months, or not?

**IF YES (Q12=1), ASK:**

Q.13 Was the financial support for help with ONGOING expenses, or not?

39	Yes
31	Ongoing expenses
8	Not
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
61	No
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK Q.14 IF MOTHER OR FATHER IS 65 OR OLDER (F.7>64 OR F.6>64): [n=658]**

Q.14 Have you RECEIVED any financial support from your [IF F1=1 and F2=2,9 mother/ IF F2=1 and F1=2,9 father/ IF F1=1 and F2=1: parents] in the past 12 months or not?

**IF YES (Q14=1), ASK:**

Q.15 Was the financial support for help with ONGOING expenses, or not?

21	Yes
14	Ongoing expenses
6	Not
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
79	No
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK Q.12P IF AGE 65+ AND HAVE ADULT CHILDREN AGES 25 OR OLDER: [n=445]**

Q.12P Have you GIVEN any financial support to [IF AKID=1: your adult child/ IF AKID=2-4: your adult children] in the past 12 months, or not?

**IF YES (Q12P=1), ASK:**

Q.13P Was the financial support for help with ONGOING expenses, or not?

44	Yes
30	Ongoing expenses
13	Not
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
55	No
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK Q.14P IF AGE 65+ AND HAVE ADULT CHILDREN AGES 25 OR OLDER: [n=445]**

Q.14P Have you RECEIVED any financial support from [IF AKID=1: your adult child/ IF AKID=2-4: your adult children] in the past 12 months or not?

**IF YES (Q14P=1), ASK:**

Q.15P Was the financial support for help with ONGOING expenses, or not?

10	Yes
8	Ongoing expenses
3	Not
0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
88	No
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

Q.16 Here are a few things family members sometimes do for each other. I'd like to know if you think each is a responsibility or is it not really a responsibility, regardless of whether it might be a good thing to do. (First/Next)...  
[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE a-d, e Always comes last]

**READ AS NECESSARY:** Do you think this is a responsibility or is it not really a responsibility?

a. Parents paying for a child's college education

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
59	58	62	59	55	Responsibility
37	40	35	37	37	Not really a responsibility
4	2	2	3	8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

b. Parents allowing an adult child to live in their home if the child wants to

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
32	33	33	31	32	Responsibility
64	65	65	67	61	Not really a responsibility
3	2	2	3	7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

c. Adult children allowing an elderly parent to live in their home if the parent wants to

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
61	71	64	60	48	Responsibility
35	27	35	38	46	Not really a responsibility
3	3	2	3	6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Q.16 CONTINUED...

d. Parents saving money to hand down to their children after they die

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
33	46	36	26	22	Responsibility
65	54	62	72	75	Not really a responsibility
2	1	1	2	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

e. Adult children taking care of elderly parents if they need help

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
85	93	91	83	73	Responsibility
12	7	8	15	22	Not really a responsibility
2	*	1	3	5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Trends:

	<u>Responsibility</u>	<u>Not really a Responsibility</u>	<u>DK/Ref (VOL.)</u>
a. Parents paying for a child's college education			
Sep 2011	59	37	4
Oct 2005	62	34	4
b. Parents allowing an adult child to live in their home if the child wants to			
Sep 2011	32	64	3
Oct 2005	32	63	5
c. Adult children allowing an elderly parent to live in their home if the parent wants to			
Sep 2011	61	35	3
Oct 2005	56	39	5
d. Parents saving money to hand down to their children after they die			
Sep 2011	33	65	2
Oct 2005	31	66	3

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.17 Do you believe moral values in this country have changed in the past 50 years, or not?

