



THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER
For The People & The Press

NEWS Release
1615 L Street, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20036
Tel (202) 419-4350
Fax (202) 419-4399

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: TUESDAY, October 21, 2008

Obama's Lead Widens: 52%-38%
GROWING DOUBTS ABOUT MCCAIN'S JUDGMENT, AGE AND CAMPAIGN CONDUCT

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- 23% of voters still persuadable
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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research
Pew Research Center for the People & the Press
202/419-4350
<http://www.people-press.org>

Obama's Lead Widens: 52%-38%

GROWING DOUBTS ABOUT MCCAIN'S JUDGMENT, AGE AND CAMPAIGN CONDUCT

Barack Obama's lead over John McCain has steadily increased since mid-September, when the race was essentially even. Shortly after the first presidential debate on Sept. 26, Obama moved to a 49% to 42% lead; that margin inched up to 50% to 40% in a poll taken just after the second debate. Currently, Obama enjoys his widest margin yet over McCain among registered voters, at 52% to 38%. When the sample of voters is narrowed to those most likely to vote, Obama leads by 53% to 39%.

	July	Aug	Sept 9-14	Sept 27-29	Oct 9-12	Oct 16-19
Registered voters	%	%	%	%	%	%
Obama/Biden	47	46	46	49	50	52
McCain/Palin	42	43	44	42	40	38
Other/DK	11	11	10	9	10	10
	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	1,241	2,414	2,509	1,258	1,278	2,599
Likely voters						
Obama/Biden	--	--	46	49	49	53
McCain/Palin	--	--	46	43	42	39
Other/DK	--	--	8	8	9	8
			100	100	100	100
N			2,307	1,181	1,191	2,382

Obama's strong showing in the current poll reflects greater confidence in the Democratic candidate personally. More voters see him as "well-qualified" and "down-to-earth" than did so a month ago. Obama also is inspiring more confidence on several key issues, including Iraq and terrorism, than he did before the debates. Most important, Obama now leads McCain as the candidate best able to improve economic conditions by a wider margin (53% to 32%).

Obama's gains notwithstanding, a widespread loss of confidence in McCain appears to be the most significant factor in the race at this point. Many more voters express doubts about McCain's judgment than about Obama's: 41% see McCain as "having poor judgment," while just 29% say that this trait describes Obama. Fewer voters also view McCain as inspiring than did so in mid-September (37% now, 43% then). By contrast, 71% of voters continue to think of Obama as inspiring.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Oct. 16-19 among 2,599 registered voters interviewed on landline phones and cell phones, finds that McCain's age also has become more of an issue for voters. Roughly a third (34%) now says that McCain is too old to be president; in the Sept. 9-14 survey, just 23% said this. At this stage in the 1996 campaign, about as many voters (32%) said Republican candidate Bob Dole was too old to be president.

In addition, Sarah Palin appears to be a continuing – if not an increasing – drag on the GOP ticket. Currently, 49% of voters express an unfavorable opinion of Palin, while 44% have a favorable view. In mid-September, favorable opinions of Palin outnumbered negative ones by 54% to 32%. Women, especially women under age 50, have become increasingly critical of Palin: 60% now express an unfavorable view of Palin, up from 36% in mid-September. Notably, opinions of Palin have a greater impact on voting intentions than do opinions of Joe Biden, Obama's running mate.

McCain may also be getting hurt by opinions of his campaign. A large majority of voters (64%) give McCain a grade of C or lower for his efforts to convince people to vote for him; only about a third (34%) gives McCain a grade of A or B for his campaign efforts. These grades are lower than those accorded to George Bush during his two successful campaigns and are nearly as low as the grades for Dole's campaign in 1996 (29% A or B).

Obama, by contrast, receives the highest grades for a campaign dating to 1992. Nearly two-thirds of voters (65%) grade Obama's efforts at convincing people to vote for him at A or B; about a third (32%) give Obama's campaign a grade of C or lower.

