# 2013 PUBLIC AFFAIRS PULSE SURVEY 

# WHAT DO AMERICANS EXPECT FROM BUSINESS? 

A national survey commissioned by:


Public Affairs
Council

## Executive Summary

Majorities of Americans see the federal government as wasteful and inefficient，and continue to hold unfavorable views of national government．Fewer than four in ten have some or a lot of trust and confidence in the federal gov－ ernment to solve the most important problems facing the country．

In contrast，three in five Americans（60\％）have a very favorable or somewhat favorable view of major companies． Less than one in five say major companies are wasteful and inefficient，and the public thinks private businesses should take on more responsibility for solving national problems．


These are some of the major findings of the third annual Public Affairs Pulse，a survey commissioned by the Public Affairs Council，a nonpartisan，nonpolitical association of corporate and nonprofit public affairs executives．

The survey，designed and executed by Princeton Survey Research Associates International（PSRAI），is based on telephone interviews in English and Spanish with 1，604 adults age 18 or older living in the continental United States．Interviews were conducted on both landline telephones and cellphones May 8－23， 2013.

For results based on all respondents，the results are subject to a sampling error margin of plus or minus 3 per－ centage points．

## Efficiency versus waste

A majority of the public（51\％）says the federal government is often wasteful and inefficient．Only 9 percent say the government is well－run and efficient，with 39 percent saying it is somewhere between those two poles．In contrast， only 17 percent say big companies are wasteful，and 28 percent believe major firms are well－run．Fifty－two percent place the firms somewhere between these extremes．

Public views toward state governments are less critical than views toward the federal government．Thirty－one per－ cent call them wasteful， 16 percent say they are well－run，and 51 percent rank them in between．

In addition，a majority say it＇s more important to keep taxes at current levels（53\％）than to maintain current levels of government services（39\％）．And 58 percent say it is more important to keep taxes level，while 33 percent are more concerned about preserving government jobs．These views may help explain why the public has not been more outraged by the budget sequestration，which implements federal spending cuts mandated by the Budget Control Act of 2011.

## Regulation and trust

Americans are divided on the question of whether government regulation of business helps more than it hurts． This latest survey finds 44 percent believe government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest，while 52 percent conclude that government regulation of business usually does more harm than good． This represents an uptick in negative views about government regulation．The 2012 survey found the public evenly divided： 48 percent to 49 percent．

For the first time，the Pulse survey explored how levels of trust in various industry sectors might relate to percep－ tions of the need for more regulation of those sectors．In general，the less trustworthy the public perceives an industry to be，the more likely the public is to say there is too little regulation of that industry．For example，health insurance companies，pharmaceutical companies and banks／financial institutions are ranked as less trustworthy than others．These are also the top three on the list of industries that are considered under－regulated．

## Who should pay for political campaigns?

The public is overwhelmingly opposed to using federal tax dollars to fund political campaigns, a frequently expressed goal of campaign finance reform groups. A majority are also opposed to so-called Super PACs pouring money into elections. Americans favor candidates spending their own money, individuals making personal contributions and regulated political action committees (PACs) providing funding.

In particular, it's worth noting that nearly two out of three Americans (65\%) are fine with a candidate's personal wealth being a major source of a campaign's war chest.

## Young people are more upbeat

Millennials are the often-discussed youngest generation of adults, ranging from 18 to 32 years old. Though they've taken a hard hit from the Great Recession, Millennials are more satisfied with the way things are going in this country today and more supportive of government than are older Americans. Forty-two percent say they are satisfied with the way things are going, compared with 31 percent of Gen X-ers and only 20 percent of Baby Boomers.

Fifty-one percent of young people give the federal government favorable scores, compared with only 44 percent of Gen X-ers, 35 percent of Baby Boomers and 34 percent of Matures.

Young people are about as likely to hold favorable views of major companies as others, with 62 percent giving favorable marks and 36 percent unfavorable ones. On the other hand, Millennials are somewhat less likely to trust major companies, with 48 percent trusting corporations while 52 percent do not.

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## Chapter 1: Americans Feel Positive Toward Business

With a gradually improving economy, Americans are feeling positive toward businesses - both large and small but remain unhappy with the federal government, which many consider wasteful and inefficient. State governments score better than Washington, but both fall short of the private sector.

Three in five Americans (60\%) have a very favorable or somewhat favorable view of major companies. Thirty-five percent hold a not too favorable or not at all favorable view. This finding is roughly in line with the results from the first Pulse survey in 2011, and down slightly from the 2012 poll, when 67 percent held a positive view and 29 percent held a negative view.

As has been the case for many years, small businesses get excellent ratings, with 87 percent holding favorable views, compared with only 9 percent giving these companies an unfavorable rating.

## Overall Favorability

A majority of Americans have positive views of business but are unhappy with the federal government. Three in five (60\%) have a very favorable or somewhat favorable view of major companies, while only 41 percent have a positive view of the federal government.
$\square$ Favorable $\square$ Not favorable $\square$ Don't know/Refused


Americans' ratings of the federal government are still negative and have not changed much in the past year. Forty-one percent of Americans have favorable views of the federal government, while 56 percent hold unfavorable views, including nearly one in three (29\%) who say they have not at all favorable views.

But Americans are not unhappy with all levels of government. Fifty-seven percent say they have a favorable view of their state government, and only 40 percent have an unfavorable view.

## Differences by race and ideology

Americans' views about business are remarkably consistent across age categories, but attitudes do vary across other demographic groups.

Views differ, for example, by race and ethnicity. In this survey, white Americans are favorable toward major companies by a 60 percent to 36 percent edge. Hispanic Americans are even more positive, with 67 percent having favorable opinions. African-Americans are the least positive about major companies, but a majority (53\%) is still favorable, compared with 43 percent who express unfavorable views. ${ }^{1}$

Conservatives hold the most favorable views toward major companies (70\%-27\%), moderates are in the middle (60\%-36\%) and liberals hold the least favorable views (46\%-49\%). ${ }^{2}$

In discussing the federal government, a racial divide is clear as well. More than three in five white Americans hold unfavorable views of the federal government (34\% favorable-64\% unfavorable), while African-Americans and Hispanic Americans hold strongly positive views (60\% favorable to 38\% unfavorable and $62 \%$ favorable to $33 \%$ unfavorable, respectively).

## Trust is hard to find

Levels of trust in both major companies and the federal government are lower than their favorability ratings.
Nearly 55 percent of Americans express a lot or some trust and confidence that major companies will do the right thing, while 44 percent express not too much or no such trust and confidence.

In contrast, on a different question, only 37 percent of the public express a lot or some trust and confidence that the federal government will solve the most important problems facing the country. Sixty-two percent say they have not too much or no confidence in the government's ability to achieve these goals.

## Overall Trust

Nearly 55 percent of Americans trust major companies to do the right thing. But on another question, only 37 percent of Americans say they trust the federal government's ability to solve the country's most pressing problems.


Major companies


The federal government

It's worth noting that almost one in three Americans (31\%) do not trust either major companies or the federal government, while 24 percent trust both.

Different industry sectors are seen through different prisms when it comes to trust. Health insurance companies continue to be the least-trusted category, with about half of Americans (49\%) saying these firms are less trustworthy than the average company. Pharmaceutical companies are labeled less trustworthy by 46 percent of the public.

Banks and other financial institutions have improved their scores a bit and are back to about where they were in 2011. Forty-two percent of the public says financial institutions are less trustworthy, compared with 46 percent in 2012 and 41 percent in 2011.

At the opposite end of the spectrum, some industries are viewed in a more positive light. For example, only 11 percent consider technology firms less trustworthy than other companies and 25 percent consider them more trustworthy. Manufacturing companies also score well, with only 14 percent considering them less trustworthy and 18 percent considering them more trustworthy. The reputation of automobile companies has improved since last year: The percentage of the population considering them less trustworthy has dropped from 26 percent to 22 percent.

## More or Less Trustworthy?

Different industry sectors are seen through different prisms when it comes to trust. Technology, manufacturing and food and beverage companies are viewed as most trustworthy, while health insurance companies, pharmaceutical companies and banks rank as least trustworthy.


One important implication of these findings is that distrust may affect the public's willingness to support additional government regulation. This is the topic of Chapter 3 in this report.

## Concerns about power and profits

Given major companies' favorable ratings, they obviously are doing something right. But it would be a mistake to say Americans view large firms in a uniformly positive way. The public has longstanding negative attitudes in several areas.

Americans have believed for many years that too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies. In the 2013 Pulse survey, more than three-quarters (78\%) agree with this statement. Only one in five (20\%) agree that the largest companies do not have too much power. When results of the Pulse survey are compared with similar polls, it's clear that these opinions have varied little for almost two decades.

## Do Major Companies Have Too Much Power?

More than three-quarters of Americans (78\%) say too much power is concentrated in the hands of a few large companies, while just one in five (20\%) say the largest companies do not hold too much power.


With such strong views on one side, there are no major subgroups that disagree with this assessment. For example, 71 percent of those who have a favorable view of major companies say these companies have too much power. Among Republicans, who tend to be more pro-business, 65 percent still say big companies are too powerful.

In similar fashion, though with lesser intensity, Americans have consistently said that major companies make too much profit. In the 2013 survey, 62 percent agree with this statement. Only 36 percent say most major companies make a fair and reasonable amount of profit.

On the question of profitability, there is some variation among subgroups. Women are overwhelmingly concerned about high profits (67\%-31\%), while men are more closely divided (56\%-41\%). Republicans are split on the topic (49\%-49\%), while independents (62\%-35\%) and Democrats (72\%-26\%) are more likely to believe that major companies make too much profit.

## Chapter 2: Comparing the Public and Private Sectors

The stark differences between how Americans view business and how they view the federal government can be examined in a myriad of ways, but one useful dimension is to look at how people perceive the efficiency of each institution. For this characteristic, public opinion is clear. A majority (51\%) says the federal government is often wasteful and inefficient, while only 9 percent say the government is well-run and efficient.

Conversely, only 3 percent of Americans say small businesses are wasteful, and 52 percent say they are wellrun and efficient. Major companies score reasonably well on this question, with only 17 percent saying they are wasteful and 28 percent saying they are well-run. (The majority believe big firms fall somewhere in between the two extremes.)

As with overall favorability ratings, state governments score better than the federal government - but not as well as the private sector. Thirty-one percent say state governments are wasteful, and 16 percent say they are well-run. The rest of the public places them somewhere in between.