ASK Q.17a IF Q.17=1:

Q.17a Has this been a change for the better, a change for the worse, or hasn't this made much difference for society?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
93	92	93	91	94	Yes, changed
10	19	9	6	3	For the better
69	54	70	77	78	For the worse
9	14	8	6	7	No difference
3	4	3	2	3	Mixed (VOL.)
2	1	3	1	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
5	5	4	7	4	No, not changed
1	1	1	*	*	Not sure (VOL.)
2	2	2	2	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

Q.18 I'm going to read a list of some changes that have taken place over the last 50 years in our society. Please tell me if you think each one has been a change for the better, a change for the worse, or hasn't made much difference. (First,) Has **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE a-g, Note Form Spilt ONLY for h and i, h or i always comes at the end]** been a change for the better, a change for the worse, or hasn't this made much difference? How about...**(INSERT NEXT ITEM)? READ IF NECESSARY:** Has this been a change for the better, a change for the worse, or hasn't this made much difference?

## a. A growing population of immigrants

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
27	35	30	23	22	Change for the better
37	28	33	43	40	Change for the worse
29	33	30	26	27	Hasn't made much difference
3	1	2	4	4	Mixed changes (VOL.)
4	2	5	4	7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## b. More people of different races marrying each other

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
43	60	47	36	29	Change for the better
11	6	5	14	16	Change for the worse
44	33	46	49	49	Hasn't made much difference
1	*	1	*	1	Mixed changes (VOL.)
2	1	1	1	6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## c. More people having children without getting married

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
4	6	6	3	2	Change for the better
64	52	62	67	76	Change for the worse
29	40	29	27	18	Hasn't made much difference
1	*	1	1	1	Mixed changes (VOL.)
2	2	3	1	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## d. More women in the workforce

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
73	82	73	72	62	Change for the better
9	3	8	11	13	Change for the worse
15	13	16	14	20	Hasn't made much difference
2	1	2	2	2	Mixed changes (VOL.)
1	*	2	1	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## e. The invention of the Internet

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
66	79	70	65	45	Change for the better
17	11	16	19	27	Change for the worse
7	4	6	7	11	Hasn't made much difference
7	5	7	7	8	Mixed changes (VOL.)
3	1	1	3	9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

NO ITEM F

## Q.18 CONTINUED...

g. A growing variety of family and living arrangements

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
32	47	34	27	16	Change for the better
26	16	24	33	30	Change for the worse
33	32	34	31	37	Hasn't made much difference
1	*	2	1	1	Mixed changes (VOL.)
8	5	6	7	17	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## ASK FORM A ONLY:

h. A growing population of Hispanics

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
28	33	34	21	22	Change for the better
22	13	18	30	24	Change for the worse
45	49	43	44	47	Hasn't made much difference
3	3	5	3	3	Mixed changes (VOL.)
2	2	0	3	5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
(n=984)	(n=180)	(n=230)	(n=335)	(n=199)	

## ASK FORM B ONLY:

i. A growing population of Asians

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
30	43	30	24	27	Change for the better
12	5	11	15	12	Change for the worse
51	47	52	55	51	Hasn't made much difference
1	1	1	1	2	Mixed changes (VOL.)
5	4	5	5	7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
(n=1,019)	(n=173)	(n=205)	(n=384)	(n=213)	

## NO QUESTIONS 19-20

## ASK ALL:

E1 Are you currently retired?

<u>Total</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
26	28	90	Retired (NET)
22	24	84	Yes
3	4	6	Yes, semi-retired or "still do some type of work" (VOL.)
72	67	9	No
2	5	*	Disabled (VOL.)
*	*	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## ASK Q.21 IF NOT RETIRED AND AGE= 62 OR OLDER [n=94]:

Q.21 Have you had to delay your retirement because of current economic conditions, or not?

<u>All 62+</u>		<u>July 2009</u>
42	Yes	38
58	No	61
0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1

**ASK Q.22 IF NOT RETIRED AND AGE=50-61 [n=336]:**

Q.22 Do you think you might have to delay your retirement because of current economic conditions, or not?

