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For The People & The Press

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Few See Personal Upside to Health Care Reform
OBAMA IMAGE UNSCATHED BY TERRORISM CONTROVERSY

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OBAMA IMAGE UNSCATHED BY TERRORISM CONTROVERSY

In the aftermath of the failed Christmas Day terrorist attack on a Detroit-bound airliner, the government's ratings for reducing the threat of terrorism have slipped. In addition, 33% now say that the ability of terrorists to launch a major attack on the U.S. is greater than it was at the time of 9/11; that is up only slightly from November but is the highest percentage expressing this view in surveys dating to 2002. The public also has become far more concerned that government anti-terrorism policies fail to protect the country adequately – and far less concerned that these policies restrict civil liberties.

Yet there is little evidence that heightened security concerns are affecting Barack Obama's standing and image. At 49%, Obama's job approval rating is unchanged from December. He continues to get markedly higher ratings for his handling of the threat of terrorism (51% approve) than for any other issue. And just 22% say his administration's policies have made the country less safe from terrorism when compared with the policies of the Bush administration; that is virtually unchanged from June (21%).

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Jan. 6-10 among 1,504 adults reached on cell phones and landlines, finds that fully 58% say that their greater concern about

anti-terrorism policy is that the government has not gone far enough to protect the country; 27% say their greater concern is that the government has gone too far in restricting civil liberties. That

More Criticism of Government Anti-Terrorism Policies...

	Feb <u>2009</u>	Nov <u>2009</u>	Jan <u>2010</u>
<i>How well is gov't doing in reducing threat of terrorism?</i>	%	%	%
Very/fairly well	71	73	65
Not too/at all well	22	22	33
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Compared w/ 9/11, terrorists' ability to attack U.S. is...</i>			
Greater	17	29	33
The same	44	38	35
Less	35	29	29
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Gov't anti-terror policies...</i>			
Not gone far enough to protect country	42	40	58
Gone too far in restricting civil liberties	36	36	27
Other/DK	<u>22</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100

But Views of Obama Unaffected

	Jun <u>2009</u>	Jan <u>2010</u>	
<i>Compared w/ Bush, Obama policies have made US...</i>			
Safer from terrorism	28	28	
Less safe from terrorism	21	22	
No difference	44	46	
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	
	100	100	
<i>Obama job approval</i>	Nov <u>2009</u>	Dec <u>2009</u>	Jan <u>2010</u>
Approve	51	49	49
Disapprove	36	40	42
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Obama's handling of threat of terrorism</i>			
Approve	52	--	51
Disapprove	34	--	39
Don't know	<u>14</u>	--	<u>10</u>
	100		100

Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

represents a dramatic shift from just two months ago: In November, roughly equal percentages expressed concern about national security (40%) and civil liberties (36%).

For Obama, however, terrorism stands out as a strong suit, particularly when compared with his lackluster ratings for several key domestic issues. Just 38% approve of his handling of health care policy while for the first time a majority (52%) disapproves. Obama receives even lower ratings for his handling of the budget deficit (32% approve) and immigration policy (30%). By contrast, Obama's rating for handling the situation in Afghanistan has rebounded to 45%, up from 36% in November.

<i>Approve of the way Obama is handling...</i>	<u>Apr</u>	<u>Jul</u>	<u>Nov</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Nov-Jan change</u>
	%	%	%	%	
Threat of terrorism	57	--	52	51	-1
Energy policy	--	46	50	45	-5
Afghanistan	--	47	36	45	+9
Iraq	--	47	41	45	+4
Foreign policy	61	47	44	44	0
The economy	60	38	42	42	0
Health care	51	42	43	38	-5
The budget deficit	50	32	31	32	+1
Immigration policy	--	--	31	30	-1

Q11a-i.

Obama's personal ratings, on such dimensions as leadership, trustworthiness and effectiveness, remain strong. More than six-in-ten (62%) say they think of Obama as a strong leader, while just 32% say he is not a strong leader. Nearly as many say they think of Obama as trustworthy (61%) and able to get things done (57%). These perceptions have changed little since September, although Obama is not viewed as positively as he was in February 2009, shortly after taking office.

<i>Which phrase better describes Obama?</i>	<u>Feb 2009</u>	<u>Sep 2009</u>	<u>Jan 2010</u>	<u>Sep-Jan change</u>
	%	%	%	
A good communicator	92	83	83	0
Not a good communicator	6	13	14	+1
Warm and friendly	87	78	77	-1
Cold and aloof	8	16	16	0
Well-organized	81	69	70	+1
Not well-organized	12	22	23	+1
Well-informed	79	70	69	-1
Not well-informed	15	23	26	+3
Cares about people like me	81	68	64	-4
Doesn't care	14	25	30	+5
A strong leader	77	65	62	-3
Not a strong leader	13	29	32	+3
Trustworthy	76	64	61	-3
Not trustworthy	15	30	31	+1
Able to get things done	70	58	57	-1
Not able to get things done	15	31	35	+4

Q12a-i.

The survey finds that with the health care debate at a crucial stage, more people continue to generally oppose (48%) than generally favor (39%) the health care bills before Congress. Opinion about health care legislation has been stable in recent months.

In assessing the personal impact of health care legislation, relatively few say they expect their insurance coverage to improve should the measure become law. Fewer than half (39%) say their ability to get health insurance with a pre-existing medical condition would get better if the

legislation becomes law; fewer (33%) expect they would be better able to obtain insurance if they change jobs or lose their job.

Views of the legislation’s potential impact on the cost and quality of health care are even more negative. Pluralities say their out-of-pocket health care costs would get worse (40%) as a result of the legislation, while the same percentage says that wait times for medical appointments would get worse. Regarding the quality of health care

Few See Personal Benefits in Health Reform Bills				
	Get <u>better</u> %	Stay the <u>same</u> %	Get <u>worse</u> %	Other/ <u>DK</u> %
<i>Your ability to get coverage...</i>				
If you have a pre-existing cond.	39	29	21	11=100
If you change or lose a job	33	26	26	16=100
<i>Effect on your own...</i>				
Out-of-pocket costs	21	28	40	10=100
Quality of care	18	41	33	8=100
Choice of doctors & hospitals	16	40	34	10=100
Wait time for appointments	14	36	40	11=100

Q.37a-f. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

they receive and choices of doctors and hospitals, pluralities expect no changes as a result of the legislation (41% quality of care, 40% choice of doctors). However, about twice as many people expect that these and other aspects of their own health care would get worse, rather than get better, if the proposed changes become law.

The survey finds that as 2010 begins, voters are evenly divided in their preferences on the so-called generic ballot: 46% say if the midterm elections were held today they would vote for a Democratic candidate for Congress in their district, or lean Democratic, while 44% say they would vote for a Republican or lean Republican. That represents little change from August 2009, but is a marked shift from the 2006 midterms when Democrats consistently held wide leads.

Closely Divided Midterm Voting Intentions			
	Vote <u>Republican</u> %	Vote <u>Democrat</u> %	Other/ <u>DK</u> %
January 2010	44	46	10=100
November 2009	42	47	11=100
August 2009	44	45	10=100
February 2006	41	50	9=100
February 2002	46	45	9=100
January 1998	41	51	8=100
July 1994	45	47	8=100

Q9/Q10. Based on registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

But this year’s midterms lag behind major sporting events – the Winter Olympics and the Super Bowl – on the list of the public’s most anticipated events in 2010: 61% say they are especially looking forward to next month’s Winter Olympics while 58% say they are especially looking forward to the Super Bowl; fewer (50%) say the same about the midterms. Smaller percentages say they are particularly looking forward to the Academy Awards (31%) and the World Cup soccer tournament (23%).

Not surprisingly, this year's midterms are less highly anticipated than was the 2008 presidential election. In December 2007, fully 70% said they were looking forward to the presidential election, far more than said they were highly anticipating any other event in the year ahead.

For Republicans, the midterms rank among the year's top events. Fully 60% of Republicans say they are especially looking forward to the midterm elections; that is only somewhat fewer than the proportion of Republicans that said they were looking forward to the 2008 presidential election (66%). Among upcoming events, about as many Republicans are anticipating the midterms as are looking forward to the Olympics (64%) and the Super Bowl (60%).

Democrats, however, are not as eagerly anticipating this year's elections: 48% say they are especially looking forward to the elections, while the same percentage says they are not. A little more than two years ago, 82% of Democrats said they were especially looking forward to the 2008 presidential election. When it comes to upcoming events, far more Democrats are looking forward to the Winter Olympics (63%) and Super Bowl (59%) than the elections.

The survey finds that the national mood remains grim: 27% say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country, a figure that has changed little since the summer. But there is considerable optimism that 2010 will be a better year than 2009 – 67% say the coming year will be better, compared with 52% who said that last January and 50% in December 2007.

There are partisan differences in optimism about the coming year. More than eight-in-ten Democrats (83%) say 2010 will be better than 2009, compared with 60% of independents and 55% of Republicans. But positive assessments of the year ahead have risen among Democrats

Republicans Looking Forward to Midterms, Democrats Not So Much

Events you're especially looking forward to...

Jan 2010	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
<i>Midterm elections</i>	%	%	%	%
Yes	50	60	48	47
No	47	38	48	51
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100
Dec 2007				
<i>Presidential election</i>				
Yes	70	66	82	69
No	28	31	18	30
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>*</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100

Q8. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Amid Tough Times, Most See a Better Year Ahead

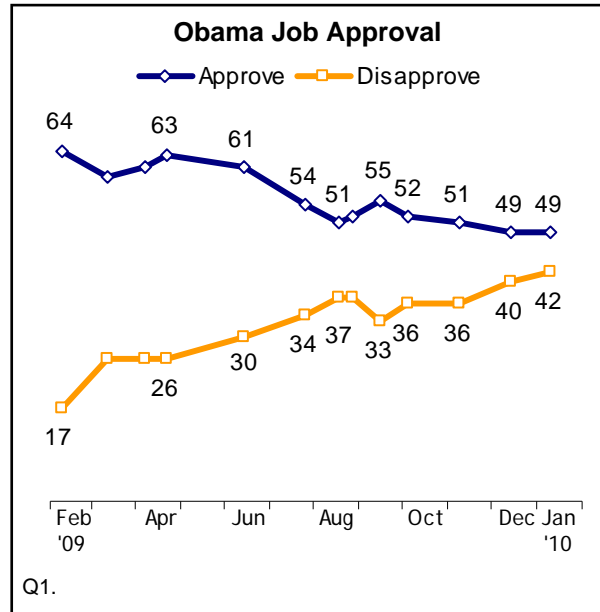
	<u>Dec 1994</u>	<u>Dec 1998</u>	<u>Dec 1999</u>	<u>Dec 2006</u>	<u>Dec 2007</u>	<u>Jan 2009</u>	<u>Jan 2010</u>
<i>Will coming year be better or worse?</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Better	59	59	66	57	50	52	67
Worse	28	25	19	28	34	37	26
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q7. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

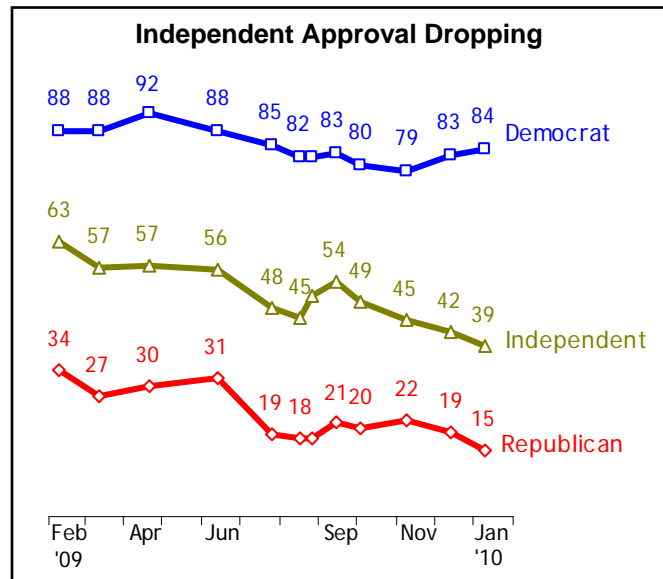
and Republicans alike: A year ago, 64% of Democrats and just 38% of Republicans said 2009 would be a better year than 2008.

