



THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER  
For The People & The Press

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 18, 2012

Paul Polls at 18% as Third Party Candidate

---

## Unpopular Nationally, Romney Holds Solid GOP Lead

---

**FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:**

**Andrew Kohut**

President, Pew Research Center

**Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock**

Associate Directors

**Scott Keeter**

Director of Survey Research

1615 L St, N.W., Suite 700

Washington, D.C. 20036

Tel (202) 419-4350

Fax (202) 419-4399

[www.people-press.org](http://www.people-press.org)

---

## Paul Polls 18% as Third-Party Candidate

# Unpopular Nationally, Romney Holds Solid GOP Lead

Days ahead of the South Carolina primary, Mitt Romney maintains a substantial lead nationally in the race for the GOP nomination. Yet his image among all voters has slipped since November and he runs no better in a general election matchup with Barack Obama than he did then, despite his advantage as the “electable” Republican candidate.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Jan. 11-16 among 1,207 registered voters, including 527 Republican and Republican-leaning independent voters, finds that Romney nearly doubles the support of his closest competitors for the Republican nomination.

Currently, 31% of Republican and Republican-leaning voters support Romney, compared with 16% for Newt Gingrich, 15% for Ron Paul, 14% for Rick Santorum and 5% for Rick Perry. The preferences of GOP voters are little changed since shortly before the New Hampshire primary.

Among all voters, however, Romney’s image is negative. In fact, slightly fewer voters have a favorable opinion of Romney than did so in November (33% now, 38% then); nearly half of voters (47%) say they have an unfavorable impression of the former Massachusetts governor.

---

### Romney In Command, But His Overall Image Is Unfavorable

#### Rep/Lean Rep RVs

	Jan 4-8	Jan 11-16
<i>GOP nomination preference ...</i>	%	%
Mitt Romney	27	31
Newt Gingrich	16	16
Ron Paul	12	15
Rick Santorum	16	14
Rick Perry	6	5
Jon Huntsman	2	2
Other/None/DK	<u>19</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100

#### All voters

	Nov 9-14	Jan 11-16
<i>View of Mitt Romney</i>		
Favorable	38	33
Unfavorable	45	47
Can't rate/DK	<u>17</u>	<u>20</u>
	100	100
<i>If 2012 election is between ...</i>		
Barack Obama	49	50
Mitt Romney	47	45
Other/ DK	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jan. 11-16, 2012. Based on registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

---

Romney continues to run about even with Obama in a general election matchup, even though Obama's job disapproval rating has edged up since December. Currently, 48% of the public disapproves of the way Obama is handling his job as president while 44% approve. Last month, 46% approved and 43% disapproved.

In a general election matchup, 50% of registered voters say they would vote for Obama while 45% support Romney. That is little changed from November (49% Obama, 47% Romney), and early October (48% each).

The survey finds that a third-party campaign by Ron Paul would clearly work to Obama's advantage: In this scenario, 44% of registered voters say they would favor Obama, 32% would back Romney and 18% would back Paul. Paul has repeatedly said he is not contemplating a third-party run, but has not ruled it out. While most of Paul's backing in a three-person race comes from independent voters, they are independents who disproportionately lean Republican. A Paul candidacy would also appeal to many conservative Republicans, siphoning votes from the core Republican base as well.

---

### 3<sup>rd</sup>-Party Run by Paul Would Benefit Obama

*If 2012 election is between ...*

Barack Obama	50
Mitt Romney	45
Other/DK	<u>6</u>
	100

*Suppose Ron Paul ran as third-party candidate ...*

Barack Obama	44
Mitt Romney	32
Ron Paul	18
Other/DK	<u>6</u>
	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jan. 11-16, 2012. Q30 & Q31. Based on registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

---

## Romney's Strength - Electability

Romney holds an overwhelming advantage over his GOP rivals as the candidate viewed as having the best chance of defeating Obama. Fully 58% of Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters say that Romney has the best chance of beating Obama. Gingrich is a distant second (11%).

Republican voters have more mixed views of which candidate can best handle

several key issues, although Romney has significant advantages on improving job opportunities (33% vs. 14% Paul, 12% Gingrich) and reducing the federal budget deficit (29% vs. 20% Gingrich, 19% Paul).

