In Their Own Words: Behind Americans’ Views of ‘Socialism’ and ‘Capitalism’

Socialism’s critics say it weakens work ethic; those with positive views say it fosters equality

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For many Americans, “socialism” is a word that evokes a weakened work ethic, stifled innovation and excessive reliance on the government. For others, it represents a fairer, more generous society.

Critics of socialism point to Venezuela as an example of a country where it has failed. People with positive views of socialism cite different countries, such as Finland and Denmark, as places where it has succeeded.

**In Their Own Words: Behind Americans’ Views of ‘Socialism’ and ‘Capitalism’**

*Socialism’s critics say it weakens work ethic; those with positive views say it fosters equality*

Some with negative views of ‘socialism’ say it undermines work ethic and has failed elsewhere; many with positive views say it will make society more equitable

Why do you have a positive/negative view of socialism? (%)[OPEN-END]

Of the 55% who have a negative view of socialism, % who mention ___ as a reason

- Undermines work ethic, increases reliance on government: 19
- Historical and comparative failure: 18
- General negativity: 17
- Undermines democracy/Not right for the U.S.: 17
- Capitalism is better: 4
- Want a blend of socialism and capitalism: 2

Of the 42% who have a positive view of socialism, % who mention ___ as a reason

- Creates a fairer, more generous system: 31
- Builds upon and improves capitalism: 20
- Historical and comparative success: 6
- Better than capitalism: 4
- General positivity: 4

Notes: Based on those with a positive or negative view of socialism. Responses offered by at least 2% shown here. “Other” responses and no answer responses not shown. See topline for full set of responses. Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.


PEW RESEARCH CENTER
Earlier this year, Pew Research Center found that 55% of Americans had a negative impression of “socialism,” while 42% expressed a positive view. About two-thirds (65%) said they had a positive view of “capitalism,” and a third viewed it negatively.

But what’s behind these opinions? To find out, we asked people to describe – in their own words – why they had positive or negative impressions of socialism and capitalism.

Some who view socialism negatively portray it as a serious threat to capitalism in the U.S., while others who view it positively say the opposite – that it builds upon and improves capitalism. And some who have a positive view of socialism express an explicit preference for a system that blends socialism and capitalism.

The survey found that Republicans, in particular, viewed socialism and capitalism in zero-sum terms. A large majority of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents (68%) had both a positive impression of capitalism and a negative view of socialism. However, Democrats and Democratic leaners were more likely to view both terms positively; a plurality (38%) had a positive impression of both socialism and capitalism.

While many of the open-ended impressions are revealing, a sizable share of people either did not share their views or articulated their reasons in simple terms, stating that socialism or capitalism is “good” or “bad,” or that one is better than the other. A quarter of those with a negative opinion of socialism – and 31% with a positive view – declined to offer a reason for their opinion.

But others mentioned history, the experiences of other nations, personal experiences or their own understandings of the terms in explaining the reasons behind their opinions of socialism and capitalism.
Socialism’s critics say it weakens work ethic; some point to Venezuela

Among the majority of Americans who have a negative impression of socialism, no single reason stands out. About one-in-five (19%) say that socialism undercuts people’s initiative and work ethic, making people too reliant on the government for support. As a 53-year-old man put it: “I believe in individual freedoms and choice. Socialism kills incentives for people to innovate and climb the ladder of success.”

About as many critics of socialism (18%) refer to how socialism has failed historically or in other countries, such as Venezuela or Russia. A comparable share of those with negative impressions of socialism (17%) say it is not consistent with democracy in the United States or is simply not right for the U.S.

**Why do you have a negative view of socialism?**

“I believe in individual freedoms and choice. Socialism kills incentives for people to innovate and climb the ladder to success.” – Man, 53

“Socialism has been tried for centuries in various countries and it has never elevated the population. The latest example is Venezuela... The only economic system that offers the most opportunity for the most citizens is capitalism in a free society like the United States.” – Man, 79

“People need to learn to take care of themselves. The government has never been able to handle money and waste, so why give them more to waste.” – Woman, 54

“I am skeptical of its long-term sustainability with regard to budget considerations. I think private ownership of capital gives more flexibility than social ownership and is more clearly defined.” – Man, 23

“I don’t want to see the American dream die; I think everyone should aspire to become the best they can be and go as far as they can in life, and not just work to feed their neighbor. I do agree we need to do something to help keep our middle class from disappearing, but I’m just not sold on socialism.” – Woman, 73

Notes: Examples of open-ended responses of those who say they have a negative view of socialism. Verbatim responses, edited only for spelling and grammar.