<u>All 50-61</u>		<u>July 2009</u>
66	Yes	63
30	No	31
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5

**ASK ALL:**

E2 Are you now enrolled in school, either full or part-time, or not?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	
16	42	14	Enrolled
10	33	5	Full time
6	9	9	Part time
84	58	86	Not enrolled
*	*	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

E3 (IF E1=1,2 & E2=3,9 : Some people who have retired do some type of work for pay.../IF E2=1,2 & E1=3,9: Some students also do some type of work for pay/IF E1=4: Some people who are disabled do some type of work for pay... )  
Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
60	67	73	65	22	Employed
44	38	60	52	8	Full time
16	29	12	12	14	Part time
39	32	27	35	78	Not employed
1	*	*	*	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK E3a. IF EMPLOYED:**

E3a Are you now employed by a private company or business, a private non-profit organization; the federal, state, or local government, or are you self-employed in your own business or professional practice?

[Interviewer: IF R MENTIONS MORE THAN ONE JOB/EMPLOYER ASK ABOUT THEIR "main job"]

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
56	64	58	51	35	A private company or business
8	8	6	8	7	A private non-profit organization
17	12	17	20	23	The federal, state, or local government
17	11	16	20	32	Self-employed
3	4	3	1	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
(n=1,168)	(n=240)	(n=329)	(n=475)	(n=103)	

**IF NOT EMPLOYED, ASK:**

E4 Are you currently looking for work or not?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>		<u>July 2009</u>	<u>Feb 2009</u>
33	63	59	27	6	Yes, looking for work	27	27
67	37	41	72	94	No, not looking for work	73	72
*	0	0	1	0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	0	1
(n=826)	(n=112)	(n=104)	(n=242)	(n=306)			

**IF EMPLOYED OR LOOKING FOR WORK AND NEVER RETIRED, ASK:**

E5 At what age do you expect to retire and not work?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>		<u>July 2009</u>	<u>Feb 2009</u>
12	17	15	5	Before age 60	18	20
14	17	10	16	60-64	18	18
28	25	28	34	65-69	29	25
22	17	24	23	70 or older	14	18
14	13	15	12	Never plan to retire <b>(VOL.)</b>	9	11
10	11	9	10	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	11	8
65	63	65	66	Mean age	63	63
(n=1,172)	(n=301)	(n=372)	(n=445)			

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:<sup>1</sup>**

	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2011</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2010</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2009</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2008</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2007</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2006</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2005</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2004</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2003</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2002</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>1989</u>
Mean age	66	65	65	64	64	65	64	64	63	63	62

**IF RETIRED AND NOT WORKING AND NOT LOOKING FOR WORK, ASK: [n=475]**

E6 At what age did you retire?

		<u>July 2009</u>	<u>Feb 2009<sup>2</sup></u>
13	Before age 50	12	15
26	50-59	22	29
34	60-64	32	25
15	65-69	16	15
8	70 or older	9	8
4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	9	9
59	Mean age	59	58

**1. TREND FOR COMPARISON:<sup>3</sup>**

	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2008</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2007</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2006</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2005</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2004</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2003</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>2002</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>1993</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>1992</u>	<u>Gallup</u> <u>1991</u>
Mean age	60	60	60	60	60	59	59	57	58	57

1 Trend numbers are from the Gallup Poll. All trends are from the month of April. The question wording was "At what age do you expect to retire?" The question was asked of all non-retired respondents through telephone interviews with a national adult sample. The 1989 Gallup Poll was based on a mail survey.

2 Trend for February 2009 includes all those who were retired and not working, including those who were looking for work (n=61). July 2009 trend uses the same filter as the current survey.

3 Trend numbers are from the Gallup Poll and are based on all retired adults. Trends for 1992-2008 are from the month of April; 1991 Trend is from May.

**IF RETIRED AND WORKING OR RETIRED AND LOOKING FOR WORK, ASK:**

E7 At what age do you expect to stop working completely?