Republican voters are divided about which candidate best reflects their views on social issues like abortion. One-in-five (20%) name Santorum, but nearly as many (18%) say Romney. Among white evangelical Republican and Republican-leaning voters, 30% say Santorum best reflects their views on social issues, compared with 16% who name Romney.

In addition, no candidate holds a significant advantage in dealing with immigration: 18% say Gingrich, 17% Romney, 14% Paul and 14% Perry.

---

### GOP Candidate Strengths and Weaknesses

	Best chance of beating Obama	Best on job creation	Best on deficit reduction	Best on social issues	Trust to handle foreign policy
<i>Among Rep/Rep-leaning voters</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Romney	58	33	29	18	25
Gingrich	11	12	20	12	33
Paul	5	14	19	14	10
Santorum	4	9	7	20	8
Perry	3	9	5	6	4
Other/None/DK	<u>4</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>20</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<b>Romney adv</b>	<b>+47</b>	<b>+19</b>	<b>+9</b>	<b>-2</b>	<b>-8</b>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jan. 11-16, 2012. Q29, Q56, Q57. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. N=527. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

---

There is only one issue – foreign policy – on which a candidate other than Romney leads. A third (33%) of Republican and Republican-leaning voters say they trust Gingrich most to handle America’s foreign policy while 25% name Romney. Among GOP voters who agree with the Tea Party, Gingrich leads Romney 42% to 23%; Republican voters who disagree with the Tea Party or have no opinion of the movement are divided (27% Romney, 25% Gingrich).

Ron Paul is named most frequently as the candidate Republican voters *do not* trust on foreign policy. Nearly a third (32%) volunteer Paul as the candidate they do not trust, far more than name any other candidate. Among Republican voters who have given a lot of thought to the 2012 candidates (56% of all Republican and Republican-leaning voters), nearly half (46%) volunteer Paul as the candidate they do not trust on foreign policy; among those who have given less thought to the candidates, just 13% name Paul.

---

### Paul Most Distrusted on Foreign Policy

<i>Candidate you do not trust on foreign policy ...</i>	Rep/Lean Rep RVs %
Ron Paul	32
Newt Gingrich	10
Rick Perry	7
Rick Santorum	4
Mitt Romney	4
None	25
Other/DK	24

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jan. 11-16, 2012. Q58. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Open-ended question, figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.

---

### Romney’s Image

Mitt Romney’s gains in the GOP horserace have not been accompanied by an improvement in his personal image. Among all voters, his favorability rating has slipped since November, from 38% to 33%. That is primarily because of a decline among Democratic voters (from 25% then to 14% today).

Romney’s favorability has changed little in recent months among Republican and independent voters. Currently, 61% of Republican voters have a favorable opinion of

---

### Voters’ Views of Romney Have Changed Little Since 2008

	Jan 2008		Nov 2011		Jan 2012	
	Fav	Unfav	Fav	Unfav	Fav	Unfav
	%	%	%	%	%	%
<b>All voters</b>	33	44	38	45	33	47
Republican	53	27	58	28	61	25
Democrat	18	58	25	58	14	66
Independent	35	45	38	44	32	45
<b>Rep/Lean Rep RVs</b>						
Agree with Tea Party	--	--	64	29	59	29
Disagree/No opinion	--	--	49	30	51	26
White evangelical Prot.	50	30	52	36	52	32
White mainline Prot.	57	21	52	27	58	22

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jan. 11-16, 2012. Q14c. Based on registered voters. Whites are non-Hispanic.

---

Romney, compared with 25% who have an unfavorable view. That is about the same as in November (58% favorable, 28% unfavorable). Among independent voters, 32% have a favorable opinion of Romney while significantly more (45%) have an unfavorable view.

Romney's image has changed little among subgroups of Republican and Republican-leaning voters: 59% of GOP voters who agree with the Tea Party have a favorable opinion of Romney as do 52% of white evangelical Republicans; in November, comparable percentages of both groups viewed Romney favorably.

Going back even further to the 2008 presidential campaign, Romney's favorability rating has not changed much. In January 2008, 33% of registered voters viewed him favorably and 44% said they had an unfavorable impression; that is little different from the current rating of 33% favorable, 47% unfavorable.

