



CRITICAL ISSUES POLL

With Nielsen Scarborough

America First? American National Identity Declines Over Last Two Years Among Both Republicans and Democrats

Shibley Telhami, Director
Stella Rouse, Associate Director

Survey Methodology

The survey was carried out November 1-6, 2017 online from a nationally representative sample of Nielsen Scarborough's probability-based panel, originally recruited by mail and telephone using a random sample of adults provided by Survey Sampling International. The national sample was 2,000, including a down-weighted oversample of 1,042 among 18-34 year olds. Responses were weighted by age, gender, income, education, race, and geographic region using benchmarks from the US Census. The survey was also weighted by partisan identification. The margin of error is 2.19%

To access the survey methodology of all three of the polls listed in the report, please click [here](#).

Valuable assistance was provided by Neil Schwartz, Scott Willoth, and Shalayne Cook from Nielsen Scarborough. Brittany Kyser, Jared McDonald, and Sean Rao were particularly helpful.

Note: Percentages may not always add to one-hundred due to rounding.

Identity

Q15. In terms of what's important about you, how much do you identify as each of the following? (*Rated from 0-10, mean scores are reported*) **[RANDOMIZE ROWS; GROUP ITEMS A+B, ITEMS D+E]**

| <i>By Party, November 2017</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| Q15a. A citizen of the United States | 9.1 | 8.1 | 8.8 | 8.5 |
| Q15b. A citizen of the world | 5.0 | 7.6 | 6.1 | 7.3 |
| Q15c. A follower of your religious faith | 6.5 | 4.3 | 4.5 | 5.3 |
| Q15d. A member of your race | 5.1 | 5.5 | 4.5 | 5.2 |
| Q15e. Part of your ethnic group | 4.6 | 5.5 | 4.5 | 5.0 |
| Q15f. Your gender | 6.5 | 7.1 | 5.9 | 6.7 |

Q16. Which one of these identities is **most** important to you today? Please select one. **[SHOW ANSWER OPTION IN SAME ORDER AS Q15]**

| <i>All Respondents, by Year</i> | Nov. 2015 | Oct. 2016 | Nov. 2017 |
|---|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 53 | 44 | 44 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 16 | 13 | 21 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 18 | 19 | 22 |
| 4. A member of your race | 3 | 4 | 3 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| 6. Your gender | 7 | 6 | 7 |
| 7. Your generation <i>2016 only</i> | | 6 | |
| 8. Your socio-economic group <i>2016 only</i> | | 6 | |
| Refused | <1 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>Republicans, by Year</i> | Nov. 2015 | Oct. 2016 | Nov. 2017 |
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 62 | 53 | 53 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 7 | 3 | 7 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 24 | 32 | 33 |
| 4. A member of your race | 2 | 1 | 2 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 1 | <1 | 1 |
| 6. Your gender | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 7. Your generation <i>2016 only</i> | | 4 | |
| 8. Your socio-economic group <i>2016 only</i> | | 3 | |
| Refused | 0 | 1 | <1 |

| <i>Democrats, by Year</i> | Nov. 2015 | Oct. 2016 | Nov. 2017 |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 45 | 36 | 35 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 27 | 21 | 34 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 13 | 6 | 12 |
| 4. A member of your race | 3 | 8 | 5 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 4 | 4 | 4 |
| 6. Your gender | 10 | 8 | 10 |
| 7. Your generation <i>2016 only</i> | | 9 | |
| 8. Your socio-economic group <i>2016 only</i> | | 7 | |
| Refused | <1 | 1 | <1 |

| <i>Independents, by Year</i> | Nov. 2015 | Oct. 2016 | Nov. 2017 |
|---|------------------|------------------|------------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 48 | 37 | 43 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 14 | 16 | 20 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 23 | 22 | 20 |
| 4. A member of your race | 9 | 1 | 2 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 1 | 2 | 4 |
| 6. Your gender | 6 | 1 | 8 |
| 7. Your generation <i>2016 only</i> | | 4 | |
| 8. Your socio-economic group <i>2016 only</i> | | 15 | |
| Refused | 0 | 2 | 2 |

| <i>By Party, November 2017</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 53 | 35 | 43 | 44 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 7 | 34 | 20 | 21 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 33 | 12 | 20 | 22 |
| 4. A member of your race | 2 | 5 | 2 | 3 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 1 | 4 | 4 | 3 |
| 6. Your gender | 4 | 10 | 8 | 7 |
| Refused | <1 | <1 | 2 | 1 |

