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Household Incomes, Jobs Seen as Lagging in Recovery

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## Five Years after Market Crash, U.S. Economy Seen as 'No More Secure'

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## Household Incomes, Jobs Seen as Lagging in Recovery

# Five Years after Market Crash, U.S. Economy Seen as ‘No More Secure’

Five years after the U.S. economy faced its most serious crisis since the Great Depression, a majority of Americans (63%) say the nation’s economic system is no more secure today than it was before the 2008 market crash. Just a third (33%) think the system is more secure now than it was then.

Large percentages say household incomes and jobs still have yet to recover from the economic recession. And when asked about the impact of government efforts to deal with the recession, far more believe that economic policies have benefitted large banks, corporations and the rich than the middle-class, the poor or small businesses.

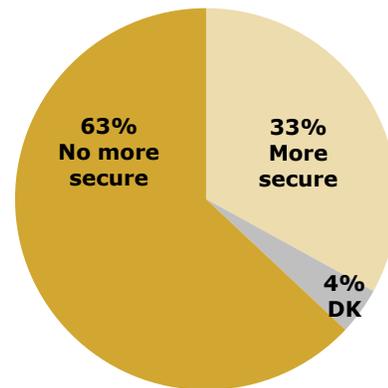
The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center, conducted September 4-8 among 1,506 adults, finds that 54% say household incomes have “hardly recovered at all” from the recession. Nearly as many (52%) say the job situation has barely recovered.

By contrast, majorities say that the stock market and real estate values have at least partially recovered from the recession (74% and 63%, respectively). But relatively few say that even these sectors have fully recovered (21% stock market, 4% real estate values).

Government policies in response to the recession are seen as having done little to address the uneven recovery. Broad majorities say the government’s policies following the recession have done not much or nothing at all to help poor people (72%), middle-class people (71%), and small businesses (67%). Yet majorities say government policies

### Five Years After Crash, Doubts about U.S. Economic System

*Compared w/ before crisis, U.S. economic system is*



### And Perceptions of an Uneven Recovery from the Recession

| How much has each recovered from recession ... | Fully Partially Hardly at all DK |    |    |       |
|--|----------------------------------|----|----|-------|
|  | %                                | %  | %  | %     |
| Household incomes                              | 2                                | 42 | 54 | 2=100 |
| Job situation                                  | 2                                | 45 | 52 | 1=100 |
| Real estate values                             | 4                                | 59 | 33 | 4=100 |
| Stock market                                   | 21                               | 53 | 18 | 9=100 |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013.  
 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

have done a great deal or a fair amount to help large banks and financial institutions (69%), large corporations (67%), and wealthy people (59%).

Despite concerns over the security of the economic system and fairness of government economic policies, the public is deeply divided over federal regulation of markets and financial institutions. Overall, 49% say government regulation of markets has not gone far enough leaving the country at risk of another financial crisis, while nearly as many (43%) say government regulation has gone too far making it harder for the economy to grow.

In May 2010, just before Congress passed financial regulation legislation, the public was similarly divided: 46% said they were worried the financial regulation legislation would go too far, 44% expressed concern that they would not go far enough.

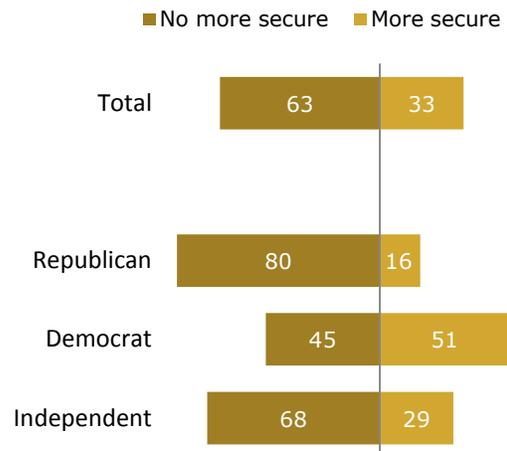
### Just a Third See Economic System as More Secure than in 2008

The belief that the U.S. economic system is no more secure today than it was before the financial crisis is widely shared across demographic groups. There are partisan differences, however, with Democrats more likely than Republicans or independents to say that the system is more secure.

Large majorities of Republicans (80%) and independents (68%) say the economic system is not more secure than prior to the financial crisis. Democrats are divided: 51% say the system is more secure today while 45% say it is not.

#### Partisan Divide over Whether Economic System Is More Secure

*Compared with before 2008 economic crisis, U.S. economic system today is ...*



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There also is substantial disagreement between Republicans and Democrats over whether the government has gone too far or not far enough in regulating markets and financial institutions.

By two-to-one, more Republicans say government regulations have gone too far making it harder for the economy to grow (64%), than say they have not gone far enough leaving the country at risk of another financial crisis (32%). Opinion among Democrats is the reverse: just 26% say the government regulations of financial institutions and markets have gone too far, while 62% say they have not gone far enough. Independents are divided: 51% say regulations have not gone far enough, 41% say they have gone too far.

Among Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the Tea Party, far more say government financial regulations have gone too far (79%) rather than not far enough (19%). Republicans who do not agree with the Tea Party are much more evenly divided: 52% say regulations have gone too far, 43% say not far enough.

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### Dems See Too Little Financial Regulation, Reps See Too Much

*In regulating financial institutions and markets, govt has gone ...*

|                              | <b>Too far</b> | <b>Not far enough</b> | <b>DK</b> |
|------------------------------|----------------|-----------------------|-----------|
|                              | %              | %                     | %         |
| Total                        | 43             | 49                    | 8=100     |
| Republican                   | 64             | 32                    | 4=100     |
| Democrat                     | 26             | 62                    | 11=100    |
| Independent                  | 41             | 51                    | 8=100     |
| <i>Among Rep/Rep-leaners</i> |                |                       |           |
| Tea Party                    | 79             | 19                    | 2=100     |
| Non-Tea Party                | 52             | 43                    | 6=100     |

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 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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## Gov't Policies Seen as Helping Banks, Corporations, the Wealthy

The public sees clear winners and losers as a result of the government's economic policies following the recession that began in 2008.

The beneficiaries of these policies, in the public's view, are large banks and financial institutions, large corporations and wealthy people: Sizable majorities say government policies have helped all three at least a fair amount – 69% say that about large banks and financial institutions, 67% large corporations and 59% wealthy people.

### Government Policies Seen as Doing Little for Middle Class, Poor, and Small Businesses

| <i>Following recession, government's policies have helped ...</i> | <b>A great deal</b> | <b>A fair amount</b> | <b>Not much/Not at all</b> | <b>Don't know</b> |
|---|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------------|-------------------|
|   | %                   | %                    | %                          | %                 |
| Poor people   | 8                   | 18                   | 72                         | 3=100             |
| Middle class people   | 6                   | 21                   | 71                         | 2=100             |
| Small businesses  | 6                   | 23                   | 67                         | 4=100             |
| Wealthy people  | 38                  | 21                   | 33                         | 8=100             |
| Large corporations  | 41                  | 26                   | 27                         | 7=100             |
| Large banks & financial institutions                              | 40                  | 28                   | 25                         | 7=100             |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q45.  
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Meanwhile, fewer than a third say policies implemented by the government following the recession have helped the poor, middle class and small businesses. Roughly seven-in-ten say government policies have done little or nothing to help the poor (72%), the middle class (71%) and small businesses (67%).

