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GOP Base Getting Behind McCain
THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE DRAWS EVEN

Also inside...
- McCain strengthens leadership image
- Many Clinton backers holding out
- One-in-three are “swing voters”
- What “troubles” voters about the candidates

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GOP Base Getting Behind McCain
THE PRESIDENTIAL RACE DRAWS EVEN

With less than two weeks to go before the start of the presidential nominating conventions, Barack Obama’s lead over John McCain has disappeared. Pew’s latest survey finds 46% of registered voters saying they favor or lean to the putative Democratic candidate, while 43% back his likely Republican rival. In late June, Obama held a comfortable 48%-to-40% margin over McCain, which narrowed in mid-July to 47% to 42%.

Two factors appear to be at play in shifting voter sentiment. First, McCain is garnering more support from his base – including Republicans and white evangelical Protestants – than he was in June, and he also has steadily gained backing from white working class voters over this period. Secondly and more generally, the Arizona senator has made gains on his leadership image. An even greater percentage of voters than in June now see McCain as the candidate who would use the best judgment in a crisis, and an increasing percentage see him as the candidate who can get things done.

Conversely, Obama has made little progress in increasing his support among core Democrats since June – currently 83% favor him compared with 87% of Republicans who back McCain. The likely Democratic nominee is still getting relatively modest support from Hillary Clinton’s former supporters: 72% of them support Obama, compared with the 88% support level that McCain receives from backers of his formal GOP rivals. Obama’s strong points with voters are in being seen as the candidate with new ideas and as someone who connects well with ordinary people.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, was conducted by telephone – both landline phones and cell phones – from July 31-August 10 among 2,414 registered voters. It finds that race, gender and age are strong drivers of support in a closely divided
Almost nine-in-ten African American voters (88%) back Obama, while McCain leads 51% to 39% among whites. Since June, McCain has gained support among men who now favor him by a 49%-to-41% margin. In contrast, women favor Obama by a roughly comparable margin of 51% to 38%. The Democratic candidate holds a 24 percentage-point lead over his rival among voters younger than age 30, whereas voters over age 50 are more evenly split (47% McCain, 42% Obama).

While Sen. McCain is attracting more support from Republicans than Sen. Obama is from Democrats, McCain’s backers continue to be less enthusiastic about him than are Obama supporters about their candidate. Fewer than half of McCain’s backers (39%) describe themselves as strong supporters of the Arizona senator, compared with 58% of Obama backers who say they support Obama strongly. The McCain supporters who back him “only moderately” are most troubled by his positions on economic issues, while Obama’s soft supporters are most troubled by his personal abilities and experience.

As was the case in Pew’s June and July surveys, one in three voters (33%) can be categorized as swing voters – of this group 12% lean to Obama. 11% lean to McCain and 10% are undecided.
McCain Makes Gains among GOP Base, White Working Class

The basic contours of the presidential race remain as they were earlier in the summer, but McCain currently enjoys slightly greater support among Republicans than he did two months ago (87% now, 82% in June), while Obama’s support among Democrats is unchanged (83% now, 82% in June). The candidates remain essentially tied among independents (45% for Obama, 41% for McCain).

McCain leads among white evangelical Protestant voters, 68% to 24% for Obama. In June, McCain’s lead was slightly smaller (61% to 25%). The candidates remain virtually tied among a crucial swing voter group, white non-Hispanic Catholics (44% Obama, 45% McCain).

Obama retains a very solid lead among young voters, topping McCain by 58% to 34% among those younger than age 30, about the same as in June. But he no longer has a clear lead among those ages 30-49, which he did in June. Among voters age 50 and older, the candidates are separated by only five points, with McCain holding a slight edge.