## An Independent Paul Candidacy Would Help Obama

In considering a possible general election matchup between Barack Obama and Mitt Romney this fall, voters remain about evenly split in their preferences, with 50% saying they would vote for Obama and 45% for Romney.

But a third-party candidacy by current Republican candidate Ron Paul would attract support from nearly one-in-five voters and help Barack Obama's reelection prospects significantly. In this hypothetical three-candidate race, 44% say they would back Obama, 32% Romney, and 18% Paul.

### Paul Third-Party Candidacy Attracts Independents, Conservative Republicans

	If choice is between ...		If choice is between ...			Change in support for	
	Obama %	Romney %	Obama %	Romney %	Paul %	Obama	Romney
<b>All voters</b>	50	45	44	32	18	-6	-13
<b>Republican</b>	9	90	9	73	16	0	-17
Independent	40	50	31	33	26	-9	-17
Democrat	91	7	86	5	9	-5	-2
<b>Republican</b>							
Conservative	3	96	2	77	19	-1	-19
Moderate/Lib*	--	--	--	--	--		
<b>Independent</b>							
Lean Republican	9	86	7	59	28	-2	-27
No leaning	39	31	30	14	36	-9	-17
Lean Democratic	80	14	64	10	17	-16	-4
<b>Democrat</b>							
Liberal	98	*	94	*	5	-4	0
Cons/Mod	87	11	80	8	11	-7	-3

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jan. 11-16, 2012. Q30 & Q31. Based on registered voters.  
\*Insufficient cases for analysis.

Not surprisingly, much of the potential support for Paul comes from independent voters. Roughly a quarter of independents who say they would back Obama or Romney in a two-person race say they would switch to Paul if he runs, leaving the independent vote divided almost evenly between Obama (31%), Romney (33%) and Paul (26%). Put in other terms, Obama loses nine percent and Romney 17 percent of independent voters to Ron Paul if he decides to run.

Not only does Romney lose more independent voters to Ron Paul than does Obama, but a Paul third-party candidacy also threatens to steal away some of the conservative Republican vote as well. Fully 96% of conservative Republicans say they would back Mitt Romney in a two-person race against Obama. But that support falls to 77% in a three-person race, with 19% saying they would switch to backing Ron Paul. There is no comparable loss of support for Obama among either liberal or moderate and conservative Democrats.

### Younger Republicans Drawn to Paul

Overall, voters under 65 are about twice as likely as older voters to say they would support Ron Paul in a three-way race with Obama and Romney; 21% of those 18-44, and 19% of those 45-64 would support Paul, compared with just 11% of older voters.

Among Republicans under 45, 30% would support Paul, shrinking Romney's support to just 57% from 83% in a two-way matchup against Obama. Paul also would be a threat to take some of the 45-64 year-old Republican voters from Romney as well, but relatively few older Republican voters.

#### Romney Wins Modest Majority of Younger Republicans in Three-Way Race

	Two-way race		Three-way race			Change in support	
	Obama %	Romney %	Obama %	Romney %	Paul %	Obama -	Romney -
<b>All voters</b>	50	45	44	32	18	-6	-13
18-44	54	40	47	27	21	-7	-13
45-64	49	46	43	33	19	-6	-13
65+	45	50	42	42	11	-3	-8
<b>Rep/Lean Rep RVs</b>							
18-44	12	83	9	57	30	-3	-26
45-64	8	90	8	70	19	0	-20
65+	6	93	7	79	11	+1	-14
<b>Dem/Lean Dem RVs</b>							
18-44	88	10	76	7	12	-12	-3
45-64	88	10	81	6	11	-7	-4
65+	90	7	83	6	10	-7	-1

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Jan. 11-16, 2012. Q30-31. Based on registered voters.