There has been little change in these perceptions since the question was last asked in July 2010.

There are only modest differences on this question across income groups, with general agreement over which groups have been helped – and not helped – by the government's economic policies. For example, 79% of those in households earning less than \$30,000 a year say government economic policies have done not much or nothing at all to help poor people; among those with family incomes of \$75,000 or more, a similar 70%-majority shares this view.

### Impact of Gov't Policies Viewed Similarly across Income Groups

| <i>Gov't policies have helped each not too much/not at all</i> | <i>Family income</i> |                 |               |
|--|----------------------|-----------------|---------------|
|  | <b>&lt;\$30k</b>     | <b>\$30-75k</b> | <b>\$75k+</b> |
|  | %                    | %               | %             |
| Poor people  | 79                   | 67              | 70            |
| Middle class   | 64                   | 71              | 77            |
| Small businesses   | 58                   | 69              | 70            |
| Wealthy people   | 30                   | 31              | 38            |
| Large corporations   | 27                   | 24              | 29            |
| Banks & financials   | 28                   | 21              | 21            |

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And while there are wide partisan gaps in opinions about government financial regulation and whether the economic system is more secure, there is some common ground in opinions about which groups have been helped by government economic policies since 2008.

For instance, nearly identical majorities of Republicans (73%), Democrats (71%) and independents (70%) say that government policies following the recession have done little or nothing for poor people. And while 70% of Democrats and 73% of independents say large banks and financial institutions have been helped at least a fair amount by government policies, 62% of Republicans agree. However, Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say that the wealthy, large corporations and small businesses have benefitted from government policies undertaken since the recession began.

### Many See an Uneven Economic Recovery

More than four years after the end of the recession, roughly half say that household incomes and the job situation have hardly recovered at all. Casting these views in an even more negative light is the perception that other economic sectors – the stock market and real estate values – have seen more of a recovery.

#### Most Say Household Incomes Have Hardly Recovered from Recession

| <i>How much have each of the following recovered from recession?</i> | <b>Fully recovered</b> | <b>Partially recovered</b> | <b>Hardly recovered</b> | <b>DK</b> |
|--|------------------------|----------------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
|  | %                      | %                          | %                       | %         |
| Household incomes  | 2                      | 42                         | 54                      | 2=100     |
| Job situation  | 2                      | 45                         | 52                      | 1=100     |
| Real estate values   | 4                      | 59                         | 33                      | 4=100     |
| Stock market   | 21                     | 53                         | 18                      | 9=100     |

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Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Overall, 54% say household incomes have hardly recovered at all from the recession, 42% say they have partially recovered and just 2% say they have fully recovered. Attitudes toward the job situation are very similar (52% hardly recovered, 45% partially recovered, 2% fully recovered).

Of the four economic sectors tested, the stock market is seen as having rebounded most from the recession. Nearly three-quarters (74%) say the stock market has either fully (21%) or partially (53%) recovered from the recession, while just 18% say it has hardly recovered at all. Views of the recovery in the real estate market also are positive: 63% say

real estate values have at least partially recovered, though far more say they have partially recovered (59%) than fully recovered (4%); only 33% say real estate values have hardly recovered at all from the recession.

College graduates are more likely than those with less education to see recovery across all four economic sectors tested in the survey. For example, nearly six-in-ten college graduates (58%) say the job situation has at least partially recovered, compared with just 42% of those with some college experience and 44% of those with no college experience.

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### College Graduates More Likely to See Recovery across Sectors

| <i>% saying each has partially or fully recovered</i> | <b>College grad+</b> | <b>Some college</b> | <b>HS or less</b> |
|---|----------------------|---------------------|-------------------|
|   | %                    | %                   | %                 |
| Stock market  | 83                   | 76                  | 66                |
| Real estate values                                    | 74                   | 64                  | 56                |
| Job situation   | 58                   | 42                  | 44                |
| Household incomes                                     | 51                   | 40                  | 43                |

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### Recession's Impact on Personal Finances

The recession's impact can still be clearly seen in how people describe their personal financial situation. Overall, 33% say the recession had a major impact on them and their finances have not yet recovered, 28% say it had a major impact on them but their finances have mostly recovered, while 37% say the recession did not have a major impact on their own personal financial situation.

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### A Third Say Their Own Finances Haven't Recovered from Recession

|                                 | <b>Feb 2011</b> | <b>Sept 2013</b> | <b>Change</b> |
|---------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
|                                 | %               | %                |               |
| Major impact, not yet recovered | 36              | 33               | -3            |
| Major impact, mostly recovered  | 25              | 28               | +3            |
| Did not have major impact       | 37              | 37               | 0             |
| Don't know                      | <u>1</u>        | <u>2</u>         |               |
|                                 | 100             | 100              |               |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q38.  
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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The percentage saying the recession had a major impact on their financial situation and they have yet to recover has remained stubbornly flat over the course of the last several years. In February of 2011, 36% said this, almost identical to the 33% who say this today.

Low-income respondents are the most likely to say that the recession hurt their personal finances and that they have yet to recover. Overall, 44% of those with family incomes of less than \$30,000 a year say their finances have not recovered from the recession, double the percentage among those with incomes of \$75,000 or more.

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### Lower-Income People Less Likely to Say Finances Have Recovered

| <i>Recession's impact on personal financial situation</i> | <i>Family income</i> |                |             |
|---|----------------------|----------------|-------------|
|   | <b>&lt;30k</b>       | <b>30k-75k</b> | <b>75k+</b> |
|   | %                    | %              | %           |
| Major effect, not recovered                               | 44                   | 34             | 22          |
| Major effect, mostly recovered                            | 19                   | 31             | 34          |
| Did not have major impact                                 | 34                   | 34             | 43          |
| Don't know  | <u>2</u>             | <u>1</u>       | <u>1</u>    |
|   | 100                  | 100            | 100         |

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 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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## Views of the National Economy

Five years after the financial crisis, views of the national economy still remain negative. Only 19% rate the economy as excellent or good. By contrast, about a third (32%) rate the economy as poor and roughly half (48%) say economic conditions are only fair.