## Which Are Efficient and Which Are Wasteful?

A majority of Americans (51\%) say the federal government is often wasteful and inefficient, while just 17 percent say the same for major companies. Small businesses get the best marks on this question, with only 3 percent of Americans categorizing them as wasteful.


The perception of efficiency is related to how favorably an institution is viewed. For example, 76 percent of those who say major companies are well-run have a favorable view of big firms. Sixty-eight percent of those who say major companies are wasteful have unfavorable views of big firms.

The pattern is even clearer when talking about the federal government. Eighty-two percent of those who say the federal government is well-run have a favorable view of the government. Conversely, 81 percent of the much larger group who say the federal government is wasteful have unfavorable views of Washington.

In addition, a majority say it's more important to keep taxes at current levels (53\%) than to maintain current levels of government services (39\%). And 58 percent say it is more important to keep taxes level, while 33 percent are more concerned about preserving government jobs. These views may help explain why the public has not been more outraged by the budget sequestration, which implements federal spending cuts mandated by the Budget Control Act of 2011.

## Americans look to business for solutions

Only 37 percent of Americans have some or a lot of trust and confidence in the federal government to solve the most important problems facing the country. Perhaps as a consequence, a majority of the public thinks private businesses should take on more financial responsibility to help solve national problems that have traditionally been the responsibility of government. These services include:

- Providing community services such as food banks, free clinics and job training for the poor (70\% agree)
- Improving the quality of education (64\% agree)
- Improving the quality and affordability of health care (62\% agree)
- Providing relief for disasters like floods, tornadoes and earthquakes (57\% agree)


## Expectations for the Private Sector

A majority of Americans want the private sector to assume more financial responsibility for helping solve the nation's problems. Among the areas in which they'd like to see business step in are improving education and health care and providing community services and disaster relief.


## Where companies succeed and fail

"Focusing on the basics" is not only a mantra of business book authors and management consultants; it also helps explain why Americans are generally positive about major companies. The public thinks major companies are doing a good job providing useful products and serving their customers and stockholders. The public is negative, however, on major companies' performance in creating jobs, paying their employees fairly and not overpaying corporate executives.

Over the course of the Pulse surveys, more than seven in ten Americans have said major companies generally do a good job providing useful products and services. In the latest survey, 73 percent take that view and only 24 percent disagree.

A still-strong 65 percent say that companies are doing a good job serving their customers. Just about one-third (31\%) disagree.

And 63 percent say the companies are doing a good job serving their stockholders. With the rising stock market over the past year, it's not surprising that this score is up from 59 percent in 2012 and 57 percent in 2011.

Major companies do not get positive marks in certain other categories, though there has been improvement in some areas. For example, major companies are still not seen as performing well at creating jobs, but scores are more positive than in 2012 and far better than they were in 2011. With unemployment nationally on the decline, businesses are getting at least some of the credit.

## Perceptions of Companies' Performance

A majority of Americans give major companies high marks for providing useful products and services and serving their customers and stockholders well. But compensation, job creation and environmental protection remain sticking points.


Compensation of regular employees and corporate executives remains a sore point. Only one-quarter of the public (26\%) say major companies are paying their top executives fairly, without overpaying them. Fully 68 percent say corporations are not handling this issue well. And companies are sliding a bit in the perception of how they pay their rank-and-file employees. Now, 36 percent of the public say companies are doing a good job in paying their employees fairly, but 59 percent disagree. That is somewhat more negative than the 41 percent to 56 percent split in the 2012 survey.

## Small business versus big business

Hugely positive views about small businesses can obscure the fact that small businesses are not the vendors of choice for many Americans. The public may say very nice things about small businesses in surveys, but there are a large number of consumers who spend their money with major companies, at least in part because these firms may offer lower prices.

Specifically, about one-third of the public (33\%) say they would rather do business with a large national company offering somewhat lower prices, while 64 percent would rather do business with a smaller local company that may charge somewhat higher prices. These results are similar to those found in the two previous Pulse surveys.

Part of this difference can be attributed to the importance of lower prices to those with lower incomes. Two in five of those with incomes under \$30,000 a year (43\%) prefer to deal with larger companies. That figure drops to about one in four (26\%) for those with incomes of at least \$50,000.

There is also an interesting pattern when data are examined by race and ethnicity. Minority group members are much more likely than whites to want to deal with national firms. Only one in four white Americans (25\%) say they would prefer to deal with a larger national company, while 73 percent prefer a smaller local company. But 57 percent of Hispanic Americans and 48 percent of African-Americans would prefer to deal with a larger company.

It's important to note that income is not driving this racial/ethnic pattern. Across all income groups, minorities are more likely to say they would prefer to deal with national companies than smaller local companies. For example, among those making at least $\$ 75,000$ a year, 47 percent of African-Americans and 42 percent of Hispanic Americans prefer national companies, compared with only 23 percent of whites.

## By Race/Ethnicity and Income

Americans with annual incomes of at least $\$ 50,000$ are more likely to buy from smaller companies that may charge higher prices. Yet, regardless of their income level, minority group members are much more likely to do business with large national companies.


## Chapter 3: Do We Need More Regulation?

The debate over government regulation of business continues to rage on Capitol Hill and across the country. Both in terms of broad goals and specific impacts, Americans are divided about the need for more regulation. There are divisions along party lines, but the patterns of public opinion are far more complex than simple partisanship.

The latest Public Affairs Pulse adds a new dimension to the examination of attitudes toward regulation: looking at how consumers' trust of different industry sectors may shape views of the appropriate level of government oversight.

## More harm than good

As has been the case for many years, Americans are roughly divided on the question of whether government regulation of business helps more than it hurts. This latest survey finds 44 percent believe government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest, but 52 percent conclude that government regulation of business usually does more harm than good. This represents an uptick in negative views about government regulation. The 2012 survey found the public evenly split: 48 percent to 49 percent.

## Is Government Regulation of Business Necessary?

A majority of Americans believe government regulation of business generally does more harm than good. At 52 percent, this is the highest percentage of respondents expressing this sentiment in nearly two decades.


Sources: Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press survey (1994); Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press surveys (1996-2008); Public Affairs Pulse survey (2011-2013)

This question offers two options that are each strong in their declaration of a policy position, even if they are not perfectly symmetrical. It captures the partisan and ideological debate about government regulation.

Democrats back regulation as necessary to protect the public interest by 62 percent to 35 percent. The GOP is even more emphatic in the other direction, with 73 percent saying regulation does more harm than good, compared with 23 percent of Republicans who see it as necessary. Independents are more divided, with 41 percent believing regulation is necessary and 53 percent believing it is harmful.

Interestingly, that partisan split is greater than the ideological divide. Liberals back regulation by a 58 percent to 39 percent score, while conservatives oppose it 67 percent to 29 percent. Moderates divide 50 percent to 47 percent. The comparison of the partisan and the ideological split raises the question of whether the parties may have moved more to the extremes than the ideologues, regardless of party.

The relationship between education level and support for regulation is complex, but one comparison stands out: 55 percent of those with at least a college degree say regulation is necessary, while only 40 percent of those who went to college, but did not graduate, agree with that position.

Age plays an important role in these perceptions. Older Americans are generally more skeptical toward regulation. For example, the large Baby Boom generation (ages 49-67) splits against regulation (38\%-57\%), and the oldest group, Matures (ages 68 and up), does as well (41\%-53\%). Both Gen X (ages 33-48) and Millennials (ages 18-32) split almost evenly, at 47 percent to 50 percent.

Attitudes toward regulation, as reflected in this question, do not seem to be related to one's overall views of major companies. As discussed later in this chapter, there is such a relationship when it comes to regulation of specific types of businesses.

These views on the value of regulation are related to views of the federal government. For example, 65 percent of those with favorable views of the federal government support regulation. Conversely, 68 percent of those with unfavorable views of the federal government say regulation does more harm than good.

## Fine-tuning attitudes toward regulation

Another way to plumb attitudes toward regulation is to look at whether Americans think there is too much government regulation, too little or about the right amount. While this question might seem to measure the same attitudes as the "necessary vs. more-harm-than-good" question, it draws different views by offering more than a binary choice.

The 2013 Public Affairs Pulse finds that 35 percent of Americans say there is too much regulation of business, 38 percent say there is just the right amount and 25 percent say there is too little. This shows a continuing slow rise in the percentage seeing too much regulation and a related slow decline in those saying there is too little.

## Level of Government Regulation

Most Americans believe there is either too much government regulation of business (35\%) or just the right amount (38\%). Only a quarter believe there is not enough regulation.


While 39 percent of Baby Boomers say there is too much regulation, only 30 percent of Millennials agree. Younger adults are also somewhat more likely to say there is the right amount of business regulation.

For party and ideology, the patterns are in the right direction - but often not as extreme as before. For liberals, 36 percent see too little regulation, 18 percent too much and 44 percent just enough. Conservatives split 50 percent too much, 15 percent too little and 34 percent about the right amount.

The GOP remains the group with the most concentrated views. Sixty-one percent of Republicans say there is too much regulation, with only 12 percent saying there is too little and 26 percent seeing the right amount of government oversight. Among Democrats, 39 percent see too little regulation, 17 percent too much and 43 percent about the right amount.

## Regulation by industry

Different industry sectors are perceived differently when Americans assess the appropriate level of government regulation of those businesses. And there is a wide variation in these perceptions.

Four in ten Americans say there is too little regulation of three major industries: health insurance companies (45\%), banks and other financial institutions (41\%) and pharmaceutical companies (40\%). Energy companies are right behind, with 37 percent saying these firms face too little regulation.

In contrast, only 17 percent say there is too little regulation of technology companies, and only 20 percent say there is too little regulation of automobile companies and large retail companies (both brick-and-mortar and online).

In the middle of the pack are food and beverage companies, with 27 percent seeing too little regulation, and manufacturing companies, with 25 percent seeing too little regulation.

Across all nine industry types, an average of 25 percent of the public sees too much regulation, with little variation by industry. The sector most often seen as too regulated is the health insurance industry (31\%), which is also most frequently cited as under-regulated. The apparent reason for this peak in both categories is that Republicans are a bit more likely to say the health insurance sector faces too much regulation when compared with other industries.

## Regulation by Company Type

Americans see a need for varying levels of government regulation based on industry sector. Health insurance companies, banks and pharmaceutical companies are seen as needing more regulation, while technology, auto and food and beverage companies are perceived as having the right amount of regulation.


