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**Republicans Want More Conservative Direction for GOP**  
**HIGH MARKS FOR THE CAMPAIGN, A HIGH BAR FOR OBAMA**

**Also inside...**

- Obama's candidate grades highest ever
- 60% say Obama should appoint GOPer to top post
- More blacks see race relations improving
- Early voters more likely to face lines
- Pollsters' grades up sharply from '04

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## Republicans Want More Conservative Direction for GOP HIGH MARKS FOR THE CAMPAIGN, A HIGH BAR FOR OBAMA

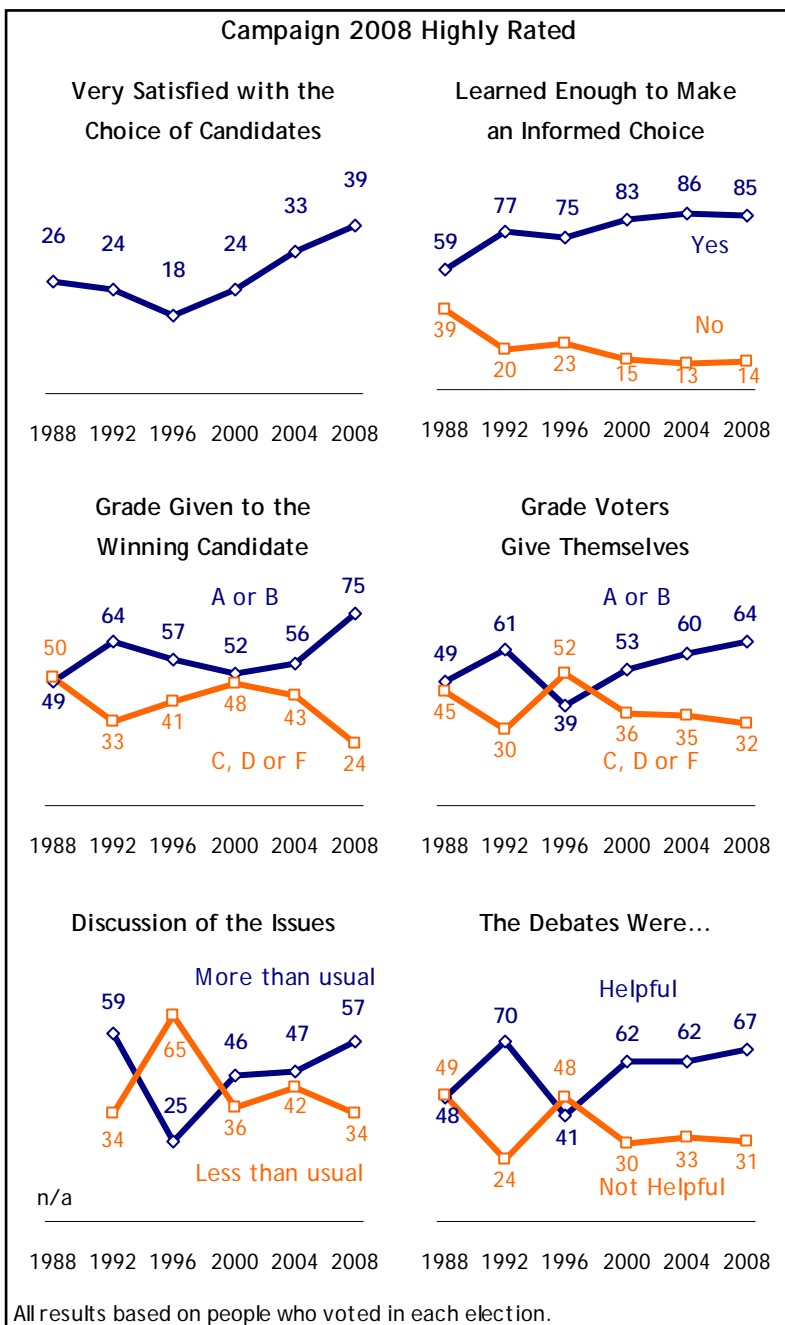
A week after the election, voters are feeling good about themselves, the presidential campaign and Barack Obama. Looking ahead, they have high expectations for the Obama administration, with two-thirds predicting that he will have a successful first term.

The quadrennial post-election survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press finds greater satisfaction with the choice of presidential candidates than after any election in the past 20 years. In addition, Obama gets by far the highest grades for any winning candidate in that period. The survey was conducted Nov. 6-9 among 1,500 voters reached by both landline and cell phone who were originally interviewed in mid-October.

Fully 75% of voters in the re-contact survey give Obama a letter grade of A or B for the way he conducted himself during the campaign, with 45% awarding Obama an A.

Voters also gave Bill Clinton high grades following his 1992 victory (64% A or B; 26% A). But Obama's grades far surpass Clinton's.

Voters applaud their own work on Nov. 4: 64% give themselves grades of A or B. Four years ago, 60% of voters gave themselves grades of A or B. The campaign itself also is



highly rated: fully 85% say they learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice. And nearly six-in-ten (57%) say there was more discussion of the issues compared with past elections; that is the highest percentage expressing this view since 1992 (59%).

The belief that Obama will have a successful first term is nearly universal among his own supporters (92%). Nearly four-in-ten of those who voted for McCain (39%) also believe that Obama will have a successful first term, while slightly more (45%) say he will be unsuccessful. After the 2004 election, far fewer supporters of John Kerry (26%) said they anticipated that Bush would have a successful second term.

	All voters	Obama voters	McCain voters
<i>Looking ahead, think Obama will have...</i>	%	%	%
A successful first term	67	92	39
An unsuccessful first term	22	3	45
Other/don't know	11	5	16
	100	100	100
<i>Obama's election will make race relations...</i>	All	Blacks	Whites
	%	%	%
Better	52	75	49
Worse	9	*	10
Won't make a difference	35	24	37
Don't know	4	1	4
	100	100	100

Based on voters.

A majority of all voters (52%) say that Obama's election will lead to better race relations in the United States; 35% say the election will not affect race relations, while 9% say Obama's election will make race relations worse. Fully three-quarters of African Americans expect race relations to improve as a result of Obama's election. White voters, however, are evenly divided with about as many saying they expect race relations either to stay the same or get worse (47%) as say they will get better (49%).

Roughly three-quarters (74%) of all voters – including a solid majority of Republicans (56%) – say that GOP leaders should work with Obama to accomplish things, even it means disappointing some supporters; a comparable percentage (77%) says that Democratic leaders should work cooperatively with their Republican counterparts, even if it means disappointing their party's supporters.

Notably, most voters (60%) say that Obama should appoint Republicans to serve in important positions in his administration; very few (4%) oppose an appointment from the opposing party, while 35% say it does not matter. As expected, support for an appointment of a member of the opposing party is widespread among Republicans (71%), but a narrow majority of Democrats (51%) also favor Obama choosing a Republican for a key administration post.

Despite the support for bipartisanship among members of both parties, the proportion of voters who say they expect relations between Republicans and Democrats to improve has increased only modestly. Fewer than four-in-ten (37%) say they expect relations between

Republicans and Democrats to get better in the coming year, up from 29% following the 2006 midterm elections which resulted in divided government. Nearly all of the increased belief in improved relations has come among Democrats; slightly fewer Republicans believe that relations between the parties will get better than did so two years ago.

After a hard-fought election campaign, most Republican and Republican-leaning voters (63%) describe Obama as “inspiring.” Almost four-in-ten GOP voters (38%) say Obama makes them feel “hopeful,” and 36% say he makes them feel “proud.” In March, just 22% of registered voters who were Republicans or leaned toward the GOP said Obama made them feel proud. However, a large majority of Republican voters (72%) say the term “risky” describes the president elect.

As Republicans contemplate the party’s future, they are expressing support for a more conservative approach from GOP leaders. Six-in-ten Republican and Republican-leaning voters say they would like to see Republican leaders in Washington move in a more conservative direction; just 35% say they favor the party’s leaders pursuing a more moderate approach.

In part, this reflects the fundamentally conservative balance within the GOP electorate. Roughly two-thirds (68%) of Republican and Republican-leaning voters identify themselves as conservative, and three-quarters of these voters think the party should turn further to the right. While a majority of the moderates and liberals within the party advocate a centrist approach, they make up fewer than a third (31%) of Republican voters overall.

Democrats, by contrast, favor their leaders moving in a more moderate, rather than a more liberal, direction in the coming years. A 57% majority of Democrats and Democratic-leaning voters say the party’s leaders should move in a more moderate direction; just 33% say the party should pursue a more liberal course. A majority of Democrats and Democratic-leaners describe themselves as moderate or conservative ideologically, and 70% of these voters favor the party pursuing a more moderate agenda.

Republicans Want Party to Move in a More Conservative Direction			
	All	(68%)	(31%)
	Rep/lean R	Cons-erv	Mod/lib
	%	%	%
Republican leaders should move in a...	60	74	28
Conservative direction	35	21	66
Moderate direction	5	5	6
Same (vol.)/DK	100	100	100
N=	611	432	171
	All	(34%)	(64%)
	Dem/lean D	Lib-eral	Mod/Cons
	%	%	%
Democratic leaders should move in a...	33	56	22
Liberal direction	57	34	70
Moderate direction	10	10	8
Same (vol.)/DK	100	100	100
N=	773	269	486
Based on voters.			

About a third of Democratic voters overall describe themselves as liberal, and most want the party to move further to the left. Nonetheless, while 56% of liberal Democrats favor the party moving in a more liberal direction, 34% say the party should move to the center. By contrast, conservative Republicans are far more unified in saying that their party’s leaders should turn to the right (74%), rather than the center (21%).

## Election Reactions

Nearly six-in-ten voters (58%) say they are happy that Barack Obama was elected president. These opinions – as well as overall reactions to the election – are divided along partisan lines. Nearly all Democratic voters are happy that their party’s candidate won, while 75% of Republicans express unhappiness. Among independent voters, a majority says they are happy about Obama’s win (57%) and about a third (32%) says they are unhappy.

When voters are asked for a single word that describes their reaction to Obama’s victory, Obama supporters mentioned their joy over his triumph, with words like “happy,” “excited,” and “ecstatic” frequently used. A substantial number of Obama voters also mentioned the words “hope” or “hopeful” to characterize their reaction to the election.

McCain’s supporters generally expressed disappointment over the election outcome, although many said that they had anticipated his defeat. Indeed, more McCain voters said they were “not surprised” or used the word “expected,” than said they were surprised or shocked by the election result. Some McCain supporters also used the words “hope” and “hopeful” to describe their reaction to the election, while others expressed fear or apprehension.

Obama’s Win ... In A Word			
#	<u>Obama Voters</u>	#	<u>McCain Voters</u>
87	Happy	139	Disappointed
71	Hope/Hopeful	30	Not surprised
53	Excited	27	Expected
46	Ecstatic	21	Surprised
44	Elated	18	Hope/Hopeful
44	Relieved	18	Scared
36	Great	15	Fear/Fearful
32	Change	11	Historic
30	Pleased	10	Satisfied
26	Satisfied	10	Shocked
21	Good	9	Concerned
20	Historic	8	Fine
19	Thrilled	7	Disgusted
13	Surprised	7	OK
10	Glad	6	Terrified
10	Joy	6	Worried
9	Amazed	5	Apprehensive
8	Proud	5	Good luck
7	Awesome	5	Happy
7	Fantastic		
7	Optimistic		
6	Delighted		
6	Hallelujah		
6	Jubilant		
6	Thankful		

Note: Figures show numbers of respondents who offered each word out of 767 Obama voters and 611 McCain voters. These numbers are *not* percentages.

## SECTION 1: REPORT CARD ON THE CAMPAIGN

Voters award very high marks to Barack Obama’s campaign and the Democratic Party this year – the highest for a candidate and party since the Center first asked voters to grade the candidates, parties and other campaign actors in 1988. Roughly three-quarters (76%) of voters who gave a grade to Barack Obama said he earned an A or B for the way he conducted himself in the campaign. Prior to now, the highest marks received by a candidate and party were in 1992 when 66% gave Clinton an A or B. George W. Bush earned an A or B from 56% of voters four years ago.