**Ron Paul has substantially less pull on younger Democratic voters. Where he would appeal to 30% of Republicans and Republican leaners under age 45, he would draw the backing of just 12% of Democrats and Democratic leaners in the same age range.**

## About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted January 11-16, 2012 among a national sample of 1,502 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (902 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 600 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 293 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. 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, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to parameters from the March 2011 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey and population density to parameters from the Decennial Census. The sample also is 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 2011 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 sample sizes and 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	1,502	3.5 percentage points
Registered voters	1,207	3.5 percentage points
Republican voters	320	7.0 percentage points
Democratic voters	391	6.0 percentage points
Independent voters	440	6.0 percentage points
Rep/Rep-leaning voters	527	5.5 percentage points
Dem/Dem-leaning voters	555	5.0 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

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.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**JANUARY 2012 POLITICAL SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**January 11-16, 2012**  
**N=1502**

**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>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Jan 11-16, 2012	44	48	8	Jun 16-20, 2010	48	43	9
Dec 7-11, 2011	46	43	11	May 6-9, 2010	47	42	11
Nov 9-14, 2011	46	46	8	Apr 21-26, 2010	47	42	11
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	43	48	9	Apr 8-11, 2010	48	43	9
Aug 17-21, 2011	43	49	7	Mar 10-14, 2010	46	43	12
Jul 20-24, 2011	44	48	8	Feb 3-9, 2010	49	39	12
Jun 15-19, 2011	46	45	8	Jan 6-10, 2010	49	42	10
May 25-30, 2011	52	39	10	Dec 9-13, 2009	49	40	11
May 5-8, 2011	50	39	11	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	36	13
May 2, 2011	56	38	6	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	52	36	12
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	47	45	8	Sep 10-15, 2009	55	33	13
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	51	39	10	Aug 20-27, 2009	52	37	12
Feb 2-7, 2011	49	42	9	Aug 11-17, 2009	51	37	11
Jan 5-9, 2011	46	44	10	Jul 22-26, 2009	54	34	12
Dec 1-5, 2010	45	43	13	Jun 10-14, 2009	61	30	9
Nov 4-7, 2010	44	44	12	Apr 14-21, 2009	63	26	11
Oct 13-18, 2010	46	45	9	Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	61	26	13
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	47	44	9	Mar 9-12, 2009	59	26	15
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	47	41	12	Feb 4-8, 2009	64	17	19
Jun 8-28, 2010	48	41	11				

**ASK IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (Q.1=1,2):**

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

**BASED ON TOTAL:**

		Sep 22- Oct 4 <u>2011</u>	Aug 17-21 <u>2011</u>	Feb 22- Mar 1 <u>2011</u>	Jan 5-9 <u>2011</u>	Aug 25- Sep 6 <u>2010</u>	Jun 16-20 <u>2010</u>	Jan 6-10 <u>2010</u>	Apr 14-21 <u>2009</u>
Jan 11-16 <u>2011</u>									
44	Approve	43	43	51	46	47	48	49	63
27	Very strongly	26	26	32	27	28	29	30	45
15	Not so strongly	15	15	18	16	17	17	15	13
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2	2	2	2	2	3	5
48	Disapprove	48	49	39	44	44	43	42	26
35	Very strongly	34	38	29	30	32	31	30	18
12	Not so strongly	13	11	10	13	11	11	11	8
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	*
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	9	7	10	10	9	9	10	11

**QUESTIONS 2-5, 8-13, 14a,b,d-g HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****NO QUESTIONS 6-7****ASK ALL:**

Q.14 And how about **[INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]** is your overall opinion of **[INSERT NAME]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about **[NEXT NAME]**? **[IF NECESSARY: Just in general, is your overall opinion of [NAME] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?]** **[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
c. Mitt Romney								
Jan 11-16, 2012	31	7	24	45	17	27	9	14
Nov 9-14, 2011	36	7	29	42	16	26	9	12
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	35	11	25	21	9	13	25	18
Jun 10-14, 2009	40	9	31	28	8	20	19	13
Early February, 2008	30	6	24	44	15	29	8	18
January, 2008	31	7	24	43	13	30	8	18
Late December, 2007	29	4	25	35	11	24	17	19
August, 2007	28	5	23	24	7	17	29	19

**QUESTIONS 15-16 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****NO QUESTION 17****ASK ALL:**

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

**[INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS THAT THEY ARE IN NORTH DAKOTA AND DON'T HAVE TO REGISTER, PUNCH 1 FOR REGIST AND REGICERT]**

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

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

Jan 11-16

2012

77	Yes, registered
72	Absolutely certain
4	Chance registration has lapsed
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
23	No, not registered
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ALL:**