Despite the sometimes heated debates about government rules, the most frequently held opinion across industry groups is that businesses face about the right amount of regulation. An average of 42 percent across the nine industries take this view.

## Regulation and trust

While levels of trust in business generally are not clearly related to support for or opposition to regulation, how much people trust a specific industry does seem to be related to the perceived need for more oversight of that sector.

Specifically, the less trustworthy the public perceives an industry to be, the more likely the public is to say there is too little regulation of that industry. For example, health insurance companies, pharmaceutical companies and banks/financial institutions are ranked as less trustworthy than others. They are also the top three on the list of industries that are considered under-regulated. Among those who say health insurance or drug companies are less trustworthy, 56 percent of the group say each type of industry has too little regulation. Among those who say banks are less trustworthy, 61 percent of the group say each type of industry has too little regulation.

Trust in an industry does not seem to work in the other direction, however. Higher levels of trust do not drive down perceptions of the need for regulation. Rather, Americans who find an industry more trustworthy are more likely to say the right amount of regulation is taking place. They are not more likely to say the industry is over-regulated. For example, among those who say banks are more trustworthy, fully 51 percent say banks face the right level of regulation, while only 21 percent of this relatively small group say banks face too much regulation.

In short, higher levels of trust decrease the perception that an industry is under-regulated and increase the perception that the industry is receiving the proper amount of regulation. In contrast, differing levels of trust have no impact on the views of those who think an industry is over-regulated, whatever the specific industry.

This suggests that actions that serve to increase the public's trust of a company or industry may also help convince some that new regulations are not necessary.

## Threats to the middle class

Another way to gauge public opinion about regulation is to ask about its impact relative to corporate power on America's struggling middle class.

When asked whether government regulation or the power of major companies is the bigger threat to the future economic well-being of middle-class Americans, 52 percent say it is the power of the federal government to regulate what major companies do. Forty-one percent say the power and influence of major companies is the larger threat. These numbers are almost identical to those from 2012.

The Pulse survey probes respondents for the reasons behind their views. Of those who see government regulation as the greater threat:

- More than one-third (37\%) say they worry that regulations might keep major companies from creating new jobs or maintaining current employment.
- Thirty percent say regulations could drive up the prices of products and services consumers use.

Of those who see the power of major companies as the bigger threat:

- Three in ten (30\%) worry that companies might have too much influence on elections and public policy.
- One in five (21\%) worry that companies might outsource jobs overseas.
- Twenty-one percent fear companies would focus too much on short-term profits and not enough on the long-term needs of the country.


## Chapter 4: Who Should Pay for Political Campaigns?

Americans have a diverse set of views on how to pay for the political campaigns that choose their elected leaders. And some of those views are at odds with the conventional wisdom.

The public is overwhelmingly opposed to using federal tax dollars to fund political campaigns, a frequently expressed goal of campaign finance reform groups. Many people are also opposed to so-called Super PACs pouring money into elections. How, then, should campaigns be financed? Americans favor candidates spending their own money, individuals making personal contributions and regulated political action committees (PACs) providing funding.

In particular, it's worth noting that nearly two out of three Americans (65\%) are fine with a candidate's personal wealth being a "major source" of a campaign's war chest.

## No tax dollars for politicians

Americans are overwhelmingly opposed to using public financing to fund political campaigns. Fully two-thirds of the public (65\%) think federal tax dollars should not be used at all as a source of funding. And only 20 percent say tax dollars should be a minor source.

There is majority opposition to using tax dollars across all age groups and all parties. Even 59 percent of liberals say tax dollars should not be a funding source.

## Majority opposition to Super PACs

Super PACs, also known as independent expenditure-only committees, can spend unlimited dollars in an election as long as their efforts are not coordinated with campaigns. They can raise money from individuals, corporations, unions and other organizations. Super PACs, which were made possible by two Supreme Court decisions - Citizens United v. Federal Election Commission and Speechnow.org v. Federal Election Commission - were used widely in the 2012 elections.

Americans are wary of Super PACs: Half of the public (50\%) do not think they should be a source of campaign funding. Less than one-fifth of Americans (16\%) say Super PACs should be a major source of election dollars, while less than one-third (30\%) say they should be a minor source.

## Endorsing small donations and PACs

The American public is more accepting of contributions from individual citizens under the current limit of \$2,600 per candidate per election. Seventy-nine percent think individual contributions should be at least a minor source of funding, with 44 percent saying that individual contributions should be a major source.

Seven in ten Americans (73\%) are also supportive of the role of political action committees under the current limit of $\$ 5,000$ per candidate per election. Thirty-four percent believe PACs should be a major source of campaign funding.

Education and income are key differentiators in support for small donations. Sixty-three percent of college graduates say individual contributions should be a major source of campaign funds, compared with 44 percent of those who have completed some college, 33 percent of high school graduates and 28 percent of Americans without a high school degree. Fifty-nine percent of those who make $\$ 50,000$ or more annually support individual contributions as a major source, compared with just 33 percent of those who make less than $\$ 50,000$ per year.

## Candidates should spend their own money

The public is perfectly happy to let wealthy candidates fund their own campaigns. A significant number (89\%) believe a candidate's personal contributions should be at least a minor source of financing. Two-thirds of the public (65\%) say these contributions should be a major source of funding for political campaigns.

## Who Should Pay for Political Campaigns?

Nearly 90 percent of the public believe a candidate's personal contributions should be at least a minor source of funding for political campaigns. Some 79 percent are open to contributions from individuals, and another 73 percent think political action committee contributions should be at least a minor source of funding. A majority (65\%) are opposed to using federal tax dollars.


## Public unaware of campaign finance disclosure rules

The public is largely unaware that federal law requires the disclosure of campaign contributions from individuals and political action committees. Only 31 percent think disclosure is required by law, while 40 percent say it is not required and 29 percent are unsure. But three-quarters of Americans (75\%) believe that information about such donations should be available on the Internet.

Younger Americans tend to be slightly more informed about the availability of campaign contribution information than their older counterparts. More than one-third of Millennials (38\%) and Gen X-ers (35\%) are aware that these campaign contributions are disclosed, compared with less than one-quarter of Baby Boomers (24\%) and Matures (22\%). Eighty-three percent of Americans who have attended at least some college believe information about contributions from individuals and PACs should be available, compared with 64 percent of those who have never attended college.

## Chapter 5: Speaking Up and Speaking Out

Americans like to express themselves in many different ways when they talk about their dealings with businesses, large and small. Whether their experiences are positive or negative, Americans often speak up and speak out, using a variety of channels to broadcast their views directly to business and to the world at large.

For example, about four in five Americans have discussed their views about a company with friends and family (79 percent to express positive views and 78 percent to express negative views). And nearly seven in ten have also changed how much they spend on a company's products or services (68 percent say they have spent more to express positive views, and 67 percent say they have spent less to express negative views).

## Negative: Letting the company know

Overall, Americans with a complaint are more likely to write, call or email the company directly to express their views than they are when they have praise for a company's products or services. Writing a letter or making a telephone call is more common when consumers have a complaint (43\%) than when they have had a positive experience with a company (31\%). Similarly, 30 percent of Americans have emailed a company to express their dissatisfaction, compared with 26 percent who have sent an email to express positive views.

## Expressing Positive and Negative Views About a Company

Americans are more likely to contact a company directly to express negative views rather than positive ones. Yet whether they have praise or a complaint, Americans are most likely to let their views about a company be known by sharing their opinions with friends and family.


Expressing Positive Views About a Company


## Positive: Letting the people know

The Internet is the route Americans tend to take when communicating positive experiences with a company. Over the past five years, roughly one-third of consumers have posted positive reviews about a company on the Internet (36\%) or have become a "fan" of a company through social media (30\%). But only about one-quarter (24\%) say they have posted negative reviews online.

## Age differences in communication

How Americans express their views about their experiences with businesses varies across the generations. Millennials (ages 18-32) are most likely to make both positive and negative comments about companies they deal with online. Fifty percent of this generation and 44 percent of Gen X-ers say they have posted positive comments about a company online. In contrast, only 29 percent of Baby Boomers have done so. Forty percent of Millennials say they have become a fan of a company or "liked" a company online, while 38 percent of Gen X-ers have done so. Only 23 percent of Baby Boomers have taken this action.

Millennials are less likely to post negative comments about corporations online than positive ones, but they are still the generation most geared toward online feedback. Thirty-nine percent say they have posted negative comments about a company in some type of online venue; 22 percent of Gen X-ers have followed suit. But only 17 percent of Baby Boomers and 12 percent of Matures have done so.

Matures are the generation most likely to contact a government agency or their elected representatives to complain about their experience with a company (26\%). Baby Boomers are next, at 22 percent, while younger Americans are less likely to use that channel.

## The importance of activists

All Americans have opinions, but some adults are more active in the public sphere than others, whether by inclination, personality, passion or focus. This year's survey finds that one-quarter, or 24 percent, of the American public are categorized as activists based on their reports of personal civic and political activities. This number is unchanged from the 2012 survey, which was conducted in the middle of the heated presidential campaign.

The majority of activists and non-activists view major companies favorably, though these numbers have declined from 2012. Fifty-five percent of activists and 62 percent of non-activists report having a favorable view of major companies in 2013, compared with 65 percent of activists and 68 percent of non-activists in 2012. As was the case in 2012, activists distinguish themselves in their greater distrust of banks and other financial institutions ( $48 \%$ vs. $40 \%$ for less active adults), energy companies ( $48 \%$ vs. $30 \%$ ) and pharmaceutical firms ( $62 \%$ vs. $41 \%$ ).

Activists are people who are most likely to send a letter, write an email, make a phone call and post comments online when expressing their views about businesses. Emails, phone calls and letters are the preferred means by which negative opinions are expressed, while the Internet is more commonly used to express positive feedback.