Campaign Ratings (Among voters who gave an answer)							
	% Who Rated Each an A or B						Avg for 2008
	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Barack Obama*	39	66	58	54	47	76	B+
Democratic Party	34	60	50	49	37	70	B
John McCain**	50	31	34	53	56	40	C+
Republican Party	46	30	29	48	51	28	C
Voters	52	67	43	60	64	67	B
Pollsters	46	53	40	34	45	58	B-
Campaign consultants	30	44	30	43	48	49	B-
Talk show hosts	--	49	28	41	37	41	C+
Press	30	37	29	29	33	35	C

\*Obama’s ratings are compared to those of past Democratic candidates.  
 \*\* McCain’s ratings are compared to those of past Republican candidates.

As is generally the case for the unsuccessful candidate, John McCain receives substantially poorer marks; only 40% of voters gave McCain an A or B for his campaign. This is lower than the 47% for Kerry in 2004 and 54% for Gore in 2000 (though the 2000 race was not yet decided at the time of the survey). But McCain’s grades are substantially higher than either Bob Dole’s in 1996 (34%) or George H.W. Bush’s in 1992 (31%) and on par with the grades given to Michael Dukakis (39%) in 1988.

The Democratic Party's grades are also at a 20-year high. Fully 70% of voters give positive scores to the winning party, surpassing the previous highs of 60% for the Democrats in 1992 and 51% for the Republicans in 2004. While this reflects the overwhelmingly positive marks from Democratic voters themselves, the grades conferred by independents – and even Republicans – are notably high. Nearly seven-in-ten independents (68%) and fully half of Republicans give favorable grades to the Democratic Party.

	<i>% Who Rated Each an A or B</i>					
	<u>1988</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>
<i>Democratic Party</i>						
All voters	34	60	50	49	37	70
Republican	25	45	33	26	29	50
Democrat	48	79	71	74	52	89
Independent	29	54	43	40	29	68
<i>Republican Party</i>						
All voters	46	30	29	48	51	28
Republican	72	44	42	78	79	44
Democrat	25	21	22	31	25	18
Independent	40	27	20	39	47	22

In contrast, grades for the GOP are at their lowest level in over a decade – only 28% of voters now give the Republican Party a grade of A or B for the campaign, and a third give the party a D or F. And the criticism of the GOP is not all from outside the party. For the first time, more Republicans give the Democratic Party a grade of A or B (50%) than their own party (44%). The gap in ratings among independents is stark – just 22% give the GOP good grades compared with 68% for the Democratic Party. This is the lowest grade for the Republican Party among independents since 1996 (20% A or B).

Of the other players in the campaign, voters and pollsters, in particular, earned high grades. Two-thirds of voters say the electorate deserves an A or B for how it conducted itself this year, the highest grades given since 1992. Fully 58% of voters also give pollsters good scores, their highest marks since the question was first asked in 1988. Compared with 2004, Democrats and independents give pollsters higher grades, while Republican grades for pollsters are largely unchanged.

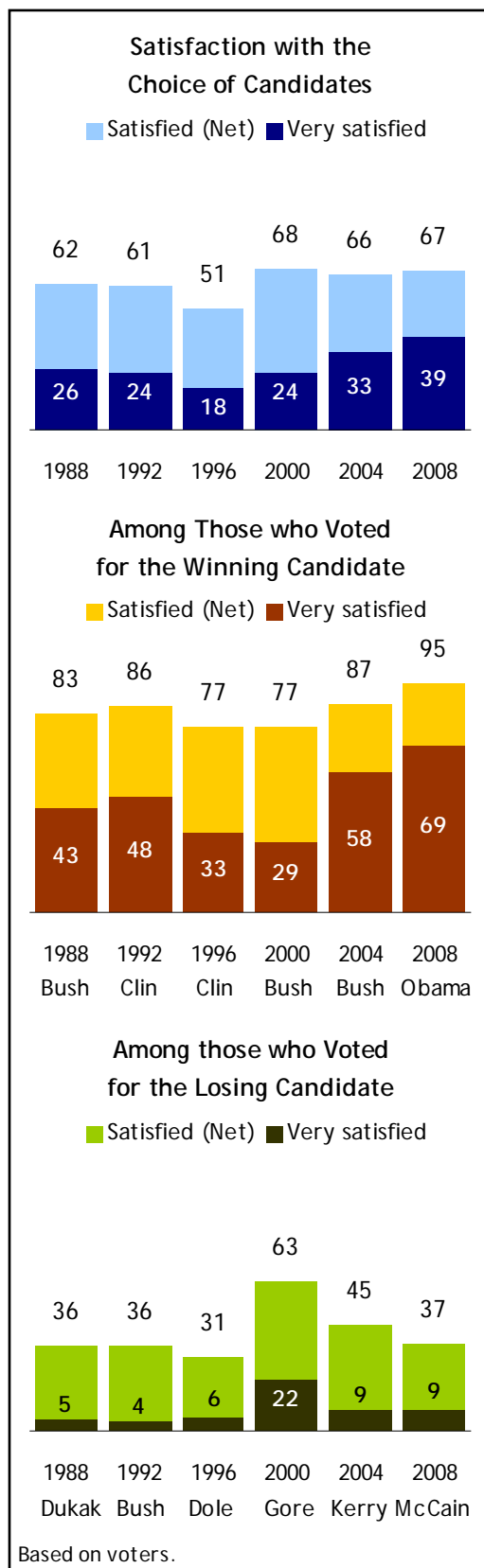
Ratings of the press overall are similar to those seen in 2004, though these have become increasingly partisan. Today, fully 62% of Democratic voters give the press positive grades, up from 46% in 2004. By contrast, just 13% of Republicans now give the press an A or B, and more than four-in-ten Republicans (44%) give the press an F grade (up from 28% in 2004). Independents also give the press lower grades than in 2004.

## Satisfaction with the Candidates

Overall, two-thirds of voters say they were very or fairly satisfied with the choice of candidates this year. Nearly all Obama voters (95%) say they were satisfied with the choices, and 69% report being very satisfied. Just 37% of McCain voters say they were satisfied with the choice of candidates, with only 9% very satisfied.

Voters who supported the winning candidate are typically happier with the quality of the candidates in Pew's post election surveys, but the level of satisfaction among Obama voters this year is remarkably high. Four years ago a record number of Bush voters (58%) said they were very satisfied with the choice of candidates; but that record was easily broken this year with 69% of Obama voters expressing strong satisfaction.

While McCain's supporters were less satisfied, no records were broken. In 1996, only 31% of Bob Dole's supporters said they were satisfied with the choice of candidates, compared with 37% of McCain voters today. Satisfaction on the losing side today is comparable to what George H.W. Bush voters in 1992 and Michael Dukakis voters in 1988 expressed. Notably, McCain voters were considerably less satisfied with their choices than supporters of John Kerry in 2004.





## Debates and Commercials

Two-thirds of voters said the debates were very or somewhat helpful in deciding which candidate to vote for, the highest number since the 1992 debates between Bill Clinton, George H.W. Bush, and Ross Perot. At the same time, despite the unprecedented spending on campaign commercials in this race, voters were only slightly more likely than in 2004 to say that campaign commercials were helpful in making their decision, and less likely than voters in 1992 to say this.

Debates Viewed as Helpful, Commercials Less So						
	<u>1988</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>
<i>How helpful were the debates?</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very/somewhat	48	70	41	62	62	67
Not too/Not at all	49	24	48	30	33	31
Didn't watch (VOL.)	3	5	10	7	4	2
Don't know	*	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*
	100	100	100	100	100	100
<i>How helpful were candidates' commercials?</i>						
Very/somewhat	--	38	25	29	25	32
Not too/Not at all	--	59	73	66	70	66
Didn't watch (VOL.)	--	--	--	--	4	2
Don't know	--	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>	*
		100	100	100	100	100
Based on voters.						

## Most Issue-Focused Campaign since 1992

Increased public satisfaction with Campaign 2008 reflects the fact that most voters (57%) say that there was more discussion of issues in this campaign compared with previous elections. Four years ago, fewer than half (47%) described the campaign this way, as did 46% in 2000 and just 25% in 1996. The last time voters saw the campaign as particularly focused on the issues was in 1992; following that campaign, 59% said that issues were discussed more than usual.

<i>More discussion of issues than in past</i>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>	<i>04-08 change</i>
	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
All voters	59	25	46	47	57	+10
Republicans	51	23	51	56	40	-16
Democrats	64	31	45	45	76	+31
Independents	58	20	43	39	52	+13

Based on voters.

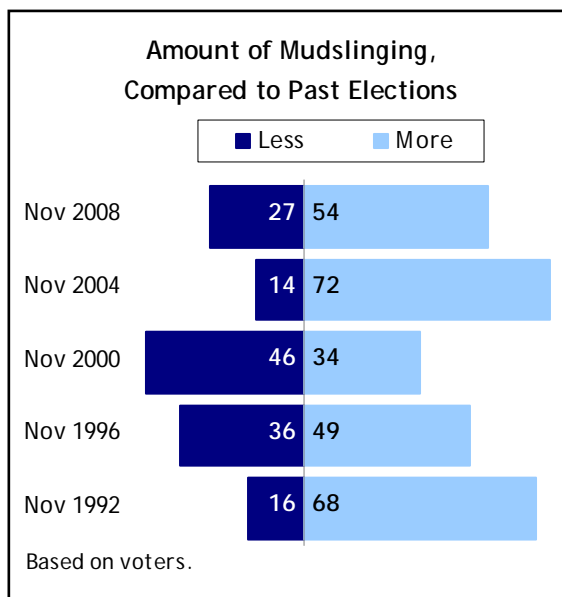
Independents, who historically have tended to be critical of the lack of issue discussion of campaigns, largely share the view that the 2008 campaign was different. A 52% majority today say issues were discussed more than usual this year, the first time a majority has said this since 1992.

However, this view is not held across the board. Almost three-quarters (76%) of Democrats say the election was more focused on issues than in the past, up from just 45% in 2004 and the greatest percentage of Democrats saying this in 16 years. This view is even more widely shared by liberal Democrats, 81% of whom say the campaign discussion was more issue-driven this year than it has been in the past. But Republicans are much *less* likely than they were in 2000 or 2004 to say this year's campaign was issue-oriented. Only four-in-ten Republicans, down from 56% in 2004, say issues were discussed more than usual.

### More Mudslinging, But Not as Bad as 2004

While a majority of voters (54%) say that the 2008 campaign had more negative campaigning, or mudslinging, than they had seen in the past, this represents a substantial decline from 2004 when more than seven-in-ten (72%) voters said the tenor of the Bush-Kerry contest was particularly negative. There are no significant partisan differences in views about the tenor of the campaign, and the shift from 2004 is seen across the political spectrum.

However, while the election overall is not viewed as particularly negative, voters split in their evaluations of the two campaigns. As had been the case with registered voters in early October, almost half of voters (49%) now say John McCain was too personally critical of Barack Obama in this campaign. About one-in-five voters (21%), on the other hand, say the same about Barack Obama's treatment of John McCain.



Opinion among independent voters mirrors that of voters as a whole – they are more than twice as likely to say McCain was too critical of Obama as to say the reverse. While both Democratic and Republican voters are considerably more likely to view the opposing party's candidate as too critical (and less likely to view their own candidate as too critical), about a third of Republicans (34%) say Obama was too critical of McCain (compared with 74% of Democrats who say McCain was too critical of Obama).

	McCain Too Critical %	Obama Too Critical %
All voters	49	21
Republicans	23	34
Conservative	20	35
Mod/Liberal	29	32
Democrats	74	10
Cons/Mod	70	13
Liberal	83	5
Independents	47	22
<i>Vote Preference</i>		
Obama voters	74	9
McCain voters	21	36

Based on voters.

## SECTION 2: THE PRESIDENT-ELECT'S IMAGE AND EXPECTATIONS

### High Expectations for Obama's First Term

Two-thirds of voters (67%) expect Obama to have a successful first term, while only 22% think the new president will be unsuccessful. Nearly all Democrats (90%) are optimistic about Obama's first term, as are 67% of independent voters. Republicans are nearly evenly divided; 41% believe Obama's first term will be successful and 44% say it will be unsuccessful.

Voters are somewhat more upbeat about the prospects for Obama's first term than they were four years ago about George W. Bush's second term. After the 2004 election, 61% expected Bush to have a successful second term, while 29% predicted an unsuccessful second term. Democrats were particularly pessimistic in 2004: More than half (55%) thought Bush would be unsuccessful. Republicans, on the other hand, were about as confident that Bush's second term would be a success as Democrats are about Obama's first term.