<u>Sep 2011</u>		<u>July 2009</u>	<u>Feb 2009<sup>4</sup></u>
3	Before age 50	2	0
5	50-59	2	15
8	60-64	4	5
11	65-69	16	14
27	70 or older	31	21
25	Never plan to stop working completely (VOL.)	27	30
21	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	20	15
67	Mean age	69	67
(n=190)		(n=183)	(n=214)

**IF RETIRED AND WORKING OR LOOKING FOR WORK, ASK:**

E8 (IF E1=1,2 &amp; E3=1,2: Are you currently working.../IF E1=1,2 &amp; E3=3 &amp; E4=1: Are you currently looking for work...) because you need the money or because you want to work?

<u>Sep 2011</u>		Retired & working <sup>5</sup>	
		<u>Sep 2011</u>	<u>Feb 2009</u>
21	Need the money	19	22
52	Want to work	55	54
27	Both (VOL.)	26	21
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	3
(n=190)		(n=151)	(n=214)

**ASK ALL:**

Q.23 Overall, how confident are you that you (IF MARITAL=1: and your spouse) will have enough income and assets to last throughout your retirement years? Are you [READ LIST]?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>		<u>May 2010</u>	<u>Feb 2009</u>
63	72	53	60	72	Confident (NET)	64	71
25	33	18	20	31	Very confident	23	30
39	39	35	41	41	Somewhat confident	41	41
35	26	46	38	25	Not confident (NET)	32	25
19	14	25	20	13	Not too confident	19	16
16	12	21	17	13	Not at all confident	13	9
n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	Won't have anything/haven't been able to save (VOL.)	1	n/a
2	2	1	2	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	3

**ASK ALL:**

Q.24 Thinking about the economic challenges that the nation faces, which of the following concerns you more... [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
50	56	41	50	56	A lack of job opportunities for young adults who are just starting out
29	29	37	28	15	A lack of job opportunities for older adults who need to work
20	15	19	22	27	Neither/both (VOL.)
1	0	2	*	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

4 Trend for February 2009 only includes those who were retired and working; it does not include those who were retired and looking for work (n=61). July 2009 trend uses the same filter as the current survey.

5 Trend for February 2009 does not include those who were retired and looking for work (n=61). Data from this survey were filtered accordingly for comparison.

## ROTATE Q.25a AND Q25b

## ASK ALL:

Q.25a [IF Q25a ASKED FIRST, READ: Thinking about Social Security and Medicare... /IF Q25a ASKED SECOND, READ: Still thinking about these programs...] How concerned are you, if at all, that in the future there may not be enough money to provide these benefits at their current levels to older Americans. Are you... [READ IN ORDER]?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
89	86	90	92	87	Concerned (NET)
65	57	70	71	59	Very concerned
24	28	20	21	29	Somewhat concerned
11	14	10	8	11	Not concerned (NET)
6	10	5	4	6	Not too concerned
4	4	5	3	5	Not at all concerned
1	1	*	1	1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## ASK ALL:

Q.25b [IF Q25b ASKED FIRST, READ: Thinking about Social Security and Medicare... /IF Q25b ASKED SECOND, READ: Still thinking about these programs...] How concerned are you, if at all, that keeping Social Security and Medicare benefits at their current levels may put too much of a financial burden on younger generations? Are you... [READ IN ORDER]?

<u>Total</u>	<u>18-30</u>	<u>31-46</u>	<u>47-65</u>	<u>66-83</u>	
78	80	77	78	75	Concerned (NET)
43	41	45	45	44	Very concerned
34	39	33	34	31	Somewhat concerned
20	19	20	19	22	Not concerned (NET)
11	13	12	9	14	Not too concerned
9	7	9	10	9	Not at all concerned
2	1	2	2	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER  
SEPTEMBER 22-25, 2011 OMNIBUS  
FINAL TOPLINE  
N=1,000**

**QUESTIONS PEW1-4 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

**ASK ALL:**

PEW.5 Now I am going to read you a series of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. For each statement, please tell me if you completely agree with it, mostly agree with it, mostly DISagree with it or completely disagree with it. The first one is... **[READ ITEMS, IN ORDER. DO NOT ROTATE.]** Do you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly DISagree, or completely disagree?