	Sept 9-14 %	Oct 16-19 %
<i>Who can best handle...</i>		
The Economy		
Obama	47	53
McCain	38	32
Iraq		
Obama	41	48
McCain	48	42
<i>View each as...</i>		
Inspiring		
Obama	71	71
McCain	43	37
Having poor judgment		
Obama	--	29
McCain	--	41
<i>Is McCain too old to be president?</i>		
Yes	23	34
No	73	64
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

Based on registered voters.

<i>Grade election campaign an A or B</i>	<u>All voters</u> %
2008 Obama Campaign	65
2004 Kerry Campaign	46
2000 Gore Campaign	35
1996 Clinton Campaign	50
1992 Clinton Campaign	58
2008 McCain Campaign	34
2004 Bush Campaign	42
2000 Bush Campaign	40
1996 Dole Campaign	29
1992 Bush, Sr. Campaign	38

Based on registered voters. 2008-2004 surveys conducted in October; 2000 survey conducted in June; 1992-1996 surveys conducted in September.

A steadily growing number of voters say that McCain has been too personally critical of Obama: 56% say that now, up from 42% in mid-September. By contrast, just 26% say that Obama has been too personally critical of McCain, which is largely unchanged from mid-September (28%).

In recent weeks, McCain has lost support across the board. Most notably, he now trails Obama decidedly among political independents (51% to 33%). Yet he also has lost support among some voting blocs that previously had been strongly in his corner, including white evangelical

Protestants and white men. McCain continues to lead Obama among older white men, but even here his margin over Obama has narrowed since mid-September; McCain now leads among white men age 50 and older by 54% to 38%, down from a 27-point lead in mid-September.

For all of Obama's current success, however, there are some signs of vulnerability for his candidacy that could present opportunities for McCain. First, while somewhat more voters see Obama as well-qualified than did so in mid-September, only about half (53%) say this trait describes him; 72% say McCain is well-qualified. Second, swing voters continue to represent nearly a quarter of the electorate (23%). Notably, swing voters are less likely than all voters to say that McCain would continue Bush's policies. They also express far more confidence in McCain than Obama to handle national security issues.

Voter interest in the campaign remains extraordinary: fully 81% continue to say that they have given a lot of thought to the presidential election, the highest ever measured at this stage in a campaign. The same percentages of Republican and Democratic voters say they are giving a lot of thought to the election (82% each). However, a lower percentage of Republicans say it "really matters who wins the 2008 presidential election" (71% vs. 80% of Democrats).

Republicans also are increasingly pessimistic about their party's chances next month. While there has been an across-the-board increase in the proportion of voters predicting an Obama victory since mid-September, the shift among Republicans has been particularly pronounced. About as many Republican voters now see an Obama victory as say McCain will win (40% Obama, 35%

	June 18-29	Sep 9-14	Oct 9-12	Oct 16-19
<i>McCain has been...</i>	%	%	%	%
Too personally critical	26	42	48	56
Not too critical	65	52	44	39
Don't know	9	6	8	5
	100	100	100	100
<i>Obama has been...</i>				
Too personally critical	19	28	22	26
Not too critical	73	65	69	69
Don't know	8	7	9	5
	100	100	100	100
<i>McCain-Obama gap</i>	+7	+14	+26	+30

Based on registered voters.

	June 18-29	Sept 9-14	Oct 16-19
	%	%	%
All voters	63	70	72
Republican	62	71	71
Democrat	70	78	80
Independent	55	60	66
<i>D-R Gap</i>	+8	+7	+9

Based on registered voters.

McCain). In mid-September, 70% of Republicans said McCain would win compared with just 13% who said Obama was more likely to win.

The survey also finds that 31% of voters plan to vote before Election Day, or have already voted, compared with only 19% at this stage in 2004. Early voters lean heavily to Obama; 58% say they support Obama, compared with 34% for McCain.