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

**ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):**

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 preference	(VOL.) Other party	(VOL.) DK/Ref	<i>Lean Rep</i>	<i>Lean Dem</i>
Jan 11-16, 2012	22	31	42	3	*	2	17	16
Jan 4-8, 2012	26	31	35	4	*	4	14	14
Dec 7-11, 2011	23	33	38	3	*	2	12	17
Nov 9-14, 2011	24	33	38	3	1	2	16	15
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	23	33	38	2	1	3	18	16
Aug 17-21, 2011	24	30	40	3	*	3	17	18
Jul 20-24, 2011	24	32	38	4	*	2	16	14
Jun 15-19, 2011	26	34	32	4	*	4	13	13
May 25-30, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	15	17
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	25	32	37	3	*	3	17	16
Mar 8-14, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	17	15
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	24	33	37	3	*	3	15	16
Feb 2-7, 2011	24	31	39	3	*	2	16	16
<b>Yearly Totals</b>								
2011	24.3	32.3	37.4	3.1	.4	2.5	15.7	15.6
2010	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	.4	2.8	14.5	14.1
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.7	36.0	31.5	3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.2
2007	25.3	32.9	34.1	4.3	.4	2.9	10.9	17.0
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	27.3	34.4	30.9	5.1	.6	1.7	12.1	13.5
2000	28.0	33.4	29.1	5.5	.5	3.6	11.6	11.7
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.9	33.7	31.1	4.6	.4	2.3	11.6	13.1
1997	28.0	33.4	32.0	4.0	.4	2.3	12.2	14.1
1996	28.9	33.9	31.8	3.0	.4	2.0	12.1	14.9
1995	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3	--	3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
1990	30.9	33.2	29.3	1.2	1.9	3.4	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

**NO QUESTIONS 18-19**

**ASK ALL:**

Thinking about the 2012 Presidential election...

Q.20 How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates running for president in 2012? **[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not much</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Jan 11-16, 2012	38	27	19	16	1
Jan 4-8, 2012	31	30	18	19	1
Nov 9-14, 2011 <sup>1</sup>	36	26	21	15	1
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	29	29	22	19	2
Aug 17-21, 2011	27	30	23	18	1
Jul 20-24, 2011	20	29	27	23	1
May 25-30, 2011	23	30	27	19	1
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON:</b>					
<b><i>2008 Presidential Election</i></b>					
February, 2008	48	29	10	11	2
January, 2008	44	32	11	11	2
December, 2007	35	33	13	18	1
November, 2007	34	35	16	14	1
October, 2007	30	37	17	14	2
September, 2007	27	33	21	17	2
July, 2007	30	38	16	15	1
June, 2007	29	34	20	16	1
April, 2007	26	34	21	17	2
March, 2007	24	36	20	18	2
February, 2007	24	34	22	18	2
December, 2006	23	36	20	20	1

**NO QUESTIONS 21-22**

<sup>1</sup> In 2011 question read "How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who may be running for president in 2012?" In 2006, and 2007 and, question read "How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who may be running for president in 2008?"

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

Q.23 As I name some possible Republican candidates for president in 2012, please tell me which one, if any, you would most like to see nominated as the Republican Party's candidate? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE] [PROBE IF NECESSARY: As of today, who would you say you LEAN toward?]**

**BASED ON REPUBLICAN/REPUBLICAN-LEADING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=527]:**

Jan 11-16 2012		Jan 4-8 2012	Dec 7-11 2011	Nov 9-14 2011	Sep 22- Oct 4 2011	Jul 20-24 2011	Mar 8-14 2011	Nov 4-7 2010
31	Mitt Romney	27	21	23	21	21	21	17
16	Newt Gingrich	16	33	16	7	3	11	9
15	Ron Paul	12	8	8	11	9	8	10
14	Rick Santorum	16	3	2	2	1	2	2
5	Rick Perry	6	4	8	16	12	--	--
2	Jon Huntsman	2	3	1	1	2	--	--
2	Other (VOL.) <sup>2</sup>	1	*	*	1	1	1	5
--	Michele Bachmann	--	6	5	4	11	--	--
--	Herman Cain	--	--	22	12	8	--	--
--	Sarah Palin	--	--	--	9	11	13	16
--	Tim Pawlenty	--	--	--	--	3	3	5
--	Mike Huckabee	--	--	--	--	--	20	19
--	Mitch Daniels	--	--	--	--	--	2	--
--	Haley Barbour	--	--	--	--	--	2	2
--	Chris Christie	--	--	--	--	--	2	--
4	None (VOL.)	4	10	4	5	5	5	4
6	Too early to tell (VOL.)	5	4	5	5	7	3	--
6	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	7	5	5	8	7	10