	All voters	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Successful	67	41	90	67
Unsuccessful	22	44	6	20
Neither (vol.)	1	1	*	2
DK/Refused	10	14	4	11
	100	100	100	100
<i>Bush 2<sup>nd</sup> Term**</i>				
Successful	61	93	30	58
Unsuccessful	29	4	55	33
Neither (vol.)	1	*	2	1
DK/Refused	9	3	13	8
	100	100	100	100

\*\* 2004 post-election survey, conducted Nov. 5-8.

While those who voted for Obama express the same level of optimism about his first term as Bush voters did about their candidate's second term (92% and 94%, respectively), McCain voters are much more positive about Obama's first term than were Kerry voters about Bush's second term. Currently, 39% of McCain voters say they expect Obama to be successful, compared with 26% of Kerry voters who said the same about Bush.

### Obama Inspiring to Most Voters

Majorities of voters view Obama as inspiring (81%), down-to-earth (73%), patriotic (70%), honest (68%), and well-qualified (58%). The percentages saying that each of these traits apply to Obama are higher than they were in the weeks leading up to the election. Most also say the president-elect makes them feel hopeful (69%) and proud (65%). However, a sizable minority continues to see Obama as risky (46%) and more than one-third say that he makes them feel uneasy (35%).

	All voters	McCain voters	Obama voters
	%	%	%
<i>He is/has...</i>			
Inspiring	81	62	98
Down-to-earth	73	47	96
Patriotic	70	43	94
Honest	68	34	97
Well-qualified	58	17	94
Risky	46	74	23
Poor judgment	22	45	3
<i>He makes you feel...</i>			
Hopeful	69	35	99
Proud	65	33	94
Uneasy	35	72	4
Angry	9	18	*

Nearly three-quarters of McCain voters describe Obama as risky (74%), and about the same proportion says he makes them feel uneasy (72%). Even among those who voted for Obama, nearly a quarter say their chosen candidate is risky (23%), though very few (4%) say he makes them feel uneasy. Obama voters nearly unanimously say the president-elect makes them feel hopeful (99%) and proud (94%), sentiments that are echoed by about a third of those who voted for McCain (35% feel hopeful and 33% feel proud).

Overall, the feelings Obama elicits from voters are far more positive than they were early in the campaign, and the change is most notable among Democrats. Fully 92% of Democratic voters say Obama makes them feel proud, up from 60% in March, when Obama was competing with Hillary Clinton for their party's nomination. Democrats are also much more likely to say the president-elect makes them feel hopeful (96% vs. 72% in March) and considerably less likely to say he makes them feel uneasy (7% vs. 25% in March).

More Republican and independent voters also say Obama makes them feel proud and hopeful than did so in March. However, 68% of Republicans say the next president makes them feel uneasy, compared with 62% in March; the percentage of independents who express this view is virtually unchanged (36% in the current poll vs. 39% in March).

But one reaction to Obama that has dissipated almost entirely is anger. In March, roughly a quarter (26%) of registered voters said that Barack Obama made them feel angry, and this sentiment was shared by 37% of Republicans, 26% of independents and 18% of Democrats. Today, just 9% of voters say Obama makes them feel angry, including 17% of Republicans, 8% of independents, and 2% of Democrats.

	March 2008*	Nov 2008	Diff
<b>All voters</b>	%	%	
Hopeful	54	69	+15
Proud	42	65	+23
Uneasy	38	35	-3
Angry	26	9	-17
<b>Republicans</b>			
Hopeful	30	38	+8
Proud	21	37	+16
Uneasy	62	68	+6
Angry	37	17	-20
<b>Democrats</b>			
Hopeful	72	96	+24
Proud	60	92	+32
Uneasy	25	7	-18
Angry	18	2	-16
<b>Independents</b>			
Hopeful	55	68	+13
Proud	39	60	+21
Uneasy	39	36	-3
Angry	26	8	-18

\* Based on registered voters.

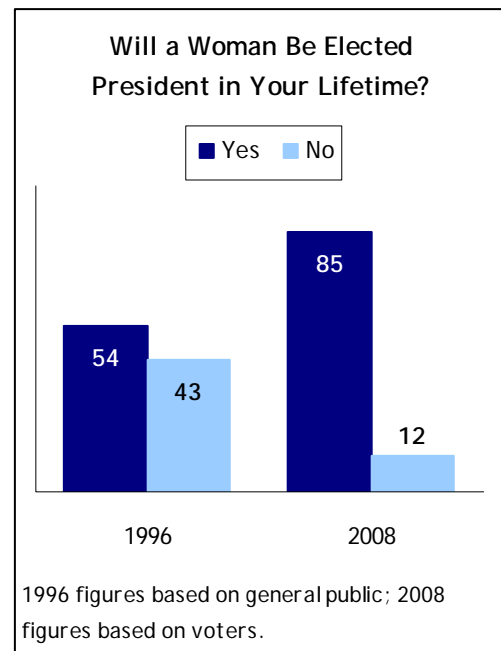
## Optimism about Race Relations

A majority of voters (52%) believe that Obama's election as president will lead to better race relations in the United States; just 9% think race relations will get worse, while 35% say it will not make a difference. African Americans are especially optimistic about the future of race relations; fully three-quarters of black voters say race relations will improve now that Obama has been elected president, compared with 49% of white voters.

	Better %	Worse %	Same %	DK %	N
All voters	52	9	35	4=100	1500
White	49	10	37	4=100	1235
Black	75	*	24	1=100	143
18-29	57	7	35	1=100	150
30-49	48	10	38	4=100	434
50-64	53	9	34	4=100	502
65+	51	8	36	5=100	394
Republican	32	15	49	4=100	438
Democrat	70	2	26	2=100	548
Independent	51	11	33	5=100	480

When asked if, before the campaign started, they thought the country would elect an African American as president in their lifetime, a narrow 52% majority says they thought it would happen while 42% say they did not think so. Just a quarter of black voters say that, before the campaign, they thought an African American would be elected president; many more white voters (56%) express this view. Voters over 65 were less confident prior to this campaign that this would be achieved in their lifetime (36%), while a majority of voters under 65 thought it would.

The election of the first African American as president and the widespread support Hillary Clinton garnered in the Democratic primaries have contributed to the impression among voters that the country will elect a female president in the future. Fully 85% say they think this will happen in their lifetime while just 12% say it will not. By comparison, a 1996 *Newsweek* poll showed the public much less confident, with 54% saying they thought a woman would be president in their lifetime and 43% saying it would not happen.



Overwhelming majorities of voters across demographic and partisan groups expect the country to elect a female president in their lifetime. More than eight-in-ten women (82%) and men (87%) think it will happen. Three-quarters of those 65 and older also say a woman will be elected president in their lifetime, as do even larger majorities of younger voters.

## SECTION 3: A NEW POLITICAL LANDSCAPE

As Democrats look forward to a president from their party and expanded majorities in Congress, they are optimistic about the coming years. Most foresee a decrease in partisanship in Washington and say that their party's leaders should try to work with Republican leaders to get things done, even if it means disappointing some groups of Democratic supporters. About half say Obama should appoint Republicans to serve in important administration positions, and most say the party should move in a more moderate, rather than a more liberal, direction.

By contrast, most Republicans want their leaders to move in a more conservative – rather than a more moderate – direction in the coming years, and a significant minority say congressional leaders should stand up to Obama on issues that are important to the base, even if it means less gets done in Washington. Not surprisingly, Republicans are far less optimistic than Democrats about the possibility of improved partisan relations. While most Democrats think partisanship will decrease, Republicans tend to see things at best staying the same, if not getting worse.

### Most Want Bipartisanship

The public's desire for bipartisanship – already strong following Democratic gains in the 2006 midterm election – has increased following Obama's victory. Roughly three-quarters (77%) of voters say that Democratic leaders in Washington should try as best as they can to work with GOP leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Democratic supporters. About the same number (74%) say Republican leaders should do all they can to work with Obama.

	All voters	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>Republican leaders should...</i>	%	%	%	%
Work with Barack Obama	74	56	86	78
Stand up to Barack Obama	22	39	11	17
Don't know	4	5	3	5
	100	100	100	100
<i>Democratic leaders should...</i>				
Work with Republicans	77	75	76	80
Stand up to Republicans	17	19	18	14
Don't know	6	6	6	6
	100	100	100	100

Based on voters.

Two years ago, there was less unanimity, particularly when it came to how the Democratic leaders should deal with the Republican president. While 73% of voters wanted Republican leaders, who had just lost their majorities in Congress, to do all they could to work with Democrats, 58% said the new Democratic majority should try as best as it could to work with George W. Bush. Instead, 34% wanted Democrats to stand up to Bush, even if it meant less got done in Washington.

The difference is in the amount of frustration Democrats – and many independents – felt with Bush two years ago. At that time, half of Democratic voters wanted their party’s leaders to stand up to Bush, as did a third of independents. Today, fewer Republicans (39%) want GOP leaders to stand up to Obama and 17% of independents say the same.

In keeping with the theme of bipartisanship, six-in-ten voters say that the president-elect should appoint Republicans to serve in important positions in his administration. This includes 71% of Republicans, 59% of independents, and 51% of Democrats. Within the Democratic base, liberals are slightly more supportive of this idea than are conservatives and moderates (57% vs. 48%).

	Should %	Should not %	Doesn't matter %	DK
All voters	60	4	35	1=100
Republican	71	1	26	2=100
Conservative	74	*	24	2=100
Moderate/Lib	66	3	29	2=100
Democrat	51	6	41	2=100
Cons/Mod	48	5	45	2=100
Liberal	57	9	31	3=100
Independent	59	4	36	1=100
<i>Vote Preference</i>				
Obama voters	52	5	41	2=100
McCain voters	69	2	27	2=100
Based on voters.				

### Republicans Favor More Conservative Course

While most Republican voters want party leaders to work with Obama even if it means disappointing some supporters, a clear majority says their leaders should pursue a more conservative, not a more moderate, agenda.

Fully six-in-ten (60%) Republicans and Republican-leaning independents say GOP leaders should move in a more conservative direction in the coming years, while just 35% advocate a more moderate course. This sentiment crosses gender, age and income lines within the party, and reflects the fundamentally conservative ideological balance within the GOP electorate. Roughly two-thirds (68%) of Republicans and Republican leaners identify themselves as conservative, and three-quarters of these voters (74%) think the party should turn further to the right. While a majority of the moderates and liberals within the party advocate a centrist approach, they make up fewer than a third (31%) of Republican voters overall.

	Conser- vative direction %	Mod- erate direction %	Same/ DK %	N
All Rep/lean Rep	60	35	5=100	611
Conservative	74	21	5=100	432
Moderate/Liberal	28	66	6=100	171
18-49	61	36	3=100	220
50+	59	33	8=100	383
<i>Household income</i>				
\$75,000 or more	58	37	5=100	247
Less than \$75,000	61	35	4=100	287
<i>Religion</i>				
White evangelical Prot	74	20	6=100	221
White mainline Prot	53	41	6=100	167
White Catholic	56	41	3=100	103
Based on Republican voters and independent voters who lean toward the Republican Party.				



Most Democrats, by contrast, favor their leaders moving in a more moderate, rather than a more liberal, direction in the coming years, and this reflects the more moderate cast of the party's electoral base. A 57% majority of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents say party leaders should move in a more moderate direction; just 33% say the party should pursue a more liberal course. Not surprisingly, 56% of liberal Democrats want the party to move further to the left, but they make up barely a third of Democratic voters overall. A majority of Democrats and Democratic leaners describe themselves as moderate or conservative ideologically, and 70% of these voters favor the party pursuing a more moderate agenda.

	Liberal direction %	Mod- erate direction %	Same/ DK %	N
All Dem/lean Dem	33	57	10=100	773
Liberal	56	34	10=100	269
Moderate/Conservative	22	70	8=100	486
White	33	58	9=100	565
Black	31	60	9=100	140
18-49	37	55	8=100	324
50+	29	61	10=100	439
College grad	36	54	10=100	367
Some college	35	55	10=100	173
H.S. or less	30	61	9=100	231
Northeast	40	53	7=100	160
Midwest	25	63	12=100	186
South	30	62	8=100	278
West	40	47	13=100	149

Based on Democratic voters and independent voters who lean toward the Democratic Party.

