THURSDAY, AUGUST 2, 2012

Obama Leads Nationwide, But Closer Race in Swing States

## Romney's Personal Image Remains Negative

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## Obama Leads Nationwide, But Closer Race in Swing States Romney's Personal Image Remains Negative

By a $52 \%$ to $37 \%$ margin, more voters say they have an unfavorable than favorable view of Mitt Romney. The poll, conducted prior to Romney's recent overseas trip, represents the sixth consecutive survey over the past nine months in which his image has been in negative territory. While Romney's personal favorability improved substantially between March and J une - as Republican voters rallied behind him after the primary season endedhis image has again slipped over the past month.


Barack Obama's image remains, by personal ratings are lower than most presidential candidates in recent elections.

A review of final pre-election surveys of voters since 1988 finds that all candidates enjoyed considerably higher personal ratings going into the final days of their campaigns than does Mitt Romney currently. In fact, only three, Michael Dukakis in 1988, George H.W. Bush in 1992 and Bob Dole in 1996, were not rated favorably by a majority of voters. Obama's current ratings also are lower than the pre-election ratings of most other recent presidential candidates.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People \& the Press, conducted J uly 16-26, 2012, among 2,508 adults, including 1,956 registered voters, finds that, in keeping with his favorability advantage, Obama continues to hold a sizable lead over Romney in the election contest. Currently, 51\% say they support Obama or lean toward him, while $41 \%$ support or lean toward Romney. This is largely unchanged from earlier in J uly and consistent with polling over the course of this year. Across eight Pew Research Center surveys since J anuary, Obama has led Romney by between four and 12 percentage points.

To track the presidential race over timeamong all voters and among key voting blocs - see our new election interactive.

Obama holds only a four-point edge (48\% to $44 \%$ ) across 12 of this year's key battleground states. While the data does not allow a state-by-state analysis, the overall balance of support in these closely contested states has remained level in recent months, with Obama slightly ahead, but neither candidate holding a significant advantage.

## Obama's Lead Persists

If the election were today, would you vote for...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 16-26, 2012.
Based on registered voters.

## Close Race in Battleground States

If the election were today, would you vote for...


PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 16-26, 2012.
Based on registered voters. Battleground states: CO, FL, IA MI, MO, NV, NH, NC, OH, PA, VA and WI. Figures may not add to $100 \%$ because of rounding.

The relative stability of this race can be seen within most voting blocs as well. Whites have consistently favored Romney over Obama, while minority support for Obama has held relatively steady. As has been the case all year, women favor Obama by a wide margin; currently $56 \%$ of women support Obama, while $37 \%$ back Romney. Men are more evenly divided (46\% Obama, 47\% Romney). Obama's support among voters under 30 remains strong ( $58 \%$ vs. $34 \%$ for Romney in the current survey), while voters 65 and older are divided (49\% Romney vs. 45\% Obama).

## I ndependents Remain Divided

If the election were today, would you vote for...
The battle for independent voters remains tight. The current survey finds that $45 \%$ of independents back Romney and 43\% Obama, which is virtually unchanged from earlier in J uly. Over the course of the year, independent support has wavered, with neither candidate holding a consistent advantage.

Both candidates have nearly universal backing within their party: Nine-in-ten Democrats support Obama and an identical share of Republicans support Romney. Obama’s overall edge at this point is based on the healthy advantage in overall party identification that Democrats have enjoyed in recent years.

But it is unclear whether the Democrats' advantage in party identification will benefit Obama on Election Day. Romney supporters continue to say they have given more thought to this election than Obama supporters - a key measure of voter engagement. This is consistent with the Pew Research Center's J une study that found that the GOP holds the early edge across a wide range of turnout



PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 16-26, 2012. Based on registered voters.

## Romney Voters Remain More Engaged

Percent given "a lot of thought" to the election


PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 16-26, 2012.
Based on registered voters. indicators. (For more, see "GOP Holds Early Turnout Edge, But Little Enthusiasm for Romney,"J une 21, 2012.)

## Candidate Favorability in Historical Perspective

Currently, slightly more voters have a favorable (50\%) than unfavorable (45\%) opinion of Barack Obama. Though there are still more than three months to go before the election, Obama's current favorability ratings compare poorly with the final pre-election ratings for previous Democratic candidates. Not since Michael Dukakis in 1988 has a Democratic candidate gone into the election with favorability ratings as low as Obama's are today.