**NO QUESTIONS 24-28****ASK ONLY REPUBLICAN/REPUBLICAN LEADING REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1 AND PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1):**

Q.29 Apart from who you would like to see nominated, which Republican candidate do you think has the best chance of defeating Barack Obama next November? **[OPEN END; RECORD FIRST MENTION ONLY.] [IF PERSON OFFERS MULTIPLE CANDIDATES, PROBE WITH: Which of those do you think has the best chance of defeating Obama?]**

**BASED ON REPUBLICAN/REPUBLICAN-LEADING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=527]:**

Jan 11-16 2012		Dec 7-11 2011	Nov 9-14 2011	Aug 17-21 2011 <sup>3</sup>
58	Mitt Romney	28	30	22
11	Newt Gingrich	35	13	4
5	Ron Paul	2	2	3
4	Rick Santorum	1	0	1
3	Rick Perry	2	6	28
*	Jon Huntsman	1	*	1
0	Michele Bachmann	1	1	7
0	Herman Cain	0	18	3
*	Sarah Palin	0	0	9
1	Other (VOL.)	*	2	1
0	All (VOL.)	1	1	0
3	None (VOL.)	4	4	3
16	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	25	21	19

<sup>2</sup> Bachmann, Cain, Palin, Pawlenty, Huckabee, Daniels and Barbour were explicitly asked in some previous surveys. Chris Christie was never asked in any surveys. In surveys in which they received less than 1% support, these responses are included in other. Dashes indicate that candidates were not explicitly asked about and received less than 1% support.

<sup>3</sup> In August 2011, question began "Apart from your opinions about the Republican candidates, which one..."

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

Now, suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY and...

Q.30 You had to choose between, **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**, who would you vote for?

**ASK IF OTHER OR DK (Q.30=3,9):**

Q.30a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.30]**?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1207]:**

	<u>Romney</u>	<u>Obama</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jan 11-16, 2012	45	50	2	4
Nov 9-14, 2011	47	49	1	3
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	48	48	1	4

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

Q.31 And suppose Ron Paul was running as a third party candidate. If you had to choose between **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**, who would you vote for?

**ASK IF OTHER OR DK (Q.31=3,9):**

Q.31a Do you think you would LEAN more to **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.31]**?

**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1207]:**

	<u>Romney</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Paul</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jan 11-16, 2012	32	44	18	1	5

**Q.30/Q.30a/Q.31/Q.31a TREND FOR COMPARISON:****BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:**

	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Barr</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
November, 2008	39	50	1	1	9
Late October, 2008	36	52	3	1	8
Mid-October, 2008	38	52	n/a	n/a	10
Early October, 2008	40	50	n/a	n/a	10
Late September, 2008	42	49	n/a	n/a	9
Mid-September, 2008 <sup>4</sup>	44	46	n/a	n/a	10
August, 2008	43	46	n/a	n/a	11
July, 2008	42	47	n/a	n/a	11
June, 2008	40	48	n/a	n/a	12
Late May, 2008	44	47	n/a	n/a	9
April, 2008	44	50	n/a	n/a	6
March, 2008	43	49	n/a	n/a	8
Late February, 2008	43	50	n/a	n/a	7

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
November, 2004	45	46	1	8
Mid-October, 2004	45	45	1	9
Early October, 2004	48	41	2	9
September, 2004	49	43	1	7
August, 2004	45	47	2	6
July, 2004	44	46	3	7
June, 2004	46	42	6	6
May, 2004	43	46	6	5
Late March, 2004	44	43	6	7
Mid-March, 2004	42	49	4	5

<sup>4</sup> After August 2008, June 2004, July 2000, July 1996, June 1992, and June 1988 the question specified vice presidential candidates.