## Expressing Positive and Negative Views About a Company： Activists vs．Non－Activists

Activists are more likely than non－activists to take action to express positive or negative opinions， yet a majority of both groups prefer to share their views by letting friends and family know what they think of a company．

ACTIONS TAKEN TO EXPRESS NEGATIVE OPINIONS

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ACTIONS TAKEN TO EXPRESS POSITIVE OPINIONS

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Let friends and family know what you think about the company


Activists are significantly more likely than non－activists to contact a company by mail or through a phone call（45\％）， send an email（42\％）or post positive reviews online（53\％）to offer praise．Both activists and non－activists are more likely to use social media．Thirty－seven percent of activists and 28 percent of non－activists say they have become a ＂fan＂of a company they were pleased with on social media platforms．

The tendency to use letters，telephone calls and emails to express dissatisfaction but post reviews online to praise a company holds true for activists and non－activists alike．While 53 percent of activists say they have posted positive comments online，just 42 percent say they have posted to complain．And while 31 percent of non－activists have made comments online after a positive experience，just 18 percent say they have posted an online review after a negative experience．

## Chapter 6: How Millennials View Business and Government

Millennials are the often-discussed youngest generation of adults, ranging from 18 to 32 years old. Though they've taken a hard hit from the Great Recession, Millennials are more satisfied with the way things are going in this country today and more supportive of government than older Americans are.


Millennials are split on how satisfied they are with the way things are going, with 42 percent satisfied and 51 percent unsatisfied. But those divided views are far less negative than those of Gen X-ers, of whom only 31 percent are satisfied. Millennials are almost giddy compared with Baby Boomers; only 20 percent of that generation feels satisfied with the way things are going today.

Young people are about as likely to hold favorable views of major companies as others, with 62 percent giving favorable marks and 36 percent unfavorable ones. And their views of small businesses are also in line with those of older Americans. On the other hand, Millennials are somewhat less likely to trust major companies. Forty-eight percent of Millennials trust big business, compared with 58 percent of Gen X-ers.

For specific industries, the trust picture is more complex. For example, Millennials are much more likely than Baby Boomers to say that banks are more trustworthy than other companies ( $25 \%$ vs. $14 \%$ ). Millennials are also more likely than Baby Boomers to say energy companies are more trustworthy than other companies (21\% vs. 8\%).

But their views of the automobile industry are more negative, with 31 percent of Millennials saying the industry is less trustworthy than others, compared with 21 percent of Boomers. Likewise with food and beverage companies: 25 percent of Millennials say they are less trustworthy, in contrast to 16 percent of Baby Boomers who hold this opinion.

## Pluses and minuses for big companies

Millennials are the most enthusiastic generation in saying major companies are doing a good job providing useful products and services, with nearly four in five of the group (79\%) giving firms plaudits in this area.

For a generation facing a dramatically difficult jobs market, they are surprisingly more positive about companies' role in creating jobs. Forty-four percent believe companies are turn-

Are major companies doing a good job providing useful products and services? , ing in a strong performance on employment, with 53 percent disagreeing. Only 35 percent of Baby Boomers agree that companies are providing strong support for employment.

While many young people give firms credit for creating jobs, Millennials do not applaud corporate performance when it comes to compensation. By 34 percent to 63 percent, this generation says big companies are not paying their employees fairly. That contrasts with the 48 percent to 41 percent positive split voiced by Matures.

In two other areas close to this generation's values, major companies are not doing well. Almost two-thirds of Millennials (65\%) say companies are doing a poor job on the environment. That is the most negative view from any generation. In addition, Millennials turn thumbs-down to corporate performance in supporting charities in their communities. Sixty-one percent say companies are not doing a good job, compared with only 41 percent of Matures who hold this view.

## Support for the federal government

Millennials are clearly more positive about the federal government than are older Americans. Fifty-one percent give the federal government favorable scores, compared with only 44 percent of Gen X-ers, 35 percent of Baby Boomers and 34 percent of those ages 68 and up.

And Millennials are less likely to say the federal government is often wasteful. Only 39 percent of this generation says the federal government is wasteful, in sharp contrast to the 60 percent of Baby Boomers who feel that way. (There is little difference in the generation's view of whether corporations are wasteful or efficient, compared with other age groups.)

## Mixed views on regulation

This youngest generation is divided on the issue of government regulation, as are all adults. But Millennials are more supportive of regulation in general and less likely to say there is too much regulation. Millennials divide 47 percent to 50 percent on the question of whether regulation is necessary to protect the public or whether it does more harm than good. Baby Boomers, for example, are more clearly on the side of regulation causing more harm than good, by a 38 percent to 57 percent edge.

Millennials are the most likely generation to say the overall level of government regulation of business is about right, with 44 percent taking that position. In contrast, only 31 percent of Baby Boomers hold the middle ground. And the youngest group is the least likely to see too much regulation: 30 percent do so, compared with 39 percent of Baby Boomers. Fully 24 percent of Millennials say there is too little regulation of business.

It's interesting to note that for some industries, Millennials are less likely than other generations to say there is too much regulation. For example, only 19 percent believe the energy industry is over-regulated (compared with 29 percent of Baby Boomers), and only 18 percent think the pharmaceutical industry has too many regulations (compared with 37 percent of Matures).

## Different attitudes on campaign finance

The debate over how to finance political campaigns in this country will probably still be going on when Millennials retire, but they are more open to organized groups being the sources of funds to support candidates.

More than two in five of the generation (44\%) say PACs should be a major source of funding for political campaigns. Only 30 percent of Baby Boomers agree with this assessment.

And they are much more willing to allow so-called Super PACs to spend money on politics. Among Millennials, 20 percent say Super PACs should be a major source of political funding, and 38 percent say they should be a minor source. Only 41 percent say they should not be used. In comparison, only 14 percent of Baby Boomers think Super PACs should be a major source of funding, and 27 percent say they should be a minor source. Fifty-five percent of Baby Boomers say such groups should not be involved in campaigns.

## Millennials, in summary

Millennials are a rather complex generation in their views of institutions, including business and government. They tend to be more favorable toward government than their elders, and they are generally positive about major companies. They are optimistic, committed to fairness and less jaded than older Americans. However, building on strong views about issues of importance to them, including the environment, Millennials display streaks of wariness about specific industries and the need for government intervention.

## About the Public Affairs Council

The Public Affairs Council is a nonpartisan, nonpolitical association for public affairs professionals. Its mission is to advance the field of public affairs and to provide members with the training and information resources they need to achieve success while maintaining the highest ethical standards. More information is available at www.pac.org.

## About Princeton Survey Research Associates International

Princeton Survey Research Associates International is an independent firm dedicated to high-quality research providing reliable, valid results for clients in the United States and around the world. More information is available at www.psra.com.

## Endnotes

${ }^{1}$ The views of Hispanics are significantly different from the views of African-Americans at the 95 percent confidence level, while the views of white Americans are not statistically different.
${ }^{2}$ The differences between these groups are statistically significant. Most of the differences discussed in this report are statistically significant, unless noted otherwise.
${ }^{3} 2012$ question began with "Just in general ..."
${ }^{4}$ Throughout this topline, "Don't know/Refused" may be abbreviated as "DK/Ref."
${ }^{5} 2012$ and earlier item wording was "The federal government in Washington."
${ }^{6}$ Asked of half sample, based on 873 respondents.
${ }^{7}$ In trend polls, responses were probed to determine whether respondents felt strongly about their selected statement.
${ }^{8} 2012$ question did not include "Now, thinking about the middle class in this country ..." but was instead part of a larger battery of questions about the middle class.
${ }^{9} 2011$ trend question wording was slightly different: "Which ONE of the following do you think is a BIGGER threat to the future economic well-being of middle-class Americans?"
${ }^{10}$ The item "Major companies might focus too much on short-term profits and not enough on the long-term needs of society" was added in 2013.
${ }^{11} 2012$ trend wording was "Major companies might engage in unfair business practices that make it hard for small businesses to compete."
${ }^{12} 2012$ and earlier trend wording was "Public officials in Washington."
${ }^{13} 2012$ and earlier trend wording was "Public officials in your state and local government."
${ }^{14} 2011$ trend item wording was: "Large retail companies."
${ }^{15} 2012$ survey asked two separate items about technology firms.
${ }^{16}$ In September 2011, question was asked of Form A respondents only.
${ }^{17} 2012$ and earlier wording was somewhat different: "Do you think government is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount in this area?"; January 1996 question items were rotated. Question wording was slightly different: "Now l'd like your opinion about government regulation in some different areas. (First,) do you think the government is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount in the area of (ITEM)?"

182012 trend wording was somewhat different: "Regulation of business in general." 2011 and earlier trend item wording was slightly different: "Regulation of business."
${ }^{19} 2012$ trend wording was slightly different: "We're interested in whether you think PRIVATE BUSINESSES should take on more financial responsibility for solving national problems that have traditionally been the responsibility of government."

202011 trend item wording was: "Not over-paying their top executives."
${ }^{21}$ In September 2011, item was asked of all respondents.
${ }^{22}$ In September 2011, item was asked of all respondents.
${ }^{23}$ In September 2011, item was asked of all respondents.
${ }^{24}$ In 2012 and earlier, item was "did everything they could to increase the price of the company's stock." In September 2011, item was asked of all respondents.
${ }^{25}$ i.e., whether respondents have only a landline telephone, only a cell phone, or both kinds of telephone.
${ }^{26}$ The occupational/vocational educational attainment classification was moved to the "Some college" category to reflect the updated answer categories for the education question.
${ }^{27}$ ACS analysis was based on all adults excluding those living in institutional group quarters (GCs).
${ }^{28}$ Blumberg SJ, Luke JV. Wireless substitution: Early release of estimates from the National Health Interview Survey, January-June 2012. National Center for Health Statistics. December 2012.
${ }^{29}$ PSRAl's disposition codes and reporting are consistent with the American Association for Public Opinion Research standards.
${ }^{30}$ PSRAI assumes that 75 percent of cases that result in a constant disposition of "No answer" or "Busy" are actually not working numbers.
i Pew Research Center trend question.
${ }^{\text {ii }}$ June 2012 trend from a Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press survey conducted by landline or cellular telephone June 7-17, 2012 among 2,013 adults 18+ nationwide.
iii October 2011 trend from a Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press survey conducted by landline or cellular telephone September 22-October 4, 2011 among 2,410 adults 18+ nationwide.
iv July 2012 trends from a Public Affairs Council poll conducted by landline or cellular telephone June 20-July 11, 2012 among 1,750 adults 18+ nationwide.
v September 2011 trends from a Public Affairs Council poll conducted by landline or cellular telephone August 10September 9, 2011 among 1,753 adults 18+ nationwide.
vi February-March 2011 trends are based on the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press's "2011 March Political Typology" survey. This study was conducted by telephone in two parts: February 22-March 1, 2011 among 1,504 adults $18+$ nationwide and March 8-14, 2011 among 1,525 adults 18+ nationwide. Unless otherwise indicated, trend results reflect the views of the combined sample of 3,029 adults 18+ nationwide.
vii October 2008 trends are based on the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press's "Early October 2008 Political \& Economic Survey." This study was conducted by telephone October 9-12, 2008 among 1,485 adults 18+ nationwide.
viii December 2004 trends are based on the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press's "December 2004 Political Typology Survey." This study was conducted by telephone December 1-16, 2004 among 2,000 adults 18+ nationwide.
${ }^{\text {ix }}$ August 1999 trends are based on the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press's "Political Typology Survey." This study was conducted by telephone July 14-September 9, 1999 among 3,973 adults 18+ nationwide [Form A: $\mathrm{N}=1,974$ / Form B: $\mathrm{N}=1,999$ ].
x October 1996 trends are based on the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press's "October 1996 Pre-Election Typology Survey." This study was conducted by telephone October 14-20, 1996 among 1,938 adults 18+ nationwide [including 1,546 registered voters].
${ }^{\text {xi }}$ July 1994 trends are based on the Times Mirror Center for the People and the Press's "New Political Landscape Survey." This study was conducted by telephone July 12-25, 1994 among 3,800 adults 18+ nationwide [including an oversample of 197 black adults].
xii January 1996 trends from a Knight-Ridder poll conducted by telephone January 5-15, 1996 among 1,206 registered voters nationwide.