**[INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: READ ANSWER CHOICES FOR FIRST TWO ITEMS AND THEN REPEAT AS NECESSARY]**

	-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			(VOL.) DK/Ref
	Net	Com- pletely	Mostly	Net	Com- pletely	Mostly	
a. People like me don't have any say about what the government does							
September 22-25, 2011	52	18	34	46	17	30	1
March 31-April 21, 2009	51	16	35	46	14	32	3
January, 2007	48	13	35	50	14	36	2
August, 2003	47	17	30	51	16	35	2
August, 2002	46	16	30	51	18	33	3
Late September, 1999	47	16	31	52	17	35	1
November, 1997	46	15	31	53	18	35	1
July, 1994	54	22	32	46	15	31	*
May, 1993	52	15	37	47	16	31	1
June, 1992	50	14	36	49	17	32	1
November, 1991	50	22	28	49	21	28	1
May, 1990	57	19	38	42	11	31	1
February, 1989	62	22	40	37	8	29	1
May, 1988	55	16	39	44	11	33	1
May, 1987	52	14	38	46	12	34	2
b. Generally speaking, elected officials in Washington lose touch with the people pretty quickly							
September 22-25, 2011	78	39	39	19	6	13	3
March 31-April 21, 2009	76	29	47	21	4	17	3
January, 2007	79	31	48	18	4	14	3
August, 2003	75	33	42	22	4	18	3
August, 2002	74	28	46	22	4	18	4
Late September, 1999	77	28	49	21	5	16	2
November, 1997	76	32	44	23	5	18	1
July, 1994	83	39	44	16	3	13	1
May, 1993	82	29	53	16	3	13	2
June, 1992	84	35	49	15	3	12	1
November, 1991	84	41	43	15	4	11	1
May, 1990	78	30	48	19	2	17	3
February, 1989	80	30	50	18	2	16	2
May, 1988	76	26	50	22	3	19	2
May, 1987	73	22	51	24	3	21	3
c. Most elected officials care what people like me think							
September 22-25, 2011	34	7	27	63	24	39	3
March 31-April 21, 2009	38	6	32	59	18	41	3
January, 2007	34	3	31	62	21	41	4

## PEW.5 CONTINUED...

	-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			(VOL.) DK/Ref
	Com-			Com-			
	Net	pletely	Mostly	Net	pletely	Mostly	
August, 2003	39	6	33	59	20	39	2
August, 2002	44	7	37	52	17	35	4
Late September, 1999	39	5	34	59	18	41	2
November, 1997	41	6	35	57	19	38	2
July, 1994	33	4	29	66	25	41	1
May, 1993	40	5	35	58	16	42	2
June, 1992	36	5	31	62	16	46	2
November, 1991	36	7	29	62	23	39	2
May, 1990	44	7	37	53	14	39	3
February, 1989	44	5	39	54	12	42	2
May, 1988	47	5	42	51	11	40	2
May, 1987	47	5	42	49	9	40	4
d. Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things							
September 22-25, 2011	65	25	40	33	12	22	2
March 31-April 21, 2009	68	21	47	28	8	20	4
January, 2007	71	23	48	26	8	18	3
August, 2003	73	27	46	24	8	16	3
August, 2002	72	28	44	25	9	16	3
Late September, 1999	73	27	46	24	7	17	3
November, 1997	67	27	40	32	9	23	1
July, 1994	66	24	42	32	11	21	2
November, 1991	74	32	42	24	9	15	2
May, 1990	73	23	50	25	7	18	2
February, 1989	73	25	48	25	5	20	2
May, 1988	75	26	49	23	5	18	2
May, 1987	78	23	55	19	4	15	3
NO ITEMS e-g							
h. The strength of this country today is mostly based on the success of American business							
September 22-25, 2011	71	26	45	25	8	17	4
March 31-April 21, 2009	76	26	50	20	5	15	4
January, 2007	72	19	53	24	6	18	4
August, 2003	75	26	49	21	6	15	4
August, 2002	72	22	50	24	6	18	4
February, 2002	76	25	51	20	4	16	4
Late September, 1999	76	23	53	19	5	14	5
November, 1997	76	22	54	21	5	16	3
July, 1994	78	26	52	20	5	15	2
June, 1992	78	24	54	20	5	15	2
November, 1991	76	29	47	21	6	15	3
May, 1990	77	20	57	17	3	14	6
February, 1989	77	23	54	18	4	14	5
May, 1988	79	25	54	17	3	14	4
May, 1987	76	16	60	19	3	16	5
i. Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good							
September 22-25, 2011	59	29	30	36	10	26	6
March 31-April 21, 2009	54	23	31	39	8	31	7
January, 2007	57	18	39	35	5	30	8
August, 2003	53	15	38	39	9	30	8
August, 2002	48	16	32	43	8	35	9
Late September, 1999	55	19	36	37	6	31	8
November, 1997	57	20	37	37	5	32	6