SECTION 1: VIEWS OF OBAMA

As he approaches the end of his first year in office, a 49% plurality of the public approves of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president, while 42% disapprove. This is largely unchanged from a 49% to 40% margin a month ago. Over the past year, Obama has seen his approval rating decline by 15 points from a high of 64% in February 2009, just after taking office. Disapproval has risen even more noticeably, up 25 points from 17% last February.



Obama's approval ratings have continued to slip in recent months among independents – from 54% as recently as September to 39% today. For the first time in Pew Research Center polling, significantly more independents disapprove of Obama's job performance (49%) than approve (39%).



This slide among independents has been counterbalanced, somewhat, by a small recovery in approval among Democrats. Democratic job approval had fallen to an all time low of 79% in November, and now stands at 84%. Republican job approval has reached an all-time low of 15%.

Strong Feelings on Both Sides

In the current survey, as many Americans *strongly* disapprove of Obama as *strongly* approve (30% each). As Obama's overall approval rating has fallen, the balance of strong approval vs. strong disapproval has drawn even. In April of 2009, strong approval outweighed strong disapproval by a 45% to 18% margin.

Since April, Democrats have become 22 points less likely to say they very strongly approve of the president's job performance (from 79% to 57%). Over the same period of time, Republicans have become 19 points more likely to say they strongly disapprove of Obama (from 42% to 61%). Similarly, strong disapproval is up 17 points among independents; and reflecting their overall approval ratings, more independents strongly disapprove of Obama (35%) than strongly approve (22%).

Obama's strongest support continues to come from liberal Democrats – 90% approve and 70% do so very strongly, down from 95% and 88%, respectively, last April. African Americans, too, continue to back Obama strongly, with 88% approving of his performance down only slightly from 96% last April. Nearly three-quarters of blacks (73%) continue to very strongly approve of Obama's performance, down from 89% last April.

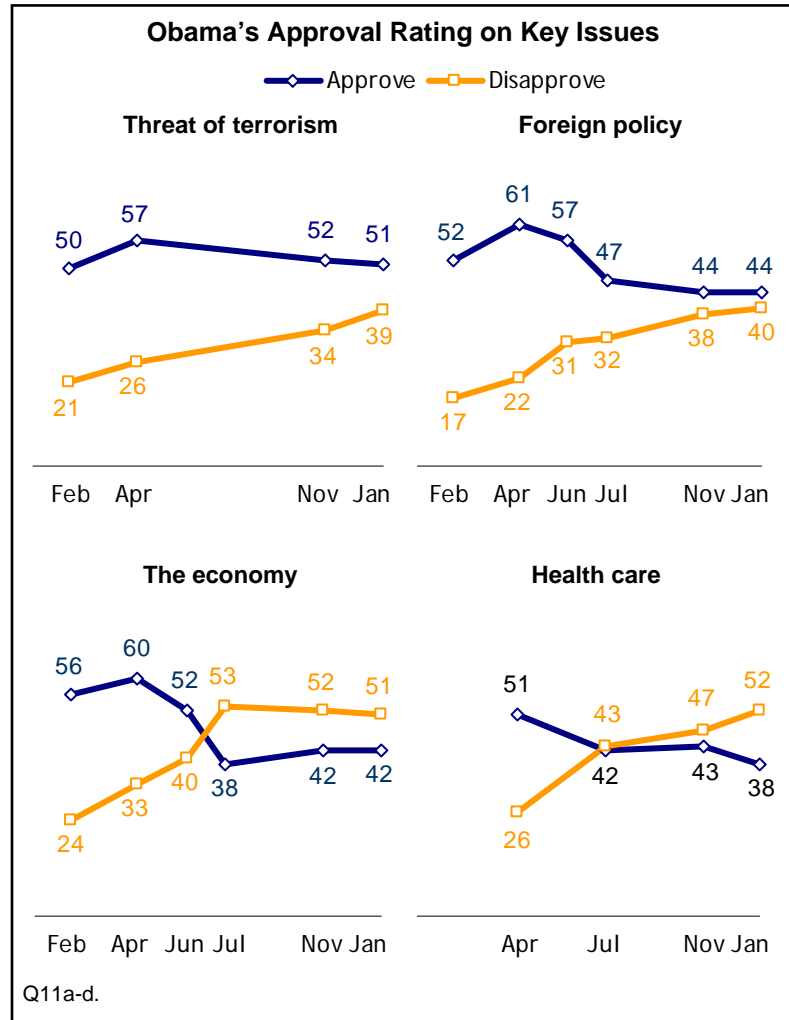
	Apr <u>2009</u> %	Jan <u>2010</u> %
Approve	63	49
Very strongly	45	30
Not so strongly	13	15
Don't know	5	3
Disapprove	26	42
Very strongly	18	30
Not so strongly	8	11
Don't know	*	1
Don't know	11	10

Q1 & Q1a. Figures read down and may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Approval on Issues

Obama receives mixed reviews when it comes to his handling of leading issues. Roughly half (51%) approve of how he is handling the threat of terrorism; though disapproval has ticked up to 39%, from 34% last November and 26% in April. When it comes to foreign policy generally, more approve than disapprove by a slim 44% to 40% margin. Here again, approval has remained relatively level over the past six months, while disapproval has inched up from 32% in July.

When it comes to the key issues on the domestic front, there is more disapproval than approval. Roughly half (51%) disapprove of Obama's handling of the economy while 42% approve. Obama's approval ratings on the economy have been flat since July. In addition, 58% disapprove of Obama's handling of the federal budget deficit – the highest level of disapproval for any issue tested; just 32% approve of Obama's performance on the budget deficit.



Views of how Obama is handling health care policy have steadily declined since the summer; in July about as many approved (42%) as disapproved (43%) of Obama's handling of health care. Today, 52% disapprove while 38% approve.

Domestic Policies Most Divisive

These key domestic issues also garner the most partisan reaction among the public. Nearly seven-in-ten (68%) Democrats approve of Obama’s handling of the economy, compared with only 14% of Republicans – a 54-point partisan gap. The division is almost identical when it comes to health care, where 64% of Democrats and just 10% of Republicans approve of Obama’s performance. On both issues, most independents disapprove (58% on the economy, 56% on health care), with only about a third (35% and 34%, respectively) approving.

On foreign policy issues – specifically the situations in Iraq and Afghanistan – partisan differences in opinion are more modest. Fewer Democrats approve of Obama on Iraq (56%) and Afghanistan (55%) than they do for his handling of the economy and health care. Republicans, however, rate Obama more favorably on Iraq (36%) and Afghanistan (35%) than they do for any domestic issue. As a result, a 54-point approval gap between Republicans and Democrats on both the economy and health care shrinks to 20 points when it comes to Afghanistan and Iraq.

<i>Approve of the way Obama is handling...</i>	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %	<i>R-D gap</i>
The economy	14	68	35	-54
Health care	10	64	34	-54
The budget deficit	8	58	23	-50
Threat of terrorism	26	74	47	-48
Energy policy	22	67	43	-45
Foreign policy	23	65	42	-42
Immigration policy	13	44	28	-31
Iraq	36	56	42	-20
Afghanistan	35	55	43	-20

Q11a-i. Figures show percent who approve of Obama’s performance on each issue within each partisan group.

Of the nine issues tested, independents do not offer majority approval for Obama’s handling of any single issue. Independents are particularly dour when it comes to Obama’s handling of the budget deficit: just 23% approve while 66% disapprove. Independents reserve their highest approval ratings for Obama’s handling of terrorists threats: 47% approve, while 43% disapprove.

Obama's Personal Characteristics

On balance, Obama's personal ratings remain positive. Broad majorities view him as a good communicator (83%), warm and friendly (77%), well organized (70%), and well informed (69%). Most also say that Obama is someone who cares about people like me (64%), is a strong leader (62%), trustworthy (61%), and able to get things done (57%).

There has been little overall change in views of Obama's personal characteristics since September 2009. Nonetheless, 61% of independents say Obama is someone who cares about people like me, down 10 points from September. Despite some slippage, most independents continue to evaluate Obama's personal traits positively.

Republicans take a more mixed view of Obama's traits. While majorities acknowledge that he is a good communicator (70%), warm and friendly (56%), and well organized (53%), they are more critical of other personal dimensions. Most say Obama strikes them as not trustworthy (63%), someone who is not able to get things done (61%), and not a strong leader (58%). Also, Republicans are much more likely to say Obama is liberal (66%) than are independents (42%) or Democrats (26%).

Republicans Criticize Obama's Trustworthiness, Leadership, Effectiveness and Empathy									
	Republicans			Democrats			Independents		
	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Jan</u>	<u>Feb</u>	<u>Sept</u>	<u>Jan</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
A good communicator	85	74	70	96	93	92	93	85	83
Not a good communicator	12	21	25	2	4	6	5	13	14
Warm and friendly	74	63	56	95	93	92	88	80	77
Cold and aloof	19	27	34	2	5	4	8	15	17
Well-informed	59	52	47	92	89	85	81	70	68
Not well-informed	36	41	45	4	7	12	12	25	28
Well-organized	64	54	53	93	85	87	83	72	67
Not well-organized	26	36	41	4	8	9	11	24	25
Cares about people like me	65	40	37	95	91	88	80	71	61
Doesn't care	28	51	55	4	6	9	14	24	33
A strong leader	56	36	34	93	90	88	78	65	58
Not a strong leader	31	57	58	2	6	10	12	29	36
Trustworthy	51	33	30	95	91	89	74	63	57
Not trustworthy	35	61	63	2	4	7	15	31	35
Able to get things done	48	35	33	86	81	80	71	57	52
Not able to get things done	33	55	61	4	11	14	12	34	38
Liberal	58	63	66	31	33	26	37	47	42
Middle of the Road	23	23	23	46	45	47	47	38	36
Conservative	12	5	6	16	11	19	10	10	14

Q12a-k. Figures read down, with percent saying "don't know" not shown.

Democrats remain nearly unanimously positive in their view of Obama's personal traits. At least eight-in-ten offer a positive response for all eight pairs of phrases tested. Fully 92% call him a good communicator and 88% say he is a strong leader.

Cautious or Impulsive?

When asked to assess the way in which Obama makes important decisions, a plurality (46%) says his decision-making style is about right, 26% say he is too impulsive in making important decisions, and 20% say he is too cautious. Among Republicans, the critique of how Obama makes important decisions is that he is too impulsive (47%) rather than too cautious (21%); a quarter of Republicans says he does about right. Most Democrats say Obama's decision

<i>In making decisions is Obama ...</i>	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %
Too impulsive	26	47	9	26
Too cautious	20	21	18	24
About right	46	25	70	40
Don't know	8	8	4	9
	100	100	100	100

Q13F1. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

making is about right (70%), but to the extent that there is a critique, it is that he is too cautious (18%) rather than too impulsive (9%). Independents split about evenly between too impulsive (26%) and too cautious (24%), with a 40% plurality saying he handles things about right.