Many with positive views of socialism say it fosters equality

About four-in-ten Americans (42%) have positive views of socialism. Among this group, the most frequently cited reason is that it will result in fairer, more generous society (31% say this). This includes 10% who specifically express a belief that it is important for the government to take care of its citizens or for fellow citizens to care for each other.

A smaller share of Americans who have a positive view of socialism say it would build upon and improve capitalism (20%). Some in this group say the U.S. already has socialism, in the form of government programs. Others specifically say they prefer a blend of socialism and capitalism. “A blend can ensure a thriving productive society for all,” said a 42-year-old woman.

Just 2% of those who have a positive view of socialism explicitly mention the phrase “democratic socialism” as the reason.

While some who express a negative view of socialism link it with countries like Venezuela, some of those with a positive view point to different countries – such as Denmark or Finland – as models. Among those with a positive impression, 6% say it has been a historical or comparative success, with most of these people citing how it has worked in European countries.
‘Capitalism’ viewed positively by about two-thirds of Americans

Among the 65% with a positive view of capitalism, many give reasons that contrast with criticisms of socialism. For example, while many who hold a negative view of socialism say it undermines initiative and makes people too dependent on government, nearly a quarter of those with a positive view of capitalism say it promotes individual opportunity (24% say this).

And while those with a positive view of socialism say it could bring increased equality, a common theme among critics of capitalism is that it has led to unequal distribution of wealth in this country.

Those who are positive about ‘capitalism’ say it fuels prosperity and is linked to the nation’s success; many with negative opinions link it with inequality and corruption

Why do you have a positive/negative view of capitalism? (%) [OPEN-END]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reason</th>
<th>Of the 33% who have a negative view of capitalism, % who mention ___ as a reason</th>
<th>Of the 65% who have a positive view of capitalism, % who mention ___ as a reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Benefits only a few/Unequal distribution of wealth</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>Promotes individual opportunity 24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exploitative/Corrupt in nature</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>General positivity 22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General negativity</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>Essential to America 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undermines the democratic process</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>Good system, but not perfect 14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Overall, it can work but needs better regulation</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Notes: Based on those with a positive or negative view of capitalism. Responses offered by at least 2% shown here. “Other” responses and no answer responses not shown. See topline for full set of responses. Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.
Nearly a quarter of Americans who have a positive view of capitalism (24%) say they hold their views because the system provides opportunity for individual financial growth. A similar share (22%) expresses general positivity towards capitalism, saying that the system works.

One-in-five adults with positive views of capitalism associate the system with the foundation of America: They mention that capitalism has advanced America’s economic strength, that America was established under the idea of capitalism, or that capitalism is essential to maintaining freedom in the country.

Another 14% say that although they view capitalism positively overall, the system is not perfect. This includes 5% who say capitalism has caused economic inequality and corruption and 4% who express a desire to see more regulation or a mixed system with socialism.

“Capitalism is the worst way to set up a society, except for all the other ways,” said a 44-year-old man. “Free markets allow for more innovative solutions and for more people to succeed.”

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**Why do you have a positive view of capitalism?**

“It gives people freedom to profit from their own labor. It has risen more people out of poverty and gives people the opportunity to change their social standing with hard work and ingenuity.” – Woman, 38

“Capitalism, as a way of ordering economic activity, has improved the lives of more people in human history than any other.” – Man, 35

“It is what this country was founded on, and I don’t think we need to completely move away from it in every aspect of the economy.” – Woman, 31

“Capitalism is the worst way to set up a society, except for all of the other ways. Free markets allow for more innovative solutions and for more people to succeed.” – Man, 44

“Capitalism in America has done more to raise people out of poverty than any other economic system. Capitalism encourages innovation, invention, and growth.” – Man, 66

“I think it can give people a chance to move up in society by [giving them] opportunity to good education and earn a decent salary. Unfortunately not all people can benefit fully in the so called American dream.” – Woman, 82

Notes: Examples of open-ended responses of those who say they have a positive view of capitalism. Verbatim responses, edited only for spelling and grammar.

When those who hold negative views of capitalism are asked why they hold this view, about a quarter (23%) say that capitalism creates an unfair economic structure, mentioning that the system only benefits a small number of people or that wealth in this country is distributed poorly.

A similar share (20%) says that capitalism has an exploitative and corrupt nature, often hurting either people or the environment.

A smaller share of Americans who have negative views of capitalism (8%) mention that corporations and wealthy people undermine the democratic process by having too much power in political matters. And 4% of those with a negative view say that capitalism can work, but to do so it needs better oversight and regulation.