## PEW.5 CONTINUED...

	-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			(VOL.) DK/Ref
	Com-			Com-			
	Net	pletely	Mostly	Net	pletely	Mostly	
July, 1994	63	27	36	33	5	28	4
June, 1992	61	19	42	33	5	28	6
May, 1990	58	16	42	33	4	29	9
May, 1988	57	17	40	35	4	31	8
May, 1987	55	12	43	34	4	30	11
j. The federal government should run ONLY those things that cannot be run at the local level							
September 22-25, 2011	68	30	38	28	9	19	4
March 31-April 21, 2009	70	26	44	25	7	18	5
January, 2007	74	27	47	20	4	16	6
August, 2003	71	29	42	24	7	17	5
August, 2002	69	29	40	26	6	20	5
Late September, 1999	74	32	42	22	5	17	4
November, 1997	74	33	41	24	7	17	2
July, 1994	78	38	40	19	5	14	3
May, 1990	77	26	51	18	2	16	5
May, 1987	75	22	53	19	3	16	6
k. When something is run by the government, it is usually inefficient and wasteful							
September 22-25, 2011	64	29	35	33	7	26	3
March 31-April 21, 2009	57	25	32	39	7	32	4
January, 2007	62	24	38	34	6	28	4
August, 2003	57	23	34	39	8	31	4
August, 2002	53	20	33	43	8	35	4
Late September, 1999	59	23	36	38	7	31	3
November, 1997	64	27	37	34	7	27	2
July, 1994	69	33	36	30	5	25	1
May, 1993	69	24	45	29	5	24	2
June, 1992	70	29	41	28	4	24	2
November, 1991	68	32	36	30	7	23	2
May, 1990	67	22	45	29	4	25	4
February, 1989	65	26	39	31	5	26	4
May, 1988	66	24	42	29	3	26	5
May, 1987	63	19	44	31	4	27	6
l. The federal government controls too much of our daily lives							
September 22-25, 2011	64	36	28	35	9	26	1
March 31-April 21, 2009	55	26	29	42	8	34	3
January, 2007	64	28	36	33	6	27	3
August, 2003	56	24	32	42	8	34	2
August, 2002	54	25	29	43	8	35	3
Late September, 1999	60	30	30	38	6	32	2
November, 1997	64	29	35	35	6	29	1
July, 1994	69	37	32	30	5	25	1
May, 1993	65	26	39	34	4	30	1
June, 1992	64	28	36	34	5	29	2
November, 1991	63	32	31	35	7	28	2
May, 1990	62	22	40	34	5	29	4
February, 1989	57	22	35	43	9	34	3
May, 1988	61	25	36	36	5	31	3
May, 1987	58	18	40	37	5	32	5
m. The government is really run for the benefit of all the people							
September 22-25, 2011	41	9	32	56	22	34	2

