



US NATIONAL SURVEY—WINTER 2025
1,200 US ADULTS
DECEMBER 12-22

MOOD OF THE COUNTRY

Q2. Would you say things in the United States today are:

- 32% Generally headed in the right direction
- 56% Off in the wrong direction
- 12% Don't know/Not sure

For each of the following issues facing the country today, please tell us how important the issue is to you personally.

	(1) Extremely important	(2) Somewhat important	(3) Neither important nor unimportant	(4) Not very important	(5) Not at all important
[RANDOMIZE]					
Q3. Jobs/employment	54%	32%	11%	2%	1%
Q4. Inflation/high prices/gas prices	72%	22%	5%	1%	0%
Q5. Immigration	48%	32%	13%	5%	3%
Q6. The Israel-Hamas conflict	24%	34%	26%	11%	6%
Q7. The Russia-Ukraine conflict	21%	36%	26%	10%	7%
Q8. Education/ Schools	53%	31%	10%	4%	2%
Q9. Crime/safety	58%	31%	8%	2%	1%
Q10. Climate change/environment	37%	26%	16%	9%	12%
Q11. Health care/Medicare	69%	22%	6%	2%	1%
Q12. Social Security	63%	25%	10%	3%	1%
Q13. Energy/energy policy	40%	38%	17%	3%	2%
Q14. Abortion rights	37%	27%	19%	7%	10%
Q15. Gun violence	51%	28%	13%	4%	4%
Q16. Taxes/tax rates	56%	32%	10%	2%	1%
Q17. Trade and tariffs	43%	37%	16%	2%	1%



ATTITUDES TOWARDS INSTITUTIONS

For each of the following, please tell us whether you have a favorable view, an unfavorable view, or don't you have an opinion:

[RANDOMIZE]	(1) Very favorable	(2) Somewhat favorable	(3) Neither favorable nor unfavorable/Both	(4) Somewhat unfavorable	(5) Very unfavorable
Q18. The U.S. Congress	7%	14%	25%	20%	31%
Q19. The U.S. Supreme Court	11%	22%	24%	15%	23%
Q20. State government	12%	25%	27%	16%	16%
Q21. Local government	12%	30%	30%	14%	10%
Q22. The news media	7%	16%	27%	16%	30%
Q23. Public schools	17%	26%	25%	15%	14%
Q24. The federal bureaucracy	6%	12%	27%	16%	33%

Q25. How would you rate the way democracy is working in the United States today?

- 4% Excellent
- 10% Very good
- 19% Somewhat good
- 13% Neither good nor bad
- 19% Somewhat poor
- 12% Very poor
- 15% Terrible
- 8% Don't know/Unsure

Q26. How would you rate the way private investment and ownership of business is working in the United States today?

- 5% Excellent
- 12% Very good
- 21% Somewhat good
- 18% Neither good nor bad
- 14% Somewhat poor
- 6% Very poor
- 9% Terrible
- 16% Don't know/Unsure

Q27. Would you say that American democracy is a good or bad example for other countries around the world to follow?

- 38% Good example
- 30% Bad example
- 32% Don't know/Unsure



Q28. Would you say that the American economic system is a good or bad example for other countries around the world to follow?

- 36% Good example
- 35% Bad example
- 29% Don't know/Unsure

REFORM V. ESTABLISHMENT

For each of the following people, please assign a grade reflecting how well you think they would do as president? Use any grade from A to F. **[RANDOMIZE]**

	A	B	C	D	F	GPA
Q29. J.D. Vance	20%	13%	17%	11%	40%	1.64
Q30. Ron DeSantis	13%	14%	24%	12%	36%	1.54
Q31. Gavin Newsom	13%	17%	25%	11%	35%	1.64
Q32. Kamala Harris	16%	16%	18%	10%	40%	1.58
Q33. Bernie Sanders	18%	15%	23%	12%	33%	1.75
Q34. Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez	13%	16%	24%	11%	38%	1.59
Q35. Elon Musk	10%	13%	20%	13%	45%	1.32
Q36. Mark Cuban	5%	14%	37%	18%	27%	1.54
Q37. Zohran Mamdani	10%	14%	26%	13%	38%	1.47
Q38. Marco Rubio	11%	14%	25%	16%	33%	1.52
Q39. Ted Cruz	9%	14%	23%	15%	39%	1.39

Q40. What would better for our country right now: leaders who have experience and know how to get things done within the system, or leaders who come from outside the system and want to bring change?