Long-Term Prospects

One year into his first term, a 52% majority of the public says it is too early to tell whether Obama will be a successful or unsuccessful president. Of those who offer an expectation, about as many say he will be successful (24%) as say he will be unsuccessful (21%). One year ago, 65% said it was too early to tell; 30% thought Obama would be a successful president and 4% thought he would be unsuccessful.

	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Ind</u> %
Jan 2010				
Successful	24	9	43	17
Unsuccessful	21	39	4	24
Too early to tell	52	47	52	56
Don't know	3	6	1	3
	100	100	100	100
Jan 2009				
Successful	30	13	47	24
Unsuccessful	4	10	1	3
Too early to tell	65	77	51	73
Don't know	1	*	1	0
	100	100	100	100

Q3F1. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

The plurality or majority opinion among Republicans (47%), Democrats (52%) and independents (56%) is that it is too early to tell whether or not Obama will be successful. Not surprisingly, Democrats are more likely to say that he will be successful (43%)

rather than unsuccessful (4%), which is about how Democrats felt a year ago. The balance is reversed among Republicans (39% unsuccessful, 9% successful) – last January just 10% of Republicans thought Obama would be unsuccessful. Expectations among independents are more mixed: 17% think that in the long run Obama will be a successful president, 24% say unsuccessful. A year ago, 24% of independents thought Obama would ultimately be successful, and just 3% said unsuccessful.

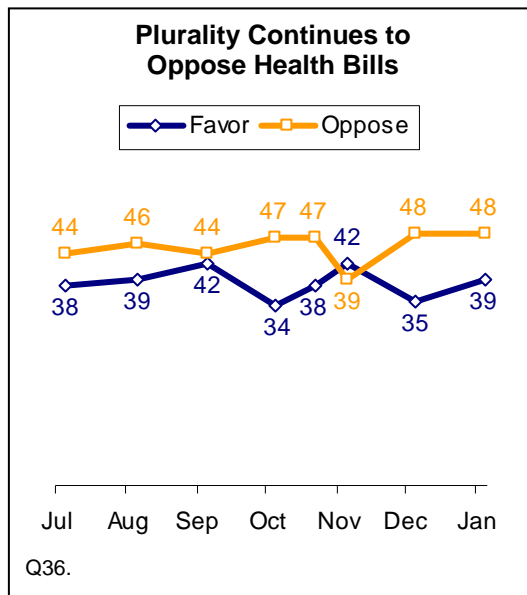
SECTION 2: VIEWS OF HEALTH CARE LEGISLATION

The public remains, on balance, skeptical about the health care legislation before Congress. Just less than half (48%) say they generally oppose the bills currently under debate, while 39% are generally in favor. This is comparable to the balance of opinion in most previous Pew Research polls back through the summer of 2009.

And opposition to the legislation continues to be more intense as well. Fully three-quarters (75%) of those who are against the legislation say they oppose it very strongly – this represents 36% of Americans overall.

By comparison, about six-in-ten (59%) supporters of the bill say they favor it very strongly, representing 23% of Americans overall. This imbalance is consistent with previous survey results from August, September and October.

Not only are 79% of Republicans against the health bills before Congress, but roughly two-thirds (65%) oppose the legislation very strongly. Backing for the legislation among Democrats is more tepid – 63% favor the bills, but fewer than half (39%) back them very strongly. Roughly half (51%) of independents oppose the health legislation, compared with roughly a third (34%) who support it.



Opposition is More Widespread and More Intense

	Favor %	Very strongly %	Oppose %	Very strongly %	DK %	N
Total	39	23	48	36	13=100	1504
Republican	12	6	79	65	10=100	359
Conserv Rep	7	4	86	76	7=100	242
Mod/Lib Rep	21	10	67	45	13=100	109
Democrat	63	39	24	12	12=100	484
Mod/Cons Dem	61	38	27	15	12=100	308
Liberal Dem	72	44	18	7	9=100	156
Independent	34	19	51	40	15=100	605
Lean Rep	17	7	76	65	8=100	257
Lean Dem	55	32	26	15	19=100	212
18-29	47	21	36	20	17=100	232
30-49	38	23	47	35	14=100	432
50-64	38	24	54	45	9=100	452
65+	31	23	54	42	15=100	366
White	31	16	56	44	14=100	1124
Black	63	49	25	10	12=100	147
Hispanic	61	40	27	14	12=100	130
<i>Family income</i>						
\$75,000 or more	38	17	57	45	5=100	403
\$30k-\$74,999	35	21	53	38	12=100	480
Less than \$30,000	46	30	36	26	18=100	392
<i>Heard about bills</i>						
A lot	38	26	56	46	6=100	769
A little/Nothing	39	21	41	27	20=100	716
<i>Current insurance</i>						
Covered	37	21	50	39	13=100	1323
Not covered	48	33	35	23	18=100	179

Q36/Q36a. See tables for more demographic breakdowns.

Few See Personal Upside from Legislation

In assessing the personal impact of the legislation, relatively few say they expect their own insurance coverage and health care to improve should the measure become law. Just 21% think it would reduce their out-of-pocket costs, while 18% see the quality of care they receive improving and 16% say the same about their choice of doctors and hospitals. On all three issues, roughly twice as many Americans believe these health reform bills would make things worse for them personally if passed into law. About four-in-ten say their quality of care (41%) and choice of doctors (40%) would not change if the legislation passes.

If Health Care Legislation Becomes Law...				
	Get better	Stay the same	Get worse	Other/ DK
	%	%	%	%
<i>Your ability to get coverage...</i>				
If you have a pre-existing cond.	39	29	21	11=100
If you change or lose a job	33	26	26	16=100
<i>Effect on your own...</i>				
Out-of-pocket costs	21	28	40	10=100
Quality of care	18	41	33	8=100
Choice of doctors & hospitals	16	40	34	10=100
Wait time for appointments	14	36	40	11=100

Q.37a-f. N=1,504 for all rows.

Yet even when it comes to the insurance reforms that have a broader reach, most Americans see no potential benefit to themselves. Just 33% say their ability to get health insurance if they changed or lost a job would improve, with the rest saying this would get worse (26%) or not change (26%). A slim plurality (39%) say it would be easier for them to get coverage with a pre-existing condition if health reform passes, but half say this would not change (29%) or get worse (21%).

Opponents of the legislation widely see the bill as potentially detrimental to them personally. Majorities of opponents say the bill would lengthen their wait times (63%), raise their out of pocket costs (62%), lower the quality of care they receive (56%) and limit their choice of doctors and hospitals (56%). By nearly two-to-one, more opponents believe the bills would make it harder (38%) not easier (20%) for them to get health insurance if they change or lose a job. And nearly a third (31%) believes that it would be harder to get coverage with pre-existing conditions if the legislation passes.

Opponents See Health Care Negatively Affected				
	Get better	Stay the same	Get worse	Other/ DK
	%	%	%	%
Among Those Who Oppose				
<i>Your ability to get coverage...</i>				
If you have a pre-existing cond.	27	32	31	10=100
If you change or lose a job	20	27	38	15=100
<i>Effect on your own...</i>				
Out-of-pocket costs	8	21	62	9=100
Quality of care	7	31	56	6=100
Choice of doctors & hospitals	6	29	56	9=100
Wait time for appointments	4	25	63	9=100
Supporters See Improved Coverage				
	Get better	Stay the same	Get worse	Other/ DK
	%	%	%	%
Among those who Favor				
<i>Your ability to get coverage...</i>				
If you have a pre-existing cond.	58	27	9	5=100
If you change or lose a job	52	25	13	10=100
<i>Effect on your own...</i>				
Out-of-pocket costs	39	39	16	6=100
Quality of care	33	53	9	4=100
Choice of doctors & hospitals	30	54	11	5=100
Wait time for appointments	26	52	15	7=100

Q.37a-f. Top based on N=764 who oppose legislation.
Bottom based on N=553 who favor legislation.

In general, supporters of the legislation see the law having less impact on their own health care if it passes. Most say it would not affect the quality of care they receive (53%), their choice of doctors and hospitals (54%) or the length of time they wait for appointments (52%). But most supporters register the benefits of insurance reform if it passes: 58% say their ability to get coverage with a pre-existing condition would be improved, and 52% say the same about getting coverage if they change or lose a job.

Many Say Law Would Increase Their Costs

By two-to-one (40% vs. 21%) more Americans believe the health legislation, if passed, would increase, not decrease their out-of-pocket costs, and this concern spans demographic groups. Among those 65 and older, 46% believe their costs would rise, as do 44% of Americans 50 to 64. People younger than 30 are most likely to say that their out-of-pocket costs would get better, but just 33% express this view while about as many (34%) say their costs would get worse.

Similarly, 31% of people with family incomes of less than \$30,000 annually expect the legislation would lower their out-of-pocket health care costs, but at least as many (34%) think they would end up paying more. In both middle-income households (\$30,000-\$74,999) nearly half (47%) expect their out-of-pocket costs to rise, while just 18% believe they would pay less, and the balance is similar among those with higher incomes.

Even among the 17% of Americans who are currently without health insurance – expected to be the main beneficiaries of health care legislation – about as many believe their out-of-pocket health care costs would get worse (33%) as believe they would benefit financially (37%).

	Get better %	Stay the same %	Get worse %	Other/ DK %	N
Total	21	28	40	10=100	1504
Republican	9	25	56	10=100	359
Democrat	32	35	24	8=100	484
Independent	19	25	46	10=100	605
18-29	33	25	34	9=100	232
30-49	22	31	38	8=100	432
50-64	18	27	44	10=100	452
65+	11	28	46	15=100	366
<i>Family income</i>					
\$75,000 or more	16	35	40	10=100	403
\$30k-\$74,999	18	26	47	10=100	480
Less than \$30,000	31	28	34	7=100	392
<i>Current insurance</i>					
Covered	18	29	42	11=100	1323
Not covered	37	22	33	7=100	179

Q37a. See tables for more demographic breakdowns.

More Trust Insurance Companies than Government

More Americans trust private insurance companies rather than the government to make decisions about what kinds of medical procedures should be covered by health insurance. A 45% plurality is more confident in insurance companies, 31% are more confident in the government, with 16% volunteering that they do not trust either.

Not surprisingly, there is a substantial partisan gap – by a 65% to 10% margin Republicans trust private insurance companies rather than the government when it comes to making insurance decisions. The balance of opinion is less lopsided among Democrats, with 47% trusting the government more and 32% trusting insurance companies more.

Lower-income and younger Americans are substantially more likely to trust the government more when it comes to health care decisions. Among people with household incomes of less than \$30,000 annually, 40% express

greater confidence in the government rather than insurance companies, compared with 26% of people earning \$75,000 or more. But even among the lower income Americans, as many trust insurance companies (43%) as the government (40%).

Those 65 and older – the majority of whom receive their health insurance from the government – are the least likely to be confident in government decision making. Just 20% say they trust the government over private insurers, while 52% say private insurance companies do the better job. Fully 68% of seniors report Medicare as their main source of health insurance, and another 5% cite other government insurance sources.

Whom Do You Trust More to Decide What Kinds of Procedures Should be Covered by Health Insurance?					
	Private insurance companies	The government	(Vol.) Neither	Other/DK	N
	%	%	%	%	
Total	45	31	16	9=100	1504
Republican	65	10	19	6=100	359
Democrat	32	47	12	9=100	484
Independent	45	30	16	9=100	605
18-29	48	40	7	5=100	232
30-49	42	33	17	8=100	432
50-64	44	29	19	9=100	452
65+	52	20	16	12=100	366
<i>Family income</i>					
\$75,000 or more	44	26	23	7=100	403
\$30k-\$74,999	47	29	16	7=100	480
Less than \$30,000	43	40	10	7=100	392
<i>Health legislation</i>					
Favor	30	49	12	10=100	553
Oppose	60	17	18	5=100	764
<i>Health insurance</i>					
Covered	46	28	17	9=100	1323
Private insurance	45	29	18	9=100	836
Govt insurance	47	27	16	10=100	428
Not covered	40	45	9	5=100	179
Q38. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.					