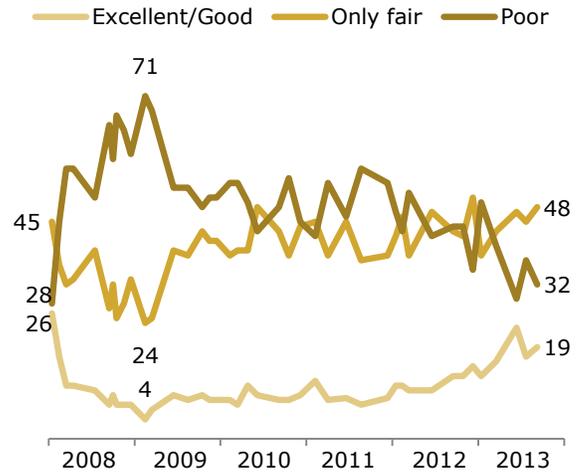
While perceptions of the economy are negative, they are much less so than during the depths of the economic recession. In February 2009, 71% rated economic conditions as poor and only 4% rated the economy as excellent or good. The share rating economic conditions as poor had more than doubled between January 2008 and February 2009 (from 28% to 71%).

Perceptions of the economy have become less negative just over the course of this year. In January 2013, 49% said the economy was poor, 17 points higher than today.

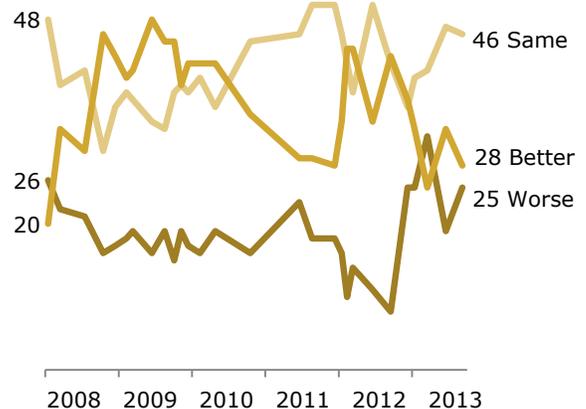
Currently, roughly equal percentages expect the economy to get better (28%) as worse (25%) in the coming year. For most of Obama's presidency, economic optimism has outweighed pessimism. This is only the second time since Obama became president when economic optimism did not significantly exceed economic pessimism.

### Current and Future Economic Ratings

Current economic conditions are ...



A year from now, economic conditions will be ...



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In February 2009, when national economic ratings hit an all-time low, there was unusual partisan agreement in evaluations of the economy. Comparable percentages of Democrats (73%), independents (72%) and Republicans (67%) said the nation's economy was in poor shape.

Since then, the percentage rating the economy as poor has fallen across the board, but much more steeply among Democrats and independents than Republicans. Today, just 19% of Democrats view economic conditions as poor, compared with 33% of independents and 44% of Republicans.

The public's economic expectations have shown less change over the past four years. Currently, 25% say they expect economic conditions to worsen in the coming year; 18% said this in February 2009. In the current survey, more Republicans (39%) than independents (25%) or Democrats (11%) expect the economy to get worse. In February 2009, 27% of Republicans, 20% of independents and 9% of Democrats said the economy would be worse in a year.

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### More Partisan Views of the Current Economy than in 2009

| <i>% rating current economic conditions as <u>poor</u></i>       | <b>Feb 2009</b> | <b>Sept 2013</b> | <b>Change</b> |
|--|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| Total  | 71              | 32               | -39           |
| Republican   | 67              | 44               | -23           |
| Democrat   | 73              | 19               | -54           |
| Independent  | 72              | 33               | -39           |
| <br><i>% saying economy a year from now will be <u>worse</u></i> |                 |                  |               |
| Total  | 18              | 25               | +7            |
| Republican   | 27              | 39               | +12           |
| Democrat   | 9               | 11               | +2            |
| Independent  | 20              | 25               | +5            |

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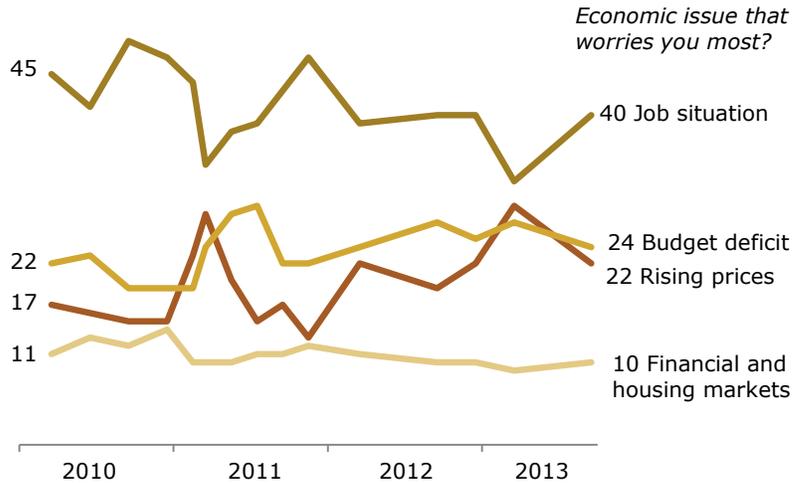
## Top Economic Worry: Jobs

Overall, 40% say that the job situation is the national economic issue that worries them most, while somewhat fewer cite the budget deficit (24%) or rising prices (22%); just 10% say the condition of the financial and housing markets is their top economic worry.

The percentage citing the job situation as their top economic worry has increased eight points since March, when concern over rising prices rivaled the job situation as the public's top economic worry. For most of the past three years, the job situation has been the public's top economic worry.

Pluralities across income levels and partisan groups cite the job situation as their top economic worry. However, while jobs are the top concern for Republicans and Democrats alike, a greater share of Democrats (48%) than Republicans (37%) say this. Republicans (29%) are more likely than Democrats (15%) to cite the budget deficit as their top economic concern.

### Job Situation Remains Public's Top Economic Concern



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### Jobs Are Top Worry among all Income, Partisan Groups

|                          | Job situation | Budget deficit | Rising prices | Financial/housing markets | DK    |
|--------------------------|---------------|----------------|---------------|---------------------------|-------|
|                          | %             | %              | %             | %                         | %     |
| Total                    | 40            | 24             | 22            | 10                        | 4=100 |
| <i>Family income ...</i> |               |                |               |                           |       |
| \$75,000 or more         | 40            | 30             | 15            | 12                        | 4=100 |
| \$30,000-\$75,000        | 37            | 26             | 23            | 9                         | 5=100 |
| Less than \$30,000       | 42            | 16             | 28            | 11                        | 3=100 |
| <i>Partisan</i>          |               |                |               |                           |       |
| Republican               | 37            | 29             | 23            | 8                         | 3=100 |
| Democrat                 | 48            | 15             | 21            | 11                        | 5=100 |
| Independent              | 38            | 26             | 22            | 10                        | 5=100 |

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## Obama’s Rating on Economy Little Changed

Currently, 43% approve of the way that Barack Obama is handling the economy, while 52% disapprove. Obama’s job rating on the economy has shown little change this year. Views of Obama’s handling of the economy have been consistently more negative than positive since shortly after he took office in early 2009.