Romney faces a more daunting challenge, as more voters say they have an unfavorable (52\%) than favorable (37\%) opinion of him. The only prior presidential candidates to be viewed negatively going into the election were George H.W. Bush in October 1992 and Bob Dole in October 1996.

Both Candidates Among Lowest Rated in Modern Elections


PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 16-26, 2012. Based on registered voters. Oct 1992 and Oct 2000 data from Gallup.

Whether these candidates can improve their personal images between now and Election Day remains an open question. In 2008, Barack Obama's favorability ratings rose from summer to fall. In 1992, Bill Clinton came out of the Democratic primaries with relatively poor favorability ratings, which improved in the run-up to the Democratic Convention in J uly. Clinton's ratings slipped in October, but remained in positive territory.

## Favorability In the Fall

But favorable ratings for some presidential candidates declined as the election approached. In 1996, Bob Dole's favorability fell from 53\% to 43\% between J une and October. And in July 1988, 57\% of voters viewed Michael Dukakis favorably. That declined to $48 \%$ in October of that year.

|  | Percent favorable |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Preconvention July | Preelection Oct | Change |
|  | \% | \% |  |
| 2012 |  |  |  |
| Obama | 50 | -- |  |
| Romney | 37 | -- |  |
| 2008 |  |  |  |
| Obama | 62 | 68 | +6 |
| McCain | 63 | 54 | -9 |
| 2004 |  |  |  |
| Kerry | 56 | 56 | 0 |
| Bush | 51 | 56 | +5 |
| 2000 |  |  |  |
| Gore | 57 | 56 | -1 |
| Bush | 64 | 54 | -10 |
| 1996* |  |  |  |
| Clinton | 60 | 57 | -3 |
| Dole | 53 | 43 | -10 |
| 1992 |  |  |  |
| Clinton | 61 | 54 | -7 |
| Bush | 44 | 43 | -1 |
| 1988 |  |  |  |
| Dukakis | 57 | 48 | -9 |
| Bush | 52 | 58 | +6 |
| PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 16-26, 2012. Based on registered voters. * 1996 from June. <br> July 1988, Oct 1992, July \& Oct 2000, July 2004 and July 2008 data from Gallup. All others Pew Research Center. |  |  |  |

Views of Candidates: Undecided Voters, Supporters and Opponents

In the new survey, $7 \%$ of registered voters say they don't favor or lean toward Obama or Romney at this point. Neither candidate is particularly appealing to these undecided voters: More hold an unfavorable opinion of Romney than a favorable opinion by a $57 \%$ to $18 \%$ margin. And only about a third (31\%) of undecided voters view Obama favorably.

This stands in stark contrast to the fall of 2008 and 2004, when undecided voters, on balance, liked both the major party candidates. Based on surveys conducted in September and October of 2008, both Obama and J ohn McCain were viewed more favorably than unfavorably by at least two-to-one margins.

The lack of enthusiasm for the 2012 candidates reaches beyond undecided voters. Currently, 79\% of Romney

Undecided Voters Dislike Both 2012 Candidates


PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 16-26, 2012. Based on registered voters. 2004 figures combine data from surveys conducted Sept. 8-14 and Oct. 15-19, 2004. 2008 figures combine data from surveys conducted Sept. 27-29 and Oct. 16-19, 2008. voters have a favorable impression of him, while $12 \%$ report an unfavorable impression. This compares with an overwhelming 97\% favorability rating for George W. Bush among his supporters in the fall of 2004 and a 96\% favorable rating for McCain among his supporters in the fall of 2008.

Obama voters are more positive about their candidate. Nine-in-ten voters (91\%) who support Obama have a favorable impression of him, though that is down from $98 \%$ among his supporters four years ago.

Even more notable is the overwhelmingly unfavorable opinion that voters have of the candidate they are voting against. Fully $93 \%$ of Romney supporters say they have an unfavorable opinion of Barack Obama. By comparison, in the fall of 2008 just $68 \%$ of McCain voters offered an unfavorable opinion of Obama, while 29\% viewed him favorably.

This pattern also is seen among Obama supporters: $84 \%$ view Romney unfavorably, compared with $70 \%$ who expressed an unfavorable opinion of McCain the fall of 2008.

## About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted J uly 16-26, 2012 among a national sample of 2,508 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia ( 1,505 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 1,003 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 531 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source and Universal Survey under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish.

