

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER  
DECEMBER 2017 POLITICAL SURVEY  
FINAL TOPLINE  
NOVEMBER 29-DECEMBER 4, 2017  
N=1,503**

**ASK ALL:**

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

	Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>		Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	27	68	6	Jun 15-19, 2011	23	73	4
Oct 25-30, 2017	26	70	5	May 5-8, 2011	30	62	8
Jun 27-Jul 9, 2017	28	67	5	May 2, 2011	32	60	8
Apr 5-11, 2017	30	66	4	Mar 8-14, 2011	22	73	5
Feb 7-12, 2017	30	65	5	Feb 2-7, 2011	26	68	5
Jan 4-9, 2017	28	68	4	Jan 5-9, 2011	23	71	6
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	30	65	5	Dec 1-5, 2010	21	72	7
Oct 20-25, 2016	33	63	4	Nov 4-7, 2010	23	69	8
Aug 9-16, 2016	31	66	3	Sep 23-26, 2010	30	63	7
Jun 15-26, 2016	24	71	5	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	25	71	5
Apr 12-19, 2016	26	70	3	Jun 24-27, 2010	27	64	9
Mar 17-26, 2016	31	65	4	May 13-16, 2010	28	64	7
Jan 7-14, 2016	25	70	5	Apr 21-26, 2010	29	66	5
Dec 8-13, 2015	25	72	3	Apr 1-5, 2010	31	63	6
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	27	67	5	Mar 11-21, 2010	25	69	5
Sep 22-27, 2015	27	69	4	Mar 10-14, 2010	23	71	7
Jul 14-20, 2015	31	64	4	Feb 3-9, 2010	23	71	6
May 12-18, 2015	29	67	4	Jan 6-10, 2010	27	69	4
Mar 25-29, 2015	31	64	5	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7
Feb 18-22, 2015	33	62	5	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7
Jan 7-11, 2015	31	66	4	Sep 10-15, 2009 <sup>1</sup>	30	64	7
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)	26	71	3	Aug 20-27, 2009	28	65	7
Nov 6-9, 2014	27	68	4	Aug 11-17, 2009	28	65	7
Oct 15-20, 2014	29	65	6	Jul 22-26, 2009	28	66	6
Sep 2-9, 2014	25	71	4	Jun 10-14, 2009	30	64	5
Aug 20-24, 2014	24	72	4	Apr 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8
Jul 8-14, 2014	29	68	4	Apr 14-21, 2009	23	70	7
Apr 23-27, 2014	29	65	6	Jan 7-11, 2009	20	73	7
Feb 12-26, 2014	28	66	6	December, 2008	13	83	4
Jan 15-19, 2014	26	69	5	Early October, 2008	11	86	3
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	21	75	3	Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6
Oct 9-13, 2013	14	81	5	August, 2008	21	74	5
Jul 17-21, 2013	27	67	6	July, 2008	19	74	7
May 1-5, 2013	30	65	5	June, 2008	19	76	5
Feb 13-18, 2013 (U)	31	64	5	Late May, 2008	18	76	6
Jan 9-13, 2013	30	66	4	March, 2008	22	72	6
Dec 17-19, 2012	25	68	7	Early February, 2008	24	70	6
Dec 5-9, 2012	33	62	5	Late December, 2007	27	66	7
Oct 18-21, 2012	32	61	8	October, 2007	28	66	6
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	31	64	5	February, 2007	30	61	9
Jun 7-17, 2012	28	68	5	Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7
May 9-Jun 3, 2012	29	64	7	Early January, 2007	30	63	7
Apr 4-15, 2012	24	69	6	December, 2006	28	65	7
Feb 8-12, 2012	28	66	6				
Jan 11-16, 2012	21	75	4				
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	17	78	5				
Aug 17-21, 2011	17	79	4				
Jul 20-24, 2011	17	79	4				