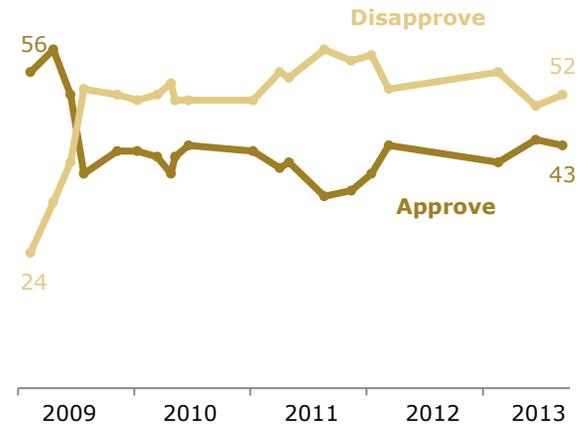
Republicans disapprove of Obama’s handling of the economy by an 85%-12% margin, while Democrats approve 75%-19%. Most independents (56%) disapprove of the job Obama is doing on the economy, while 38% approve.

Obama’s current rating on the economy is similar to his overall job rating (44% approve, 49% disapprove) and much higher than is ratings for handling the nation’s foreign policy and the situation in Syria.

Just 33% approve of the way Obama is handling the nation’s foreign policy – the lowest mark of his presidency. And just 29% approve of his handling of the situation in Syria while nearly twice as many disapprove. (For more, see [“Opposition to Syrian Airstrikes Surges,”](#) Sept, 9, 2013.)

### Continued Disapproval of Obama’s Handling of the Economy

Obama’s handling of the economy ...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013.

### Obama’s Job Rating on Economy Better than Foreign Policy, Syria

|                             | Approve | Disapprove | DK     |
|-----------------------------|---------|------------|--------|
| <i>Obama job rating ...</i> |         |            |        |
| Overall                     | 44      | 49         | 8=100  |
| Economy                     | 43      | 52         | 5=100  |
| Foreign policy              | 33      | 57         | 11=100 |
| Situation in Syria          | 29      | 56         | 15=100 |

PEW RESEARCH CENTER/USA TODAY Sept. 4-8, 2013. Q3a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## Republicans Hold Slim Advantage on Deficit, Dealing with Banks

The Republican Party holds a slim advantage over Democrats as the party seen as best able to deal with the federal budget deficit and with banks and financial institutions.

By a 43%-35% margin, somewhat more say the Republican Party than the Democratic Party can do the better job dealing with the budget deficit. In January the public was divided over which party could do the better job (40% Republican Party, 39% Democratic Party), though Republicans have often enjoyed a slight advantage on the issue in recent years.

By a similar margin (41%-35%) the GOP also has the advantage as the party best able to deal with banks and financial institutions. When the question was last asked in April 2010, during congressional debate on regulating banks and financial institutions, opinion was divided (36% for each party).

Independents lean toward the GOP as the party best able to deal with both the budget deficit (42%-27%) and banks and financial institutions (38%-30%). In addition, a greater percentage of Republicans than Democrats favor their own party to deal with the budget deficit (79% of Republicans vs. 67% of Democrats) and banks (78% of Republicans vs. 66% of Democrats).

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### GOP Has Edge in Dealing with Banks, Financial Institutions

| <i>Which party could do the better job ...</i>       | <b>Rep Party</b><br>% | <b>Dem Party</b><br>% | <b>Both/Neither/DK</b><br>% |
|--|-----------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------------|
| <b>Dealing w/ budget deficit</b>                     |                       |                       |                             |
| September 2013                                       | 43                    | 35                    | 22=100                      |
| January 2013   | 40                    | 39                    | 21=100                      |
| October 2011   | 46                    | 37                    | 17=100                      |
| September 2010                                       | 43                    | 36                    | 21=100                      |
| August 2009  | 35                    | 36                    | 30=100                      |
| <b>Dealing w/ banks &amp; financial institutions</b> |                       |                       |                             |
| September 2013                                       | 41                    | 35                    | 24=100                      |
| April 2010   | 36                    | 36                    | 28=100                      |

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Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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### Independents Tilt Toward GOP on Deficit, Dealing with Banks

| <i>Party that could better deal with...</i> | <b>Total</b><br>% | <b>Rep</b><br>% | <b>Dem</b><br>% | <b>Ind</b><br>% |
|---|-------------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <b>Budget deficit</b>                       |                   |                 |                 |                 |
| Republican Party                            | 43                | 79              | 16              | 42              |
| Democratic Party                            | 35                | 10              | 67              | 27              |
| <b>Banks and financial institutions</b>     |                   |                 |                 |                 |
| Republican Party                            | 41                | 78              | 17              | 38              |
| Democratic Party                            | 35                | 8               | 66              | 30              |

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## About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted September 4-8, 2013 among a national sample of 1,506 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (751 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 755 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 401 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 and region to parameters from the 2011 Census Bureau's American Community Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2012 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

| <b>Group</b>         | <b>Unweighted sample size</b> | <b>Plus or minus...</b> |
|----------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Total sample         | 1,506                         | 2.9 percentage points   |
| Republican           | 396                           | 5.7 percentage points   |
| Democrat             | 472                           | 5.3 percentage points   |
| Independent          | 569                           | 4.8 percentage points   |
| <i>Family income</i> |                               |                         |
| Less than \$30,000   | 415                           | 5.6 percentage points   |
| \$50,000-\$75,000    | 496                           | 5.1 percentage points   |
| \$75,000 or more     | 453                           | 5.4 percentage points   |

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

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

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**SEPTEMBER 2013 POLITICAL SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**September 4-8, 2013**  
**N=1,506**

**ASK ALL:**

Now, thinking about how Barack Obama is handling some issues...

Q.3 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **[INSERT ITEMS; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]**. How about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[REPEAT INTRODUCTION AS NECESSARY]**

|    |                     | <u>Approve</u> | <u>Disapprove</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----|---------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | The economy         |                |                   |                                |
|    | Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)   | 43             | 52                | 5                              |
|    | Jun 12-16, 2013     | 44             | 50                | 5                              |
|    | Feb 13-18, 2013 (U) | 40             | 56                | 4                              |
|    | Mar 7-11, 2012      | 43             | 53                | 4                              |
|    | Jan 11-16, 2012     | 38             | 59                | 4                              |
|    | Nov 9-14, 2011      | 35             | 58                | 6                              |
|    | Aug 17-21, 2011     | 34             | 60                | 6                              |
|    | May 2, 2011         | 40             | 55                | 4                              |
|    | Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011  | 39             | 56                | 6                              |
|    | Jan 6-9, 2011       | 42             | 51                | 7                              |
|    | Jun 16-20, 2010     | 43             | 51                | 5                              |
|    | May 6-9, 2010       | 41             | 51                | 8                              |
|    | Apr 21-26, 2010     | 38             | 54                | 8                              |
|    | Mar 10-14, 2010     | 41             | 52                | 7                              |
|    | Jan 6-10, 2010      | 42             | 51                | 7                              |
|    | Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009  | 42             | 52                | 5                              |
|    | Jul 22-26, 2009     | 38             | 53                | 9                              |
|    | Jun 10-14, 2009     | 52             | 40                | 8                              |
|    | Apr 14-21, 2009     | 60             | 33                | 7                              |
|    | Feb 4-8, 2009       | 56             | 24                | 20                             |

