

FOR RELEASE July 30, 2019

# Climate Change and Russia Are Partisan Flashpoints in Public's Views of Global Threats

*More Americans have positive views of free trade agreements*

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**RECOMMENDED CITATION**

Pew Research Center, July, 2019, "Climate Change and Russia Are Partisan Flashpoints in Public's Views of Global Threats"

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# Climate Change and Russia Are Partisan Flashpoints in Public's Views of Global Threats

*More Americans have positive views of free trade agreements*

The public's views of two global threats facing the United States have changed in the past few years. Far fewer Americans view North Korea's nuclear program as a major threat to the well-being of the U.S. than did so two years ago. Over the same period, there also has been a sharp decline in the share saying that ISIS represents a major threat to the U.S.

By contrast, views of other possible threats, including cyberattacks from other countries and Iran's nuclear program, remain largely unchanged. And Republicans and Democrats remain far apart over the seriousness of two global threats – climate change and Russia's power and influence.

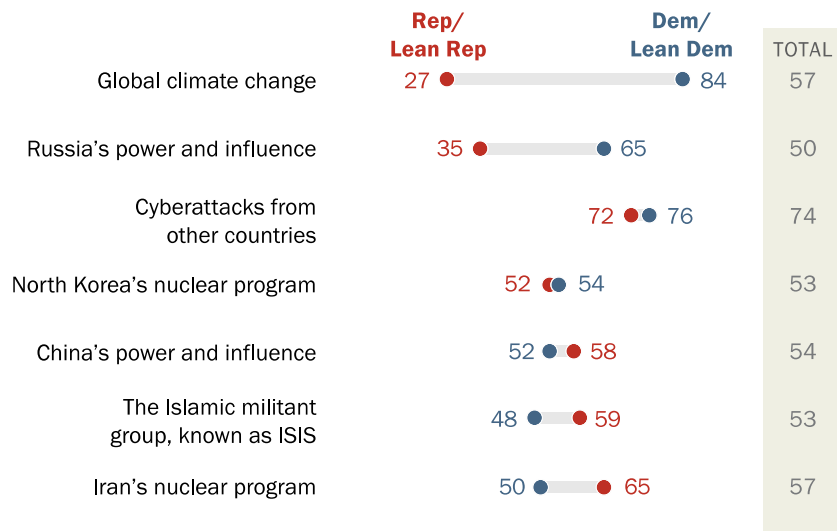
Global climate change has been a deeply divisive issue for much of the past decade.

Among seven global issues included in a new survey, climate change ranks as the top international threat among Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents (84% say it is major threat) and the lowest-ranked threat among Republicans and Republican leaners (27%).

Sizable partisan divisions over the threat from Russia, by contrast, emerged only during the 2016 campaign. Currently, 65% of Democrats say Russia's power and influence is a major threat to U.S. well-being, compared with just 35% of Republicans.

## Wide partisan gaps on threat from climate change, Russia; smaller differences on Iran, North Korea

% who say each is a major threat to the well-being of the United States



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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The survey by Pew Research Center, conducted July 10-15 among 1,502 adults, finds that while perceptions of the threat from North Korea have declined – with the decrease coming among members of both parties – Americans remain skeptical of whether North Korea’s leaders are serious in dealing with concerns about the country’s nuclear program.

Nearly six-in-ten Americans (58%) say North Korea’s leaders are not serious in addressing concerns about the country’s nuclear program, while 35% say they are serious. The share doubting the seriousness of North Korea’s leaders has risen from 49% a little more than a year ago – with the increase primarily coming among Democrats.

Public concerns about China’s power and influence have increased since 2017; currently 54% say China’s power and influence are a major threat, up from 46% in 2017. In addition, there has been a significant decline in the share saying China is “not much of a problem,” from 34% last year to 24% today. Over this period, the shares saying either that China is an adversary or that it is a serious problem have increased.

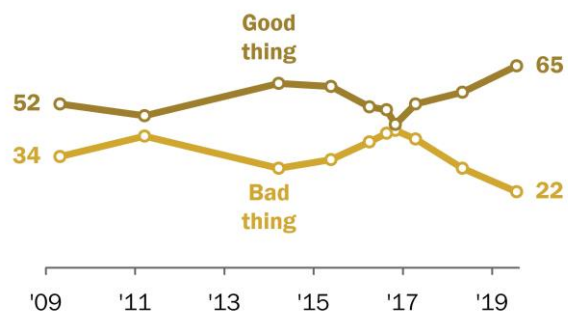
Still, when it comes to trade and economic issues with China, more Americans favor cooperation to “getting tougher” with Beijing. A 62% majority say that in U.S. trade and economic policy toward China, it is more important to build a stronger relationship, while just 35% say it is more important to get tougher with China.

Among other major findings from the survey:

**Americans’ views of free trade agreements have grown increasingly positive.** Today, 65% of the public says free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a good thing for the United States and 22% say they have been a bad thing. While Democrats have been consistently positive about free trade agreements in recent years, Republicans turned more negative during the 2016 presidential campaign. But today, 59% of Republicans say free trade agreements are good for the U.S – roughly double the share who said this in October 2016 (29%).

### Growing share say free trade agreements have been good for the U.S.

*% who say free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a \_\_\_ for the United States*



Note: Don't know responses not seen.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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**Deep partisan divide on U.S. approach to Iran.** In dealing with the dispute over Iran’s nuclear program, somewhat more Americans say it is more important to avoid a military conflict with Iran (49%) than to take a firm stand against Iranian actions (44%). Republicans are nearly three times as likely as Democrats to say the U.S. should take a firm stand against Iran (68% vs. 23%).

**Republicans increasingly say the U.S. is “more respected” abroad.** Today, 40% of Republicans say that, compared with the past, the U.S. is more respected by other countries – the highest share saying this over question the 15 years the question has been asked. Republicans’ views of global respect for the U.S. have grown much more positive since Trump took office. By contrast, 82% of Democrats say the U.S. is less respected than in the past.

## Changing views of global threats

The public’s views of global concerns have shifted over the past two years. Compared with 2017, larger shares now see China’s power and influence and Iran’s nuclear program as a major threat, while significantly fewer see ISIS or North Korea’s nuclear program as threatening.

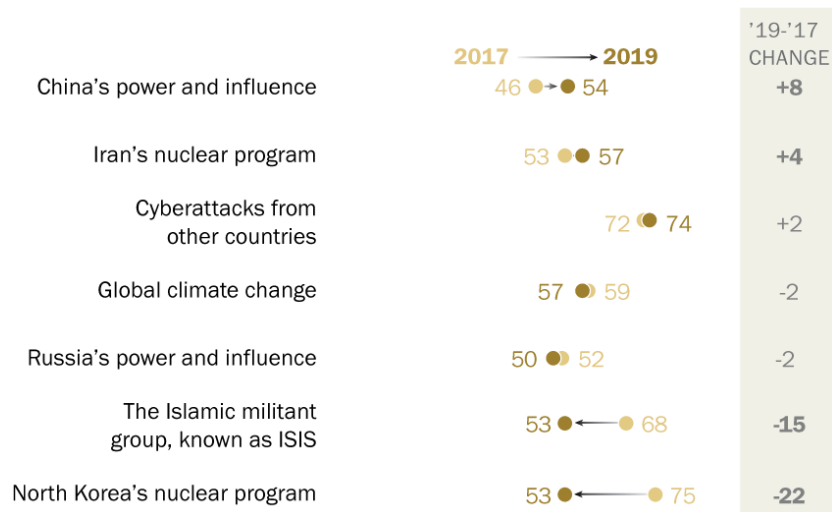
The rise in concern over China is seen in both parties: The share of Republicans who say China’s power and influence is a major threat has increased 10 percentage points among Republicans (from 48% to 58%) and 9 points among Democrats (43% to 52%).