McCain now holds a significant 49%-to-41% lead among men, a group he split with Obama in June. Obama leads among women, 51% to 38%, nearly identical to his showing in June.
McCain continues to lead among white voters overall, and has made gains over the past two months among both whites living in the South and those who have not attended college. White southerners now favor McCain by a margin of 29 points, 60% to 31%. Two months ago, his advantage was 17 points (53% to 36%). In June, McCain led among whites with no more than a high school education by a modest 6 points, 45% to 39%. He now leads by nearly 20 points among this group (53% to 34%). McCain also leads Obama among white voters who have some college experience but do not have a four-year degree (53% for McCain, 39% for Obama). The two candidates are tied among white college graduates (46% each).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>June Obama</th>
<th>McCain</th>
<th>August Obama</th>
<th>McCain</th>
<th>June-Aug McCain change</th>
<th>N</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>All white voters</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>+3%</td>
<td>1965</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republicans</td>
<td>9%</td>
<td>83%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>88%</td>
<td>+5%</td>
<td>700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrats</td>
<td>77%</td>
<td>13%</td>
<td>78%</td>
<td>14%</td>
<td>+1%</td>
<td>577</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independents</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>+2%</td>
<td>627</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>55%</td>
<td>+2%</td>
<td>982</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>+3%</td>
<td>983</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College grad</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>+4%</td>
<td>842</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>+4%</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS or less</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>34%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>+8%</td>
<td>617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$75,000+</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>56%</td>
<td>+4%</td>
<td>684</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50-$74,999</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>+9%</td>
<td>353</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30-$49,999</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>-5%</td>
<td>327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $30,000</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>+5%</td>
<td>373</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
<td>49%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>51%</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>-3%</td>
<td>178</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>52%</td>
<td>+4%</td>
<td>595</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>48%</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>+6%</td>
<td>682</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>37%</td>
<td>50%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>490</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>-2%</td>
<td>351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>53%</td>
<td>31%</td>
<td>60%</td>
<td>+7%</td>
<td>712</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>42%</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>0%</td>
<td>518</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>45%</td>
<td>44%</td>
<td>47%</td>
<td>+2%</td>
<td>384</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on white registered voters. Figures read horizontally.

Candidate Support in 2008 Compared with 2004 and 2002

McCain’s overall lead over Obama among white registered voters (51% to 39%) is comparable to the advantage held by Bush over his Democratic opponents in 2000 (52% to 41% over Al Gore) and in 2004 (50% to 42% over John Kerry) at similar points in the campaign. And many of the demographic differences seen in previous elections continue to hold today – white voters who are evangelical Protestants, who have higher incomes, and who live in the South are among the strongest backers of John McCain, as they were of George W. Bush in his presidential elections.
But unlike the 2000 and 2004 elections, age and education are strongly related to the vote choice of whites this year. A slim majority (51%) of whites younger than age 30 favor Obama in the current survey, while McCain is leading by a wide margin among those ages 30 and older. In the summers of 2000 and 2004, George W. Bush ran at least as strongly among younger whites as he did among older whites. Similarly, Barack Obama garners substantially more support from college-educated whites than he does among those who never attended college – there was no difference between high- and low-education white voters in the past two elections.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White Voters in 2008 vs. 2004 and 2000*</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Whites</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Women</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>65+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>College grad+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some college</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HS or less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$75,000+</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$50-$74,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$30-$49,999</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Under $30,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Northeast</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>South</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midwest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White Protestant</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mainline</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evangelical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-Hispanic Catholic</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unaffiliated</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democrat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on white registered voters.
Swing Vote Remains Large

As was the case in June and July, one-in-three registered voters are swing voters, meaning that they either offer no initial candidate preference or say they might still change their mind. Currently, 35% of voters say they back Obama and have definitely decided not to vote for John McCain, 32% favor McCain and have definitely decided not to vote for Obama. Among independents, fully 46% fall into this swing voter category.

Primary Divisions Continue for Democrats

While 72% of Democratic and Democratic-leaning registered voters who backed Hillary Clinton for the party’s nomination say they will support Barack Obama this fall, a significant number of holdouts remain. Among the 28% who say they will not support Obama on November 4th, 18% say they will support McCain, 7% don’t yet know who they will support and 3% plan to back another candidate. The Obama campaign has made no significant headway among former Clinton backers over the past two months. The voting preferences of Clinton’s supporters are virtually identical to earlier polls in June and July.

By comparison, fully 88% of Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters who backed a candidate other than John McCain for the GOP nomination say they will support McCain this fall. Just 6% favor Obama. Support for McCain in the general election has consistently been just as strong among Republicans who didn’t back him for the nomination as it is among those who did. By contrast, among Democrats, Clinton’s primary supporters are 21 points less likely than Obama’s primary supporters to back Obama in the general election (72% vs. 93%).
Despite these internal divisions, Barack Obama continues to have substantially more strong supporters in the general election than does John McCain. Overall, 27% of registered voters describe themselves as supporting Obama strongly, while just 17% say they back McCain strongly. This imbalance is driven by the overwhelming enthusiasm for Obama from those who backed him in the primaries.

