Interviews: 1000 adults, including 200 reached by cell phone

Date: July 14-17, 2011

Study #11310 NBC News/Wall Street Journal Survey

Please note: all results are shown as percentages unless otherwise stated.

The margin of error for 1000 interviews is ±3.10%

Unless otherwise noted by a "+", all previous data shown reflects responses among all adults.

(ASK ONLY OF SAMPLE TYPE 2--CELL PHONE ONLY RESPONDENTS.)

Q1 Do you have a landline in addition to your cell phone, or is your cell phone the only telephone you have?

Have a landline	-	TERMINATE
Cell phone is only telephone	100	CONTINUE
Not sure	-	TERMINATE

Q2a For statistical purposes only, would you please tell me how old you are? (IF "REFUSED," ASK:) Well, would you tell me which age group you belong to? (READ LIST.)

18-24	11
25-29	7
30-34	8
35-39	10
40-44	9
45-49	8
50-54	11
55-59	10
60-64	11
65-69	4
70-74	3
75 and over	7
Not sure/refused	1

Q2b To ensure that we have a representative sample, would you please tell me whether you are from a Hispanic or Spanish-speaking background?

Yes, Hispanic	11
No, not Hispanic	88
Not sure/refused	1

Q2c And again, for statistical purposes only, what is your race--white, black, Asian, or something else?

White	74
Black	
Asian	2
Other	
Hispanic (VOL)	6
Not sure/refused	1

48 Male 52 Female

HART/McINTURFF JULY 2011

Q3 All in all, do you think that things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

Headed in the right direction Off on the wrong track Mixed (VOL) Not sure	7/11 25 67 5 3	<u>6/11</u> 29 62 6 3	<u>5/11</u> 36 50 10 4	<u>4/11</u> 28 63 6 3	2/11 31 60 6 3	<u>1/11</u> 35 56 5 4	<u>12/10</u> 28 63 6 3	<u>11/10</u> 32 58 6 4	<i>High</i> <u>9/01</u> 72 11 11 6	Low 10/17- <u>20/08</u> + 12 78 7 3
				10/28- <u>30/10</u> + 31 60 5 4	10/14- <u>18/10</u> + 32 59 6 3	<u>9/10</u> 32 59 5 4	8/26- <u>30/10</u> 30 61 6 3	8/5- <u>9/10</u> 32 58 6 4		
			<u>6/10</u> 29 62 5 4	5/6- <u>11/10</u> 34 56 6 4	3/10 33 59 5 3	1/23 - <u>25/10</u> 32 58 7 3	1/10- <u>14/10</u> 34 54 10 2	<u>12/09</u> 33 55 10 2		
		<u>10/09</u> 36 52 9 3	<u>9/09</u> 39 48 10 3	7/09 39 49 9 3	<u>6/09</u> 42 46 9 3	<u>4/09</u> 43 43 10 4	<u>2/09</u> 41 44 9 6	<u>1/09</u> 26 59 9 6		

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q4a In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that Barack Obama is doing as president?

Approve Disapprove Not sure	7/11 47 48 5	<u>6/11</u> 49 46 5	<u>5/11</u> 52 41 7	<u>4/11</u> 49 45 6	2/11 48 46 6	<u>1/11</u> 53 41 6	<u>12/10</u> 45 48 7	<u>11/10</u> 47 47 6	10/28- <u>30/10</u> + 45 50 5	<i>High</i> <u>4/09</u> 61 30 9	Low 10/28- <u>30/10</u> + 45 50 5
			10/14- <u>18/10</u> + 47 49 4	<u>9/10</u> 46 49 5	8/26- <u>30/10</u> 45 49 6	8/5- <u>9/10</u> 47 48 5	<u>6/10</u> 45 48 7	5/20- <u>23/10</u> 48 45 7	5/6- <u>11/10</u> 50 44 6	<u>3/10</u> 48 47 5	1/23- <u>25/10</u> 50 44 6
			1/10- <u>14/10</u> 48 43 9	<u>12/09</u> 47 46 7	<u>10/09</u> 51 42 7	<u>9/09</u> 51 41 8	<u>8/09</u> 51 40 9	7/09 53 40 7	<u>6/09</u> 56 34 10	<u>4/09</u> 61 30 9	<u>2/09</u> 60 26 14

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q4b Do you generally approve or disapprove of the job that Barack Obama is doing in handling the economy?