<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.1 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>
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7
Early October, 2006	30	63	7	September, 2000	51	41	8
July, 2006	30	65	5	June, 2000	47	45	8
May, 2006*	29	65	6	April, 2000	48	43	9
March, 2006	32	63	5	August, 1999	56	39	5
January, 2006	34	61	5	January, 1999	53	41	6
Late November, 2005	34	59	7	November, 1998	46	44	10
Early October, 2005	29	65	6	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
July, 2005	35	58	7	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
Late May, 2005*	39	57	4	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
February, 2005	38	56	6	February, 1998	59	37	4
January, 2005	40	54	6	January, 1998	46	50	4
December, 2004	39	54	7	September, 1997	45	49	6
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6	August, 1997	49	46	5
July, 2004	38	55	7	January, 1997	38	58	4
May, 2004	33	61	6	July, 1996	29	67	4
Late February, 2004*	39	55	6	March, 1996	28	70	2
Early January, 2004	45	48	7	October, 1995	23	73	4
December, 2003	44	47	9	June, 1995	25	73	2
October, 2003	38	56	6	April, 1995	23	74	3
August, 2003	40	53	7	July, 1994	24	73	3
April, 2003	50	41	9	March, 1994	24	71	5
January, 2003	44	50	6	October, 1993	22	73	5
November, 2002	41	48	11	September, 1993	20	75	5
September, 2002	41	55	4	May, 1993	22	71	7
Late August, 2002	47	44	9	January, 1993	39	50	11
May, 2002	44	44	12	January, 1992	28	68	4
March, 2002	50	40	10	November, 1991	34	61	5
Late September, 2001	57	34	9	Gallup: Late Feb, 1991	66	31	3
Early September, 2001	41	53	6	August, 1990	47	48	5
June, 2001	43	52	5	May, 1990	41	54	5
March, 2001	47	45	8	January, 1989	45	50	5
February, 2001	46	43	11	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5
January, 2001	55	41	4				

**ASK ALL:**

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

37 Been disappointed or unhappy with things

**26 STYLE (NET)**

14 Twitter/Social media

14 Unprofessional behavior

2 No results/Not keeping promises

1 Treatment of women

**11 DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)**

3 Appointments/Staffing

3 Immigration/Border wall

2 Health care

4 Other domestic policies

**2 FOREIGN POLICY**

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

62 Can't think of anything

1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

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

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

Dec 9-13

2009

30 Been disappointed or unhappy with things

**15 DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)**

7 Health care

3 Economy/Spending/Deficit/Taxes/Jobs

3 Banks/Corporations/Bonuses/Bailouts/Wall Street

2 Gay rights

1 Abortion

**14 FOREIGN POLICY (NET)**

9 Afghanistan/Troop increase

3 End war/Troops home

2 Iraq

1 Other foreign policy

**5 STYLE (NET)**

4 Not firm enough/No results

1 Other style

1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

66 Can't think of anything

4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK IF DISAPPROVE (Q.2=2):**

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

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

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

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

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

14 Been happy with things

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

84 Can't think of anything

2 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

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

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

Dec 9-13

2009

24 Been happy with things

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

73 Can't think of anything

3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

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

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

**ASK ALL:**

Next,

Q.4 Do you celebrate Christmas, or not?

Nov 29-Dec 4 <u>2017</u>		Dec 3-8 <u>2013</u>
90	Yes	92
8	No	7
1	Sometimes <b>(VOL.)</b>	1
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	*

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:** *Do you celebrate Christmas?*

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
Gallup/USA Today: Dec 10-12, 2010	95	4	*
Gallup/USA Today: December, 2008	93	7	0
Gallup/CNN/USA Today: December, 2005	96	4	*
Gallup: December, 2003	95	5	0
Gallup: December, 2000	96	4	*
Gallup/CNN/USA Today: December, 1994	96	4	*

**ASK IF CELEBRATES CHRISTMAS OR DECLINED TO SAY (Q.4=1,3,9):**Q.4a For you personally, is Christmas **[INSERT; RANDOMIZE]**?**BASED ON TOTAL:**

Nov 29-Dec 4 <u>2017</u>		Dec 3-8 <u>2013</u>
46	More of a religious holiday	52
33	More of a cultural holiday	33
9	Both of these <b>(VOL.)</b>	7
1	Other/none of these <b>(VOL.)</b>	1
0	Do not celebrate Christmas <b>(VOL.)</b>	0
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	1
8	<i>Does not celebrate Christmas (Q.4=2)</i>	7

**NO QUESTION 5****ASK ALL:**

Q.6 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?