**McCain Strengthens Leadership Image**

By a two-to-one margin (54% to 27%) voters say the phrase “personally qualified to be president” better describes McCain, virtually unchanged from June. Voters also continue to see McCain as the candidate who is most likely to use good judgment in a crisis, and the GOP candidate also now holds an advantage over his opponent on other key leadership traits. Meanwhile, Obama’s greatest advantage is being seen as the candidate who has new ideas and who connects well with ordinary people.

The percentage of voters citing McCain as the candidate who “would use good judgment in a crisis” and as the candidate who “can get things done” has increased significantly since June. More than half of voters (51%) now say McCain would use good judgment while 36% say the phrase better describes Obama; in June, McCain held a narrower 9-point advantage. Opinions about which candidate can get things done are nearly evenly divided (42% name McCain and 40% name Obama); in June, Obama held a slight edge (43% to 37%).

McCain has also improved his advantage as the candidate who is “willing to take a stand, even if it’s unpopular.” Nearly half of voters say this phrase better describes the Republican candidate (48%), compared

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>McCain Advantage on the Leadership Dimension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trait better describes...</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personally qualified</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good judgment in crisis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willing to take a stand</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can get things done</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Obama Advantage on the Personal Dimension</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Trait better describes...</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has new ideas</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Connects well w/ people</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Typical politician</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shares my values</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>August 2008</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2008</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on registered voters.
with 38% who say it better describes his Democratic opponent. In June, voters were about as likely to name McCain (44%) as they were to name Obama (41%).

While McCain has made considerable gains relative to Obama in some areas, voters continue to say Obama is the candidate who has new ideas (69% to 17%), connects well with ordinary people (57% to 30%) and shares their values (47% to 39%). In addition, voters are much more likely to see McCain as “a typical politician” – about half (49%) say this phrase better describes McCain and 31% say it better describes Obama, virtually unchanged from June.

As was the case in June, voters are nearly evenly divided on whether the phrase “honest and truthful” better describes McCain or Obama. About four-in-ten (39%) see McCain as the more honest candidate and 36% name Obama.

**What “Troubles” Voters About the Candidates?**

When asked to pick what troubles them most about Barack Obama, about a third of McCain backers (34%) say his personal abilities and experience. But a substantial number – adding to a majority overall – cite Obama’s positions on either foreign policy issues (22%), economic issues (15%) or social and moral issues (16%) as the most troubling thing about him.

Not surprisingly, Obama’s policy positions trouble far fewer of his own backers, but worries about his personal abilities and experiences are just as widespread. Overall, 32% of Obama backers say this is what troubles them most about Obama. Among those who say they back Obama “only moderately” rather than strongly, fully 43% cite Obama’s personal abilities and experiences as what troubles them most.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What Troubles You Most About Barack Obama?</th>
<th>Support McCain</th>
<th>----Support Obama----</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal abilities &amp; experiences</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy positions</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic positions</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social &amp; moral positions</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None/Nothing</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DK</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on registered voters.

When it comes to John McCain, concerns are focused almost entirely on his policy positions – fewer than one-in-ten voters (9%) cite his personal abilities and experiences as the most troubling. Obama’s supporters are most widely troubled by McCain’s positions on foreign policy issues (33%) followed by his positions on economic issues (26%). The reverse is true.
among McCain’s own backers, where McCain’s economic positions (28%) are cited far more often than his foreign policy positions (16%). Those who back McCain “only moderately” are the most likely to cite his economic positions as what troubles them most (32%).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What Troubles You Most About John McCain?</th>
<th>Support Obama</th>
<th>Support McCain</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy positions</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic positions</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social &amp; moral positions</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal abilities &amp; experiences</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None/Nothing</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on registered voters.