									High	Low
Approve Disapprove Not sure	7/11 43 54 3	<u>6/11</u> 41 54 5	<u>5/11</u> 37 58 5	<u>4/11</u> 45 52 3	<u>2/11</u> 46 49 5	<u>1/11</u> 45 50 5	<u>12/10</u> 42 54 4	<u>11/10</u> 42 54 4	<u>2/09</u> 56 31 13	<u>5/11</u> 37 58 5
			10/14- <u>18/10</u> + 43 53 4	<u>9/10</u> 42 54 4	8/26- <u>30/10</u> 39 56 5	8/5- <u>9/10</u> 44 52 4	<u>6/10</u> 46 50 4	5/6- <u>11/10</u> 48 46 6	<u>3/10</u> 47 50 3	1/23- <u>25/10</u> 47 49 4
			1/10- <u>14/10</u> 43 49 8	<u>12/09</u> 42 51 7	<u>10/09</u> 47 46 7	<u>9/09</u> 50 42 8	<u>7/09</u> 49 44 7	<u>6/09</u> 51 38 11	<u>4/09</u> 55 37 8	<u>2/09</u> 56 31 13

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

(Q5a-Q5b ROTATED)

Q5a In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that Republicans in Congress are doing?

Approve	25
Disapprove	67
Not sure	8

Q5b In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job that Democrats in Congress are doing?

Approve	33
Disapprove	60
Not sure	7

And, thinking about the next Presidential election...

Q6 If President Obama runs for re-election in the year 2012, do you think you will probably vote for President Obama or probably vote for the Republican candidate?

	<u>7/11</u> +	<u>6/11</u> +	<u>5/11</u> +	<u>4/11</u> +	<u>2/11</u> +
Probably vote for President Obama	42	45	45	43	45
Probably vote for Republican candidate	39	40	30	38	40
Vote for other party (VOL)	4	2	4	3	3
Depends/Depends on who opponent is (VOL)	10	11	16	11	9
Not sure	5	2	5	5	3
+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.					

Now, thinking about you for a moment...

Q7 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as (ROTATE:) a Democrat, a Republican, an independent, or something else? (IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong (Democrat/Republican) or not a very strong (Democrat/Republican)? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT VERY STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.") (IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat Not very strong Democrat	18 12
	•
Independent/lean Democrat	10
Strictly Independent	19
Independent/lean Republican	10
Not very strong Republican	10
Strong Republican	12
Other (VOL)	8
Not sure	1

Q8 If there were a presidential primary election in your state, would you vote in the Republican primary, the Democratic primary, or would you wait to vote in the general election?

7/11-	⊦ <u>6/11</u> +	<u>4/11</u> +
Vote in the Republican primary 28	29	28
Vote in the Democratic primary 27	32	31
Wait until the general election	34	36
Neither/other (VOL) 1	2	2
Not sure	3	3

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

(ASK ONLY OF REG VOTERS (F1a:1) WHO SAY THEY WOULD VOTE IN THE REPUBLICAN PRIMARY Q8:1)

Q9 Let me read you a list of people who might seek the 2012 Republican nomination for president. If you were voting today in the 2012 Republican primary for president, which **one** of the following candidates would you favor? (READ LIST. RANDOMIZE. IF "NOT SURE," ASK:) Well, which way do you lean? (ACCEPT ONLY ONE ANSWER.) (IF CHOICE, THEN ASK:) And, which candidate would be your second choice?[^]

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RANKED BY HIGHEST 1ST CHOICE PERCENTAGE