- 47% Experience getting things done
- 28% Outsider bringing change
- 25% Don't know/Unsure

Think of a scale that runs from 0-10, where 0 represents a commitment to changing the political system, and 10 represents a commitment to working within the existing system, and 5 is exactly in the middle. What number would you want your presidential candidate to be?

	Mean	Change system (0-4)	Middle (5)	Work within system (6-10)
Q41. Your presidential candidate?	5.28	35%	24%	42%
Q42. What number do you think represents the Democratic Party's candidates?	5.65	30%	23%	47%
Q43. What number do you think represents the Republican Party's candidates?	5.60	31%	21%	47%



POPULISM

Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?

	(1) Strongly agree	(2) Somewhat agree	(3) Neither agree nor disagree	(4) Somewhat disagree	(5) Strongly disagree
Q44. I'd rather put my trust in the wisdom of ordinary people than the opinions of experts and intellectuals.	8%	19%	34%	22%	17%
Q45. When it comes to really important questions, scientific facts don't help very much.	5%	12%	29%	26%	29%
Q46. Ordinary people can really use the help of experts to understand complicated things like science and health.	29%	37%	25%	6%	3%
Q47. The system is stacked against people like me.	20%	27%	34%	13%	6%

For each of the following items, please tell us whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, neither agree nor disagree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree. If you don't know, please say so.

	(1) Strongly agree	(2) Somewhat agree	(3) Neither agree nor disagree	(4) Somewhat disagree	(5) Strongly disagree
Q48. When I think about our political and social institutions, I cannot help thinking "just let them all burn."	10%	14%	28%	16%	28%
Q49. Democracy may have problems, but it is the best system of government.	33%	28%	23%	8%	5%
Q50. A president with powers like a dictator would be good for America.	4%	5%	17%	9%	62%
Q51. To save the nation, we need leaders who break the rules.	6%	13%	24%	19%	33%
Q52. Immigration is tearing at the fabric of our country.	23%	15%	21%	13%	25%



IMMIGRATION ATTITUDES

Let us turn to the issues of immigration and border security. For each of the following policy proposals, please tell us whether you agree, disagree, or have no opinion.

	(1) Strongly agree	(2) Somewhat agree	(3) Neither agree nor disagree	(4) Somewhat disagree	(5) Strongly disagree
Q53. Increasing border security.	42%	21%	20%	8%	6%
Q54. Deporting all undocumented immigrants.	30%	15%	17%	11%	24%
Q55. Finishing the wall along the U.S.-Mexico border.	33%	12%	18%	8%	26%
Q56. Providing a path to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who have been in the U.S. for five years or more.	31%	23%	20%	9%	15%
Q57. Providing a path to citizenship for undocumented individuals brought to the U.S. as children.	36%	25%	18%	7%	11%
Q58. Cracking down on human smugglers and drug traffickers.	68%	18%	10%	2%	1%
Q59. Providing asylum to people fleeing violence or war in their home countries.	31%	27%	23%	8%	8%
Q60. Increasing legal immigration through family and employment-based visas.	27%	28%	23%	6%	11%
Q61. Providing support to U.S. communities receiving immigrants.	23%	24%	25%	9%	15%
Q62. Making sure that local officials help enforce federal immigration laws.	34%	21%	21%	8%	12%
Q63. Providing support to people who have come to the U.S. legally.	44%	28%	16%	4%	5%

PARTY (AND THIRD PARTY) ATTITUDES

Q64. How concerned are you that the two major parties are NOT properly representing the American people?

