

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

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

ASK ALL:

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now, thinking about the recent election...

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

- 44¹ John McCain
- 51 Barack Obama
- * Ralph Nader
- * Bob Barr
- 5 Other/DK/Can't Remember (VOL.)
- 100

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

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

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

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

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

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

ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1)

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

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

NO QUESTIONS 6-8

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

NO QUESTIONS 12-17

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

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

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

NO QUESTION 19

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=744]:

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

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

NO ITEMS C-F

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

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

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=756]:

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

Q.22 CONTINUED ...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

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

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

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

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

TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

²

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

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

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

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

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

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

BASED ON ALL VOTERS [N=1500]:

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

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

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

BASED ON ALL VOTERS [N=1500]:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ROTATE Q.28 AND Q.29

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

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

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

ROTATE Q.28 AND Q.29

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

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

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

Generally...

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

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

³

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

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

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

		<i>Bush</i> <u>Nov 2004⁴</u>	<i>Clinton</i> <u>Nov 1996</u>
58	Happy	53	53
35	Unhappy	43	42
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

NO QUESTIONS 32-33

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

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

		<i>Bush</i> <u>Nov 2004⁵</u>	GP <i>Clinton</i> <u>Dec 1996</u>
67	Barack Obama will have a SUCCESSFUL first term	61	58
22	Barack Obama will have an UNSUCCESSFUL first term	29	36
1	Neither/No change (VOL)	1	1
<u>10</u>	Don't know (VOL)	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100

NO QUESTION 35

ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1)

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

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

TREND FOR COMPARISON

CBS News/New York Times Poll – July, 2008

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

Newsweek Poll – September, 1996

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

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC

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

HOTLINE/Battleground Tracking Poll – October, 1996

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

BASED ON LIKELY VOTERS

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

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

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

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

TRENDS FOR COMPARISON

Newsweek Poll – September, 1996

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

BASED ON GENERAL PUBLIC

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

HOTLINE/Battleground Tracking Poll – October, 1996

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

BASED ON LIKELY VOTERS

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

NO QUESTION 39

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

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

ASK IF VOTED EARLY (Q.40=2)

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

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

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

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

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

Q.43 How long did you wait to vote?

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

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

IF VOTED EARLY (Q.40=2):

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

⁸

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Now thinking about election night...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

In the election...

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ROTATE Q.62 AND Q.63

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

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

9 In Mid-October 2008, Early November 2006, Early October 2006, and Mid-October 2004 the question was worded "How confident are you that your vote will be accurately counted in the upcoming election?"
 10 In November 2006, the answer categories referred to "Democratic leaders" rather than "Barack Obama." Full trend not shown. Results also exist for January 2007.

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

ROTATE Q.62 AND Q.63

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1)

Q.66 As I name some traits, please tell me whether you think each one describes Barack Obama. First, **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** do you think of Barack Obama as **[FIRST ITEM]** or not? Do you think of Barack Obama as **[NEXT ITEM]** or not?

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

TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

b. Honest			
November, 2008	68	26	6=100

TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

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

TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

d. Inspiring			
November, 2008	81	18	1=100

TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

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

TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

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

TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

g.	Having poor judgment November, 2008	22	70	8=100
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TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

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

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

TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

March, 2008 ¹²	54	43	3=100
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b.	Proud November, 2008	65	32	3=100
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TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

March, 2008	42	53	5=100
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c.	Angry November, 2008	9	91	*=100
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TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

March, 2008	26	71	3=100
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d.	Uneasy November, 2008	35	64	1=100
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TREND BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS

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

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

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

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

PARTYLN As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?

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

12 *Lean Rep*
14 *Lean Dem*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹³

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