## Q.30/Q.30a/Q.31/Q.31a TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
<i>Two-way trial heats:</i>				
June, 2004	48	46	n/a	6
May, 2004	45	50	n/a	5
Late March, 2004	46	47	n/a	7
Mid-March, 2004	43	52	n/a	5
Late February, 2004	44	48	n/a	8
Early February, 2004	47	47	n/a	6
Early January, 2004	52	41	n/a	7
October, 2003	50	42	n/a	8

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Buchanan</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
November, 2000	41	45	4	1	9
Late October, 2000	45	43	4	1	7
Mid-October, 2000	43	45	4	1	7
Early October, 2000	43	44	5	*	8
September, 2000	41	47	2	1	9
July, 2000	42	41	6	2	9
Late June, 2000	42	35	2	2	19
Mid-June, 2000	41	42	4	3	10
January, 2000	51	39	n/a	4	6
September, 1999	49	35	n/a	10	6

*Two-way trial heats:*

July, 2000	48	46	n/a	n/a	6
Mid-June, 2000	45	46	n/a	n/a	9
May, 2000	46	45	n/a	n/a	9
March, 2000	43	49	n/a	n/a	8
February, 2000	46	45	n/a	n/a	9
December, 1999	55	40	n/a	n/a	5
October, 1999	54	39	n/a	n/a	7
September, 1999	54	39	n/a	n/a	7
July, 1999	53	42	n/a	n/a	5
March, 1999	54	41	n/a	n/a	5
January, 1999	50	44	n/a	n/a	6
Early September, 1998	53	40	n/a	n/a	7

	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
November, 1996	32	51	9	8
October, 1996	34	51	8	7
Late September, 1996	35	51	7	7
Early September, 1996	34	52	8	6
July, 1996	34	44	16	6
March, 1996	35	44	16	5
September, 1995	36	42	19	3
July, 1994	36	39	20	5

*Two-way trial heats:*

July, 1996	42	53	n/a	5
June, 1996	40	55	n/a	5
April, 1996	40	54		6
March, 1996	41	53		6
February, 1996	44	52		4
January, 1996	41	53		6
July, 1994	49	46		5

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
Late October, 1992	34	44	19	3
Early October, 1992	35	48	8	9

## Q.30/Q.30a/Q.31/Q.31a TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
June, 1992	31	27	36	6
<b>Two-way trial heats:</b>				
September, 1992	38	53	n/a	9
August, 1992	37	57	n/a	6
June, 1992	46	41	n/a	13
May, 1992	46	43	n/a	11
Late March, 1992	50	43	n/a	7

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<u>Dukakis</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
October, 1988	50	42	8
September, 1988	50	44	6
May, 1988	40	53	7

**NO QUESTIONS 32-34**

**QUESTIONS 35-38 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**NO QUESTION 39**

**QUESTIONS 40-43 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**NO QUESTIONS 44-49**

**QUESTIONS 50-55 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK ONLY REPUBLICAN/REPUBLICAN LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1 AND (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1)):**

Q.56 Regardless of who you may support for the Republican nomination in 2012, who do you think would do the best job of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; IF "Don't know" PROBE ONCE WITH: "In general, which Republican candidate do you think would do the best job"]? And how about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Who do you think would do the best job of [ITEM]?] [READ AND RANDOMIZE NAMES FOR EACH RESPONDENT, BUT KEEP SAME ORDER ACROSS ITEMS. AFTER LIST OF NAMES IS READ FOR FIRST ITEM, IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS NAME, INTERVIEWER CAN ACCEPT NAME AND DOES NOT HAVE TO READ FULL LIST OF NAMES]:

**BASED ON REPUBLICAN/REPUBLICAN-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=527]:**

a. Reducing the federal budget deficit

Jan 11-16

2012

29	Mitt Romney
20	Newt Gingrich
19	Ron Paul
7	Rick Santorum
5	Rick Perry
1	Jon Huntsman
1	All/Multiple (VOL.)
1	Other/None (VOL.)
17	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**NO ITEM b.**

**Q.56 CONTINUED...**

## c. Improving job opportunities for Americans

Jan 11-16

2012

33	Mitt Romney
14	Ron Paul
12	Newt Gingrich
9	Rick Santorum
9	Rick Perry
2	Jon Huntsman
1	All/Multiple (VOL.)
3	Other/None (VOL.)
16	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## d. Dealing with immigration

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:*****Rep/Rep-leaning RVs***