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**Why do you have a negative view of capitalism?**

“Capitalism tends to favor the few at the expense of many and leads to the viewpoint that poor people are lazy. Not everyone can pull themselves up by their bootstraps.” – Woman, 45

“Capitalism is a source of evil in the world, which has led to the destruction of the environment and exploitation on a global scale.” – Woman, 23

“Wealthy people spend their money influencing politicians, tilting the scales of capitalism in their favor. Wealth distribution has become way out of whack. Unchecked capitalism has created a wealth aristocracy.” – Man, 64

“Money seems so important to some people that they have forgotten their manners and how to follow the rule of law.” – Woman, 52

“Capitalism is a sound and beneficial system. Now it does not have the limits needed to avoid its inevitable negative side, such as income and wealth inequality, too many benefits for the rich and a lack of an adequate safety net.” – Man, 69

Notes: Examples of open-ended responses of those who say they have a negative view of capitalism. Verbatim responses, edited only for spelling and grammar.


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Acknowledgments

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

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Methodology

The American Trends Panel survey methodology

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report are drawn from the panel wave conducted April 29-May 13, 2019. A total of 10,170 panelists responded out of 13,476 who were sampled, for a response rate of 75%. This does not include eight panelists who were removed from the data due to extremely high rates of refusal or straightlining. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 3.4%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged onto the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 10,170 respondents is plus or minus 1.5 percentage points.

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of which 9,942 agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a random, address-based sample (ABS) of households selected from the U.S. Postal Service’s Delivery Sequence File. In each household, the adult with the next birthday was asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. For a random half-sample of invitations, households without internet access were instructed to return

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Recruitment Dates</th>
<th>Mode</th>
<th>Invited</th>
<th>Joined</th>
<th>Active panelists remaining</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014</td>
<td>Landline/cell RDD</td>
<td>9,809</td>
<td>5,338</td>
<td>2,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015</td>
<td>Landline/cell RDD</td>
<td>6,004</td>
<td>2,976</td>
<td>1,465</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 25 to June 4, 2017</td>
<td>Landline/cell RDD</td>
<td>3,905</td>
<td>1,628</td>
<td>802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018</td>
<td>ABS/web</td>
<td>9,396</td>
<td>8,778</td>
<td>8,702</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>29,114</td>
<td>18,720</td>
<td>13,476</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.
a postcard. These households were contacted by telephone and sent a tablet if they agreed to participate. A total of 9,396 were invited to join the panel, and 8,778 agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. Of the 18,720 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 13,493 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service’s Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover somewhere between the low 90% to 98% of the population.¹

Weighting

The ATP data were weighted in a multistep process that begins with a base weight incorporating the respondents’ original survey selection probability and the fact that in 2014 and 2017 some respondents were subsampled for invitation to the panel. The next step in the weighting uses an iterative technique that aligns the sample to population benchmarks on the dimensions listed in the accompanying table.

Sampling errors and statistical-significance tests take into account the effect of weighting. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish, but the American Trends Panel’s Hispanic sample is predominantly U.S. born and English speaking.

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.

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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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Unweighted sample size</th>
<th>Plus or minus ...</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total sample</td>
<td>10,170</td>
<td>1.5 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half sample</td>
<td>At least 5,075</td>
<td>2.1 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter sample</td>
<td>At least 2,527</td>
<td>2.9 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican/Lean Republican</td>
<td>4,220</td>
<td>2.2 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half sample</td>
<td>At least 2,080</td>
<td>3.1 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter sample</td>
<td>At least 1,037</td>
<td>4.4 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat/Lean Democrat</td>
<td>5,675</td>
<td>2.0 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Half sample</td>
<td>At least 2,811</td>
<td>2.9 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quarter sample</td>
<td>At least 1,402</td>
<td>3.9 percentage points</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

Note: WORD_POLa and WORD_POLc previously released.

ASK ALL:
WORD_POL  For the following list of words, please indicate your reaction to each.

Would you say you have a positive or negative impression of... [RANDOMIZE]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NET positive</th>
<th>Very positive</th>
<th>Somewhat positive</th>
<th>NET negative</th>
<th>Very negative</th>
<th>Somewhat negative</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

ASK FORMS 1, 2 AND 3 ONLY
[N=7,622]:
a. Socialism
Apr 29-May 13, 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NET positive</th>
<th>Very positive</th>
<th>Somewhat positive</th>
<th>NET negative</th>
<th>Very negative</th>
<th>Somewhat negative</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

NO ITEM b.