SECTION 1: THE OBAMA-MCCAIN MATCHUP

Barack Obama leads John McCain not only in overall support but also in the intensity of his support. A sizable plurality of 45% says they are voting for Obama and that there is no chance they will vote for McCain. McCain's "certain" support is much smaller: just 32% are certain to vote for him. Similarly, 36% say they strongly back Obama, while just 21% strongly support McCain.

Obama also holds an advantage in the proportion of voters who say their vote is cast more in support of him than against his opponent. Among Obama supporters, 77% say they are voting more for him than against McCain. Fewer of McCain's voters (64%) are positive voters, while 30% say that their vote is mostly a vote against Barack Obama.

Over the past month, Obama has made gains across a number of political and demographic groups. For the first time, he holds a substantial lead among political independents (51% to 33% for McCain). McCain held a slight edge among independents in mid-September (45% to 38%).

Obama also has drawn even with McCain among white voters (45% to 45%). In the Sept. 9-14 survey, the first conducted after the party conventions, McCain led Obama among white voters by 14 points (52% to 38%). Notably, McCain's advantage among white non-college graduates also has almost disappeared over this period (from 16 points in mid-September to four points in the current survey).

Young voters – those under age 30 – continue to overwhelmingly support Obama (66% vs. 27% for McCain). Obama now also leads among older age groups as well – with the exception of those 65 and older, who are evenly split (44% Obama, 44% McCain). White voters ages 50 and older tilt to McCain, but Obama also has made gains among these voters since mid-September.

Obama Advantage in Positive Support

	<i>More a vote...</i>		
	For	Against	
<i>Among those who back the Democrat</i>	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Oct 2008 (Obama)	77	19	4=100
Sept 2008 (Obama)	71	24	5=100
Aug 2008 (Obama)	71	26	3=100
Nov 2004 (Kerry)	43	50	7=100
Nov 2000 (Gore)	63	32	5=100
Nov 1996 (Clinton)	66	29	5=100
Oct 1992 (Clinton)	57	40	3=100
Oct 1988 (Dukakis)	54	37	9=100
<i>Among those who back the Republican</i>	<u>Rep</u> %	<u>Dem</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Oct 2008 (McCain)	64	30	6=100
Sept 2008 (McCain)	66	28	6=100
Aug 2008 (McCain)	58	36	6=100
Nov 2004 (Bush)	76	20	4=100
Nov 2000 (Bush)	64	30	6=100
Nov 1996 (Dole)	47	48	5=100
Oct 1992 (Bush)	57	38	5=100
Oct 1988 (Bush)	61	32	7=100

"Would you say that your choice is more a vote FOR [name] or more a vote AGAINST [name]?"
Based on registered voters.

Obama also leads 52% to 37% in the political battleground states. Notably, Bush won 10 of these 15 politically contested states in 2004, by margins ranging from less than 1% (Iowa and New Mexico) to 21% (Indiana). John Kerry won five of these states – all by less than 4%.