## APPENDIX 1:TOPLINE

## 2013 Public Affairs Pulse Survey

Final Topline
Data for May 8 - May 23, 2013
Princeton Survey Research Associates International
for the Public Affairs Council
Sample: $\mathrm{n}=1,604$ national adults, age 18 and older, including 801 cell phone interviews Interviewing dates: 05.08.2013-05.23.2013

Margin of error is plus or minus 3 percentage points for results based on Total [ $\mathrm{n}=1,604$ ]
Margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points for results based on Form A respondents [ $n=834$ ]
Margin of error is plus or minus 4 percentage points for results based on Form B respondents [ $n=770$ ]

## LANDLINE INTRO:

Hello, my name is $\qquad$ and I'm calling for Princeton Survey Research. We're conducting a study about some important issues today, and would like to include your household. May I please speak with the YOUNGEST [RANDOMIZE: (MALE / FEMALE)], age 18 or older, who is now at home? [IF NO MALE/FEMALE, ASK: May I please speak with the YOUNGEST (FEMALE/MALE), age 18 or older, who is now at home?]

## CELL PHONE INTRO:

Hello, I am $\qquad$ calling for Princeton Survey Research. We are conducting a national research study of cell phone users. I know I am calling you on a cell phone. If you would like to be reimbursed for your cell phone minutes, we will pay all eligible respondents $\$ 5$ for participating in this survey. This is not a sales call.
[IF R SAYS DRIVING/UNABLE TO TAKE CALL: Thank you. We will try you another time...]
VOICEMAIL MESSAGE [LEAVE ONLY ONCE -- THE FIRST TIME A CALL GOES TO VOICEMAIL]: I am calling for Princeton Survey Research. We are conducting a short national survey of cell phone users. This is NOT a sales call. We will try to reach you again.

## CELL PHONE SCREENING INTERVIEW:

S1 Are you under 18 years old, OR are you 18 or older?
IF 18 OR OLDER, READ INTRODUCTION TO MAIN INTERVIEW: We're interested in learning more about people with cell phones. If you are now driving a car or doing any activity requiring your full attention, I need to call you back later.

Notes:

- Due to rounding, percentages may not add up to $100 \%$. An asterisk (*) indicates values less than $0.5 \%$.
- An asterisk (*) next to a question number signifies a trend question.

Q1 To begin... All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?i

|  | CURRENT |  | JUNE 2012 | OCT. 2011 |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\%$ | 29 | Satisfied | 28 | 17 |
|  | 65 | Dissatisfied | 68 | 78 |
|  | 6 | Don't know/Refused | 5 | 5 |

*Q2 Now we'd like your overall opinion of some different groups. (First,) what about... [INSERT ITEM; READ AND RANDOMIZE]? ${ }^{3}$

READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN REPEAT AS NECESSARY: Would you say your overall opinion of [ITEM] is very favorable, somewhat favorable, not too favorable, or not at all favorable?

|  |  |  | VERY | SOMEWHAT | NOT TOO | NOT AT ALL | DK/REF. ${ }^{4}$ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| *a. | Major companies |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 11 | 49 | 24 | 11 | 5 |
|  |  | July $2012{ }^{\text {iv }}$ | 16 | 51 | 18 | 11 | 4 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 14 | 47 | 20 | 12 | 7 |
| *b. | Small businesses |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 48 | 39 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 53 | 35 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 55 | 35 | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| * C . | The federal government ${ }^{5}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 7 | 34 | 27 | 29 | 3 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 9 | 32 | 27 | 28 | 4 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 7 | 28 | 27 | 34 | 4 |
| *d. | Your state government ${ }^{6}$ |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 13 | 44 | 24 | 16 | 3 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 12 | 46 | 18 | 20 | 4 |

Q3 Now, as I read you some different groups, tell me if you think each is generally well-run and efficient, is often wasteful and inefficient, OR is somewhere in between. (First,) what about... [INSERT ITEM; READ AND RANDOMIZE]?

READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN REPEAT AS NECESSARY: Would you say this group is generally well-run and efficient, is often wasteful and inefficient, OR is somewhere in between?

|  |  | WELL-RUN AND <br> EFFICIENT | OFTEN WASTEFUL <br> AND INEFFICIENT | SOMEWHERE IN <br> BETWEEN | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | The major companies you are most <br> familiar with | 28 | $\%$ |  | $\%$ |
| b. | The small businesses you are most <br> familiar with | 52 | 17 | 52 | 3 |
| c. | The federal government | 9 | 51 | 43 | 2 |
| d. | Your state government | 16 | 31 | 51 | 2 |

## RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q4 \& Q5

Q4 In general, when it comes to government policies, which is more important to you...[READ AND RANDOMIZE 1-2]

|  | CURRENT |  |
| :---: | :---: | :--- |
| $\%$ | 53 | Keeping taxes at current levels |
|  | 39 | Maintaining current levels of government services |
|  | 9 | (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused |

Q5 In general, when it comes to government policies, which is more important to you...[READ AND RANDOMIZE 1-2]

|  | CURRENT |  |
| :---: | :---: | :--- |
| $\%$ | 58 | Keeping taxes at current levels |
|  | 33 | Preserving government jobs |
|  | 9 | (DO NOT READ) Don't know/Refused |

* Q6 Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read both, please tell me whether the FIRST or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views - even if neither is exactly right. [READ STATEMENTS IN ORDER] ${ }^{7}$

|  | GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF BUSINESS IS NECESSARY TO PROTECT THE PUBLIC INTEREST. | GOVERNMENT REGULATION OF BUSINESS USUALLY DOES MORE HARM THAN GOOD. | NEITHER/BOTH/ DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | \% | \% | \% |
| Current | 44 | 52 | 4 |
| July 2012 | 48 | 49 | 3 |
| September 2011 | 48 | 45 | 6 |
| Feb-March, 2011 ${ }^{\text {vi }}$ | 47 | 45 | 8 |
| October, 2008vii | 50 | 38 | 12 |
| December, 2004 ${ }^{\text {viii }}$ | 49 | 41 | 10 |
| August, 1999 ${ }^{\text {ix }}$ | 48 | 44 | 8 |
| October, 1996 ${ }^{\text {x }}$ | 45 | 46 | 9 |
| July, 1994 ${ }^{\text {xi }}$ | 41 | 54 | 5 |

*Q7 Now, thinking about the middle class in this country... Which do you think is a bigger THREAT to the future economic well-being of middle-class Americans? ${ }^{8}$ [READ AND RANDOMIZE 1-2] ${ }^{9}$

|  | CURRENT |  | JULY 2012 | SEPT. 2011 |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\%$ | 52 | The power of the federal government to regulate what major <br> companies do | 52 | 56 |
|  | 41 | The power and influence of major companies | 40 | 33 |
|  | 1 | (VOL.) Neither is a threat | 1 | 1 |
|  | 3 | (VOL.) Both equally | 5 | 5 |
|  | 4 | (VOL.) Don't know/Refused | 2 | 5 |

* Q8 What is the MAIN reason you think the power and influence of major companies is a bigger threat? [READ AND RANDOMIZE 1-4], or something else?

Based on those who think major companies are a bigger threat to the future economic well-being of middle-class Americans [ $N=645$ ]

|  | CURRENT |  | JULY 2012 |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: |
| $\%$ | 30 | Major companies might have too much influence on elections and public <br> policy | 35 |
|  | 21 | Major companies might outsource U.S. jobs to overseas workers | 26 |
|  | 21 | Major companies might focus too much on short-term profits and not <br> enough on the long-term needs of society ${ }^{10}$ | - |
|  | - | Major companies might make it hard for small businesses to compete ${ }^{11}$ | 22 |
|  | 10 | (VOL.) All of the above | 6 |
|  | 2 | (Vomething else (SPECIFY) | 6 |

* Q9 What is the MAIN reason you think the power of the federal government to regulate what major companies do is a bigger threat? [READ AND RANDOMIZE 1-3], or something else?

Based on those who think the federal government is a bigger threat to the future economic well-being of middle-class Americans [ $N=829$ ]

|  | CURRENT |  | JULY 2012 |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: |
| $\%$ | 37 | Regulations might prevent major companies from creating or keeping jobs | 37 |
|  | 30 | Regulations might drive up the cost of products and services | 30 |
|  | 15 | Regulations might reduce people's choices in the marketplace | 16 |
|  | - | (VOL.) All of the above | 2 |
|  | 14 | Something else (SPECIFY) | 10 |
|  | 4 | (VOL.) Don't know/Refused | 5 |

*Q10 Now l'd like your opinion of the ethics and honesty of some different groups. First, how would you rate the honesty and ethical standards of... [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE; ALWAYS ASK a THRU c TOGETHER, IN ORDER; ALWAYS ASK d THRU g TOGETHER, IN ORDER]?

READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN REPEAT AS NECESSARY: High, average or low?

|  |  |  | HIGH | AVERAGE | Low | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| *a. | Elected officials in Washington ${ }^{12}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 7 | 32 | 59 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 6 | 35 | 57 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 4 | 31 | 63 | 2 |
| *b. | Elected officials in your state and local government ${ }^{13}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 10 | 52 | 37 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 10 | 47 | 42 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 8 | 48 | 41 | 3 |
| ${ }^{\text {c }}$. | People who work for government agencies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 14 | 61 | 23 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 14 | 61 | 23 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 14 | 62 | 22 | 2 |
| *d. | CEOs of major companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 9 | 47 | 42 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 8 | 45 | 45 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 6 | 44 | 48 | 3 |
| *e. | Managers who work for major companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 11 | 64 | 23 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 14 | 61 | 23 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 12 | 61 | 25 | 2 |
| *f. | Employees of major companies who are not part of management |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 30 | 56 | 12 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 33 | 55 | 11 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 28 | 58 | 12 | 2 |
| *g. | Small business owners |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 49 | 44 | 6 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 52 | 39 | 8 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 47 | 44 | 7 | 2 |

[READ TO ALL:] My next questions are about MAJOR COMPANIES. By this I mean major companies that do business in the United States, whether or not they also do business in other countries...
*Q11 In general, how much trust and confidence do you have in MAJOR COMPANIES to do the right thing? A lot, some, not too much, or none?

|  | CURRENT |  | JULY 2012 | SEPT. 2011 |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\%$ | 11 | A lot | 10 | 8 |
|  | 43 | Some | 45 | 46 |
|  | 33 | Not too much | 31 | 33 |
|  | 12 | None | 13 | 12 |
|  | 1 | Don't know/Refused | 1 | 2 |

*Q12 Next, I'm going to read you some different kinds of MAJOR COMPANIES. As I read each, tell me if you think companies in this category are generally more trustworthy, less trustworthy, or about the same as other major companies. (First,) what about... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?

READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN REPEAT AS NECESSARY: Are they MORE trustworthy, LESS trustworthy, or about the SAME as other major companies?

|  |  |  | MORE TRUSTWORTHY | LESS TRUSTWORTHY | ABOUT THE SAME | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Items aF1 thru eF1: Based on Form A |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *aF1. | Banks and other financial institutions |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 16 | 42 | 42 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 12 | 46 | 42 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 16 | 41 | 42 | 1 |
| *bF1. | Energy companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 13 | 35 | 51 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 14 | 31 | 54 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 14 | 33 | 51 | 2 |
| * cF1. | Large retail companies, both online and traditional stores ${ }^{14}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 12 | 14 | 72 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 17 | 16 | 67 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 14 | 14 | 71 | 2 |
| *dF1. | Manufacturing companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 18 | 14 | 67 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 22 | 12 | 65 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 17 | 14 | 66 | 3 |
| *eF1. | Automobile companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 13 | 22 | 64 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 16 | 26 | 57 | 2 |

Q12 continued on next page...

Q12 continued...

|  |  |  | MORE TRUSTWORTHY | LESS TRUSTWORTHY | ABOUT THE <br> SAME | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Items fF2 thru iF2: Based on Form B |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *fF2. | Health insurance companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 11 | 49 | 39 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 9 | 50 | 40 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 5 | 53 | 40 | 2 |
| *gF2. | Food and beverage companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 20 | 18 | 61 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 22 | 18 | 60 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 18 | 16 | 65 | 1 |
| *hF2. | Pharmaceutical companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 15 | 46 | 38 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 11 | 45 | 43 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 11 | 47 | 41 | 1 |
| *iF2. | Technology companies ${ }^{15}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 25 | 11 | 62 | 2 |
|  |  | Technology service and software companies July 2012 | 27 | 11 | 60 | 3 |
|  |  | Technology product companies July 2012 | 26 | 11 | 61 | 2 |

*Q13 Now I'm going to read you a few more pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views - even if neither is exactly right. The (first/ next) pair is... [READ AND RANDOMIZE PAIRS BUT NOT STATEMENTS WITHIN EACH PAIR]

| *a. |  | TOO MUCH POWER IS concentrated in the hands of A FEW LARGE COMPANIES. | the largest companies do NOT HAVE TOO MUCH POWER. | NEITHER/BOTH/ DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  | \% | \% | \% |
|  | Current | 78 | 20 | 3 |
|  | July 2012 | 76 | 22 | 3 |
|  | September 2011 | 77 | 20 | 3 |
|  | Feb-March, 2011 | 78 | 16 | 6 |
|  | October, 2008 | 78 | 15 | 7 |
|  | December, 2004 | 77 | 16 | 7 |
|  | August, 1999 | 77 | 17 | 6 |
|  | October, 1996 | 75 | 18 | 7 |
|  | July, 1994 | 76 | 19 | 5 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| *b. |  | major companies make too MUCH PROFIT. | MOST MAJOR COMPANIES MAKE <br> A FAIR AND REASONABLE AMOUNT OF PROFIT. | NEITHER/BOTH/ DK/REF. |
|  |  | \% | \% | \% |
|  | Current | 62 | 36 | 2 |
|  | July 2012 | 63 | 34 | 2 |
|  | September 2011 | 62 | 35 | 3 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| *c. |  | THE STRENGTH OF THIS COUNTRY TODAY IS MOSTLY BASED ON THE sUCCESS OF AMERICAN bUSINESS | AMERICAN BUSINESS GETS MORE CREDIT THAN IT DESERVES FOR KEEPING THE COUNTRY STRONG. | NEITHER/BOTH/ DK/REF. |
|  |  | \% | \% | \% |
|  | Current | 60 | 37 | 4 |
|  | July 2012 | 60 | 37 | 3 |
|  | September 2011 | 60 | 36 | 4 |
|  |  |  |  |  |
| *d. |  | THE LEADERS OF MAJOR U.S. COMPANIES SHOULD GET INVOLVED N HELPING GOVERNMENT LEADERS ADDRESS THE NATION'S TOP PROBLEMS. | it is better to keep business AND GOVERNMENT SEPARATE and not involve business LEADERS. | NEITHER/BOTH/ DK/REF. |
|  |  | \% | \% | \% |
|  | Current | 41 | 56 | 3 |
|  | July 2012 | 43 | 55 | 2 |
|  | September 2011 | 46 | 51 | 3 |

*Q14 If you had to choose, in general, would you rather do business with a large national company offering somewhat lower prices OR a smaller local company that may charge somewhat higher prices? ${ }^{16}$

|  | CURRENT |  | JULY 2012 | SEPT. 2011 |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: |
| $\%$ | 33 | Large national company | 29 | 34 |
|  | 64 | Smaller local company | 68 | 62 |
|  | 2 | Don't know/Refused | 3 | 4 |

*Q15 Now on the topic of GOVERNMENT REGULATION in this country... Please tell me if you think government is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount in each of the following areas. (First,) what about regulation of...[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?

READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN REPEAT AS NECESSARY: Do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of government regulation in this area? ${ }^{17}$

|  |  |  | тоо мUCH | TOo LITTLE | RIGHT AMOUNT | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| *a. | Business in general ${ }^{18}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 35 | 25 | 38 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 31 | 32 | 35 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 27 | 35 | 36 | 3 |
|  |  | January, 1996 | 35 | 19 | 38 | 8 |
| Items bF1 thru fF1: Based on Form A |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| bF1. | Banks and other financial institutions |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 24 | 41 | 33 | 2 |
| cF1. | Energy companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 26 | 37 | 34 | 3 |
| dF1. | Large retail companies, both online and traditional stores |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 25 | 20 | 51 | 4 |
| eF1. | Manufacturing companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 27 | 25 | 45 | 3 |
| fF1. | Automobile companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 26 | 20 | 53 | 2 |
| Items gF2 thru jF2: Based on Form B |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| gF2. | Health insurance companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 31 | 45 | 21 | 3 |
| hF2. | Food and beverage companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 18 | 27 | 53 | 2 |
| iF2. | Pharmaceutical companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 21 | 40 | 36 | 3 |
| jF2. | Technology companies |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 24 | 17 | 55 | 4 |

*Q16 In general, how much trust and confidence do you have in the federal government to solve the most important problems facing this country... a lot of trust and confidence, some, not too much or none?

|  | CURRENT |  | JULY 2012 |
| :---: | :---: | :--- | :---: |
| $\%$ | 9 | A lot | 8 |
|  | 28 | Some | 33 |
|  | 34 | Not too much | 33 |
|  | 28 | None | 25 |
|  | 1 | Don't know/Refused | $*$ |

*Q17 We're interested in whether you think PRIVATE BUSINESSES should take on more financial responsibility to help pay the costs of solving national problems that have traditionally been the responsibility of government. (First,) what about... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? ${ }^{19}$

READ FOR FIRST TWO ITEMS, THEN REPEAT AS NECESSARY: Should private businesses take on more financial responsibility in this area, or not?

IF RESPONDENT ASKS WHAT KINDS OF PRIVATE BUSINESSES: Private businesses IN GENERAL

|  |  |  | YES, SHOULD | $\begin{aligned} & \text { No, SHOULD } \\ & \text { NOT } \end{aligned}$ | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% |
| a. | Improving the quality of education |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 64 | 34 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 66 | 32 | 2 |
| *b. | Improving the quality and affordability of health care |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 62 | 34 | 3 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 68 | 30 | 2 |
| ${ }^{*} \mathrm{C}$. | Providing relief for disasters like floods, tornadoes and earthquakes |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 57 | 41 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 62 | 36 | 1 |
| *d. | Building and maintaining roads, bridges and mass transit |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 46 | 52 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 50 | 48 | 2 |
| *e. | Providing community services such as food banks, free clinics and job training for the poor |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 70 | 29 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 72 | 27 | 1 |

*Q18 On another subject... We'd like you to rate the job major companies are doing in some different areas. (First,) what about... [INSERT ITEMS; RANDOMIZE]?