- 37% Extremely
- 24% Very
- 22% Somewhat
- 6% Not very
- 2% Not at all
- 10% Don't know/Unsure



Thinking about the following issues, would you say the Democrats/Republicans are in-step with the American public, or are they out of step?

	Republicans		Democrats	
	In-Step	Out of step	In-Step	Out of step
Inflation & prices	36%	64%	39%	60%
Border security	54%	46%	38%	62%
Immigration	45%	55%	41%	59%
Transgender	39%	61%	38%	62%
Taxes	41%	59%	37%	63%
Crime & public safety	48%	52%	40%	60%
Health care	33%	67%	52%	48%
Energy	44%	56%	47%	53%
Technology and AI	46%	54%	48%	52%

VOTING AND VOTER FRAUD

Q74. How confident are you that votes in U.S. elections are accurately counted?

- 21% Extremely confident
- 40% Somewhat confident
- 26% Not very confident
- 13% Not at all confident

Q75. How often are eligible voters not allowed to vote in your state?

- 5% Very often
- 9% Somewhat often
- 12% Not very often
- 30% Almost never
- 44% Don't know

Q76. Do you think denying eligible voters the right to vote is sufficiently common in your state to change the outcome of elections?

- 14% Yes
- 47% No
- 39% Don't know

Q77. How often does voter fraud happen in your state?

- 6% Very often
- 13% Somewhat often
- 15% Not very often
- 27% Almost never
- 39% Don't know



Q78. Do you think voter fraud is sufficiently common in your state to change the outcomes of elections?

28% Yes
72% No

How common do you think the following sorts of voter fraud are in your state?

	Extremely common	Somewhat common	Somewhat uncommon	Extremely uncommon	Don't know/ Unsure
Q79. People who are not legally allowed to vote are voting.	10%	18%	14%	33%	25%
Q80. People are voting more than once.	8%	13%	17%	37%	26%
Q81. People are destroying legal ballots.	8%	15%	17%	32%	28%
Q82. People are casting ballots using the identities of people who are no longer alive or no longer living here.	11%	17%	17%	31%	25%

When drawing district lines in your state, how important is it for you to:

	Very important	Somewhat important	Not very important	Not at all important	Don't know
Q83. Keep communities that share interests together?	24%	34%	15%	7%	21%
Q84. Keep cities and counties intact?	35%	35%	8%	3%	19%
Q85. Create districts that are compact and regular in shape?	20%	28%	15%	10%	26%
Q86. Make sure your party receives as many seats as possible?	21%	28%	16%	12%	24%
Q87. Insure that racial and ethnic minorities have seats equal to their share of the population?	36%	24%	11%	10%	19%
Q88. Consider what the opposing party is doing in other states?	19%	27%	16%	15%	24%



Q89. When it comes to redistricting, which of the following is closer to your view:

- 34% The Constitution gives the state legislature the power to decide districts. So long as they don't violate the constitution and the law, the majority party in the legislature can basically do what they want.
- 66% Even though the state legislature has power, they must respect the rights of the minority party, and they can't change the rules after the fact.

NEWS CONSUMPTION

Q90. Where do you mostly get your news from?

- 32% Television
3% Radio
2% Print publications
23% News websites or apps
28% Social media such as Facebook, X (Formerly named "Twitter"), or Instagram
12% Search through Google or other search engines

**Q91. Which television news channels do you normally get your news from (check all that apply)?
(AMONG USERS)**

- 43% FOX
24% CNN
16% MSNBC
59% Local News
18% Other

**Q92. Which radio news channels do you normally get your news from (check all that apply)?
(AMONG USERS)**

- 58% Talk radio
28% NPR
29% Local
11% Other

**Q93. Which newspapers do you normally get your news from (check all that apply)?
(AMONG USERS)**

- 36% New York Times
11% Wall Street Journal
6% USA Today
11% Washington Post
7% Los Angeles Times
40% Local/State
40% Other