| <i>Republicans, by Age, November 2017</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
|---|--------------|------------|------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 41 | 58 | 53 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 11 | 6 | 7 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 39 | 31 | 33 |
| 4. A member of your race | 2 | 2 | 2 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 2 | 1 | 1 |
| 6. Your gender | 4 | 3 | 4 |
| Refused | <1 | 0 | <1 |

| <i>Democrats, by Age, November 2017</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
|---|--------------|------------|------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 25 | 40 | 35 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 41 | 30 | 34 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 11 | 12 | 12 |
| 4. A member of your race | 5 | 5 | 5 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 5 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. Your gender | 13 | 9 | 10 |
| Refused | 0 | 1 | <1 |

| <i>Independents, by Age, November 2017</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
|--|--------------|------------|------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 33 | 48 | 43 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 27 | 16 | 20 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 16 | 23 | 20 |
| 4. A member of your race | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| 6. Your gender | 13 | 6 | 8 |
| Refused | 2 | 2 | 2 |

| <i>By Age, November 2017</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|------------|------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 32 | 49 | 44 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 28 | 18 | 21 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 22 | 22 | 22 |
| 4. A member of your race | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 5 | 3 | 3 |
| 6. Your gender | 10 | 6 | 7 |
| Refused | <1 | 1 | 1 |

| <i>Women, by Party, November 2017</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 52 | 34 | 38 | 41 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 7 | 29 | 13 | 19 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 34 | 13 | 28 | 22 |
| 4. A member of your race | 2 | 6 | 3 | 4 |
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | <1 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| 6. Your gender | 5 | 14 | 13 | 10 |
| Refused | <1 | <1 | 4 | 1 |

| <i>Men, by Party, November 2017</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. A citizen of the United States | 54 | 36 | 48 | 46 |
| 2. A citizen of the world | 8 | 40 | 25 | 23 |
| 3. A follower of your religious faith | 33 | 9 | 14 | 21 |
| 4. A member of your race | 2 | 4 | 2 | 3 |

| | | | | |
|------------------------------|---|---|---|----|
| 5. Part of your ethnic group | 1 | 5 | 6 | 3 |
| 6. Your gender | 2 | 5 | 5 | 4 |
| Refused | 0 | 1 | 1 | <1 |

Latino Issues and Immigration

Q22e. For the following 5 pairs of statements, select the one that most closely aligns (agrees) with your personal opinion.

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| 1. The federal government should reform immigration policy to reduce the number of newcomers coming into our country. | 69 | 30 | 48 | 49 |
| or | | | | |
| 2. The federal government should keep immigration policy the way it is now. | 19 | 56 | 38 | 38 |
| Refused | 12 | 14 | 14 | 14 |

US Citizenship is Top Identity

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| 1. The federal government should reform immigration policy to reduce the number of newcomers coming into our country. | 76 | 39 | 63 | 61 |
| or | | | | |
| 2. The federal government should keep immigration policy the way it is now. | 11 | 49 | 26 | 27 |
| Refused | 13 | 13 | 12 | 13 |

| <i>World Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. The federal government should reform immigration policy to reduce the number of newcomers coming into our country. | 48 | 22 | 30 | 26 |
| or | | | | |
| 2. The federal government should keep immigration policy the way it is now. | 49 | 64 | 64 | 62 |
| Refused | 3 | 14 | 6 | 12 |

Abortion

Q28. In your opinion, abortion should be... [RANDOMLY REVERSE ANSWER CHOICES]

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. Illegal in all cases | 17 | 3 | 10 | 10 |
| 2. Illegal in most cases | 44 | 9 | 26 | 26 |
| 3. Legal in most cases | 27 | 40 | 35 | 34 |
| 4. Legal in all cases. | 10 | 47 | 27 | 29 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

| <i>US Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. Illegal in all cases | 8 | 1 | 8 | 5 |
| 2. Illegal in most cases | 47 | 10 | 26 | 31 |
| 3. Legal in most cases | 34 | 45 | 35 | 38 |
| 4. Legal in all cases. | 11 | 44 | 30 | 25 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

| <i>World Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. Illegal in all cases | 3 | 2 | 3 | 2 |
| 2. Illegal in most cases | 19 | 4 | 20 | 8 |
| 3. Legal in most cases | 50 | 39 | 44 | 41 |
| 4. Legal in all cases. | 28 | 55 | 34 | 49 |
| Refused | 0 | <1 | 0 | <1 |

Climate Change

Q30. From what you've read and heard, is there solid evidence of global warming and climate change, or not?