A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial (RDD) samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Both the landline and cell RDD samples were stratified by county based on estimated incidences of African-American and Hispanic adults, and counties with higher densities of African-American and Hispanic adults were oversampled. The final sample is weighted to correct for this disproportionate sampling. 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 sample was divided into three racial/ ethnic groups (Hispanics, non-Hispanic African Americans, and non-Hispanic whites/ other race) for weighting; each group was weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, nativity (among Hispanics) and region to parameters within each racial/ ethnic group from the March 2011 Current Population Survey (CPS). The combined sample was then weighted to match gender, age, race, Hispanic origin and nativity, education and region to parameters from the March 2011 CPS and to match population density to a parameter 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 disproportionate sampling, adjusts for household size among respondents with a landline phone, and accounts for the fact that respondents with both a landline and cell phone have a greater probability of being included in the combined 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 | 2,508 | 2.8 percentage points |
| Registered voters | 1,956 | 3.2 percentage points |
| Republican voters | 459 | 6.6 percentage points |
| Democratic voters | 813 | 4.9 percentage points |
| Independent voters | 599 | 5.7 percentage points |
| Obama voters | 1,068 | 4.3 percentage points |
| Romney voters | 753 | 5.1 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.

Battleground states were identified using ratings for each state from late May to early J une from: The Cook Political Report, MSNBC, The New York Times, Real Clear Politics, Karl Rove, CNN, Pollster.com, and the Washington Post. The ratings by these different groups yield 12 battleground states (rated as tossup or lean Republican or Democrat) and 39 safe states, including Washington, D.C. Battleground states are: Colorado, Florida, Iowa, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, New Hampshire, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Wisconsin. Solid or likely Republican states are: Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Arkansas, Georgia, Idaho, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Montana, Nebraska, North Dakota, Oklahoma, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, West Virginia and Wyoming. Solid or likely Democratic states are: California, Delaware, Washington D.C., Hawaii, Illinois, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, New J ersey, New Mexico, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Vermont and Washington.

## PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT

Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, Jul 16-26, 2012
Q.P2 Now suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held today and you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Mitt Romney, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.P2a As of today, who do you lean more to?

|  | $\frac{\text { Obama }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Romney }}{\%}$ | $\begin{aligned} & \text { Other/ } \\ & \frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{\%} \end{aligned}$ | Unweighted N | Weighted \% of registered voters |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ALL VOTERS | 51 | 41 | 7 | 1956 | 100\% |
| SEX |  |  |  |  |  |
| Men | 46 | 47 | 7 | 866 | 48 |
| Women | 56 | 37 | 8 | 1090 | 52 |
| AGE |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18-49 | 55 | 36 | 9 | 712 | 48 |
| 50+ | 47 | 47 | 6 | 1206 | 51 |
| DETAILED AGE |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18-29 | 58 | 34 | 8 | 196 | 14 |
| 30-49 | 54 | 37 | 9 | 516 | 34 |
| 50-64 | 49 | 45 | 6 | 647 | 30 |
| 65+ | 45 | 49 | 6 | 559 | 20 |
| SEX BY AGE |  |  |  |  |  |
| Men 18-49 | 48 | 44 | 9 | 346 | 24 |
| Men 50+ | 45 | 50 | 5 | 512 | 23 |
| Women 18-49 | 63 | 28 | 9 | 366 | 24 |
| Women 50+ | 49 | 44 | 7 | 694 | 27 |
| RACE |  |  |  |  |  |
| White, non-Hispanic | 42 | 51 | 7 | 1275 | 72 |
| Black, non-Hispanic | 92 | 4 | 4 | 332 | 12 |
| Hispanics | 70 | 26 | 4 | 204 | 9 |
| EDUCATION |  |  |  |  |  |
| College grad+ | 50 | 44 | 6 | 866 | 35 |
| Some college | 47 | 43 | 10 | 517 | 30 |
| High school or less | 56 | 38 | 6 | 559 | 35 |
| FAMILY INCOME |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$75,000+ | 46 | 46 | 8 | 665 | 33 |
| \$30,000-\$74,999 | 52 | 44 | 4 | 588 | 33 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 60 | 32 | 9 | 403 | 22 |
| DETAILED INCOME |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$100,000+ | 43 | 49 | 9 | 376 | 17 |
| \$75,000-\$99,000 | 50 | 43 | 7 | 289 | 16 |
| \$50,000-\$74,990 | 50 | 46 | 4 | 275 | 14 |
| \$30,000-\$49,999 | 54 | 42 | 4 | 313 | 19 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 60 | 32 | 9 | 403 | 22 |
| REGION |  |  |  |  |  |
| Northeast | 56 | 36 | 8 | 326 | 19 |
| Midwest | 50 | 41 | 9 | 339 | 23 |
| South | 48 | 44 | 8 | 848 | 37 |
| West | 53 | 42 | 5 | 443 | 20 |
| PARTY ID |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 6 | 90 | 4 | 459 | 25 |
| Democrat | 91 | 6 | 3 | 813 | 38 |
| Independent | 43 | 45 | 13 | 599 | 33 |
| IDEOLOGY |  |  |  |  |  |
| Conservative | 27 | 68 | 5 | 734 | 39 |
| Moderate | 59 | 31 | 10 | 692 | 36 |
| Liberal | 86 | 11 | 4 | 430 | 21 |
| PARTY AND IDEOLOGY |  |  |  |  |  |
| Conservative Republican | 4 | 94 | 2 | 335 | 15 |
| Mod/Lib Republican | 12 | 81 | 7 | 119 | 7 |
| Mod/Cons Democrat | 89 | 8 | 3 | 482 | 20 |
| Liberal Democrat | 95 | 2 | 3 | 289 | 12 |
| TEA PARTY (REP/LEAN REP) |  |  |  |  |  |
| Agree | 1 | 97 | 2 | 299 | 40 |
| Disagree/No opinion | 9 | 84 | 7 | 398 | 59 |

## PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT (CONT.)

Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, Jul 16-26, 2012
Q.P2 Now suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held today and you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Mitt Romney, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.P2a As of today, who do you lean more to?

|  | $\frac{\text { Obama }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Romney }}{\%}$ | Other/ DK/Ref \% | Unweighted N |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE |  |  |  |  |
| Total Protestants | 45 | 48 | 7 | 1018 |
| White NH evang. Prot. | 24 | 69 | 7 | 351 |
| White NH mainline Prot. | 42 | 51 | 8 | 294 |
| Black NH Prot. | 91 | 4 | 5 | 257 |
| Total Catholic | 53 | 40 | 8 | 439 |
| White NH Cath. | 45 | 47 | 8 | 284 |
| Unaffiliated | 65 | 27 | 8 | 316 |
| ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES |  |  |  |  |
| Weekly or more | 40 | 52 | 8 | 810 |
| Less than weekly | 58 | 35 | 7 | 1116 |

## PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT-AMONG WHITES

Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, Jul 16-26, 2012
Q.P2 Now suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held today and you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Mitt Romney, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.P2a As of today, who do you lean more to?

|  | $\frac{\text { Obama }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Romney }}{\%}$ | Other/ DK/Ref \% | N |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| ALL WHITE NON-HISP VOTERS | 42 | 51 | 7 | 1275 |
| SEX |  |  |  |  |
| Men | 37 | 56 | 6 | 563 |
| Women | 46 | 46 | 8 | 712 |
| AGE |  |  |  |  |
| 18-49 | 44 | 47 | 9 | 394 |
| 50+ | 40 | 55 | 6 | 859 |
| DETAILED AGE |  |  |  |  |
| 18-29 | 46 | 45 | 9 | 105 |
| 30-49 | 44 | 47 | 9 | 289 |
| 50-64 | 40 | 54 | 6 | 417 |
| 65+ | 39 | 55 | 6 | 442 |
| SEX BY AGE |  |  |  |  |
| Men 18-49 | 36 | 55 | 8 | 207 |
| Men 50+ | 38 | 57 | 5 | 351 |
| Women 18-49 | 53 | 38 | 9 | 187 |
| Women 50+ | 41 | 52 | 7 | 508 |
| EDUCATION |  |  |  |  |
| College grad+ | 43 | 51 | 6 | 614 |
| Some college or less | 41 | 51 | 8 | 658 |
| FAMILY INCOME |  |  |  |  |
| \$75,000+ | 40 | 53 | 7 | 468 |
| \$30,000-\$74,999 | 43 | 53 | 4 | 389 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 46 | 43 | 11 | 217 |
| PARTY ID |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 6 | 91 | 3 | 409 |
| Democrat | 87 | 9 | 4 | 388 |
| Independent | 39 | 50 | 11 | 430 |
| IDEOLOGY |  |  |  |  |
| Conservative | 18 | 77 | 5 | 528 |
| Moderate | 51 | 40 | 10 | 447 |
| Liberal | 85 | 12 | 3 | 252 |
| REGION |  |  |  |  |
| Northeast | 50 | 43 | 7 | 203 |
| Midwest | 46 | 47 | 8 | 268 |
| South | 33 | 58 | 9 | 515 |
| West | 43 | 53 | 4 | 289 |

## PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEAT BY GENDER

Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, Jul 16-26, 2012
Q.P2 Now suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held today and you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Mitt Romney, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.P2a As of today, who do you lean more to?

|  | ----------AMONG MEN------- |  |  |  | ---------AMONG WOMEN--------- |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Other/ |  |  |  |  | Other/ |  |  |
|  | $\frac{\text { Obama }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { Romney }}{\text { \% }}$ | $\frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{\%}$ | N | Obama \% | $\frac{\text { Romney }}{\%}$ | $\frac{\text { DK/Ref }}{\%}$ | N |
| ALL VOTERS | 46 | 47 | 7 | 866 | 56 | 37 | 8 | 1090 |
| DETAILED AGE |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18-29 | 59 | 29 | 12 | 105 | 56 | 39 | 5 | 91 |
| 30-49 | 43 | 50 | 7 | 241 | 66 | 24 | 10 | 275 |
| 50-64 | 46 | 49 | 5 | 271 | 51 | 42 | 7 | 376 |
| 65+ | 42 | 52 | 6 | 241 | 46 | 47 | 7 | 318 |
| EDUCATION |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| College grad+ | 47 | 50 | 3 | 378 | 53 | 38 | 9 | 488 |
| Some college or less | 46 | 45 | 9 | 479 | 57 | 36 | 7 | 597 |
| FAMILY INCOME |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| \$75,000+ | 44 | 49 | 7 | 351 | 49 | 43 | 9 | 314 |
| \$30,000-\$74,999 | 40 | 57 | 3 | 245 | 62 | 33 | 4 | 343 |
| Less than \$30,000 | 59 | 34 | 7 | 159 | 60 | 30 | 10 | 244 |
| PARTY ID |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Republican | 7 | 91 | 3 | 214 | 6 | 90 | 4 | 245 |
| Democrat | 91 | 8 | 1 | 298 | 90 | 5 | 5 | 515 |
| Independent | 41 | 46 | 12 | 315 | 44 | 43 | 13 | 284 |
| IDEOLOGY |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Conservative | 22 | 73 | 5 | 347 | 31 | 64 | 5 | 387 |
| Moderate | 54 | 38 | 8 | 311 | 64 | 25 | 11 | 381 |
| Liberal | 86 | 11 | 3 | 169 | 85 | 10 | 4 | 261 |
| MARITAL STATUS |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Married | 37 | 56 | 7 | 502 | 48 | 44 | 8 | 533 |
| Not married | 59 | 35 | 7 | 360 | 64 | 28 | 8 | 548 |