A slightly larger share of adults also say that Iran’s nuclear program is a major threat compared with 2017 (53% then vs. 57% today).

There has been little change in the public’s views of the threats from cyberattacks, global climate change, or Russia’s power and influence.

### Fewer Americans view North Korea’s nuclear program, ISIS as ‘major threats’ than did so two years ago

% who say \_\_\_ is a major threat to the well-being of the United States



Note: Significant changes noted in **bold**.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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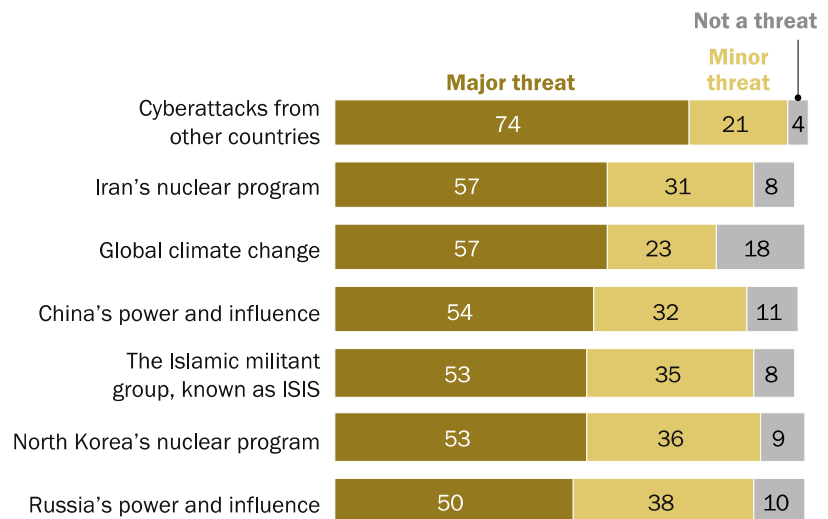
By contrast, fewer adults now view the Islamic militant group known as ISIS as a major threat. In 2017, nearly seven-in-ten (68%) viewed ISIS as a major threat to the U.S. Today, only about half of Americans (53%) express this view. Both Republicans and Democrats are less likely to characterize ISIS as a major threat than they were two years ago.

The public is also considerably less likely to see North Korea as a major threat than in October 2017. Then, 75% of adults saw North Korea's nuclear program as a major threat. Today, just 53% say this – a 22-point decrease – with the decline coming fairly equally among members of both parties.

The threat of cyberattacks from other countries has been among the public's top threats for several years. In the current survey, 74% say cyberattacks are a major threat to the well-being of the U.S., which is greater than the shares saying that about Iran's nuclear program (57%), global climate change (also 57%) or other issues.

## Public widely views cyberattacks as a major threat to the United States

*% who say that each is a \_\_\_ to the well-being of the United States*



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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## Majority of Americans doubt North Korea is ‘serious’ about nuclear concerns

As was true in May 2018, the public is skeptical about whether North Korea’s leaders are serious about addressing concerns over its nuclear program.

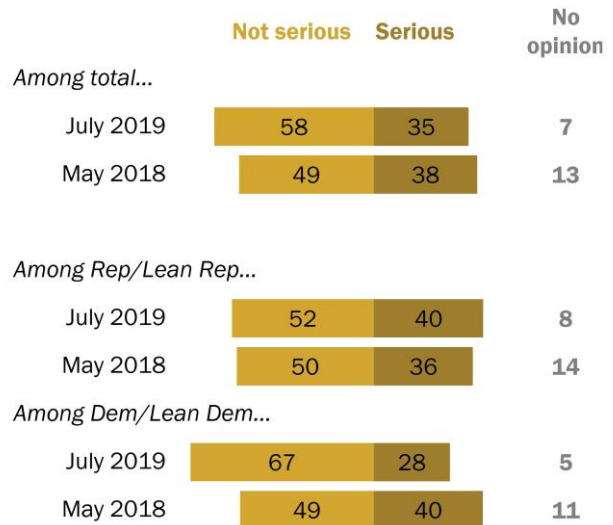
Overall, 58% say North Korea’s leadership is not serious about addressing international concerns about their country’s nuclear enrichment program. This is higher than the share that said this in May 2018 (49%). Today, 35% say they think North Korea’s leadership is serious about addressing these concerns – similar to the share who expressed this view in 2018.

But while there was no partisan gap in these views a year ago, there is a large gap today; this is mostly attributable to the growing share of Democrats who say North Korea’s leadership is not serious about addressing nuclear concerns (49% in 2018 vs. 67% today).

In contrast, Republicans’ views are little changed over the past year. As in 2018, slightly more Republicans say North Korea’s leadership is not serious about addressing its nuclear enrichment program (52%) than say they are serious (40%).

### More Democrats say N. Korea is ‘not serious’ in addressing nuclear concerns

*% who say North Korea’s leadership is \_\_\_\_\_ about addressing concerns about their nuclear program*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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## Public divided on taking ‘firm stand’ with Iran or avoiding conflict

Just as there are partisan differences in views of whether Iran poses a major threat to the United States, Republicans and Democrats prioritize different approaches to the dispute over Iran’s nuclear program.

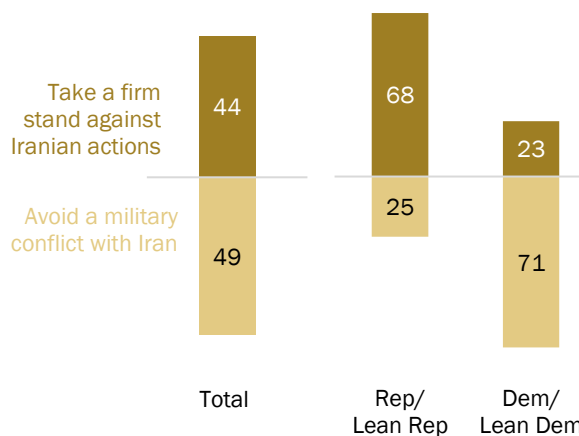
Overall, the public is divided about whether it is more important to take a firm stand against Iranian actions (44%) or to avoid a military conflict with Iran (49%).

But while 68% of Republicans say it is more important to take a firm stand against Iranian actions, the balance of opinion is flipped among Democrats. Roughly seven-in-ten Democrats (71%) say it is more important to *avoid* a military conflict with Iran.

Just a quarter of Republicans (25%) say it is more important to avoid a conflict, while a similar share of Democrats (23%) say they would prefer that the U.S. take a firm stand against Iranian actions.

### Stark partisan divisions over how to deal with Iran’s nuclear program

*% who say that when thinking about the dispute over Iran’s nuclear program, it is more important to ...*



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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## Growing partisan divides in views of Russia

About a quarter of adults (26%) say they view Russia as an adversary, while a plurality (44%) say they think it is a serious problem, but not an adversary; 26% say they do not think of Russia as a problem.