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| 1. No, there is no solid evidence. | 36 | 2 | 12 | 17 |
| 2. There is some/mixed evidence. | 44 | 14 | 37 | 29 |
| 3. Yes, there is solid evidence. | 20 | 84 | 49 | 53 |
| Refused | <1 | <1 | 1 | <1 |

US Citizenship is Top Identity

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| 1. No, there is no solid evidence. | 37 | 2 | 18 | 22 |
| 2. There is some/mixed evidence. | 46 | 15 | 45 | 34 |
| 3. Yes, there is solid evidence. | 17 | 83 | 37 | 44 |
| Refused | 0 | 0 | <1 | <1 |

World Citizenship is Top Identity

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| 1. No, there is no solid evidence. | 7 | <1 | 6 | 2 |
| 2. There is some/mixed evidence. | 53 | 9 | 18 | 16 |
| 3. Yes, there is solid evidence. | 40 | 91 | 76 | 82 |
| Refused | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Economic Nationalism

Q12. Which of the following is closest to your view? [RANDOMIZE]

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| 1. In today's society, the circumstances into which you are born, not how hard you work, heavily influence how far you will go. | 18 | 56 | 42 | 38 |
| 2. With hard work and determination, anything is achievable in the United States. The circumstances into which you are born place few restrictions on what you are able to do. | 82 | 43 | 57 | 61 |
| Refused | <1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

| <i>Republicans</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
|--|--------------|------------|------------|
| 1. In today's society, the circumstances into which you are born, not how hard you work, heavily influence how far you will go. | 23 | 16 | 18 |
| 2. With hard work and determination, anything is achievable in the United States. The circumstances into which you are born place few restrictions on what you are able to do. | 76 | 83 | 82 |
| Refused | 1 | <1 | <1 |
| <i>Democrats</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
| 1. In today's society, the circumstances into which you are born, not how hard you work, heavily influence how far you will go. | 61 | 54 | 56 |
| 2. With hard work and determination, anything is achievable in the United States. The circumstances into which you are born place few restrictions on what you are able to do. | 38 | 45 | 43 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 1 |
| <i>Independents</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
| 1. In today's society, the circumstances into which you are born, not how hard you work, heavily influence how far you will go. | 49 | 38 | 42 |
| 2. With hard work and determination, anything is achievable in the United States. The circumstances into which you are born place few restrictions on what you are able to do. | 49 | 60 | 57 |
| Refused | 2 | 2 | 2 |

| <i>All Parties by Age</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
|--|--------------|------------|------------|
| 1. In today's society, the circumstances into which you are born, not how hard you work, heavily influence how far you will go. | 46 | 35 | 38 |
| 2. With hard work and determination, anything is achievable in the United States. The circumstances into which you are born place few restrictions on what you are able to do. | 54 | 64 | 61 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 1 |

| <i>US Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. In today's society, the circumstances into which you are born, not how hard you work, heavily influence how far you will go. | 16 | 48 | 33 | 30 |
| 2. With hard work and determination, anything is achievable in the United States. The circumstances into which you are born place few restrictions on what you are able to do. | 84 | 52 | 66 | 70 |
| Refused | 1 | 0 | 2 | 1 |

| <i>World Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. In today's society, the circumstances into which you are born, not how hard you work, heavily influence how far you will go. | 31 | 65 | 57 | 59 |
| 2. With hard work and determination, anything is achievable in the United States. The circumstances into which you are born place few restrictions on what you are able to do. | 68 | 33 | 43 | 39 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 0 | 1 |

| <i>Religion is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. In today's society, the circumstances into which you are born, not how hard you work, heavily influence how far you will go. | 13 | 48 | 38 | 24 |
| 2. With hard work and determination, anything is achievable in the United States. The circumstances into which you are born place few restrictions on what you are able to do. | 87 | 49 | 59 | 75 |
| Refused | <1 | 3 | 3 | 1 |

| <i>Gender is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. In today's society, the circumstances into which you are born, not how hard you work, heavily influence how far you will go. | 53 | 68 | 53 | 63 |
| 2. With hard work and determination, anything is achievable in the United States. The circumstances into which you are born place few restrictions on what you are able to do. | 47 | 32 | 47 | 37 |
| Refused | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Q13. Do you believe there is more, less, or the same levels of upward mobility in the United States today than there were a generation ago?

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|-------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. More | 31 | 17 | 19 | 26 |
| 2. Less | 36 | 68 | 61 | 54 |
| 3. The same | 24 | 15 | 20 | 19 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | <1 | 1 |

| <i>US Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. More | 42 | 20 | 22 | 32 |
| 2. Less | 34 | 63 | 58 | 47 |
| 3. The same | 24 | 16 | 20 | 21 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | <1 | 1 |

| <i>World Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. More | 51 | 12 | 9 | 18 |
| 2. Less | 32 | 75 | 71 | 68 |
| 3. The same | 16 | 13 | 19 | 14 |
| Refused | 0 | <1 | 1 | <1 |

Q14. Do you feel the wealth gap between rich and poor is...