**QUESTIONS 3b-c, 10, 15-16, 17a-b HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**  
**NO QUESTIONS 2, 3d-e, 3g-h9, 11-14, 18-28**  
**QUESTIONS 1, 3f, 3i, 4-8, 17c-d PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.29 Please tell me if you think the REPUBLICAN Party or the DEMOCRATIC Party could do the better job of **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? How about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Which party could do the better job of ITEM?]**

|    |   | Republican<br><u>Party</u> | Democratic<br><u>Party</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>Both<br/>equally</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>Neither</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----|---|----------------------------|----------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| a. | Dealing with the federal budget deficit |                            |                            |  |                                 |                                |
|    | Sep 4-8, 2013                           | 43                         | 35                         | 7  | 9                               | 5                              |
|    | Jan 9-13, 2013                          | 40                         | 39                         | 7  | 8                               | 6                              |
|    | Dec 5-9, 2012                           | 43                         | 38                         | 4  | 7                               | 9                              |
|    | Mar 7-11, 2012                          | 42                         | 41                         | 2  | 7                               | 7                              |
|    | Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011                      | 46                         | 37                         | 4  | 6                               | 7                              |
|    | Jul 22-24, 2011                         | 43                         | 37                         | 5  | 6                               | 8                              |
|    | May 25-30, 2011 <sup>1</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                              |

<sup>1</sup> From February 2006 to May 2011 item read "Reducing the federal budget deficit;" an 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 standalone question. In June 1999, the item was worded: "Keeping the federal budget balanced." In December 1993 the item was worded: "Reducing the budget deficit."

**Q.29 CONTINUED...**

|                     | Republican<br><u>Party</u> | Democratic<br><u>Party</u> | (VOL.)<br>Both<br><u>equally</u> | (VOL.)<br><u>Neither</u> | (VOL.)<br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|---------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------|----------------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------------|
| 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                      |

**ITEMS b,c HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

|    |   |    |    |   |    |    |
|----|---|----|----|---|----|----|
| d. | Dealing with banks and financial institutions |    |    |   |    |    |
|    | Sep 4-8, 2013                                 | 41 | 35 | 6 | 10 | 7  |
|    | Apr 21-26, 2010                               | 36 | 36 | 7 | 11 | 11 |

**NO QUESTIONS 30-34****ASK ALL:**

Thinking about the nation's economy...

Q.35 How would you rate economic conditions in this country today... as excellent, good, only fair, or poor?

|                    | <u>Excellent</u> | <u>Good</u> | Only<br><u>fair</u> | <u>Poor</u> | (VOL.)<br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|--------------------|------------------|-------------|---------------------|-------------|-------------------------|
| Sep 4-8, 2013      | 2                | 17          | 48                  | 32          | *                       |
| Jul 17-21, 2013    | 2                | 15          | 45                  | 37          | 1                       |
| Jun 12-16, 2013    | 2                | 21          | 47                  | 29          | *                       |
| Mar 13-17, 2013    | 1                | 15          | 43                  | 40          | 1                       |
| Jan 9-13, 2013     | 2                | 11          | 38                  | 49          | 1                       |
| Dec 5-9, 2012      | 1                | 14          | 50                  | 35          | 1                       |
| Oct 24-28, 2012    | 1                | 12          | 42                  | 44          | 1                       |
| Sep 12-16, 2012    | 1                | 12          | 43                  | 44          | 1                       |
| Jun 7-17, 2012     | 1                | 9           | 47                  | 42          | 1                       |
| Mar 7-11, 2012     | 1                | 9           | 38                  | 51          | 1                       |
| Feb 8-12, 2012     | 1                | 10          | 46                  | 43          | 1                       |
| Jan 11-16, 2012    | 2                | 9           | 42                  | 47          | 1                       |
| Dec 7-11, 2011     | *                | 8           | 38                  | 53          | 1                       |
| Aug 17-21, 2011    | 1                | 6           | 37                  | 56          | 1                       |
| Jun 15-19, 2011    | *                | 8           | 45                  | 46          | 1                       |
| Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011 | 1                | 7           | 38                  | 53          | 1                       |
| Feb 2-7, 2011      | 1                | 11          | 45                  | 42          | 1                       |
| Dec 1-5, 2010      | 1                | 8           | 44                  | 45          | 1                       |
| Oct 13-18, 2010    | 1                | 7           | 38                  | 54          | 1                       |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 1                | 7           | 43                  | 48          | 1                       |
| Jun 3-6, 2010      | 1                | 8           | 48                  | 43          | 1                       |
| Apr 21-26, 2010    | *                | 11          | 39                  | 49          | 1                       |
| Mar 10-14, 2010    | 1                | 6           | 39                  | 53          | 1                       |
| Feb 3-9, 2010      | 1                | 7           | 38                  | 53          | 1                       |
| Dec 9-13, 2009     | 1                | 7           | 41                  | 50          | 1                       |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | *                | 8           | 41                  | 50          | 1                       |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 1                | 8           | 43                  | 48          | 1                       |
| Aug 11-17, 2009    | *                | 8           | 38                  | 52          | 2                       |
| Jun 10-14, 2009    | 1                | 8           | 39                  | 52          | 1                       |
| Mar 9-12, 2009     | *                | 6           | 25                  | 68          | 1                       |
| Feb 4-8, 2009      | *                | 4           | 24                  | 71          | 1                       |
| December, 2008     | *                | 7           | 33                  | 59          | 1                       |

## Q.35 CONTINUED...

|                                  | <u>Excellent</u> | <u>Good</u> | <u>Only fair</u> | <u>Poor</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|----------------------------------|------------------|-------------|------------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| November, 2008                   | 1                | 6           | 28               | 64          | 1                              |
| Late October, 2008               | *                | 7           | 25               | 67          | 1                              |
| Early October, 2008              | 1                | 8           | 32               | 58          | 1                              |
| Late September, 2008             | *                | 7           | 27               | 65          | 1                              |
| July, 2008                       | 1                | 9           | 39               | 50          | 1                              |
| April, 2008                      | 1                | 10          | 33               | 56          | *                              |
| March, 2008                      | 1                | 10          | 32               | 56          | 1                              |
| Early February, 2008             | 1                | 16          | 36               | 45          | 2                              |
| January, 2008                    | 3                | 23          | 45               | 28          | 1                              |
| November, 2007                   | 3                | 20          | 44               | 32          | 1                              |
| September, 2007                  | 3                | 23          | 43               | 29          | 2                              |
| June, 2007                       | 6                | 27          | 40               | 25          | 2                              |
| February, 2007                   | 5                | 26          | 45               | 23          | 1                              |
| December, 2006                   | 6                | 32          | 41               | 19          | 2                              |
| Early November, 2006 (RVs)       | 9                | 35          | 37               | 17          | 2                              |
| Late October, 2006               | 6                | 27          | 40               | 25          | 2                              |
| September, 2006                  | 5                | 32          | 41               | 20          | 2                              |
| March, 2006                      | 4                | 29          | 44               | 22          | 1                              |
| January, 2006                    | 4                | 30          | 45               | 19          | 2                              |
| Early October, 2005              | 2                | 23          | 45               | 29          | 1                              |
| Mid-September, 2005              | 3                | 28          | 44               | 24          | 1                              |
| Mid-May, 2005                    | 3                | 29          | 47               | 20          | 1                              |
| January, 2005                    | 3                | 36          | 45               | 15          | 1                              |
| December, 2004                   | 3                | 33          | 43               | 20          | 1                              |
| Early November, 2004 (RVs)       | 5                | 31          | 37               | 26          | 1                              |
| Mid-September, 2004              | 4                | 34          | 40               | 20          | 2                              |
| August, 2004                     | 3                | 30          | 45               | 21          | 1                              |
| Late April, 2004                 | 4                | 34          | 38               | 22          | 2                              |
| Late February, 2004 <sup>2</sup> | 2                | 29          | 42               | 26          | 1                              |