**Q94. Which news websites or apps do you use (check all that apply)?
(AMONG USERS)**

26%	Fox
43%	CNN
20%	WSJ
31%	NYT
10%	WaPo
5%	Brietbart
37%	Local/State
46%	Other

**Q95. Which social media sites do you usually get your news from [check all that apply]?
(AMONG USERS)**

57%	Facebook
33%	X/Twitter
25%	TikTok
40%	Instagram
5%	LinkedIn
16%	Reddit
13%	Other



DEMOGRAPHICS AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES

GENDER.

49% Male
51% Female

AGE.

20% 18-29
26% 30-44
13% 45-54
18% 55-64
23% 65+

RACE.

62% White/Anglo
12% Black/African-American
13% Hispanic/Latino
5% Asian-American
1% Native American
4% Multiple races
3% Other
* North African/Middle Eastern

EDUCATION.

6% Less than high school degree
31% High school graduate
21% Some college
8% 2-year college degree
21% 4-year college degree
13% Post-graduate degree

MARRIED.

44% Married
2% Separated
11% Divorced
5% Widowed
34% Never married
5% Domestic/Civil partnership



EMPLOYED.

37%	Full-time
11%	Part-time
1%	Temporarily laid off
8%	Unemployed
23%	Retired
7%	Permanently disabled
6%	Stay-at-home parent/Homemaker
5%	Student
2%	Other

INCOME.

8%	Less than \$10,000
7%	\$10,000-\$19,999
9%	\$20,000-\$29,000
7%	\$30,000-\$39,999
8%	\$40,000-\$49,999
20%	\$50,000-\$79,999
9%	\$80,000-\$99,999
14%	\$100,000-\$149,999
7%	\$150,000-\$249,999
3%	\$250,000 or more
8%	Prefer not to say

HOMEOWNER.

69%	Own home
30%	Rent

RELIGION.

29%	Protestant
22%	Catholic
2%	Other Christian
2%	Jewish
2%	Muslim
1%	Buddhist
11%	Atheist/Agnostic
23%	Nothing in particular
8%	Something else



CHURCH.

8% More than once per week
18% Once per week
8% Once or twice per month
11% A few times per year
19% Seldom
34% Never
2% Don't know

BORN AGAIN.

30% Yes
70% No

URBAN. Which of the following best describes where you currently live?

19% Rural
14% Small town
40% Suburban
28% Urban

UNION. Do you or does anyone in your household belong to a union or a teachers' association?

5% I am a union member
1% I am a teachers' association member
4% Someone else in the household belongs to a union
1% Someone else in the household belongs to a teachers' association
1% This is both union and teachers' association household
75% Non-union
12% Not sure

GUNOWNER. Are you or is anyone in the household a gun owner?

25% Yes, I am a gun owner
9% Yes, someone in the household is a gun owner
60% No
6% Not sure

TRUCK. Do you own a truck?

23% Yes, truck owner
77% No



SMOKE. Are you a smoker?

14% Yes, every day
6% Yes, but not every day
26% I used to smoke but gave it up
52% Never smoked
3% Prefer not to say

PARTY ID.

29% Democratic
27% Republican
32% Independent

29% Democratic
9% Lean Democratic
23% Independent
8% Lean Republican
27% Republican
4% Not sure

MAGA. Do you consider yourself a supporter of the “Make America Great Again,” or MAGA, movement?

26% Yes
64% No
11% I don’t know

NO KINGS. Do you consider yourself a supporter of the “No Kings” movement?

25% Yes
63% No
12% I don’t know

OLIGARCHY. Do you consider yourself a supporter of the “Fight the Oligarchy” movement?

11% Yes
68% No
21% Don’t know

IDEOLOGY.

11% Very liberal
14% Liberal
35% Moderate
20% Conservative
11% Very conservative
10% Not sure