Virtually all elements of the Democratic Party favor moving in a more moderate direction. Majorities of younger and older Democrats, white and black Democrats, and higher and lower education Democrats all favor moderation. There is substantial regional variation, however – with far more support for moving in a more liberal direction among Democrats in the Northeast and West than among Democrats in the South and Midwest.

There is little disagreement among Democrats over who should take the lead in setting the policy agenda. By a margin of 72% to 21%, Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents say that Obama, not Democratic leaders in Congress, should take the lead in setting the policy agenda in the coming year. Conservatives, moderates and liberals within the party all agree that the incoming president should set the agenda.

## Democrats Foresee Better Relations in Washington

Overall, voters are a bit more optimistic about improved partisan relations in Washington this year than they were after the 2006 midterm election. After that election, Democrats controlled both chambers of Congress, while Bush entered the final years of his presidency. The shift is mostly due to the broad optimism of Democrats. Republicans have, if anything, become slightly more pessimistic about the chances of partisan comity than they were after the Democrats won majorities two years ago.

Most Democratic voters (57%) say they think relations between the parties in Washington will get better in the coming year. About a third (34%) says things will stay the same and just 6% see partisan divisions getting worse. This represents far more optimism than Democratic voters expressed two years ago, when 36% saw partisan relations getting better with Bush still in the White House.

	All voters	Rep	Dem	Ind	R-D gap
<b>2008 Post Election</b>	%	%	%	%	
Get better	37	17	57	34	+40
Get worse	18	31	6	18	
Stay the same	42	49	34	44	
Don't know	3	3	3	4	
	100	100	100	100	
<b>2006 Post Midterm</b>					
Get better	29	22	36	26	+14
Get worse	21	30	15	21	
Stay the same	45	45	44	48	
Don't know	5	3	5	5	
	100	100	100	100	
<b>2006-2008 change</b>	+8	-5	+21	+8	

2006 figures based on registered voters.

The Republican outlook is far less positive. Just 17% think partisan relations will improve, while 31% say they will get worse over the coming year; 49% say things will stay about the same. The balance of GOP opinion is slightly more pessimistic than it was two years ago.

Independent attitudes about bipartisanship are more positive than negative by nearly two-to-one (34% say relations will get better; 18% say they will get worse). Still, a 44% plurality of independents foresees no change in the level of partisan conflict. The balance of opinion among independents is improved from how these voters felt following the 2006 midterms. At that time, about as many thought partisanship would get worse (21%) as better (26%).

More voters say they are happy (53%) than unhappy (41%) that the Democratic Party maintained control of Congress. But the balance of opinion is less lopsided than two years ago when the Democrats first regained majorities in both houses. In November 2006, 60% of voters were happy about the Democratic victory, while 27% were unhappy. The shift in opinion is starkest among independents. Two years ago, 62% of independent voters were happy about the Democrats taking the majority and just 16% were unhappy. The balance is still favorable today, but by a much slimmer 50% to 38% margin.

## SECTION 4: EARLY VOTING, CAMPAIGN OUTREACH AND THE ISSUES

### Increase in Early Voting

One of the dramatic changes in this year's election is the significant increase in the number of voters who cast their ballots before Nov. 4. About a third of voters (34%) say they cast their ballots before Election Day, up from only 20% in 2004 and 2006. Almost one-in-five (19%) say they voted early in person and 14% say they voted early by mail.

	2002	2004	2006	2008
<i>Voted ...</i>	%	%	%	%
On Election Day	85	80	80	66
Before Election Day	15	20	20	34
In person	--	--	--	19
By mail	--	--	--	14
Other/DK	--	--	--	1

Based on voters.

Early voters and Election Day voters were nearly identical in their preferences: 53% of early voters and 50% of those who voted on Election Day cast their ballots for Obama. Similarly, 43% of early voters supported McCain, compared with 45% of Election Day voters.

Women were more likely than men to vote early, particularly by mail. Women made up 60% of early voters overall, and 66% of those voting by mail. Early voters also were older than those who voted on Election Day. A quarter of early voters were 65 or older compared with 18% of all voters. Nearly a third (32%) of voters who mailed their ballots were 65 or older. There were no significant differences in when people cast their ballot by education or income.

Early voting was more prevalent in the South and West than in the East, where the largest states have more restrictive policies regarding early and absentee voting. Just 3% of all early voters were in the East, though that region made up 21% of the nation's voters. Early voting by mail, which is universal in Oregon and very common in Washington and Colorado, was widely reported by Western voters: 59% of those who reported voting early by mail live in the West. By contrast, early voters in the South, where many states provided early voting sites, were more likely to vote in person: 62% of early voters who cast their ballots in person live in the South.

	All voters	Voted early	Voted Nov 4
<i>Voted for...</i>	%	%	%
Obama	51	53	50
McCain	44	43	45
Other/DK	5	4	5
	100	100	100
Male	47	40	50
Female	53	60	50
White	79	80	79
Black	11	12	10
18-29	17	13	20
30-44	36	34	37
45-64	28	27	28
65+	18	25	14
East	21	3	29
Midwest	24	21	25
South	35	42	32
West	20	34	14
Sample size	(1500)	(547)	(952)

Based on voters. Note: The survey was weighted to reflect the margin of the election results (an approximately 7-point Obama advantage).

Of voters who cast ballots in person, 36% say they had to wait in line. Most of these voters waited less than an hour, but 10% say they waited for an hour or more. Although 41% of in-person early voters say they voted early to avoid long lines or crowds at the polls, these voters were more likely than Election Day voters to say they waited in line at the polls. Nearly half of in-person early voters say they had to wait in line (48%), compared with 33% of Election Day voters. On average, in-person early voters waited 21 minutes to vote, compared with an average of 15 minutes for those who voted on Election Day.

	All in-person voters %	Voted early %	Voted Nov 4 %
Did not wait	64	52	67
Waited in line	36	48	33
Less than 15 min	11	12	11
15-29 min	8	15	5
30-59 min	7	8	7
1 hour or more	10	13	10
Sample size	(1259)	(307)	(952)

### Voting Early More Convenient for Many

Nearly half of those who voted early (48%) say they did so because they thought the process would be more accessible or convenient than voting on Election Day; 31% said they wanted to avoid lines or crowds at the polling place, 11% said they voted early for convenience, and 5% said they thought it would be easier to vote. Early voters who cast their ballots in person were much more likely to say they voted early to avoid waiting in line than those who voted by mail (41% vs. 16%).

Nearly a third (32%) say they voted early because they would have been unable to vote or would have had difficulty getting to their polling place on Nov. 4. More than one-in-ten (11%) say they could not vote on Election Day because they were out of town, while 9% cite work as a reason they voted early. More people who voted by mail say their health was a reason for voting early than those who voted early in person (8% vs. 2%).

Small shares of voters say they voted early because they had already made up their mind (5%), they wanted to get it done (5%) or they always vote early (4%). Of those who voted by mail, 13% say they voted early because it was the only option in their state or county.

	All early voters %	Voted in person %	Voted by mail %
More accessible/ convenient	48	58	34
Avoid lines/crowds	31	41	16
Convenient	11	12	8
Easier	5	4	8
Opportunity avail.	2	3	2
To not be rushed	2	1	2
Weather	1	1	1
Unable/difficult to vote on Election Day	32	31	35
Out of town	11	9	13
Working	9	11	6
Other busy/not avail.	5	6	4
Health/handicap	4	2	8
Caring for someone	2	2	2
Hard to get to polls	2	1	3
Age/elderly	2	1	3
Already made up mind	5	4	7
Only option/no choice	5	0	13
Get it done/over with	5	6	4
Always vote early	4	2	6
To make sure I voted	3	3	3
Make sure vote counted	3	2	3
Other	7	8	6
Sample size	(547)	(307)	(236)

Note: Totals do not add to 100% due to multiple responses.

## Confidence in Voting

Among voters nationwide, 73% are very confident that their vote this year was accurately counted. This is an increase of five points from 68% in the 2004 post-election survey, when Kerry voters, in particular, expressed skepticism about whether their votes were accurately counted. Just 54% of Kerry supporters felt their vote had been accurately counted, compared with 83% of Bush's supporters. Today, there is no such gap. About the same number of Obama and McCain voters (73% and 74%, respectively) say they are very confident their vote was registered correctly.

The differing reactions of voters who backed the winning and losing candidates are greater when it comes to the accuracy of the voting process in general. This year, just 43% of voters say they are very confident that votes around the country were accurately counted, down slightly from 48% after the 2004 election. Among Obama voters, 56% are very confident in the accuracy of the vote count this year, compared with about half-as-many McCain voters (29%).

The gap in confidence was even greater – in the other direction – four years ago. In November 2004, just 18% of Kerry's supporters said they were very confident that votes around the country had been accurately counted (30% said they were not too or not at all confident in the vote count.) At the same time, fully 72% of Bush's supporters were very confident in the accuracy of the 2004 election count nationwide.

	All voters	Obama voters	McCain voters	Ob-Mc gap
<b>Nov 2008</b>	%	%	%	
Very	73	73	74	-1
Somewhat	22	23	20	
Not too/not at all	5	4	5	
Don't know	*	*	1	
	100	100	100	
	All voters	Kerry voters	Bush voters	Ker-Bush gap
<b>Nov 2004</b>	%	%	%	
Very	68	54	83	-29
Somewhat	24	33	15	
Not too/not at all	7	11	2	
Don't know	1	2	0	
	100	100	100	
<i>Change in very confident</i>	+5	+19	-9	

Based on voters.

	All voters	Obama voters	McCain voters	Ob-Mc gap
<b>Nov 2008</b>	%	%	%	
Very	43	56	29	+27
Somewhat	41	37	44	
Not too/not at all	15	6	26	
Don't know	1	1	1	
	100	100	100	
	All voters	Kerry voters	Bush voters	Ker-Bush gap
<b>Nov 2004</b>	%	%	%	
Very	48	18	72	-54
Somewhat	37	50	27	
Not too/not at all	14	30	*	
Don't know	1	2	1	
	100	100	100	
<i>Change in very confident</i>	-5	+38	-43	

Based on voters.

## Role of Churches Slips

Compared with 2004, far fewer voters who attend religious services say that information on political parties or candidates was made available to them at their place of worship this year. Among all voters who attend religious services at least once or twice a month, 15% say they received such information at their house of worship. That is significantly below the 27% who said they obtained this type of information in 2004, but is comparable to the number that said they did in 2000 (14%).

Across most religious groups, fewer people report having heard about candidates and political parties at their churches this cycle. Most noticeably, fewer than half as many white evangelicals say they were exposed to this kind of political outreach compared with four years ago (16% vs. 33%). Catholics, too, were much less likely to receive this kind of information (14% vs. 31% in 2004). Compared with other religious groups, black Protestants were most likely to hear about candidates and parties during this election year (29%).

The 2008 election cycle also saw a drop in the number of people who say that information on state or local ballot initiatives or constitutional amendments was made available at their places of worship. In 2004, nearly one-in-five (19%) voters who attend religious services received this kind of information, compared with 13% in this year's campaign. Here again, declines occurred across most religious groups.

Few voters say that their clergy or other religious groups explicitly encouraged them to vote in a particular manner. Just 8% of those who attend services say they received this kind of encouragement in 2008. That is similar to the 11% who said they were urged to vote in a particular way by clergy or religious groups in 2004.

Hearing About Politics in Church?				
<i>Info on parties/cands. at place of worship?</i>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>	<i>Change</i> <u>04-08</u>
	%	%	%	
<b>All attending voters</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>-12</b>
Protestant	16	26	16	-10
White evangelical	20	33	16	-17
White mainline	4	7	7	0
Black	--	--	29	--
Catholic	10	31	14	-17
White, non-Hisp.	11	29	14	-15
<i>Clergy or other groups urge to vote certain way?</i>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>	<i>Change</i> <u>04-08</u>
	%	%	%	
<b>All attending voters</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>-3</b>
Protestant	4	8	5	-3
White evangelical	6	11	5	-6
White mainline	3	5	7	+2
Black	--	--	6	--
Catholic	12	19	15	-4
White, non-Hisp.	16	14	18	+4
<i>Info on initiatives or constitutional amendments?</i>	<u>2000</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>	<i>Change</i> <u>04-08</u>
	%	%	%	
<b>All attending voters</b>	<b>--</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>-6</b>
Protestant	--	18	13	-5
White evangelical	--	22	14	-8
White mainline	--	10	7	-3
Black	--	--	22	--
Catholic	--	23	11	-12
White, non-Hisp.	--	18	12	-6

All results based on voters who attend religious services at least once or twice per month. Note small sample size for African Americans (N=93).