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. Getting larger | 58 | 93 | 82 | 77 |
| 2. Getting smaller | 7 | 3 | 4 | 4 |
| 3. Staying the same | 35 | 4 | 13 | 18 |
| Refused | <1 | <1 | 1 | <1 |

| <i>US Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---------------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. Getting larger | 59 | 93 | 86 | 74 |
| 2. Getting smaller | 6 | 4 | 4 | 5 |
| 3. Staying the same | 35 | 3 | 10 | 21 |
| Refused | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| <i>World Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. Getting larger | 67 | 95 | 90 | 90 |
| 2. Getting smaller | 13 | 1 | 6 | 3 |
| 3. Staying the same | 20 | 4 | 5 | 6 |
| Refused | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Race

Q20. Which of the following is closer to your view regarding symbols of the Confederacy (for example, the Confederate Flag and Confederate monuments)?

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. They represent Southern history and heritage | 89 | 30 | 62 | 59 |
| 2. They represent racial injustice | 10 | 69 | 36 | 40 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 2 | 1 |

| <i>US Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. They represent Southern history and heritage | 94 | 42 | 77 | 73 |
| 2. They represent racial injustice | 6 | 57 | 23 | 27 |
| Refused | <1 | 1 | 0 | <1 |

| <i>World Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|---|--------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. They represent Southern history and heritage | 74 | 19 | 29 | 28 |
| 2. They represent racial injustice | 23 | 81 | 69 | 71 |
| Refused | 3 | <1 | 3 | 1 |
| <i>African Americans</i> | 18-34 | | 35+ | 18+ |
| 1. They represent Southern history and heritage | 22 | | 22 | 22 |
| 2. They represent racial injustice | 78 | | 78 | 78 |
| <i>Whites</i> | 18-34 | | 35+ | 18+ |
| 1. They represent Southern history and heritage | 53 | | 72 | 66 |
| 2. They represent racial injustice | 47 | | 28 | 34 |
| <i>All Races by Age</i> | 18-34 | | 35+ | 18+ |
| 1. They represent Southern history and heritage | 47 | | 63 | 59 |
| 2. They represent racial injustice | 52 | | 35 | 40 |
| Refused | 1 | | 1 | 1 |

Q18. Having thought about this issue, which is closest to your view?

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games but I don't agree they should be doing it | 39 | 26 | 41 | 33 |
| 2. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games and I agree with the protest | 6 | 64 | 29 | 35 |
| 3. I don't think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games | 55 | 9 | 29 | 31 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

| <i>US Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games but I don't agree they should be doing it | 37 | 37 | 50 | 38 |
| 2. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games and I agree with the protest | 3 | 47 | 15 | 20 |
| 3. I don't think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games | 59 | 15 | 35 | 40 |
| Refused | 1 | 1 | 1 | 1 |

| <i>World Citizenship is Top Identity</i> | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|--|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games but I don't agree they should be doing it | 34 | 18 | 30 | 22 |
| 2. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games and I agree with the protest | 20 | 79 | 56 | 68 |
| 3. I don't think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games | 46 | 3 | 14 | 10 |
| Refused | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

| <i>African Americans</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
|--|--------------|------------|------------|
| 1. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games but I don't agree they should be doing it | 14 | 12 | 13 |
| 2. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games and I agree with the protest | 83 | 79 | 80 |
| 3. I don't think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games | 3 | 8 | 7 |

| <i>Whites</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
|--|------------------|----------------|----------------|
| 1. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games but I don't agree they should be doing it | 43 | 34 | 36 |
| 2. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games and I agree with the protest | 38 | 23 | 27 |
| 3. I don't think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games | 19 | 44 | 37 |
| <i>All Races by Age</i> | 18-34 | 35+ | 18+ |
| 1. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games but I don't agree they should be doing it | 39 | 31 | 33 |
| 2. I think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games and I agree with the protest | 45 | 31 | 35 |
| 3. I don't think NFL players should have the right to kneel at games | 17 | 37 | 31 |
| Refused | <1 | 1 | 1 |

Q21. Do you approve or disapprove of President Trump's reaction to the protests in Charlottesville? **[RANDOMLY REVERSE ANSWER CHOICES]**

| | Rep | Dem | Ind | Total |
|------------------------|------------|------------|------------|--------------|
| 1. Approve strongly | 34 | 1 | 12 | 16 |
| 2. Approve somewhat | 41 | 5 | 21 | 22 |
| 3. Disapprove somewhat | 15 | 14 | 20 | 15 |
| 4. Disapprove strongly | 7 | 78 | 42 | 44 |
| Refused | 2 | 1 | 4 | 2 |