	1 ST	2 nd	Comb
	<u>Choice</u>	<u>Choice</u>	<u>Choice</u>
Mitt Romney	30	19	49
Michele Bachmann	16	15	31
Rick Perry	11	9	20
Ron Paul	9	9	18
Newt Gingrich	8	6	14
Herman Cain	5	8	13
Rick Santorum	3	3	6
Tim Pawlenty	2	4	6
Jon Huntsman	2	3	5
Other (VOL)	2	1	3
None (VOL)	2	6	8
Not sure	10	5	15
A Reculto chown reflect record	anaaa amar	a registered	votoro

^ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters who say they would vote in the Republican Primary

THIS TABLE HAS BEEN RAN	<i>KED 6/11</i> 6/11^	DATA 4/11^
Mitt Romney	30	21
Sarah Palin	14	10
Herman Cain	12	NA
Rick Perry	8	NA
Ron Paul	7	NA
Newt Gingrich	6	11
Tim Pawlenty	4	6
Rick Santorum	4	3
Michele Bachmann	3	5
Jon Huntsman	1	NA
Mike Huckabee	NA	17
Donald Trump	NA	17
Haley Barbour	NA	1
Other (VOL)	1	1
None (VOL)	2	4
Not sure	8	4
s shown reflect responses among re	egistered	voters

^ Results shown reflect responses among registered voter who say they would vote in the Republican Primary

(Q10a-Q10b ROTATED)

Q10a And, if the next election for president were held today, and (ROTATE) Michele Bachmann were the Republican candidate and Barack Obama were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?+

Michele Bachmann	35
Barack Obama	50
Depends (VOL)	1
Neither/other (VOL)	
Not sure	
+ Results shown reflect responses among registered vo	

Q10b And, if the next election for president were held today, and (ROTATE) Mitt Romney were the Republican candidate and Barack Obama were the Democratic candidate, for whom would you vote?

	<u>7/11</u> +	6/11+	<u>2/11</u> +	12/10	1/08	11/07	9/07
Mitt Romney	41	43	40	40	35	36	34
Barack Obama		49	49	47	48	48	51
Depends (VOL)	1	1	-	1	2	1	1
Neither/other (VOL)	7	3	6	6	7	6	7
Not sure	3	4	5	6	8	9	7

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Now turning to the economy...

Q11 During the next twelve months, do you think that the nation's economy will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

Economy will get better Economy will get worse Economy will stay about the same Not sure	7/11 26 31 41 2	<u>6/11</u> 29 30 39 2	<u>4/11</u> 33 21 46 -	<u>2/11</u> 29 29 41 1	<u>1/11</u> 40 17 42 1			
		<u>12/10</u> 32 24 42 2	<u>11/10</u> 37 15 46 2	10/14- <u>18/10</u> + 37 20 41 2	<u>9/10</u> 32 24 41 3	8/26- <u>30/10</u> 26 26 45 3	8/5- <u>9/10</u> 34 25 39 2	<u>6/10</u> 33 23 43 1
		5/6- <u>10/10</u> 40 20 38 2	<u>3/10</u> 41 22 36 1	1/10- <u>14/10</u> 41 19 38 2	<u>10/09</u> 42 22 33 3	9/09 47 20 30 3	7/09 44 21 32 3	6/09 46 22 29 3
		<u>4/09</u> 38 30 30 2	<u>10/08</u> + 38 20 37 5	9- <u>10/06</u> + 22 51 5	<u>10/04</u> + 43 10 33 14	<u>10/02</u> + 41 20 34 5	<u>10/98</u> + 17 24 54 5	<u>10/94</u> 31 24 40 5

¹ Prior to April 2001, the question was phrased, "Over the past year..."

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters.

Q12 Just thinking about your own personal economic situation, do you feel that over the past twelve months things have gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?

Things have gotten better Things have gotten worse Things have stayed about the same Not sure	<u>7/11</u> 18 35 47	<u>6/11</u> 18 35 47	<u>4/11</u> 21 31 48	9/30- <u>10/2/06</u> + 24 28 48	<u>7/06</u> 22 36 41 1
Not sure	-	-	-	-	1

Q13 Thinking about the country's economic recession, do you think the worst is behind us or the worst is ahead of us?