## ASK ALL:

Q.36 A year from now, do you expect that economic conditions in the country as a whole will be better than they are at present, or worse, or just about the same as now?

|                    | <u>Better</u> | <u>Worse</u> | <u>Same</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|--------------------|---------------|--------------|-------------|--------------------------------|
| Sep 4-8, 2013      | 28            | 25           | 46          | 1                              |
| Jun 12-16, 2013    | 33            | 19           | 47          | 1                              |
| Mar 13-17, 2013    | 25            | 32           | 41          | 1                              |
| Jan 9-13, 2013     | 33            | 25           | 40          | 2                              |
| Dec 5-9, 2012      | 37            | 25           | 36          | 2                              |
| Sep 12-16, 2012    | 43            | 8            | 42          | 8                              |
| Jun 7-17, 2012     | 34            | 11           | 50          | 5                              |
| Mar 7-11, 2012     | 44            | 14           | 38          | 4                              |
| Feb 8-12, 2012     | 44            | 10           | 42          | 3                              |
| Jan 11-16, 2012    | 34            | 16           | 46          | 3                              |
| Dec 7-11, 2011     | 28            | 18           | 50          | 4                              |
| Aug 17-21, 2011    | 29            | 18           | 50          | 2                              |
| Jun 15-19, 2011    | 29            | 23           | 46          | 2                              |
| Oct 13-18, 2010    | 35            | 16           | 45          | 4                              |
| Apr 21-26, 2010    | 42            | 19           | 36          | 3                              |
| Feb 3-9, 2010      | 42            | 16           | 40          | 3                              |
| Dec 9-13, 2009     | 42            | 17           | 38          | 3                              |
| Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 | 39            | 19           | 39          | 2                              |
| Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009 | 45            | 15           | 38          | 3                              |
| Aug 11-17, 2009    | 45            | 19           | 33          | 3                              |

<sup>2</sup> Earlier trends available from Gallup.

## Q.36 CONTINUED...

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

## ASK ALL:

Q.37 Which of the following national economic issues worries you most? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

|                              | <u>The job situation</u> | <u>Rising prices</u> | <u>The federal budget deficit</u> | <u>The condition of the financial and housing markets</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>Other</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>None/not worried about any</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| Sep 4-8, 2013                | 40                       | 22                   | 24                                | 10  | 2                             | 1  | 1                              |
| Mar 13-17, 2013 <sup>3</sup> | 32                       | 29                   | 27                                | 9   | 2                             | *  | 1                              |
| Dec 5-9, 2012                | 40                       | 22                   | 25                                | 10  | 2                             | *  | 1                              |
| Sep 12-16, 2012              | 40                       | 19                   | 27                                | 10  | 2                             | 1  | 1                              |
| Mar 7-11, 2012               | 39                       | 22                   | 24                                | 11  | 2                             | 1  | 2                              |
| Nov 9-14, 2011               | 47                       | 13                   | 22                                | 12  | 2                             | 1  | 2                              |
| Sep 1-4, 2011                | 43                       | 17                   | 22                                | 11  | 4                             | 2  | 2                              |
| Jul 20-24, 2011              | 39                       | 15                   | 29                                | 11  | 3                             | 1  | 2                              |
| May 25-30, 2011              | 38                       | 20                   | 28                                | 10  | 2                             | *  | 2                              |
| Mar 8-14, 2011               | 34                       | 28                   | 24                                | 10  | 3                             | *  | 1                              |
| Feb 2-7, 2011                | 44                       | 23                   | 19                                | 10  | 1                             | 1  | 3                              |
| Dec 1-5, 2010                | 47                       | 15                   | 19                                | 14  | 1                             | 1  | 3                              |

<sup>3</sup> From March 2010 to March 2013, the financial and housing markets answer choice was worded "Problems in the financial and housing markets."

**Q.37 CONTINUED...**

|                    | <u>The job situation</u> | <u>Rising prices</u> | <u>The federal budget deficit</u> | <u>The condition of the financial and housing markets</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>Other</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>None/not worried about any</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|--------------------|--------------------------|----------------------|-----------------------------------|---|-------------------------------|--|--------------------------------|
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 | 49                       | 15                   | 19                                | 12  | 2                             | 1  | 2                              |
| Jun 3-6, 2010      | 41                       | 16                   | 23                                | 13  | 3                             | 1  | 2                              |
| Mar 10-14, 2010    | 45                       | 17                   | 22                                | 11  | 2                             | *  | 2                              |

**ASK ALL:**

Q.38 Overall, which of the following best describes how the recession affected your own personal financial situation? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE OPTIONS 1 AND 3; KEEP OPTION 2 SECOND]**

| <u>Sep 4-8</u><br><u>2013</u> |  | <u>Jan 11-16</u><br><u>2012</u> | <u>Mar 8-14</u><br><u>2011</u> | <u>Feb 2-7</u><br><u>2011</u> |
|-------------------------------|--|---------------------------------|--------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| 33                            | It had a major effect, and your finances have not recovered    | 36                              | 40                             | 36                            |
| 28                            | It had a major effect, but your finances have mostly recovered | 28                              | 24                             | 25                            |
| 37                            | It didn't have a major effect on your finances                 | 33                              | 34                             | 37                            |
| 2                             | Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>                               | 4                               | 2                              | 1                             |

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=762]:**

Q.39F2 Thinking about the U.S. economic system in general, compared with before the 2008 financial crisis, do you think the U.S. economic system is **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

| <u>Sep 4-8</u><br><u>2013</u> |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 33                            | More secure today than it was before the 2008 economic crisis    |
| 63                            | No more secure today than it was before the 2008 economic crisis |
| 4                             | Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>                                 |