Catholics continue to stand out as the group most likely to say they were urged by clergy or other religious groups at their church to vote in a particular way. Among white Catholics, fully 18% say they were urged to vote in a certain way at church, more than double the number for any other religious group. By contrast, on the other questions of religiously-based political mobilization (receiving information on candidates, parties, and ballot initiatives), Catholics tend to closely resemble the public as a whole.

### Campaigns Turning More to Email

While McCain backers were more likely than Obama backers to have been contacted by telephone over the course of this year’s campaign, Obama supporters were more likely to have received emails and to have been contacted in person. When it comes to telephone outreach, Pew’s election weekend survey found that McCain supporters received more automated “robo-calls” than Obama supporters, but there was no difference

	All voters	Obama voters	McCain voters
	%	%	%
Contacted by phone	53	48	57
Contacted by email	24	27	21
Contacted in person	15	18	12
Volunteered time	7	11	3
Donated money	17	21	14

Based on voters.

in the percentage of supporters of each candidate who received live calls from a campaign. And, reflecting the enthusiasm among Democrats, Obama voters were far more likely than McCain voters to have volunteered time or donated money to help their candidate.

Email has been a growing part of campaign communications strategy – nearly a quarter of voters (24%) say they received email from a campaign or other group urging them to vote in a particular way, up from 14% in the November 2004 post-election survey. And email outreach is not limited to the youngest voters; roughly a quarter of voters age 30-49 (27%) as well as those age 50-64 (28%) report having received campaign emails this year. The rate is lower only among voters age 65 and older.

	2004	2008
	%	%
All voters	14	24
18-29	18	24
30-49	17	27
50-64	15	28
65+	7	14
College grad	22	33
Some college	18	25
H.S. or less	6	16
<i>Household income</i>		
\$75,000 or more	24	31
\$30-\$74,999	14	24
Less than \$30,000	8	17
Republicans	12	21
Democrats	17	30
Independents	16	21
<i>Voted for...</i>		
Kerry/Obama	18	27
Bush/McCain	11	21

There continues to be a socioeconomic skew to campaign email contacts, with wealthier and higher educated voters substantially more likely to get these emails. And as was the case in 2004, Democrats are more likely to have received campaign-related emails than Republicans. This year, 27% of Obama supporters say they got email from a campaign or group urging them to vote in a particular way, compared with 21% of

McCain voters. The gap was almost identical in 2004, with 18% of Kerry voters and 11% of Bush voters receiving emails.

### Top Issues in the Election

Pew surveys throughout 2008 found that the economy was seen by voters as the most important issue facing the country, a judgment echoed by voters in the national exit poll. Asked to choose from a list of five issues on the exit poll, 63% picked the economy as the top problem. Similarly, 58% of voters in the Pew post-election survey chose the economy when they were read the same list and asked to pick the most important issue affecting their vote. The other items on the list were chosen by about the same percentages as in the exit poll – the war in Iraq (10%), health care and terrorism (8% each), and energy policy (6%).

	Open- end* %	Fixed List** %	Exit Poll*** %
The economy	35	58	63
The war in Iraq	5	10	10
Health care	4	8	9
Terrorism	6	8	9
Energy policy	*	6	7
Other	43	8	n/a
Candidate mentions	9	--	
Moral values/social issues	7	--	
Taxes/distrib. of income	7	--	
Other issues	5	--	
Other political mentions	3	--	
Change	3	--	
Other	9	--	
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	
	100	100	

\* Unprompted first response to open-ended question.  
 \*\* First choice from five options provided to respondents.  
 \*\*\* NEP national exit poll results, for comparison.

Yet when a separate sample of respondents in the poll was asked the same question in an open-ended format, the results were quite different. The economy remained the top choice, but received only a 35% plurality. No other issue was mentioned by more than 9% of voters, but some different issues matched or topped items on the close-ended list: 7% mentioned moral values, abortion, or gay marriage; and 7% mentioned taxes, socialism, or distribution of income. Energy policy, which had been a subject of intense focus earlier in the campaign, was mentioned by fewer than one-half of one percent of voters.

Although the economy was the number one issue for both Obama voters (68%) and McCain voters (46%) in the fixed issue list, it was the choice of far fewer McCain voters in the open-ended format. Just 18% volunteered the economy or a related topic, compared to 50% of Obama voters. In the open-ended format, more McCain voters mentioned taxes or the redistribution of income (8%) than the war in Iraq (3%) or health care (2%).



## SECTION 5: THE PRESS AND CAMPAIGN 2008

Television remains the dominant source for campaign news, with fully 68% of voters saying they got most of their presidential campaign news from TV. However, fewer voters cite television as their main campaign news source than did so in 2004 (76%).

Far more voters cite cable (44%) rather than network news (18%) as their top source of election information. The balance of campaign news viewership has shifted increasingly toward cable and away from network broadcasts. While the proportion citing cable has increased slightly since 2004, the share saying network news has fallen substantially (from 29% to 18%).

Among the cable news networks, 22% of voters say they got most of their campaign news from the Fox News Channel, 21% from CNN, and 9% from MSNBC. More voters cite CNN as a main campaign news source than in 2004 (from 15% to 21%), while the Fox News audience has remained stable (21% in 2004, 22% currently). Local TV news continues to make up a small share of the campaign news picture: just 10% of voters name it as their main source.

The proportion of voters citing the internet as a main source for campaign news has risen from 21% in 2004 to 36%. By contrast, newspapers have lost ground since 2004; at that time, 46% said newspapers were their main source of campaign news, but just 33% cite newspapers currently. Radio also is down (from 22% in 2004 to 16%), and magazines are down slightly (6% in 2004, 3% currently).

While television is the top campaign news source for all voters, the internet is as important as television for younger voters. Nearly six-in-ten voters under age 30 (58%) say they get most of their campaign news from the internet, and about the same percentage cites television (60%).

Overall, a solid majority of voters now say that they get *any* news about the presidential election from the internet. Fully 56% of voters say this, up from 41% in 2004. And among voters

<i>Main source of campaign news*</i>	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008
	%	%	%	%	%
<b>Television</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>68</b>
<i>Cable TV (Net)</i>	--	--	--	40	44
Fox Cable News	--	--	--	21	22
CNN	--	--	--	15	21
MSNBC	--	--	--	6	9
<i>Network TV (Net)</i>	--	--	--	29	18
NBC	--	--	--	13	8
ABC	--	--	--	11	7
CBS	--	--	--	9	6
<i>Local news</i>	--	--	--	12	10
<b>Internet</b>	--	3	11	21	36
<b>Newspapers</b>	57	60	39	46	33
<b>Radio</b>	12	19	15	22	16
<b>Magazines</b>	9	11	4	6	3
<i>Get any campaign news from Internet</i>					
Yes	--	10	30	41	56
No/DK	--	90	70	59	44
		100	100	100	100

Based on voters.  
\*Numbers add to more than 100% because voters could list up to two primary sources and multiple TV news channels.

ages 18 to 29, 76% say they get any campaign news from the internet, more than in any other age group.

### Top Websites for Campaign News

Among the majority of voters who now get some election information online, well-known websites tend to predominate as the sites that voters went to most often for information about the election.

Overall, CNN is mentioned most frequently by voters who got campaign news online: 27% cited CNN as one of the websites they used most often. Other established online entities such as Yahoo, MSNBC/NBC and Fox are also mentioned by at least one-in-ten voters. MSN/Microsoft was cited by 9% of voters as top destination for campaign news, while Google was cited by 7%. The candidates' websites were visited most often by 13% of voters.

Numerous political blogs and aggregator sites – with a range of partisan leanings – were mentioned by voters as top sources for election information, though generally in smaller numbers. Some 4% of voters who got campaign news online say they visited the Drudge Report most often, while 2% mentioned the Huffington Post. In addition, 5% say they often went to other conservative blogs or websites, while 3% went to polling sites, 2% cited other liberal blogs or websites, and 2% cited the Politico website.

While about the same percentage of Obama voters (59%) and McCain voters (55%) got at least some campaign news from the internet, their website choices differed. Obama voters were about twice as likely to visit CNN as McCain voters (35% vs. 18%). Obama voters were also more likely to name the New York Times and the Huffington Post as websites they used most often to get election information. By contrast, McCain voters were more than three times as likely as Obama voters to most often visit the Fox News website (18% vs. 5%) and the Drudge Report (9% vs. 1%).

	All voters	Obama voters	McCain voters
	%	%	%
CNN	27	35	18
Yahoo	17	20	14
MSNBC/NBC	13	14	13
Candidate websites	13	15	10
FOX	11	5	18
MSN/Microsoft	9	9	10
Google	7	8	6
New York Times	6	9	2
Local newspaper/TV/radio	5	4	6
AOL	5	5	5
Other conservative blogs/sites	5	0	10
Political parties/organizations	4	3	5
Drudge report	4	1	9
Polling sites and aggregators	3	3	4
Washington Post	3	3	2
You Tube	2	4	1
Huffington Post	2	4	*
Other liberal blogs/sites	2	3	1
BBC	2	3	1
ABC	2	2	2
Other blogs	2	2	1
Politico	2	2	1
ISP/Cable provider	2	1	2

Based on voters who got campaign news online. Open-ended question; respondents could give up to three responses.

## Following Election Returns

Overall, 82% of voters say they followed the returns as they were coming in on election night. Obama voters were much more likely than McCain voters to have tracked the election results: nearly nine-in-ten (89%) Obama voters followed the returns compared with 75% of McCain backers.

Most voters (79%) watched the election results on television. Nearly one-in-five (19%) followed election returns on the internet, with voters under age 40 and liberal Obama voters being among the most likely to log on for election night updates.

For some Obama voters, election night was an evening spent with friends: 23% say they followed returns with friends compared with far fewer McCain voters (7%). Liberal and young Obama backers were especially likely to watch with others: more than a quarter of both groups did so. Among McCain voters, 16% of those under 40 followed returns with friends, compared with only 4% of older McCain voters. Conservative McCain backers were no more likely than moderate and liberal supporters to have watched with a group.

Overall, news organizations received positive reviews for their election night coverage. Three-quarters (76%) of voters who followed returns say news organizations did either an excellent (28%) or good (48%) job on election night, while just 23% rated their performance as only fair or poor. In 2004, just 17% rated election night coverage as excellent, compared with 28% currently.

### More Obama Voters Followed Election Returns with Friends

	Followed returns %	Followed returns...		
		With friends* %	Online %	N
All voters	82	15	19	1500
<i>Obama voters</i>	89	23	21	767
Liberal	93	26	30	268
Mod/Cons.	89	15	16	481
18-39	89	28	27	197
40+	89	14	17	561
White	91	20	22	553
Black	87	29	15	140
<i>McCain voters</i>	75	7	17	611
Conservative	75	5	14	434
Mod/Lib.	76	6	17	172
18-39	79	16	27	103
40+	74	4	14	500

Based on voters.

\* Those who say they followed returns with friends and those who volunteered with friends and family.

### Rating Election Night Coverage

	Nov 2004 %	Nov 2008 %	Change
Excellent	17	28	+11
Good	52	48	-4
Only fair	22	20	-2
Poor	8	3	-5
Don't know	1	1	
	100	100	

Based on those who followed returns.

## Public Divided Over Press Influence on Election

Many voters express concern over the role of the press in influencing the election outcome. Nearly half (46%) say the press had too much influence on the election outcome, while 48% say news organizations had about the right amount of influence. In 2004, about as many voters (43%) said the press had too much influence on the outcome of the election, while 45% said they had about the right amount of influence.

There are wide partisan differences in views of whether the press has too much influence on the election: Nearly three-quarters (74%) of Republicans say the press had too much of an impact on the election. By contrast, an identical 74% of Democrats take a different view and say the press had the right amount of influence. Independents divide almost evenly, with 48% saying too much and 45% saying the right amount.