READ FOR FIRST ITEM, THEN AS NECESSARY: Do you think major companies are generally doing a good job or generally NOT doing a good job in this area?

|  |  |  | GENERALLY DOING <br> A GOOD JOB | GENERALLY NOT DOING A GOOD JOB | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% |
| *a. | Serving their stockholders |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 63 | 24 | 12 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 59 | 29 | 12 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 57 | 26 | 17 |
| *b. | Creating jobs |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 39 | 57 | 4 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 34 | 63 | 3 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 24 | 71 | 5 |
| * C . | Paying their employees fairly | Current | 36 | 59 | 5 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 41 | 56 | 3 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| *d. | Paying their top executives fairly, WITHOUT over-paying them ${ }^{20}$ |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 26 | 68 | 6 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 25 | 71 | 5 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 17 | 76 | 6 |
| *e. | Protecting the environment |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 39 | 57 | 4 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 39 | 57 | 4 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 38 | 56 | 6 |
| *f. | Serving their customers |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 65 | 31 | 4 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 66 | 31 | 3 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 62 | 32 | 5 |
| *g. | Contributing time and money to support their local communities |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 41 | 53 | 5 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 39 | 57 | 4 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 35 | 57 | 8 |
| *h. | Providing useful products and services |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 73 | 24 | 3 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 73 | 24 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 72 | 24 | 4 |

*Q19 Now I'm going to read you a list of things some major companies do. For each one, tell me if knowing this would make you feel MORE favorable or LESS favorable toward the company - or if it wouldn't make much difference either way. (First,/Next,) what if you found out a major company...[INSERT ITEMS; RANDOMIZE]?

READ AS NECESSARY: Would knowing this make you feel more favorable or less favorable toward the company - or would it not make much difference?

|  |  |  | MORE FAVORABLE | LESS FAVORABLE | $\begin{gathered} \text { NO } \\ \text { DIFFERENCE } \end{gathered}$ | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Item aF1: Based on Form A |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *aF1. | Hired lobbyists to represent the company's interests on policy issues before government ${ }^{21}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 6 | 57 | 34 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 10 | 54 | 35 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 7 | 55 | 34 | 3 |
| Item bF1: Based on Form A |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *bF1. | Made large contributions to charities and community organizations ${ }^{22}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 79 | 3 | 17 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 79 | 5 | 16 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 81 | 4 | 14 | 1 |
| Item cF2: Based on Form B |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| * cF 2 . | Founded a political action committee, which can raise money from executives, employees and shareholders to make campaign contributions ${ }^{23}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 10 | 60 | 29 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 13 | 56 | 29 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 9 | 59 | 29 | 2 |
| Item dF2: Based on Form B |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *dF2. | Did everything it could to increase the price of the company's stock ${ }^{24}$ |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 25 | 35 | 39 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 24 | 34 | 41 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 24 | 37 | 35 | 4 |
| Item e: Based on Total |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *e. | Paid for ads to promote the good things the company is doing |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 43 | 12 | 44 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 40 | 13 | 46 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 40 | 14 | 46 | 1 |

Q19 continued on next page...

Q19 continued...

|  |  |  | MORE FAVORABLE | LESS FAVORABLE | $\begin{gathered} \text { NO } \\ \text { DIFFERENCE } \end{gathered}$ | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% | \% |
| Item fF1: Based on Form A |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *fF1. | Paid for ads in support of a specific candidate in a political campaign |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 5 | 61 | 32 | 2 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 8 | 57 | 33 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 5 | 63 | 30 | 2 |
| Item gF2: Based on Form B |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *gF2. | Paid for ads to promote a specific public policy issue |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 13 | 47 | 37 | 3 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 13 | 43 | 42 | 2 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 13 | 41 | 43 | 4 |
| Item hF1: Based on Form A |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *hF1. | Gave top executives large bonuses when the company performed well |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 17 | 46 | 36 | * |
|  |  | July 2012 | 16 | 48 | 35 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 16 | 49 | 32 | 2 |
| Item iF2: Based on Form B |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *iF2. | Gave top executives large bonuses when the company did NOT perform well |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 4 | 85 | 10 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 2 | 87 | 10 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 2 | 87 | 9 | 1 |
| Item jF1: Based on Form A |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *jF1. | Moved jobs to other countries where wages are lower |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 5 | 82 | 13 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 5 | 80 | 14 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 3 | 84 | 13 | 1 |
| Item kF2: Based on Form B |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| *kF2. | Moved jobs to other countries where wages are lower in order to provide lower prices to American consumers |  |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 10 | 71 | 17 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 9 | 72 | 18 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 8 | 74 | 16 | 2 |

*Q20 We're interested in what actions, if any, you have taken in the last five years to express POSITIVE views about a company when you were pleased with something they did, their products or services, or anything else about them. (First,) what about... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?

READ AS NECESSARY: Have you done this in the last five years to express POSITIVE views about a company?

## Based on Form A

|  |  |  | yes | No | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% |
| *aF1. | Let friends and family know what you think about the company |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 79 | 20 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 81 | 18 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 81 | 18 | 1 |
| *bF1. | Sent a letter, or made a telephone call to the company itself |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 31 | 69 | * |
|  |  | July 2012 | 36 | 64 | * |
| *cF1. | Sent an email to the company itself |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 26 | 74 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 30 | 70 | 0 |
| *dF1. | Started to buy or bought more of the company's products or services |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 68 | 31 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 69 | 30 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 66 | 33 | 1 |
| *eF1. | Posted positive comments or reviews about the company on the Internet |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 36 | 63 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 37 | 62 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 32 | 67 | 1 |
| *fF1. | Became a "fan" of the company through social media |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 30 | 69 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 34 | 66 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 27 | 72 | 1 |

* Q21 We're interested in what actions, if any, you have taken in the last five years to express NEGATIVE views about a company when you were unhappy with something they did, their products or services, or anything else about them. (First,) what about... [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?

READ AS NECESSARY: Have you done this in the last five years to express NEGATIVE views about a company?

## Based on Form B

|  |  |  | YES | No | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% |
| *aF2. | Let friends and family know what you think about the company |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 78 | 21 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 81 | 18 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 82 | 17 | 1 |
| *bF2. | Sent a letter, or made a telephone call to the company itself |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 43 | 57 | * |
|  |  | July 2012 | 48 | 52 | * |
| *cF2. | Sent an email to the company itself |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 30 | 70 | * |
|  |  | July 2012 | 36 | 64 | * |
| *dF2. | Refused to buy the company's products or services |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 67 | 32 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 73 | 26 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 72 | 28 | * |
| *eF2. | Posted negative comments or reviews about the company on the Internet |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 24 | 76 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 21 | 79 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 20 | 80 | * |
| *fF2. | Contacted a government agency or your elected representatives about the company |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 19 | 81 | * |
|  |  | July 2012 | 23 | 77 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 23 | 76 | 1 |

Q22 Next, I have a question about the ways political campaigns get money to pay for their activities. As I read you some possible sources of funding for political campaigns at the national level, please tell me if you think each should be a MAJOR source of funding, a MINOR source, or NOT a source of funding. (First,) what about...[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]?

READ AS NECESSARY: In your opinion, should this be a major source, a minor source, or not a source of funding (for political campaigns)?

|  |  | MAJOR <br> SOURCE | MINOR <br> SOURCE | NOT A <br> SOURCE | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| a. | Contributions from individual citizens, which are now <br> limited to \$2,600 per candidate per election | 44 | $\%$ | $\%$ | $\%$ |
| b. | The candidates spending their own money | 35 | 18 | 3 |  |
| c. | Using federal tax dollars | 65 | 24 | 10 | 2 |
|  | Contributions from political action committees, which <br> allow individuals and organizations to form groups to <br> raise funds and make donations up to \$5,000 per can- <br> didate per election | 34 | 20 | 65 | 1 |
| d. |  |  |  | 25 | 2 |
| e. | Contributions from Super PACs, which allow unlimited <br> contributions from individuals and organizations to try <br> to influence elections as long as they don't coordinate <br> their efforts with political campaigns | 16 | 30 | 50 | 4 |

Q23 Do you think information about the amount of money and sources of campaign contributions from individuals and political action committees SHOULD be made publicly available on the internet, or not?

|  | CURRENT |  |
| :---: | :---: | :--- |
| $\%$ | 75 | Yes, should |
|  | 22 | No, should not |
|  | 2 | Don't know/Refused |

Q24 As far as you know, is information about the amount of money and sources of campaign contributions from individuals and political action committees NOW publicly available on the internet, or not?

|  | CURRENT |  |
| :---: | :---: | :--- |
| $\%$ | 31 | Yes, is |
|  | 40 | No, is not |
|  | 29 | Don't know/Refused |

*Q25 Now I'm going to read a list of activities. For each, please tell me if you have done this in the past 12 months or not. First, in the past 12 months, have you... [INSERT ITEMS IN ORDER]? (Next,) have you...[INSERT NEXT ITEM] [IF NECESSARY: in the past 12 months]?

|  |  |  | YES, HAVE DONE THIS | NO, HAVE NOT DONE THIS | DK/REF. |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  |  |  | \% | \% | \% |
| *a. | Contacted an elected official about an issue or concern |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 30 | 70 | 1 |
|  |  | July 2012 | 30 | 70 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 31 | 69 | * |
| * b . | Attended a meeting on local, town or school affairs |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 35 | 64 | * |
|  |  | July 2012 | 37 | 63 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 36 | 64 | * |
| * C . | Contributed money to or volunteered for a political party or candidate |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 19 | 81 | * |
|  |  | July 2012 | 21 | 79 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 19 | 80 | * |
| *d. | Participated in a group that tries to influence public policy or government, not including a political party |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 17 | 82 | * |
|  |  | July 2012 | 18 | 82 | 1 |
|  |  | September 2011 | 18 | 82 | 1 |
| *e. | Volunteered your time on a regular basis to a church, charity, or other community organization |  |  |  |  |
|  |  | Current | 58 | 41 | * |
|  |  | July 2012 | 57 | 42 | * |
|  |  | September 2011 | 56 | 44 | * |

[READ TO ALL:] Now I have a few last questions for statistical purposes only...

Demographic questions not reported in this topline.
THANK RESPONDENT: That concludes our interview. Have a nice (day/evening).

## APPENDIX 2: METHODOLOGY

## 2013 Public Affairs Pulse Survey

Prepared by Princeton Survey Research Associates International for the Public Affairs Council

May 2013

## SUMMARY

The 2013 Public Affairs Pulse survey, commissioned by the Public Affairs Council, obtained telephone interviews with a nationally representative sample of 1,604 adults living in the continental United States. Interviews were conducted via landline ( $n_{L L}=803$ ) and cell phone ( $n_{c}=801$; including 395 without a landline phone). The survey was conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International (PSRAI). The interviews were administered in English and Spanish by Princeton Data Source from May 8-23, 2013. Statistical results are weighted to correct known demographic discrepancies. The margin of sampling error for the complete set of weighted data is $\pm 2.8$ percentage points.

Details on the design, execution and analysis of the survey are discussed below.