**NO QUESTION 40****ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=744]:**

Q.41F1 Thinking about financial regulation, which comes closer to your view **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**:

| <u>Sep 4-8</u><br><u>2013</u> |  |
|-------------------------------|--|
| 43                            | The government has gone too far regulating financial institutions and markets, making it harder for the economy to grow                          |
| 49                            | The government has not gone far enough in regulating financial institutions and markets, leaving the country at risk of another financial crisis |
| 8                             | Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>   |

**TREND FOR COMPARISON**

*In 2010, the President and Congress passed a law that more strictly regulates financial institutions and markets. What worries you more on this issue?*

| <u>Feb 8-12</u><br><u>2012</u> |   | <u>May 13-16</u><br><u>2010<sup>4</sup></u> |
|--------------------------------|---|---|
| 42                             | These regulations go too far, making it harder for the economy to grow                          | 46  |
| 42                             | These regulations do not go far enough, leaving the country at risk of another financial crisis | 44  |
| 16                             | Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>  | 11  |

**NO QUESTIONS 42-43**

<sup>4</sup> For May 13-16, 2010 the question read: "Thinking about financial regulation, what worries you more...". The response options read "That the government will go too far in regulating financial institutions and markets, making it harder for the economy to grow," or "That the government will not go far enough in regulating financial institutions and markets, leaving the country at risk of another financial crisis."

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=744]:**

Q.44F1 Thinking about the recession that began in 2008. Please tell me whether you think each of the following has fully recovered from the recession, partially recovered, or hardly recovered at all. First, **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** have/has **[ITEM]** fully recovered from the recession, partially recovered, or hardly recovered at all? What about **[INSERT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Have/has [ITEM] fully recovered from the recession, partially recovered, or hardly recovered at all?]**

|      |                                     | Fully<br><u>recovered</u> | Partially<br><u>recovered</u> | Hardly<br><u>recovered</u><br><u>at all</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|------|-------------------------------------|---------------------------|-------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|
| a.F1 | Real estate values<br>Sep 4-8, 2013 | 4                         | 59                            | 33  | 4                              |
| b.F1 | The stock market<br>Sep 4-8, 2013   | 21                        | 53                            | 18  | 9                              |
| c.F1 | The job situation<br>Sep 4-8, 2013  | 2                         | 45                            | 52  | 1                              |
| d.F1 | Household incomes<br>Sep 4-8, 2013  | 2                         | 42                            | 54  | 2                              |

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=762]:**

Q.45F2 Thinking about the federal government's economic policies following the recession that began in 2008. Do you think these policies have helped **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all? What about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Have the federal government's policies since the recession helped [ITEM] a great deal, a fair amount, not too much, or not at all?]**<sup>5</sup>

|      |   | A great<br><u>deal</u> | A fair<br><u>amount</u> | Not too<br><u>much</u> | Not at<br><u>all</u> | <b>(VOL.)</b><br><u>DK/Ref</u> |
|------|---|------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------------|
| a.F2 | Middle-class people<br>Sep 4-8, 2013                    | 6                      | 21                      | 38                     | 33                   | 2                              |
|      | Jul 15-18, 2010   | 2                      | 25                      | 43                     | 25                   | 4                              |
| b.F2 | Poor people<br>Sep 4-8, 2013                            | 8                      | 18                      | 35                     | 37                   | 3                              |
|      | Jul 15-18, 2010   | 7                      | 24                      | 37                     | 27                   | 5                              |
| c.F2 | Wealthy people<br>Sep 4-8, 2013                         | 38                     | 21                      | 20                     | 13                   | 8                              |
|      | Jul 15-18, 2010   | 31                     | 26                      | 18                     | 12                   | 12                             |
| d.F2 | Large banks and financial institutions<br>Sep 4-8, 2013 | 40                     | 28                      | 17                     | 7                    | 7                              |
|      | Jul 15-18, 2010   | 53                     | 21                      | 12                     | 6                    | 8                              |
| e.F2 | Small businesses<br>Sep 4-8, 2013                       | 6                      | 23                      | 35                     | 32                   | 4                              |
|      | Jul 15-18, 2010   | 2                      | 21                      | 39                     | 29                   | 8                              |
| f.F2 | Large corporations<br>Sep 4-8, 2013                     | 41                     | 26                      | 19                     | 8                    | 7                              |
|      | Jul 15-18, 2010   | 44                     | 26                      | 12                     | 8                    | 10                             |

**NO QUESTIONS 46-54, 57-59, 62, 68, 70-77**

**QUESTIONS 55-56, 60-61, 63-67, 69, 78-85 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

<sup>5</sup> In July 2010, the question was worded "Thinking about the federal government's economic policies since the recession began in 2008. Do you think they have helped ... "