## PEW RESEARCH CENTER Late July 2012 Survey July 16-26, 2012 <br> $\mathrm{N}=\mathbf{2 , 5 0 8}$

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

## BASED ON REGI STERED VOTERS [ $\mathrm{N}=1,956$ ]:

|  | Quite | (VOL.) | Only a | (VOL.) | (VOL.) |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 2012 Election | a lot | Some | little | None | DK/Ref |
| Jul 16-26, 2012 | 61 | 5 | 28 | 6 | 1 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 65 | 3 | 29 | 3 | * |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 67 | 1 | 30 | 2 | 1 |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 | 61 | 2 | 33 | 3 | 1 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 64 | 2 | 30 | 4 | 1 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 66 | 2 | 30 | 1 | 1 |
| 2008 Election |  |  |  |  |  |
| November, 2008 | 81 | 3 | 13 | 2 | 1 |
| Late October, 2008 | 81 | 3 | 13 | 2 | 1 |
| Mid-October, 2008 | 81 | 3 | 13 | 3 | * |
| Early October, 2008 | 81 | 2 | 14 | 2 | 1 |
| Late September, 2008 | 80 | 3 | 14 | 2 | 1 |
| Mid-September, 2008 | 78 | 4 | 14 | 3 | 1 |
| August, 2008 | 74 | 6 | 17 | 2 | 1 |
| July, 2008 | 74 | 2 | 20 | 3 | 1 |
| June, 2008 | 72 | 2 | 23 | 2 | 1 |
| Late May, 2008 | 75 | 4 | 17 | 3 | 1 |
| April, 2008 | 77 | 7 | 13 | 2 | 1 |
| March, 2008 | 78 | 3 | 15 | 3 | 1 |
| Late February, 2008 | 74 | 3 | 19 | 2 | 2 |
| 2004 Election |  |  |  |  |  |
| November, 2004 | 82 | 3 | 12 | 2 | 1 |
| Mid-October, 2004 | 76 | 5 | 15 | 3 | 1 |
| Early October, 2004 | 74 | 4 | 19 | 2 | 1 |
| September, 2004 | 71 | 3 | 22 | 3 | 1 |
| August, 2004 | 69 | 2 | 26 | 2 | 1 |
| July, 2004 | 67 | 2 | 28 | 2 | 1 |
| June, 2004 | 58 | 3 | 36 | 2 | 1 |
| May, 2004 | 59 | 6 | 30 | 4 | 1 |
| Late March, 2004 | 60 | 4 | 31 | 4 | 1 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 65 | 2 | 31 | 2 | * |
| 2000 Election |  |  |  |  |  |
| November, 2000 | 72 | 6 | 19 | 2 | 1 |
| Late October, 2000 | 66 | 6 | 24 | 4 | * |
| Mid-October, 2000 | 67 | 9 | 19 | 4 | 1 |
| Early October, 2000 | 60 | 8 | 27 | 4 | 1 |
| September, 2000 | 59 | 8 | 29 | 3 | 1 |
| July, 2000 | 46 | 6 | 45 | 3 | * |
| J une, 2000 | 46 | 6 | 43 | 5 | * |
| May, 2000 | 48 | 4 | 42 | 5 | 1 |
| April, 2000 | 45 | 7 | 41 | 7 | * |
| 1996 Election |  |  |  |  |  |
| November, 1996 | 67 | 8 | 22 | 3 | * |
| October, 1996 | 65 | 7 | 26 | 1 | 1 |
| Late September, 1996 | 61 | 7 | 29 | 2 | 1 |
| Early September, 1996 | 56 | 3 | 36 | 4 | 1 |
| July, 1996 | 55 | 3 | 41 | 1 | * |
| June, 1996 | 50 | 5 | 41 | 3 | 1 |

## THOUGHT CONTI NUED...

## 1992 Election

Quite (VOL.) Only a (VOL.) (VOL.)

| Early October, 1992 | 77 | 5 | 16 | 1 | 1 |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| September, 1992 | 69 | 3 | 26 | 1 | 1 |
| August, 1992 | 72 | 4 | 23 | 1 | $*$ |
| June, 1992 | 63 | 6 | 29 | 1 | 1 |
| 1988 Election |  |  |  |  |  |
| Gallup: November, 1988 | 73 | 8 | 17 | 2 | 0 |
| Gallup: October, 1988 | 69 | 9 | 20 | 2 | 0 |
| Gallup: September, 1988 | 57 | 18 | 23 | 2 | 0 |
| Gallup: August, 1988 | 61 | 10 | 27 | 2 | 0 |

## ASK ALL:

Q.P1 Is your overall opinion of [INSERT NAME; RANDOMI ZE] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about [NEXT NAME]? [IF NECESSARY: J ust in general, is your overall opinion of [NAME] very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?] [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTI NGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]


## Q.P1 CONTI NUED...

|  | Favorable------ |  |  | ------Unfavorable------ |  |  | (VOL.) <br> Never | (VOL.) Can't |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | Total | Very | Mostly | Total | Very | Mostly | heard of | rate/Ref |
| J anuary, 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 |

## 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?
[ I NSTRUCTI ON: IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS THAT THEY ARE I N NORTH DAKOTA AND DON'T HAVE TO REGI STER, PUNCH 1 FOR REGI ST AND REGI CERT]
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?

| Jul 16-26 |  |
| :---: | :--- |
| $\frac{2012}{77}$ |  |
| 73 | Yes, registered |
| 3 | Absolutely certain |
| 1 | Chance registration has lapsed |
| 23 | Don't know/Refused (VOL.) |
| $*$ | Don't knowistered |
|  |  | (VOL.)

ASK ALL:
Q.P2 Now, suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between [READ AND RANDOMI ZE: Barack Obama, the Democrat OR Mitt Romney, the Republican] who would you vote for?
ASK IF OTHER OR DK (Q.P2=3,9):
Q.P2a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.P2]?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [ $\mathrm{N}=1,956$ ]:

| Jul 16-26, 2012 | Romney <br> Obama | (VOL.) <br> Other | (VOL.) <br> DK/ Ref |  |
| :--- | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 41 | 51 | 2 | 5 |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 43 | 50 | 2 | 4 |
| May 9-Jun 3, 2012 | 46 | 50 | 1 | 3 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 42 | 49 | 2 | 7 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 45 | 49 | 2 | 4 |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 42 | 54 | 1 | 3 |
| Jan 11-16, 2012 | 44 | 52 | 1 | 3 |
| Nov 9-14, 2011 | 45 | 50 | 2 | 4 |
| Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 | 47 | 49 | 1 | 3 |