General Election Matchup										
	Sept 9-14		Sept 27-29		Oct 9-12		Oct 16-19		1 week <i>Obama</i> <i>change</i>	Oct 16-19 <i>N</i>
	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>Cain</u> %	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>Cain</u> %	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>Cain</u> %	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>Cain</u> %		
All voters	46	44	49	42	50	40	52	38	+2	2599
Republicans	5	90	8	86	6	91	7	89	+1	803
Democrats	87	8	92	5	91	4	91	5	0	953
Independents	38	45	38	46	45	37	51	33	+6	726
Men	41	49	43	47	46	46	49	42	+3	1252
Women	50	40	54	37	54	35	55	35	+1	1347
White	38	52	42	48	43	49	45	45	+2	2101
Black	89	5	95	3	91	1	94	2	+3	263
18-29	60	31	58	39	65	33	66	27	+1	303
30-49	45	47	50	42	47	43	52	39	+5	799
50-64	43	48	51	39	51	37	50	42	-1	827
65+	40	45	35	48	45	44	44	44	-1	624
College grad+	48	45	53	42	54	40	54	39	0	1127
Some college	43	47	51	40	50	40	50	41	0	616
HS or less	45	42	45	43	48	40	53	36	+5	848
\$75,000+	39	53	48	44	44	48	48	46	+4	867
\$50-\$74,999	42	49	50	47	43	49	50	43	+7	392
\$30-\$49,999	51	40	52	38	59	32	55	36	-4	478
Less than \$30,000	55	34	50	39	58	31	64	26	+6	497
<i>Battleground analysis*</i>										
Republican states	--	--	--	--	41	51	42	49	+1	760
Democratic states	--	--	--	--	61	29	61	30	0	828
Battleground states	--	--	--	--	48	41	52	37	+4	1011
<i>Among Whites</i>										
Men	35	56	38	53	38	56	42	49	+4	1005
Women	41	48	45	44	47	43	48	42	+1	1096
18-49	41	51	45	48	42	52	48	43	+6	827
50-64	38	53	46	44	45	44	42	49	-3	677
65+	34	50	28	54	41	48	41	47	0	567
College grad+	45	49	50	45	50	46	49	44	-1	935
Some college	34	56	45	46	41	50	44	48	+3	491
HS or less	36	50	33	52	37	51	42	45	+5	672

Based on registered voters. Figures read horizontally.
 *Battleground states are CO, FL, IN, IA, MI, MN, MO, NV, NH, NM, NC, OH, PA, VA, and WI.

Religion and the Vote

As in previous elections, differences in voting patterns by religion are amplified when church attendance is taken into account. Obama has made no headway among white evangelical Protestants who attend church at least once a week; just 17% of this group supports him. By contrast, 37% of white evangelicals who attend services less frequently support Obama.

Similarly, while he has made gains among Catholics overall, Obama runs even with McCain among observant white Catholics (45% to 45%). He now has a clear lead among white Catholics who attend Mass less frequently (53% to 38%).

Religion and Voting Patterns

	Sept 9-14		Oct 16-19		<i>Sept-Oct Obama change</i>	Oct N
	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>Cain</u> %	Oba- <u>ma</u> %	Mc- <u>cain</u> %		
All voters	46	44	52	38	+6	2599
Protestant	40	51	48	44	+8	1426
White evangelical	21	71	24	67	+3	556
Attend weekly	17	76	17	74	0	381
Less often	28	63	37	54	+9	174
White mainline	40	50	48	43	+8	567
Attend weekly	39	53	47	44	+8	182
Less often	40	49	49	42	+9	383
Black Protestant	90	4	94	2	+4	207
Catholic	45	44	53	37	+8	552
White non-Hisp	41	48	49	41	+8	459
Attend weekly	36	52	45	45	+9	228
Less often	46	45	53	38	+7	229
Unaffiliated	62	25	66	24	+4	330
<i>Worship attendance</i>						
Weekly or more	36	54	42	49	+6	1090
Less often	48	43	57	33	+9	849
Seldom/Never	58	28	61	30	+3	626

Based on registered voters. Figures read horizontally.

Proportion of 'Strong' Support

The Democratic ticket enjoys a lead not only in overall support among voters but also an enthusiasm advantage. Currently, 36% of registered voters say they support Obama strongly, compared with 21% who support McCain strongly. A month ago, in the aftermath of the party conventions, the candidates were much closer in strength of support.

About seven-in-ten Democrats (71%) say they support their party's ticket strongly; among Republicans, 56% give strong support to their ticket. McCain draws particularly strong support from white evangelical Protestants (40%). For Obama, three groups stand out in terms of strength of support: African Americans