	7/11	6/11	11/10	8/26- 30/10
Worst is behind us	46	52	60	45
Worst is ahead of us	45	41	35	45
Somewhere in between (VOL)	3	3	2	4
Not sure	6	4	3	6

RECESSION TREND							
Do you think the worst of the recession is over or is yet to come?							
<u>4/02 1/02 12/91+ 9/91</u>							
Worst is over	59	47	28	43			
Worst is yet to come	33	41	62	49			
Not sure	8	12	10	8			
+ Results shown reflect responses among	registered	voters.					

Now, thinking about the recent debate over the federal budget... (Q14A-Q14B ROTATED AMONG INDEPENDENTS (Q7:4)) (ASK ONLY OF DEMOCRATS AND INDEPENDENTS (Q7:1-4))

Q14a Do you want Democratic leaders in the House and Senate to make compromises to gain consensus on the current budget debate, or do you want them stick to their positions even if this means not being able to gain consensus on the budget?

	Total Democrats and Independents				
	<u>7/11</u>	<u>4/11</u>	<u>12/10</u> '		
Make compromises	65	71	64		
Stick to their positions	27	23	29		
Depends (VOL)	-	1	2		
Neither (VOL)	1	-	1		
Not sure	7	5	4		

		Damaarata	
	Democrats		
	<u>7/11</u>	<u>4/11</u>	<u>12/10</u> '
Make compromises	62	68	63
Stick to their positions	30	26	29
Depends (VOL)	-	1	2
Neither (VOL)	-	-	1
Not sure	8	5	5

[lr	ndependent	S
-	<u>7/11</u>	4/11	<u>12/10</u> '
Make compromises	73	76	65
Stick to their positions	18	18	27
Depends (VOL)	-	1	2
Neither (VOL)	2	1	2
Not sure	7	4	4

¹ In December 2010, the Question was phrased "Do you want Democratic leaders in the House and Senate to make compromises to gain consensus <u>on legislation</u>, or do you want them stick to their positions even if this means not being able to gain consensus <u>on legislation</u>?"

(ASK ONLY OF REPUBLICANS AND INDEPENDENTS (Q7:4-7))

Q14b Do you want Republican leaders in the House and Senate to make compromises to gain consensus on current budget debate, or do you want them stick to their positions even if this means not being able to gain consensus on the budget?

	Total Republicans and Independents			
	<u>7/11</u>	4/11	<u>12/10</u> '	
Make compromises	53	48	53	
Stick to their positions	42	47	38	
Depends (VOL)	1	1	3	
Neither (VOL)	-	-	-	
Not sure	4	4	6	
		Republican	S	
	<u>7/11</u>	4/11	<u>12/10</u> '	
Make compromises	43	38	47	
Stick to their positions	52	56	47	
Depends (VOL)	1	1	2	
Neither (VOL)	-	-	-	
Not sure	4	5	4	

		ndependen	ts
-	<u>7/11</u>	4/11	<u>12/10</u> '
Make compromises	68	66	64
Stick to their positions	24	30	23
Depends (VOL)	-	-	3
Neither (VOL)	1	-	1
Not sure	7	4	9

¹ In December 2010, the question was phrased "Do you want Republican leaders in the House and Senate to make compromises to gain consensus <u>on legislation</u>, or do you want them stick to their positions even if this means not being able to gain consensus <u>on legislation</u>?"

Q15 Have you seen, read, or heard the news coverage about the current debate in Congress over raising the Federal debt ceiling? (IF YES:) And, have you seen, read or heard a lot or just some about this?

Total Yes	77
Yes, A lot	39
Yes, Just some	38
No	22
Not sure	1

Now, just so everyone has the same information, I'm going to read you a brief description...

The federal debt ceiling acts as a check and limit on the country's overall liabilities, including the federal deficit and other debts. When the U.S. Treasury needs to issue debt above the ceiling in order to avoid going into bankruptcy and defaulting on its obligations, Congress needs to vote to raise the ceiling. Congress is again currently considering whether and how much to extend the debt ceiling.