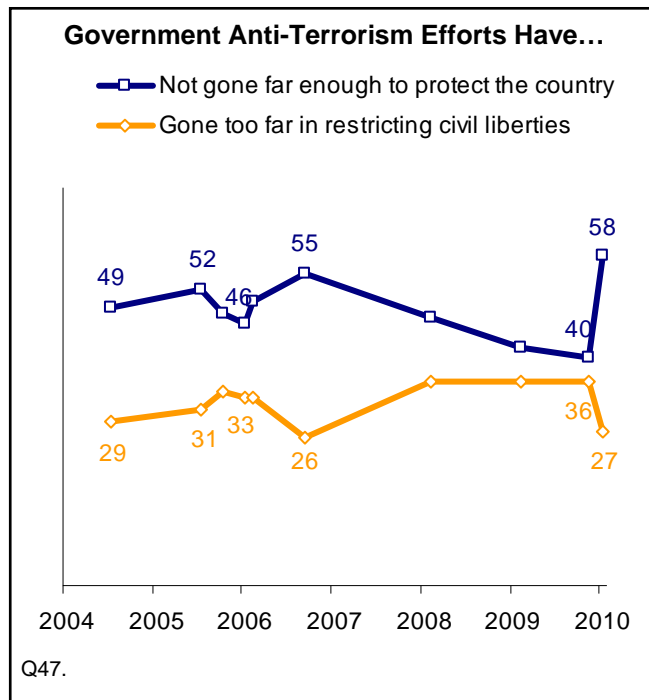
Americans younger than 30 are the most likely of all age groups to express confidence in government health care decision making: 40% have more confidence in the government than private insurers. But even in this age range, at least as many (48%) say they trust private insurers more than the government.

Overall, there is little relationship between the source of a person's health insurance and whether he or she has more confidence in government or private insurers. Among the 54% of Americans who say they have insurance through a private insurance company, more trust private insurers (45%) than the government (29%). Among the 24% who say their main source of insurance is a government program, 47% trust private insurers more, while 27% trust the government more. Only those who are currently without insurance – 17% of the public – is the balance of opinion different, with roughly equal numbers expressing greater confidence in private insurers (40%) as government (45%).

SECTION 3: TERRORISM AND NATIONAL SECURITY

In the wake of the failed terrorist attack on a jetliner on Christmas Day, the public has become far more concerned that anti-terrorism policies fail to protect the country – and far less concerned that they restrict civil liberties.

In the current survey, 58% say their greater concern is that government anti-terrorism policies have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country; just 27% are more concerned that the policies have gone too far in restricting the average person’s civil liberties. That represents a dramatic shift of opinion since November, when nearly as many expressed civil liberties concerns (36%) as national security concerns (40%).



Increasing concern over national security is evident across most demographic and political groups. In the current survey, however, fewer than half (42%) of people younger than 30 say their greater concern is that anti-terrorism policies have not gone far enough to protect the country; about as many young people (44%) are more concerned that policies have gone too far in restricting civil liberties. Among older age groups, clear majorities express more concern about government policies failing to protect the country.

In addition, majorities of Democrats and independents (55% each) now say their bigger concern is that anti-terrorism policies have not gone far enough to protect the country; just 35% in each

group expressed that view in November. There has been less change among Republicans, who already were more likely to express national security concerns; currently, 68% say their bigger

Growing Concern that Anti-Terror Policies Fail to Protect U.S.

<i>Gov't policies have not gone far enough to protect the country...</i>	Nov 2009	Jan 2010	<i>Change</i>
	%	%	
Total	40	58	+18
Men	37	55	+18
Women	44	60	+16
18-29	33	42	+9
30-49	45	57	+12
50-64	38	66	+28
65+	45	67	+22
College grad+	42	57	+15
Some college	38	58	+20
HS or less	41	58	+17
Republican	57	68	+11
Democrat	35	55	+20
Independent	35	55	+20

Q47.

worry is that anti-terrorism policies have not gone far enough to protect the country, up from 57% two months ago.

Government Anti-Terror Ratings Slip

The public also gives the government somewhat lower ratings today for reducing the threat of terrorism, although the change has been far less striking than in views about the tradeoff between national security and civil liberties. Currently, 65% say the government is doing very well (15%) or fairly well (50%) in reducing the threat of terrorism while 33% say it has done not too well (21%) or not at all well (12%). In November, 73% gave the government positive marks for reducing the terrorist threat compared with 22% who said it had not done well.

Notably, there were only modest partisan differences in views of the government's handling of the terrorist threat in November and last February. But positive ratings among Republicans have fallen 14 points since November (from 73% to 59% very/fairly well). Democratic opinions have changed little in this period and, as a consequence, the partisan gap has more than tripled (from five points to 17 points).

Currently, a third (33%) says the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack against the U.S. is greater than it was at the time of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks; 35% say their ability to strike the U.S. is the same as at

was then, and 29% say terrorists are less able to mount a major attack. The proportion saying terrorists now are more able to launch an attack is about the same as in November (29%) and July 2005 (28%), previous high points for this measure. Last February, just 17% said that terrorists have a greater ability to strike the U.S. than at the time of the Sept. 11 attacks.

<i>Gov't doing very/fairly well in reducing threat...</i>	Dec 2006	Feb 2009	Nov 2009	Jan 2010
	%	%	%	%
Total	65	71	73	65
Republican	82	70	73	59
Democrat	55	74	78	76
Independent	65	71	70	61
<i>R-D gap</i>	+27	-4	-5	-17
<i>Terrorists' ability to attack U.S. greater than at time of 9/11</i>				
Total	23	17	29	33
Republican	13	32	34	41
Democrat	33	7	27	27
Independent	20	17	26	33
<i>R-D gap</i>	-20	+25	+7	+14
Q46F2, Q45F1.				

No Increase in View that Obama Has Made U.S. "Less Safe"

In the aftermath of the attempted jetliner attack, there has been virtually no change in opinions about whether the policies of the Obama administration have made the U.S. safer or less safe from terrorism when compared with the policies of the Bush administration. Currently, 46% say that, when compared with Bush administration policies, the Obama administration's policies have not made a difference; 28% say they have made the nation safer while 22% say

they have made the nation less safe. Last June, there was a nearly identical balance of opinion on this measure.

Partisan views of the Obama, Bush comparison also are largely unchanged. In the current survey, 46% of Republicans say Obama's policies have made the U.S. less safe from terrorism while about the same percentage of Democrats say they have made the country safer. About half of independents (51%) say Obama's policies have not made a difference compared with Bush's; 22% say his policies have made the nation safer while an identical percentage say they have made the country less safe.

Compared with Bush, Obama's Policies Have Made the U.S...			
	<u>Safer</u>	<u>Less safe</u>	<u>No difference</u>
	%	%	%
Jan 2010			
Total	28	22	46
Republican	8	46	43
Democrat	47	6	41
Independent	22	22	51
Jun 2009			
Total	28	21	44
Republican	12	45	37
Democrat	44	6	45
Independent	24	21	47

Q17F2. Figures read across.

Whole-Body Scans Favored

The public overwhelmingly supports a requirement to make all airport passengers subject to whole-body scans that can see through clothing. Nearly three-quarters (74%) favor requiring such scans for all passengers while 22% are opposed.

While clear majorities across all demographic and political categories favor the use of whole-body scans, young people and liberal Democrats are somewhat less supportive than are other groups. Two-thirds of those younger than 30 (67%) favor making all passengers subject to whole-body scans; that compares with about three-quarters of those in older age groups. Among liberal Democrats, 61% favor the use of fully body scans while 32% are opposed, the lowest level of support within any political group.

Broad Support for Mandatory Airport Whole-Body Scans			
<i>Require scans for all passengers...</i>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%
Total	74	22	4=100
Men	73	23	4=100
Women	74	21	5=100
18-29	67	29	4=100
30-49	75	21	4=100
50-64	75	22	3=100
65+	77	16	8=100
College grad+	69	25	6=100
Some college	73	22	5=100
HS or less	77	20	3=100
Conserv Rep	77	18	5=100
Mod/Lib Rep	75	20	5=100
Independent	72	24	4=100
Cons/Mod Dem	80	18	2=100
Liberal Dem	61	32	7=100

Q48. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

SECTION 4: CONGRESS AND POLITICS

As 2010 begins, Americans are divided about whether they are more likely to vote for the Democratic or Republican candidate in the midterm congressional elections in November. The public gives relatively poor ratings to the leaders of both parties in Congress and only one-quarter say Obama and GOP leaders in Congress are working together to address the issues facing the nation. Meanwhile, a majority of Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters (55%) want their party's leaders to move in a more conservative direction rather than a more moderate direction. By contrast, most Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters (56%) think their party's leaders should move in a more moderate direction rather than take a more liberal approach.

On the generic ballot, 46% of registered voters say if the election were held today they would vote for a Democrat in their district or lean toward the Democratic candidate; 44% say they would vote for the GOP candidate or lean Republican. That is little changed from November, when 47% said they were likely to vote for the Democratic candidate and 42% said they were likely to vote for the Republican.

	Aug 2009		Nov 2009		Jan 2010	
	Vote Rep	Vote Dem	Vote Rep	Vote Dem	Vote Rep	Vote Dem
All voters	44	45	42	47	44	46
Republicans	93	4	93	4	94	4
Democrats	6	93	6	90	6	91
Independents	43	38	41	38	45	35

Q9 & 10. Figures read across. Based on registered voters.

A greater percentage of independents say they expect to vote for the Republican candidate in their home district than for the Democratic candidate (45% vs. 35%). Not surprisingly, more than nine-in-ten Republicans (94%) and Democrats (91%) say they plan to vote for the candidate of their party in the midterm elections.

Just before the last midterm elections in November 2006, close to half of registered voters (48%) said they were likely to vote for the Democratic candidate for Congress in their district, while 40% said they were likely to vote for the Republican candidate. Democrats held about a 10-point edge through much of that year.

Poor Ratings for Congressional Leaders

Slightly more than a third of the public (35%) approves of the job that Democratic congressional leaders are doing while 53% disapprove. Republican congressional leaders get even lower ratings: 27% approve of their job performance while 57% disapprove.

While opinions of both parties' congressional leaders have changed little over the past few months, the ratings for Democratic leaders are substantially lower than they were early last year. In February and March of 2009, nearly half of Americans approved of their job performance (48% February, 47% March). Ratings for Republican leaders have shown less change over the past year.

While about two-thirds of Democrats (65%) approve of the performance of their party's leaders, Republicans are much more critical of their leaders. Fewer than half of Republicans (47%) say they approve of the GOP leaders' performance in Congress, while 41% say they disapprove.

Independents are about equally critical of the job being done by both Democratic and Republican leaders in Congress. A quarter (25%) of independents say they approve of the performance of Democratic leaders, while 22% approve of the job being done by GOP leaders. These numbers have changed little in recent months.

Early in 2009, independents were more likely to approve of the performance of Democratic leaders than Republican leaders, but Democrats had lost that edge by October. Independents have consistently given Republican leaders low ratings since early in 2009.