What Voters Like about the Candidates

Another area of distinction lies in what voters say they “like most” about the two candidates. For John McCain, his personal abilities and experiences stand out as the most liked trait among both his backers (46%) and Obama’s backers (37%). A plurality of Obama’s supporters (36%) say that his positions on economic issues are what they like most about him, followed by his positions on social and moral issues (23%). Relatively few Obama supporters (17%) cite his personal abilities and experiences as what they like most – nearly twice as many (32%) cite this as what troubles them most about Obama. And while foreign policy is what troubles Obama supporters most about McCain, it does not stand out as a particular strength for Obama – just 14% of Obama supporters say this is what they like most about him.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>What Do You Like Most About…</th>
<th>Support Obama</th>
<th>Support McCain</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Barack Obama</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic positions</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social &amp; moral positions</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal abilities &amp; experiences</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy positions</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None/Nothing</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on registered voters.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>John McCain</th>
<th>Support McCain</th>
<th>Support Obama</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Personal abilities &amp; experiences</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign policy positions</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economic positions</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social &amp; moral positions</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None/Nothing</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Based on registered voters.

While most Obama supporters can cite something that they “like most” about John McCain – with his personal abilities and experiences topping the list – a majority of McCain supporters (53%) say that they don’t like Obama on any of these fronts.
ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Abt SRBI, Inc., among a nationwide sample of 2,905 adults, 18 years of age or older, from July 31-August 10, 2008 (2,254 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 651 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 262 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International.

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

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Sample Size</th>
<th>Plus or minus…</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total sample</td>
<td>2,905</td>
<td>2.0 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Registered voter sample</td>
<td>2,414</td>
<td>2.5 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican registered voter sample</td>
<td>748</td>
<td>4.0 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic registered voter sample</td>
<td>812</td>
<td>4.0 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Independent registered voter sample</td>
<td>759</td>
<td>4.0 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Republican- &amp; Republican-leaning RV sample</td>
<td>1,054</td>
<td>3.5 percentage points</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Democratic- &amp; Democratic-leaning RV sample</td>
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In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

ABOUT THE CENTER

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

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

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

Andrew Kohut, Director
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors
Kim Parker, Senior Researcher
Kathleen Holzwart and Alec Tyson, Research Analysts
James Albrittain, Research Assistant

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QUESTION 1 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

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

IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN REGIST ASK:
REGICERT Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

| 79 | Yes, Registered |
| 77 | Absolutely certain |
| 2  | Chance registration has lapsed |
| *  | Don’t know/refused (VOL.) |
| 21 | No, not registered |
| *  | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) |
| 100| |

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
PRECINCT Have you ever voted in your precinct or election district?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

| 88 | Yes |
| 12 | No |
| *  | Don’t know/Refused (VOL.) |
| 100| |

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

| 55 | Always |
| 29 | Nearly always |
| 9  | Part of the time, OR |
| 4  | Seldom? |
| 2  | Never vote (VOL. — DO NOT READ) |
| 1  | Other response (VOL. — DO NOT READ) |
| *  | Don't know/Refused (VOL. — DO NOT READ) |
| 100| |

NO QUESTIONS 2 THROUGH 4
ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
Q.5  Now, suppose the 2008 presidential election was being held TODAY. If you had to choose between [READ AND ROTATE] who would you vote for?

IF OTHER OR DK (Q.5 =3,9), ASK:
Q.5a  As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.5]?

IF CHOSE MCCAIN OR OBAMA IN Q.5 (Q.5=1,2), ASK:
Q.5b  Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.5—LAST NAME ONLY) strongly or only moderately?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

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**Two-way trial heats:**

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1  Includes those who say they “lean McCain” or “lean Obama” in Q.5a.
Two-way trial heats:

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Bush, Sr.

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ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
Q.5  Now, suppose the 2008 presidential election were being held TODAY. If you had to choose between [READ AND ROTATE]—who would you vote for?

IF OTHER OR DK (Q.5 =3,9), ASK:
Q.5a  As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.5]?

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE JOHN MCCAIN (1 IN Q.5 OR 1 IN Q.5a):
Q.6a  Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR John McCain or more a vote AGAINST Barack Obama?