Obama Has Edge in Strong Support

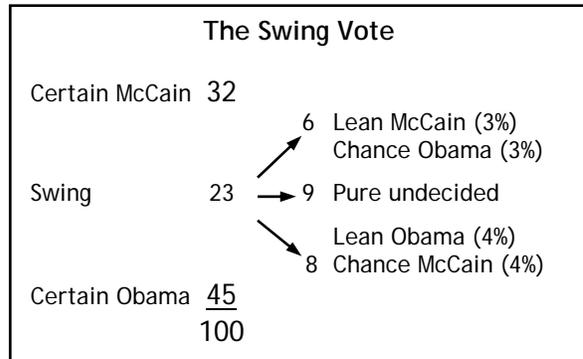
	Obama/Biden			McCain/Palin		
	<u>Sept</u> %	<u>Oct</u> %	<u>change</u>	<u>Sept</u> %	<u>Oct</u> %	<u>change</u>
Total	30	36	+6	25	21	-4
Republican	2	3	+1	59	56	-3
Democrat	62	71	+9	2	2	0
Independent	20	27	+7	19	14	-5
White	23	30	+7	29	26	-3
Black	71	80	+9	2	1	-1
Men	27	32	+5	27	22	-5
Women	32	41	+9	22	21	-1
18-29	33	47	+14	17	11	-6
30-49	30	35	+5	24	21	-3
50-64	30	35	+5	28	25	-3
65+	26	32	+6	26	27	+1
Total Protestant	26	34	+8	28	25	-3
White evangelical	11	14	+3	41	40	-1
White mainline	25	33	+8	26	23	-3
Black Protestant	72	80	+8	1	2	+1
Total Catholic	29	35	+6	27	20	-7
White Non-Hisp	25	29	+4	29	23	-6
Unaffiliated	40	43	+3	9	11	+2

Based on registered voters. Percentages are the share of all voters saying they "strongly support" each candidate.

(80% strong support); voters ages 18-29 (47% strong); and secular and unaffiliated voters (43% strong).

Where the Swing Vote Stands

While Obama holds a substantial lead in the poll, many voters remain persuadable. Nearly one-in-four (23%) are classified as swing voters, exactly the same percentage as Pew found two weeks before the 2000 presidential election – an election that, like this one, featured no incumbent in the race. However, unlike in 2000, committed voters today favor the Democrat by a significant margin (45% Obama, 32% McCain). Still, the proportion of swing voters is large enough to possibly change the election should they break overwhelmingly in a Republican direction. About one-in-ten voters (9%) say they are completely undecided at this point.



Obama has gained seven points in “certain” support among independents (now 37%, up from 30% a week ago), while McCain essentially held steady (25% certain now compared with 27% last week). Obama has solidified his position among liberal Democrats (now 96%, up from 90%), while McCain slipped slightly among conservative Republicans (now 84%, down from 91%).

	Conserv Mod/Lib			Cons/Mod Liberal	
	Rep %	Rep %	Ind %	Dem %	Dem %
<i>Oct 16-19</i>					
Certain McCain	84	63	25	4	*
Certain Obama	3	9	37	76	96
<i>Swing vote</i>	<u>13</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Oct 9-12</i>					
Certain McCain	91	61	27	3	*
Certain Obama	2	12	30	77	90
<i>Swing vote</i>	<u>7</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
<i>Change in % swing vote</i>	<i>+6</i>	<i>+1</i>	<i>-5</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>-6</i>

Based on registered voters.

There is little indication in the poll as to how swing voters will eventually break. They are demographically very similar to the electorate as a whole.

Swing voters who have expressed a preference between the candidates divide roughly evenly between the two men (33% for Obama, 27% for McCain). Swing voters are considerably more critical of McCain's campaign than they are of Obama's: 53% say McCain has been too personally critical of Obama, while just 33% say Obama has been too negative. At the same time, however, more swing voters say they see McCain as offering a change from President Bush's policies (45%) than say he will continue Bush's policies (32%).

Swing voters prefer McCain on foreign policy, terrorism and Iraq, as well as on selecting future Supreme Court justices. Obama leads on the economy, education, health care, and the environment. Swing voters are divided as to which candidate can best reduce the influence of lobbyists.