ASK FORMS 1 AND 2 ONLY
[N=5,095]:
c. Capitalism
Apr 29-May 13, 2019

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>NET positive</th>
<th>Very positive</th>
<th>Somewhat positive</th>
<th>NET negative</th>
<th>Very negative</th>
<th>Somewhat negative</th>
<th>No answer</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

PHONE TREND FOR COMPARISON
As I read a list of words, please tell me what your reaction is to each ... (First,) do you have a positive or negative reaction to the word... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>(VOL.)</th>
<th>(VOL.)</th>
<th>(VOL.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative</td>
<td>Neither/Neutral</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Socialism
Dec 7-11, 2011 31 60 3 6
Apr 21-26, 2010 29 59 6 5

Capitalism
Dec 7-11, 2011 50 40 3 7
Apr 21-26, 2010 52 37 4 7

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED
ASK IF FORM=1 AND ANSWERED WORD_POLa=1,2 [N=1,103]:

WORDPOL_SOC_R Why do you have a [IF WORD_POLa=1: very positive; IF WORD_POLa=2: somewhat positive] view of socialism?

Apr 29-
May 13,
2019

31 NET Creates a fairer, more generous system
10 Important for citizens and government to care for others/all should have opportunity, access to basic needs
9 Better for society/benefits public
8 Aligns with principles of democracy/equality, freedom
4 Provides social safety net, helps poor/disenfranchised
3 Improves class mobility, wealth distribution and worker value

20 NET Builds upon and improves capitalism
7 Sometimes works (some good, some bad elements)
5 We already have successful socialist programs in U.S.
4 Specific aspects/policies of socialism should be implemented
3 Optimize blend of capitalism and socialism
2 Wants democratic socialism specifically

6 NET Historical and comparative success
4 Socialist countries (Europe – spec. Finland, Denmark, etc.) take care of populations better than U.S.
1 Historically good

4 Better than capitalism

4 General positivity
1 General negativity
15 Other
* Uncodeable
31 Refused
ASK IF FORM=1 AND ANSWERED WORD_POLa=3,4 [N=1,402]:

Why do you have a [IF WORD_POLa=3: somewhat negative; IF
WORD_POLa=4: very negative] view of socialism?

Apr 29-
May 13,
2019

19 NET Undermines work ethic, increases reliance on government
9 People have right to keep earnings/people shouldn’t be paid if they don’t work
9 Makes people lazy, rely on government
3 Stifles innovation, individualism, creativity
1 Worsens class mobility, wealth distribution and worker value

18 NET Historical and comparative failure
9 Socialist countries (Venezuela, Russia, etc.) are worse off than U.S.
5 Historically bad
3 Similar to communism
1 Induces suffering/death

17 NET Undermines democracy/Not right for the U.S.

17 General negativity
4 Capitalism is better

2 NET Want a blend of socialism and capitalism
1 Sometimes works (some good, some bad elements)
1 Optimize blend of capitalism and socialism
* We already have successful socialist programs in U.S.
* Specific aspects/policies of socialism should be implemented
* General positivity

13 Other
1 Uncodeable
25 Refused
ASK IF FORM=2 AND ANSWERED WORD_POLc=1,2 [N=1,757]:
WORDPOL_CAP_R: Why do you have a [IF WORD_POLc=1: very positive; IF WORD_POLc=2: somewhat positive] view of capitalism?

Apr 29-May 13, 2019

24 NET Promotes individual opportunity
21 Allows for individual economic opportunity/ability to get ahead
3 Discourages laziness/encourages self-reliance

22 NET General positivity
11 General capitalism works/good system
8 Free enterprise/markets/innovation
4 The government is not in control

20 NET Essential to America
10 It is the basis of American economic strength
8 This is how it is in America/I grew up in this system
4 Capitalism is essential to maintain freedom

14 NET Good system, but not perfect
5 Positive, but has caused some inequality and corruption
5 Good system, but has gone/can go bad
4 Good, but regulation/adjustment is necessary; we could have a mixed system
4 Prefer capitalism over socialism/communism/other systems
8 Other
1 Uncodeable
23 Refused

ASK IF FORM=2 AND WORD_POLc=3,4 [N=734]:
WORDPOL_CAP_R: Why do you have a [IF WORD_POLc=3: somewhat negative; IF WORD_POLc=4: very negative] view of capitalism?

Apr 29-May 13, 2019

23 NET Benefits only a few/Unequal distribution of wealth
15 Benefits only a small number of people (wealthy)/large business
7 Disadvantages many people/poor people
6 Poor distribution of wealth

20 Exploitative/Corrupt in nature
11 General negativity
8 Undermines the democratic process
4 Overall, it can work but needs better regulation
13 Other
2 Uncodeable
33 Refused

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE