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*NEWS Release*  
1615 L Street, N.W., Suite 700  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
Tel (202) 419-4350  
Fax (202) 419-4399

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**Presidential Race Remains Even**  
**McCAIN GAINS ON ISSUES, BUT STALLS AS CANDIDATE OF CHANGE**

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- Top one-word for Palin - "inexperienced"
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***FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:***

Andrew Kohut, Director  
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors  
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research  
Pew Research Center for the People & the Press  
202/419-4350  
<http://www.people-press.org>

## Presidential Race Remains Even MCCAIN GAINS ON ISSUES, BUT STALLS AS CANDIDATE OF CHANGE

With two eventful and closely followed political conventions now in their rearview mirror, voters' views of Barack Obama and John McCain have changed in some ways, yet remain the same in others. What has not changed is that the race remains very close: a national survey of 2,509 voters interviewed Sept. 9-14 on both landline phones and cell phones finds that 46% support Obama, while 44% support John McCain. These results are almost identical to those in Pew's pre-convention survey in early August, which had 46% backing Obama and 43% McCain.

When the current survey of registered voters is narrowed to those most likely to vote, the margin between the candidates contracts further. Among 2,307 likely voters surveyed, the race is tied at 46%-46%.

Although bottom-line voter attitudes have changed little since early August, the new survey finds that McCain has made considerably more progress than has his opponent in changing fundamental attitudes toward his candidacy. Yet the race remains close largely because Obama continues to be seen as the candidate of change, and voters remain divided over whether McCain would govern differently than President Bush.

Nonetheless, McCain's recent achievements are clearly evident. First, Republican voters are much more politically energized than they were prior to the conventions. A greater percentage of GOP voters believe that it "really matters" who wins the election (71% now vs. 62% in June); far more also express satisfaction with their presidential choices than in June (74% vs. 49%).

McCain also garners more strong support and more positive support from his backers than he did a month ago. The percentage of voters saying they back McCain strongly climbed from 17% in August to 25% currently. McCain's increase in strong support

	Registered voters			Likely voters*
	July %	Aug %	Sept %	Sept %
Obama/Biden	47	46	46	46
McCain/Palin	42	43	44	46
Other/DK	11	11	10	8
	100	100	100	100
N	1,241	2,414	2,509	2,307

\* Based on a nine-question turnout scale.  
July survey conducted 23-27; August survey conducted July 31-Aug. 10; September survey conducted 9-14.

	Obama/Biden			McCain/Palin		
	Aug %	Sept %	change	Aug %	Sept %	change
Total	27	30	+3	17	25	+8
Conserv Rep	*	1	+1	47	63	+16
Mod/Lib Rep	4	4	0	32	49	+17
Independent	21	20	-1	10	19	+9
Cons/Mod Dem	51	57	+6	3	3	0
Liberal Dem	64	71	+7	*	1	+1

Based on registered voters. Percentages are the share of all voters saying they "strongly support" each candidate.

has been particularly apparent among Republicans, white evangelical Protestants and white Catholics.

Second, the Republican candidate has increased voter confidence in his ability to deal with a number of key issues. While pluralities still favor Obama to deal with the economy and energy, McCain reduced his rival's margins on these two top domestic issues. The Arizona senator has also all but eliminated Obama's wide advantage in being seen as the candidate best able to reduce the interests of lobbyists and special interests in Washington.

At the same time, McCain increased his lead on national security and foreign policy issues. His current advantages over Obama on terrorism and foreign policy – 25 points on terrorism and 11 points on foreign policy – are on par with President Bush's leads over John Kerry on these issues at this stage in the 2004 campaign.

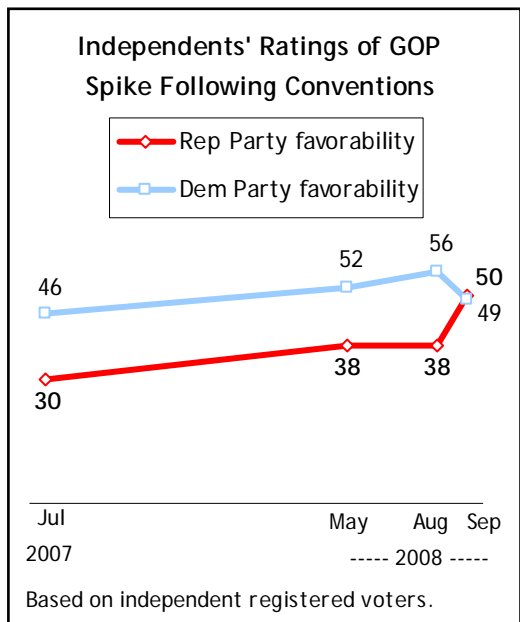
**McCain Gains on Issues, But Makes No Progress in Separating from Bush**

<i>Who can best handle...</i>	<u>July</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<i>McCain gain</i>
	%	%	
<b>The economy</b>			
McCain	32	38	+6
Obama	47	47	
<b>Foreign policy</b>			
McCain	43	51	+8
Obama	42	40	
<b>Reducing influence of lobbyists/Int grps</b>	<u>June</u>	<u>Sept</u>	
	%	%	
McCain	26	36	+10
Obama	51	40	
<b>If elected, McCain will...</b>			
Take country in a different direction	42	44	+2
Continue Bush's policies	46	45	
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	
	100	100	

Based on registered voters.

McCain may also have improved the GOP "brand," which had steadily eroded during Bush's second term. Half of registered voters now express a favorable opinion of the Republican Party – the party's highest rating in three years. The Democratic Party continues to have a more favorable image (55% favorable), but the gap between the two parties has narrowed considerably since earlier this year.

Equally important, independent voters now express about the same view of both major parties: 50% of independents have a favorable opinion of the Republican Party while 49% feel favorably toward the Democratic Party. As recently as August, positive ratings for the Democratic Party surpassed the GOP's by 18 points (56% to 38%).



In contrast with McCain, Obama has made only modest progress coming out of his convention. Since early August, Obama has gained increased support from Democratic voters, including former backers of Hillary Clinton. However, while support for Obama among Clinton’s former backers has increased slightly from 72% to 78%, this is still well below the level of support McCain enjoys from supporters of his former primary rivals (91%).

Obama continues to hold the advantage over McCain on nearly every domestic issue. Obama has double-digit leads over his opponent as the candidate best able to improve education and healthcare, and to deal with environmental issues. And while he has lost ground to McCain on the economy, he still is favored by 47% to 38% on this issue, which tops the list of voter concerns.

As has been the case throughout the campaign, Obama’s strong suit is in being seen as the candidate most likely to bring about change. And Obama’s biggest weakness continues to be the widespread belief he is not as qualified as McCain. Fewer than half of voters (47%) say the trait “well-qualified” applies to Obama, compared with 75% who say it describes McCain.

Top One-Word Impressions of the Candidates	
<u>Obama</u>	<u>McCain</u>
Inexperienced	Old
Change	Patriot
Intelligent	Bush-like
Young	Experienced
Charismatic	Honest
New	Conservative
Energetic	Hero
Hope	Leader
Liberal	Strong

Based on registered voters.

In this and other respects, voters’ assessments of the strengths and weaknesses of the candidates have been stable for much of the campaign. Far more voters view Obama as inspirational and down-to-earth than say these traits apply to his opponent. Far more voters view McCain as patriotic than say that about Obama.

The conflicts and cross-pressures facing many voters – especially swing voters – in assessing the candidates’ strengths and weaknesses are reflected in important ways. First, sizable percentages of all voters describe both candidates as “risky” – 51% of voters say this describes Obama, while nearly as many (46%) say it applies to McCain. Among swing voters, 53% see Obama as risky, compared with just 41% who view McCain this way.

Traits Associated with Candidates		
	<u>Obama</u>	<u>McCain</u>
	%	%
Is inspiring	71	43
Is patriotic	65	91
Is honest	64	62
Is down-to-earth	65	56
Is well-qualified	47	75
Is risky	51	46
Can bring about real change	53	39

Based on registered voters.

Yet somewhat more swing voters (46%) say their greater concern is that McCain will govern too much like President Bush, rather than that Obama lacks experience (37%). Nearly one-in-five swing voters (17%) offered no response about which concerned them more.

## Palin Enthuses Reps, Attracts Independents

Sarah Palin, the Republican vice-presidential nominee, may well be contributing to some of the positive trends for McCain's candidacy. Overall, 54% of voters hold a favorable view of Palin, which is about the same percentage as express a positive view of Democratic vice-presidential candidate Joe Biden (52%). However, the Alaska governor's favorable ratings are sharply higher among conservative Republicans and white evangelical Protestants, who now express much stronger and more positive support for McCain than they did prior to the Republican convention.

Notably, 22% of all McCain supporters say they "almost wish" Palin were the GOP nominee instead of McCain. Just 10% of Obama supporters express the same sentiment about Biden. White evangelical Protestants, in particular, react positively to the prospect of Palin leading the GOP ticket: 27% of white evangelical supporters of McCain say they almost wish Palin could be the nominee, compared with 18% of white Catholics and 16% of white mainline Protestants who back McCain.

Palin appears to have brought additional benefits to McCain, beyond increasing enthusiasm for his candidacy among Republicans. Independents, who on balance favor McCain in the horserace, have a particularly positive opinion of Palin (60% favorable). McCain trailed slightly among independents in August (by 45% to 41%), but now holds the edge over Obama among this group (by 45% to 38%).

While Palin is viewed more positively by voters in her own age cohort, she draws about the same favorable ratings among women (53%) as among men (56%). And while less educated whites give the Alaska governor higher than average ratings, former supporters of Hillary Clinton are not particularly drawn to her. Perhaps predictably, Democrats – especially liberals – are highly critical of Palin; she also gets particularly low ratings from voters younger than 30.

### Top One-Word Impressions of the VP Candidates

<u>Biden</u>	<u>Palin</u>
Experienced	Inexperienced
Liberal	Conservative
Old	Strong
Arrogant	Refreshing
Knowledgeable	Interesting
Unknown	Good
Confident	Great
Qualified	Unknown
Strong	Smart

Based on registered voters.

## Voting Blocs: Then and Now

There are a few demographic groups that stand out in the current race when compared with the 2004 election. Yet most of the patterns of support for Obama and McCain reflect long-standing trends in voting behavior:

**Age** – Obama is running even better among voters under 30 years of age than did Kerry, who led Bush by 54% to 45% among voters younger than 30, according to 2004 national exit polls. Obama currently leads by 60% to 31% among this group.

**Region** – Compared with Kerry, Obama is running better in the Midwest and the West. Obama holds a small lead among Midwestern voters (48%-40%); four years ago, Bush narrowly carried voters in this region (51%-48%). Obama has a narrow edge in the West (51%-43%); in 2004, the West divided its votes nearly evenly between Bush and Kerry.

**Gender** – The gender gap is slightly larger today than it was four years ago on Election Day. McCain holds an eight-point lead among men but trails among women by 10 points. Bush beat Kerry by 11 points among men and trailed Kerry by three points among women. However, McCain holds a 48% to 41% lead over Obama among white women, who also backed President Bush over John Kerry – 55% to 44%.

**Religion** – McCain's support among white evangelical Protestants, a key Republican voter group, has inched up to 71% (Obama is supported by 21% of evangelicals). Based only on voters who express a preference between the two candidates, McCain's lead among evangelicals (77%-23%) is comparable to Bush's final margin among this group (78%-21%). McCain has a small edge among white Catholic voters, 48% to 41%. He also holds a clear lead among white Catholics who attend Mass at least weekly (52% McCain vs. 36% Obama). Four years ago, Bush beat Kerry 61% to 39% among this group.

**Race** – White voters support McCain over Obama by a margin of 52%-38%, unchanged from August. Obama's large lead among black voters (89%-5%) is also unchanged from a month ago. These leads are comparable to the results in 2004, according to the exit polls.

## Other Findings

- The race is now dead even in the battleground states (45% to 45%). Obama held a 47% to 40% lead among voters in these states in Pew's early August poll.<sup>1</sup>
- When asked to identify Obama's religion, a small but consistent minority of voters say that Obama is a Muslim. Currently, 13% assert incorrectly that Obama is a Muslim, which is virtually unchanged from June; in March, 10% said that Obama was a Muslim.
- Three-in-ten voters say that chances of another terrorist attack would increase if Obama is elected. An even higher percentage (42%) expresses concern that McCain will take the United States into another war.
- Most voters say that both Obama and McCain would be able to work well with the political opposition. Roughly six-in-ten (61%) voters say Obama would work well with both Republicans and Democrats; a comparable percentage (59%) says the same about McCain.
- Opinions about the candidates' wives are positive, and have improved since earlier in the campaign. Currently, 56% of voters express a favorable opinion of Michelle Obama while 52% have a favorable opinion of Cindy McCain.

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<sup>1</sup> These states include Colorado, Florida, Nevada, Ohio, Virginia, Michigan, New Hampshire, New Mexico, Pennsylvania, Iowa, Wisconsin and Missouri.

## SECTION 1: THE OBAMA-MCCAIN MATCHUP

In spite of the huge television audiences for both political conventions and the strongly positive initial public reaction to the selection of Sarah Palin as the Republican vice presidential nominee, the electorate in September divides along most of the same demographic lines as it did prior to the conventions – and very much along the lines on Election Day in 2004. Both candidates solidified support among their own partisans. McCain now has a seven-point edge among independents (45% to 38%); Pew’s poll in August found 45% of independents supporting Obama and 41% favoring McCain.

McCain has made small gains in support among a few other groups, but the basic demographic contours of the election remain stable. Obama continues to lead among women, young voters, African Americans and lower income voters; all of these were groups carried by Kerry in 2004. McCain leads among men, whites and upper income voters, as did Bush four years ago.

McCain did make one potentially significant gain in support over the past month: the race in key battleground states is now tied, 45% for each candidate. Prior to the conventions, Obama held a small but significant 47% to 40% advantage in these important swing states.

General Election Matchup						
	August		Sept		Aug-Sept	Sept N
	Oba- ma %	Mc- Cain %	Oba- ma %	Mc- Cain %	McCain change	
All voters	46	43	46	44	+1	2509
Republicans	7	87	5	90	+3	812
Democrats	83	10	87	8	-2	874
Independents	45	41	38	45	+4	734
Men	41	49	41	49	0	1262
Women	51	38	50	40	+2	1247
White	39	51	38	52	+1	2054
Black	88	5	89	5	0	236
18-29	58	34	60	31	-3	259
30-49	47	43	45	47	+4	793
50-64	43	46	43	48	+2	840
65+	42	46	40	45	-1	578
College grad+	49	42	48	45	+3	1105
Some college	47	45	43	47	+2	657
HS or less	45	43	45	42	-1	733
\$75,000+	42	52	39	53	+1	882
\$50-\$74,999	47	47	42	49	+2	389
\$30-\$49,999	48	40	51	40	0	450
Less than \$30,000	53	35	55	34	-1	467
Republican states	42	50	39	51	+1	818
Democratic states	50	40	52	38	-2	880
Swing states	47	40	45	45	+5	811
<i>Democratic primary</i>						
Obama	93	3	94	3	0	621
Clinton	72	18	78	12	-6	471
<i>Republican primary</i>						
McCain	8	88	6	89	+1	565
Other candidate	6	88	4	91	+3	542

Based on registered voters. Figures read horizontally.



In a positive sign for Obama, an increasing proportion of Democratic primary voters who supported Hillary Clinton now say they will vote for Obama; currently 78% say they will back the Democratic nominee, up from 72% in August. But his level of support among backers of his former rival still falls below the solid backing that McCain is getting from Republicans who favored another candidate for the nomination (91%).

Among white voters overall, McCain leads Obama 52% to 38%; based on voters who expressed a preference between the two candidates, McCain's lead is 58%-42%, almost identical to Bush's margin over Kerry among white voters in 2004 (58%-41%).

McCain also has statistically significant advantages among several

important subgroups of white voters, including both men and women; voters ages 30 and older; southerners; independents; and voters who do not have a four-year college degree. Among other groups of white voters, however, Obama is competitive, including voters younger than 30; college graduates; and white voters living outside of the South.

White Voters: August - September 2008						
	August		Sept		<i>Aug-Sept</i> McCain	Sept <i>N</i>
	Oba- ma %	Mc- Cain %	Oba- ma %	Mc- Cain %		
Total Whites	39	51	38	52	+1	2054
Men	35	55	35	56	+1	1038
Women	43	46	41	48	+2	1016
18-29	51	41	48	41	0	168
30-49	38	52	39	55	+3	642
50-64	36	54	38	53	-1	704
65+	37	50	34	50	0	513
College grad+	46	46	45	49	+3	934
Not college grad	36	53	35	53	0	1111
Some college	39	53	34	56	+3	521
HS or less	34	53	36	50	-3	590
\$75,000+	38	56	37	57	+1	754
\$50-\$74,999	40	54	36	56	+2	323
\$30-\$49,999	39	49	44	48	-1	367
Under \$30,000	43	44	42	45	+1	346
Northeast	46	42	42	47	+5	391
South	31	60	28	61	+1	733
Midwest	42	46	44	44	-2	552
West	44	47	45	49	+2	378
Republican	7	88	4	92	+4	754
Democrat	78	14	84	9	-5	609
Independent	40	45	35	49	+4	620

Based on white registered voters. Figures read horizontally.

## Religion and the Vote

Religious affiliation and commitment are somewhat more strongly associated with voter support now than was the case a month ago. In particular, McCain now holds a clear lead (52% to 36%) among white non-Hispanic Catholics who attend Mass at least weekly. In August, this group was much more closely divided (McCain 45%, Obama 42%). Less observant Catholics remain equally split between the candidates, as they were last month. In 2004, Bush won among all white Catholic voters by a margin of 56%-43%.

McCain's support among white evangelical Protestants, a key Republican group that gave 78% support to Bush in his battle for reelection, has inched up now to 71% (vs. 21% for Obama). In June, 61% supported McCain. Even more notable is the increased strength of support for McCain among evangelicals.

Meanwhile, Obama leads by 90%-4% among black Protestants, and has a solid lead (62%-25%) among secular and unaffiliated voters. Among white mainline Protestants, McCain leads by 50% to 40%, about the same as last month.

	August		Sept		<i>Aug-Sept McCain change</i>	Sept <i>N</i>
	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>Cain</u> %	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>Cain</u> %		
All voters	46	43	46	44	+1	2509
Protestant	42	49	40	51	+2	1473
White evangelical	24	68	21	71	+3	591
Attend weekly	20	74	17	76	+2	393
Less often	33	57	28	63	+6	195
White mainline	39	50	40	50	0	605
Attend weekly	32	57	39	53	-4	175
Less often	41	47	40	49	+2	425
Black Protestant	88	6	90	4	-2	192
Catholic	47	42	45	44	+2	512
White, non-Hisp	44	45	41	48	+3	413
Attend weekly	42	45	36	52	+7	207
Less often	46	44	46	45	+1	205
Unaffiliated	59	27	62	25	-2	298
<i>Worship attendance</i>						
Weekly or more	41	51	36	54	+3	1053
Less often	49	40	48	43	+3	854
Seldom/never	54	35	58	28	-7	565

Based on registered voters. Figures read horizontally.

## Little Change Among Women Voters

There has been no significant movement toward McCain among women voters generally – or among white women voters in particular – following the GOP convention and his selection of Palin as his vice-presidential running mate.

However, the McCain-Palin ticket now does slightly better among women ages 30 to 49. In August, Obama held a 53% to 36% advantage over McCain among women in this age group. Following the conventions, his lead has narrowed slightly to 49%-43%, reflecting a gain of seven points in support for McCain.

Obama continues to hold a very large lead among younger women, 69% to 23%.

Patterns of Support by Gender						
	August		Sept		<i>Aug-Sept McCain change</i>	Sept N
	Oba- ma %	Mc- Cain %	Oba- ma %	Mc- Cain %		
All voters	46	43	46	44	+1	2509
Men	41	49	41	49	0	1262
Women	51	38	50	40	+2	1247
<b>MEN</b>						
Republicans	7	87	5	90	+3	430
Democrats	82	12	88	8	-4	360
Independents	42	45	35	48	+3	425
White	35	55	35	56	+1	1038
Black	83	6	89	6	0	106
18-29	50	37	52	38	+1	156
30-49	42	50	41	50	0	394
50-64	38	52	39	54	+2	429
65+	36	53	35	52	-1	268
College grad+	40	52	41	52	0	573
Some college	45	49	39	50	+1	319
HS or less	40	46	44	46	0	362
<b>WOMEN</b>						
Republicans	8	86	6	89	+3	382
Democrats	84	9	86	7	-2	514
Independents	48	37	42	40	+3	309
White	43	46	41	48	+2	1016
Black	90	4	90	4	0	130
18-29	66	30	69	23	-7	103
30-49	53	36	49	43	+7	399
50-64	46	42	47	42	0	411
65+	46	42	44	39	-3	310
College grad+	57	33	55	39	+6	532
Some college	48	42	47	44	+2	338
HS or less	48	40	47	38	-2	371

Based on registered voters. Figures read horizontally.

## Republicans Energized

While the overall horserace has been largely unchanged in the past few months, there has been an increase in strong support for McCain. Among all voters in August, 17% said they supported McCain strongly; currently, 25% support McCain strongly. Moreover, the increases in strong support are concentrated among key Republican voter groups.

Strong support jumped 16 percentage points among Republican voters overall, and 21 points among Republicans who had supported someone other than McCain in the primaries. It grew by 13 points among white evangelical Protestants, increasing from 28% in August to 41% after the conventions.

Obama made gains in strength of support among some of his key groups as well, though the magnitude of the change was not as great as for McCain. Prior to the convention, Obama's support was much stronger than McCain's (27% strong vs. 17% for McCain); now 30% strongly support Obama, compared with 25% for McCain. Notably, strong support for Obama among former backers of Hillary Clinton grew 12 points, from 29% to 41%.

GOP Ticket Gains in Strong Support						
	Obama/Biden			McCain/Palin		
	Aug	Sept	change	Aug	Sept	change
	%	%		%	%	
Total	27	30	+3	17	25	+8
Republican	1	2	+1	43	59	+16
Democrat	55	62	+7	2	2	0
Independent	21	20	-1	10	19	+9
<i>Dem. Primary Support</i>						
Obama	70	74	+4	-	-	
Clinton	29	41	+12	-	-	
<i>Rep. Primary Support</i>						
McCain	-	-		48	58	+10
Other candidate	-	-		31	52	+21
White	19	23	+4	20	29	+9
Black	74	71	-3	2	2	0
Men	24	27	+3	20	27	+7
Women	30	32	+2	14	22	+8
18-29	34	33	-1	12	17	+5
30-49	28	30	+2	15	24	+9
50-64	25	30	+5	18	28	+10
65+	23	26	+3	21	26	+5
Total Protestant	27	26	-1	19	28	+9
White evangelical	11	11	0	28	41	+13
White mainline	19	25	+6	19	26	+7
Black Protestant	76	72	-4	2	1	-1
Total Catholic	21	29	+8	17	27	+10
White Non-Hisp	19	25	+6	19	29	+10
Unaffiliated	35	40	+5	11	9	-2
<i>Attend services</i>						
Weekly or more	25	25	0	21	32	+11
Less often	29	33	+4	14	19	+5

Based on registered voters. Percentages are the share of all voters saying they "strongly support" each candidate.

## Voting “for” the Candidates

Large majorities of supporters of both candidates continue to say that their choice is more a vote for their candidate than against the other candidate. Among McCain’s backers, 66% now say their vote is more a vote for him than against Obama, up eight points from August when 58% said this. But the proportion of positive votes for McCain still trails the 76% that George W. Bush received in the 2004 election. It is comparable to positive votes for Bush in 2000 (64%).

Obama continues to attract more positive than negative votes. Currently 71% of his supporters say they are voting more for him than against McCain, unchanged from last month. Throughout the campaign season since Obama moved ahead of Clinton, Obama’s positive support has generally exceeded that of other Democratic presidential nominees of the past two decades. In particular, just 43% of John Kerry’s voters in 2004 said they were voting more for him than against Bush. In Bill Clinton’s re-election campaign, 66% of his voters were positive rather than negative, higher than in his 1992 election (57%).

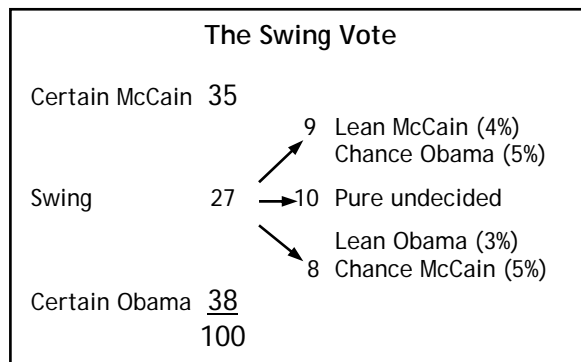
Most Voting “for” Their Candidate			
	More a vote...		
	For	Against	
<i>Among those who back the Democrat</i>	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Sept 2008 (Obama)	71	24	5=100
Aug 2008 (Obama)	71	26	3=100
July 2008 (Obama)	68	25	7=100
May 2008 (Obama)	75	22	3=100
Nov 2004 (Kerry)	43	50	7=100
Nov 2000 (Gore)	63	32	5=100
Nov 1996 (Clinton)	66	29	5=100
Oct 1992 (Clinton)	57	40	3=100
Oct 1988 (Dukakis)	54	37	9=100
<i>Among those who back the Republican</i>	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Sept 2008 (McCain)	66	28	6=100
Aug 2008 (McCain)	58	36	6=100
July 2008 (McCain)	59	35	6=100
May 2008 (McCain)	64	32	4=100
Nov 2004 (Bush)	76	20	4=100
Nov 2000 (Bush)	64	30	6=100
Nov 1996 (Dole)	47	48	5=100
Oct 1992 (Bush)	57	38	5=100
Oct 1988 (Bush)	61	32	7=100

“Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR [name] or more a vote AGAINST [name]?”  
Based on registered voters.

## Percentage of Swing Voters Declines

Slightly more than a quarter of registered voters (27%) say they are undecided or might change their mind in November, down from 33% in last month's poll. Currently, 38% say they are certain to vote for Obama and 35% for McCain. The swing voter group includes three separate kinds of voters: 8% who are either leaning to Obama (3%) or say they intend to vote for him but might pick McCain (5%); 9% who are leaning to McCain (4%) or say they intend to vote for him but might change their mind and vote for Obama (5%); and 10% who are completely undecided in the race.

The size of the swing vote in the aftermath of the conventions is slightly larger than it was four years ago at this time. In the aftermath of the political conventions in 2004, 24% of voters fell into the swing category.



The most ideological partisans are the least likely to be swing voters, with 15% of conservative Republicans and just 12% of liberal Democrats falling into this group. But significant numbers of swing voters remain among the more moderate members of each party. Among moderate and liberal Republicans, 29% remain somewhat less than certain about their vote, and the comparable number among conservative and moderate Democrats is 24%.

As is usually the case, large numbers of independents remain in the swing voter category. In the current poll, 41% are not yet certain of their choice, down five points from last month. McCain holds a slight edge among the “decided” independents, with 31% saying they are certain to vote for him and 28% saying this about Obama. McCain also has a slight edge in leaning and less solid supporters (14% for McCain, 11% for Obama). Among independents, 17% of voters remain completely undecided.

**Many Independents Still in Swing Voter Group**

	Conserv Rep %	Mod/Lib Rep %	Indep- endent %	Cons/Mod Dem %	Liberal Dem %
<i>Sept 2008</i>					
Certain McCain	84	63	31	7	1
Certain Obama	1	8	28	69	87
Swing vote	<u>15</u>	<u>29</u>	<u>41</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>August 2008</i>					
Certain McCain	78	53	26	8	2
Certain Obama	1	8	28	65	80
Swing vote	<u>21</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>June 2008</i>					
Certain McCain	71	51	26	6	2
Certain Obama	5	6	28	67	84
Swing vote	<u>24</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>46</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>14</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Based on registered voters.

## Swing Voters' Attitudes

Swing voters remain similar to the rest of the electorate with respect to gender, age, income, marital status, and other personal characteristics. They are about evenly divided in terms of partisanship (41% identify as Democrats or lean Democratic, 38% identify as Republicans or lean to the GOP).

Swing voter views of the candidates offer little clear guidance as to how they might eventually vote. They are evenly divided as to which candidate can best reduce the influence of lobbyists and special interests in Washington and on the question of which candidate is best on the energy issue. By 38% to 29%, swing voters favor Obama over McCain on the economy. A much larger majority of 57% says McCain can do a better job of protecting the country from another terrorist attack; just 14% of swing voters pick Obama on this measure.

Nearly half of swing voters (48%) say that McCain would take the country in a different direction from Bush; 35% believe he would continue to pursue Bush's policies. But when swing voters were asked outright what concerned them more, 46% said it was the possibility that McCain would govern too much like Bush; 37% were more concerned that Barack Obama lacks experience.

Views of Swing and Committed Voters				
	-----Vote Preference-----			
	All	McCain	Obama	Swing voters
	%	%	%	%
<i>Would John McCain...</i>				
Continue Bush policies	45	11	84	35
Take U.S. in new direction	44	79	10	48
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Which concerns you more?</i>				
McCain too much like Bush	-	-	-	46
Obama's inexperience	-	-	-	37
Neither/Both/DK	-	-	-	<u>17</u>
				100
<i>John McCain is...</i>				
Too old to be president	23	5	41	20
Not too old	73	94	55	73
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Democratic primary*</i>				
Obama	52	-	58	40
Clinton	41	-	36	53
Neither/Other/DK	<u>7</u>	-	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	-	100	100
<i>Republican primary**</i>				
McCain	50	51	-	51
Other candidate	43	45	-	36
Neither/Other/DK	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	-	<u>13</u>
	100	100	-	100
<i>Best job on economy</i>				
McCain	38	86	3	29
Obama	47	5	93	38
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>33</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Best job on energy</i>				
McCain	40	86	3	35
Obama	46	6	92	33
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>32</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Reducing influence of lobbyists in DC</i>				
McCain	36	78	3	31
Obama	40	4	81	30
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>24</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>39</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Dealing with terrorism</i>				
McCain	56	96	17	57
Obama	31	1	72	14
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>29</u>
	100	100	100	100
Minimum N	639	237	241	161
Based on registered voters.				
* Democrats & Dem-leaning      **Republicans & Rep-leaning				

## Reasons for Supporting Obama, McCain

The supporters of both Obama and McCain cite issues more frequently than any other reason why they would like to see their preferred candidate win in November. But beyond issues, Obama and McCain voters cite very different factors.

Nearly as many Obama supporters (38%) make some reference to a desire for change as a reason for choosing him. Fully 26% simply say that the country needs a change, or indicate the Obama can bring change. One-in-seven (14%) specifically cite dissatisfaction with Republican management of the country, President Bush, or both.

Far fewer Obama voters (16%) cite his personal qualities as the main reason they are supporting him: 4% mention that he would be the first black president, while 3% say simply he is the better man or better candidate. Only 7% cite negative things about John McCain (6%) or his running mate (1%) as reasons for supporting the Democratic candidate.

In contrast, McCain supporters mention his personal qualities (41%) nearly as frequently as they mention issues (46%). In particular, McCain's experience is cited by 17% of his supporters. In addition, 6% say they favor McCain because he is a moral person or has Christian values. An equal percentage (6%) specifically cites McCain's running mate, Sarah Palin, as a reason for supporting him. And 3% cite his background as a veteran and war hero.

More than one-in-ten (13%) McCain supporters cite opposition to Obama as a reason for voting for McCain. Most of these (9%) make general negative comments about Obama, while 3% cite Obama's inexperience. A small percentage of McCain voters (2%) also mention change as the main reason they would like to see him win the election.

Reasons for Supporting Obama	
	%
<b>NET Issues</b>	<b>46</b>
Like his stand on issues	13
Democrat/liberal	9
Economy/jobs	8
Plan to move forward	7
Iraq war	6
Middle class/in touch with people	5
<b>NET Change</b>	<b>38</b>
Change (general comments)	26
Want Republicans out of office	7
Anti-Republican (general)	7
<b>NET Qualities</b>	<b>16</b>
First black president/history	4
Better man/best candidate	3
Smart/intelligent	3
<b>NET Anti-Opponent</b>	<b>7</b>
Anti-McCain	6
Anti-Palin	1
Total adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses. Based on registered voters who support Obama.	

Reasons for Supporting McCain	
	%
<b>NET Issues</b>	<b>46</b>
Like his stand on issues	12
Republican/conservative	11
Iraq war	6
Taxes	5
Terrorism/security	4
<b>NET Qualities</b>	<b>41</b>
Experience	17
Like Palin/running mate	6
Moral/Christian values	6
Veteran/war hero	3
<b>NET Anti-Opponent</b>	<b>13</b>
Anti-Obama (general)	9
Obama inexperienced/young	3
Obama dishonest/misleading	1
<b>NET Change</b>	<b>3</b>
Change (general comments)	2
Anti-Democrat	1
Total adds to more than 100% due to multiple responses. Based on registered voters who support McCain.	



## IN THEIR OWN WORDS

### POLICIES AND ISSUES

His [McCain's] values are my values. I'm not for big government spending and I'm not for the teachers' union. Obama's tax increases are obscene. *Republican woman, 81, New Hampshire.*

I want to see him [Obama] get all the boys back home. I'm tired of the whole war. I lived through a war. And I know what these women are going through. *Democratic woman, 86, Michigan.*

### FIRST BLACK PRESIDENT

Because he would be the first African American to become a president. *Independent black woman, 19, Georgia.*

Honestly, it would be nice to see someone not white in the White House. *Independent white man, 29, Illinois.*

### CHANGE

Every time a Republican is in office we have a big economic issue and Democrats clean it up. *Democratic woman, 47, Florida.*

I really believe Obama would take things in a new direction, and McCain would be more of the same. Foreign policy would need to completely turn around. A lot of the people in the world hate America, and we need to change that. *Democratic woman, 39, North Carolina.*

I like the idea of change without radical change. And I really like the idea of him [McCain] picking Sarah Palin. *Republican man, 34, Utah.*

### EXPERIENCE

I'm considering re-enlisting back in the Marines and I'd rather have someone who's been to war like I have. I'd rather deal with a vet than someone with no experience that couldn't relate to [the] situation. *Republican man, 29, Mississippi.*

Nothing against Obama, but McCain can bring experience and he would be perfect for the time which is now. *Republican woman, 54, Kentucky.*

Obama never led anyone or anything. He doesn't have enough experience. *Republican man, 42, Texas.*

### PRO-PALIN

Because there is a woman running with him, and I think she will help handicapped children. *Independent woman, 38, Kentucky.*

I don't know that I'm voting so much for McCain as I am for the vice president. *Independent woman, no age given, Virginia.*

*Entries are verbatim answers from respondents when asked "What is the main reason why you would like to see [McCain/Obama] win the presidential election?"*

## Satisfaction with the Candidates

Almost three-quarters of registered voters say they are very (24%) or fairly (48%) satisfied with their choices for president this election cycle. This is up 12 percentage points from June, and is the highest level of satisfaction with the candidates since Pew began asking the question during the 1992 presidential campaign.

The increase in satisfaction with the candidates has been driven largely by Republicans. Currently, 74% of Republican voters say they are satisfied with their choices for president, up 25 points from June. The shift has been even greater among Republican and Republican-leaning voters who supported a candidate other than John McCain in the GOP primaries (65% now vs. 35% in June).

<i>Satisfied with pres. candidates</i>	June 2008 %	Sept 2008 %	<i>Change</i>
All Voters	60	72	+12
Republican	49	74	+25
Democrat	74	78	+4
Independent	52	63	+11
<i>R-D gap</i>	-25	-4	

Based on registered voters.

The boost has dramatically reduced the satisfaction gap between Republicans and Democrats. In June, significantly more Democrats than Republicans reported being very or fairly satisfied with their choices for president (74% v. 49%, respectively). That 25-point gap has narrowed to a four-point gap, with 78% of Democrats and 74% of Republicans now expressing satisfaction with the field.

Among religious groups, white evangelical Protestants express much greater satisfaction with the candidates than they did in June. Currently, more than two-thirds of white evangelical voters (68%) say they are satisfied with the presidential candidates, up from just 44% in June. While in June white evangelicals were far less positive about the field than were white mainline Protestants and white non-Hispanic Catholics, that gap has mostly disappeared in the current survey.

## Candidates Addressing Important Issues?

A large majority of voters (72%) say that the presidential candidates have been talking about issues important to them in the campaign. The percentage saying that the candidates are focusing on important issues is now greater than it was at this point in the 2004 campaign (64%) and the same as in September 2000 (72%).

Currently, 80% of voters under age 30 say the candidates are addressing issues that are important to them. By

	Yes %	No %	DK %
All voters	72	23	5=100
18-29	80	13	7=100
30-49	76	19	5=100
50-64	71	26	3=100
65+	59	35	6=100
Certain McCain	75	21	4=100
Certain Obama	78	18	4=100
Swing Voter	60	33	7=100

Based on registered voters.

contrast, substantially fewer voters ages 65 and older (59%) say the candidates are talking about the issues that are important to them.

Swing voters are less likely than those who say they are certain about their vote choice to say that the candidates are focusing on important issues. Six-in-ten swing voters express this view, compared with 78% of certain Obama voters and 75% of certain McCain voters.

### Increasing Republican Confidence

Republican voters emerged from their convention much more confident of victory in the fall elections than they were earlier this year. Currently, 70% say they expect John McCain to win the election, up from just 48% in June. By contrast, Democrats are now somewhat less certain of victory: 60% now say Obama is more likely to win, a decline of 10 points since June. Overall, voters divide evenly (39% for each candidate) in their prediction of who will win.

About one-in-five voters (22%) remain uncertain about the outcome. This is similar to the level of uncertainty four and eight years ago, when the country was also going through closely contested presidential elections. At this time in 2004, most voters (60%) thought Bush would win, while 22% said Kerry was most likely to win and 18% declined to offer a prediction.

In early October 2000, a plurality of 46% predicted victory for Democratic candidate Al Gore. In surveys later that fall, however, pluralities said Bush was more likely to win.

McCain Supporters Much More Confident of Victory					
	<i>Who is most likely to win?</i>				<i>McCain change</i>
	June		Sept		
	<u>Mc- Cain</u> %	<u>Oba- ma</u> %	<u>Mc- Cain</u> %	<u>Oba- ma</u> %	
All voters	27	53	39	39	+12
Republican	48	31	70	13	+22
<i>Conservative</i>	49	30	73	11	+24
<i>Mod/Lib</i>	47	33	63	17	+16
Democrat	15	70	17	60	+2
<i>Cons/Mod</i>	17	70	19	54	+2
<i>Liberal</i>	13	69	15	70	+2
Independent	24	54	37	38	+13
<i>Support...</i>					
McCain	49	30	69	14	+20
Obama	12	77	15	64	+3

Based on registered voters.

More Uncertainty about This Election			
	<i>Most likely to win...</i>		
	<u>Rep cand</u> %	<u>Dem cand</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
	Sept 2008	39	39
Sept 2004	60	22	18=100
Early Oct 2000	33	46	21=100
Early Sept 1996	16	75	9=100
Oct 1992	30	61	9=100

Based on registered voters.

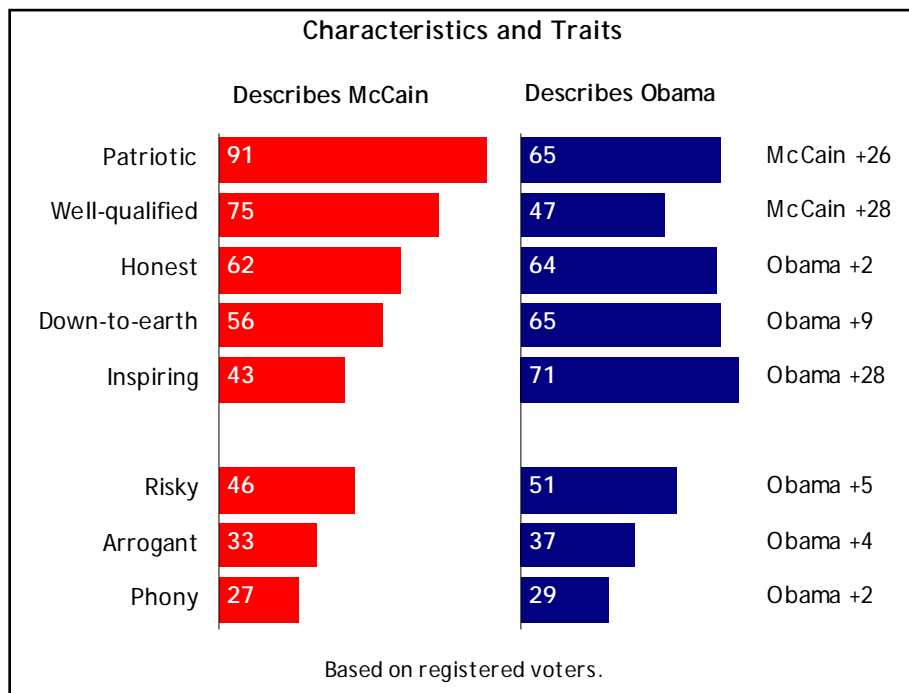
## SECTION 2: CANDIDATE TRAITS

Both McCain and Obama continue to be well regarded by voters on a number of personal traits. As was the case in April, majorities view both candidates as patriotic, honest and down-to-earth. However, there are major differences in how voters view each candidate.

Far more regard McCain as patriotic (91%) than say this about Obama (65%). There is very little partisan division over McCain’s patriotism – 83% of Democrats feel the term applies to McCain, as do 93% of independents and 98% of Republicans. When it comes to Obama’s patriotism, the gap is far wider. While 86% of Democrats and 64% of independents say Obama is patriotic, just 42% of Republicans agree.

McCain holds a similarly large advantage when it comes to being seen as well-qualified – 75% of voters say this term applies to McCain, 47% to Obama. Of all traits included in the survey, partisan divisions are greatest when it comes to views of Obama’s qualifications – 76% of Democrats say he is well-qualified compared with 16% of Republicans. Among independent voters, nearly twice as many see McCain as well-qualified than Obama (80% vs. 41%).

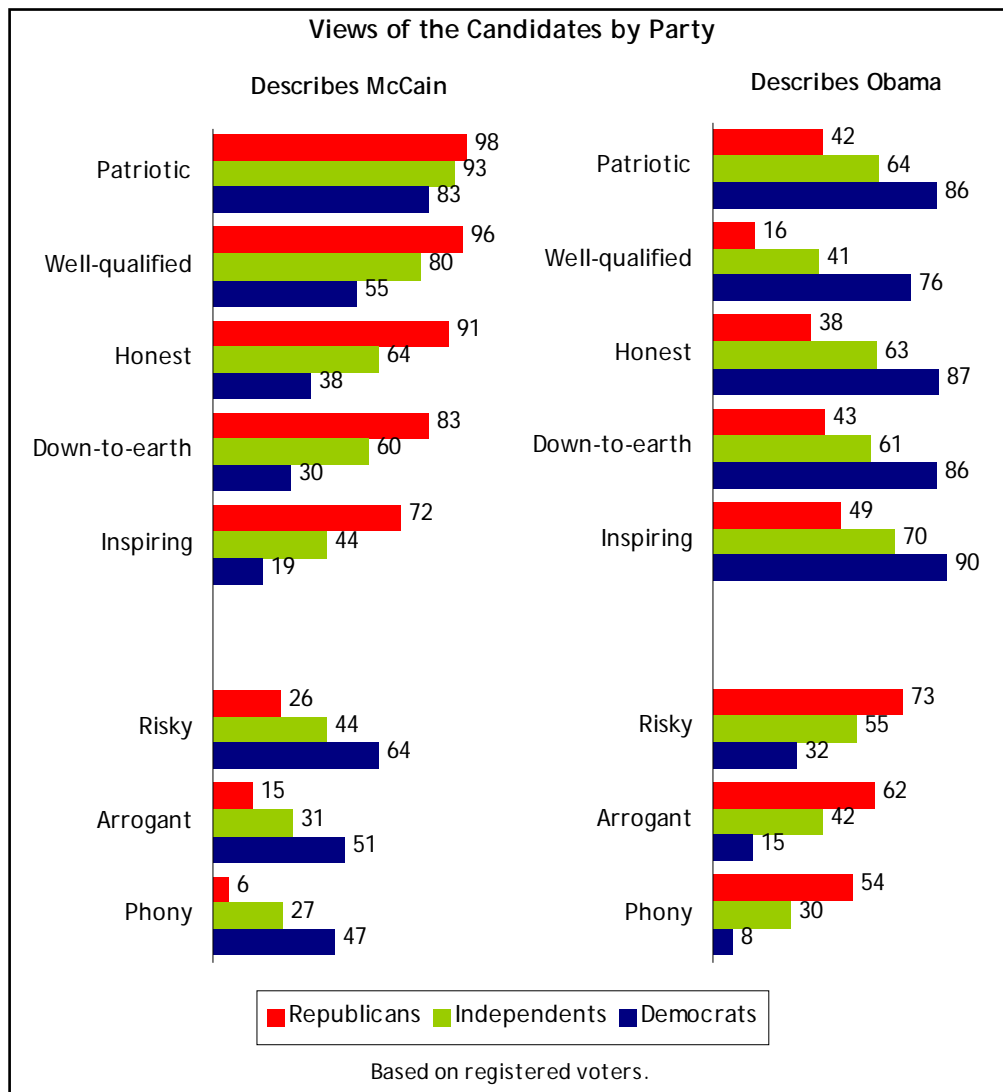
Obama’s big personal advantage is in the widespread belief that he is inspiring. Overall, 71% of voters regard Obama as inspiring. By comparison, just 43% of voters say McCain is inspiring. Even among Republicans, nearly half (49%) describe Obama as inspiring.



Overall, while Obama is clearly seen as the less well-qualified candidate, the term risky is applied nearly as often to John McCain (46%) as it is to Barack Obama (51%). But when it comes to independent voters, McCain has a clear edge. More independents view Obama as risky than say this about McCain (55% vs. 44%).

Large majorities describe McCain (62%) and Obama (64%) as honest. Obama has a slim edge when it comes to being seen as down-to-earth (65% vs. 56% for McCain). There are substantial partisan differences in voters' views on these traits, but independents are about as likely to view McCain as honest and down-to-earth as to say these traits apply to Obama.

McCain and Obama are each seen as "arrogant" by roughly the same number of voters overall (33% and 37%, respectively), but the gap is larger among independents (31% McCain, 42% Obama). Relatively few voters rate the candidates as "phony" (27% McCain, 29% Obama).



## Candidates in a Word

Asked what one word best describes their impression of Barack Obama, far more voters mentioned “inexperienced” than any other word. Inexperienced has consistently been the word most associated with Obama, appearing atop the list in both April and February of this year as well. Not surprisingly, “change” is the second most frequently mentioned word and has become increasingly associated with Obama since April. Other positive words people use to describe Obama are “intelligent,” “young,” “charismatic,” “new,” “energetic” and “hope” or “hopeful.” Aside from inexperienced,” some of the more frequently used negative words are “scary,” “unqualified” and “liar.”

As with Obama’s top word, there has been no change at the top of the list for McCain over the course of the campaign. The single word most commonly used to describe John McCain continues to be “old.” Many also refer to McCain as a “patriot” or “patriotic,” and other positive words include “experienced,” “honest,” and “hero.”

One substantial change in descriptions of McCain is in the number associating McCain with George Bush. In the current survey, the third most common word that came to mind among voters asked to think about McCain was related to the current president. Mentions of Bush were relatively infrequent in earlier surveys conducted in April and February.

The One Word that Best Describes...			
	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Obama</u>	
#		#	
58	Old	55	Inexperienced
34	Patriot	36	Change
28	Bush/Bush-like	20	Intelligent
25	Experienced	20	Young/Youthful
21	Honest	15	Charismatic
18	Conservative	14	New
17	Hero	12	Energetic
16	Leader/Leadership	12	Hope/Hopeful
14	Strong	12	Liberal
11	Good	10	Honest
10	Integrity	9	Fresh
9	Maverick	9	Scary
9	Same	8	Different
9	Trust/Trustworthy	7	Enthusiastic
8	Honor/Honorable	7	Unqualified
8	Qualified	6	Committed
8	Republican	6	Good
7	Courageous	6	Innovative
7	Lies/Liar	6	Inspiring
6	Dedicated	6	Liar
		6	Socialist
	N=629		N=629

Based on registered voters. Figure shows number of respondents who offered each response; these numbers are not percentages.

## McCain's Age

Fewer than a quarter of voters (23%) believe that McCain is too old to be president, which is little changed from June (21%) and February (26%) of this year. More than a third of Democratic voters (36%) say that McCain is too old to be president, compared with 21% of independents and just 11% of Republicans.

There are no major age differences in opinions about whether McCain is too old to be president. In February, older voters were somewhat more likely than younger voters to view McCain as too old to be president, but those differences were not evident in June or in the current survey.

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
All Voters	23	73	4=100
Republican	11	88	1=100
Democrat	36	59	5=100
Independent	21	76	3=100

Based on registered voters.

## Obama's Religious Beliefs

A small but consistent minority of voters (13%) continue to say that Obama is a Muslim. This percentage is largely unchanged from June (12%) and March (10%), when the controversy over Obama's former pastor at Chicago's Trinity United Church of Christ was fresh in many people's minds.

In the current survey, 54% identify Obama as a Christian, while 16% say they do not know Obama's religion because they have heard different things about it. Another 11% don't know because they have not heard enough about Obama's religion.

Nearly one-in-five McCain supporters (19%) say that Obama is a Muslim, up from 14% in March. Fewer than one-in-ten Obama supporters (7%) identify him as a Muslim.

More than three times as many white voters than African Americans see Obama as a Muslim (14% vs. 4%). Among white voters, 17% of those who have not completed college say

	March		June		September	
	<u>Chris- tian</u> %	<u>Mus- lim</u> %	<u>Chris- tian</u> %	<u>Mus- lim</u> %	<u>Chris- tian</u> %	<u>Mus- lim</u> %
Total	53	10	57	12	54	13
Republican	54	14	55	12	49	17
Democrat	52	10	60	12	58	9
Independent	58	8	59	11	57	14
<i>Support...</i>						
McCain	52	14	56	15	48	19
Obama	54	7	63	9	62	7
18-29	41	8	53	15	45	17
30-49	53	11	63	11	58	12
50-64	60	11	59	13	59	13
65+	53	12	51	9	47	11
White	54	11	58	12	53	14
Black	44	10	62	5	63	4
<i>Among whites</i>						
College Grad	73	5	77	6	69	7
Not College Grad	45	13	47	15	45	17
Evangelical Prot	50	16	52	19	52	16
Mainline Prot	59	7	60	9	58	13
Catholic	52	11	56	11	46	13

Question: "Do you happen to know what Barack Obama's religion is? Is he Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, or something else?" Percentages read horizontally with only Christian and Muslim responses shown. Based on registered voters.

Obama is a Muslim and 45% say he is a Christian. Among white college graduates, 7% say Obama is a Muslim while 69% say he is a Christian.

### Views of Candidates' Wives

Voters' opinions of Michelle Obama and Cindy McCain have improved considerably since May. Currently, a majority of voters express favorable opinions of both Michelle Obama (56%) and Cindy McCain (52%), up from 44% and 42%, respectively, in May.

Compared with just a few months ago, Michelle Obama is now viewed much more positively among Democratic (79% vs. 65%) and independent (54% vs. 39%) voters. Republicans also have more positive views of Barack Obama's wife than they did in May, but they continue to express more unfavorable than favorable views. A third of Republicans view Michelle Obama favorably and 45% view her unfavorably; in May, about a quarter (24%) said they had a positive view of Mrs. Obama and 39% had a negative view.

	May 2008		Sept 2008	
	Fav	Unfav	Fav	Unfav
	%	%	%	%
All voters	44	22	56	26
Republicans	24	39	33	45
Democrats	65	11	79	10
Independents	39	22	54	28
<i>Support...</i>				
McCain	23	38	30	49
Obama	68	7	84	6
Based on registered voters.				

Cindy McCain's image has improved considerably among Republican and independent voters. More than three-quarters of Republicans (76%) now have a positive opinion of John McCain's wife, up 20 points since May. The proportion of independent voters who express a positive opinion of Cindy McCain has risen from 40% in May to 55% currently.

	May 2008		Sept 2008	
	Fav	Unfav	Fav	Unfav
	%	%	%	%
All voters	42	16	52	24
Republicans	56	6	76	5
Democrats	37	26	30	46
Independents	40	15	55	18
<i>Support...</i>				
McCain	52	7	75	6
Obama	36	26	32	43
Based on registered voters.				

But Democrats express much more negative views of Mrs. McCain than they did a few months ago. Fully 46% of Democratic voters say they have a negative opinion of Cindy McCain; in May, just 26% expressed an unfavorable opinion. Mrs. McCain is now viewed favorably by 30% of Democrats, down from 37% in May.



## SECTION 3: THE VICE-PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATES

Most voters express favorable views of both vice-presidential candidates, Sarah Palin and Joe Biden. Each candidate is viewed positively by a large majority of voters in their own party, but Palin has a much better image among independents. Six-in-ten independent voters say they have a favorable opinion of Palin compared with 47% who express a positive view of Biden.

Opinions of Palin are divided along partisan, racial, and religious lines, but the survey finds no significant gender gap in views of the GOP's first female vice presidential candidate.

Palin receives her highest ratings from voters of her party – 85% of Republicans, including 89% of conservative Republicans, express a positive opinion. By contrast, just about a quarter of Democrats (26%) say they have a favorable view and about six-in-ten (59%) have an unfavorable view of Palin. McCain's running mate is viewed much more negatively by liberal Democrats (74% unfavorable) than by moderate and conservative Democrats (52%).

Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters who supported Hillary Clinton for their party's nomination are more likely than those who supported Obama to have a favorable view of Palin (35% vs. 21%). However, nearly half of Clinton supporters (47%) express negative opinions of Palin.

More than six-in-ten white voters who did not graduate from college (62%) express favorable views of Palin; just 23% of non-college whites have a negative opinion of the Alaska governor. By contrast, white college graduates have more divided opinions of Palin (54% favorable vs. 39% unfavorable).

Views of Sarah Palin				
	<u>Fav</u>	<u>Unfav</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	
All voters	54	32	14=100	1283
Men	56	30	14=100	658
Women	53	34	13=100	625
Republican	85	6	9=100	420
Democrat	26	59	15=100	459
Independent	60	27	13=100	359
White	59	29	12=100	1025
Black	31	49	20=100	135
18-29	41	40	19=100	138
30-49	60	31	9=100	406
50-64	55	31	14=100	428
65+	52	28	20=100	290
College grad+	51	42	7=100	574
Some college	57	31	12=100	335
HS or less	56	25	19=100	365
\$75,000+	57	35	9=100	464
\$50-\$74,999	61	34	5=100	177
\$30-49,999	55	26	19=100	240
Less than \$30,000	46	35	19=100	233
Protestant	60	25	15=100	757
White evangelical	78	11	11=100	293
White mainline	52	33	15=100	308
Catholic	56	34	10=100	266
White, non-Hisp	63	28	9=100	207
Unaffiliated	38	47	15=100	152
<i>Dem primary*</i>				
Clinton supporter	35	47	18=100	239
Obama supporter	21	65	14=100	323
<i>Among whites</i>				
Men	59	28	13=100	533
Women	59	30	11=100	492
College grad	54	39	7=100	474
Not college grad	62	23	15=100	546

Based on registered voters.  
\* Democratic and Dem-leaning registered voters.

Among religious groups, white evangelical Protestants view Palin much more favorably than do white mainline Protestants or white non-Hispanic Catholics; nearly eight-in-ten white evangelical Protestants (78%) offer positive ratings, compared with 63% of white non-Hispanic Catholics and 52% of white mainline Protestants. Views of Palin among those who are not affiliated with a particular religion are, on balance, negative (47% unfavorable vs. 38% favorable).

Young voters are split in their opinions of Sarah Palin. About four-in-ten (41%) express a favorable view and about as many (40%) offer an unfavorable view. Palin is viewed much more favorably among older voters. Fully 60% of voters 30-49 have a positive opinion of John McCain's running mate, as do majorities of voters 50 and older.

### Men, Women View Palin Similarly

Men and women offer nearly identical ratings of Palin; 56% of men and 53% of women say they have a positive view of the vice presidential candidate. This also is the case among men and women across various demographic groups.

For example, 79% of white evangelical Protestant men and 78% of white evangelical Protestant women rate Palin favorably, as do 37% of religiously unaffiliated men and 38% of unaffiliated women. Married men and married women also offer similar ratings (63% and 60% favorable, respectively) and, among both men and women, those who are married see Palin much more favorably than do those who are not.

No Significant Gender Gap in Views of Palin			
	Percent favorable		
	Men	Women	Gap
	%	%	
All voters	56	53	-3
Republican	85	85	0
Democrat	22	28	+6
Independent	60	59	-1
White	59	59	0
Non-white	43	34	-9
18-39	49	53	+4
40+	59	53	-6
College grad	52	50	-2
Not college grad	57	55	-2
Protestant	63	58	-5
White evangelical	79	78	-1
White mainline	56	48	-8
Catholic	57	55	-2
White, non-Hisp	60	66	+6
Unaffiliated	37	38	+1
Married	63	60	-3
Unmarried	46	45	-1
Based on registered voters.			

## Biden's Favorability Ratings

Most voters (52%) say they have a favorable view of Joe Biden. The Democratic vice presidential nominee is especially popular among voters of his party – 74% of Democrats, including 84% of liberal Democrats, express positive opinions. On balance, Biden receives positive reviews from independent voters (47% favorable vs. 35% unfavorable), but his favorable rating among this group is considerably lower than Palin's (60% favorable vs. 27% unfavorable). Overall, Biden is viewed favorably by only a third of Republican voters. However, fully half of moderate and liberal Republicans say they have a favorable opinion of Obama's running mate.

	<u>Fav</u> %	<u>Unfav</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>N</u>
All voters	52	30	18=100	1283
Men	50	35	15=100	658
Women	53	25	22=100	625
Republican	33	49	18=100	420
Democrat	74	10	16=100	459
Independent	47	35	18=100	359
Protestant	47	33	20=100	757
White evangelical	35	45	20=100	293
White mainline	53	29	18=100	308
Catholic	56	28	16=100	266
White non-Hisp	60	26	14=100	207
Unaffiliated	55	25	20=100	152

Based on registered voters.

Among religious groups, Biden receives his highest favorable ratings from white, non-Hispanic Catholics (60%). A smaller majority of white mainline Protestants (53%) also say they have a positive view of the Democratic vice presidential candidate, as do 55% of voters who do not identify as belonging to any particular religion. Just more than a third of white evangelical Protestants (35%) see Biden positively; 45% say they have an unfavorable view of him.

## Few Would Prefer Palin or Biden as the Nominee

About a fifth of McCain supporters (22%) say that they "almost wish Palin was the Republican nominee instead of John McCain." White evangelical Protestants who support McCain are more likely to say that is the case; more than a quarter (27%) say they almost wish Palin were at the top of the ticket, compared with 16% of white mainline Protestants and 18% of white, non-Hispanic Catholics. Among white voters, a quarter of those who have not completed college say they almost wish Palin were the nominee, compared with 18% of college graduates.

	Among McCain supporters <u>Palin</u> %	Among Obama supporters <u>Biden</u> %
Agree	22	10
Disagree	75	87
Don't know	<u>3</u> 100	<u>3</u> 100

Based on registered voters.

Fewer Obama supporters say they sometimes wish Biden were the Democratic nominee (10%). White Obama voters who do not have a college degree are more than twice as likely as those who have graduated from college to agree with this statement (15% vs. 7%).

## One-Worders of VP Candidates

When asked what one word best describes their impression of the vice presidential nominees, “experienced” is by far the word most frequently used to describe Biden, while “inexperienced” tops the list of words voters use to describe Palin. Both candidates also are described in terms of their ideology; “conservative” is the second most common term that voters volunteer to describe Palin and “liberal” is a distant second to “experienced” for Biden.

For Palin, “strong,” “fresh,” and “interesting” are among the most commonly mentioned terms. Voters also say Palin is “smart,” “confident” and “energetic.”

The most common words used to describe Biden are more mixed. While more volunteer the word “experienced” than any other word to describe the Delaware senator, “old” and “arrogant” are among the most frequently mentioned words. More positively, voters also see him as “knowledgeable,” “strong” and “confident.”

The Vice Presidential Candidates in a Word			
	<u>Palin</u>		<u>Biden</u>
#		#	
24	Inexperienced	48	Experienced
18	Conservative	14	Liberal
18	Strong	12	Old
16	Fresh/Refreshing	11	Arrogant
16	Interesting	10	Knowledgeable
11	Good	10	Unknown
11	Great	8	Confident
11	Unknown	8	Qualified
10	Smart	8	Strong
9	Aggressive	7	Honest
9	New	7	Intelligent
8	Confident	6	Politician
8	Energetic	5	Idiot
8	Honest	5	OK
8	Impressive	5	Old-school
6	Dynamic	5	Unimpressive
6	Unqualified		
5	Feisty		
5	Female/Woman		
5	Intelligent		
5	Likable/Like her		
N=597		N=597	
Based on registered voters. Figure shows number of respondents who offered each response; these numbers are <u>not</u> percentages.			

## SECTION 4: OBAMA, McCAIN AND THE ISSUES

McCain has reduced Obama's advantage on several major issues, including reducing the influence of lobbyists, dealing with the nation's energy problems, and improving the nation's economy. In addition, McCain has expanded his advantage as the candidate seen as best able to defend against terrorism, and now holds an 11-point lead as the candidate best able to make wise decisions about foreign policy (51% to 40%); in July, the two candidates ran about even on foreign policy.

Nonetheless, Obama holds substantial leads on most domestic issues, with his largest advantages on health care (21 points), the environment (21 points) and education (19 points).

Since late spring, McCain has made his biggest gain in perceptions about which candidate would do the best job of reducing the influence of lobbyists. Currently, 36% say McCain

can do the best job in reducing lobbyists' influence, up from 26% in June. The proportion saying Obama can do better in reining in lobbyists has declined over this period, from 51% to 40%.

Increasing percentages now say McCain would do best in defending the nation against terrorism (up eight points since July) and in making wise foreign policy decisions (up eight points as well). McCain also narrowed the gap on which candidate would best deal with the nation's energy problems. In May, about half (51%) chose Obama, while 33% chose McCain. Now, 46% choose Obama and 40% choose McCain.

Where McCain Has Gained					
<i>Who can do best job of...</i>	May-July		September		<i>McCain gain</i>
	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>cain</u> %	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>cain</u> %	
Reducing the influence of lobbyists**	51	26	40	36	+10
Defending country from terrorist attack***	33	48	31	56	+8
Making wise decisions about foreign policy***	42	43	40	51	+8
Dealing w/ nation's energy problems*	51	33	46	40	+7
Improving economic conditions***	47	32	47	38	+6
Other Issues					
	May-July		September		<i>McCain gain</i>
	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>cain</u> %	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>cain</u> %	
Reflecting your views on abortion/gay rights*	48	34	45	39	+5
Making wise decisions on Iraq***	41	44	41	48	+4
Dealing with taxes**	47	36	44	39	+3
Improving health care*	49	32	52	31	-1
Dealing w/ immigration*	39	44	38	39	-5
Dealing w/ environment	--	--	53	32	--
Improving education	--	--	51	32	--
Based on registered voters. Trends from * May ** June *** July.					

Obama still leads McCain as the candidate best able to improve economic conditions, but McCain has made gains since July. Currently, Obama leads McCain by 47% to 38%; in July, 47% of voters said Obama would do the best job of improving economic conditions, compared with 32% for McCain.

### McCain Still Tied to Bush

Voters remain divided on whether McCain represents a significant change from President Bush. Overall, 45% say they think McCain would continue Bush's policies, while 44% say he would take the country in a new direction. Views about whether McCain would set a different course have remained stable since March.

Not surprisingly, these impressions differ significantly by party, with 73% of Republicans saying McCain would take the country in a new direction; just 16% of Democrats agree. More than three-quarters of Democrats (76%) say McCain would continue Bush's policies, compared with 17% of Republicans.

<i>As president, McCain would...</i>	March	May	June	Sept
	%	%	%	%
Continue Bush's policies	46	44	46	45
Take new direction	43	45	42	44
Don't know	11	11	12	11
	100	100	100	100

Based on registered voters.

About half of independent voters (51%) say they think McCain would move the country in a new direction; 36% say he would continue Bush's policies. In June, 46% of independent voters said McCain would take a new direction, compared with 40% who said he would continue Bush's policies.

### Impressions of the Candidates

When presented with a series of statements about the candidates, about four-in-ten (42%) voters say that they "worry McCain will take America into another war;" more than half (53%) disagree. In September 2004, some 51% said they worried Bush would take the nation into another war, compared to 45% who said they disagreed with the statement.

Not surprisingly, there is a wide gap in the current survey between Democrats and Republicans. Nearly three-quarters of Democrats say they worry McCain will take America into another war, compared with just 12% of Republicans. Roughly four-in-ten independents (37%) concur with the

	All Voters	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
<i>I worry McCain will take America into another war</i>	42	12	73	37
Disagree	53	85	23	59
Don't know	5	3	4	4
	100	100	100	100
<i>Chances of terrorism would increase if Obama is elected</i>				
Agree	30	52	10	32
Disagree	61	41	83	59
Don't know	9	7	7	9
	100	100	100	100

Based on registered voters.

statement, while 59% disagree.

Voters also were asked if they agree that the chances of a terrorist attack would increase if Obama is elected. Three-in-ten agree with that statement, while 61% disagree. When the same question was asked four years ago, 36% agreed that the chances of a terrorist attack would increase if John Kerry were elected; 56% disagreed with the statement.

A narrow majority of Republicans (52%) believe that the chance of terrorism would increase if Obama is elected, while 41% disagree. Just 10% of Democrats say the chance of terrorism would increase under an Obama administration, while 83% disagree. About a third of independents (32%) believe the chance of terrorism would increase; a comparable percentage (37%) says they worry that McCain would lead the United States into another war.

### Who Can Bring ‘Real Change’?

A narrow majority (53%) says they agree with the statement: “Barack Obama can bring about real change in Washington.” By comparison, substantially fewer (39%) agree that McCain can bring about real change in the nation’s capital.

Nearly half of independents (47%) agree with the change statement when asked about Obama, while 41% agree when it is asked about McCain. Large majorities of Democrats (83%) and Republicans (71%) view their party’s nominee as able to bring about real change in the capital.

<i>Agree Obama/McCain can bring “real change”</i>	<u>Obama</u> %	<u>McCain</u> %
All voters	53	39
Men	49	42
Women	57	37
18-29	61	41
30-49	57	37
50-64	47	43
65+	47	38
Republican	21	71
Democrat	83	15
Independent	47	41

Based on registered voters.

A majority of women (57%) agree that Obama can bring “real change,” while 49% of men agree with the statement. For McCain, 42% of men agree he can bring change, while 37% of women take that stance.

Voters who are younger than 30, in particular, believe that Obama can bring about change; 61% agree with this statement about Obama compared with 41% who say the same about McCain. Far fewer older voters – especially those ages 50 and older (47%) – view Obama as an agent of change.

## Impressions of Allegiances

Half of voters agree with the statement that McCain would “do too much for the wealthy,” while 45% say they disagree. By contrast, just 16% agree that Obama would “do too much for African Americans;” fully 78% disagree with this statement.

The idea that Obama would unfairly favor blacks is rejected by large majorities of Democrats, independents and Republicans. Still, about a quarter of Republicans (26%) believe that Obama would do too much for blacks, compared with just 13% of independents and 10% of Democrats.

African American voters overwhelmingly disagree with the statement that Obama would do too much for blacks. Nearly one-in-five whites (18%) say Obama would do too much for blacks compared with 77% who disagree.

Among working class white voters – those who have not completed college – 22% agree that Obama would do too much for blacks; that compares with just 11% of white college graduates. Twice as many non-college whites say McCain would do too much for the wealthy than say that Obama would do too much for blacks.

Few Say Obama Would Do Too Much for Blacks			
	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
<i>McCain would do too much for the wealthy</i>			
All voters	50	45	5=100
White	45	50	5=100
Black	79	21	*=100
<i>Among whites</i>			
College grad	46	52	2=100
Not college grad	44	49	7=100
Republican	13	82	5=100
Democrat	79	18	3=100
Independent	51	44	5=100
<i>Obama would do too much for blacks</i>			
All voters	16	78	6=100
White	18	77	5=100
Black	4	89	7=100
<i>Among whites</i>			
College grad	11	85	4=100
Not college grad	22	72	6=100
Republican	26	67	7=100
Democrat	10	86	4=100
Independent	13	80	7=100
Based on registered voters.			



## Race Seen as Factor in Obama Opposition

Voters were asked if they agree or disagree with a statement that said “there are many people who won’t vote for Barack Obama because he is black.” About as many agree as disagree that race will be a factor in votes against the Democrat (46% vs. 49%).

Nearly seven-in-ten liberal Democratic voters (69%) say that many people will not vote for Obama because of his race, while 29% disagree. By contrast, just 30% of conservative Republicans agree with the statement, while 65% disagree. Moderates in both parties are more evenly split, as are independents.

More than six-in-ten African American voters (61%) and 54% of Hispanics say many people will not vote for Obama because he is black. A smaller percentage of white voters (43%) agree with that statement, compared with 53% who disagree.

Less educated white voters are nearly as likely as white college graduates to say that many will not support Obama because he is black (42% vs. 47%).

Voters ages 65 and older largely reject the belief that many people will not vote for Obama because of his race: just 33% agree with this statement while 59% disagree. Among younger age groups, far more voters say that many people will not vote for Obama because he is black.

Many See Race as Factor in Opposition to Obama			
<i>Many people won't vote for Obama because he's black</i>	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
All voters	46	49	5=100
White	43	53	4=100
Black	61	32	7=100
Hispanic	54	42	4=100
<i>Among whites</i>			
College grad	47	49	4=100
Not college grad	42	54	4=100
College grad	48	48	4=100
Some college	50	46	4=100
HS or less	42	52	6=100
18-29	55	41	4=100
30-49	46	51	3=100
50-64	50	45	5=100
65+	33	59	8=100
Conserv Rep	30	65	5=100
Mod/Lib Rep	48	50	2=100
Independent	46	47	7=100
Conserv/Mod Dem	49	47	4=100
Liberal Dem	69	29	2=100

Based on registered voters.

## SECTION 5: RATING THE PARTIES

### Republican Party Favorability Surges

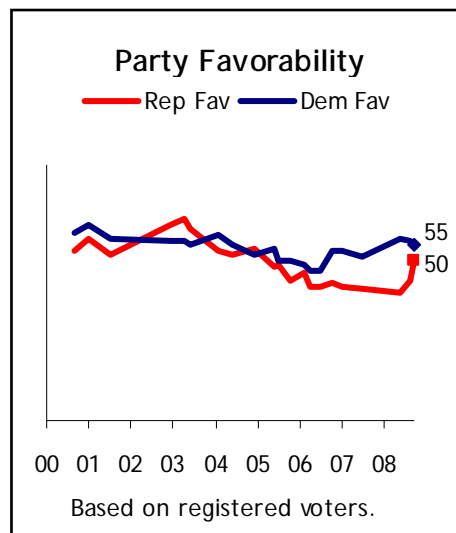
The overall image of the Republican Party has improved substantially over the past few months. Half of all registered voters say they have a favorable view of the Republican Party, up from 40% in May. Unfavorable ratings of the Republican Party are down from 55% in May to 46% in the current poll. This is the first time since July 2005 that more voters have rated the Republican Party favorably than unfavorably.

By comparison, ratings of the Democratic Party have remained relatively stable. A majority of voters (55%) offers a favorable opinion of the Democratic Party while 41% have an unfavorable view. In May, 57% had a favorable view and 39% an unfavorable opinion.

As a result, while the Democratic Party's image remains more positive than that of the Republican Party, the gap in favorable ratings has shrunk to only 5 points from a 17-point gap in May.

The turnaround in ratings is particularly significant among independents, and the shift in independent views occurred over the course of the convention period. Independent voters now have equally favorable opinions of both parties (50% for the Republican Party, 49% for the Democratic Party). GOP favorability is up 12 points among independents from 38% in August. In contrast, ratings of the Democratic Party are down seven points among independents from 56%. The 18-point advantage in favorability that Democrats had among independents going into the conventions has now disappeared.

The GOP's image has also improved within its own base. As recently as May, just 74% of Republicans offered a favorable assessment of their own party, far



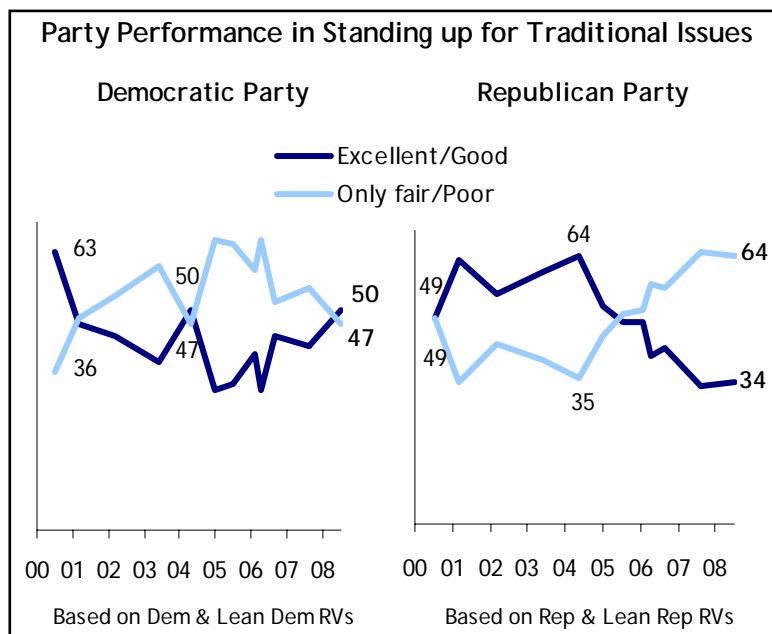
Percent "favorable"	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>Republican Party</i>	%	%	%
September 2008	90	20	50
August 2008	81	19	38
May 2008	74	17	38
July 2007	82	16	30
July 2006	82	11	36
July 2005	90	16	41
June 2004	94	19	48
June 2003	95	25	55
December 2002	94	28	60
July 2001	91	22	48
September 2000	92	24	54
<i>Democratic Party</i>			
September 2008	21	90	49
August 2008	19	90	56
May 2008	23	88	52
July 2007	18	86	46
July 2006	17	82	41
July 2005	21	87	45
June 2004	22	87	52
June 2003	25	89	58
December 2002	27	88	56
July 2001	18	91	58
September 2000	26	91	58

Based on registered voters.

below the 88% of Democrats who thought highly of their party at the time. Today, nine-in-ten members of both parties look upon their own party favorably, a 16-point gain in GOP favorability among Republican voters.

### Republicans Still Critical of Party's Performance

While Republicans are giving their party favorable marks overall, there remains a good deal of dissatisfaction with the party's performance on traditional Republican issues. When Republican and Republican-leaning voters are asked how well their party is doing "standing up for its traditional positions on such things as reducing the size of government, cutting taxes and promoting conservative social values," only 34% say the party is doing an excellent or good job and 64% say the party is doing only fair or poor.



By comparison, when Democratic and Democratic-leaning independent voters are asked how well their party is doing "standing up for its traditional positions on things such as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people," half (50%) say their party is doing an excellent or good job and 47% say the party is doing only fair or poor.

Republican ratings on this measure have declined substantially since 2004 when 64% said the party was doing an excellent or good job standing up for traditional GOP positions on issues. Democratic ratings of their party's performance are comparable to 2004, but the current figures represent a substantial improvement from low ratings in the wake of Bush's reelection. As recently as 2006, just 32% of Democrats gave their party high marks for standing up for

traditional Democratic positions. And these ratings have improved even over the past year, from 42% in October 2007 to 50% today.

## DETAILED TABLES: PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT

	July 30-Aug. 10, 2008			Sept. 9-14, 2008			McCain change	Sept N
	Mc-Cain %	Obama %	Other/DK %	Mc-Cain %	Obama %	Other/DK %		
<b>TOTAL</b>	43	46	10	44	46	10	1	2509
<b>SEX</b>								
Male	49	41	10	49	41	10	0	1262
Female	38	51	11	40	50	11	2	1247
<b>AGE</b>								
18-29	34	58	9	31	60	9	-3	259
30-49	43	47	10	47	45	8	4	793
50-64	47	43	11	48	43	9	1	840
65+	47	42	12	45	40	15	-2	578
<b>SEX BY AGE</b>								
Men 18-29	37	50	12	38	52	10	1	156
Men 30-49	50	42	8	50	41	8	0	394
Men 50-64	51	38	10	54	39	7	3	429
Men 65+	53	36	11	52	35	13	-1	268
Women 18-29	30	66	4	23	69	8	-7	103
Women 30-49	36	53	11	44	49	8	8	399
Women 50-64	42	46	11	42	47	11	0	411
Women 65+	42	46	13	39	44	17	-3	310
<b>RACE</b>								
White	50	39	10	52	38	10	2	2054
Non-White	17	74	9	16	75	9	-1	423
Black	5	88	8	5	89	6	0	236
Hispanic*	29	59	12	29	61	10	0	129
<b>REGION</b>								
East	38	51	11	39	48	12	1	468
Midwest	41	46	13	40	48	12	-1	640
South	49	42	9	51	39	10	2	927
West	41	50	9	43	51	6	2	474
<b>EDUCATION</b>								
College grad	42	49	9	45	48	7	3	1105
Some college	45	47	8	47	43	10	2	657
HS grad or less	43	45	12	42	45	13	-1	733
<b>DETAILED EDUCATION</b>								
Post-grad	41	52	7	38	55	6	-3	463
BS/BA	43	47	10	50	43	7	7	642
Some college	45	47	8	47	43	10	2	657
HS grad	44	43	13	46	43	12	2	623
Less than HS	39	51	10	27	56	17	-12	110

## DETAILED TABLES: continued

	July 30-Aug. 10, 2008			Sept. 9-14, 2008			McCain change	Sept N
	Mc- Cain	Oba- ma	Other/ DK	Mc- Cain	Oba- ma	Other/ DK		
<b>INCOME</b>	%	%	%	%	%	%		%
\$75,000+	51	42	6	53	39	8	2	882
\$30,000-\$74,999	44	48	9	44	47	9	0	839
<\$30,000	35	53	12	34	55	11	-1	467
<b>DETAILED INCOME</b>								
\$100,000+	52	41	7	55	39	6	3	539
\$75,000-\$99,999	50	45	5	50	41	10	0	343
\$50,000-\$74,999	47	47	6	49	43	8	2	389
\$30,000-\$49,999	40	48	11	40	51	9	0	450
\$20,000-\$29,999	39	49	11	42	49	10	3	220
<\$20,000	33	55	12	29	60	11	-4	247
<b>RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE</b>								
Total White Prot.	59	31	10	61	30	9	2	1198
White evangelical Prot.	68	24	8	71	21	8	3	591
White mainline Prot.	49	39	12	50	40	10	1	605
White, non-Hisp Catholic	45	44	11	48	41	11	3	413
<b>COMMUNITY TYPE</b>								
Urban	36	53	10	39	52	8	3	780
Suburban	49	41	11	45	44	11	-4	1223
Rural	52	37	11	50	38	12	-2	503
<b>MARITAL STATUS</b>								
Married	52	39	9	52	38	10	0	1511
Living with partner	21	63	16	24	70	5	3	107
Divorced/Separated	37	50	12	41	50	9	4	291
Widowed	43	46	11	38	45	18	-5	236
Never married	29	60	11	31	61	9	2	351
<b>MARITAL STATUS BY SEX</b>								
Married women	47	43	10	48	41	11	1	688
Married men	56	36	8	57	34	9	1	823
Unmarried women	29	59	11	30	59	10	1	559
Unmarried men	38	49	13	39	51	10	1	439
<b>BATTLEGROUND STATES</b>								
Republican State	50	42	8	51	39	10	1	818
Democratic State	40	50	10	38	52	10	-2	880
Battleground	40	47	13	45	45	10	5	811
<b>PARTY ID</b>								
Republican	87	7	6	90	5	5	3	812
Democrat	10	83	7	7	87	6	-3	874
Independent	41	45	14	45	38	17	4	734

## DETAILED TABLES: continued

	July 30-Aug. 10, 2008			Sept. 9-14, 2008			McCain change	Sept N
	Mc-Cain	Obama	Other/DK	Mc-Cain	Obama	Other/DK		
<b>PARTY AND IDEOLOGY</b>	%	%	%	%	%	%		%
Conservative Republican	91	4	4	93	3	4	2	568
Mod/Lib Republican	75	15	10	82	11	7	7	233
Mod/Cons Democrat	13	80	7	11	81	8	-2	521
Liberal Democrat	4	91	5	3	96	1	-1	328
<b>INDEPENDENT VOTERS</b>								
Male	45	42	13	48	35	16	3	425
Female	37	48	16	40	42	18	3	309
18-29	31	59	9	25	59	16	-6	74
30-49	41	45	14	47	37	16	6	247
50-64	47	38	15	50	36	15	3	258
65+	43	39	17	49	29	22	6	141
East	37	48	15	39	41	19	2	154
Midwest	35	42	22	42	36	22	7	193
South	51	39	10	51	35	14	0	256
West	35	53	11	43	43	14	8	131
College grad	38	49	14	46	42	11	8	329
Some college	45	42	13	44	37	19	-1	224
HS grad or less	42	43	15	44	36	20	2	178
\$75,000+	47	45	8	51	35	15	4	264
\$30,000-\$74,999	38	47	15	44	40	16	6	255
<\$30,000	40	46	14	41	45	14	1	115
<b>WHITE VOTERS</b>								
Male	55	35	9	56	35	9	1	1038
Female	46	43	11	48	41	11	2	1016
18-29	40	51	9	41	48	11	1	168
30-49	51	38	10	55	39	7	4	642
50-64	54	36	10	53	38	9	-1	704
65+	50	37	12	50	34	16	0	513
East	43	46	12	47	42	11	4	391
Midwest	46	41	12	44	44	12	-2	552
South	60	31	9	61	28	10	1	733
West	47	44	9	49	45	6	2	378
College grad	46	46	9	49	45	6	3	934
Some college	53	39	8	56	34	10	3	521
HS grad or less	53	34	13	50	36	14	-3	590
\$75,000+	56	38	6	57	37	6	1	754
\$30,000-\$74,999	51	40	9	52	40	8	1	690
<\$30,000	44	43	13	46	42	12	2	346

QUESTION: If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin or for the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden? As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to... (In August, vice presiden

Figures read horizontally. Percentages may not total 100% because of rounding.

Figures may differ slightly from those shown in report boxes because of differences in rounding.

\* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

## ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates and Abt SRBI, Inc., among a nationwide sample of 2,982 adults, 18 years of age or older, from September 9-14, 2008 (2,250 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 732 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 254 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International.

The combined landline and cell phone data were weighted using demographic weighting parameters derived from the March 2007 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey, along with an estimate of current patterns of telephone status in the U.S. derived from the 2007 National Health Interview Survey, using an iterative technique that simultaneously balances the distributions of all weighting parameters. The weighting procedure also accounted for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones had a greater probability of being included in the sample.

The following table shows the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus...</b>
Total sample	2,982	2.0 percentage points
Registered voter sample	2,509	2.5 percentage points
Likely voter sample	2,307	2.5 percentage points
Form 1 registered voter sample	1,226	3.5 percentage points
Form 2 registered voter sample	1,283	3.5 percentage points
Republican registered voter sample	812	4.0 percentage points
Democratic registered voter sample	874	4.0 percentage points
Independent registered voter sample	734	4.0 percentage points
Republican- & Republican-leaning RV sample	1,163	3.5 percentage points
Democratic- & Democratic-leaning RV sample	1,166	3.5 percentage points

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

## ABOUT THE CENTER

The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press is an independent opinion research group that studies attitudes toward the press, politics and public policy issues. We are sponsored by The Pew Charitable Trusts and are one of seven projects that make up the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

The Center's purpose is to serve as a forum for ideas on the media and public policy through public opinion research. In this role it serves as an important information resource for political leaders, journalists, scholars, and public interest organizations. All of our current survey results are made available free of charge.

All of the Center's research and reports are collaborative products based on the input and analysis of the entire Center staff consisting of:

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Research Associates  
Kathleen Holzward and Alec Tyson, Research Analysts  
James Albrightain, Research Assistant



**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**SEPTEMBER POLITICAL/FOREIGN POLICY SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**September 9-14, 2008**  
**N=2982**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	Satis- fied	Dis- satisfied	No Opinion		Satis- fied	Dis- satisfied	No Opinion
September, 2008	25	69	6=100	February, 2001	46	43	11=100
August, 2008	21	74	5=100	January, 2001	55	41	4=100
July, 2008	19	74	7=100	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7=100
June, 2008	19	76	5=100	September, 2000	51	41	8=100
Late May, 2008	18	76	6=100	June, 2000	47	45	8=100
March, 2008	22	72	6=100	April, 2000	48	43	9=100
Early February, 2008	24	70	6=100	August, 1999	56	39	5=100
Late December, 2007	27	66	7=100	January, 1999	53	41	6=100
October, 2007	28	66	6=100	November, 1998	46	44	10=100
February, 2007	30	61	9=100	Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7=100	Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100
Early January, 2007	30	63	7=100	Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100
December, 2006	28	65	7=100	February, 1998	59	37	4=100
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8=100	January, 1998	46	50	4=100
Early October, 2006	30	63	7=100	September, 1997	45	49	6=100
July, 2006	30	65	5=100	August, 1997	49	46	5=100
May, 2006	29	65	6=100	January, 1997	38	58	4=100
March, 2006	32	63	5=100	July, 1996	29	67	4=100
January, 2006	34	61	5=100	March, 1996	28	70	2=100
Late November, 2005	34	59	7=100	October, 1995	23	73	4=100
Early October, 2005	29	65	6=100	June, 1995	25	73	2=100
July, 2005	35	58	7=100	April, 1995	23	74	3=100
Late May, 2005	39	57	4=100	July, 1994	24	73	3=100
February, 2005	38	56	6=100	March, 1994	24	71	5=100
January, 2005	40	54	6=100	October, 1993	22	73	5=100
December, 2004	39	54	7=100	September, 1993	20	75	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6=100	May, 1993	22	71	7=100
July, 2004	38	55	7=100	January, 1993	39	50	11=100
May, 2004	33	61	6=100	January, 1992	28	68	4=100
Late February, 2004	39	55	6=100	November, 1991	34	61	5=100
Early January, 2004	45	48	7=100	Late February, 1991 (Gallup)	66	31	3=100
December, 2003	44	47	9=100	August, 1990	47	48	5=100
October, 2003	38	56	6=100	May, 1990	41	54	5=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100	January, 1989	45	50	5=100
April 8, 2003	50	41	9=100	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100	May, 1988	41	54	5=100
November, 2002	41	48	11=100	January, 1988	39	55	6=100
September, 2002	41	55	4=100				
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100				
May, 2002	44	44	12=100				
March, 2002	50	40	10=100				
Late September, 2001	57	34	9=100				
Early September, 2001	41	53	6=100				
June, 2001	43	52	5=100				
March, 2001	47	45	8=100				

**ASK ALL:**

THOUGHT      How much thought have you given to the coming presidential election . . . Quite a lot or only a little?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

		Quite	(VOL.)	Only a	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
<b>2008</b>	September, 2008	78	4	14	3	1=100
	August, 2008	74	6	17	2	1=100
	July, 2008	74	2	20	3	1=100
	June, 2008	72	2	23	2	1=100
	Late May, 2008	75	4	17	3	1=100
	April, 2008	77	7	13	2	1=100
	March, 2008	78	3	15	3	1=100
	Late February, 2008	74	3	19	2	2=100
<b>2004</b>	November, 2004	82	3	12	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	76	5	15	3	1=100
	Early October, 2004	74	4	19	2	1=100
	September, 2004	71	3	22	3	1=100
	August, 2004	69	2	26	2	1=100
	July, 2004	67	2	28	2	1=100
	June, 2004	58	3	36	2	1=100
	May, 2004	59	6	30	4	1=100
<b>2000</b>	Late March, 2004	60	4	31	4	1=100
	Mid-March, 2004	65	2	31	2	*=100
	November, 2000	72	6	19	2	1=100
	Late October, 2000	66	6	24	4	*=100
	Mid-October, 2000	67	9	19	4	1=100
	Early October, 2000	60	8	27	4	1=100
	September, 2000	59	8	29	3	1=100
	July, 2000	46	6	45	3	*=100
<b>1996</b>	June, 2000	46	6	43	5	*=100
	May, 2000	48	4	42	5	1=100
	April, 2000	45	7	41	7	*=100
	November, 1996	67	8	22	3	*=100
	October, 1996	65	7	26	1	1=100
	Late September, 1996	61	7	29	2	1=100
<b>1992</b>	Early September, 1996	56	3	36	4	1=100
	July, 1996	55	3	41	1	*=100
	June, 1996	50	5	41	3	1=100
	Early October, 1992	77	5	16	1	1=100
<b>1988</b>	September, 1992	69	3	26	1	1=100
	August, 1992	72	4	23	1	*=100
	June, 1992	63	6	29	1	1=100
	<b>Gallup:</b> November, 1988	73	8	17	2	0=100
<b>Gallup:</b> October, 1988	69	9	20	2	0=100	
<b>Gallup:</b> August, 1988	61	10	27	2	0=100	
<b>Gallup:</b> September, 1988	57	18	23	2	0=100	

**ASK ALL:**

Q.2 How closely have you been following news about candidates for the 2008 presidential election ... very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

44	Very closely
38	Fairly closely
12	Not too closely
6	Not at all closely
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

**ASK ALL:**

Q.3 Are you more interested or less interested in politics this year than you were in 2004 — the last presidential election year?<sup>2</sup>

		June 2008	June 2004	June 2000	July 1996	June 1996	June 1992	March 1992
63	More	60	47	38	42	41	55	57
13	Less	20	28	38	38	35	24	27
22	Same (VOL.)	18	23	22	19	22	19	14
2	Don't know/Refused	2	2	2	1	2	2	2
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL:**

REGIST

These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to re-register. Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN REGIST ASK:**

REGICERT

Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

81	Yes, Registered
78	Absolutely certain
3	Chance registration has lapsed
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
18	No, not registered
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

PRECINCT Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

86	Yes
14	No
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

<sup>2</sup>

In 2004, the question referenced politics in 2000; in 2000 it referenced politics in 1996; in 1996 it referenced politics in 1992; in 1992 it referenced politics in 1988.

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**  
OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote... (READ)

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

54 Always  
28 Nearly always  
10 Part of the time, OR  
5 Seldom?  
2 Never vote (VOL.)  
1 Other response (VOL.)  
\* Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
—  
100

**NO QUESTION 4**

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

Q.5 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote [READ AND ROTATE] [for the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin [pronounced: PAY-lin]] OR [for the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden [pronounced: BUY-din]]?

**IF OTHER OR DK (Q.5 =3,9), ASK:**

Q.5a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.5]?

**IF CHOSE MCCAIN OR OBAMA IN Q.5 (Q.5=1,2), ASK:**

Q.5b Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.5—LAST NAME ONLY) strongly or only moderately?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

	<b>Mc- Cain</b>	<b>Strongly</b>	<b>Only Mod<sup>3</sup></b>	<b>DK</b>	<b>Oba- ma</b>	<b>Strongly</b>	<b>Only Mod</b>	<b>DK</b>	<b>Third party</b>	<b>Fourth party</b>	<b>Other/ Don't know</b>
September, 2008 <sup>4</sup>	44	25	19	*	46	30	15	1	n/a	n/a	10=100
August, 2008	43	17	26	*	46	27	19	*	n/a	n/a	11=100
July, 2008	42	17	24	1	47	24	22	1	n/a	n/a	11=100
June, 2008	40	14	26	*	48	28	19	1	n/a	n/a	12=100
Late May, 2008	44				47				n/a	n/a	9=100
April, 2008	44				50				n/a	n/a	6=100
March, 2008	43				49				n/a	n/a	8=100
Late February, 2008	43				50				n/a	n/a	7=100
	<b>Bush</b>				<b>Kerry</b>				<b>Nader</b>		
November, 2004	45	34	11	*	46	29	16	1	1	n/a	8=100
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	13	*	45	28	16	1	1	n/a	9=100
Early October, 2004	48	35	12	1	41	24	17	*	2	n/a	9=100
September, 2004	49	33	15	1	43	22	20	1	1	n/a	7=100
August, 2004	45	32	13	*	47	28	19	*	2	n/a	6=100
July, 2004	44				46				3	n/a	7=100
June, 2004	46				42				6	n/a	6=100
May, 2004	43				46				6	n/a	5=100
Late March, 2004	44				43				6	n/a	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	n/a	5=100

<sup>3</sup> Includes those who say they lean to the Republican or Democratic candidate.

<sup>4</sup> Prior to September, 2008, July, 2004, September, 2000, September, 1996, August, 1992, and September, 1988 the question did not specify vice presidential candidates.

Q.5/Q.5a/Q.5b CONTINUED...

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u> <u>Mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u> <u>Mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Third</u> <u>party</u>	<u>Fourth</u> <u>party</u>	<u>Other/</u> <u>Don't</u> <u>know</u>
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>											
June, 2004	48				46				n/a	n/a	6=100
May, 2004	45				50				n/a	n/a	5=100
Late March, 2004	46				47				n/a	n/a	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	43				52				n/a	n/a	5=100
Late February, 2004	44				48				n/a	n/a	8=100
Early February, 2004	47				47				n/a	n/a	6=100
Early January, 2004	52				41				n/a	n/a	7=100
October, 2003	50				42				n/a	n/a	8=100
	<b>Bush</b>				<b>Gore</b>				<b>Nader</b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	
November, 2000	41	26	15	*	45	25	19	1	4	1	9=100
Late October, 2000	45	29	16	*	43	24	19	*	4	1	7=100
Mid-October, 2000	43	25	18	*	45	22	23	*	4	1	7=100
Early October, 2000	43	26	17	*	44	22	22	*	5	*	8=100
September, 2000	41	21	19	1	47	25	21	1	2	1	9=100
July, 2000	42				41				6	2	9=100
Late June, 2000	42				35				2	2	19=100
Mid-June, 2000	41				42				4	3	10=100
January, 2000	51				39				n/a	4	6=100
September, 1999	49				35				n/a	10	6=100
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>											
July, 2000	48				46				n/a	n/a	6=100
Mid-June, 2000	45	20	25	*	46	18	27	1	n/a	n/a	9=100
May, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9=100
March, 2000	43				49				n/a	n/a	8=100
February, 2000	46	19	27	*	45	18	26	1	n/a	n/a	9=100
December, 1999	55				40				n/a	n/a	5=100
October, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7=100
September, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7=100
July, 1999	53				42				n/a	n/a	5=100
March, 1999	54				41				n/a	n/a	5=100
January, 1999	50				44				n/a	n/a	6=100
Early September, 1998	53				40				n/a	n/a	7=100
	<b>Dole</b>				<b>Clinton</b>				<b>Perot</b>		
November, 1996	32	17	15	*	51	26	24	1	9	n/a	8=100
October, 1996	34	17	16	1	51	25	26	*	8	n/a	7=100
Late September, 1996	35	16	18	1	51	26	25	*	7	n/a	7=100
Early September, 1996	34	17	17	*	52	26	26	0	8	n/a	6=100
July, 1996	34				44				16	n/a	6=100
March, 1996	35				44				16	n/a	5=100
September, 1995	36				42				19	n/a	3=100
July, 1994	36				39				20	n/a	5=100
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>											
July, 1996	42	11	30	*	53	20	31	1	n/a	n/a	5=100
June, 1996	40	13	23	1	55	22	29	1	n/a	n/a	5=100
April, 1996	40				54						6=100
March, 1996	41				53						6=100
February, 1996	44				52						4=100
January, 1996	41				53						6=100
July, 1994	49				46						5=100

Q.5/Q.5a/Q.5b CONTINUED...

	<u>Bush, Sr.</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Third party</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Don't know</u>
	<u>Bush, Sr.</u>		<u>Mod</u>		<u>Clinton</u>		<u>Mod</u>		<u>Perot</u>		
Late October, 1992	34	20	14	--	44	26	18	--	19	n/a	3=100
Early October, 1992	35	14	21	--	48	23	25	--	8	n/a	9=100
June, 1992	31				27				36	n/a	6=100
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>											
September, 1992	38	14	21	--	53	25	28	--	n/a	n/a	9=100
August, 1992	37	14	23	--	57	24	33	--	n/a	n/a	6=100
June, 1992	46	13	33	--	41	9	32	--	n/a	n/a	13=100
May, 1992	46	15	31	--	43	10	33	--	n/a	n/a	11=100
Late March, 1992	50	19	31	--	43	9	34	--	n/a	n/a	7=100
	<u>Bush, Sr.</u>				<u>Dukakis</u>						
October, 1988	50	24	26	--	42	20	22	--	n/a	n/a	8=100
September, 1988	50	26	24	--	44	19	25	--	n/a	n/a	6=100
May, 1988	40	12	28	--	53	14	39	--	n/a	n/a	7=100

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

Q.5 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote [READ AND ROTATE] [for the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin [pronounced: PAY-lin]] OR [for the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden [pronounced: BUY-din]]?

**IF OTHER OR DK (Q.5 =3,9), ASK:**

Q.5a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.5]?

**IF RESPONDENT CHOSE JOHN MCCAIN (1 IN Q.5 OR 1 IN Q.5a):**

Q.6a Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR John McCain or more a vote AGAINST Barack Obama?

**IF RESPONDENT CHOSE BARACK OBAMA (2 IN Q.5 OR 2 IN Q.5a):**

Q.6b Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Barack Obama or more a vote AGAINST John McCain?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

	<u>Mc-Cain</u>	<u>Pro-McCain</u>	<u>Anti-Obama</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Oba-ma</u>	<u>Pro-Obama</u>	<u>Anti-McCain</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Third party</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/Don't know</u>
September, 2008	44	29	13	2	46	32	11	3	n/a	n/a	10=100
August, 2008	43	25	16	2	46	33	12	1	n/a	n/a	11=100
July, 2008	42	25	14	3	47	32	12	3	n/a	n/a	11=100
June, 2008	40				48				n/a	n/a	12=100
Late May, 2008	44	28	14	2	47	35	11	1	n/a	n/a	9=100
April, 2008	44				50				n/a	n/a	6=100
March, 2008	43				49				n/a	n/a	8=100
Late February, 2008	43	27	14	2	50	38	10	2	n/a	n/a	7=100
	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Pro-Bush</u>	<u>Anti-Kerry</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Ker-ry</u>	<u>Pro-Kerry</u>	<u>Anti-Bush</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader<sup>5</sup></u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/Don't know</u>
November, 2004	45	34	9	2	46	20	23	3	1	n/a	8=100
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	10	3	45	18	24	3	1	n/a	9=100
Early October, 2004	48	36	10	2	41	15	23	3	2	n/a	9=100

<sup>5</sup> The question regarding whether a vote was more for one's candidate of choice or more against his opponents was not asked of Nader supporters in 2004.

Q.5/Q.5a/Q.6a/Q.6b CONTINUED...

	<u>Bush</u>	<i>Pro-Bush</i>	<i>Anti-Kerry</i>	<i>DK</i>	<b>Kerry</b>	<i>Pro-Kerry</i>	<i>Anti-Bush</i>	<i>DK</i>	<b>Nader</b>	<b>Fourth party</b>	<b>Other/Don't know</b>
September, 2004	49	38	9	2	43	15	26	2	1	n/a	7=100
August, 2004	45	34	8	3	47	20	24	3	2	n/a	6=100
July, 2004	44				46				3	n/a	7=100
June, 2004	46				42				6	n/a	6=100
May, 2004	43				46				6	n/a	5=100
Late March, 2004	44				43				6	n/a	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	n/a	5=100
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>											
June, 2004	48	35	11	2	46	17	27	2	n/a	n/a	6=100
May, 2004	45	33	10	2	50	15	32	3	n/a	n/a	5=100
Late March, 2004	46	36	8	2	47	17	27	3	n/a	n/a	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	43	34	7	2	52	21	29	2	n/a	n/a	5=100
Late February, 2004	44				48				n/a	n/a	8=100
Early February, 2004	47	39	6	2	47	15	30	2	n/a	n/a	6=100
Early January, 2004	52				41				n/a	n/a	7=100
October, 2003	50				42				n/a	n/a	8=100
	<u>Bush</u>	<i>Pro-Bush</i>	<i>Anti-Gore</i>	<i>DK</i>	<b>Gore</b>	<i>Pro-Gore</i>	<i>Anti-Bush</i>	<i>DK</i>	<b>Nader<sup>6</sup></b>	<b>Buchanan</b>	<b>Other/Don't know</b>
November, 2000	41	27	12	2	45	29	14	2	4	1	9=100
Late October, 2000	45				43				4	1	7=100
Mid-October, 2000	43				45				4	1	7=100
Early October, 2000	43				44				5	*	8=100
September, 2000	41	24	14	3	47	30	14	3	2	1	9=100
July, 2000	42				41				6	2	9=100
Late June, 2000	42				35				2	2	19=100
Mid-June, 2000	41				42				4	3	10=100
January, 2000	51				39				n/a	4	6=100
September, 1999	49				35				n/a	10	6=100
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>											
July, 2000	48				46				n/a	n/a	6=100
Mid-June, 2000	45				46				n/a	n/a	9=100
May, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9=100
March, 2000	43				49				n/a	n/a	8=100
February, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9=100
December, 1999	55				40				n/a	n/a	5=100
October, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7=100
September, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7=100
July, 1999	53				42				n/a	n/a	5=100
March, 1999	54				41				n/a	n/a	5=100
January, 1999	50				44				n/a	n/a	6=100
Early September, 1998	53				40				n/a	n/a	7=100

<sup>6</sup> The question regarding whether a vote was more for one's candidate of choice or more against his opponents was not asked of Nader supporters or Buchanan supporters in 2000.

Q.5/Q.5a/Q.6a/Q.6b CONTINUED...

	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Pro-Dole</u>	<u>Anti-Other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Pro-Clinton</u>	<u>Anti-Other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Pro-Perot</u>	<u>Anti-other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other/DK</u>
November, 1996	32	15	15	2	51	33	15	3	9	4	5	*	8=100
October, 1996	34	15	18	1	51	33	16	2	8	4	4	*	7=100
Late Sept., 1996	35				51				7				7=100
Early Sept., 1996	34	16	17	1	52	35	15	2	8	3	5	0	6=100
July, 1996	34				44				16				6=100
March, 1996	35				44				16				5=100
September, 1995	36				42				19				3=100
July, 1994	36				39				20				5=100
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>													
July, 1996	42				53				n/a				5=100
June, 1996	40				55				n/a				5=100
April, 1996	40				54				n/a				6=100
March, 1996	41	15	25	1	53	30	20	3	n/a				6=100
February, 1996	44				52				n/a				4=100
January, 1996	41				53				n/a				6=100
July, 1994	49				46				n/a				5=100

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<u>Pro-Bush</u>	<u>Anti-other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Pro-Clinton</u>	<u>Anti-other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Pro-Perot</u>	<u>Anti-other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other/DK</u>
Late October, 1992	34	19	13	2	44	25	17	2	19	10	7	2	3=100
Early October, 1992	35	19	13	3	48	23	22	3	8	3	5	*	9=100
June, 1992	31				27				36				6=100
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>													
September, 1992	38	20	16	2	53	21	29	3	n/a				9=100
August, 1992	37	20	16	1	57	27	28	2	n/a				6=100
June, 1992	46				41				n/a				13=100
May, 1992	46				43				n/a				11=100
Late March, 1992	50	33	15	2	43	13	28	2	n/a				7=100

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<u>Pro-Bush</u>	<u>Anti-Dukakis</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Du-kakis</u>	<u>Pro-Dukakis</u>	<u>Anti-Bush</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Third party</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/Don't know</u>
October, 1988	50	31	16	3	42	23	15	4	n/a	n/a	8=100
September, 1988	50	31	15	4	44	21	19	4	n/a	n/a	6=100
May, 1988	40	26	11	3	53	23	26	4	n/a	n/a	7=100



**IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE MCCAIN IN Q.5/5a (Q.5=2 OR Q.5a=2,3,9) ASK:  
ROTATE Q.7 AND Q.8**

Q.7 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for John McCain in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

		Chance might <u>vote for</u>	Decided not <u>to vote for</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
<b>McCain</b>	September, 2008	9	40	7=56%
	August, 2008	14	37	6=57%
	July, 2008	13	38	7=58%
	June, 2008	12	41	7=60%
<b>Bush</b>	November, 2004	6	44	5=55%
	Mid-October, 2004	5	43	7=55%
	Early October, 2004	9	39	4=52%
	September, 2004	9	38	4=51%
	August, 2004	10	42	3=55%
	July, 2004	10	41	5=56%
	June, 2004 <sup>7</sup>	9	41	2=52%
	May, 2004	9	42	4=55%
	Late March, 2004	11	40	3=54%
	Mid-March, 2004	11	44	2=57%
	Late February, 2004	10	43	3=56%
	Early February, 2004	10	41	2=53%
	<b>Bush</b>	November, 2000	8	44
Late October, 2000		10	41	4=55%
Mid-October, 2000		12	40	5=57%
Early October, 2000		11	39	7=57%
September, 2000		15	38	6=59%
Mid-June, 2000		15	33	6=54%
<b>Dole</b>	November, 1996	8	54	6=68%
	October, 1996	11	51	4=66%
	Late September, 1996	16	44	5=65%
	Early September, 1996	14	47	5=66%
	July, 1996	15	40	3=58%
<b>Bush, Sr</b>	Late October, 1992	11	53	2=66%
	Early October, 1992	13	46	6=65%
	September, 1992	12	44	6=62%
	August, 1992	15	45	4=64%
	May, 1992	8	40	5=53%

<sup>7</sup>

In June 2004, May 2004, Late March 2004, Mid-March 2004, Mid-June 2000 and July 1996 the head-to-head match-up was asked both as a three-way and a two-way trial heat. In those surveys, this question followed the two-way trial heat.

**IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE OBAMA IN Q.5/5a (Q.5=1 OR Q.5a=1,3,9) ASK:  
ROTATE Q.7 AND Q.8**

Q.8 Do you think there is a chance that you might vote for Barack Obama in November, or have you definitely decided not to vote for him?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

		Chance might <u>vote for</u>	Decided not <u>to vote for</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
<b>Obama</b>	September, 2008	11	38	5=54%
	August, 2008	12	36	6=54%
	July, 2008	12	34	7=53%
	June, 2008	14	32	6=52%
<b>Kerry</b>	November, 2004	6	43	5=54%
	Mid-October, 2004	6	42	7=55%
	Early October, 2004	9	45	5=59%
	September, 2004	11	42	4=57%
	August, 2004	11	39	3=53%
	July, 2004	13	36	5=54%
	June, 2004 <sup>8</sup>	10	41	3=54%
	May, 2004	11	35	4=50%
	Late March, 2004	13	37	3=53%
	Mid-March, 2004	13	32	3=48%
	Late February, 2004	13	36	3=52%
	Early February, 2004	15	33	5=53%
<b>Gore</b>	November, 2000	8	41	6=55%
	Late October, 2000	9	44	4=57%
	Mid-October, 2000	10	40	5=55%
	Early October, 2000	11	38	7=56%
	September, 2000	13	35	5=53%
	June, 2000	14	34	6=54%
<b>Clinton</b>	November, 1996	6	37	6=49%
	October, 1996	10	35	4=49%
	Late September, 1996	11	35	3=49%
	Early September, 1996	10	34	4=48%
	July, 1996	8	36	4=48%
<b>Clinton</b>	Late October, 1992	11	43	2=56%
	Early October, 1992	14	32	6=52%
	September, 1992	12	28	6=46%
	August, 1992	14	26	3=43%
	May, 1992	11	38	6=55%

<sup>8</sup>

In June 2004, May 2004, Late March 2004, Mid-March 2004, Mid-June 2000 and July 1996 the head-to-head match-up was asked both as a three-way and a two-way trial heat. In those surveys, this question followed the two-way trial heat.

**ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

**IF RESPONDENT NAMED A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IN Q.5/5a ASK:**

Q.9F2 What is the main reason why you would like to see (**CHOICE FROM Q.5/5a LAST NAME ONLY; DO NOT READ VP CHOICE**) win the presidential election? (**OPEN - END**)

**BASED ON FORM 2 OBAMA SUPPORTERS [N=565] OR MCCAIN SUPPORTERS [N=591]:**

	<i>-- Vote Choice --</i>	
	<u>Obama</u>	<u>McCain</u>
<b>ISSUES (NET)</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46</b>
Iraq/war/military	6	6
Economy/jobs	8	3
Terrorism/security/9-11	--	4
Like his stand on issues/platform/domestic issues (general)	13	12
Health/medical care/medicare	3	--
Middle class/in touch with the people	5	2
Democrat/liberal (positive)	9	--
Republican/conservative (positive)	--	11
Foreign policy/foreign affairs	2	2
Plan to move forward/will do a better job	7	3
Education	1	--
Negative on issues of other candidate	--	2
Taxes	1	5
Supreme Court appointments	--	1
Abortion/pro-life	--	3
<b>QUALITIES (NET)</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>41</b>
Experience	--	17
Smart/intelligent	3	--
Better man/best candidate	3	3
Honesty/integrity	2	3
Leadership/strong leader/great leader	1	3
Just like him	2	1
Moral/Christian values	--	6
Qualified/capable	--	2
Better for country	1	1
First black president/history/diversity	4	--
Young/age	1	--
Older/age	--	1
Veteran/war hero	--	3
Like Biden/running mate	1	--
Like Palin/running mate	--	6
Shares my beliefs	--	1
Patriotic/patriotism	--	1
<b>ANTI-OPPONENT (NET)</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>13</b>
Anti-Obama (general comments)	--	9
Obama inexperienced/young	--	3
Obama dishonest/misleading	--	1
Anti-McCain	6	--
Anti-Palin	1	--
<b>CHANGE (NET)</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>3</b>
Change (general comments)	26	2
Want Republicans out/Bush did poor job/don't want repeat of last 8 years	7	--
Country in bad shape/wrong direction	1	--
Anti-Republican	7	--
Anti-Democrat	--	1
<b>OTHER (NET)</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>DON'T KNOW/REFUSED</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>

**Q.9 F2 CONTINUED...**

**TREND FOR COMPARISON**

	<i>Kerry</i>	<i>-- Clinton --</i>	
	Oct	Late Sept	July
	<u>2004</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>
<b>STANDS ON ISSUES (NET)</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>14</b>
Iraq/War/military	18	--	--
Economy/jobs	14	--	--
Like his stand on the issues/platform/domestic issues (general)	8	16	12
Health/medical care/medicare	5	--	--
Middle class/for the little person/in touch with the people	4	--	--
Democrat/liberal (positive)	4	--	--
Foreign policy/foreign affairs	3	--	--
Plan to move forward/will do a better job	3	--	--
Education	3	3	1
Negative on issues of other candidate	2	--	--
Environment	2	--	--
Taxes	2	--	--
Other	7	--	--
<b>NEGATIVE COMMENT ABOUT BUSH, SR/BUSH, JR (NET)</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>31</b>
Time for a change/new start	12	--	--
Anti-Bush	10	17	13
Did poor job/made major mistakes/bad president	6	--	--
Dishonest/misleading	3	--	--
Idiot/not smart	2	--	--
Country in bad shape/wrong direction	2	--	--
Other	3	--	--
<b>POSITIVE QUALITIES (NET)</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>26</b>
Smart/Intelligent	3	--	--
Best qualified/better man/best candidate	2	3	7
Honesty/Integrity	1	1	*
Leadership/strong leader/great leader	1	--	--
Just like him	1	--	--
Moral/Christian values	1	--	--
Capable/qualified	1	--	--
Better for country	1	--	--
Other	1	--	--
<b>RECORD (NET)</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>
<b>OTHER (NET)</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>3</b>
<b>DON'T KNOW/REFUSED</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>4</b>

**Q.9 F2 CONTINUED...**

**TREND FOR COMPARISON**

	<i>Bush</i>	<i>-- Dole --</i>	
	Oct	Late Sept	July
	<u>2004</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1996</u>
<b>STANDS ON ISSUES (NET)</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>22</b>
Terrorism/Security/9-11	10	--	--
Iraq/War/military	7	2	1
Like his stand on the issues/platform/domestic issues	6	18	14
Abortion/Pro-Life	5	4	3
Taxes	4	9	5
Economy/Jobs	3	--	--
Republican/conservative	2	--	--
Foreign policy/foreign affairs	2	--	--
Other	9	--	--
<b>POSITIVE QUALITIES (NET)</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>15</b>
Moral/Christian values	12	--	--
Honesty/integrity	5	9	9
Leadership/strong leader/great leader	5	--	--
Keeps promises/man of his word/does what he stands for	3	--	--
Just like him	3	--	--
Best qualified/better man/better candidate	2	--	--
Other	7	--	--
<b>RECORD (NET)</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>n/a</b>	<b>n/a</b>
Done a good job/good president/agree with what he is doing	16	--	--
Finish the job/finish the war	3	--	--
He's been there/done the job/knows what he's doing	3	--	--
Other	1	--	--
<b>NEGATIVE COMMENT ABOUT KERRY OR CLINTON (NET)</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>47</b>
Anti Kerry or Clinton	6	27	22
Wrong time for a change/need continuity	3	--	--
Dishonest/misleading	2	4	6
Other	5	--	--
<b>OTHER (NET)</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>--</b>
<b>DON'T KNOW/REFUSED</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>--</b>

**ASK FORM 1A REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY (REGICERT=1): [N=629]**

Now a different kind of question....

**ROTATE Q.10F1A/Q.11F1A**

Q.10F1a What ONE WORD best describes your impression of John McCain? Just the one word that best describes him. [OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE].

*NOTE: The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages*

<u>September 2008</u>		<u>April 2008</u>		<u>Late Feb 2008</u>	
58	Old	52	Old	55	Old
34	Patriot	32	Honest	32	Honest
28	Bush/Bush-like	23	Experienced	29	Experienced
25	Experienced	19	Patriot	21	Patriot
21	Honest	17	Conservative	14	Conservative
18	Conservative	16	Hero	13	Hero
17	Hero	14	Republican	12	Liberal
16	Leader/Leadership	11	Good	10	Good
14	Strong	11	Knowledgeable	7	Integrity
11	Good	10	Honorable	7	Leader
10	Integrity	9	Veteran	7	War
9	Maverick	6	American	6	Bush
9	Same	6	Moderate	6	Honorable
9	Trust/Trustworthy	6	Steadfast	6	Knowledgeable
8	Honor/Honorable	6	Trustworthy	6	Moderate
8	Qualified	6	Untrustworthy	6	Republican
8	Republican	5	Liar	6	Steady
7	Courage/Courageous	5	Okay	5	Fair
7	Lies/Liar	5	Politician	5	Okay
6	Dedicated	5	Seasoned	4	Military
5	Fair	4	Age	4	Trustworthy
5	Moderate	4	Bush	4	Untrustworthy
5	Veteran	4	Confident		(N=611)
4	American	4	Dedicated		
4	Dishonest	4	Determined		
4	Liberal	4	Likeable		
4	Loyal	4	Loyal		
4	Military	4	Nice		
4	Old-fashioned/Old-school	4	Sincere		
4	Out of touch	4	Strong		
4	Politician	4	Warmonger		
4	Tired		(N=658)		

**ASK FORM 1A REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY (REGICERT=1): [N=629]**

**ROTATE Q.10F1A/Q.11F1A**

Q.11F1a What ONE WORD best describes your impression of Barack Obama? Just the one word that best describes him. [OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE].

*NOTE: The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages*

<u>September 2008</u>		<u>April 2008</u>		<u>Late Feb 2008</u>	
55	Inexperienced	46	Inexperienced	45	Inexperienced
36	Change	19	Good	32	Charismatic
20	Intelligent/Intellectual	17	Change	25	Intelligent
20	Young/Youthful	17	Charismatic	23	Change
15	Charismatic	16	Intelligent	14	Inspirational
14	New	13	Honest	13	Young
12	Energetic/Energy	12	Inspirational	11	New
12	Hope/Hopeful	9	Liberal	10	Enthusiastic
12	Liberal	8	New	10	Hope
10	Honest	7	Different	9	Arrogant
9	Fresh	7	Energetic	9	Energetic
9	Scary	7	Hopeful	9	Leader
8	Different	7	Scary	9	Speaker
7	Enthusiastic	7	Unknown	8	Different
7	Unqualified	7	Young	7	Honest
6	Committed	6	Fake	6	Articulate
6	Good	6	Idealistic	6	Good
6	Innovative	6	Leader	6	Integrity
6	Inspiring/Inspiration	6	Okay	6	Unqualified
6	Liar	6	Smooth	5	Visionary
6	Socialist	5	Dishonest	5	Impressive
5	Dishonest	5	Sincere	5	Liberal
5	Fake	5	Strong	5	Okay
5	Leader	5	Unqualified	5	Smart
5	Phony	4	Ambitious	4	Dynamic
5	Unknown	4	Arrogant	4	Fair
4	Arrogant	4	Bad	4	Fresh
4	Idealist	4	Charming	4	Great
4	Interesting	4	Confident	4	Muslim
4	Opportunist	4	Educated	4	Refreshing
4	Uncertain	4	Good speaker	4	Smooth
		4	Likeable	4	Unfavorable
		4	Nice		(N=629)
		4	Untrustworthy		
		4	Phony		
		4	Refreshing		
		4	Smart		
		4	Terrorist		
		(N=658)			

**ASK FORM 1B REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY (REGICERT=1): [N=597]**

Now a different kind of question....

**ROTATE Q.12F1B/Q.13F1B**

Q.12F1b What ONE WORD best describes your impression of Sarah Palin [**pronounced: PAY-lin**]? Just the one word that best describes her. [**OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE**].

September 2008

24	Inexperienced
18	Conservative
18	Strong
16	Fresh/Refreshing
16	Interesting
11	Good
11	Great
11	Unknown
10	Smart
9	Aggressive
9	New
8	Confident
8	Energetic
8	Honest
8	Impressive
6	Dynamic
6	Unqualified
5	Feisty
5	Female/Woman
5	Intelligent
5	Likable/Like her
4	Amazing
4	Excellent
4	False
4	Hot
4	Phony



**ASK FORM 1B REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1): [N=597]**

**ROTATE Q.12F1B/Q.13F1B**

Q.13F1b What ONE WORD best describes your impression of Joe Biden [**pronounced: BUY-din**]? Just the one word that best describes him. [**OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE.**]

September 2008

48	Experienced
14	Liberal
12	Old
11	Arrogant
10	Knowledgeable
10	Unknown
8	Confident
8	Qualified
8	Strong
7	Honest
7	Intelligent
6	Politician
5	Idiot
5	OK
5	Old-school/Old-guard
5	Unimpressive/Unimpressed
4	Alright
4	Good
4	Interesting
4	Socialist
4	Who

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

Q.14 If John McCain were to win the presidency, do you think he would continue George W. Bush's policies, or would he take the country in a different direction? [**IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH:** Just in general, do you think John McCain would continue George W. Bush's policies or take the country in a different direction?]

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

		June <u>2008</u>	Late May <u>2008</u>	March <u>2008</u>
45	Continue Bush's policies	46	44	46
44	Take country in a different direction	42	45	43
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
100		100	100	100

**ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

Q.15F2 Do you feel John McCain is too old to be president, or not?

**BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]:**

		<i>Bob Dole</i>			
		Based on general population CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll			
		June <u>2008</u>	Late Feb <u>2008</u>	March <u>1996</u>	February <u>1996</u>
23	Yes, too old	21	26	25	27
73	No, not too old	76	72	72	67
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

PLANTO1 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

**IF YES IN PLANTO1 (PLANTO1=1), ASK:**

PLANTO2 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

	<b>Yes, Plan To Vote</b>	<b>Absolutely Certain</b>	<b>Fairly Certain</b>	<b>Not Certain</b>	<b>No, Don't Plan To</b>	<b>Don't know/ Refused</b>
September, 2008	97	90	6	1	2	1=100
August, 2008	97	--	--	--	2	1=100
July, 2008	97	--	--	--	2	1=100
June, 2008	95	85	8	2	2	3=100
November, 2006 <sup>9</sup> *	90	--	--	--	8	2=100
Late October, 2006*	94	--	--	--	3	3=100
Early October, 2006*	93	75	17	1	4	3=100
Early September, 2006*	92	--	--	--	5	3=100
November, 2004	97	--	--	--	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2004	98	--	--	--	1	1=100
Early October, 2004	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
September, 2004	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
August, 2004	98	89	8	1	2	*=100
June, 2004	96	85	10	1	2	2=100
Early November, 2002*	90	--	--	--	8	2=100
Early October, 2002*	95	--	--	--	3	2=100
Early November, 2000	96	--	--	--	3	1=100
Late October, 2000	97	--	--	--	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2000	96	--	--	--	2	2=100
Early October, 2000	97	87	9	1	2	1=100
September, 2000	95	84	10	1	3	2=100
June, 2000	95	84	10	1	2	3=100
Late October, 1998*	91	--	--	--	6	3=100
Early October, 1998*	92	--	--	--	4	4=100
Early September, 1998*	95	--	--	--	2	3=100
Late August, 1998*	93	75	17	1	3	4=100
June, 1998*	95	74	19	2	3	2=100
November, 1996	96	--	--	--	2	2=100
October, 1996	98	87	10	1	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	98	89	8	1	1	1=100
Early September, 1996	96	83	11	2	2	2=100
July, 1996	95	82	12	1	3	2=100
June, 1996	96	84	11	1	2	2=100
November, 1994*	93	--	--	--	5	2=100
October, 1994*	95	--	--	--	3	2=100

\* Non-Presidential elections

<sup>9</sup>

From Mid-October 2004 to November 2006 and in Early November 2002, the "Yes, Plan to vote" category also includes people who volunteered that they already voted. In November 2006, Early November 2002, Early November, 2000, Late October 1998, November 1996 and November 1994 the question was worded: "Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?"

PLANTO1/PLANTO2 CONTINUED . . .

	<b>Yes, Plan To Vote</b>	<b>Absolutely Certain</b>	<b>Fairly Certain</b>	<b>Not Certain</b>	<b>No, Don't Plan To</b>	<b>Don't know/ Refused</b>
October, 1992	<b>98</b>	91	6	1	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>
September, 1992	<b>98</b>	85	11	2	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>
August, 1992	<b>97</b>	89	8	*	<b>1</b>	<b>2=100</b>
June, 1992	<b>97</b>	88	8	1	<b>1</b>	<b>2=100</b>
<b>Gallup:</b> November, 1988	<b>97</b>	87	9	1	<b>2</b>	<b>1=100</b>
October, 1988	<b>98</b>	--	--	--	<b>1</b>	<b>1=100</b>

**ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY (REGICERT=1):**

Q.16F1 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the presidential election?  
[READ AND ROTATE]?

**BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1226]:**

	<u>John McCain</u>	<u>Barack Obama</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other/DK</u>
September, 2008	39	39	22=100
June, 2008	27	53	20=100
April, 2008	42	47	11=100
March, 2008	38	50	12=100
<b>2004 Election</b>			
November, 2004	48 <i>Bush</i>	27 <i>Kerry</i>	25=100
Mid-October, 2004	54 <i>Bush</i>	27 <i>Kerry</i>	19=100
Early October, 2004	61 <i>Bush</i>	27 <i>Kerry</i>	12=100
September, 2004	60 <i>Bush</i>	22 <i>Kerry</i>	18=100
August, 2004	44 <i>Bush</i>	37 <i>Kerry</i>	19=100
July, 2004	42 <i>Bush</i>	38 <i>Kerry</i>	20=100
June, 2004	51 <i>Bush</i>	35 <i>Kerry</i>	14=100
May, 2004	52 <i>Bush</i>	31 <i>Kerry</i>	17=100
Early February, 2004	56 <i>Bush</i>	32 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	12=100
Mid-January, 2004	61 <i>Bush</i>	21 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	18=100
September, 2003	47 <i>Bush</i>	34 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	19=100
June, 2003	66 <i>Bush</i>	22 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	12=100
<b>2000 Election</b>			
November, 2000	43 <i>Bush</i>	32 <i>Gore</i>	25=100
Late October, 2000	48 <i>Bush</i>	38 <i>Gore</i>	14=100
Early October, 2000	33 <i>Bush</i>	46 <i>Gore</i>	21=100
June, 2000	51 <i>Bush</i>	33 <i>Gore</i>	16=100
October, 1999	70 <i>Bush</i>	23 <i>Gore</i>	7=100
<b>1996 Election</b>			
Late September, 1996 <sup>10</sup>	12 <i>Dole</i>	79 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
Early September, 1996	16 <i>Dole</i>	75 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
July, 1996	19 <i>Dole</i>	72 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
<b>1992 Election</b>			
October, 1992	30 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	61 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
March, 1992	72 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	20 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	8=100
February, 1992	66 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	25 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	9=100
October, 1991	78 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	11 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	11=100

<sup>10</sup>

In 1996 and October 1992, the question also asked about Ross Perot. Results here are included in the "Other/DK" category.

**ASK ALL:**

Q.17 As it's shaping up so far, what's your opinion of the presidential candidates this year? Would you say that you are very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not too satisfied, or not at all satisfied with the choices?<sup>11</sup>

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

		June 2008	Mid-Oct 2004	June 2004	June 2000	March 2000	July 1999	Late Oct 1996	Late Sept 1996	June 1996	Oct 1992	Aug 1992	June 1992
24	Very satisfied	19	23	17	14	13	13	11	11	10	10	11	6
48	Fairly satisfied	41	43	48	50	47	40	48	50	37	41	42	29
17	Not too satisfied	24	22	19	22	27	25	27	26	31	33	31	36
9	Not at all satisfied	14	9	12	11	11	12	11	10	18	14	15	27
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.18 As far as making progress on the important issues facing the country is concerned, does it really matter who wins the 2008 presidential election, or will things be pretty much the same regardless of who is elected president?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

		June 2008	June 2004	Mid- March 2004	June 2000	General Public Opinion Research Corporation Aug 1976
70	Really matters who wins the 2008 presidential election	63	67	70	50	45
24	Things will pretty much be the same regardless	32	29	26	44	46
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

**ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY (REGICERT=1):**

Q.19F2 Have the presidential candidates been talking about the issues that are important to you in this campaign, or not?

**BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]:**

		Sept 2004	Sept 2000	Oct 1996
72	Yes	64	72	59
23	No	31	22	35
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
100		100	100	100

<sup>11</sup>

Early in election cycles, respondents were asked about "likely presidential candidates."

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

**ROTATE Q.20 AND Q.21**

Q.20 Thinking back to the Democratic nomination contest, who did you prefer more -- Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton?

**BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1166]:**

		August	July	June
		<u>2008</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2008</u>
52	Barack Obama	50	47	51
41	Hillary Clinton	41	46	43
1	Other (VOL.)	1	*	1
2	Neither/None (VOL.)	4	3	2
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

**ROTATE Q.20 AND Q.21**

Q.21 Thinking back to the Republican nomination contest, who did you prefer more -- John McCain or one of the other candidates who ran?

**BASED ON REPUBLICAN AND REPUBLICAN LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1163]:**

		August	July	June
		<u>2008</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2008</u>
50	John McCain	42	43	35
43	Preferred another candidate	51	51	59
3	Neither/None (VOL.)	4	2	3
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

**NO QUESTIONS 22 THRU 24**

**ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):  
 ROTATE Q.25F1 WITH Q.26F1**

Q.25F1 As I name some traits, please tell me whether you think each one describes Barack Obama. First, [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE] do you think of Barack Obama as [FIRST ITEM] or not? Do you think of Obama as [NEXT ITEM] or not? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW CANDIDATE WELL ENOUGH ENTER AS DON'T KNOW AND EMPHASIZE THAT THAT IS A LEGITIMATE ANSWER]

**BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1226]:**

		Yes, describes		Don't Know/
		<u>Obama</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Refused</u>
a.	Patriotic	65	29	6=100
	April, 2008	61	32	7=100
	March, 2008	64	27	9=100
b.	Phony	29	66	5=100
	April, 2008	32	63	5=100
	March, 2008	27	66	7=100
c.	Honest	64	28	8=100
	April, 2008	61	30	9=100
	March, 2008	65	25	10=100
d.	Down-to-earth	65	30	5=100
	April, 2008	60	35	5=100
	March, 2008	67	25	8=100
g.	Arrogant	37	59	4=100
	April, 2008	38	58	4=100
h.	Inspiring	71	26	3=100
	April, 2008	66	31	3=100
	March, 2008	70	26	4=100
i.	Well-qualified	47	48	5=100
j.	Risky	51	44	5=100

**ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):  
ROTATE Q.25F1 WITH Q.26F1**

Q.26F1 As I name some traits, please tell me whether you think each one describes John McCain. First, [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE] do you think of John McCain as [FIRST ITEM] or not? Do you think of McCain as [NEXT ITEM] or not? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW CANDIDATE WELL ENOUGH ENTER AS DON'T KNOW AND EMPHASIZE THAT THAT IS A LEGITIMATE ANSWER]

**BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1226]:**

		Yes, describes		Don't Know/	
		<u>McCain</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Refused</u>	
a.	Patriotic	91	6	3=100	
	April, 2008	90	7	3=100	
b.	Phony	27	68	5=100	
	April, 2008	26	69	5=100	
c.	Honest	62	30	8=100	
	April, 2008	65	26	9=100	
d.	Down-to-earth	56	39	5=100	
	April, 2008	60	33	7=100	
g.	Arrogant	33	63	4=100	
	April, 2008	36	59	5=100	
h.	Inspiring	43	53	4=100	
	April, 2008	39	55	6=100	
i.	Well-qualified	75	20	5=100	
j.	Risky	46	48	6=100	

**ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1)**

Q.27 Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates — [ROTATE ORDER OF CANDIDATES] John McCain or Barack Obama — do you think would do the best job of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE QUARTER FORM SPLITS]? And who do you think would do the best job of [INSERT NEXT ITEM]? IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN MCCAIN OR OBAMA PROBE ONCE: "If you had to choose between McCain and Obama. . . "?]

**BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]:**

		John	Barack	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		<u>McCain</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
a.F2	Improving economic conditions				
	September, 2008	38	47	5	10=100
	July, 2008	32	47	7	14=100
	June, 2008	31	51	8	10=100
	Late May, 2008	36	51	4	9=100
	April, 2008	33	53	8	6=100
<b>Bush/Kerry</b>	Mid October, 2004	40	47	4	9=100
	Early October, 2004	40	46	5	9=100
	September, 2004	42	45	4	9=100
	August, 2004	37	52	3	8=100



**Q.27 CONTINUED...**

	John <u>McCain</u>	Barack <u>Obama</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>	
<b>Bush/Kerry</b> May, 2004	38	48	5	9=100	
Late March, 2004	39	44	6	11=100	
Mid-March, 2004	37	53	2	8=100	
<b>Bush/Gore</b> Mid-October, 2000	37	49	3	11=100	
Early October, 2000	35	47	6	12=100	
September, 2000	38	46	5	11=100	
June, 2000	38	41	5	16=100	
March, 2000	42	46	4	8=100	
<b>Dole/Clinton</b> September, 1996	35	49	8	8=100	
July, 1996	38	45	8	9=100	
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
<b>Bush/Clinton</b> October, 1992	26	41	16	5	12=100

b.F2 Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq

September, 2008	48	41	4	7=100	
July, 2008	44	41	3	12=100	
June, 2008	47	41	4	8=100	
Late May, 2008	46	43	2	9=100	
April, 2008	50	38	5	7=100	
<b>Bush/Kerry</b> Mid October, 2004	47	41	4	8=100	
Early October, 2004	50	40	2	8=100	
September, 2004	51	39	3	7=100	
August, 2004	44	46	3	7=100	
May, 2004	44	41	4	11=100	
Late March, 2004	49	37	4	10=100	
Mid-March, 2004	47	45	2	6=100	

c.F2 Making wise decisions about foreign policy

September, 2008	51	40	2	7=100	
July, 2008	43	42	2	13=100	
<b>Bush/Kerry</b> September, 2004	53	37	3	7=100	
August, 2004	43	47	2	8=100	
May, 2004	43	42	4	11=100	
Late March, 2004	44	38	4	14=100	
Mid-March, 2004	44	45	3	8=100	
<b>Bush/Gore</b> March, 2000	40	46	4	10=100	
<b>Dole/Clinton</b> Early September, 1996	39	44	7	10=100	
July, 1996	42	42	5	11=100	
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
<b>Bush/Clinton</b> October, 1992	53	27	6	3	11=100

d.F2 Dealing with the nation's energy problems

September, 2008	40	46	4	10=100	
Late May, 2008	33	51	5	11=100	

**BASED ON FORM 2a REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=644]**

e.F2a Reducing the influence of lobbyists and special interest groups in Washington

September, 2008	36	40	9	15=100	
June, 2008	26	51	10	13=100	

**Q.27 CONTINUED...**

	<u>John McCain</u>	<u>Barack Obama</u>	<b>(VOL.) <u>Neither</u></b>	<b>(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u></b>	
f.F2a	Reflecting your views on social issues like abortion and gay rights				
	September, 2008	39	45	5	11=100
	Late May, 2008	34	48	5	13=100
g.F2a	Improving education				
	September, 2008	32	51	5	12=100
<b>Bush/Kerry</b>	September, 2004	43	43	5	9=100
	August, 2004	36	53	3	8=100
	May, 2004	35	50	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	39	43	5	13=100
	Mid-March, 2004	36	52	3	9=100
<b>Bush/Gore</b>	Late-October, 2000	41	45	4	10=100
	Mid-October, 2000	40	46	3	11=100
	Early October, 2000	41	43	6	10=100
	September, 2000	39	45	4	12=100
	June, 2000	34	44	5	17=100
	March, 2000	42	44	3	11=100
<b>Dole/Clinton</b>	September, 1996	29	57	5	9=100
	July, 1996	28	55	6	11=100
	<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Neither</u>
<b>Bush/Clinton</b>	October, 1992	28	46	9	5
					12=100
h.F2a	Dealing with taxes				
	September, 2008	39	44	5	12=100
	June, 2008	36	47	6	11=100
	Late May, 2008	44	39	5	12=100
<b>Bush/Gore</b>	Late October, 2000	45	41	5	9=100
	Mid-October, 2000	41	42	5	12=100
	Early October, 2000	39	42	6	13=100
	September, 2000	41	41	5	13=100
	June, 2000	41	34	7	18=100
	March, 2000	40	44	5	11=100
	<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>				
	Cutting taxes				
<b>Dole/Clinton</b>	September, 1996	42	34	14	10=100
	July, 1996	42	35	12	11=100
	<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Neither</u>
<b>Bush/Clinton</b>	October, 1992	35	25	8	16
					16=100

**BASED ON FORM 2b REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=639]**

i.F2b	Defending the country from future terrorist attacks				
	September, 2008	56	31	4	9=100
	July, 2008	48	33	5	14=100
	June, 2008	55	31	5	9=100
	April, 2008	63	26	5	6=100
<b>Bush/Kerry</b>	Mid October, 2004	53	35	4	8=100
	Early October, 2004	57	32	3	8=100

**Q.27 CONTINUED...**

	John <u>McCain</u>	Barack <u>Obama</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>	
September, 2004	58	31	3	8=100	
August, 2004	49	39	4	8=100	
May, 2004	52	33	5	10=100	
Late March, 2004	53	29	4	14=100	
Mid-March, 2004	57	32	4	7=100	
j.F2b Improving the health care system					
September, 2008	31	52	7	10=100	
Late May, 2008	32	49	6	13=100	
<b>Bush/Kerry</b> Early October, 2004	31	49	8	12=100	
September 22-26, 2004	32	48	7	13=100	
Early September, 2004	32	50	8	10=100	
August, 2004	29	55	5	11=100	
May, 2004	29	51	7	13=100	
Late March, 2004	33	46	6	15=100	
Mid-March, 2004	29	57	4	10=100	
<b>Bush/Gore</b> Late-October, 2000	38	47	5	10=100	
Mid-October, 2000	37	48	4	11=100	
Early October, 2000	36	49	5	10=100	
September, 2000	32	51	6	11=100	
June, 2000	31	44	6	19=100	
March, 2000	31	51	6	12=100	
k.F2b Dealing with immigration					
September, 2008	39	38	8	15=100	
Late May, 2008	44	39	7	10=100	
l.F2b Dealing with environmental issues					
September, 2008	32	53	5	10=100	
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>					
Protecting the environment					
<b>Bush/Gore</b> September, 2000	24	58	4	14=100	
March, 2000	24	61	4	11=100	
<b>Dole/Clinton</b> July, 1996	24	58	6	12=100	
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>					
<b>Bush/Clinton</b> October, 1992	<u>24</u>	<u>50</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u> 16=100

**NO QUESTION 28**

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY: [N=1502]**

Q.29 Now I'd like your views on some people. As I read some names, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each person. (First, **INSERT NAME**) would you say your overall opinion of... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE ITEMS a THRU d; FOLLOWED BY ROTATE ITEMS e AND f]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?  
 How about (**NEXT NAME**)? **[IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [NAME] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.) Never	(VOL.) Can't
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Heard of</u>	<u>rate/Ref</u>
a.F2	John McCain								
	September, 2008	58	20	38	38	16	22	*	4=100
	Late May, 2008	46	12	34	44	20	24	1	9=100
	April, 2008	48	11	37	40	17	23	2	10=100
	March, 2008	45	8	37	41	16	25	2	12=100
	Late February, 2008	48	12	36	38	14	24	1	13=100
	Early February, 2008	53	12	41	31	10	21	3	13=100
	January, 2008	55	14	41	31	9	22	3	11=100
	Late December, 2007	46	8	38	34	10	24	7	13=100
	August, 2007	47	8	39	29	8	21	12	12=100
	December, 2006	51	13	38	26	6	20	10	13=100
	April, 2006	54	14	40	26	7	19	8	12=100
	Late October, 2005	56	15	41	19	5	14	10	15=100
	Late March, 2005	59	15	44	17	4	13	8	16=100
	July, 2001	51	14	37	22	5	17	13	14=100
	January, 2001	59	18	41	15	3	12	9	17=100
	May, 2000	54	14	40	20	5	15	11	15=100
b.F2	Barack Obama								
	September, 2008	62	28	34	34	15	19	*	4=100
	Late May, 2008	51	23	28	40	21	19	*	9=100
	April, 2008	52	21	31	42	21	21	*	6=100
	March, 2008	56	21	35	34	18	16	1	9=100
	Late February, 2008	57	24	33	34	16	18	1	8=100
	Early February, 2008	58	19	39	30	13	17	2	10=100
	January, 2008	56	20	36	33	13	20	3	8=100
	Late December, 2007	54	16	38	30	12	18	5	11=100
	August, 2007	48	14	34	26	10	16	13	13=100
c.F2	Sarah Palin								
	September, 2008	50	25	25	34	15	19	6	10=100
d.F2	Joe Biden								
	September, 2008	48	14	34	30	11	19	8	14=100
	April, 2006	28	7	21	20	5	15	38	14=100
	Late October, 2005	21	4	17	20	6	14	43	16=100
	September, 1987	22	4	18	15	4	11	25	38=100
e.F2	Michelle Obama								
	September, 2008	56	23	33	25	11	14	2	17=100
	Late May, 2008	43	14	29	21	8	13	4	32=100

**Q. 29 CONTINUED...**

f.F2	Cindy McCain	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never	Can't
								Heard of	rate/Ref
	September, 2008	48	15	33	26	10	16	4	22=100
	Late May, 2008	40	8	32	18	6	12	5	37=100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY: [N=1480]**

Q.30 On another topic... Would you say your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM, ROTATE] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?

a.F1	The Democratic Party	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly	Never	Can't
								Heard of	Rate
September, 2008	55	18	37	39	14	25	*	6=100	
August, 2008	57	16	41	37	13	24	*	6=100	
Late May, 2008	57	14	43	37	14	23	*	6=100	
July, 2007	51	13	38	41	14	27	0	8=100	
Early January, 2007	54	15	39	35	12	23	*	11=100	
Late October, 2006	53	13	40	36	11	25	*	11=100	
July, 2006	47	13	34	44	13	31	2	7=100	
April, 2006	47	12	35	42	14	28	*	11=100	
February, 2006	48	14	34	44	17	27	0	8=100	
Late October, 2005	49	14	35	41	15	26	*	10=100	
July, 2005	50	15	35	41	14	27	*	9=100	
June, 2005	52	12	40	39	13	26	*	9=100	
December, 2004	53	13	40	41	14	27	*	6=100	
June, 2004	54	12	42	36	11	25	0	10=100	
Early February, 2004	58	14	44	37	9	28	*	5=100	
June, 2003	54	11	43	38	10	28	0	8=100	
April, 2003	57	13	44	36	11	25	*	7=100	
December, 2002	54	15	39	37	10	27	*	9=100	
July, 2001	58	18	40	34	10	24	*	8=100	
January, 2001	60	18	42	30	9	21	1	9=100	
September, 2000 (RVs)	60	16	44	35	12	23	*	5=100	
August, 1999	59	14	45	37	9	28	*	4=100	
February, 1999	58	11	47	37	11	26	0	5=100	
January, 1999	55	14	41	38	12	26	0	7=100	
Early December, 1998	59	18	41	34	10	24	0	7=100	
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	56	11	45	38	9	29	*	6=100	
Early September, 1998	60	13	47	33	8	25	*	7=100	
March, 1998	58	15	43	36	10	26	*	6=100	
August, 1997	52	11	41	42	10	32	0	6=100	
June, 1997	61	10	51	33	8	25	*	6=100	
January, 1997	60	13	47	35	7	28	*	5=100	
October, 1995	49	9	40	48	11	37	0	3=100	
December, 1994	50	13	37	44	13	31	*	6=100	
July, 1994	62	13	49	34	7	27	*	4=100	
May, 1993	57	14	43	34	9	25	0	9=100	
July, 1992	61	17	44	33	9	24	*	6=100	

**Q.30 CONTINUED....**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Never</u> <u>Heard of</u>	<u>Can't</u> <u>Rate</u>
b.F1 The Republican Party								
September, 2008	47	11	36	46	22	24	*	7=100
August, 2008	43	9	34	49	18	31	1	7=100
Late May, 2008	39	7	32	53	20	33	*	8=100
July, 2007	39	7	32	53	22	31	0	8=100
Early January, 2007	41	9	32	48	21	27	1	10=100
Late October, 2006	41	9	32	50	20	30	*	9=100
July, 2006	40	10	30	52	23	29	1	7=100
April, 2006	40	10	30	50	21	29	*	10=100
February, 2006	44	11	33	50	24	26	*	6=100
Late October, 2005	42	12	30	49	24	25	*	9=100
July, 2005	48	13	35	43	18	25	*	9=100
June, 2005	48	11	37	44	20	24	0	8=100
December, 2004	52	15	37	42	17	25	0	6=100
June, 2004	51	12	39	40	14	26	0	9=100
Early February, 2004	52	14	38	42	16	26	*	6=100
June, 2003	58	14	44	33	10	23	0	9=100
April, 2003	63	14	49	31	10	21	*	6=100
December, 2002	59	18	41	33	11	22	*	8=100
July, 2001	48	11	37	42	15	27	*	10=100
January, 2001	56	13	43	35	13	22	*	9=100
September, 2000 (RVs)	53	11	42	40	12	28	0	7=100
August, 1999	53	8	45	43	12	31	*	4=100
February, 1999	44	7	37	51	15	36	0	5=100
January, 1999	44	10	34	50	23	27	0	6=100
Early December, 1998	46	11	35	47	20	27	*	7=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	9	43	42	14	28	0	6=100
Early September, 1998	56	9	47	37	11	26	*	7=100
March, 1998	50	10	40	43	12	31	*	7=100
August, 1997	47	9	38	47	11	36	*	6=100
June, 1997	51	8	43	42	11	31	1	6=100
January, 1997	52	8	44	43	10	33	*	5=100
October, 1995	52	10	42	44	16	28	*	4=100
December, 1994	67	21	46	27	8	19	*	6=100
July, 1994	63	12	51	33	8	25	*	4=100
May, 1993	54	12	42	35	10	25	0	11=100
July, 1992	46	9	37	48	17	31	*	6=100

**ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

Q.31 **[READ BEFORE FIRST ITEM ONLY: Thinking about foreign policy and national security...]** Do you think **[INSERT NAME; ROTATE]** would be too tough, not tough enough, or about right in his approach to foreign policy and national security issues?

**BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1226]:**

		Too <u>tough</u>	Not tough <u>enough</u>	About <u>right</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.F1	John McCain				
	September, 2008	25	15	51	9=100
	Late May, 2008	22	16	51	11=100
	Late February, 2008	25	16	47	12=100
b.F1	Barack Obama				
	September, 2008	3	45	44	8=100
	Late May, 2008	3	43	43	11=100
	Late February, 2008	3	43	39	15=100

**ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

**ROTATE ORDER OF Q.32F2 AND Q.33F2**

Q.32F2 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think Barack Obama has been too personally critical of John McCain, or not?

**BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]:**

		<i>Kerry Critical of Bush</i>				<i>Gore Critical of Bush</i>	<i>Clinton Critical of Dole</i>	<i>Dukakis Critical of Bush, Sr</i>
		June <u>2008</u>	Sept <u>2004</u>	June <u>2004</u>	Mid-March <u>2004</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1988</u>
28	Too personally critical	19	52	44	48	29	21	45
65	Not too personally critical	73	45	48	46	61	70	50
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>8</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

**ROTATE ORDER OF Q.32F2 AND Q.33F2**

Q.33F2 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think John McCain has been too personally critical of Barack Obama, or not?

**BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]:**

		<i>Bush Critical of Kerry</i>				<i>Bush Critical of Gore</i>	<i>Dole Critical of Clinton</i>	<i>Bush, Sr Critical of Dukakis</i>
		June <u>2008</u>	Sept <u>2004</u>	June <u>2004</u>	Mid-March <u>2004</u>	Early Oct <u>2000</u>	Late Sept <u>1996</u>	Oct <u>1988</u>
42	Too personally critical	26	49	33	33	40	53	52
52	Not too personally critical	65	47	58	58	50	40	43
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>9</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

Q.34 Now I'm going to read some statements that have been made about Barack Obama or John McCain. For each statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with it. (The first one is...) **(READ AND RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS)**

		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>(VOL.) Don't know/ Refused</u>
<b>ASK ITEMS a THRU d OF FORM 2</b>				
<b>REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1283]:</b>				
a.F2	I worry that John McCain will take America into another war.	42	53	5=100
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>				
	I worry that George W. Bush will take America into another war. (Sept, 2004)	51	45	4=100
b.F2	The chance of another terrorist attack would increase if Barack Obama were elected	30	61	9=100
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>				
	The chance of another terrorist attack would increase if John Kerry were elected. (Sept, 2004)	36	56	8=100
c.F2	There are many people who won't vote for Barack Obama because he is black	46	49	5=100
d.F2	John McCain sometimes makes hasty decisions	49	41	10=100
<b>ASK ITEMS e THRU j OF FORM 1</b>				
<b>REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1226]:</b>				
e.F1	Barack Obama would work well with both Democrats AND Republicans	61	35	4=100
f.F1	John McCain would work well with both Republicans AND Democrats	59	37	4=100
g.F1	Barack Obama would do too much for African Americans	16	78	6=100
h.F1	John McCain would do too much for wealthy Americans	50	45	5=100
i.F1	Barack Obama can bring about real change in Washington	53	42	5=100
j.F1	John McCain can bring about real change in Washington	39	56	5=100



**Q.34 CONTINUED . . .**

		(VOL.)		
		<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
<b>ASK ALL MCCAIN SUPPORTERS (1 IN Q5/5a): [N=1181]</b>				
k.	I almost wish Sarah Palin was the Republican nominee instead of John McCain	22	75	3=100

**ASK ALL OBAMA SUPPORTERS (2 IN Q5/5a): [N=1086]**

l.	I almost wish Joe Biden was the Democratic nominee instead of Barack Obama	10	87	3=100
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**ASK ALL SWING REGISTERED VOTERS (Q.5=3,9 OR Q.7=1 OR Q.8=1):**

Q.35 All things considered, which of these concerns you more? [READ AND ROTATE]

**BASED ON SWING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=666]:**

37	That Barack Obama lacks experience [OR]
46	That John McCain's would govern too much like President Bush
9	Neither/Both (VOL. DO NOT READ)
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)
100	

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY:**

Q.36F1 Now, thinking about Barack Obama's religious beliefs... Do you happen to know what Barack Obama's religion is? Is he Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, or something else?

[INTERVIEWERS: IF DON'T KNOW PROBE: "Is that because you've heard different things about his religion, or because you just don't know enough about him?"]

**BASED ON FORM 1 [N=1480]:**

		(RVs)	
		<u>June 2008</u>	<u>March 2008</u>
48	Christian (include volunteers of: Protestant, Church of Christ, Trinity Church, Baptist, Methodist, etc.)	57	47
1	Jewish	1	*
12	Muslim (include Islam/Islamic)	12	12
*	Buddhist	*	*
*	Hindu	*	*
*	Atheist	*	*
*	Agnostic	*	*
4	Something else	2	1
18	Don't know - Heard different things (VOL.)	10	10
15	Don't know - Haven't heard enough (VOL.)	15	27
2	Refused (VOL.)	3	3
100		100	100

**NO QUESTIONS 37 THROUGH 38**

**QUESTIONS 39 THROUGH 65 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

**IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:**

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	No Preference	Other Party	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem
September, 2008	28	35	32	3	*	2=100	12	14
August, 2008	26	34	34	4	*	2=100	12	17
July, 2008	24	36	34	3	*	3=100	12	15
June, 2008	26	37	32	3	*	2=100	11	16
Late May, 2008	25	35	35	2	*	3=100	13	15
April, 2008	24	37	31	5	1	2=100	11	15
March, 2008	24	38	29	5	*	4=100	9	14
Late February, 2008	24	38	32	3	*	3=100	10	17
Early February, 2008	26	35	31	5	*	3=100	11	14
January, 2008	24	33	37	4	*	2=100	12	18
Late December, 2007	25	32	36	4	*	3=100	12	18
November, 2007	28	33	32	4	1	2=100	9	16
October, 2007	25	37	33	3	*	2=100	11	17
September, 2007	27	32	32	6	*	3=100	8	16
August, 2007	26	32	32	5	1	4=100	10	16
July, 2007	27	32	34	4	*	3=100	11	17
June, 2007	25	34	32	6	*	3=100	10	17
April, 2007	25	28	40	5	*	2=100	13	17
March, 2007	25	36	33	3	*	3=100	12	16
February, 2007	25	34	34	4	*	3=100	10	18
Mid-January, 2007	24	35	34	3	*	4=100	12	18
Early-January, 2007	23	31	39	4	*	3=100	12	18
<b>Yearly Totals</b>								
2007	25.4	32.9	33.7	4.6	.4	3.1=100	10.7	16.7
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9=100	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8=100	10.2	14.9
2004	29.5	33.1	30.0	4.0	.4	3.0=100	11.8	13.6
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5=100	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7=100	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7=100	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6=100	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1=100	11.7	12.5
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0=100	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9=100	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4=100	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3=100	12.3	13.8
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2=100			12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4=100			14.4	12.9
1994	29.8	31.8	33.8	4.6=100			14.3	12.6
1993	27.4	33.8	34.0	4.8=100			11.8	14.7
1992	27.7	32.7	35.7	3.9=100			13.8	15.8
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5=100			14.6	10.8
1990	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8=100			12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34=100					
1987	26	35	39=100					

**ASK REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):**

REPJOB How good a job is the Republican Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as reducing the size of government, cutting taxes and promoting conservative social values — would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

**BASED ON REPUBLICANS AND REPUBLICAN LEANERS: [N=1308]**

		Late		Mid-		Late						(RVs)
		Oct	Nov	June	April	Sept	March	July	Aug	May	May	Sept
		<u>2007</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2000</u>
4	Excellent	5	7	6	6	4	8	12	6	6	10	6
31	Good	31	35	36	41	44	43	49	51	49	50	43
44	Only fair	49	41	44	41	41	36	33	37	38	32	44
19	Poor	13	15	10	10	8	9	4	5	5	5	5
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS ONLY (PARTY=2 OR PARTYLN=2):**

DEMJOB How good a job is the Democratic Party doing these days in standing up for its traditional positions on such things as protecting the interests of minorities, helping the poor and needy, and representing working people — would you say the Party is doing an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job or a poor job?

**BASED ON DEMOCRATS AND DEMOCRATIC LEANERS: [N=1394]**

		Late		Mid-		Late						(RVs)
		Oct	Nov	June	April	Sept	March	July	Aug	May	May	Sept
		<u>2007</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2000</u>
9	Excellent	4	6	4	5	3	3	6	5	5	8	11
41	Good	35	37	30	35	32	30	43	33	39	39	52
36	Only fair	48	45	51	48	49	51	40	51	43	40	32
11	Poor	9	7	13	11	14	14	8	9	10	7	4
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

SCALE10 I'd like you to rate your chance of voting in November on a scale of 10 to 1. If TEN represents a person who definitely will vote and ONE represents a person who definitely will NOT vote, where on this scale of 10 to 1 would you place yourself?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2509]:**

	Definitely will vote										Definitely will not vote										(VOL.)	
	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	DK/Ref	
September, 2008	84	6	3	1	1	2	0	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1=100
August, 2008	80	6	5	2	1	2	*	1	*	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1=100
July, 2008	80	7	4	2	1	3	*	1	*	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0=100
November, 2006 <sup>12</sup>	72	7	5	3	2	4	*	1	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1=100
Late October, 2006	71	8	9	4	2	3	*	1	*	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1=100
Early October, 2006	68	10	9	4	1	4	*	1	*	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1=100
September, 2006	67	9	9	2	2	5	1	1	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1=100
November, 2004	87	4	3	1	1	1	*	*	*	2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1=100

<sup>12</sup> In November 2006, November 2004 and Early November 2002, the "10 – definitely will vote" category also includes people who volunteered that they already voted.

SCALE10 CONTINUED....

	Definitely will vote										Definitely will not vote										(VOL.)
	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Mid-October, 2004	87	4	3	1	1	1	*	*	*	2											1=100
Early November, 2002	66	9	9	3	1	4	1	1	1	5											1=100
Early October, 2002	64	10	10	4	3	4	1	*	*	2											2=100
Early November, 2000	80	6	5	2	1	3	*	*	*	3											1=100
Late October, 2000	83	5	5	1	1	2	*	1	1	1											*=100
Mid-October, 2000	80	7	4	3	1	3	1	*	*	1											1=100
Early October, 2000	78	7	5	2	2	2	*	1	1	1											1=100
Late October, 1998	70	6	7	4	1	4	1	1	1	4											1=100
Early October, 1998	64	9	10	4	2	4	1	2	1	2											1=100
November, 1996	77	7	7	2	1	2	*	1	*	2											1=100
October, 1996	77	9	7	2	2	2	*	*	*	1											*=100
Late September, 1996	78	10	6	2	1	1	*	*	*	1											1=100
November, 1994	67	9	8	2	2	4	1	1	1	3											2=100
October, 1994	66	10	9	4	2	4	1	1	*	2											1=100
<i>Gallup</i> : September, 1992	77	5	4	3	2	4	*	1	*	4											*=100
<i>Gallup</i> : November, 1988	77	7	6	2	1	3	*	*	*	2											2=100
<i>Gallup</i> : October, 1988	73	8	7	3	2	3	1	*	*	1											2=100