	All voters	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>Press influence on election outcome:</i>	%	%	%	%
Too much	46	74	19	48
Too little	3	4	3	4
Right amount	48	20	74	45
<i>Coverage of...</i>				
<i>Obama campaign</i>				
Fair	67	48	83	65
Unfair	30	48	15	31
<i>McCain campaign</i>				
Fair	53	22	82	52
Unfair	44	76	16	45
Based on voters.				

By contrast, four years ago, when Republican George W. Bush won a second term in office, partisans held roughly the same views: 46% of Republicans said news organizations had about the right amount of influence on the election outcome as did 45% of Democrats. Similarly, 45% of Republicans and 39% of Democrats said the press had too much influence in 2004.

More voters think the press was fair in the way it covered Obama's campaign than say the same of the McCain campaign. Two-thirds (67%) say the press was fair toward Obama's election campaign, compared with a narrower majority (53%) who say that McCain's election effort was covered fairly. In 2004, 65% said the press was fair to John Kerry's campaign, while 56% said that Bush was treated fairly.

Currently, an overwhelming percentage of Democrats (83%) think the press was fair toward Obama's campaign, compared with just 22% of Republicans who say the press was fair to McCain. In 2004, 67% of Democrats thought the press was fair toward Kerry's campaign and 40% of Republicans said the press was fair to Bush.

## ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this report are based on telephone interviews conducted from November 6-9, 2008 under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a sample of 1,500 voters ("Voters" are those respondents who said they voted in the 2008 election.). The interviews were conducted among a population of 2,599 registered voters, 18 years of age or older, previously interviewed by Pew from October 16-19, 2008. Interviews were conducted on both landline telephones and cell phones (1,125 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 375 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 114 who had no landline telephone).

The combined landline and cell phone samples are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race/ethnicity, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2007 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample is also weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2007 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the sample.

To improve comparability of the recontacted cases with the final 2008 election results, the data were also weighted to reflect the margin of the election results (an approximately 7-point Obama advantage). This step helps to minimize bias that could occur because certain types of respondents may have been easier or more difficult to re-interview.

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>
All voters	1,500	3.0 percentage points
Form 1 voters	744	4.0 percentage points
Form 2 voters	756	4.0 percentage points
Obama voters	767	4.0 percentage points
McCain voters	611	4.5 percentage points
Republican voters	438	5.5 percentage points
Democratic voters	548	5.0 percentage points
Independent voters	480	5.0 percentage points
Republican and Republican-leaning voters	611	4.5 percentage points
Democratic and Democratic-leaning voters	773	4.0 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:

Andrew Kohut, Director

Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research

Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors

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**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS  
 NOVEMBER 2008 RE-INTERVIEW SURVEY  
 FINAL TOPLINE  
 November 6-9, 2008  
 N=1500 Voters**

**NOTE: ALL QUESTIONS ARE BASED ON PEOPLE WHO VOTED IN THE PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION; NOVEMBER SURVEYS REFER TO POST-ELECTION SURVEYS FROM THAT YEAR UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED; TRENDS SHOWN FOR PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION YEARS ONLY UNLESS OTHERWISE NOTED.**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.1 A lot of people have been telling us they didn't get a chance to vote in this presidential election. How about you... did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

- 100 Yes, voted – **CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW**
- No, did not vote – **GO TO Q.1b, THANK RESPONDENT AND END**
- Don't remember – **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**
- Refused – **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>
20	Satisfied	51	46	51
76	Dissatisfied	45	47	42
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100

**NOTE: BARR AND/OR NADER INCLUDED ONLY FOR RESPONDENTS IN STATES WHERE EACH IS ON THE BALLOT.**

Now, thinking about the recent election...

Q.3 Did you happen to vote for [**READ AND ROTATE REPUBLICAN AND DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES FIRST AND ROTATE BARR AND/OR NADER LAST**] John McCain, Barack Obama, Bob Barr or Ralph Nader for president?

- 44<sup>1</sup> John McCain
- 51 Barack Obama
- \* Ralph Nader
- \* Bob Barr
- 5 Other/DK/Can't Remember (VOL.)
- 100

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1 The survey was weighted to reflect the margin of the election results (an approximately 7-point Obama advantage).

**IF RESPONDENT CHOSE McCAIN (Q.3/Q.3\_1/Q.3\_2/Q.3\_3=1) ASK:**

Q.4M Would you say that your vote was more a vote FOR John McCain or more a vote AGAINST Barack Obama?

**IF RESPONDENT CHOSE OBAMA (Q.3/Q.3\_1/Q.3\_2/Q.3\_3=2) ASK:**

Q.4O Would you say that your vote was more a vote FOR Barack Obama or more a vote AGAINST John McCain?

<b>44</b>	<u>McCain Supporters</u>
30	Pro-McCain
12	Anti-Obama
2	DK/Refused (VOL.)
<b>51</b>	<u>Obama Supporters</u>
45	Pro-Obama
5	Anti-McCain
1	DK/Refused (VOL.)
<u>5</u>	Other/DK/Can't Remember (VOL.)
100	



**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1)**

Q.5 What one word best describes your reaction to Barack Obama winning the presidential election this year?  
 Just the one word that best describes your reaction. [**OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE ONLY IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”.**]

<u>McCain Voters</u>		<u>Obama Voters</u>	
Disappointed	139	Happy	87
Not surprised	30	Hope/Hopeful	71
Expected	27	Excited	53
Surprised	21	Ecstatic	46
Hope/Hopeful	18	Elated	44
Scared	18	Relieved	44
Fear/Fearful	15	Great	35
Historic	11	Change	32
Satisfied	10	Pleased	30
Shocked	10	Satisfied	27
Concerned	9	Good	21
Fine	8	Historic	20
Disgusted	7	Thrilled	19
OK	7	Surprised	13
Terrified	6	Glad	10
Worried	6	Joy	10
Apprehensive	5	Amazed	9
Good luck	5	Proud	8
Happy	5	Awesome	7
Afraid	4	Fantastic	7
Disbelief	4	Optimistic	7
Dismay	4	Delighted	6
Good	4	Hallelujah	6
Indifferent	4	Jubilant	6
Nervous	4	Thankful	6
Not happy	4	Exhilarated	5
Sad	4	OK	5
		Shocked	5
		Wonderful	5
		Wow	5
		Excellent	4
		Not surprised	4

**NO QUESTIONS 6-8**

**ASK ALL FORM 1 WHO VOTED (Q.1=1) [N=744]:**

Q.9F1 What one issue mattered most to you in deciding how you voted for president? [OPEN END: ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

		Nov <u>2004</u>
38	Economy/Jobs	14
7	Terrorism/Security	9
6	Taxes	1
6	Iraq/The war	27
4	Experience	--
4	Health care	3
4	Abortion	3
3	Change	--
2	Foreign policy	2
2	Moral values	9
2	Other Obama (Kerry in 04)	4
2	Mentions related to Republicans	--
2	Gun control	1
1	Other McCain (Bush in 04)	5
1	Candidate's religiosity/morals	2
1	Honesty/Integrity	5
1	Direction of the country	3
1	Helping middle class	--
1	Supreme Court	1
1	Energy/energy prices	--
1	VP pick/Sarah Palin	--
1	Mentions related to conservatism	--
1	Socialism/redistribution of wealth	--
1	Environment	1
1	Education	1
10	Other	16
8	Don't know/Nothing/Everything	5

**ASK ALL FORM 2 WHO VOTED (Q.1=1) [N=756]:**

Q.10F2 Which ONE of the following issues mattered most to you in deciding how you voted for president? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

**IF ANSWER GIVEN (1-8 IN Q.10F2), ASK:**

Q.11F2 What would you say was the SECOND most important issue to you? [READ AND RANDOMIZE, EXCLUDING ITEM GIVEN IN Q.10F2]

1st <u>Choice</u>	2nd <u>Choice</u>	<u>Combined</u>	
58	22	80	The economy
10	25	35	The war in Iraq
8	21	29	Health care
8	10	18	Terrorism
6	16	22	Energy policy
8	3	11	Other, not on this list (VOL.)
2	1		Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
--	<u>2</u>		No first choice
100	100		

**NO QUESTIONS 12-17**

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.18 Now that the campaign is over, how satisfied were you with the choice of presidential candidates? Would you say that you were very satisfied, fairly satisfied, not very satisfied, or not at all satisfied? **[IF RESPONDENT HAS DIFFICULTY, PROBE ONCE WITH: Just overall, how satisfied were you with the choice of candidates in this election? [READ]**

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1988</u>
39	Very satisfied	33	24	18	24	26
28	Fairly satisfied	33	44	33	37	36
17	Not very satisfied	16	18	24	21	20
14	Not at all satisfied	16	9	22	16	17
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

**NO QUESTION 19**

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.20 During this campaign, did you feel you learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice between McCain and Obama, OR did you find it difficult to choose because you felt you did not learn enough from the campaign?

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1988</u>
85	Learned enough to make an informed choice	86	83	75	77	59
14	Did not learn enough from the campaign	13	15	23	20	39
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.21 How helpful were the presidential debates to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>	Nov <u>1988</u>
28	Very helpful	24	25	13	31	13
39	Somewhat helpful	38	37	28	39	35
17	Not too helpful	14	14	23	11	24
14	Not at all helpful	19	16	25	13	25
2	Did not watch the debates (VOL.)	4	7	10	5	3
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.22 Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, or Fail to describe the quality of their work. Looking back over the campaign, what grade would you give to each of the following groups for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign? First... **(READ AND RANDOMIZE: OBSERVE FORM SPLITS; ITEM M FULL FORM)**

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=744]:**

	<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DK</u>
a.F1 The press						
November, 2008	9	25	26	15	24	1=100
November, 2004	8	24	32	19	16	1=100
November, 2000	6	22	31	18	20	3=100
November, 1996	6	22	33	19	18	2=100
November, 1992	11	25	29	16	15	4=100
November, 1988	8	22	33	19	16	2=100

b.F1 The talk show hosts						
November, 2008	9	26	26	13	12	14=100
November, 2004	9	22	29	14	10	16=100
November, 2000	9	22	24	11	10	24=100
November, 1996	6	15	25	13	16	25=100
November, 1992	10	29	25	8	9	19=100

**NO ITEMS C-F**

g.F1 The Republican Party						
November, 2008	5	23	38	19	14	1=100
November, 2004	17	33	24	12	12	2=100
November, 2000	10	35	31	10	9	5=100
November, 1996	4	23	39	18	13	3=100
November, 1992	4	25	34	18	15	4=100
November, 1988	11	34	31	12	10	2=100

h.F1 The Democratic Party						
November, 2008	26	43	17	6	7	1=100
November, 2004	9	28	37	16	9	1=100
November, 2000	14	33	30	11	8	4=100
November, 1996	12	36	29	11	9	3=100
November, 1992	18	40	26	6	6	4=100
November, 1988	7	26	45	13	7	2=100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=756]:**

i.F2 The pollsters						
November, 2008	20	31	23	6	8	12=100
November, 2004	16	26	33	9	8	8=100
November, 2000	7	22	28	15	14	14=100
November, 1996	11	23	29	11	10	16=100
November, 1992	15	31	27	9	6	12=100
November, 1988	13	29	29	12	11	6=100

**Q.22 CONTINUED ...**

		<u>A</u>	<u>B</u>	<u>C</u>	<u>D</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>DK</u>
j.F2	The campaign consultants						
	November, 2008	12	27	29	7	6	19=100
	November, 2004	7	31	29	9	5	19=100
	November, 2000	5	26	29	8	5	27=100
	November, 1996	4	18	33	11	8	26=100
	November, 1992	7	26	31	7	4	25=100
	November, 1988	5	20	37	14	8	16=100
k.F2	Barack Obama						
	November, 2008	45	30	14	5	5	1=100
<b>Kerry:</b>	November, 2004	15	31	25	13	14	2=100
<b>Gore:</b>	November, 2000	17	36	25	10	10	2=100
<b>Clinton:</b>	November, 1996	20	37	22	8	11	2=100
<b>Clinton:</b>	November, 1992	26	38	21	7	5	3=100
<b>Dukakis:</b>	November, 1988	9	29	40	13	7	1=100
l.F2	John McCain						
	November, 2008	10	30	35	14	10	1=100
<b>Bush:</b>	November, 2004	22	34	22	10	11	1=100
<b>Bush:</b>	November, 2000	15	37	27	10	9	2=100
<b>Dole:</b>	November, 1996	7	26	34	20	12	1=100
<b>Bush, Sr.:</b>	November, 1992	4	26	33	18	16	3=100
<b>Bush, Sr.:</b>	November, 1988	15	34	26	13	11	1=100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

m.	The voters						
	November, 2008	33	31	18	6	8	4=100
	November, 2004	30	30	20	7	8	5=100
	November, 2000	22	31	25	7	4	11=100
	November, 1996	12	27	29	13	10	9=100
	November, 1992	32	29	20	5	5	9=100
	November, 1988	18	31	28	10	7	6=100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.23 How helpful were the candidates' commercials to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were very helpful, somewhat helpful, not too helpful, or not at all helpful?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>2004</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>2000</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1992</u>
9	Very helpful	6	6	4	10
23	Somewhat helpful	19	23	21	28
26	Not too helpful	22	24	27	28
40	Not at all helpful	48	42	46	31
2	Didn't see any (VOL.)	4	n/a	n/a	n/a
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.24 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was more discussion of issues in this campaign or less discussion of issues?