	Basically <u>content</u>	<u>Frustrated</u>	<u>Angry</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	17	55	24	5
Apr 5-11, 2017	19	55	22	3
Mar 17-26, 2016	20	57	21	2
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	18	57	22	3
Feb 12-26, 2014	17	62	19	2
Oct 9-13, 2013	12	55	30	3
Sep 25-29, 2013	17	51	26	5
Jan 9-13, 2013	20	58	19	3
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 January, 2007	21	58	16	5
Early October, 2006	21	54	20	5
March, 2004	32	52	13	3
Mid November, 2001	53	34	8	5
June, 2000	28	53	13	6
February, 2000	33	54	10	3
October, 1997	29	56	12	3

**ASK ALL:**

Q.7 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?

	Just about <u>always</u>	Most of <u>the time</u>	Only some <u>of the time</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Never</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	3	15	67	14	2
Apr 5-11, 2017	4	16	68	11	2
Aug 27- Oct 4, 2015	3	16	67	13	1
Feb 12-26, 2014	3	21	68	7	1
Oct 9-13, 2013	3	16	68	12	1
Jan 9-13, 2013	3	23	67	6	2
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	3	17	72	7	2

**Q.7 CONTINUED...**

	Just about <u>always</u>	Most of <u>the time</u>	Only some <u>of the time</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Never</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
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>2</sup>	4	22	61	11	2
February, 1998	5	29	61	4	1
October, 1997	3	36	59	2	*

**NO QUESTIONS 8-10****ASK ALL:**

Q.11 Do you think race relations in the United States are generally good or generally bad?

	Generally <u>good</u>	Generally <u>bad</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	38	56	6
Feb 29-May 8, 2016 (SDT)	44	48	8
CBS/NYT: Jul 14-19, 2015	37	57	6
CBS/NYT: Apr 30-May 3, 2015	34	61	5
CBS: Feb 26-Mar 2, 2015	52	38	10
CBS: Dec 6-9, 2014	45	43	13
CBS/NYT: Aug 19-20, 2014	47	44	10
CBS/NYT: Apr 30-May 1, 2014	55	33	12
CBS: Mar 26-30, 2014	59	34	7
CBS: Aug 7-11, 2012	57	32	11
CBS/NYT: Jan 12-17, 2012	62	30	8
CBS/NYT: Mar 2-7, 2011	64	29	7
CBS/NYT: Oct 21-26, 2010	61	33	6
CBS/NYT: Apr 22-26, 2009	66	22	12
CBS/NYT: Jul 7-14, 2008	53	37	10
CBS/NYT: Mar 28-Apr 2, 2008	55	36	9
NYT: Jun 21-29, 2000	57	30	13
CBS: Feb 6-10, 2000	52	38	10
CBS: Jun 10-11, 1997	38	52	10
CBS: Jan 30-Feb 2, 1997	40	54	6
CBS: Dec 4-5, 1996	35	52	13
CBS: Mar 27-28, 1996	35	53	12
CBS/NYT: Mar 28-31, 1993	37	56	7
CBS/NYT: May 6-8, 1992	25	68	7
CBS/NYT: May 22-24, 1990	41	50	8

<sup>2</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?"

**ASK ALL:**

Q.12 Do you think race relations in the United States are getting better, getting worse, or staying about the same?