Views of Swing and Committed Voters				
	-----Vote Preference-----			
	All	Certain McCain	Certain Obama	Swing voters
<i>Vote Preference</i>	%	%	%	%
Lean Obama/chance McCain -	-	-	-	33
Lean McCain/chance Obama -	-	-	-	27
Completely undecided	-	-	-	<u>40</u>
				100
<i>Too personally critical of opponent?</i>				
McCain has been	56	24	81	53
Obama has been	26	41	12	33
<i>Would John McCain...</i>				
Continue Bush policies	44	5	77	32
Take U.S. in new direction	45	88	15	45
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>23</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>John McCain is...</i>				
Too old to be president	34	5	58	26
Not too old	64	94	39	70
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Best job improving economic conditions</i>				
McCain	32	87	*	22
Obama	53	2	95	39
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>39</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Best job on selecting Supreme Court justices</i>				
McCain	41	91	6	43
Obama	46	2	86	26
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>31</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Reducing influence of lobbyists in DC</i>				
McCain	34	77	7	31
Obama	45	5	81	27
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>42</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Making wise decisions about foreign policy</i>				
McCain	45	93	9	50
Obama	44	3	84	23
Neither/Both/Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>27</u>
	100	100	100	100
Minimum N	648	227	272	138
Based on registered voters.				

Voters See Obama as Most Likely to Win

Though voters saw the race as a toss-up in mid-September, many more now see Barack Obama as “most likely to win” the election. About six-in-ten (61%) see Obama as most likely to win, compared with 17% who say they see McCain winning; 22% did not offer an opinion.

In mid-September, 39% said McCain was most likely to win and the same percentage said they expected an Obama victory. Currently, as many voters say that Obama will win as said that about Bill Clinton in October 1992, a few weeks before he won his race against the first President Bush.

McCain supporters are far less confident of victory than they were in mid-September, following the GOP convention. Those who say they support

McCain are about as likely to say he will win as they are to say the same of Obama (38% compared with 36%). That is down significantly from September, when 69% of those supporting McCain said they thought their candidate was most likely to win.

Democrats, meanwhile, are increasingly optimistic about Obama’s chances. In mid-September, six-in-ten saw him as most likely to win. In October, that number has risen to close to eight-in-ten (79%). There is a similar increase among people who say they are Obama supporters. While 64% said he was most likely to win in September, now 81% say they think he will win.

Independents also see a likely Obama victory, with more than six-in-ten (63%) predicting that scenario and only 15% saying they expect a McCain win. The group choosing Obama as the likely winner is up 25 points from last month.

Since 1992, voters surveyed in early fall have consistently predicted correctly which candidate would win the election. In October 2004, more than half (54%) said they thought George W. Bush was most likely to win his re-election run. And close to half (48%) thought

	All voters	Rep	Dem	Ind	Support	
					Oba- ma	Mc- Cain
Oct 16-19	%	%	%	%	%	%
Obama	61	40	79	63	82	36
McCain	17	35	6	15	4	38
Don't know	<u>22</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>26</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100
Sept 9-14						
Obama	39	13	60	38	64	14
McCain	39	70	17	37	15	69
Don't know	<u>22</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

“Who do you think is most likely to win the presidential election?”
Based on registered voters.

	Most likely to win...		
	Rep cand	Dem cand	DK
Oct 2008	17	61	22=100
Oct 2004	54	27	19=100
Oct 2000	48	38	14=100
Sept 1996	12	79	9=100
Oct 1992	30	61	9=100

Based on registered voters.

Bush would win the incredibly close race against Al Gore in 2000. Close to four-in-ten (38%) said at that time they thought Gore was most likely to win.

Voters also predicted the Clinton wins in 1992 and 1996. More than six-in-ten (61%) said they thought Clinton “most likely to win” in 1992. That jumped to 79% who thought Clinton more likely to win in his re-election run against Bob Dole four years later.