TREND FOR COMPARISON:
BASED ON REGI STERED VOTERS:

| ( | McCain | Obama | Nader | Barr | (VOL.) <br> Other/ <br> DK/ Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| November, 2008 | 39 | 50 | 1 | 1 | 9 |
| Late October, 2008 | 36 | 52 | 3 | 1 | 8 |
| Mid-October, 2008 | 38 | 52 | n/a | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 10 |
| Early October, 2008 | 40 | 50 | n/a | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 10 |
| Late September, 2008 | 42 | 49 | n/a | n/a | 9 |

## Q.P2/ P2a TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTI NUED...

|  | McCain | Obama | Nader | Barr | Other/ <br> DK/ Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Mid-September, $2008{ }^{1}$ | 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 |
| J une, 2008 | 40 | 48 | n/a | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 12 |
| Late May, 2008 | 44 | 47 | n/a | $\mathrm{n} / \mathrm{a}$ | 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 |


|  | Bush |
| :--- | :---: |
| November, 2004 | 45 |
| Mid- October, 2004 | 45 |
| Early October, 2004 | 48 |
| September, 2004 | 49 |
| August, 2004 | 45 |
| July, 2004 | 44 |
| June, 2004 | 46 |
| May, 2004 | 43 |
| Late March, 2004 | 44 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 42 |
| Two-way trial heats: | 48 |
| June, 2004 | 45 |
| May, 2004 | 46 |
| Late March, 2004 | 43 |
| Mid-March, 2004 | 44 |
| Late February, 2004 | 47 |
| Early February, 2004 | 52 |
| Early January, 2004 | 50 |
| October, 2003 |  |

November, 2000
Late October, 2000
Mid-October, 2000
Early October, 2000
September, 2000

| Bush | Kerry |
| :---: | :---: |
| 45 | 46 |
| 45 | 45 |
| 48 | 41 |
| 49 | 43 |
| 45 | 47 |
| 44 | 46 |
| 46 | 42 |
| 43 | 46 |
| 44 | 43 |
| 42 | 49 |
| 48 | 46 |
| 45 | 50 |
| 46 | 47 |
| 43 | 52 |
| 44 | 48 |
| 47 | 47 |
| 52 | 41 |
| 50 | 42 |


| Nader | (VOL.) <br> Other/ <br> DK/ Ref |
| :---: | :---: |
| 1 | 8 |
| 2 | 9 |
| 1 | 9 |
| 2 | 7 |
| 3 | 6 |
| 6 | 7 |
| 6 | 6 |
| 6 | 5 |
| 4 | 7 |
|  | 5 |
| n/a | 6 |
| n/a | 5 |
| n/a | 7 |
| n/a | 5 |
| n/a | 8 |
| n/a | 6 |
| n/a | 7 |
| n/a | 8 |

(VOL.)
Other/

| Nader | Buchanan | DK/ Ref |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 4 | 1 | 9 |
| 4 | 1 | 7 |
| 4 | 1 | 7 |
| 5 | * | 8 |
| 2 | 1 | 9 |
| 6 | 2 | 9 |
| 2 | 2 | 19 |
| 4 | 3 | 10 |
| n/a | 4 | 6 |
| n/a | 10 | 6 |
| n/a | n/a | 6 |
| n/a | n/a | 9 |
| n/a | n/a | 9 |
| n/a | n/a | 8 |
| n/a | n/a | 9 |
| n/a | n/a | 5 |
| n/a | n/a | 7 |
| n/a | n/a | 7 |

[^0]Q.P2/ P2a TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTI NUED...
(VOL.)
Other/
July, 1999
March, 1999
J anuary, 1999
Early September, 1998

| Bush | Gore |
| :---: | :---: |
| 53 | 42 |
| 54 | 41 |
| 50 | 44 |
| 53 | 40 |


| Nader | Buchanan |
| :---: | :---: |
| $n / a$ | n/a |
| n/a | n/a |
| n/a | n/a |
| n/a | n/a |


| DK/ Ref |
| :---: |
| 5 |
| 5 |
| 6 |
| 7 |

(VOL.)
Other/
DK/ Ref
8
7
7
6
6
5
3

5
5
5
6
6
4
6
5
Other/
DK/ Ref
3
9
6
9
Late October, 1992
Early October, 1992
J une, 1992
Two-way trial heats:
September, 1992
August, 1992
June, 1992
May, 1992
Late March, 1992

| Bush Sr. |
| :---: |
| 34 |
| 35 |
| 31 |
|  |
| 38 |
| 37 |
| 46 |
| 46 |
| 50 |


|  |  | Onlymod | DK | Dukakis Strongly |  | Only |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Bush Sr. | rongly |  |  |  |  | DK |
| 50 | 24 | 26 | -- | 42 | 20 |  | 22 | -- |
| 50 | 26 | 24 | -- | 44 | 19 | 25 | -- |
| 40 | 12 | 28 | -- | 53 | 14 | 39 | -- |