Low Ratings for Congressional Leaders in Both Parties

		<i>Democratic leaders in Congress</i>				
		Mar	Jun	Oct	Dec	Jan
		<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2010</u>
		%	%	%	%	%
Total						
Approve		47	42	33	36	35
Disapprove		35	45	53	47	53
Among...						
Democrats						
Approve		77	71	57	71	65
Disapprove		11	18	30	19	23
Independents						
Approve		41	33	24	26	25
Disapprove		37	53	60	51	63
Republicans						
Approve		18	17	12	12	12
Disapprove		68	75	76	77	80
		<i>Republican leaders in Congress</i>				
		Mar	Jun	Oct	Dec	Jan
		<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2010</u>
		%	%	%	%	%
Total						
Approve		28	29	24	29	27
Disapprove		51	56	60	51	57
Among...						
Republicans						
Approve		43	47	42	51	47
Disapprove		37	41	41	35	41
Independents						
Approve		26	25	20	24	22
Disapprove		51	60	64	51	61
Democrats						
Approve		19	21	15	19	19
Disapprove		65	67	70	66	66

Q5 & Q6. Figures read down.

Few See GOP Leaders and Obama Working Together

Fully two-thirds (67%) of Americans now say Obama and Republican leaders in Congress are not working together to deal with important issues facing the country, while just 25% see the two sides cooperating. The current numbers reflect virtually no change from August when 63% said that Obama and GOP leaders were not working together.

Republican leaders in Congress continue to take more of the blame for the sense that the two sides are not working together. About a third of the public (32%) says Republican leaders are most to blame, while 19% say Obama is most to blame. Those numbers also have changed little since August 2009.

Among partisans, Republicans are more likely to say that GOP leaders and the president are not working together (81%) than Democrats (58%) or independents (69%). More than four-in-ten Republicans (43%) say Obama is most to blame for this, while 13% say GOP leaders deserve most of the blame.

Half of Democrats say Republican leaders are mostly responsible, while just 3% say Obama is to blame. Among independents, 31% say Republican congressional leaders are mostly to blame for the lack of cooperation, while 19% say Obama is mostly to blame.

GOP Leaders Get More Blame For Lack of Bipartisanship in Washington

	Feb* 2009	June 2009	Aug 2009	Jan 2010
<i>Obama and GOP leaders are...</i>	%	%	%	%
Working together	43	39	24	25
Not working together	45	50	63	67
<i>Who is most to blame?</i>				
Republican leaders	27	26	29	32
Barack Obama	7	12	17	19
Both	5	9	9	9
Neither/Other/DK	6	4	8	7
Don't know	12	11	13	8

Q18 & 19. Figures read down.

* Feb question asked specifically about economic stimulus.

Republicans Say Leaders Should Be More Conservative

More than half (55%) of Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters say they think the party's leaders in Washington should move in a more conservative direction. That is about the same as the 60% of Republican voters that wanted their leaders to take a more conservative course just after the 2008 presidential election.

Just under four-in-ten Republicans and Republican leaners (38%) say party leaders should move in a more moderate direction, again about the same as the 35% of GOP voters who said this just after the 2008 elections.

Not surprisingly, 75% of Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters who describe themselves as conservative want to see leaders move in a more conservative direction; just 20% say they should move in a more moderate direction. By contrast, 68% of moderate and liberal GOP voters say party leaders should move in a more moderate direction, while 22% say they should become more conservative.

Meanwhile, most Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters (56%) say they think their party's leaders should move in a more moderate direction, which is about the same as the percentage of Democratic voters who said this after Obama's 2008 win (57%). In both surveys, one-third (33%) said Democratic leaders should move in a more liberal direction.

A majority (55%) of liberal Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters say the party's leaders should move in a more liberal direction, while 34% say more moderate. This is unchanged from November 2008. Most Democrats describe their ideology as conservative or moderate, and 69% of this group says the party should move in a more moderate direction; 23% say more liberal. The percentages also are not significantly different from just after the 2008 elections.

Republicans Still Want Party to Move in More Conservative Direction

Among Reps and Rep leaners...

	Nov 2008	Jan 2010
Republican leaders should move in a more...	%	%
Conservative direction	60	55
Moderate direction	35	38
No change/DK	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100
N=	611	553

Among Dems and Dem leaners...

	Nov 2008	Jan 2010
Democratic leaders should move in a more...	%	%
Liberal direction	33	33
Moderate direction	57	56
No change/DK	<u>10</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100
N=	773	548

Q.31 & 32. Based on registered voters; 2008 numbers from post-election callbacks to voters in Nov. 4 election. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International among a national sample of 1,504 adults living in the continental United States, 18 years of age or older, from January 6-10, 2010 (1,000 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 504 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 201 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <http://people-press.org/methodology/>.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race/ethnicity, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2009 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 2009 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 combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting.

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:

Group	Sample Size	Plus or minus...
Total sample	1,504	3.0 percentage points
Form 1	764	4.5 percentage points
Form 2	740	4.5 percentage points
Republicans	359	6.5 percentage points
Democrats	484	5.5 percentage points
Independents	605	5.0 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:

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PRESIDENTIAL JOB APPROVAL & HEALTH CARE TABLE

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?

Q.36 As of right now, do you generally favor or generally oppose the health care bills being discussed in Congress?

	Job Approval			Health Care Bills			(N)
	Approve	Dis-approve	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Favor	Oppose	(VOL.) DK/Ref	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
TOTAL	49	42	10	39	48	13	1504
SEX							
Men	47	44	9	37	50	12	657
Women	50	39	11	40	45	14	847
AGE							
18-49	54	36	10	42	43	15	664
50+	42	49	9	35	54	11	818
DETAILED AGE							
18-29	56	32	12	47	36	17	232
30-49	53	38	9	38	47	14	432
50-64	47	46	8	38	54	9	452
65+	35	54	10	31	54	15	366
SEX BY AGE							
Men 18-49	51	40	8	40	47	13	308
Men 50+	42	49	9	34	54	11	341
Women 18-49	57	31	12	43	39	18	356
Women 50+	43	49	9	36	53	11	477
RACE							
White NH	38	52	10	31	56	14	1124
Total Non-White	74	16	10	58	29	13	369
Black NH	88	6	6	63	25	12	147
EDUCATION							
College grad	48	44	8	37	55	7	526
Some college	52	38	11	39	45	16	385
HS or less	48	42	11	40	45	15	588
INCOME							
\$75,000+	48	46	6	38	57	5	403
\$30,000-\$74,999	46	45	9	35	53	12	480
<\$30,000	55	34	11	46	36	18	392
DETAILED INCOME							
\$100,000+	48	47	5	40	55	5	234
\$75,000-\$99,999	47	46	7	34	60	6	169
\$50,000-\$74,999	51	43	6	39	54	7	211
\$30,000-\$49,999	43	46	11	32	52	16	269
<\$30,000	55	34	11	46	36	18	392
REGISTERED VOTER	45	46	9	36	53	10	1214
PARTY ID							
Republican	15	77	7	12	79	10	359
Democrat	84	9	7	63	24	12	484
Independent	39	49	12	34	51	15	605
PARTY AND IDEOLOGY							
Conservative Republican	7	89	4	7	86	7	242
Mod/Lib Republican	32	55	13	21	67	13	109
Mod/Cons Democrat	82	13	6	61	27	12	308
Liberal Democrat	90	3	6	72	18	9	156

PRESIDENTIAL JOB APPROVAL & HEALTH CARE TABLE

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?

Q.36 As of right now, do you generally favor or generally oppose the health care bills being discussed in Congress?

	Job Approval			Health Care Bills			(N)
	<u>Approve</u>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE							
Total White NH Prot.	30	60	10	26	60	14	613
White NH evang. Prot.	27	64	10	21	66	14	328
White NH mainline Prot.	35	56	9	33	52	14	284
Total Catholic	53	37	9	43	47	10	351
White NH Cath.	42	50	9	32	59	9	251
Unaffiliated	56	30	14	43	40	17	219
CHURCH ATTENDANCE							
More than once a week	35	55	9	31	58	11	210
Once a week	48	43	10	37	51	12	412
Once or twice a month	51	40	9	43	48	10	200
A few times a year	53	38	9	40	44	16	273
Seldom/Never	52	38	11	42	43	15	384
REGION							
Northeast	55	36	9	42	45	13	269
Midwest	46	40	14	35	49	16	376
South	48	45	7	37	51	12	574
West	48	43	9	44	43	13	285
MARITAL STATUS							
Married	44	47	8	37	53	10	800
Not married	54	35	11	41	42	17	693
MARITAL STATUS BY SEX							
Married men	41	51	8	34	55	10	370
Married women	47	44	9	40	51	10	430
Unmarried men	53	37	10	41	44	14	281
Unmarried women	54	34	12	41	40	19	412
AMONG REPUBLICANS							
Men	16	79	5	11	79	10	147
Women	15	76	9	12	79	9	212
18-49	21	72	7	14	78	8	145
50+	10	83	8	9	79	11	212
AMONG DEMOCRATS							
Men	84	9	6	64	26	10	178
Women	84	9	7	63	23	14	306
18-49	87	5	8	64	23	13	222
50+	80	15	4	62	26	12	258
AMONG INDEPENDENTS							
Men	39	50	11	33	54	13	310
Women	40	47	14	35	48	17	295
18-49	44	44	12	38	45	18	278
50+	32	56	12	29	60	11	312

PRESIDENTIAL JOB APPROVAL & HEALTH CARE TABLE

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?

Q.36 As of right now, do you generally favor or generally oppose the health care bills being discussed in Congress?

	Job Approval			Health Care Bills			(N)
	<u>Approve</u>	Dis-	(VOL.)	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	(VOL.)	
		%	<u>approve</u>		<u>DK/Ref</u>	%	
		%	%	%	%	%	
AMONG WHITES							
Men	36	55	9	29	58	13	481
Women	40	49	11	32	53	15	643
18-49	41	47	12	31	52	17	432
50+	35	57	8	30	59	11	681
College grad	45	48	7	34	59	7	433
Some college or less	35	54	11	29	54	17	686
\$75,000+	45	49	6	35	59	6	335
\$30,000-\$74,999	36	55	8	27	62	12	363
<\$30,000	39	50	11	36	44	20	256
Republican	13	80	7	9	81	10	327
Democrat	78	14	8	58	27	15	282
Independent	33	55	12	30	56	14	476
East	48	42	9	36	51	13	210
Midwest	39	47	14	29	55	16	307
South	31	62	7	27	61	12	399
West	39	52	10	33	52	15	208

CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

Q9/10: If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?/ As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

	Rep/ lean Rep	Dem/ lean Dem	Other/ no lean	(VOL.) DK/Ref	(N)
	%	%	%	%	
ALL REGISTERED VOTERS	44	46	3	7	1214
SEX					
Men	45	42	4	9	507
Women	43	50	1	6	707
AGE					
18-49	41	51	3	5	460
50+	47	41	3	9	733
DETAILED AGE					
18-29	33	58	3	6	127
30-49	44	48	3	5	333
50-64	43	45	3	8	410
65+	52	36	3	9	323
SEX BY AGE					
Men 18-49	41	47	3	8	199
Men 50+	48	37	6	9	300
Women 18-49	40	55	2	3	261
Women 50+	46	45	1	8	433
RACE					
White NH	52	38	3	8	950
Total Non-White	20	73	2	5	254
Black NH	8	89	0	3	116
EDUCATION					
College grad	50	43	2	5	472
Some college	44	44	3	9	314
HS or less	39	50	4	8	425
INCOME					
\$75,000+	49	42	2	6	368
\$30,000-\$74,999	45	43	4	9	380
<\$30,000	34	56	2	7	278
DETAILED INCOME					
\$100,000+	52	42	1	5	209
\$75,000-\$99,999	45	43	5	7	159
\$50,000-\$74,999	44	43	4	10	174
\$30,000-\$49,999	46	42	4	8	206
<\$30,000	34	56	2	7	278
PARTY ID					
Republican	94	4	0	2	321
Democrat	6	91	0	2	398
Independent	45	35	6	14	455
PARTY AND IDEOLOGY					
Conservative Republican	98	1	1	1	223
Mod/Lib Republican	85	10	0	4	92
Mod/Cons Democrat	8	89	0	3	252
Liberal Democrat	3	95	0	1	131

CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE (CONT.)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

Q9/10: If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?/As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

	Rep/ lean Rep	Dem/ lean Dem	Other/ no lean	(VOL.) DK/Ref	(N)
	%	%	%	%	
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE					
Total White NH Prot.	58	31	2	9	530
White NH evang. Prot.	68	23	2	7	283
White NH mainline Prot.	46	40	3	11	246
Total Catholic	46	44	3	7	282
White NH Cath.	54	35	3	9	220
Unaffiliated	31	58	3	7	166
CHURCH ATTENDANCE					
More than once a week	54	37	3	6	182
Once a week	51	39	5	6	353
Once or twice a month	46	46	2	7	161
A few times a year	39	54	1	6	209
Seldom/Never	36	51	3	10	290
REGION					
Northeast	41	48	4	7	216
Midwest	42	46	3	9	319
South	47	44	2	7	461
West	44	48	3	5	218
MARITAL STATUS					
Married	49	40	4	7	694
Not married	36	55	2	7	511
MARITAL STATUS BY SEX					
Married men	48	37	6	9	317
Married women	50	42	2	6	377
Unmarried men	39	49	3	9	185
Unmarried women	34	59	1	6	326
AMONG REPUBLICANS					
Men	91	5	1	3	130
Women	96	3	0	1	191
18-49	92	6	0	2	122
50+	97	2	1	0	197
AMONG DEMOCRATS					
Men	7	90	1	2	138
Women	5	92	0	2	260
18-49	5	94	0	1	163
50+	7	88	0	4	231
AMONG INDEPENDENTS					
Men	43	32	8	16	221
Women	46	37	5	12	234
18-49	40	43	7	11	166
50+	49	28	7	17	275

CONGRESSIONAL TRIAL HEAT TABLE (CONT.)

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

Q9/10: If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for the Republican Party's candidate or the Democratic Party's candidate for Congress in your district?/As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican or the Democrat?

	Rep/ <u>lean Rep</u> %	Dem/ <u>lean Dem</u> %	Other/ no lean %	(VOL.) DK/Ref %	(N)
AMONG WHITES					
Men	53	32	4	10	394
Women	51	42	2	6	556
18-49	48	43	3	7	328
50+	55	33	3	9	611
College grad	53	40	1	5	399
Some college or less	51	36	4	9	548
\$75,000+	52	40	2	6	312
\$30,000-\$74,999	53	35	3	9	302
<\$30,000	47	39	4	10	191
Republican	95	3	0	2	296
Democrat	5	91	0	4	244
Independent	48	32	6	14	381
East	47	41	4	8	174
Midwest	47	41	3	9	265
South	59	30	2	8	336
West	49	42	3	5	175

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
JANUARY 2010 POLITICAL SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
January 6-10, 2010
N=1,504

RANDOMIZE Q.1/Q.1a BLOCK AND Q.2

ASK ALL:

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	49	42	10
Dec 9-13, 2009	49	40	11
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	36	13
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	52	36	12
Sep 10-15, 2009	55	33	13
Aug 20-27, 2009	52	37	12
Aug 11-17, 2009	51	37	11
Jul 22-26, 2009	54	34	12
Jun 10-14, 2009	61	30	9
Apr 14-21, 2009	63	26	11
Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	61	26	13
Mar 9-12, 2009	59	26	15
Feb 4-8, 2009	64	17	19

ASK IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (1,2 IN Q.1) [N=1355]:

Q.1a Do you [approve/disapprove] very strongly, or not so strongly?

BASED ON TOTAL:

<u>Jan 6-10</u> <u>2010</u>		<u>Apr 14-21</u> <u>2009</u>
49	Approve	63
30	Very strongly	45
15	Not so strongly	13
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5
42	Disapprove	26
30	Very strongly	18
11	Not so strongly	8
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	11

RANDOMIZE Q.1/Q.1a BLOCK AND Q.2

ASK ALL:

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

	Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>		Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	27	69	4	October, 2003	38	56	6
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	25	67	7	August, 2003	40	53	7
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	25	67	7	April 8, 2003	50	41	9
Sep 10-15, 2009 ¹	30	64	7	January, 2003	44	50	6
Aug 20-27, 2009	28	65	7	November, 2002	41	48	11
Aug 11-17, 2009	28	65	7	September, 2002	41	55	4
Jul 22-26, 2009	28	66	6	Late August, 2002	47	44	9
Jun 10-14, 2009	30	64	5	May, 2002	44	44	12
Apr 28-May 12, 2009	34	58	8	March, 2002	50	40	10
Apr 14-21, 2009	23	70	7	Late September, 2001	57	34	9
Jan 7-11, 2009	20	73	7	Early September, 2001	41	53	6
December, 2008	13	83	4	June, 2001	43	52	5
Early October, 2008	11	86	3	March, 2001	47	45	8
Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6	February, 2001	46	43	11
August, 2008	21	74	5	January, 2001	55	41	4
July, 2008	19	74	7	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7
June, 2008	19	76	5	September, 2000	51	41	8
Late May, 2008	18	76	6	June, 2000	47	45	8
March, 2008	22	72	6	April, 2000	48	43	9
Early February, 2008	24	70	6	August, 1999	56	39	5
Late December, 2007	27	66	7	January, 1999	53	41	6
October, 2007	28	66	6	November, 1998	46	44	10
February, 2007	30	61	9	Early September, 1998	54	42	4
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7	Late August, 1998	55	41	4
Early January, 2007	30	63	7	Early August, 1998	50	44	6
December, 2006	28	65	7	February, 1998	59	37	4
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8	January, 1998	46	50	4
Early October, 2006	30	63	7	September, 1997	45	49	6
July, 2006	30	65	5	August, 1997	49	46	5
May, 2006*	29	65	6	January, 1997	38	58	4
March, 2006	32	63	5	July, 1996	29	67	4
January, 2006	34	61	5	March, 1996	28	70	2
Late November, 2005	34	59	7	October, 1995	23	73	4
Early October, 2005	29	65	6	June, 1995	25	73	2
July, 2005	35	58	7	April, 1995	23	74	3
Late May, 2005*	39	57	4	July, 1994	24	73	3
February, 2005	38	56	6	March, 1994	24	71	5
January, 2005	40	54	6	October, 1993	22	73	5
December, 2004	39	54	7	September, 1993	20	75	5
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6	May, 1993	22	71	7
July, 2004	38	55	7	January, 1993	39	50	11
May, 2004	33	61	6	January, 1992	28	68	4
Late February, 2004*	39	55	6	November, 1991	34	61	5
Early January, 2004	45	48	7	Late February, 1991 (Gallup)	66	31	3
December, 2003	44	47	9	August, 1990	47	48	5
				May, 1990	41	54	5
				January, 1989	45	50	5
				September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5

1 From September 10-15, 2009 and other surveys noted with an asterisk, the question was worded "Overall, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in our country today?"

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=740]:

Q.AF2 What ONE WORD best describes your impression of Barack Obama? Just the one word that best describes him. [OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE].

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

<u>January, 2010</u>	<u>Mid-April, 2009</u>	<u>February, 2009</u>	<u>--Based on RVs-- September, 2008</u>
25 Intelligent	30 Intelligent	33 Intelligent/Intellectual	55 Inexperienced
21 Inexperienced	29 Good	17 Change	36 Change
21 Trying	20 Socialist	16 Honest	20 Intelligent/Intellectual
18 Good	17 Liberal	15 Confident	20 Young/Youthful
15 Socialist	16 Great	15 Inexperienced	15 Charismatic
12 Honest	15 Confident	14 Hope/Hopeful	14 New
12 Unqualified	13 Inexperienced	13 Smart	12 Energetic/Energy
11 Arrogant	12 Honest	13 Socialist	12 Hope/Hopeful
11 Fair	12 Trying	12 Good	12 Liberal
11 Incompetent	11 Smart	11 Charismatic	10 Honest
10 Confident	10 Change	10 Great	9 Fresh
10 Different	10 Competent	9 Fantastic	9 Scary
10 Strong	10 Excellent	9 Leader	8 Different
8 Change	10 Spender/Spending	9 Trying	7 Enthusiastic
8 Great	9 Arrogant	8 Determined	7 Unqualified
7 OK	9 Hope/Hopeful	8 Different	6 Committed
7 Smart	8 Charismatic	8 Liberal	6 Good
6 Capable	8 President/Presidential	8 President	6 Innovative
6 Disappointing	7 Different	8 Sincere	6 Inspiring/Inspiration
6 Excellent	7 Leader	7 Arrogant	6 Liar
6 Fake	5 Caring/Cares	7 Awesome	6 Socialist
6 Leader	5 Determined	7 Competent	5 Dishonest
6 Liar	5 Efficient	7 Energetic	5 Fake
5 Charismatic	5 Strong	6 Dedicated	5 Leader
5 Communist	5 Young	6 Excellent	5 Phony
5 Idiot	4 Ambitious	6 Fresh/Refreshing	5 Unknown
5 Liberal	4 Awesome	6 Naive	4 Arrogant
5 President	4 Capable	5 Committed	4 Idealist
4 Clueless	4 Impressed	5 New	4 Interesting
4 Competent	4 Incompetent	5 Outstanding	4 Opportunist
4 Dedicated	4 Integrity	5 Young	4 Uncertain
4 Determined	4 Naive	4 Amazing	(N=629)
4 Dishonest	4 Politician	4 Capable	
4 Hopeful	(N=742)	4 Dynamic	
4 Integrity		4 Enthusiastic	
4 Young		4 Fair	
(N=740)		4 Integrity	
		4 OK	
		4 Good speaker	
		4 Strong	
		4 Surprising	
		(N=660)	

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=764]:

Q.3F1 In the long run, do you think Barack Obama will be a successful or unsuccessful president, or do you think it is too early to tell?

		<u>Successful</u>	<u>Unsuccessful</u>	<u>Too early to tell</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Obama	Jan 6-10, 2010	24	21	52	3
Obama	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	27	18	54	2
Obama	Jan 7-11, 2009	30	4	65	1
Bush	January, 2007	24	45	27	4
Bush	January, 2006	27	37	32	4
Bush	Early October, 2005	26	41	30	3
Bush	January, 2005	36	27	35	2
Bush	December, 2003	39	20	38	3
Bush	Early October, 2002	40	15	44	1
Bush	January, 2001	26	15	58	1
Clinton	January, 1999	44	24	29	3
Clinton	Early September, 1998	38	24	35	3
Clinton	February, 1995	18	34	43	5
Clinton	October, 1994	14	35	48	3
Clinton	May, 1994	21	26	52	1
Clinton	January, 1994	21	19	57	3
Clinton	October, 1993	18	25	56	1
Clinton	September, 1993	22	22	54	2
Clinton	August, 1993	13	25	60	2

QUESTION 4F1 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE.