Grading the Campaigns

Voters give significantly higher marks to Obama’s campaign than they do to McCain’s. About two-thirds (65%) give Obama A or B grades for the job he is doing convincing them to vote for him. By comparison, just 34% give McCain’s campaign A or B grades. Obama’s presidential campaign is now graded more favorably than any other – Republican or Democratic – in the last 16 years, outpacing the 58% who gave Bill Clinton’s 1992 campaign similar high marks. At 34%, favorable views of McCain’s campaign are low, but still surpass the 1996 Dole campaign – only 29% gave the Kansas senator’s campaign grades of A or B.

	'A' or 'B' Grade %	'C,' D' or 'F' Grade %	DK %
Obama Campaign			
All voters	65	32	3=100
Republican	36	62	2=100
Democrat	88	10	2=100
Independent	64	33	3=100
Swing Voters	56	40	4=100
McCain Campaign			
All voters	34	64	2=100
Republican	67	32	1=100
Democrat	12	85	3=100
Independent	33	65	2=100
Swing Voters	33	63	4=100

Based on registered voters

Nearly nine-in-ten Democrats (88%) offer A or B grades to Obama’s campaign, compared with two-thirds (67%) of Republicans who give McCain’s effort top marks. There is a wide difference among partisans when judging their respective campaigns: 53% of Democrats give Obama A grades compared while only 23% of Republicans give the McCain campaign top marks.

Independents and swing voters mirror the general voting public in giving higher marks to Obama’s campaign. Just a third of independents and swing voters grade McCain’s election campaign A or B, while more than six-in-ten (64%) give him a C, D or F. Obama does much better among both groups with 64% of independents and 56% of swing voters giving his campaign one of the top grades.

	<i>Grade election campaign A or B</i>				
	<u>Democratic</u> <u>campaign</u>	%	<u>Republican</u> <u>campaign</u>	%	<u>Gap</u>
2008	Obama	65	McCain	34	<i>D+31</i>
2004	Kerry	46	Bush	42	<i>D+4</i>
2000	Gore	35	Bush	40	<i>R+5</i>
1996	Clinton	50	Dole	29	<i>D+21</i>
1992	Clinton	58	Bush Sr.	38	<i>D+20</i>

Based on registered voters. 2008-2004 surveys conducted in October; 2000 survey conducted in June; 1992-1996 surveys conducted in September.

McCain's campaign gets somewhat lower marks than the 2004 George W. Bush campaign, while Obama's campaign scores about 20 points more favorably than John Kerry's effort four years ago. The current 31-point gap between how voters rate Obama's campaign and McCain's is the largest since Pew began asking the question in 1992.