	Getting <u>better</u>	Getting <u>worse</u>	Staying about <u>the same</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	17	44	37	2
Feb 29-May 8, 2016 (SDT)	19	38	41	2
CBS/NYT: Jul 14-19, 2015	21	38	39	1
CBS/NYT: Apr 30-May 3, 2015	17	44	37	2
CBS: Dec 6-9, 2014	22	36	40	2

**NO QUESTIONS 13-14****ASK ALL:**

Next,

Q.15 In your view, would you prefer if stores and businesses greet their customers by saying "merry Christmas," OR would you prefer if stores and businesses use less religious terms such as "happy holidays" and "season's greetings", or doesn't it matter to you?

Nov 29-Dec 4 <u>2017</u>		Dec 5-9 <u>2012</u>	December <u>2005</u>
32	Prefer "Merry Christmas"	42	43
15	Prefer less religious terms	12	12
52	Doesn't matter	46	45
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	1

**ASK ALL:**

Q.16 Now thinking about the job the federal government is doing in some different areas. Is the federal government doing a very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad job **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? How about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Is the federal government doing a very good, somewhat good, somewhat bad or very bad job [ITEM]?]**

		----- Good Job -----			----- Bad Job -----			(VOL.) Not	(VOL.) DK/
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>govt job</u>	<u>Ref</u>
<b>ASK FORM 1 [N=751]:</b>									
a.F1	Strengthening the economy								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	53	15	38	42	21	21	1	5
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	51	9	42	47	22	25	*	2
b.F1	Keeping the country safe from terrorism								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	66	24	42	30	14	16	0	4
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	72	30	43	26	13	12	*	2
c.F1	Helping people get out of poverty								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	26	6	20	67	42	25	4	4
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	36	6	30	61	30	30	2	2
d.F1	Ensuring access to health care								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	36	9	27	58	33	25	2	4
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	56	15	42	40	21	19	1	3



**Q.16 CONTINUED...**

		----- Good Job -----			----- Bad Job -----			(VOL.) Not	(VOL.) DK/
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>govt job</u>	<u>Ref</u>
e.F1	Maintaining roads, bridges and other infrastructure								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	51	13	38	46	20	26	*	3
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	52	14	38	46	23	23	1	1
f.F1	Ensuring that food and medicine are safe								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	61	19	42	33	19	15	*	6
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	72	22	49	26	11	15	*	2
<b>ASK FORM 2 [N=752]:</b>									
g.F2	Ensuring a basic income for people 65 and older								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	41	10	31	48	28	20	1	10
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	48	9	39	45	20	25	1	5
h.F2	Ensuring access to high quality education								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	44	11	33	50	27	23	2	4
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	52	12	40	44	20	24	1	3
i.F2	Managing the nation's immigration system								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	32	7	25	64	38	26	0	4
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	28	5	23	68	38	30	*	4
j.F2	Setting fair and safe standards for workplaces								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	65	18	47	24	9	15	2	9
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	76	21	56	20	8	12	1	3
k.F2	Protecting the environment								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	44	11	32	53	33	20	1	3
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	59	11	48	38	16	23	*	2
l.F2	Responding to natural disasters								
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	64	26	38	34	18	16	*	3
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	79	28	51	19	8	11	*	2

**ASK ALL:**

Q.17 For each of these same areas, please tell me how much of a role, if any, the federal government should play. Should the federal government play a major role, a minor role or no role at all **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**? How about **[INSERT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Should the federal government play a major role, a minor role, or no role at all [ITEM]?**

		Major <u>role</u>	Minor <u>role</u>	No role <u>at all</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
<b>ASK FORM 1 [N=751]:</b>					
a.F1	Strengthening the economy				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	75	18	4	2
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	74	20	4	1