RANDOMIZE Q.5 AND Q.6

ASK ALL:

Q.5 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Republican leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	27	57	16	June, 1999	37	46	17
Dec 9-13, 2009	29	51	20	May, 1999	38	44	18
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	24	60	17	March, 1999	38	47	15
Jun 10-14, 2009	29	56	15	February, 1999	37	51	12
Mar 9-12, 2009	28	51	21	January, 1999	38	50	12
Feb 4-8, 2009	34	51	15	Early December, 1998	38	49	13
Early October, 2006	33	56	11	November, 1998	41	48	11
June, 2006	30	53	17	Early September, 1998	44	37	19
March, 2006	32	50	18	Early August, 1998	43	37	20
January, 2006	33	52	15	June, 1998	42	38	20
Early November, 2005	33	50	17	May, 1998	40	41	19
Early October, 2005	32	52	16	April, 1998	41	40	19
Mid-September, 2005	36	49	15	March, 1998	43	39	18
Mid-May, 2005	35	50	15	January, 1998	43	41	16
Mid-March, 2005	39	44	17	November, 1997	41	43	16
Early February, 2004	41	42	17	August, 1997	42	44	14
January, 2003	48	37	15	June, 1997	33	50	17
June, 2002	50	34	16	May, 1997	40	44	16
May, 2002	49	34	17	April, 1997	40	44	16
February, 2002	56	24	20	February, 1997	44	42	14
Early September, 2001	43	39	18	January, 1997	38	47	15
June, 2001	40	40	20	November, 1996	40	43	17
May, 2001	45	36	19	July, 1996	38	48	14
April, 2001	45	30	25	June, 1996	36	50	14
January, 2001	43	36	21	April, 1996	39	46	15
July, 2000	36	46	18	March, 1996	35	51	14
May, 2000	40	42	18	February, 1996	33	53	14
March, 2000	38	43	19	January, 1996	36	54	10
February, 2000	40	43	17	October, 1995	36	51	13
January, 2000	39	41	20	September, 1995	36	50	14
December, 1999	38	42	20	August, 1995	38	45	17
October, 1999	34	50	16	June, 1995	41	45	14
Late September, 1999	34	46	20	April, 1995	44	43	13
August, 1999	40	44	16	March, 1995	43	39	18
July, 1999	36	45	19	December, 1994	52	28	20

RANDOMIZE Q.5 AND Q.6

ASK ALL:

Q.6 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the Democratic leaders in Congress are doing? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the Democratic leaders in Congress are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	35	53	11
Dec 9-13, 2009	36	47	17
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	33	53	15
Jun 10-14, 2009	42	45	13
Mar 9-12, 2009	47	35	18
Feb 4-8, 2009	48	38	14
August, 2008	31	58	11
January, 2008	31	53	16
November, 2007	35	50	15
October, 2007	31	54	15
July, 2007	33	54	13
June, 2007	34	49	17
April, 2007	36	43	21
March, 2007 ²	37	42	21
February, 2007	41	36	23
Mid-January, 2007	39	34	27
Early October, 2006	35	53	12
June, 2006	32	50	18
March, 2006	34	46	20
January, 2006	34	48	18
Early November, 2005	36	44	20
Early October, 2005	32	48	20
Mid-September, 2005	36	45	19
Mid-May, 2005	39	41	20
Mid-March, 2005	37	44	19
Early February, 2004	38	42	20
June, 2002	47	36	17
May, 2002	42	37	21
February, 2002	49	30	21
Early September, 2001	49	30	21
June, 2001	50	28	22

2 In March 2007 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Democratic leaders in Congress?"

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Looking ahead, so far as you are concerned, do you think that 2010 will be better or worse than 2009?
[PROMPT IF NECESSARY: “Just in general...]

		<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
	Jan 6-10, 2010	67	26	8
	Jan 7-11, 2009	52	37	11
	December, 2007	50	34	16
	December, 2006	57	28	15
	December, 1999	66	19	15
	December, 1998	59	25	16
	December, 1994	59	28	13
Gallup	December, 1993	64	20	16
Gallup	December, 1992	61	11	28
Gallup	December, 1991	61	31	8
Gallup	December, 1990	48	42	10
Gallup	December, 1986	53	25	22
Gallup	December, 1985	64	20	17
Gallup	December, 1984	61	20	19
Gallup	December, 1982	50	32	18
Gallup	December, 1981	41	44	15

ASK ALL:

Q.8 I am going to read you a list of events that will occur in the coming year. As I read each one, please tell me if this is an event you are especially looking forward to, or not. The first one is... **[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE]** How about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[REPEAT AS NECESSARY ... please tell me if this is something you are especially looking forward to or not.]**

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a.	The 2010 mid-term Congressional elections			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	50	47	3
	TREND FOR COMPARISON:			
	December, 2007: <i>Presidential Election</i>	70	28	2
	January, 1988	74	23	3
b.	The Winter Olympics			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	61	38	1
	TREND FOR COMPARISON:			
	December, 2007: <i>The Olympics</i>	52	46	2
	January, 1988	71	25	4
c.	The Super Bowl			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	58	40	1
	December, 2007	49	50	1
	January, 1988	55	42	3
d.	The World Cup soccer tournament			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	23	76	1
e.	The Academy Awards			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	31	67	2
	December, 2007	34	65	1
	January, 1988	43	53	4

ASK ALL:

The next congressional elections will be coming up later this year...

Q.9 If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held TODAY, would you vote for [RANDOMIZE: “the Republican Party’s candidate” OR “the Democratic Party’s candidate”] for Congress in your district?

ASK IF ANSWERED OTHER OR DON’T KNOW (Q.9=3 OR Q.9=9):

Q.10 As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.9]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,214]:

	Rep/ <u>Lean Rep</u>	Dem/ <u>Lean Dem</u>	Other/ <u>Undecided</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	44	46	10
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	42	47	11
Aug 20-27, 2009	44	45	10
2008 Election			
June, 2008	37	52	11
2006 Election			
November, 2006	40	48	12
Late October, 2006	38	49	13
Early October, 2006	38	51	11
September, 2006	39	50	11
August, 2006	41	50	9
June, 2006	39	51	10
April, 2006	41	51	8
February, 2006	41	50	9
Mid-September, 2005	40	52	8
2004 Election			
June, 2004	41	48	11
2002 Election			
Early November, 2002	42	46	12
Early October, 2002	44	46	10
Early September, 2002	44	46	10
June, 2002	44	46	10
February, 2002	46	45	9
Early November, 2001	44	44	12
2000 Election			
Early November, 2000	42	48	10
Early October, 2000	43	47	10
July, 2000	43	47	10
February, 2000	44	47	9
October, 1999	43	49	8
June, 1999	40	50	10
1998 Election			
Late October, 1998	40	47	13
Early October, 1998	43	44	13
Early September, 1998	45	46	9
Late August, 1998	44	45	11
Early August, 1998	42	49	9
June, 1998	44	46	10
March, 1998	40	52	8
February, 1998	41	50	9
January, 1998	41	51	8
August, 1997	45	48	7

Q.9/Q.10 CONTINUED...

	Rep/ <u>Lean Rep</u>	Dem/ <u>Lean Dem</u>	Other/ <u>Undecided</u>
1996 Election			
November, 1996 ³	44	48	8
October, 1996	42	49	9
Late September, 1996	43	49	8
Early September, 1996	43	51	6
July, 1996	46	47	7
June, 1996	44	50	6
March, 1996	44	49	7
January, 1996	46	47	7
October, 1995	48	48	4
August, 1995	50	43	7
1994 Election			
November, 1994	45	43	12
Late October, 1994	47	44	9
Early October, 1994	52	40	8
September, 1994	48	46	6
July, 1994	45	47	8

ASK ALL:

Thinking about some issues...

Q.11 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] How about [NEXT ITEM]?

	<u>Approve</u>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a. The economy			
Jan 6-10, 2010	42	51	7
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	42	52	5
Jul 22-26, 2009	38	53	9
Jun 10-14, 2009	52	40	8
Apr 14-21, 2009	60	33	7
Feb 4-8, 2009	56	24	20
b. Health care policy			
Jan 6-10, 2010	38	52	10
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	43	47	10
Jul 22-26, 2009	42	43	14
Apr 14-21, 2009	51	26	23
c. The threat of terrorism			
Jan 6-10, 2010	51	39	10
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 ⁴	52	34	14
Apr 14-21, 2009	57	26	17
Feb 4-8, 2009	50	21	29

3 November 1996 trends based on likely voters.

4 In surveys conducted Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009 and prior to 2009, the item was worded "Terrorist threats".

Q.11 CONTINUED...

		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=764]:				
d.F1	The nation's foreign policy			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	44	40	16
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	44	38	18
	July 22-26, 2009	47	32	21
	June 10-14, 2009	57	31	12
	April 14-21, 2009	61	22	17
	February 4-8, 2009	52	17	31
e.F1	The nation's immigration policy			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	30	50	21
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	31	48	21
f.F1	Energy policy			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	45	35	20
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	50	34	16
	Jul 22-26, 2009	46	31	22
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=740]:				
g.F2	The federal budget deficit			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	32	58	11
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	31	58	11
	July 22-26, 2009	32	53	15
	April 14-21, 2009	50	38	12
h.F2	The situation in Iraq			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	45	44	10
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	41	48	12
	July 22-26, 2009	47	38	15
i.F2	The situation in Afghanistan			
	Jan 6-10, 2010	45	43	12
	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	36	49	15
	July 22-26, 2009	47	33	19

ASK ALL:

Q.12 As I read some pairs of opposite phrases, please tell me which one best reflects your impression of Barack Obama. (First,) does Barack Obama impress you as... **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
a.	61	Trustworthy [OR]	64	76
	31	NOT trustworthy	30	15
	2	Neither particularly (VOL.)	2	1
	5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	8

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
b.	77	Warm and friendly [OR]	78	87
	16	Cold and aloof	16	8
	3	Neither particularly (VOL.)	2	2
	4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	3

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
c.	83	A good communicator [OR]	83	92
	14	NOT a good communicator	13	6
	1	Neither particularly (VOL.)	1	*
	2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	2

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
d.	57	Able to get things done [OR]	58	70
	35	NOT able to get things done	31	15
	3	Neither particularly (VOL.)	3	2
	5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8	13

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
e.	69	Well informed [OR]	70	79
	26	NOT well informed	23	15
	1	Neither particularly (VOL.)	2	1
	4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	5

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
f.	70	Well organized [OR]	69	81
	23	NOT well organized	22	12
	2	Neither particularly (VOL.)	1	1
	5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7	6

NO ITEM g

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
h.	64	Someone who cares about people like me [OR]	68	81
	30	Someone who doesn't care about people like me	25	14
	1	Neither particularly (VOL.)	1	1
	4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	6	4

Q.12 CONTINUED...

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
i.	62	A strong leader [OR]	65	77
	32	NOT a strong leader	29	13
	2	Neither particularly (VOL.)	2	1
	3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	9

NO ITEM j

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u>
k.	42	Liberal	44	38
	36	Middle of the road [OR]	36	40
	14	Conservative	9	13
	1	None particularly (VOL.)	2	2
	7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	9	7

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=764]:

Q.13F1 In making important decisions, do you think Barack Obama is [RANDOMIZE: too impulsive, too cautious], or about right?

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>	
	26	Too impulsive
	20	Too cautious
	46	About right
	8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

NO QUESTIONS 14-16

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=740]:

Q.17F2 Compared with the Bush Administration, do you think the policies of the Obama Administration have made the United States [READ AND RANDOMIZE WITH "HAVEN'T THEY MADE A DIFFERENCE" LAST]?