## PEW.5 CONTINUED...

	-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			(VOL.) DK/Ref
	Com-			Com-			
	Net	pletely	Mostly	Net	pletely	Mostly	
March 31-April 21, 2009	49	11	38	48	14	34	3
January, 2007	45	10	35	52	15	37	3
August, 2003	52	13	39	46	15	31	2
August, 2002	55	13	42	43	14	29	2
Late September, 1999	49	11	38	48	14	34	3
November, 1997	48	9	39	50	15	35	2
July, 1994	42	10	32	57	19	38	1
June, 1992	44	8	36	54	17	37	2
November, 1991	48	11	37	50	16	34	2
May, 1990	52	10	42	45	10	35	3
February, 1989	57	12	45	41	10	31	2
May, 1988	53	11	42	44	10	34	3
May, 1987	57	9	48	39	8	31	4
<b>n. Business corporations generally strike a fair balance between making profits and serving the public interest</b>							
September 22-25, 2011	41	9	32	54	21	33	5
March 31-April 21, 2009	37	6	31	58	19	39	5
January, 2007	38	6	32	58	19	39	4
August, 2003	38	6	32	57	22	35	5
August, 2002	41	7	34	55	17	38	4
February, 2002	40	7	33	54	16	38	6
Late September, 1999	45	7	38	50	13	37	5
November, 1997	45	7	38	52	12	40	3
July, 1994	45	7	38	53	15	38	2
June, 1992	40	5	35	56	14	42	4
November, 1991	40	8	32	57	19	38	3
May, 1990	43	5	38	50	13	37	7
February, 1989	38	5	33	56	12	44	6
May, 1988	42	6	36	52	13	39	6
May, 1987	43	4	39	48	10	38	9
<b>NO ITEM o.</b>							
<b>p. Our society should do what is necessary to make sure that everyone has an equal opportunity to succeed</b>							
September 22-25, 2011	89	53	36	10	4	6	1
March 31-April 21, 2009	87	48	39	11	3	8	2
January, 2007	91	49	42	7	2	5	2
August, 2003	91	53	38	8	2	6	1
August, 2002	89	52	37	9	3	6	2
Late September, 1999	90	50	40	9	2	7	1
November, 1997	90	52	38	9	3	6	1
July, 1994	91	52	39	8	2	6	1
June, 1992	93	59	34	6	2	4	1
Nov, 1991	94	64	30	5	2	3	1
May, 1990	91	45	46	7	1	6	2
Feb, 1989	91	49	42	8	2	6	1
May, 1988	91	48	43	7	1	6	2
May, 1987	90	37	53	8	1	7	2
<b>q. We have gone too far in pushing equal rights in this country</b>							
September 22-25, 2011	39	17	22	59	31	28	2
March 31-April 21, 2009	41	16	25	56	25	31	3
January, 2007	45	17	28	51	19	32	4