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
57	More	47	46	25	59
34	Less	42	36	65	34
6	Same (VOL.)	7	13	6	4
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.25 Compared to past presidential elections, would you say there was MORE mud slinging or negative campaigning or LESS mud slinging or negative campaigning?

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
54	More	72	34	49	68
27	Less	14	46	36	16
16	Same (VOL.)	12	16	12	14
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

**ROTATE ORDER OF Q.25a AND Q.25b**

Q.25a In the presidential campaign, do you think Barack Obama was too personally critical of John McCain, or not?<sup>2</sup>

	Too Personally <u>Critical</u>	Not too Personally <u>Critical</u>	(VOL.) Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
November, 2008	21	76	3=100

**TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS**

Early October, 2008	22	69	9=100
Mid-September, 2008	28	65	7=100
June, 2008	19	73	8=100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

**ROTATE ORDER OF Q.25a AND Q.25b**

Q.25b In the presidential campaign, do you think John McCain was too personally critical of Barack Obama, or not?<sup>3</sup>

	Too Personally <u>Critical</u>	Not too Personally <u>Critical</u>	(VOL.) Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
November, 2008	49	48	3=100

**TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS**

Early October, 2008	48	44	8=100
Mid-September, 2008	42	52	6=100
June, 2008	26	65	9=100

<sup>2</sup>

Question in Early October and earlier was worded "... has been too personally critical".

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.26 How did you get most of your news about the presidential election campaign? From television, from newspapers, from radio, from magazines, or from the Internet? [ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS: IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ONE ADDITIONAL "Was there another source you used frequently?"]

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
68	Television	76	70	72	82
33	Newspapers	46	39	60	57
16	Radio	22	15	19	12
3	Magazines	6	4	11	9
36	Internet	21	11	3	--
2	Other (VOL.)	2	1	4	6
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	*	1	1

**IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION AS EITHER 1ST OR 2ND RESPONSE IN Q.26 ASK Q.26a. IF NOT, SKIP TO Q26b.**

Q.26a On television, did you get most of your campaign news from [READ, RANDOMIZE ITEMS 2 THRU 4 AND 5 THRU 7 SEPARATELY, AND RANDOMIZE SETS OF ITEMS (LOCAL; NETWORK; CABLE). ACCEPT MULTIPLE ANSWERS BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL]

**BASED ON ALL VOTERS [N=1500]:**

		Nov <u>2004</u>
10	Local news programming	12
7	ABC Network news	11
6	CBS Network news	9
8	NBC Network news	13
21	CNN Cable news	15
9	MSNBC Cable news	6
22	The Fox News Cable Channel	21
3	Other (VOL.)	2
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1) EXCEPT THOSE WHO ANSWERED '5' INTERNET IN Q.26**

Q.26b Did you happen to get any news or information about the 2008 elections from the Internet, or not?

**BASED ON ALL VOTERS [N=1500]:**

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>
20	Yes	20	19	7
44	No	59	70	90
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	0	*	*
<u>36</u>	Answered 'Internet' in Q.26	<u>21</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

**IF GOT ANY INFO FROM THE INTERNET (Q.26=5 or Q.26b=1), ASK:**

Q.26c What web sites did you use to get information about the election? Just name a few of the web sites that you went to MOST often. [OPEN END; CODE UP TO THREE RESPONSES BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL; DO NOT NEED TO TYPE “.com” EXTENSION]

**BASED ON THOSE WHO GOT ANY ELECTION INFORMATION ONLINE [N=817]:**

27	CNN
17	Yahoo
13	MSNBC/NBC
13	Presidential candidate websites
11	FOX
9	MSN/Microsoft
7	Google
6	New York Times
5	Local news (TV/newspaper/radio)
5	AOL
5	Other conservative blogs/websites
4	Parties/interest groups/527 websites
4	Drudge Report
3	Polling websites and aggregators (e.g., Real Clear Politics)
3	Washington Post
2	You Tube
2	Huffington Post
2	Other liberal blogs/websites
2	BBC
2	ABC
2	Other blogs
2	Politico
2	Cable or internet service provider
1	Wall Street Journal
1	Political magazine websites (e.g, National Review, The Nation)
1	Factchecking websites (e.g, factcheck.org)
1	Social networking websites (Facebook or MySpace)
1	USA Today
1	Financial news websites
1	CBS
1	Other international news organization websites (e.g, The Economist, The Guardian)
1	Online magazines (Slate or Salon)
1	Newsmagazines (Time, US News, Newsweek)
1	NPR/public radio
1	Wire services (AP/Reuters)
5	Other
2	No particular website
1	Misunderstood question
8	Don't know/Refused



**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.27 How much influence do you think news organizations had on the outcome of this year's presidential election... too much, too little or about the right amount?

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
46	Too much	43	53	47	46
3	Too little	7	4	4	2
48	About the right amount	45	39	46	49
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

**ROTATE Q.28 AND Q.29**

Q.28 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered Barack Obama's election campaign?

		<i>Kerry</i> Nov <u>2004</u>	<i>Gore</i> Nov <u>2000</u>	<i>— Clinton —</i> Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
67	Fair	65	71	73	77
30	Unfair	31	24	24	19
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

**ROTATE Q.28 AND Q.29**

Q.29 Would you say the press has been fair or unfair in the way it has covered John McCain's election campaign?

		<i>— Bush —</i> Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	<i>Dole</i> Nov <u>1996</u>	<i>Bush, Sr.</i> Nov <u>1992</u>
53	Fair	56	65	65	61
44	Unfair	40	30	32	35
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Generally...

Q.30 Are you happy or unhappy that the Democratic Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress?

		GP			
		<i>Democratic Party</i> Nov <u>2006</u> <sup>3</sup>	<i>— Republican Party —</i>		Nov <u>1996</u>
		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
53	Happy	60	51	48	65
41	Unhappy	24	44	39	27
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>16</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100	100

<sup>3</sup>

Question asked "Are you happy or unhappy that the Democratic Party won control of Congress?".

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.31 Are you happy or unhappy that Barack Obama was elected president?

		<i>Bush</i> <u>Nov 2004<sup>4</sup></u>	<i>Clinton</i> <u>Nov 1996</u>
58	Happy	53	53
35	Unhappy	43	42
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

**NO QUESTIONS 32-33**

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.34 Thinking ahead to the next four years, which is more likely to happen? Do you think... [READ]

		<i>Bush</i> <u>Nov 2004<sup>5</sup></u>	<b>GP</b> <i>Clinton</i> <u>Dec 1996</u>
67	Barack Obama will have a SUCCESSFUL first term	61	58
22	Barack Obama will have an UNSUCCESSFUL first term	29	36
1	Neither/No change (VOL.)	1	1
<u>10</u>	Don't know (VOL.)	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

**NO QUESTION 35**

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1)**

Q.36 Will Barack Obama's election as president lead to better race relations in the United States, worse race relations, or don't you think it will make a difference?

52	Better
9	Worse
35	Won't make a difference
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

**TREND FOR COMPARISON**

**CBS News/New York Times Poll – July, 2008**

If Barack Obama is elected president, do you think race relations in the United States will get better, get worse, or stay about the same?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS**

31	Better
17	Worse
49	Won't make a difference
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

<sup>4</sup> In 2004 and 1996, question was asked whether happy or unhappy that Bush or Clinton was "re-elected president".

<sup>5</sup> In 2004, question asked whether Bush would have successful/unsuccessful "second term".

In 1996, the question was worded: "Thinking Ahead to the year 2000, as I read the following pairs, please tell me which is more likely to happen" and was asked as part of a series.

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.37 Before this campaign started, did you think the country would elect an African-American as president in your lifetime, or not?

52 Yes  
42 No  
6 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
100

**TRENDS FOR COMPARISON**

**Newsweek Poll – September, 1996**

In your lifetime, do you think this country will elect ... a black president?

**BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC**

75 Yes  
21 No  
4 Don't know/Refused  
100

**HOTLINE/Battleground Tracking Poll – October, 1996**

Do you believe or do you not believe that an African American will be elected as President in your lifetime?

**BASED ON LIKELY VOTERS**

66 Believe will be elected  
26 Do not believe will be elected  
8 Unsure  
100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.38 In your lifetime, do you think this country will elect a female president, or not?

85 Yes  
12 No  
3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
100

**TRENDS FOR COMPARISON**

**Newsweek Poll – September, 1996**

In your lifetime, do you think this country will elect ... a female president?

**BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC**

54 Yes  
43 No  
3 Don't know/Refused  
100

**HOTLINE/Battleground Tracking Poll – October, 1996**

Do you believe or do you not believe that a woman will be elected as President in your lifetime?

**BASED ON LIKELY VOTERS**

59 Believe will be elected  
33 Do not believe will be elected  
8 Unsure  
100

**NO QUESTION 39**

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.40 Most people cast their votes on Election Day this year, but many were able to vote before Election Day by absentee ballot or what is called early voting. What about you? Did you vote ON Election Day or BEFORE Election DAY?

**ASK IF VOTED EARLY (Q.40=2)**

Q.41 Did you vote in person or did you mail your ballot in?

		Nov <u>2006</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2002</u>
66	On Election Day	80	80	85
34	Before Election Day	20	20	15
19	Voted in person	n/a	n/a	n/a
14	Mailed in ballot	n/a	n/a	n/a
1	Other way/DK/Ref. (VOL.)	n/a	n/a	n/a
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	*	*
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

**ASK IF VOTED IN PERSON EARLY (Q.41=1) OR ON ELECTION DAY (Q.40=1):**

Q.42 Did you have to wait in line at your polling place or not?

**IF YES, WAIT IN LINE (Q.42=1)**

Q.43 How long did you wait to vote?

**BASED ON ALL WHO VOTED IN PERSON ON ELECTION DAY OR EARLIER [N=1259]:**

<u>Total</u>	Early <u>Voters</u>	Election Day <u>Voters</u>		Election Day Voters	
				Nov <u>2006</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
36	48	33	Yes, waited	28	42
11	12	11	Less than 15 minutes	14	13
8	15	5	15-29 minutes	7	11
7	8	7	30-59 minutes	3	10
6	8	6	1 hour to under 2 hours	2	6
4	5	4	2 hours or more	1	2
*	0	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	0
64	52	67	No, didn't wait	72	58
*	0	*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	0	0
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

**IF VOTED EARLY (Q.40=2):**

Q.44 Why did you decide to vote early instead of voting on Election Day? [**ACCEPT UP TO THREE REASONS**].

**BASED ON THOSE WHO VOTED EARLY [N=547]:**

- 48 (NET) MORE CONVENIENT**
  - 31 Avoid lines/Crowds
  - 11 Convenient
  - 5 Easy/Easier
  - 2 Because I could/It was an option
  - 2 Didn't want to be rushed
  - 1 Weather
- 32 (NET) UNABLE/DIFFICULT TO VOTE ON ELECTION DAY**
  - 11 Out of town/Not home on election day
  - 9 Working on election day (includes volunteer work or school)
  - 5 Other busy/Not available on election day
  - 4 Health/handicap/Illness
  - 2 Caring for someone on election day
  - 2 Hard to get to polling place (includes no transportation or too far)
  - 2 Age
  - 5 Already made up my mind/Knew who I was voting for
  - 5 No other option in state/No choice
  - 5 Get it done/Over with
  - 4 Always how I do it
  - 3 To make sure I voted
  - 3 Make sure my vote was counted
  - 7 Other
  - \* No reason
  - 0 Don't know/No answer

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.45 [**IF Q.42=1 READ:** Other than waiting in line...] Did you have any problems or difficulties voting this year, or not?