**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 4-8, 2013        | 26         | 32       | 38          | 3             | 1           | 1      | 17   | 15   |
| Jul 17-21, 2013      | 19         | 29       | 46          | 3             | *           | 2      | 19   | 18   |
| Jun 12-16, 2013      | 23         | 33       | 39          | 3             | *           | 2      | 17   | 15   |
| May 1-5, 2013        | 25         | 32       | 37          | 2             | 1           | 3      | 14   | 16   |
| Mar 13-17, 2013      | 26         | 33       | 34          | 3             | 1           | 3      | 14   | 15   |
| Feb 13-18, 2013      | 22         | 32       | 41          | 2             | *           | 2      | 15   | 19   |
| Jan 9-13, 2013       | 25         | 32       | 38          | 2             | *           | 2      | 15   | 16   |
| Dec 17-19, 2012      | 21         | 32       | 38          | 4             | *           | 4      | 15   | 14   |
| Dec 5-9, 2012        | 23         | 33       | 38          | 3             | 1           | 2      | 14   | 19   |
| Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012   | 26         | 34       | 34          | 3             | 1           | 3      | 13   | 16   |
| Oct 24-28, 2012      | 28         | 33       | 33          | 4             | *           | 2      | 12   | 16   |
| Oct 4-7, 2012        | 27         | 31       | 36          | 3             | 1           | 3      | 15   | 15   |
| Sep 12-16, 2012      | 24         | 35       | 36          | 2             | *           | 2      | 14   | 16   |
| <b>Yearly Totals</b> |            |          |             |               |             |        |      |      |
| 2012                 | 24.7       | 32.6     | 36.4        | 3.1           | .5          | 2.7    | 14.4 | 16.1 |
| 2011                 | 24.3       | 32.3     | 37.4        | 3.1           | .4          | 2.5    | 15.7 | 15.6 |
| 2010                 | 25.2       | 32.7     | 35.2        | 3.6           | .4          | 2.8    | 14.5 | 14.1 |
| 2009                 | 23.9       | 34.4     | 35.1        | 3.4           | .4          | 2.8    | 13.1 | 15.7 |
| 2008                 | 25.7       | 36.0     | 31.5        | 3.6           | .3          | 3.0    | 10.6 | 15.2 |
| 2007                 | 25.3       | 32.9     | 34.1        | 4.3           | .4          | 2.9    | 10.9 | 17.0 |
| 2006                 | 27.8       | 33.1     | 30.9        | 4.4           | .3          | 3.4    | 10.5 | 15.1 |
| 2005                 | 29.3       | 32.8     | 30.2        | 4.5           | .3          | 2.8    | 10.3 | 14.9 |
| 2004                 | 30.0       | 33.5     | 29.5        | 3.8           | .4          | 3.0    | 11.7 | 13.4 |
| 2003                 | 30.3       | 31.5     | 30.5        | 4.8           | .5          | 2.5    | 12.0 | 12.6 |
| 2002                 | 30.4       | 31.4     | 29.8        | 5.0           | .7          | 2.7    | 12.4 | 11.6 |
| 2001                 | 29.0       | 33.2     | 29.5        | 5.2           | .6          | 2.6    | 11.9 | 11.6 |
| 2001 Post-Sept 11    | 30.9       | 31.8     | 27.9        | 5.2           | .6          | 3.6    | 11.7 | 9.4  |
| 2001 Pre-Sept 11     | 27.3       | 34.4     | 30.9        | 5.1           | .6          | 1.7    | 12.1 | 13.5 |
| 2000                 | 28.0       | 33.4     | 29.1        | 5.5           | .5          | 3.6    | 11.6 | 11.7 |
| 1999                 | 26.6       | 33.5     | 33.7        | 3.9           | .5          | 1.9    | 13.0 | 14.5 |
| 1998                 | 27.9       | 33.7     | 31.1        | 4.6           | .4          | 2.3    | 11.6 | 13.1 |
| 1997                 | 28.0       | 33.4     | 32.0        | 4.0           | .4          | 2.3    | 12.2 | 14.1 |
| 1996                 | 28.9       | 33.9     | 31.8        | 3.0           | .4          | 2.0    | 12.1 | 14.9 |
| 1995                 | 31.6       | 30.0     | 33.7        | 2.4           | .6          | 1.3    | 15.1 | 13.5 |
| 1994                 | 30.1       | 31.5     | 33.5        | 1.3           | --          | 3.6    | 13.7 | 12.2 |
| 1993                 | 27.4       | 33.6     | 34.2        | 4.4           | 1.5         | 2.9    | 11.5 | 14.9 |
| 1992                 | 27.6       | 33.7     | 34.7        | 1.5           | 0           | 2.5    | 12.6 | 16.5 |
| 1991                 | 30.9       | 31.4     | 33.2        | 0             | 1.4         | 3.0    | 14.7 | 10.8 |
| 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 REGISTERED VOTERS (REG=1) [N=1,201]:**

Q.85 And how often would you say you vote in PRIMARY elections – that is, the elections in which a party selects their nominee to run in a general election. Would you say you vote in PRIMARY elections [READ IN ORDER]?

| Sep 4-8<br>2013 |                           | July 17-21<br>2013 |
|-----------------|---------------------------|--------------------|
| 50              | Always                    | 46                 |
| 24              | Nearly always             | 23                 |
| 13              | Part of the time          | 13                 |
| 11              | Seldom                    | 14                 |
| 2               | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) | 4                  |

**ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):**

TEAPARTY3 From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

**BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS [N=657]:**

|                            | Agree | Disagree | No opinion<br>either way | (VOL.)<br>Haven't<br>heard of | (VOL.)<br>Refused | Not<br>heard of/<br>DK |
|----------------------------|-------|----------|--------------------------|-------------------------------|-------------------|------------------------|
| Sep 4-8, 2013              | 35    | 9        | 54                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Jul 17-21, 2013            | 37    | 10       | 50                       | 2                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Jun 12-16, 2013            | 44    | 9        | 46                       | 1                             | 2                 | --                     |
| May 23-26, 2013            | 41    | 7        | 48                       | 1                             | 3                 | --                     |
| May 1-5, 2013              | 28    | 8        | 61                       | 2                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Mar 13-17, 2013            | 43    | 7        | 47                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Feb 13-18, 2013            | 36    | 9        | 52                       | 1                             | 3                 | --                     |
| Feb 14-17, 2013            | 43    | 9        | 45                       | 1                             | 2                 | --                     |
| Jan 9-13, 2013             | 35    | 10       | 51                       | 2                             | 2                 | --                     |
| Dec 5-9, 2012              | 37    | 11       | 51                       | 1                             | *                 | --                     |
| Oct 31-Nov 3, 2012 (RVs)   | 40    | 8        | 49                       | 1                             | 2                 | --                     |
| Oct 4-7, 2012              | 38    | 9        | 50                       | 1                             | 3                 | --                     |
| Sep 12-16, 2013            | 39    | 7        | 52                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012         | 40    | 9        | 47                       | 2                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Jun 7-17, 2012             | 42    | 8        | 48                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012          | 36    | 9        | 53                       | 1                             | 2                 | --                     |
| Apr 4-15, 2012             | 42    | 8        | 48                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Mar 7-11, 2012             | 38    | 10       | 49                       | 2                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Feb 8-12, 2012             | 40    | 7        | 51                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Jan 11-16, 2012            | 42    | 8        | 47                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Jan 4-8, 2012              | 37    | 8        | 52                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Dec 7-11, 2011             | 40    | 9        | 48                       | 2                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Nov 9-14, 2011             | 41    | 9        | 49                       | *                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011         | 37    | 11       | 51                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Aug 17-21, 2011            | 43    | 7        | 49                       | *                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Jul 20-24, 2011            | 40    | 7        | 51                       | *                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Jun 15-19, 2011            | 42    | 9        | 47                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| May 25-30, 2011            | 37    | 7        | 52                       | 1                             | 3                 | --                     |
| Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011         | 45    | 9        | 46                       | *                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Mar 8-14, 2011             | 37    | 7        | 54                       | 1                             | *                 | --                     |
| Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011         | 41    | 9        | 48                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Feb 2-7, 2011 <sup>6</sup> | 43    | 8        | 47                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Jan 5-9, 2011              | 45    | 6        | 47                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Dec 1-5, 2010              | 48    | 5        | 45                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Nov 4-7, 2010              | 51    | 5        | 42                       | 1                             | 1                 | --                     |
| Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)      | 58    | 5        | 27                       | --                            | 1                 | 9                      |
| Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)      | 54    | 5        | 30                       | --                            | 1                 | 10                     |
| Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)   | 56    | 6        | 29                       | --                            | *                 | 9                      |
| Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010         | 46    | 5        | 36                       | --                            | 1                 | 13                     |
| Jun 16-20, 2010            | 46    | 5        | 30                       | --                            | *                 | 19                     |
| May 20-23, 2010            | 53    | 4        | 25                       | --                            | 1                 | 16                     |
| Mar 11-21, 2010            | 48    | 4        | 26                       | --                            | 1                 | 21                     |

**Key to Pew Research trends noted in the topline:**

|      |   |
|------|---|
| (U)  | Pew Research Center/USA Today polls       |
| (WP) | Pew Research Center/Washington Post polls |

<sup>6</sup> In the February 2-7, 2011, survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May 2010 through October 2010, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March 2010 it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."