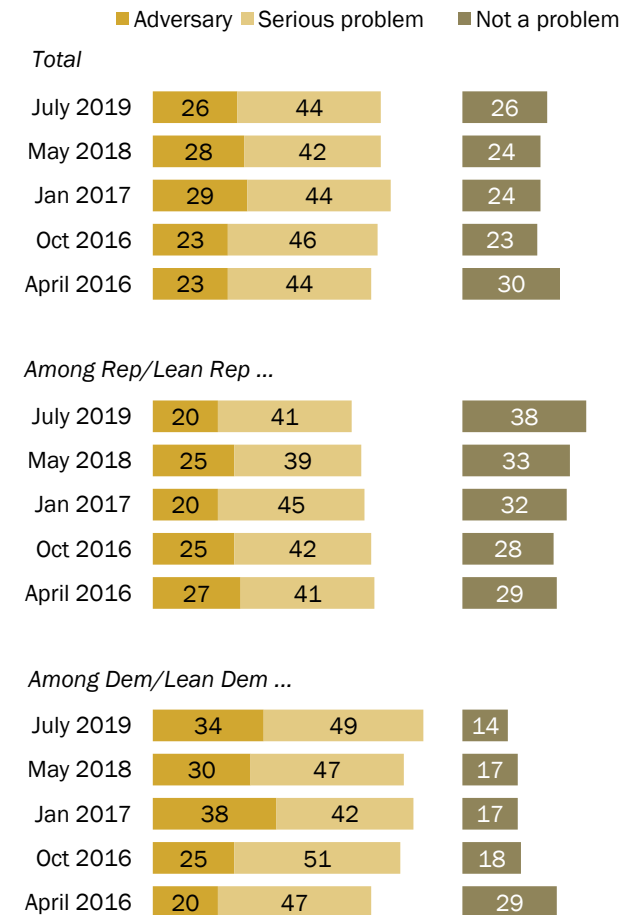
Overall, these views are little changed over the past few years, but the partisan divide in opinion has continued to grow. Democrats are now significantly more likely than Republicans to say Russia is an adversary (34% to 20%, respectively), while Republicans are more than twice as likely as Democrats to say Russia is “not much of a problem” (38% to 14%).

The share of Republicans saying Russia is not a problem is now slightly higher than it was a year ago (38% now, 33% then) and substantially higher than in the spring of 2016 (29%).

Among Democrats, these views have remained relatively stable over the past two years, but Democrats remain far less likely to say Russia is not a problem than they were in early 2016: Just 14% say this today, while 29% said this in April 2016.

### Far more Republicans than Democrats say Russia is ‘not much of a problem’

% who think of Russia as ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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Today, half of adults (50%) say they view Russia’s power and influence as “a major threat” to the well-being of the U.S., while 38% view this as a minor threat. Just 10% say it is not a threat. These overall views are little changed since October 2017.

But perceptions of the threat Russia poses to the U.S. have grown increasingly partisan in recent years, with Democrats much more likely than Republicans to perceive Russia as a threat. Historically, Democrats’ and Republicans’ views of Russia have mostly shifted together. In addition, from 2005 through 2016, the partisan divides in slightly different questions about Russia were much less pronounced than they are today – and in those years Republicans tended to be more likely than Democrats to view aspects of Russia’s government, or its relationship with its neighbors, as a major threat to the U.S.

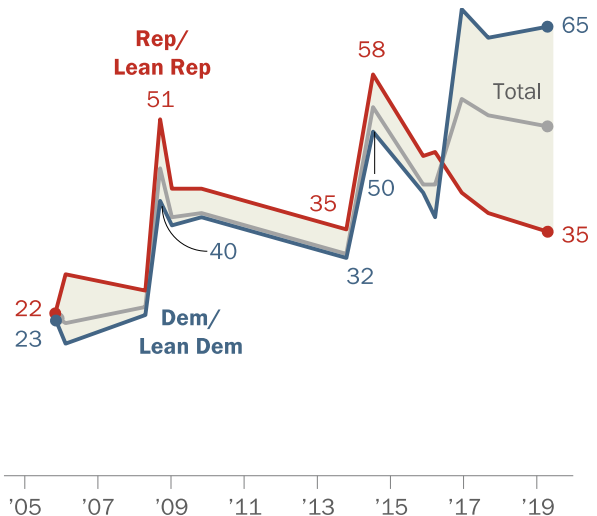
*(Surveys from 2005 to 2015 asked about either tension between Russia and its neighbors or growing authoritarianism in Russia; 2016 asked about tensions with Russia.)*

As recently as April 2016, a larger share of Republicans than Democrats said “tensions with Russia” were a major threat to the well-being of the United States (46% of Republicans vs. 37% of Democrats).

Today, just 35% of Republicans say Russia’s power and influence is a major threat to the well-being of the U.S. – among the lowest share seeing Russia as a major threat in the past decade. By contrast, 65% of Democrats now say Russia’s power and influence is a major threat to the U.S. – and while this is little changed since 2017, a far larger share of Democrats view Russia as a threat today than did so in surveys dating back to 2005.

## Republicans and Democrats had similar views of Russia – until Trump’s election

*% who say they view Russia’s power and influence as a major threat to the well-being of the U.S.*



Notes: Surveys conducted in 2017 through 2019 asked about “Russia’s power and influence.” In April 2016, question was worded “tensions with Russia.” In 2015, 2013, May 2008, 2006 and 2005, question was worded “Growing authoritarianism in Russia.” In 2014, 2009, and September 2008, question was worded “growing tension between Russia and its neighbors.”  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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## Concern over China rises

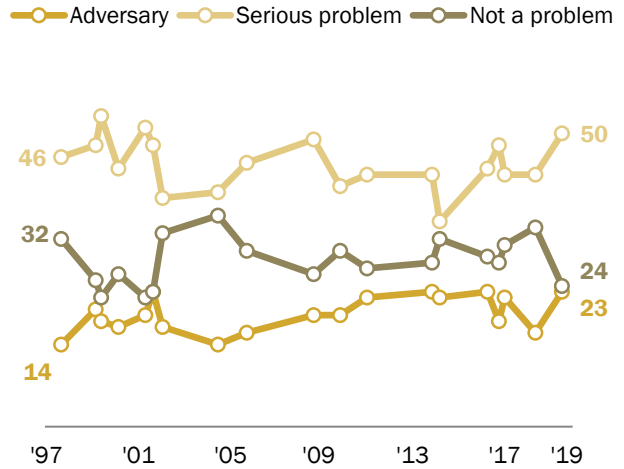
Today, about a quarter of adults (23%) say they consider China to be an adversary, while half (50%) say is China a serious problem but not an adversary. In May 2018, just 16% said they saw China as an adversary. The share saying China is a serious problem has also increased 7 percentage points since last year.

The share of Americans saying they do not think China is much of a problem is now 10 percentage points lower than it was in May 2018 (24% now, 34% then). This is among the smallest share saying this in more than a decade.

Though wide majorities of both Republicans and Democrats view China as at least a serious problem, Republicans are more likely to say China is an adversary (30% vs. 16%).

### More Americans view China as an 'adversary' or a 'serious problem'

% who think of China as ...

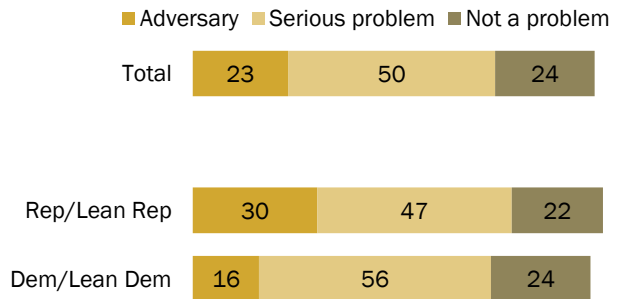


Note: Don't know responses not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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### Republicans nearly twice as likely as Democrats to view China as 'adversary'

% who think of China as ...