		Nov <u>2006</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
3	Yes	4	4
97	No	96	96
<u>0</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.46 Before the election, were you contacted over the phone by any candidates, campaigns or other groups urging you to vote in a particular way?

**IF YES (Q.46=1), ASK:**

Q.47 And were you urged to vote for John McCain or Barack Obama?

		Nov <u>2004</u> <sup>6</sup>	Nov <u>2000</u>
53	Yes	55	42
10	McCain	11	13 <i>Bush</i>
11	Obama	11	11 <i>Kerry</i>
21	Both McCain and Obama (VOL.)	26	12
7	Other person/party/ballot issues ONLY (VOL.)	4	3
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	3
46	No	44	58
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.48 Did anyone from a campaign or other group contact you IN PERSON – such as by coming to your door – to urge you to vote in a particular way in the election?

		Nov <u>2004</u>
15	Yes	14
85	No	86
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>*</u>
100		100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.49 Did anyone from a campaign or other group contact you BY EMAIL to urge you to vote in a particular way in the election?

		Nov <u>2004</u>
24	Yes	14
74	No/no email	85
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>
100		100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.50 Did you, yourself, volunteer any of your time to help one of the presidential election campaigns or not?

		Nov <u>2006</u> <sup>7</sup>	Nov <u>2004</u>
7	Yes	9	9
93	No	91	91
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>*</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

<sup>6</sup> In 2004 and 2000, question asked about presidential and other candidates from the same party.

<sup>7</sup> In 2006, question asked "...to help one of the election campaigns this fall or not?"

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.51 Did you, yourself contribute money to a campaign in support of one of the presidential candidates this year, or not?

		Nov <u>2006</u> <sup>8</sup>	Nov <u>2004</u>
17	Yes	12	9
83	No	87	91
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100

**ASK Q.52-Q.55 ONLY OF THOSE VOTERS WHO SAID IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW THAT THEY ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH. (ATTEND (1-3); AND VOTED IN THE ELECION (Q.1=1). IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT FIT THAT DESCRIPTION, SKIP TO Q.56.**

Q.52 Was information on political parties or candidates for the recent election made available in your place of worship, or not?

**BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH [N=866]:**

		Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>
15	Yes	27	14	28
82	No	71	83	69
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

**ASK Q.52-Q.55 ONLY OF THOSE VOTERS WHO SAID IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW THAT THEY ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH. (ATTEND (1-3); AND VOTED IN THE ELECION (Q.1=1). IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT FIT THAT DESCRIPTION, SKIP TO Q.56.**

Q.53 Was information on any state or local ballot initiatives or constitutional amendments made available in your place of worship, or not?

**BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH [N=866]:**

		Nov <u>2004</u>
13	Yes	19
85	No	80
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>
100		100

<sup>8</sup>

In 2006, question asked "...in support of a candidate in the elections this fall, or not?"

**ASK Q.52-Q.55 ONLY OF THOSE VOTERS WHO SAID IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW THAT THEY ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH. (ATTEND (1-3); AND VOTED IN THE ELECION (Q.1=1). IF RESPONDENT DOES NOT FIT THAT DESCRIPTION, SKIP TO Q.56.**

Q.54 And did the clergy at your place of worship or any other religious groups urge you to vote a particular way in the recent election, or not?

**IF '1' YES IN Q.54, ASK:**

Q.55 Were you urged to vote in a particular way in the PRESIDENTIAL race, a Congressional race, a state race a local race or on specific ballot issues? (ACCEPT MORE THAN ONE RESPONSE)

**BASED ON THOSE WHO ATTEND CHURCH [N=866]:**

		<u>Nov 2004</u>	<u>Nov 2000</u>	<u>Nov 1996</u>
8	Yes	11	6	7
3	Presidential	7	4	5
*	Congressional	2	2	3
1	State	2	2	3
*	Local	2	2	3
3	Ballot issue	4	n/a	n/a
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	2	2
92	No	89	93	91
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Now thinking about election night...

Q.56 Did you happen to follow election returns on Tuesday night, or not?

		<u>Nov 2004</u>	<u>Nov 2000</u>
82	Yes	84	88
18	No	16	12
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	<u>0</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

**ASK IF FOLLOWED RETURNS (Q.56=1):**

Q.57a Did you follow the election returns on television, or not?

Followed returns	All voters		<i>November 2004</i>	
			Followed returns	All voters
96	79	Yes	97	81
4	3	No	3	3
<u>0</u>	0	Don't know (VOL.)	<u>0</u>	0
100	<u>(18)</u>	(Did not follow returns election night)	100	<u>(16)</u>
<b>(N=1235)</b>	100			100



**ASK IF FOLLOWED RETURNS (Q.56=1):**

Q.57b Did you follow the election returns on the Internet or not?

			<i>November 2004</i>	
Followed	All		Followed	All
<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>		<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>
23	19	Yes	19	16
77	63	No	81	68
0	0	Don't know (VOL.)	*	*
100	(18)	(Did not follow returns election night)	100	(16)
(N=1235)	100			100

**ASK IF FOLLOWED RETURNS (Q.56=1):**

Q.58 Did you follow the election returns with friends or just with your family or by yourself?

Followed	All	
<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>	
13	10	With friends
81	67	Just with family/By yourself
6	5	Both (VOL.)
*	*	Don't know (VOL.)
100	(18)	(Did not follow returns election night)
(N=1235)	100	

**ASK IF FOLLOWED RETURNS (Q.56=1):**

Q.59 Do you think news organizations did an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job on election night?

**BASED ON THOSE WHO FOLLOWED RETURNS [N=1235]:**

		<u>Nov</u>
		<u>2004</u>
28	Excellent	17
48	Good	52
20	Only fair	22
3	Poor	8
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1
100		100

In the election...

**ASK ALL FORM 1 WHO VOTED (Q.1=1) [N=744]:**

Q.60F1 How confident are you that your vote was accurately counted? **[READ]**

	Based on Registered Voters					
	Prior to an Election					
	Nov <u>2006</u>	Mid- Nov <u>2004</u>	Early Oct <u>2008</u> <sup>9</sup>	Early Nov <u>2006</u>	Mid- Oct <u>2006</u>	Oct <u>2004</u>
73	70	68	57	57	58	62
22	23	24	31	28	29	26
3	3	4	6	8	9	7
2	2	3	4	4	3	4
*Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL FORM 2 WHO VOTED (Q.1=1) [N=756]:**

Q.61F2 How confident are you that the votes across the country were accurately counted? **[READ]**

	Nov <u>2006</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
43	39	48
41	46	37
10	7	7
5	3	7
<u>1</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>1</u>
100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

**ROTATE Q.62 AND Q.63**

Q.62 Next year, should the Republican leaders in Washington... **(READ)**

	Nov <u>2006</u> <sup>10</sup>
74	74
22	18
<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
100	100

9 In Mid-October 2008, Early November 2006, Early October 2006, and Mid-October 2004 the question was worded "How confident are you that your vote will be accurately counted in the upcoming election?"

10 In November 2006, the answer categories referred to "Democratic leaders" rather than "Barack Obama." Full trend not shown. Results also exist for January 2007.

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

**ROTATE Q.62 AND Q.63**

Q.63 This year should the Democratic leaders in Washington... **(READ)**

		<u>Nov</u> <u>2006</u> <sup>11</sup>	<u>Nov</u> <u>1996</u>	<b>-GP-</b> <u>Dec</u> <u>1994</u>
77	Try as best they can to work with Republican leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Democratic supporters? OR	61	72	69
17	Should they stand up to the Republicans on issues that are important to Democratic supporters, even if it means less gets done in Washington?	32	22	23
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused <b>[VOL. DO NOT READ]</b>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
100		100	100	100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.64 Do you think relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington will get better in the coming year, get worse, or stay about the same as they are now?

		<u>Nov</u> <u>2006</u>
37	Get better	29
18	Get worse	21
42	Stay about the same	45
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	<u>5</u>
100		100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.65 Do you think Barack Obama SHOULD or SHOULD NOT appoint Republicans to serve in important positions in his administration, or doesn't it matter to you?

60	Should
4	Should not
35	Doesn't matter
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
100	

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11 In November 2006, the answer categories referred to "George W. Bush" rather than "Republican leaders." Full trend not shown. Results also exist for January 2007, November 2004, and March 1995. In November 2004, questions were asked only of those who were not Republicans or Republican leaning independents.

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1)**

Q.66 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 Barack Obama as **[NEXT ITEM]** or not?

		Yes, describes <u>Obama</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.	Patriotic			
	November, 2008	70	24	6=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

Mid-October, 2008	67	26	7=100
Mid-September, 2008	65	29	6=100
April, 2008	61	32	7=100
March, 2008	64	27	9=100

b.	Honest			
	November, 2008	68	26	6=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

Mid-October, 2008	63	29	8=100
Mid-September, 2008	64	28	8=100
April, 2008	61	30	9=100
March, 2008	65	25	10=100

c.	Down-to-earth			
	November, 2008	73	23	4=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

Mid-October, 2008	71	25	4=100
Mid-September, 2008	65	30	5=100
April, 2008	60	35	5=100
March, 2008	67	25	8=100

d.	Inspiring			
	November, 2008	81	18	1=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

Mid-October, 2008	71	26	3=100
Mid-September, 2008	71	26	3=100
April, 2008	66	31	3=100
March, 2008	70	26	4=100

e.	Well-qualified			
	November, 2008	58	39	3=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

Mid-October, 2008	53	42	5=100
Mid-September, 2008	47	48	5=100

<b>Q.66 CONTINUED...</b>		Yes, describes		Don't Know/
		<u>Obama</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Refused</u>
f.	Risky			
	November, 2008	46	50	4=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

	Mid-October, 2008	49	46	5=100
	Mid-September, 2008	51	44	5=100

g.	Having poor judgment			
	November, 2008	22	70	8=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

	Mid-October, 2008	29	62	9=100
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**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.67 Does Barack Obama make you feel [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE; ASK ITEM d ALWAYS LAST] or not? Does Obama make you feel [NEXT ITEM] or not?

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.	Hopeful			
	November, 2008	69	29	2=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

	March, 2008 <sup>12</sup>	54	43	3=100
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b.	Proud			
	November, 2008	65	32	3=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

	March, 2008	42	53	5=100
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c.	Angry			
	November, 2008	9	91	*=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

	March, 2008	26	71	3=100
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d.	Uneasy			
	November, 2008	35	64	1=100

***TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS***

	March, 2008	38	60	2=100
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12 In March 2008, the question was worded "Has Barack Obama ever made you feel [INSERT ITEM] or not?"

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

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 the Democratic Party?

31 Republican  
36 Democrat  
31 Independent  
1 No preference (VOL.)  
\* Other party (VOL.)  
1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
100

12 *Lean Rep*  
14 *Lean Dem*

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

Q.68 Would you like to see Republican leaders in Washington move in a more conservative direction or a more moderate direction?

**BASED ON REPUBLICAN AND REPUBLICAN-LEANING VOTERS [N=611]:**

60 Conservative  
35 Moderate  
1 No change (VOL.)  
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
100

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

Q.69 Would you like to see Democratic leaders in Washington move in a more liberal direction or a more moderate direction?

**BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING VOTERS [N=773]:**

33 Liberal  
57 Moderate  
2 No change (VOL.)  
8 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
100

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

Q.70 Who would you like to see take the lead in setting the policy agenda this coming year? [READ AND ROTATE]

**BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING VOTERS [N=773]:**

72 Barack Obama [OR]  
21 Democratic leaders in Congress  
7 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
100

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

PVOTE04A In the 2004 presidential election between George W. Bush and John Kerry, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

**ASK IF DID NOT VOTE IN 2004 (PVOTE04A=2-9):**

FIRST Is this the first year you have ever voted, or have you voted in elections before this year?

		Nov 2004 <sup>13</sup>
8	First time	8
92	Had voted before	92
0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	0
100		100

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<sup>13</sup>

In 2004, the question was worded "Was this election the FIRST time that you have voted, or have you voted before?"