## PEW.5 CONTINUED...

	-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			(VOL.) DK/Ref
	Com-			Com-			
	Net	pletely	Mostly	Net	pletely	Mostly	
August, 2003	43	17	26	54	26	28	3
August, 2002	49	20	29	48	21	27	3
Late September, 1999	48	20	28	50	21	29	2
November, 1997	45	17	28	53	21	32	2
July, 1994	48	21	27	50	22	28	2
May, 1993	43	14	29	54	20	34	3
June, 1992	40	16	24	57	27	30	3
November, 1991	38	16	22	59	27	32	3
May, 1990	43	15	28	53	21	32	4
February, 1989	41	17	24	56	22	34	3
May, 1988	45	17	28	52	20	32	3
May, 1987	42	11	31	53	16	37	5
r.	It is the responsibility of the government to take care of people who can't take care of themselves						
September 22-25, 2011	56	23	33	41	15	26	3
March 31-April 21, 2009	63	24	39	33	11	22	4
January, 2007	69	27	42	28	8	20	3
August, 2003	66	25	41	31	11	20	3
August, 2002	61	22	39	35	11	24	4
Late September, 1999	62	20	42	35	14	21	3
November, 1997	61	23	38	37	11	26	2
July, 1994	57	20	37	41	15	26	2
May, 1993	62	19	43	35	9	26	3
June, 1992	69	28	41	28	8	20	3
May, 1990	67	23	44	29	6	23	4
May, 1988	74	26	48	23	6	17	3
May, 1987	71	21	50	24	4	20	5
s.	The government should help more needy people even if it means going deeper in debt						
September 22-25, 2011	42	16	27	54	25	29	4
March 31-April 21, 2009	48	16	32	46	14	32	6
January, 2007	54	19	35	40	11	29	6
August, 2003	54	17	37	42	12	30	4
August, 2002	48	16	32	47	15	32	5
Late September, 1999	49	15	34	47	14	33	4
November, 1997	44	14	30	53	16	37	3
July, 1994	41	13	28	56	19	37	3
May, 1993	43	9	34	52	12	40	5
June, 1992	53	18	35	43	12	31	4
November, 1991	51	20	31	46	15	31	3
May, 1990	51	15	36	44	10	34	5
May, 1988	52	17	35	42	12	30	6
May, 1987	53	13	40	40	7	33	7
t.	The government should guarantee every citizen enough to eat and a place to sleep						
September 22-25, 2011	56	26	29	42	18	24	2
March 31-April 21, 2009	62	28	34	35	12	23	3
January, 2007	69	31	38	29	8	21	2
August, 2003	65	30	35	33	10	23	2
August, 2002	63	28	35	34	11	23	3
Late September, 1999	64	29	35	33	11	22	3
November, 1997	62	29	33	36	11	25	2
July, 1994	59	27	32	39	14	25	2
June, 1992	65	32	33	32	10	22	3
November, 1991	73	41	32	25	9	16	2

## PEW.5 CONTINUED...

	-----AGREE-----			-----DISAGREE-----			(VOL.) DK/Ref
	Com-			Com-			
	Net	pletely	Mostly	Net	pletely	Mostly	
May, 1990	62	27	35	34	9	25	4
February, 1989	65	35	30	32	10	22	3
May, 1988	66	28	38	31	9	22	3
May, 1987	62	22	40	33	7	26	5
u.	I like political leaders who are willing to make compromises in order to get the job done						
September 22-25, 2011	76	36	40	22	8	14	2
March 31-April 21, 2009	79	37	42	17	5	12	4
January, 2007	79	29	50	16	5	11	5
August, 2003	77	28	49	19	6	13	4
August, 2002	78	30	48	18	6	12	4
Late September, 1999	77	32	45	19	4	15	4
November, 1997	78	32	46	19	5	14	3
May, 1990	71	23	48	23	6	17	6
May, 1988	72	23	49	22	5	17	6
May, 1987	72	16	56	20	4	16	8
v.	I am very patriotic						
September 22-25, 2011	85	54	31	13	4	9	2
March 31-April 21, 2009	88	54	34	9	3	6	3
January, 2007	90	49	41	8	2	6	2
August, 2003	91	56	35	7	2	5	2
August, 2002	92	54	38	6	2	4	2
Late September, 1999	87	49	38	11	3	8	2
November, 1997	90	48	42	8	2	6	2
July, 1994	91	51	40	8	2	6	1
June, 1992	91	52	39	7	2	5	2
November, 1991	91	58	33	7	2	5	2
May, 1990	88	48	40	10	2	8	2
February, 1989	91	51	40	7	1	6	2
May, 1988	89	51	38	8	2	6	3
May, 1987	89	43	46	8	1	7	3