## Other/ <br> DK/ Ref <br> 8 <br> 6

September, 1988
May, 1988
QUESTI ONS 1-21 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

## 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?

|  | Republican | Democrat | Independent | (VOL.) <br> No preference | (VOL.) <br> Other party | (VOL.) <br> DK/Ref | Lean Rep | Lean Dem |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Jul 16-26, 2012 | 22 | 33 | 38 | 4 | * | 3 | 14 | 15 |
| Jun 28-Jul 9, 2012 | 24 | 33 | 37 | 3 | * | 3 | 15 | 17 |
| Jun 7-17, 2012 | 24 | 33 | 39 | 2 | * | 2 | 17 | 17 |
| May 9-J un 3, 2012 | 24 | 32 | 36 | 4 | * | 4 | 13 | 14 |
| Apr 4-15, 2012 | 24 | 31 | 39 | 3 | * | 2 | 15 | 15 |
| Mar 7-11, 2012 | 24 | 34 | 36 | 3 | 1 | 2 | 16 | 17 |
| Feb 8-12, 2012 | 26 | 32 | 36 | 4 | 1 | 2 | 13 | 17 |
| J an 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 |
| Yearly Totals |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 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 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- |

## ASK ALL: <br> TEAPARTY2

From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?
(VOL.)
Not

| Agree | Disagree | No opinion <br> either way | (VOL.) <br> Haven't <br> heard of | Not <br> (VOL.) | Refused <br> heard of/ | DK |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  | 27 | 54 | 2 | 1 | -- |  |
| 19 | 27 | 49 | 3 | 2 | -- |  |
| 21 | 25 | 52 | 2 | 1 | -- |  |
| 16 | 25 | 54 | 2 | 3 | -- |  |
| 20 | 26 | 50 | 3 | 2 | -- |  |
| 19 | 29 | 48 | 2 | 2 | -- |  |

## TEAPARTY2 CONTI NUED...

Feb 8-12, 2012
J an 11-16, 2012
Jan 4-8, 2012
Dec 7-11, 2011
Nov 9-14, 2011
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011
Aug 17-21, 2011
Jul 20-24, 2011

| Agree | Disagree | No opinion either way |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 18 | 25 | 53 |
| 20 | 24 | 52 |
| 18 | 25 | 52 |
| 19 | 27 | 50 |
| 20 | 27 | 51 |
| 19 | 27 | 51 |
| 20 | 27 | 50 |
| 20 | 24 | 53 |
| 20 | 26 | 50 |
| 18 | 23 | 54 |
| 22 | 29 | 47 |
| 19 | 25 | 54 |
| 20 | 25 | 52 |
| 22 | 22 | 53 |
| 24 | 22 | 50 |
| 22 | 26 | 49 |
| 27 | 22 | 49 |
| 29 | 25 | 32 |
| 28 | 24 | 30 |
| 29 | 26 | 32 |
| 22 | 18 | 37 |
| 24 | 18 | 30 |
| 25 | 18 | 31 |
| 24 | 14 | 29 |

(VOL.)
Haven't
heard of (VOL.) heard of/ $\frac{\text { Refused }}{2}$ DK 2

Jun 15-19, 2011
May 25-30, 2011
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011
Mar 8-14, 2011
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011
Feb 2-7, 2011 ${ }^{2}$
J an 5-9, 2011
Dec 1-5, 2010
Nov 4-7, 2010
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010
J un 16-20, 2010
May 20-23, 2010
Mar 11-21, 2010
24

| No opinion <br> either way | (VOL.) <br> Haven't <br> heard of | (VOL.) <br> Refused | Not <br> heard of/ |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| 53 | 2 | $\frac{2}{\text { DK }}$ |  |

[^1]
[^0]:    1 After August 2008, June 2004, July 2000, July 1996, June 1992 and June 1988 the question specified vice presidential candidates.

[^1]:    2 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."