## DESIGN AND DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

## SAMPLE DESIGN

A combination of landline and cellular random digit dial (RDD) samples was used to represent all adults in the continental United States who have access to either a landline or cellular telephone. Both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International LLC (SSI) according to PSRAI specifications.

Numbers for the landline sample were drawn with equal probabilities from active blocks (area code + exchange + two-digit block number) that contained three or more residential directory listings. The cellular sample was not list-assisted but was drawn through a systematic sampling from dedicated wireless 100-blocks and shared service 100-blocks with no directory-listed landline numbers.

## CONTACT PROCEDURES

Interviews were conducted May 8-23, 2013. As many as five attempts were made to contact every sampled landline telephone number and as many as three attempts were made to all sampled cell phone numbers. Sample was released for interviewing in replicates, which are representative subsamples of the larger sample. Using replicates to control the release of sample ensures that complete call procedures are followed for the entire sample. Calls were staggered over times of day and days of the week to maximize the chance of making contact with potential respondents. Interviewing was spread as evenly as possible across the days in field. Each telephone number was called at least one time during the day in an attempt to complete an interview.

For the landline sample, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult male or female currently at home based on a random rotation. If no male/female was available, interviewers asked to speak with the youngest adult of the other gender. This systematic respondent selection technique has been shown to produce samples that closely mirror the population in terms of age and gender when combined with cell interviewing.

For the cellular sample, interviews were conducted with the person who answered the phone. Interviewers verified that the person was an adult and in a safe place before administering the survey.

## WEIGHTING AND ANALYSIS

The first stage of weighting corrected for different probabilities of selection associated with the number of adults in each household and each respondent's telephone usage patterns. ${ }^{25}$ This weighting also adjusts for the overlapping landline and cell sample frames and the relative sizes of each frame and each sample.

The first-stage weight for the $i^{\text {th }}$ case can be expressed as:

$$
W T_{i}=\left[\left(\frac{S_{L L}}{F_{L L}} \times \frac{1}{A D_{i}} \times L L_{i}\right)+\left(\frac{S_{C P}}{F_{C P}} \times C P_{i}\right)-\left(\frac{S_{L L}}{F_{L L}} \times \frac{1}{A D_{i}} \times L L_{i} \times \frac{S_{C P}}{F_{C P}} \times C P_{i}\right)\right]^{-1}
$$

Where $S_{L L}=$ the size of the landline sample
$F_{L L}=$ the size of the landline sample frame
$\mathrm{S}_{\mathrm{CP}}=$ the size of the cell sample
$\mathrm{F}_{\mathrm{CP}}=$ the size of the cell sample frame
$A D_{i}=$ Number of adults in household $i$
$L L_{i}=1$ if respondent has a landline phone, otherwise $L L=0$.
$C P_{i}=1$ if respondent has a cell phone, otherwise $C P=0$.

The second stage of weighting balances sample demographics to population parameters. The sample is balanced by form to match national population parameters for sex, age, education ${ }^{26}$, race, Hispanic origin, region (U.S. Census definitions), population density and telephone usage. The Hispanic origin was split out based on nativity: U.S. born and non-U.S. born. The White, non-Hispanic subgroup was also balanced on age, education and region.

The basic weighting parameters came from the U.S. Census Bureau's 2011 American Community Survey data. ${ }^{27}$ The population density parameter was derived from Census 2010 data. The telephone usage parameter came from an analysis of the January-June 2012 National Health Interview Survey. ${ }^{28}$

Weighting was accomplished using Sample Balancing, a special iterative sample weighting program that simultaneously balances the distributions of all variables using a statistical technique called the Deming Algorithm. Weights were trimmed to prevent individual interviews from having too much influence on the final results. The use of these weights in statistical analysis ensures that the demographic characteristics of the sample closely approximate the demographic characteristics of the national population. Table 1 compares weighted and unweighted sample distributions to population parameters.

Table 1: Sample Demographics

|  | Parameter | Unweighted | Weighted |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Gender |  |  |  |
| Male | 48.2\% | 48.3\% | 48.2\% |
| Female | 51.8\% | 51.7\% | 51.8\% |


| Age |  |  |  |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| $18-24$ | $13.2 \%$ | $9.5 \%$ | $13.1 \%$ |
| $25-34$ | $17.4 \%$ | $11.2 \%$ | $16.4 \%$ |
| $35-44$ | $17.3 \%$ | $14.0 \%$ | $17.2 \%$ |
| $45-54$ | $18.9 \%$ | $18.9 \%$ | $19.1 \%$ |
| $55-64$ | $16.1 \%$ | $19.8 \%$ | $16.5 \%$ |
| $65+$ | $17.1 \%$ | $26.6 \%$ | $17.7 \%$ |


| Education |  |  |  |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| HS Graduate or Less | $42.3 \%$ | $33.4 \%$ | $42.0 \%$ |
| Some College/Assoc Degree | $31.3 \%$ | $28.2 \%$ | $30.7 \%$ |
| College Graduate | $26.4 \%$ | $38.5 \%$ | $27.3 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| Race/Ethnicity |  | $73.5 \%$ | $67.5 \%$ |
| White/not Hispanic | $66.8 \%$ | $9.9 \%$ | $11.4 \%$ |
| Black/not Hispanic | $11.6 \%$ | $6.5 \%$ | $7.1 \%$ |
| Hisp - US born | $7.1 \%$ | $4.5 \%$ | $7.2 \%$ |
| Hisp - born outside | $7.5 \%$ | $5.7 \%$ | $6.8 \%$ |


| Region <br> Northeast <br> Midwest | $18.3 \%$ | $16.8 \%$ | $18.3 \%$ |
| ---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| South | $37.3 \%$ | $25.9 \%$ | $22.1 \%$ |
| West | $22.7 \%$ | $36.3 \%$ | $37.2 \%$ |
|  |  | $21.0 \%$ | $22.3 \%$ |
| County Pop. Density | 2010 |  |  |
| 1 - Lowest | $19.9 \%$ | $24.8 \%$ | $20.3 \%$ |
| 2 | $20.0 \%$ | $20.0 \%$ | $19.9 \%$ |
| 3 | $20.1 \%$ | $20.9 \%$ | $20.5 \%$ |
| 4 | $20.0 \%$ | $18.3 \%$ | $19.9 \%$ |
| 5 - Highest | $20.0 \%$ | $16.0 \%$ | $19.4 \%$ |
|  |  |  |  |
| Household Phone Use | Dec 112 |  | $6.7 \%$ |
| LLO | $7.0 \%$ | $6.2 \%$ | $56.8 \%$ |
| Dual | $56.2 \%$ | $69.1 \%$ | $36.5 \%$ |
| CPO | $36.8 \%$ | $24.6 \%$ |  |

## EFFECTS OF SAMPLE DESIGN ON STATISTICAL INFERENCE

Post-data collection statistical adjustments require analysis procedures that reflect departures from simple random sampling. PSRAI calculates the effects of these design features so that an appropriate adjustment can be incorporated into tests of statistical significance when using these data. The so-called "design effect" or deff represents the loss in statistical efficiency that results from systematic non-response. The total sample design effect for this survey is 1.30 .

PSRAI calculates the composite design effect for a sample of size $n$, with each case having a weight, $w_{i}$, as:

$$
\operatorname{deff}=\frac{n \sum_{i=1}^{n} w_{i}^{2}}{\left(\sum_{i=1}^{n} w_{i}\right)^{2}} \quad \text { formula } 1
$$

In a wide range of situations, the adjusted standard error of a statistic should be calculated by multiplying the usual formula by the square root of the design effect ( $\sqrt{ }$ deff ). Thus, the formula for computing the 95 percent confidence interval around a percentage is:

$$
\hat{p} \pm\left(\sqrt{\text { deff }} \times 1.96 \sqrt{\frac{\hat{p}(1-\hat{p})}{n}}\right) \quad \text { formula } 2
$$

where $\hat{p}$ is the sample estimate and $n$ is the unweighted number of sample cases in the group being considered.
The survey's margin of error is the largest 95 percent confidence interval for any estimated proportion based on the total sample - the one around 50 percent. For example, the margin of error for the entire sample is $\pm 2.8$ percentage points. This means that in 95 out of every 100 samples drawn using the same methodology, estimated proportions based on the entire sample will be no more than 2.8 percentage points away from their true values in the population. The margin of error for estimates based on Form 1 or Form 2 respondents is $\pm 4.0$ percentage points. It is important to remember that sampling fluctuations are only one possible source of error in a survey estimate. Other sources, such as respondent selection bias, questionnaire wording and reporting inaccuracy, may contribute additional error of greater or lesser magnitude.

## RESPONSE RATE

Table 2 reports the disposition of all sampled telephone numbers ever dialed from the original telephone number samples. The response rate estimates the fraction of all eligible respondents in the sample that were ultimately interviewed. At PSRAI, it is calculated by taking the product of three component rates: ${ }^{29}$

- Contact rate - the proportion of working numbers where a request for interview was made ${ }^{30}$
- Cooperation rate - the proportion of contacted numbers where a consent for interview was at least initially obtained, versus those refused
- Completion rate - the proportion of initially cooperating and eligible interviews that were completed

Thus, the response rate for the landline sample was 7 percent. The response rate for the cellular sample was 8 percent.

Table 2: Sample Disposition

| Landline | Cell | - |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 39994 | 29000 | Total Numbers Dialed |
| 1753 | 455 | Non-residential |
| 1557 | 109 | Computer/Fax |
| 17 | 0 | Cell phone |
| 23352 | 11013 | Other not working |
| 2036 | 432 | Additional projected not working |
| 11280 | 16991 | Working numbers |
| 28.2\% | 58.6\% | Working Rate |
| 679 | 144 | No Answer / Busy |
| 3907 | 6202 | Voice Mail |
| 79 | 12 | Other Non-Contact |
| 6615 | 10633 | Contacted numbers |
| 58.6\% | 62.6\% | Contact Rate |
| 480 | 2067 | Callback |
| 5267 | 7095 | Refusal |
| 868 | 1471 | Cooperating numbers |
| 13.1\% | 13.8\% | Cooperation Rate |
| 37 | 42 | Language Barrier |
| 0 | 582 | Child's cell phone |
| 831 | 847 | Eligible numbers |
| 95.7\% | 57.6\% | Eligibility Rate |
| 28 | 46 | Break-off |
| 803 | 801 | Completes |
| 96.6\% | 94.6\% | Completion Rate |
| 7.4\% | 8.2\% | Response Rate |