Q16 Do you think Congress should or should not raise the debt ceiling? If you don't know enough to have an opinion, please just say so.

	<u>7/11</u>	<u>6/11</u>
Should raise debt ceiling	38	28
Should not raise debt ceiling	31	39
Don't know enough	30	31
Not sure	1	2

APRIL 2011

The federal debt ceiling acts as a check and limit on the country's overall liabilities, including the federal deficit and other debts. When the U.S. Treasury needs to issue debt above the ceiling, Congress needs to vote to raise the ceiling. Congress is again currently considering whether and how much to extend the debt ceiling. Do you think Congress should or should not raise the debt ceiling? If you don't know enough to have an opinion, please just say so.

Should raise debt ceiling	16
Should not raise debt ceiling	46
Don't know enough	38
Not sure	-

And, thinking some more about the debt ceiling...

Q17 I'm going to read you two statements about the debt ceiling and please tell me which comes closer to your point of view. (ROTATE)

(Some/other) people say do NOT raise the debt ceiling because doing so will make it easier to increase spending and harder to reduce the deficit, and will increase the debt held by other countries and passed on to the next generation. Efforts to control the debt must begin now and the first step needs to be to not raise the debt ceiling.

....while....

(Other/some) people say RAISE the debt ceiling because failing to do so could stop the government from meeting its obligations, including payments to those on Social Security and in the military, and cause additional harm to the economy. Efforts to control debt should be comprehensive and long-term rather than artificial and short-term.

Do not raise debt ceiling	43
Raise debt ceiling	49
Mixed/Some of both (VOL)	3
Not sure	5

JUNE 2011 Now, I'm going to read you two statements about the debt ceiling and tell me which comes closer to your point of view.	please
 (Some/other) people say do not raise the debt ceiling because doing make it easier to increase spending and harder to reduce the deficit, increase the debt held by other countries and passed on to the n generationwhile (Other/some) people say raise the debt ceiling because failing to do s stop the government from meeting its obligations, including payme those on Social Security and in the military, and cause a shock to economy. Efforts to control debt should be comprehensive and long rather than artificial and short-term. 	and will ext so could nts to the
Do not raise debt ceiling	42
Raise debt ceiling	46
Mixed/Some of both (VOL)	4
Not sure	8

Q18 Right now Congress and the president are negotiating about whether and how much to raise the debt ceiling. If Congress does NOT vote to raise the debt ceiling, do you believe that this would be a real and serious problem or not? If you do not know enough to have an opinion, please say so.

A real and serious problem	55
Not a real and serious problem	18
Don't know enough to have opinion	25
Not sure	2

Q19 Which of the following approaches being considered in Congress to deal with the Federal debt ceiling are you more likely to support? (ROTATE)

A proposal by President Obama which would reduce the Federal deficit by four TRILLION dollars over the next decade by cutting federal spending, increasing taxes on corporations and the wealthy, and reducing the level of spending on Medicare

....Or....

A proposal by Republicans in Congress which would reduce the Federal deficit by two and a half TRILLION dollars over the next decade by cutting Federal spending and would not raise taxes on corporations or the wealthy

President Obama's proposal	58
Republicans in Congress proposal	36
Either (VOL)	-
Neither (VOL)	2
Not sure	4

(ROTATE Q20 & Q21)

Q20 Democrats in Congress have said they are unwilling to make cuts and changes in the Social Security and Medicare programs. If it was the only way to get an agreement in Congress on the debt ceiling and on reducing the deficit, would you say yes, Democrats should agree to make cuts and changes in the Social Security and Medicare programs or no, the Democrats should not agree to make cuts and changes in the Social Security and Medicare programs? If you do not have an opinion one way or the other, please say so.

(IF YES/NO, THEN ASK:) And, would you say definitely (yes Democrats should/no Democrats should not) agree or probably (yes Democrats should/no Democrats should not) agree to make cuts and changes in the Social Security and Medicare programs?