Note: Don't know responses not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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Nearly two-thirds of adults say that when it comes to economic and trade policy toward China, it is more important to build a stronger relationship with China on economic issues (62%) than to get tougher with China on economic issues (35%). This is the highest share saying this since the question was first asked in March 2011.

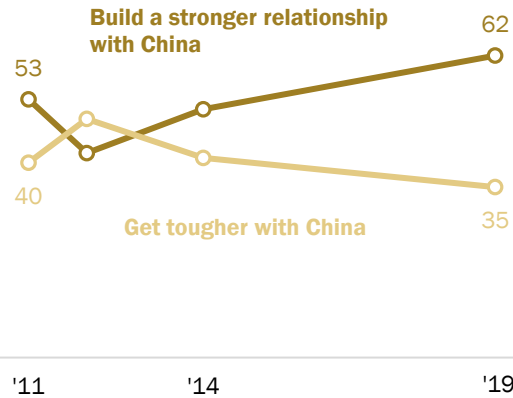
As in the past, Republicans are more likely to prioritize getting tougher on China over building a stronger relationship. Today, 54% say it's more important to get tougher with China on economic issues, while 44% say it is more important to build a stronger relationship with China.

There are substantial ideological differences among Republicans on this issue: 60% of conservative Republicans prioritize getting tough on China over building a stronger relationship with China. By comparison, moderate and liberal Republicans are somewhat more likely to place importance on building a stronger relationship (54%) than on getting tougher on China.

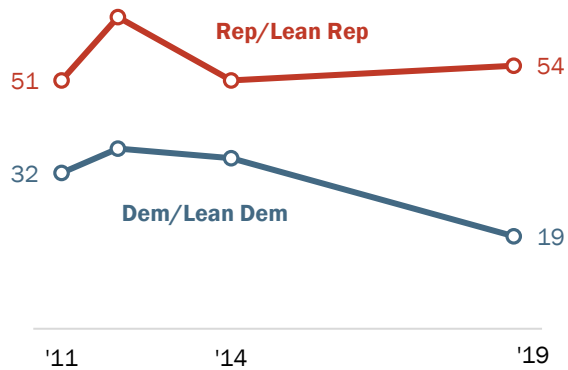
Over the past several years, Democrats have grown less likely to say it is more important to get tougher on China on economic issues. Just 19% say this today, down from 32% in 2011.

### Larger share favors building closer economic ties with China than in 2014

% who say that when it comes to our economic and trade policy toward China, it is more important to ...



% who say it is more important to **get tougher** with China on economic issues



Note: Don't know responses not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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## Majorities in both parties now say free trade agreements have been good for the U.S.

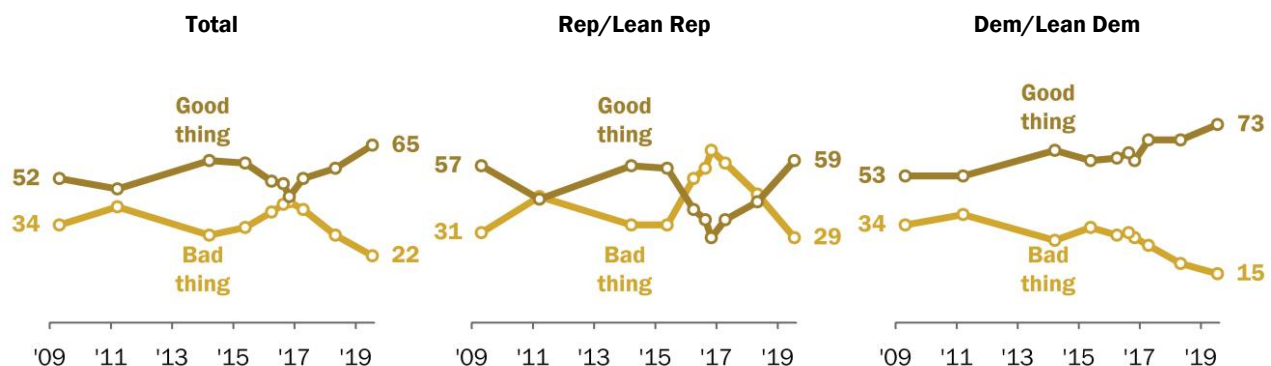
About two-thirds of Americans (65%) currently say free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a good thing for the United States – an increase of 9 percentage points over the past year, and a substantial shift in public opinion since the eve of the 2016 election (when roughly equal shares said trade agreements were a good thing – 45% – as said they were a bad thing – 43%). Views of free trade agreements are now more positive than at any point in the last decade.

For the first time since the 2016 campaign, more Republicans say free trade agreements have been a good thing for the United States than say they have been a bad thing. Today, 59% of Republicans and Republican leaners say free trade agreements have been a good thing for the country; 29% say they have been a bad thing. The current balance of opinion within the GOP is similar to views in the spring of 2015, when 56% said trade agreements were a good thing and 34% said they were a bad thing.

Nearly three-quarters of Democrats and Democratic leaners (73%) now say free trade agreements are good for the country, up from 67% last spring. Democratic views of free trade agreements have long been more positive than negative, but they are now more positive than at any point since the question was first asked in 2009.

### Republicans move in a more positive direction on free trade agreements

*% who say free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a \_\_\_ for the United States*



Note: Don't know responses not seen.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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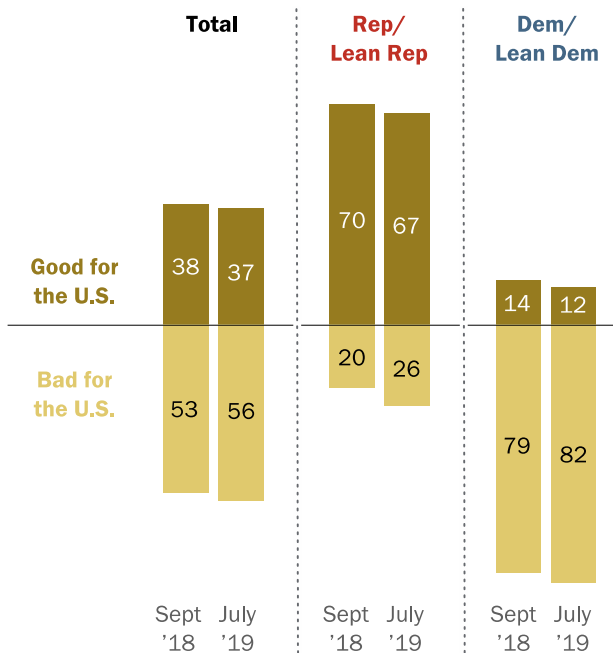
## Most Americans say tariff increases have been bad for the nation

A majority of Americans (56%) say that increased tariffs between the U.S. and its trading partners have been bad for the country, while just 37% say they have been good for the country.

Overall attitudes about tariff increases are little changed since last fall. Republicans and Republican leaners continue to have much more positive views of tariff increases than Democrats and Democratic leaners. About two-thirds (67%) of Republicans say that tariff increases have been good for the U.S., while just 26% say they have been bad for the country (the share of Republicans saying they have been bad for the country is slightly higher than it was in September). By comparison, about eight-in-ten Democrats (82%) say these increases have been bad for the country, and these views are little changed in recent months.

### Partisans remain split over the impact of increased tariffs

% who say increased tariffs between the U.S. and its trading partners have been ...