Jan 11-16

2012

18	Newt Gingrich
17	Mitt Romney
14	Ron Paul
14	Rick Perry
8	Rick Santorum
2	Jon Huntsman
*	All/Multiple (VOL.)
2	Other/None (VOL.)
25	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Nov  
2007

21	Rudy Giuliani
17	John McCain
10	Fred Thompson
8	Mike Huckabee
7	Mitt Romney
3	Ron Paul
2	Tom Tancredo
2	Duncan Hunter
1	All/Multiple (VOL.)
4	Other/None (VOL.)
25	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

## e. Reflecting your views on social issues like abortion

**TREND FOR COMPARISON:*****Rep/Rep-leaning RVs***

Jan 11-16

2012

20	Rick Santorum
18	Mitt Romney
14	Ron Paul
12	Newt Gingrich
6	Rick Perry
1	Jon Huntsman
1	All/Multiple (VOL.)
3	Other/None (VOL.)
26	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Nov  
2007<sup>5</sup>

20	Rudy Giuliani
12	Mitt Romney
12	Mike Huckabee
10	Fred Thompson
10	John McCain
2	Ron Paul
1	Duncan Hunter
1	Tom Tancredo
1	All/Multiple (VOL.)
5	Other/None (VOL.)
20	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

<sup>5</sup> In 2007, item read "Reflecting your views on social issues like abortion and gay rights."

**ASK ONLY REPUBLICAN/REPUBLICAN LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1 AND (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1)):**

Q.57 And thinking about foreign policy, which Republican candidate do you trust most to handle America's foreign policy? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

**BASED ON REPUBLICAN/REPUBLICAN-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=527]:**

Jan 11-16

2012

33	Newt Gingrich
25	Mitt Romney
10	Ron Paul
8	Rick Santorum
4	Rick Perry
4	Jon Huntsman
*	All/Multiple (VOL.)
1	Other/None (VOL.)
15	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**ASK ONLY REPUBLICAN/REPUBLICAN LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1 AND (PARTY=1 OR PARTYLN=1)):**

Q.58 And are there any Republican candidates who you do not trust to handle America's foreign policy? **[OPEN END; RECORD UP TO THREE MENTIONS. IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "YES" PROBE FOR CANDIDATE NAME]**

**BASED ON REPUBLICAN/REPUBLICAN-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=527]:**

Jan 11-16

2012

32	Ron Paul
10	Newt Gingrich
7	Rick Perry
4	Rick Santorum
4	Mitt Romney
3	Jon Huntsman
25	None
1	Other
20	Don't know/Refused

*Figures add to more than 100% because of multiple responses.*

**QUESTIONS 59-61, 64-65, 68-69 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**NO QUESTIONS 62-63, 66-67**

**ASK ALL:**

TEAPARTY2 From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>	<u>No opinion either way</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Haven't heard of</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>Refused</u>	<i>Not heard of/ DK</i>
Jan 11-16, 2012	20	24	52	2	2	--
Jan 4-8, 2012	18	25	52	2	3	--
Dec 7-11, 2011	19	27	50	2	2	--
Nov 9-14, 2011	20	27	51	1	1	--
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	19	27	51	2	1	--
Aug 17-21, 2011	20	27	50	1	1	--
Jul 20-24, 2011	20	24	53	1	1	--
Jun 15-19, 2011	20	26	50	3	2	--
May 25-30, 2011	18	23	54	2	2	--
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	22	29	47	1	1	--
Mar 8-14, 2011	19	25	54	1	1	--
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	20	25	52	2	2	--
Feb 2-7, 2011 <sup>6</sup>	22	22	53	2	2	--
Jan 5-9, 2011	24	22	50	2	1	--
Dec 1-5, 2010	22	26	49	2	2	--
Nov 4-7, 2010	27	22	49	1	1	--
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	29	25	32	--	1	13
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)	28	24	30	--	1	16
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	29	26	32	--	1	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	22	18	37	--	1	21
Jun 16-20, 2010	24	18	30	--	*	27
May 20-23, 2010	25	18	31	--	1	25
Mar 11-21, 2010	24	14	29	--	1	31

<sup>6</sup> In the February 2-7, 2011 survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May 2010 through October 2010, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March 2010 it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."