**Q.17 CONTINUED...**

		<u>Major role</u>	<u>Minor role</u>	<u>No role at all</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
b.F1	Keeping the country safe from terrorism				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	94	5	1	1
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	94	5	1	1
c.F1	Helping people get out of poverty				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	67	26	6	1
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	55	38	5	1
d.F1	Ensuring access to health care				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	69	21	9	2
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	61	28	10	1
e.F1	Maintaining roads, bridges and other infrastructure				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	75	21	2	3
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	76	20	3	1
f.F1	Ensuring that food and medicine are safe				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	87	9	3	1
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	87	10	2	1
<b>ASK FORM 2 [N=752]:</b>					
g.F2	Ensuring a basic income for people 65 and older				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	71	21	6	2
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	69	25	4	2
h.F2	Ensuring access to high quality education				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	68	23	8	1
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	70	25	4	1
i.F2	Managing the nation's immigration system				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	80	15	4	1
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	81	15	2	1
j.F2	Setting fair and safe standards for workplaces				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	65	28	6	1
	Aug 27-Sep 13, 2015	66	30	3	1
k.F2	Protecting the environment				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	76	19	3	1
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	75	22	3	1
l.F2	Responding to natural disasters				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	89	9	1	1
	Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	88	10	1	1

## NO QUESTIONS 18-20

## ASK ALL:

On a different topic...

Q.21 In all countries, there are differences or conflicts between different social groups. In your opinion, in AMERICA, are conflicts between ... **[READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU d; ALWAYS READ ITEM e. LAST]** ... Very strong conflicts, strong conflicts, not very strong conflicts, or there are not conflicts? How about conflicts between **[INSERT NEXT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Are conflicts in America between [ITEM] very strong, strong, not very strong, or there are not conflicts?]**

		<u>Very strong conflicts</u>	<u>Strong conflicts</u>	<u>Not very strong conflicts</u>	<u>There are not conflicts</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Can't choose</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Poor people and rich people						
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	29	30	28	8	2	3
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	30	33	25	9	2	2
	Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 (SDT)	22	36	28	8	2	5
	Dec 6-19, 2011 (SDT)	30	36	23	7	1	4
	Jul 20-Aug 2, 2009 (SDT)	15	32	34	10	3	6
	GSS: February, 2000	14	41	37	3	6	--
	GSS: February, 1992	20	46	26	3	5	--
	GSS: February 1987	15	44	33	3	5	--
b.	Blacks and whites						
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	27	38	26	4	2	3
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	26	40	24	6	2	2
	Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 (SDT)	11	28	47	7	2	6
	Dec 6-19, 2011 (SDT)	10	28	47	7	2	5
	Jul 20-Aug 2, 2009 (SDT)	9	30	45	8	3	6
c.	People who live in cities and people who live in rural areas						
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	13	24	37	20	2	5
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	13	27	29	23	4	5
d.	Young people and older people						
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	12	23	42	19	2	3
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	13	27	40	17	*	2
	Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 <sup>3</sup> (SDT)	8	20	52	15	1	3
	Dec 6-19, 2011 (SDT)	10	24	50	12	1	3
	Jul 20-Aug 2, 2009 (SDT)	6	19	56	14	1	4
	GSS: February, 2000 <sup>4</sup>	10	31	48	7	4	--
	GSS: February, 1992	11	31	43	10	5	--
e.	Democrats and Republicans						
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	64	22	8	2	1	3
	Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	56	29	9	3	2	2
	Nov 28-Dec 5, 2012 (SDT)	47	35	10	3	1	5

<sup>3</sup> In 2012, 2011, 2009 and 2000, question was worded: "In all countries, there are differences or conflicts between different social groups. In your opinion, in AMERICA, how much conflict is there between ... [READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU d. ALWAYS READ ITEM e. LAST] ... Very strong conflicts, strong conflicts, not very strong conflicts, or there are not conflicts?" In 1992 GSS, question was worded: "The question wording is slightly different in the 1992 GSS: "In all countries there are differences or even conflicts between different social groups. In your opinion, in AMERICA, how much conflict is there between ... [READ AND RANDOMIZE ITEMS a. THRU d. ALWAYS READ ITEM e. LAST] ... Very strong conflicts, strong conflicts, not very strong conflicts, or there are not conflicts?"

<sup>4</sup> In 2000 and 1992 GSS, questions did not include "Don't know/Refused" volunteered option.

**ASK ALL:**

Next,

Q.22 Do you approve or disapprove of the health care law passed by Barack Obama and Congress in 2010?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	56	38	6
Feb 7-12, 2017	54	43	3
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	48	47	5
Oct 20-25, 2016	46	51	4
Apr 12-19, 2016	44	54	3
Jul 14-20, 2015	48	49	3
Feb 18-22, 2015	45	53	3
Nov 6-9, 2014	45	51	4
Oct 15-20, 2014	43	51	5
Sep 2-9, 2014	44	52	4
Apr 23-27, 2014	41	55	4
Apr 3-6, 2014 (U)	37	50	12
Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014	41	53	5
Dec 3-8, 2013 (U)	41	54	5
Oct 9-13, 2013	41	52	7
Sep 4-8, 2013 (U)	42	53	5
Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 <sup>5</sup>	47	43	9
Jun 7-17, 2012	43	48	9
Apr 4-15, 2012	41	49	10
Mar 7-11, 2012	47	45	8
Jan 5-9, 2011	41	48	11
Nov 4-7, 2010	43	47	10
Sep 9-12, 2010	38	45	17
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	44	46	10
Jul 8-11, 2010	35	47	17
Apr 1-5, 2010	40	44	16

**ASK ALL:**

Q.23 So far, that is up until today, has the health care law had a mostly positive, mostly negative, or not much of an effect on you and your family?

			(U)	(U)	(U)
Nov 29-Dec 4		Apr 12-19	Sep 2-9	Apr 3-6	Dec 3-8
<u>2017</u>		<u>2016</u>	<u>2014</u>	<u>2014</u>	<u>2013</u>
28	Mostly positive	23	19	17	15
24	Mostly negative	31	26	24	23
48	Not much of an effect	45	54	57	60
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	1	1	2	2
					1

<sup>5</sup> Prior to September 2013, the question asked about "the health care legislation." In addition, the reference to when the law was passed has changed over time: January 2011 referenced the legislation passed "last year," November 2010 used "earlier this year," September through July, 2010 used "in March," and April 2010 used "last month."

**ASK ALL:**

Now thinking about the effect of the 2010 health care law on the country as a whole...

Q.24 So far, that is up until today, has the health care law had a mostly positive, mostly negative, or not much of an effect on the country as a whole?

Nov 29-Dec 4 <u>2017</u>		Apr 12-19 <u>2016</u>	Sep 2-9 <u>2014</u>	(U) Apr 3-6 <u>2014</u>	(U) Dec 3-8 <u>2013</u>	(U) Sep 4-8 <u>2013</u>
44	Mostly positive	39	33	30	23	24
35	Mostly negative	44	45	43	49	38
14	Not much of an effect	13	18	17	22	31
6	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )	4	5	10	6	7

**NO QUESTION 25****ASK ALL:**

On another subject,

Q.26 Thinking about holiday displays on government property, which comes closest to your view? [**READ; READ CATEGORIES IN REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF THE SAMPLE**]?

Nov 29-Dec 4 <u>2017</u>		Dec 3-7 <u>2014</u>
26	No religious symbols, like Christian nativity scenes, should be allowed on government property, [OR]	20
29	Religious symbols like Christian nativity scenes should be allowed on government property, but ONLY if accompanied by symbols from other faiths such as Hanukkah [ <b>PRONOUNCED: "HAH-nuh-kuh"</b> ] candles, [OR]	28
37	Christian symbols like nativity scenes should be allowed on government property whether or not they are accompanied by symbols from other faiths	44
8	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )	8

**NO QUESTION 27****ASK ALL:**

Q.28 And thinking about the way Christmas is celebrated in American society in general, do you think the RELIGIOUS aspects of the Christmas season are [**RANDOMIZE: emphasized more now than in the past, emphasized less now than in the past**], or hasn't this changed very much?

Nov 29-Dec 4 <u>2017</u>	
12	Religious aspects of the Christmas season are emphasized more now than in the past
56	Religious aspects of the Christmas season are emphasized less now than in the past
30	Hasn't changed very much
2	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )

**ASK ALL:**

Q.28 And thinking about the way Christmas is celebrated in American society in general, do you think the RELIGIOUS aspects of the Christmas season are **[RANDOMIZE: emphasized more now than in the past, emphasized less now than in the past]**, or hasn't this changed very much?

**ASK IF MORE/LESS (Q.28 = 1,2):**

Q.29 And how much, if at all, does this bother you? **[READ]**

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

12	Religious aspects of the Christmas season are emphasized more now than in the past
2	A lot
2	Some
2	Not much
6	Not at all
0	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
56	Religious aspects of the Christmas season are emphasized less now than in the past
18	A lot
14	Some
8	Not much
16	Not at all
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
30	Hasn't changed very much
2	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**NO QUESTIONS 30-33****ASK ALL:**

Next,

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

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

**ASK IF LESS (Q.34=2) [N=859]:**

Q.35 Who do you think is most to blame for this [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

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

**NO QUESTIONS 36-40****ASK ALL:**

Q.41 In general, do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention paid to race and racial issues in our country these days?

		(SDT) Feb 29-May 8 2016	TREND FOR COMPARISON: WaPo/Kaiser/Harvard April 2001 <sup>6</sup>
Nov 29-Dec 4 2017			
32	Too much attention	36	45
44	Too little attention	35	29
19	About the right amount of attention	26	23
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	4

**ASK ALL:**

Q.42 Has Donald Trump's election as president led to better race relations in the United States, worse race relations, or hasn't it made a difference?

		TREND FOR COMPARISON: Obama Oct 28-Nov 30 2009
Nov 29-Dec 4 2017		
8	Better	36
60	Worse	13
30	Not made a difference	43
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8

**TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:** Will Donald Trump's election as president lead to better race relations in the United States, worse race relations, or don't you think it will make a difference?

**BASED ON VOTERS<sup>7</sup>**

Trump Nov 10-14 2016		Obama November 2008
25	Better	52
46	Worse	9
26	Won't make a difference	36
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4

<sup>6</sup> In 2001 trend for comparison, question was worded: "Is there too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention paid to race and racial issues these days?"

<sup>7</sup> November 2008 and 2016 data from postelection callback surveys of voters.

**NO QUESTIONS 43-49****ASK ALL:**

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

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

30	Definitely did
29	Probably did
18	Probably did not
12	Definitely did not
10	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL:**

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

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

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

**NO QUESTIONS 52-55****ASK ALL:**

- Q.56 How much, if anything, have you read or heard about recent allegations of sexual harassment and assault against prominent men in entertainment, politics and the media? **[READ]**

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

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

**ASK ALL:**

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

Nov 29-Dec 4

2017

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

**NO QUESTIONS 58-75**



**ASK ALL:**

- Q.76 Do you plan to **[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]** on Christmas Eve or Christmas day this year, or not?  
And do you plan to **[INSERT NEXT ITEM]** on Christmas Eve or Christmas day this year, or not?

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	(VOL.) Plan to do this, but on a different day	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a.	Attend a gathering with extended family or friends				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	82	16	*	2
	Dec 3-8, 2013	86	12	*	1
b.	Attend religious services				
	Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	51	45	*	3
	Dec 3-8, 2013	54	43	1	3
	<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>				
	<i>Do you, or does your family, do each of the following as part of its celebration of Christmas, or not? How about attend religious services on Christmas Eve or Christmas Day</i>				
	<i>USA Today/Gallup: December, 2010<sup>8</sup></i>	62	39	--	*

Next,

**ASK ALL:**

- Q.77 Do you believe that Jesus Christ was born to a virgin, or don't you believe this?

Nov 29-Dec 4 <u>2017</u>		Dec 3-7 <u>2014</u>	Dec 3-8 <u>2013</u>
66	Yes, believe	73	73
25	No, don't believe	20	19
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	7

**ASK ALL:**

- Q.77 Do you believe that Jesus Christ was born to a virgin, or don't you believe this?

**ASK IF "DON'T BELIEVE" OR "DK/REF" ON Q.77 (Q.77=2,9):**

- Q.78 Regardless of your religious beliefs, do you think Jesus Christ ever actually lived, or not?

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

Nov 29-Dec 4 <u>2017</u>		Dec 3-7 <u>2014</u>
66	Yes, believe Jesus Christ was born to a virgin	73
34	NET Don't believe/Don't know if Jesus Christ was born to a virgin	27
22	Yes, believe Jesus Christ lived	20
7	No, don't believe Jesus Christ lived	5
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2

<sup>8</sup> Those who answered in a previous question that they did not celebrate Christmas were not asked this question and recorded as "no." "Plan to do this, but on a different day" was not a volunteered option.

**ASK IF "BELIEVE" IN Q.77 OR Q.78 (Q.77=1 OR Q.78=1):**

Q.79 Thinking about the Christmas story, for each of the following, please tell me whether you believe it is an event that actually occurred or not. First, **[INSERT, RANDOMIZE]**... Do you believe this is an event that actually occurred, or don't you believe this? Next, **[INSERT NEXT]**...**[IF NECESSARY: Do you believe this is an event that actually occurred, or don't you believe this?]**

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

	Believe this event actually <u>occurred</u>	No, don't <u>believe</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>	NET Don't believe <u>in Jesus</u>
a. An angel of the Lord appeared to shepherds to announce the birth of Jesus				
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	67	17	5	11
Dec 3-7, 2014	74	15	3	7
b. Wise men were guided by a star and brought Jesus gold, frankincense and myrrh				
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	68	15	5	11
Dec 3-7, 2014	75	14	4	7
c. The newborn baby Jesus was laid in a manger				
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	75	8	5	11
Dec 3-7, 2014	81	9	3	7

**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.) No <u>preference</u>	(VOL.) Other <u>party</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>	Lean <u>Rep</u>	Lean <u>Dem</u>
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>					
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	20	32	40	4	1	3	13	19
Oct 25-30, 2017	22	32	41	3	1	2	17	19
Jun 8-Jul 9, 2017	25	31	39	3	1	2	16	18
Apr 5-11, 2017	24	31	42	2	1	*	17	20
Feb 7-12, 2017	23	34	37	3	1	2	15	18
Jan 4-9, 2017	25	28	41	4	*	1	18	19
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	24	33	35	5	1	3	15	16
<b>Yearly Totals</b>								
2016	25.4	32.0	36.5	3.4	.5	2.2	14.6	17.0
2015	23.7	30.4	40.1	3.6	.4	1.8	16.4	17.3
2014	23.2	31.5	39.5	3.1	.7	2.0	16.2	16.5
2013	23.9	32.1	38.3	2.9	.5	2.2	16.0	16.0
2012	24.7	32.6	36.4	3.1	.5	2.7	14.4	16.1
2011	24.3	32.3	37.4	3.1	.4	2.5	15.7	15.6
2010	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	.4	2.8	14.5	14.1
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.7	36.0	31.5	3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.2
2007	25.3	32.9	34.1	4.3	.4	2.9	10.9	17.0
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4

**PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...**

				(VOL.) No	(VOL.) Other	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Lean Rep	Lean Dem
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>preference</u>	<u>party</u>			
2001 Pre-Sept 11	27.3	34.4	30.9	5.1	.6	1.7	12.1	13.5
2000	28.0	33.4	29.1	5.5	.5	3.6	11.6	11.7
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.9	33.7	31.1	4.6	.4	2.3	11.6	13.1
1997	28.0	33.4	32.0	4.0	.4	2.3	12.2	14.1
1996	28.9	33.9	31.8	3.0	.4	2.0	12.1	14.9
1995	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3	--	3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
1990	30.9	33.2	29.3	1.2	1.9	3.4	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

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

(U) Pew Research Center/USA Today polls

(SDT) Pew Research Social and Demographic Trends