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE BARACK OBAMA (2 IN Q.5 OR 2 IN Q.5a):
Q.6b  Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR Barack Obama or more a vote AGAINST John McCain?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

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**Two-way trial heats:**

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**Two-way trial heats:**

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3 The question regarding whether a vote was more for one’s candidate of choice or more against his opponents was not asked of Nader supporters or Buchanan supporters in 2000.
Q.5/5A/6A/6B CONTINUED…

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

ROTATE Q.7 AND Q.8

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

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4  In June 2004, May 2004, Late March 2004, Mid-March 2004, Mid-June 2000 and July 1996 the head-to-head match-up was asked both as a three-way and a two-way trial heat. In those surveys, this question followed the two-way trial heat.
IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE OBAMA IN Q.5/5a (Q.5=1 OR Q.5a=1,3,9) ASK: ROTATE Q.7 AND Q.8

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

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5 In June 2004, May 2004, Late March 2004, Mid-March 2004, Mid-June 2000 and July 1996 the head-to-head match-up was asked both as a three-way and a two-way trial heat. In those surveys, this question followed the two-way trial heat.
ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
PLANTO1 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

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6 From Mid-October 2004 to November 2006 and in Early November 2002, the “Yes, Plan to vote” category also includes people who volunteered that they already voted. In November 2006, Early November 2002, Early November, 2006, Late October 1998, November 1996 and November 1994 the question was worded: “Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this Tuesday, or not?”
ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>August, 2009</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>DK/Ref</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>80</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Early November, 2002</td>
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<tr>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>Mid-October, 2000</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>November, 1996</td>
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<td>October, 1996</td>
<td>77</td>
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<td>October, 1994</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallup: September, 1992</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallup: October, 1988</td>
<td>77</td>
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<td>*</td>
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<td>2=100</td>
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<tr>
<td>Gallup: October, 1998</td>
<td>73</td>
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<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>*</td>
<td>*</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.9 Thinking back to the Democratic nomination contest, who did you prefer more -- Barack Obama or Hillary Clinton?

BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1159]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>July 2008</th>
<th>June 2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>50</td>
<td>Barack Obama</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41</td>
<td>Hillary Clinton</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Other (VOL.)</td>
<td>*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Neither/None (VOL.)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Don’t know/Refused (VOL.)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7 In November 2006, November 2004 and Early November 2002, the “10 – definitely will vote” category also includes people who volunteered that they already voted.
ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
Q.10 Thinking back to the Republican nomination contest, who did you prefer more -- John McCain or one of the other candidates who ran?

BASED ON REPUBLICAN AND REPUBLICAN LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1054]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>July 2008</th>
<th>June 2008</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>42</td>
<td>43</td>
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<tr>
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<td>51</td>
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<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NO QUESTIONS 11 THROUGH 15

ROTATE Q.16/Q.17 BLOCK WITH Q.18/Q.19 BLOCK. AFTER FIRST RANDOMIZATION OF RESPONSE OPTIONS KEEP SAME ORDER FOR ALL OF Q.16 THROUGH Q.19

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
Q.16 Which of the following, if any, do you like most about John McCain? Is it [READ AND RANDOMIZE 1,2,3 with 4 last]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>His positions on moral and social issues</th>
<th>His positions on economic issues</th>
<th>His positions on foreign policy issues</th>
<th>(OR) His personal abilities and experiences</th>
<th>None (VOL)</th>
<th>Don’t know/refused (VOL.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
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<td>100</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
Q.17 And which of the following, if any, TROUBLES you most about John McCain? Is it [READ AND RANDOMIZE 1,2,3 with 4 last]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>His positions on moral and social issues</th>
<th>His positions on economic issues</th>
<th>His positions on foreign policy issues</th>
<th>(OR) His personal abilities and experiences</th>
<th>None (VOL)</th>
<th>Don’t know/refused (VOL.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>25</td>
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<td>9</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
Q.18 Which of the following, if any, do you like most about Barack Obama? Is it [READ AND RANDOMIZE 1,2,3 with 4 last]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

17  His positions on moral and social issues
24  His positions on economic issues

9   His positions on foreign policy issues
14  (OR) His personal abilities and experiences
28  None (VOL)

8   Don’t know/refused (VOL)
100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
Q.19 And which of the following, if any, TROUBLES you most about Barack Obama? Is it [READ AND RANDOMIZE 1,2,3 with 4 last]

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2414]:

11  His positions on moral and social issues
12  His positions on economic issues
18  His positions on foreign policy issues
33  (OR) His personal abilities and experiences
17  None (VOL)

9   Don’t know/refused (VOL)
100

NO QUESTION 20

ASK ALL:
Q.21 And as I read a list of phrases, tell me if you think each phrase better describes [ROTATE ORDER OF CANDIDATES] John McCain or Barack Obama. [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS] – does this better describe [READ IN SAME ORDER: McCain or Obama]? What about [INSERT ITEM]

[REPEAT IF NECESSARY: “Would you say this better describes [READ IN SAME ORDER: McCain or Obama]?]