Definitely Yes, should agree	26
Probably Yes, should agree	12
Probably No, should not agree	11
Definitely No, should not agree	41
Don't know enough to have an opinion	9
Not sure	1

Q21 Republicans in Congress have said they are unwilling to raise any taxes, including on corporations and the wealthy. If it was the only way to get an agreement in Congress on the debt ceiling and on reducing the deficit, would you say yes, Republicans should agree to raise taxes, including on corporations and the wealthy or no Republicans should not agree to raise taxes, including on corporations and the wealthy? If you do not have an opinion one way or the other, please say so.

(IF YES/NO, THEN ASK:) And, would you say definitely (yes Republicans should/no Republicans should not) agree or probably (yes Republicans should/no Republicans should not) agree to raise taxes, including on corporations and the wealthy?

Definitely Yes, should agree	48
Probably Yes, should agree	14
Probably No, should not agree	6
Definitely No, should not agree	21
Don't know enough to have an opinion	11
Not sure	-

Q22 If the federal debt limit is not raised and the federal government is unable to meet its obligations, including payments to those on Social Security and in the military, who do you think will be more to blame (ROTATE) President Obama and the Democrats in Congress or Republicans in Congress?

President Obama and the Democrats in Congress	35
Republicans in Congress	39
Both equal (VOL)	17
Not sure	

October 1995

If President Clinton and the Republican Congress not reach a budget agreement in time to avoid a n shutdown of the federal government, who do you will be more to blame President Clinton or th Republican Congress?	najor think
President Clinton	32
Republican Congress	43
Both equal (VOL)	18
Not sure	7

FACTUALS: Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only. QF1a Are you currently registered to vote [LANDLINE: at this address; CELL: in (state from Q1x)]?

Registered	83
Not registered	16
Not sure	1

F1b/c A lot of people are unable to get out and vote for many reasons. Did you happen to vote in last November's election for president? (IF "YES," ASK:) For whom did you vote—Barack Obama, John McCain, or someone else?

Yes, Voted	80
Voted for Barack Obama	43
Voted for John McCain	29
Voted for someone else	5
Not sure	3
No, Did Not Vote	20
Not sure	-

QF2 What is the last grade that you completed in school? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

Grade school	1
Some high school	4
High school graduate	26
Some college, no degree	19
Vocational training/2-year college	9
4-year college/bachelor's degree	24
Some postgraduate work, no degree	3
2-3 years postgraduate work/master's degree	10
Doctoral/law degree	4
Not sure/refused	-

QF3 Do you consider yourself a supporter of the Tea Party Movement?

	<u>7/11</u> +	<u>6/11</u> +	<u>5/11</u> +	<u>4/11</u> +	<u>2/11</u> +	<u>1/11</u> +
Yes	25	26	26	25	29	27
No	63	63	62	67	61	62
Depends (VOL)	2	3	2	3	3	3
Not sure	10	8	10	5	7	8
				10/28-	10/14-	
		<u>12/10</u> +	<u>11/10</u> +	<u>30/10</u> +	<u>18/10</u> +	<u>9/10+</u>
		29	30	28	30	28
		61	59	61	59	61
		3	4	3	2	3
		7	7	8	10	8

+ Results shown reflect responses among registered voters

QF4 Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself to be liberal, moderate, or conservative? (IF "LIBERAL" OR "CONSERVATIVE," ASK:) Do you consider yourself to be very (liberal/conservative) or somewhat (liberal/conservative)?

QF5 If you added together the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than ten thousand dollars, between ten thousand dollars and twenty thousand dollars, between twenty thousand dollars and thirty thousand dollars, between thirty thousand dollars and forty thousand dollars, between forty thousand dollars and fifty thousand dollars, between fifty thousand dollars, between seventy-five thousand dollars and one hundred thousand dollars, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000	6
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000	10
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000	10
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000	10
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000	10
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000	16
Between \$75,000 and \$100,000	10
More than \$100,000	21
Not sure/refused	7