Note: September 2018 survey mentioned specific countries as examples in the question.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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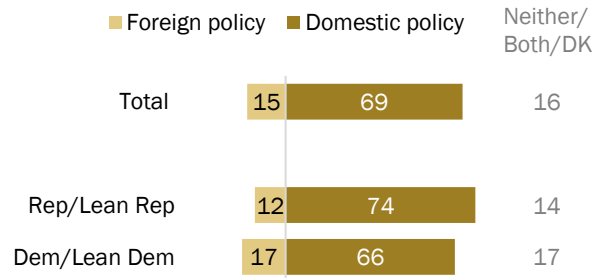
## Most say Trump should focus on domestic rather than foreign policy

For more than a decade, overwhelming majorities of Americans have said that it is more important for the president to focus on domestic policy than foreign policy. Today, about seven-in-ten say it is more important for President Donald Trump to focus on domestic policy right now (69%), little different than the share saying this shortly before he took office or the shares who wanted Barack Obama to focus on domestic policy in the years prior.

There are only modest partisan differences on this question, with Republicans (74%) slightly more likely than Democrats (66%) to prioritize a focus on domestic issues. Still, two-thirds or more in both parties say a domestic policy focus is more important.

### Public would like Trump to focus more on domestic policy than foreign policy

*% who say is it more important for President Trump to focus on \_\_\_ right now*



Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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## A growing share of Republicans say global respect for U.S. has increased

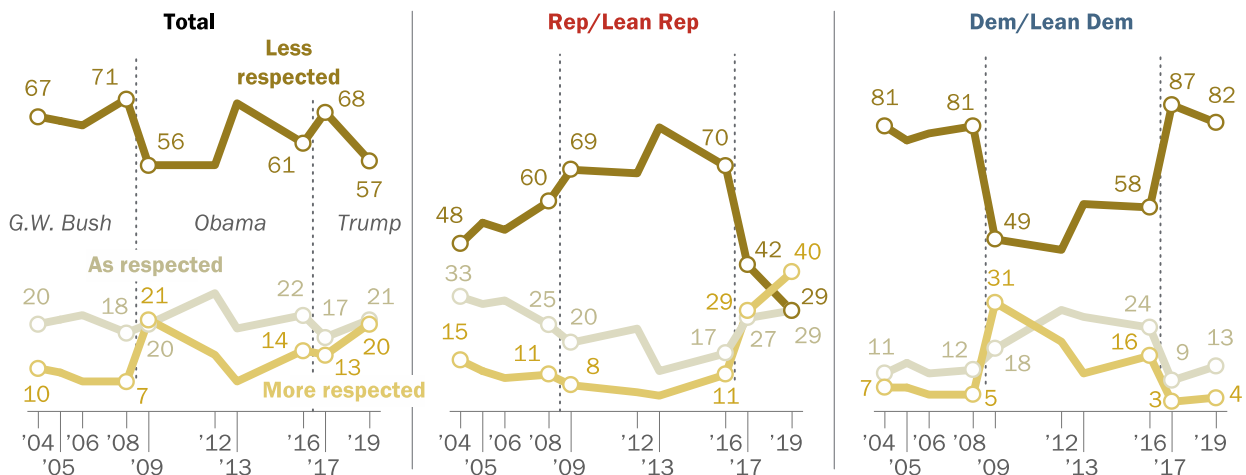
A majority of Americans have long held the view that the United States is “less respected by other countries than in the past,” including 57% who currently say this. But the share of Republicans who say this is now lower than it has been in Pew Research Center surveys dating back to 2004.

At the same time, the share of Democrats who say the U.S. is less respected remains near a record high. As a result, the 53 percentage point partisan gap in the share saying the U.S. is less respected than in the past is wider than at any point in the last 15 years.

Overall, 57% of adults overall say that, compared with the past, the U.S. is less respected by other countries these days, while 20% say it is more respected and a similar share (21%) say it is about as respected as it has been in the past.

### Much larger share of Republicans say the U.S. is ‘more respected’ internationally than did so during Obama’s presidency or Bush’s second term

*% who say that compared with the past, the U.S. is \_\_\_ by other countries these days*



Note: Don't know responses not shown.  
Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 10-15, 2019.

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Partisan views on this question shift depending on which party controls the White House. Throughout George W. Bush’s second term, Democrats were much more likely than Republicans to say respect for the U.S. had declined, while the reverse was true during Obama’s presidency.



This pattern has continued during Trump's presidency, but Republicans are now far more likely to see greater international respect for the U.S. than they did under the Obama administration or in Bush's second term. Today, 40% of Republicans say the U.S. is more respected by other countries these days compared with the past, up from 29% in October 2017. This marks the first time in the past 15 years that that the share of Republicans saying the U.S. is *more* respected is higher than the share saying it is *less* respected.

## Acknowledgments

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

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## Methodology

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted July 10-15, 2019, among a national sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (302 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,200 were interviewed on a cellphone, including 807 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers under the direction of Abt Associates. A combination of landline and cellphone random-digit-dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International LLC. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. The weighting procedure corrected for the different sampling rates. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <http://www.pewresearch.org/methodology/u-s-survey-research/>.

The combined landline and cellphone sample is weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the Census Bureau's 2017 American Community Survey one-year estimates and population density to parameters from the decennial census. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status (landline only, cellphone only, or both landline and cellphone), based on extrapolations from the 2018 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone. The margins of error reported and statistical tests of significance are adjusted to account for the survey's design effect, a measure of how much efficiency is lost from the weighting procedures.

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

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*Survey conducted July 10-15, 2019*

<b>Group</b>	<b>Unweighted sample size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	1,502	3.0 percentage points
<i>Half-form</i>	750	4.2 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep	691	4.4 percentage points
<i>Half-form</i>	341	6.3 percentage points
Dem/Lean Dem	683	4.4 percentage points
<i>Half-form</i>	341	6.3 percentage points

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

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

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

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**PEW RESEARCH CENTER  
JULY 2019 POLITICAL SURVEY  
FINAL TOPLINE  
JULY 10-15, 2019  
N= 1,502**

**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>
July 10-15, 2019	37	58	5	Dec 17-19, 2012	25	68	7
Mar 20-25, 2019	31	63	6	Dec 5-9, 2012	33	62	5
Jan 9-14, 2019	26	70	4	Oct 18-21, 2012	32	61	8
Sep 18-24, 2018	33	61	6	Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012	31	64	5
Jun 5-12, 2018	34	61	6	Jun 7-17, 2012	28	68	5
Apr 25-May 1, 2018	33	62	6	May 9-Jun 3, 2012	29	64	7
Mar 7-14, 2018	30	66	4	Apr 4-15, 2012	24	69	6
Jan 10-15, 2018	32	62	6	Feb 8-12, 2012	28	66	6
Nov 29-Dec 4, 2017	27	68	6	Jan 11-16, 2012	21	75	4
Oct 25-30, 2017	26	70	5	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	17	78	5
Jun 27-Jul 9, 2017	28	67	5	Aug 17-21, 2011	17	79	4
Apr 5-11, 2017	30	66	4	Jul 20-24, 2011	17	79	4
Feb 7-12, 2017	30	65	5	Jun 15-19, 2011	23	73	4
Jan 4-9, 2017	28	68	4	May 5-8, 2011	30	62	8
Nov 30-Dec 5, 2016	30	65	5	May 2, 2011	32	60	8
Oct 20-25, 2016	33	63	4	Mar 8-14, 2011	22	73	5
Aug 9-16, 2016	31	66	3	Feb 2-7, 2011	26	68	5
Jun 15-26, 2016	24	71	5	Jan 5-9, 2011	23	71	6
Apr 12-19, 2016	26	70	3	Dec 1-5, 2010	21	72	7
Mar 17-26, 2016	31	65	4	Nov 4-7, 2010	23	69	8
Jan 7-14, 2016	25	70	5	Sep 23-26, 2010	30	63	7
Dec 8-13, 2015	25	72	3	Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	25	71	5
Aug 27-Oct 4, 2015	27	67	5	Jun 24-27, 2010	27	64	9
Sep 22-27, 2015	27	69	4	May 13-16, 2010	28	64	7
Jul 14-20, 2015	31	64	4	Apr 21-26, 2010	29	66	5
May 12-18, 2015	29	67	4	Apr 1-5, 2010	31	63	6
Mar 25-29, 2015	31	64	5	Mar 11-21, 2010	25	69	5
Feb 18-22, 2015	33	62	5	Mar 10-14, 2010	23	71	7
Jan 7-11, 2015	31	66	4	Feb 3-9, 2010	23	71	6
Dec 3-7, 2014 (U)	26	71	3	Jan 6-10, 2010	27	69	4
Nov 6-9, 2014	27	68	4	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7
Oct 15-20, 2014	29	65	6	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7
Sep 2-9, 2014	25	71	4	Sep 10-15, 2009 <sup>1</sup>	30	64	7
Aug 20-24, 2014	24	72	4	Aug 20-27, 2009	28	65	7
Jul 8-14, 2014	29	68	4	Aug 11-17, 2009	28	65	7
Apr 23-27, 2014	29	65	6	Jul 22-26, 2009	28	66	6
Feb 12-26, 2014	28	66	6	Jun 10-14, 2009	30	64	5
Jan 15-19, 2014	26	69	5	Apr 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	21	75	3	Apr 14-21, 2009	23	70	7
Oct 9-13, 2013	14	81	5	Jan 7-11, 2009	20	73	7
Jul 17-21, 2013	27	67	6	December, 2008	13	83	4
May 1-5, 2013	30	65	5	Early October, 2008	11	86	3
Feb 13-18, 2013 (U)	31	64	5	Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6
Jan 9-13, 2013	30	66	4	August, 2008	21	74	5
				July, 2008	19	74	7

<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- fied	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref		Satis- fied	Dis- satisfied	(VOL.) DK/Ref
June, 2008	19	76	5	Early September, 2001	41	53	6
Late May, 2008	18	76	6	June, 2001	43	52	5
March, 2008	22	72	6	March, 2001	47	45	8
Early February, 2008	24	70	6	February, 2001	46	43	11
Late December, 2007	27	66	7	January, 2001	55	41	4
October, 2007	28	66	6	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7
February, 2007	30	61	9	September, 2000	51	41	8
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7	June, 2000	47	45	8
Early January, 2007	30	63	7	April, 2000	48	43	9
December, 2006	28	65	7	August, 1999	56	39	5
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8	January, 1999	53	41	6
Early October, 2006	30	63	7	November, 1998	46	44	10
July, 2006	30	65	5	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
May, 2006*	29	65	6	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
March, 2006	32	63	5	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
January, 2006	34	61	5	February, 1998	59	37	4
Late November, 2005	34	59	7	January, 1998	46	50	4
Early October, 2005	29	65	6	September, 1997	45	49	6
July, 2005	35	58	7	August, 1997	49	46	5
Late May, 2005*	39	57	4	January, 1997	38	58	4
February, 2005	38	56	6	July, 1996	29	67	4
January, 2005	40	54	6	March, 1996	28	70	2
December, 2004	39	54	7	October, 1995	23	73	4
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6	June, 1995	25	73	2
July, 2004	38	55	7	April, 1995	23	74	3
May, 2004	33	61	6	July, 1994	24	73	3
Late February, 2004*	39	55	6	March, 1994	24	71	5
Early January, 2004	45	48	7	October, 1993	22	73	5
December, 2003	44	47	9	September, 1993	20	75	5
October, 2003	38	56	6	May, 1993	22	71	7
August, 2003	40	53	7	January, 1993	39	50	11
April, 2003	50	41	9	January, 1992	28	68	4
January, 2003	44	50	6	November, 1991	34	61	5
November, 2002	41	48	11	Gallup: Late Feb, 1991	66	31	3
September, 2002	41	55	4	August, 1990	47	48	5
Late August, 2002	47	44	9	May, 1990	41	54	5
May, 2002	44	44	12	January, 1989	45	50	5
March, 2002	50	40	10	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5
Late September, 2001	57	34	9				

**NO QUESTIONS 2-9, 11-15, 18, 20-24, 26-29, 31-32, 34****QUESTIONS 10, 16-17, 19, 25b, 33 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED****QUESTIONS 25a, 25c, 30 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:**

Q.35F1 Right now, which is more important for President Trump to focus on... domestic policy or foreign policy?

	Domestic <u>policy</u>	Foreign <u>policy</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>Both</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
July 10-15, 2019	69	15	2	10	4
Jan 4-9, 2017	65	19	1	11	4
<b>Next President</b>					
Apr 12-19, 2016 <sup>2</sup>	70	17	1	11	1
<b>Obama</b>					
May 12-18, 2015	66	19	1	10	4
Jan 7-11, 2015	67	20	2	8	3
Apr 23-27, 2014 <sup>3</sup> (U)	72	13	1	9	5
Jan 15-19, 2014	78	9	1	8	4
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	82	8	1	6	3
Jan 9-13, 2013	83	6	1	7	4
Jan 11-16, 2012	81	9	1	5	4
May 25-30, 2011	77	9	1	9	5
Jan 5-9, 2011	78	11	1	7	3
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	73	12	1	10	3
January 7-11, 2009 <sup>4</sup>	71	11	*	14	4
<b>Next President</b>					
September, 2008 <sup>5</sup>	60	21	*	15	4
May, 2008	61	22	*	15	4
<b>G.W. Bush</b>					
January, 2008	56	31	1	8	4
January, 2007	39	40	1	15	5
August, 2006	50	32	1	12	5
January, 2006	57	25	1	13	4
October, 2005	64	20	1	12	3
Early January, 2005	53	27	1	16	3
January, 2002	52	34	*	11	3
<b>Clinton</b>					
Early September, 1998	56	30	0	11	3
January, 1997	86	7	*	5	2
December, 1994	85	7	2	4	2
October, 1993	76	13	*	7	4

**NO QUESTION 36**

<sup>2</sup> April 12-19, 2016 survey asked about priorities for the "next president."

<sup>3</sup> The April 23-27, 2014 survey randomized response options by form.

<sup>4</sup> January 7-11, 2009 survey asked about "President-elect Obama."

<sup>5</sup> September and May 2008 surveys asked about priorities for the "next president."

**ASK ALL:**

Q.37 Now, I'd like your opinion about some possible international concerns for the U.S. Do you think that [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] is a major threat, a minor threat or not a threat to the well being of the United States? What about [INSERT ITEM]? [AS NECESSARY READ THE ANSWER CHOICES AFTER THE FIRST TIME AND READ: "... to the well being of the United States?"]

	Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	(VOL.) DK/Ref
a. China's power and influence				
July 10-15, 2019	54	32	11	2
Oct 25-30, 2017	46	40	11	3
Jan 4-9, 2017	52	36	9	3
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>				
<i>China's emergence as a world power</i>				
Apr 12-19, 2016	50	34	12	3
Dec 8-13, 2015	49	34	13	4
Aug 20-24, 2014 (U)	48	33	14	5
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	54	31	11	4
May, 2012 (C)	52	35	9	5
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	53	30	10	7
Jun 10-14, 2009	52	31	11	6
Jan 7-11, 2009	46	36	13	5
September, 2008	48	35	11	6
Late May, 2008	50	31	10	9
February, 2006	47	34	12	7
Late October, 2005	52	31	10	7
May, 2001	51	30	10	9
July, 1999	53	33	10	4
b. Russia's power and influence				
July 10-15, 2019	50	38	10	2
Oct 25-30, 2017	52	38	9	2
Jan 4-9, 2017	54	36	7	3
<b>TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:</b>				
<i>Tensions with Russia</i>				
Apr 12-19, 2016	42	45	9	4
<i>Growing authoritarianism in Russia</i>				
Dec 8-13, 2015	42	40	9	8
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	32	41	13	14
Late May, 2008	24	46	12	18
February, 2006	22	45	16	17
Late October, 2005	23	44	13	20
<i>Growing tension between Russia and its neighbors</i>				
Aug 20-24, 2014 (U)	53	35	8	5
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	38	44	9	9
Jan 7-11, 2009	37	48	8	7
September, 2008	44	41	10	5
<i>Political and economic instability in Russia</i>				
May, 2001	27	46	12	15
July, 1999	40	42	14	4
c. Global climate change				
July 10-15, 2019	57	23	18	2
Oct 25-30, 2017	59	24	15	1
Jan 4-9, 2017	52	32	14	2
Apr 12-19, 2016	53	30	15	3
Dec 8-13, 2015	49	30	17	4
Aug 20-24, 2014 (U)	48	30	20	3
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	45	30	20	4
May, 2012 (C)				



## Q.37 CONTINUED...

	Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	(VOL.) DK/Ref
	45	32	19	3
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	44	36	15	5
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>				
<i>Global environmental problems</i>				
May, 2001	53	32	6	9
d. The Islamic militant group, known as ISIS				
July 10-15, 2019	53	35	8	3
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>				
<i>The Islamic militant group in Iraq and Syria, known as ISIS</i>				
Oct 25-30, 2017	68	26	4	1
Jan 4-9, 2017	79	17	3	1
Apr 12-19, 2016	80	16	3	2
Dec 8-13, 2015	83	13	3	2
Aug 20-24, 2014 (U)	67	21	5	6
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>				
<i>Islamic extremist groups like al Qaeda</i>				
Aug 20-24, 2014 (U)	71	19	6	3
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	75	18	4	3
May, 2012 (C)	70	21	4	5
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	76	18	2	3
June 10-14, 2009	78	14	4	4
January 7-11, 2009	77	15	4	4
September, 2008	72	21	3	4
Late May, 2008	72	18	4	6
e. Cyberattacks from other countries				
July 10-15, 2019	74	21	4	2
Oct 25-30, 2017	72	23	3	2
Jan 4-9, 2017	71	24	3	2
Apr 12-19, 2016	72	22	3	3
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	70	23	4	4
f. North Korea's nuclear program				
July 10-15, 2019	53	36	9	2
Oct 25-30, 2017	75	21	3	1
Jan 4-9, 2017	64	27	7	2
Dec 8-13, 2015	59	29	9	3
Aug 20-24, 2014 (U)	57	30	9	4
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	67	24	6	3
May, 2012 (C)	69	22	5	5
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	69	23	3	5
June 10-14, 2009	72	19	5	5
January 7-11, 2009	53	32	8	7
September, 2008	55	33	7	5
Late May, 2008	55	32	7	6
February, 2006	60	27	6	7
Late October, 2005	66	24	4	6

**Q.37 CONTINUED...**

	Major threat	Minor threat	Not a threat	(VOL.) DK/Ref
g. Iran's nuclear program				
July 10-15, 2019	57	31	8	4
Oct 25-30, 2017	53	36	8	3
Dec 8-13, 2015	62	27	8	3
Aug 20-24, 2014 (U)	59	28	9	4
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	68	23	5	3
May, 2012 (C)	70	21	4	5
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	72	20	3	6
June 10-14, 2009	69	20	5	5
January 7-11, 2009	65	23	6	6
September, 2008	60	29	6	5
Late May, 2008	62	25	8	5
February, 2006	65	24	5	6
Late October, 2005	61	27	5	7

**NO QUESTIONS 38-39****ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:**

Q.40F2 Compared with the past, would you say the U.S. is MORE respected by other countries these days, LESS respected by other countries, or AS respected as it has been in the past?

**ASK IF LESS RESPECTED (Q.40F2=2) [N=427]:**

Q.41F2 Do you think less respect for America is a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem at all?

	More respected	Less respected	Major problem	Minor problem	Not a problem	(VOL.) DK/Ref	As respected as in past	(VOL.) DK/Ref
July 10-15, 2019	20	57	42	12	3	*	21	1
Oct 25-30, 2017	13	68	53	12	3	*	17	2
April 7-10, 2016	14	61	38	18	4	1	22	3
October 31-November 3, 2013	7	70	46	20	3	1	19	3
January 11-16, 2012	13	56	40	12	4	*	27	3
November 12-15, 2009	21	56	38	14	4	*	20	3
Mid-September, 2008 (RV)	5	70	48	19	2	1	22	3
May, 2008	7	71	56	11	3	1	18	4
August, 2006	7	65	48	14	2	1	23	5
Late October, 2005	9	66	43	18	4	1	21	4
July, 2004	10	67	43	19	4	1	20	3
May, 1987 <sup>6</sup>	19	55	--	--	--	--	23	3
Newsweek: January, 1984	27	36	--	--	--	--	29	8

**NO QUESTIONS 42-58, 61, 64****QUESTIONS 59-60 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED****QUESTIONS 62-63 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

<sup>6</sup> In May 1987 the question asked, "Compared to five years ago, would you say the U.S. is more respected by other countries, less respected by other countries, or as respected as it was five years ago by other countries?" In January 1984, the Newsweek question asked, "Compared to four years ago..."

**ASK ALL:**

Now,

Q.65 Thinking about the dispute over Iran's nuclear program, which is more important in your opinion ...  
**[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

July 10-15 <u>2019</u>		Oct 4-7 <u>2012</u>
44	To take a firm stand against Iranian actions	56
49	To avoid a military conflict with Iran	35
1	Neither <b>(VOL.)</b>	*
2	Both <b>(VOL.)</b>	1
3	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	8

**TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:**

*In your opinion, which is more important [READ AND RANDOMIZE]*

Jan 11-16 <u>2012</u> <sup>7</sup>	
50	To take a firm stand against Iranian actions
41	To avoid a military conflict with Iran
1	Neither <b>(VOL.)</b>
2	Both <b>(VOL.)</b>
7	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

*In your opinion, which is more important [READ AND RANDOMIZE]?*

Feb 8-12 <u>2012</u>		Sep 30- Oct 4 <u>2009</u>
58	To prevent Iran from developing nuclear weapons, even if it means taking military action [OR]	61
30	To avoid a military conflict with Iran, even if it means they may develop nuclear weapons	24
2	Neither <b>(VOL.)</b>	4
1	Both <b>(VOL.)</b>	1
10	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	10

**NO QUESTION 66**

<sup>7</sup> In January 2012, respondents were asked "How much, if anything, have you heard about recent tensions between the U.S. and Iran over Iran's nuclear program and disputes in the Persian Gulf-A lot, a little, or nothing at all?" before this question.

**ASK ALL:**

Q.67 Thinking about our economic and trade policy toward China, which is more important **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

July 10-15, <u>2019</u>		Feb 12-26, <u>2014</u>	Oct 4-7, <u>2012</u>	Mar 8-14, <u>2011</u>
62	Building a stronger relationship with China on economic issues	51	42	53
35	Getting tougher with China on economic issues	41	49	40
3	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	8	9	7

**NO QUESTIONS 68-74, 77, 79****QUESTIONS 75-76, 78 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****ASK ALL:**

Q.80 All things considered, which of these descriptions comes closest to your view of **[INSERT ITEM; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]** today... Do you think **[ITEM]** is **[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>An adversary</u>	<u>A serious problem but not an adversary</u>	<u>Not much of a problem</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
<b>ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:</b>				
a.F1 Russia				
July 10-15, 2019	26	44	26	4
Apr 25-May 1, 2018	28	42	24	6
Jan 4-9, 2017	29	44	24	3
Oct 20-25, 2016	23	46	23	7
Apr 12-19, 2016	23	44	30	4
July 24-27, 2014	26	49	15	9
March 20-23, 2014	26	43	22	10
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	18	36	40	6
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	15	32	42	11
Mid-September, 2008	18	48	28	6
<b>ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=752]:</b>				
b.F2 China				
July 10-15, 2019	23	50	24	3
Apr 25-May 1, 2018	16	43	34	7
Jan 4-9, 2017	22	43	31	4
Oct 20-25, 2016	18	48	28	7
Apr 12-19, 2016	23	44	29	3
March 20-23, 2014	22	35	32	10
Oct 30-Nov 6, 2013	23	43	28	6
Jan 5-9, 2011	22	43	27	9
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	19	41	30	9
Mid-September, 2008	19	49	26	6
October, 2005	16	45	30	9
July, 2004	14	40	36	10
February, 2002	17	39	33	11
Early September, 2001	23	48	23	6
May, 2001	19	51	22	8
March, 2000	17	44	26	13
June, 1999	18	53	22	7
March, 1999	20	48	25	7
September, 1997	14	46	32	8

**NO QUESTIONS 81-84, 86-89****QUESTION 85 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=750]:**

Q.90F1 In general, do you think that free trade agreements between the U.S. and other countries have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
July 10-15, 2019	65	22	12
Apr 25-May 1, 2018	56	30	14
Apr 5-11, 2017	52	40	8
Oct 20-25, 2016	45	43	11
Aug 9-16, 2016	50	42	8
Mar 17-26, 2016	51	39	10
May 12-18, 2015	58	33	9
Feb 27-Mar 16, 2014	59	30	10
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	48	41	12
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	52	34	14

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

*In general, do you think that free trade agreements like NAFTA and the policies of the World Trade Organization have been a good thing or a bad thing for the United States?*

	<u>Good thing</u>	<u>Bad thing</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Nov 4-7, 2010	35	44	21
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	43	32	25
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	44	35	21
April, 2008	35	48	17
November, 2007	40	40	20
December, 2006 <sup>8</sup>	44	35	21
Late October, 2005	44	34	22
December, 2004	47	34	19
July, 2004	47	34	19

**ASK FORM 2 [N=752]:**

Q.91F2 As you may know, the Trump administration has increased tariffs or fees on imported goods from a number of countries. In response, some of these countries have increased tariffs on American goods. Overall, do you think these increased tariffs between the U.S. and its trading partners have been good or bad for the United States?

July 10-15, <u>2019</u>	
37	Good for the United States
56	Bad for the United States
7	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

*As you may know, the Trump administration has increased tariffs or fees on imported goods from a number of countries. In response, some of these countries, including China and Canada, have increased tariffs on American goods. Overall, do you think these increased tariffs between the U.S. and its trading partners have been good or bad for the United States?*

Sep 18-24, <u>2018</u>	
38	Good for the United States
53	Bad for the United States
9	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

<sup>8</sup> In December 2006, December 2004, July 2004 and March 2004, the question wording asked about: "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the World Trade Organization," and did not mention "policies of" the World Trade Organization. In October 2005 the question asked: "So far, do you think that NAFTA has been a good thing or a bad thing from a U.S. point of view?" In December 2003 the question wording asked about "free trade agreements like NAFTA and the WTO;" full names of the organizations were read out only if the respondent was uncertain. In Early September 2001 and earlier the question asked about: "...NAFTA, the North American Free Trade Agreement..."

**Q.91F2 CONTINUED...****TREND FOR COMPARISON:**

*Overall, do you think these increased tariffs between the U.S. and its trading partners will be good or bad for the United States?*

Jul 11-15	
<u>2018</u> <sup>9</sup>	
40	Good for the United States
49	Bad for the United States
11	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**NO QUESTIONS 92-94****ASK ALL:**

Q.95 How much, if anything, have you heard about negotiations between the United States and North Korea on North Korea's nuclear program? Have you heard **[READ IN ORDER]**

July 10-15,		Apr 25-May 1	
<u>2019</u>		<u>2018</u>	
31	A lot	44	
53	A little	44	
15	Nothing at all	12	
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	*	

**ASK ALL:**

Q.96 Do you think North Korea's leadership is serious about addressing international concerns about their country's nuclear enrichment program, or not?

July 10-15,		Apr 25-May 1	
<u>2019</u>		<u>2018</u>	
35	Serious	38	
58	Not serious	49	
7	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	13	

**NO QUESTIONS 97-98, 100-101, 104****QUESTIONS 99, 102-103 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED****QUESTION 105 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

<sup>9</sup> In July 2018, question was preceded by the following question, "As you may know, the Trump administration recently increased tariffs or fees on imported goods from a number of countries. In response, some of these countries, including China and Canada, have increased tariffs on American goods. How much, if anything, have you heard about these tariffs between the U.S. and some of its trading partners?"

**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?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) No preference	(VOL.) Other party	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Lean Rep	Lean Dem
July 10-15, 2019	28	30	36	3	1	2	15	17
Mar 20-25, 2019	26	30	37	3	1	3	14	19
Jan 9-14, 2019	25	31	40	2	1	2	16	18
Sep 18-24, 2018	25	32	37	3	1	2	15	18
Jun 5-12, 2018	25	31	38	3	1	2	15	18
Apr 25-May 1, 2018	27	28	38	4	1	2	14	19
Mar 7-14, 2018	26	28	41	3	*	1	17	18
Jan 10-15, 2018	26	33	34	3	1	3	12	18
<b>Yearly Totals</b>								
2018	25.7	30.8	37.6	3.0	.8	2.0	14.7	18.3
2017	23.6	31.4	39.4	3.3	.6	1.7	15.8	18.7
2016	25.4	32.0	36.5	3.4	.5	2.2	14.6	17.0
2015	23.7	30.4	40.1	3.6	.4	1.8	16.4	17.3
2014	23.2	31.5	39.5	3.1	.7	2.0	16.2	16.5
2013	23.9	32.1	38.3	2.9	.5	2.2	16.0	16.0
2012	24.7	32.6	36.4	3.1	.5	2.7	14.4	16.1
2011	24.3	32.3	37.4	3.1	.4	2.5	15.7	15.6
2010	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	.4	2.8	14.5	14.1
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.7	36.0	31.5	3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.2
2007	25.3	32.9	34.1	4.3	.4	2.9	10.9	17.0
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	27.3	34.4	30.9	5.1	.6	1.7	12.1	13.5
2000	28.0	33.4	29.1	5.5	.5	3.6	11.6	11.7
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.9	33.7	31.1	4.6	.4	2.3	11.6	13.1
1997	28.0	33.4	32.0	4.0	.4	2.3	12.2	14.1
1996	28.9	33.9	31.8	3.0	.4	2.0	12.1	14.9
1995	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3	--	3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
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

(C) Pew Research Global Attitudes/Carnegie Endowment for International Peace