	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Jun 10-14 <u>2009</u>
	28	Safer from terrorism	28
	22	Less safe from terrorism [OR]	21
	46	Haven't they made a difference	44
	5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7

ASK ALL:

Thinking more generally ...

Q.18 In dealing with important issues facing the country, are [RANDOMIZE; Barack Obama and Republican leaders in Congress, Republican leaders in Congress and Barack Obama] working together or not working together?

ASK IF 'NOT WORKING TOGETHER' (Q.18=2) [N=1082]:

Q.19 Who do you think is most to blame for them not working together? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Aug 11-17 <u>2009</u>	Jun 10-14 <u>2009</u>	Feb 4-8 <u>2009</u> ⁵
25	Working together	24	39	43
67	Not working together	63	50	45
19	Barack Obama to blame	17	12	7
32	Republican leaders in Congress to blame	29	26	27
9	Both to blame (VOL.)	9	9	5
2	Neither to blame (VOL.)	1	1	1
2	Other to blame (VOL.)	2	1	3
3	Don't know who is to blame (VOL.)	4	2	2
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	13	11	12

NO QUESTIONS 20-29

QUESTIONS 30aF1-wF2 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE.

5 In February 2009, question was worded: "In developing a plan to stimulate the economy and create jobs. ..."

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) No <u>preference</u>	(VOL.) Other <u>party</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref	<i>Lean</i> <u>Rep</u>	<i>Lean</i> <u>Dem</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	22	33	42	2	1	2	17	16
Dec 9-13, 2009	25	32	38	2	*	2	14	15
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	27	35	32	3	*	2	13	13
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	23	34	37	3	1	3	16	14
Sep 10-15, 2009	23	34	34	4	*	5	13	17
Aug 20-27, 2009	26	32	36	3	*	3	14	16
Aug 11-17, 2009	23	33	38	3	*	3	16	15
Jul 22-26, 2009	22	34	37	5	*	2	15	14
Jun 10-14, 2009	25	34	34	3	*	3	11	16
Apr 28-May 12, 2009	23	39	29	4	*	4	9	14
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	22	33	39	3	*	3	13	18
Mar 9-12, 2009	24	34	35	5	*	2	12	17
Feb 4-8, 2009	24	36	34	3	1	2	13	17
Jan 7-11, 2009	25	37	33	3	*	2	11	16
Yearly Totals								
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.3	35.8	31.7	3.8	.3	3.1	10.5	15.4
2007	25.4	32.9	33.7	4.6	.4	3.1	10.7	16.7
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8	10.2	14.9
2004	29.7	33.4	29.8	3.9	.4	2.9	11.7	13.4
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1	11.7	12.5
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3	12.3	13.8
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2	--	--	12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4	--	--	14.4	12.9
1994	29.8	31.8	33.8	4.6	--	--	14.3	12.6
1993	27.4	33.8	34.0	4.8	--	--	11.8	14.7
1992	27.7	32.7	35.7	3.9	--	--	13.8	15.8
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5	--	--	14.6	10.8
1990	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8	--	--	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

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

Q.31 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 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=553]:

		BASED ON VOTERS	
Jan 6-10		Nov 6-9 ⁶	
<u>2010</u>		<u>2008</u>	
55	Conservative	60	
38	Moderate	35	
3	No change (VOL.)	1	
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	4	

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

Q.32 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 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=548]:

		BASED ON VOTERS	
Jan 6-10		Nov 6-9 ⁷	
<u>2010</u>		<u>2008</u>	
33	Liberal	33	
56	Moderate	57	
3	No change (VOL.)	2	
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8	

NO QUESTIONS 33-34

ASK ALL:

Now thinking about health care...

Q.35 How much, if anything, have you heard about the bills in Congress to overhaul the health care system?
Have you heard...[READ]

Jan 6-10		Dec 9-13	Oct 28-Nov 8	Sep 30-Oct 4	Sep 10-15	Aug 20-27	Jul 22-26
<u>2010</u>		<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>2009</u>
46	A lot	51	49	46	60	53	41
45	A little [OR]	39	42	43	34	40	47
8	Nothing at all	9	7	10	5	7	10
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	1	1	1	1

6 Data from post-election callback survey of people who reported voting in the 2008 election.

7 Data from post-election callback survey of people who reported voting in the 2008 election.

ASK ALL:

Q.36 As of right now, do you generally favor or generally oppose the health care bills being discussed in Congress?

ASK IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE (Q.36=1,2) [N=1317]:

Q.36a Do you (favor/oppose) these health care bills very strongly, or not so strongly?⁸

		Dec 9-13 <u>2009</u>	Nov 12-15 <u>2009</u>	Oct 28- Nov 8 <u>2009</u>	Sep 30- Oct 4 <u>2009</u>	Sep 10-15 <u>2009</u>	Aug 20-27 <u>2009</u>	Jul 22-26 <u>2009</u>
Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>								
39	Generally favor	35	42	38	34	42	39	38
23	Very strongly	--	--	--	20	29	25	--
14	Not so strongly	--	--	--	13	11	13	--
2	Don't know (how strongly)	--	--	--	1	2	1	--
48	Generally oppose	48	39	47	47	44	46	44
36	Very strongly	--	--	--	35	34	34	--
11	Not so strongly	--	--	--	11	10	12	--
1	Don't know (how strongly)	--	--	--	1	*	1	--
13	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	17	19	15	19	14	15	18

ASK ALL:

Q.37 Thinking about how the proposed changes to health care might affect you and your family ... If a health care bill becomes law, would [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE], get better, get worse or stay the same? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [REPEAT AS NECESSARY "If a health care bill becomes law, would [ITEM] get better, get worse or stay the same?"]

		<u>Get better</u>	<u>Get worse</u>	<u>Stay the same</u>	(VOL.) <u>Does not apply</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Your out-of-pocket health care costs Jan 6-10, 2010	21	40	28	1	9
b.	Your choice of doctors and hospitals Jan 6-10, 2010	16	34	40	1	9
c.	The quality of health care you receive Jan 6-10, 2010	18	33	41	*	8
d.	The length of time you wait for medical appointments Jan 6-10, 2010	14	40	36	1	10
e.	Your ability to get health insurance if you changed or lost a job Jan 6-10, 2010	33	26	26	7	9
f.	Your ability to get health insurance if you have a pre-existing condition Jan 6-10, 2010	39	21	29	2	9

8 From December 9-13, 2009 and earlier, questions 36 and 36a asked about "health care proposals" rather than "health care bills".

ASK ALL:

Q.38 Who do you trust more when it comes to deciding what kinds of medical procedures should be covered by health insurance? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Jul 22-26 <u>2009</u>
45	Private insurance companies [OR]	38
31	The government	32
1	Both (VOL.)	1
16	Neither (VOL.)	19
3	Other (VOL.)	2
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	8

ASK ALL:

Q.39 Are you, yourself, now covered by any form of health insurance or health plan or are you not covered at this time? **[READ IF NECESSARY: A health plan would include any private insurance plan through your employer or a plan that you purchased yourself, as well as a government program like Medicare or Medicaid]**⁹

ASK IF COVERED IN Q.39 (Q.39=1) [N=1,323]:

Q.40 What is your main source of health coverage? **[PAUSE]** Do you have a plan through an employer, a plan you purchased yourself, are you covered by Medicare or Medicaid, some other government program, or do you get your health insurance from somewhere else?¹⁰

Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Dec 9-13 <u>2009</u>	Oct 28-Nov 8 <u>2009</u>	Sep 30-Oct 4 <u>2009</u>	Jul 22-26 <u>2009</u>	Jun 10-14 <u>2009</u>
83	Covered by health insurance	83	80	80	81	81
46	Plan through an employer	--	--	48	45	--
9	Plan you purchased yourself	--	--	8	9	--
16	Medicare	--	--	13	14	--
4	Medicaid	--	--	4	3	--
5	Other government program	--	--	4	4	--
3	Somewhere else	--	--	3	4	--
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	--	--	1	1	--
17	Not covered by health insurance	16	20	20	19	18
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	*	*	*	*

QUESTION 41 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE.

NO QUESTIONS 42-44

9 In 2009, question read "Are you, yourself, now covered by any form of health insurance or health plan or do you not have health insurance at this time?"

10 In 2009, question read "Which of the following is your MAIN source of health insurance coverage? Is it a plan through an employer, a plan you purchased yourself, are you covered by Medicare or Medicaid, some other government program, or do you get your health insurance from somewhere else?"

ASK ALL:

Thinking about the issue of terrorism for a moment...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=764]:

Q.45F1 Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11th terrorist attacks?

	<u>Greater</u>	<u>The same</u>	<u>Less</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	33	35	29	3
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	29	38	29	4
Feb 4-8, 2009	17	44	35	4
Mid-September, 2008	18	43	36	3
Late-February, 2008	16	41	39	4
December, 2006	23	41	31	5
August, 2006	25	37	33	5
January, 2006	17	39	39	5
Late-October, 2005	26	41	29	4
July, 2005	28	40	29	3
July, 2004	24	39	34	3
Late-August, 2002	22	39	34	5

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=740]:

Q.46F2 In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism?

[READ]

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Jan 6-10, 2010	15	50	21	12	2
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	20	53	14	8	4
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	19	56	15	5	5
Feb 4-8, 2009	22	49	16	6	7
Late February, 2008	21	45	19	12	3
January, 2007	17	37	27	17	2
December, 2006	17	48	21	11	3
August, 2006	22	52	16	8	2
February, 2006	16	52	20	10	2
January, 2006	16	50	20	9	5
Late October, 2005	17	50	22	9	2
July, 2005	17	53	19	8	3
July, 2004	18	53	17	8	4
August, 2003	19	56	16	7	2
Early November, 2002 (RVs)	15	54	19	8	4
June, 2002	16	60	16	4	4
Early November, 2001	35	46	9	5	5
October 15-21, 2001	38	46	9	4	3
October 10-14, 2001	48	40	6	2	4

ASK ALL:

Q.47 What concerns you more about the government’s anti-terrorism policies? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]:**
That they have gone too far in restricting the average person’s civil liberties [OR] That they have not gone far enough to adequately protect the country

	Have gone too far in restricting <u>civil liberties</u>	Have not gone far enough <u>to protect county</u>	(VOL.) Both/Neither/ Approve <u>of policies</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Jan 6-10, 2010	27	58	8	8
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	36	40	13	11
Feb 4-8, 2009 ¹¹	36	42	9	13
Late February, 2008	36	47	9	8
August, 2006	26	55	11	8
February, 2006	33	50	10	7
January, 2006	33	46	12	9
Late October, 2005	34	48	10	8
July, 2005	31	52	10	7
July, 2004	29	49	11	11

ASK ALL:

Q.48 As an increased security measure, would you favor or oppose requiring that all airport passengers are subject to whole-body scans that can see through clothing?

Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>	
74	Favor
22	Oppose
4	Don’t know/Refused (VOL.)

QUESTIONS QC.1-QC.10 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE.

ASK ALL:

PVOTE08A In the 2008 presidential election between Barack Obama and John McCain, did things come up that kept you from voting, or did you happen to vote?

IF YES (1 IN PVOTE08A) ASK [N=1218]:

PVOTE08B Did you vote for Obama, McCain or someone else?

BASED ON TOTAL:

Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>		Mar 31-Apr 21 <u>2009</u>
75	Voted	78
38	Obama	40
29	McCain	28
3	Other candidate	4
5	Don’t remember which candidate/Refused (VOL.)	6
24	Did not vote (includes too young to vote)	22
1	Don't remember if voted/ Refused (VOL.)	*

11 In February 2009 the question asked whether the policies “go too far in restricting the average person’s civil liberties” or “do not go far enough to adequately protect the country.”