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=1208]:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>John McCain</th>
<th>Barack Obama</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Equally</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>DK/Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a.F1 Would use good judgment in a crisis</td>
<td>August, 2008 51</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5=100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>June, 2008 47</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7=100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bush/Kerry</td>
<td>Mid-October, 2004 48</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6=100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td>Early October, 2004 51</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7=100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mid-September 22-26, 2004 49</td>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
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<td>September, 2004 53</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Late March, 2004 46</td>
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<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
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<td>Mid-March, 2004 48</td>
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<td>Bush/Gore</td>
<td>Late-October, 2000 43</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Mid-October, 2000 40</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Early October, 2000 36</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7=100</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
Q.21 CONTINUED…

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Barack Obama</th>
<th>(VOL.) Neither</th>
<th>(VOL.) Both Equally</th>
<th>DK/Ref.</th>
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<td>3</td>
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<tr>
<td>June, 2000</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>37</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8=100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

NO ITEM b.

c.F1  A typical politician
     August, 2008   49  31  4  12  4=100
     June, 2008     50  30  4  12  4=100
     Bush/Kerry     Late March, 2004 36  39  2  17  6=100
                        Mid-March, 2004 38  38  1  19  4=100
     Bush/Gore      Late-October, 2000 29  51  2  15  3=100
                        Mid-October, 2000 29  45  3  19  4=100
                        September, 2000 37  37  2  20  4=100
                        June, 2000        34  37  1  22  7=100

d.F1  Can get things done
     August, 2008   42  40  7  4  7=100
     June, 2008     37  43  5  7  8=100
     Bush/Kerry     Late March, 2004 49  30  4  4  13=100
                        Mid-March, 2004 50  34  4  4  8=100
     Bush/Gore      Late-October, 2000 43  39  5  6  7=100
                        Mid-October, 2000 41  39  6  8  6=100
                        Early October, 2000 37  38  5  11  9=100
                        September, 2000 40  40  4  8  8=100
                        June, 2000        43  33  8  6  10=100

e.F1  Shares my values
     August, 2008   39  47  6  3  5=100
     June, 2008     38  44  8  4  6=100
     Bush/Gore      June, 2000        40  35  11  5  9=100

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY [N=1206]:
f.F2  Has new ideas
     August, 2008   17  69  8  2  4=100
     June, 2008     12  74  7  3  4=100
     Bush/Gore      Late October, 2000 44  35  9  7  5=100
                        Mid-October, 2000 42  33  11  8  6=100
                        June, 2000        38  32  14  7  9=100

g.F2  Personally qualified to be president
     August, 2008   54  27  6  9  4=100
     June, 2008     55  27  5  8  5=100
     Bush/Gore      Late October, 2000 38  45  5  9  3=100
                        Mid-October, 2000 35  45  6  9  5=100
                        Early October, 2000 31  49  5  11  4=100
                        June, 2000        37  37  10  10  6=100

h.F2  Honest and truthful
     August, 2008   39  36  9  10  6=100
     June, 2008     37  36  11  9  7=100
     Bush/Kerry     Mid-October, 2004 40  37  14  3  6=100
Q.21 CONTINUED...

<table>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>John</th>
<th>Barack</th>
<th>Neither</th>
<th>Equally</th>
<th>Both</th>
<th>DK/Ref.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Early October, 2004</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6=100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mid-September 22-26, 2004</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>9=100</td>
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<td>September, 2004</td>
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<td>35</td>
<td>12</td>
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j.F2 Willing to take a stand, even if it’s unpopular

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QUESTIONS 22 THROUGH 58 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE
**ASK ALL:**
**PARTY** In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

**IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:**
**PARTYLN** As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

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