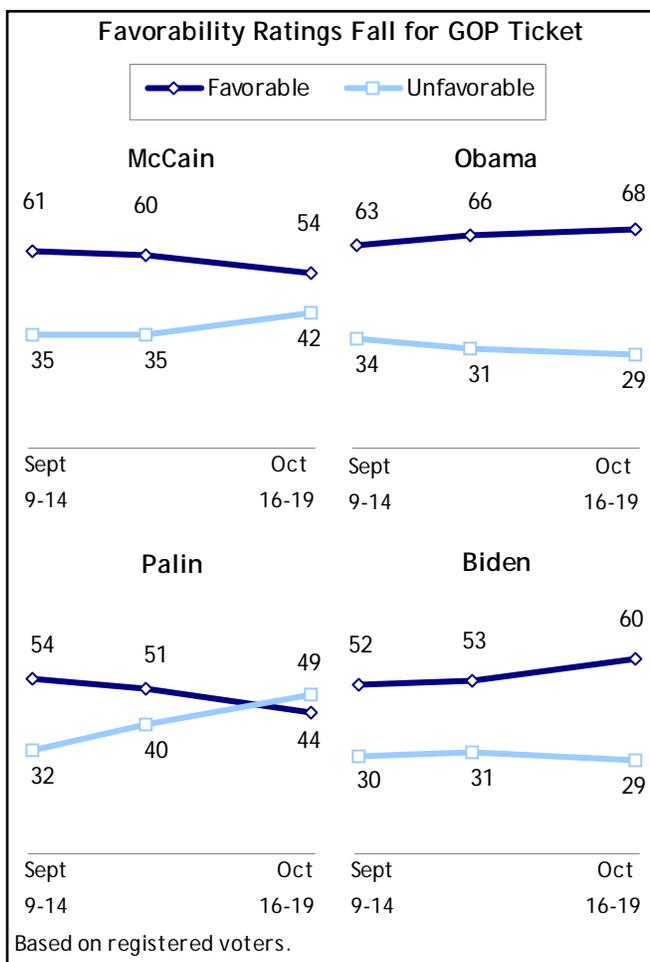
SECTION 2: CANDIDATE TRAITS

McCain & Palin Viewed Less Favorably

The favorability ratings for both candidates on the GOP ticket have declined over the past month. By contrast, both Barack Obama and Joe Biden are now viewed more favorably than they were in mid-September.

Currently, 54% of voters say they have a favorable opinion of McCain, while 42% have an unfavorable opinion. In mid-September (Sept. 9-14), shortly after the Republican convention, favorable opinions of McCain outnumbered unfavorable views by a wide 61% to 35% margin. McCain's image has slipped across most voter groups. But the decline among white evangelical Protestants has been particularly notable; currently 71% of white evangelical voters say they have a positive impression of McCain, down from 83% in mid-September.

Over this period, the balance of voter opinion regarding Sarah Palin has moved from positive to negative. In the current survey, 49% of voters express an unfavorable opinion of the Alaska governor, while 44% express a positive opinion; in mid-September, 54% viewed Palin favorably, compared with 32% who had an unfavorable opinion.



Obama's personal image, already quite positive, is even more favorable than it was in mid-September; currently 68% of voters feel favorably toward Obama, up from 63% about a month ago. Positive opinions of Biden also have increased – from 52% to 60% – since mid-September.

Unfavorable Views of Palin

Palin's image has declined sharply among women voters since mid-September and there is a growing gap in how men and women view the Alaska governor.

In the Sept. 9-14 survey, about as many women (53%) as men (56%) expressed positive opinions of Palin. In the current survey, far fewer women (38%) than men (50%) have a favorable impression of Palin.

Independent women, in particular, have an increasingly negative impression of the GOP vice presidential candidate. In mid-September, 59% of independent women expressed a favorable opinion of Palin, compared with 28% who felt unfavorably. Currently, a majority of independent women voters (56%) have a negative opinion of Palin, while just 35% express a positive view.

Views of Palin among Democrats and independents overall have become much more negative since last month. Nearly half (49%) of Democrats now have a *very* unfavorable impression of her, up from 33% in September. Similarly, 27% of independents now have a very unfavorable view of the Alaska governor, nearly triple the 10% who felt this way in mid-September. However, Palin remains very popular among the GOP base. More than eight-in-ten Republican voters (83%) – including virtually identical percentages of men (82%) and women (83%) – express positive opinions of Palin, which is largely unchanged from the mid-September survey.

	Sept 9-14		Sept 27-29		Oct 16-19		Change in fav since Sept 9-14
	Fav %	Unfav %	Fav %	Unfav %	Fav %	Unfav %	
All voters	54	32	51	40	44	49	-10
Men	56	30	53	37	50	43	-6
Women	53	34	49	43	38	54	-15
Republican	85	6	87	8	83	12	-2
Democrat	26	59	21	69	17	76	-9
Independent	60	27	54	37	43	50	-17
White	59	29	56	36	50	45	-9
Black	31	49	21	61	15	76	-16
18-29	41	40	43	46	34	60	-7
30-49	60	31	50	43	43	52	-17
50-64	55	31	52	41	49	45	-6
65+	52	28	56	30	48	39	-4
College grad	51	42	48	49	42	54	-9
Some college	57	31	50	39	47	48	-10
HS or less	56	25	53	35	43	46	-13
Certain McCain	92	1	91	4	90	5	-2
Certain Obama	19	66	14	77	11	84	-8
Swing voters	57	23	56	30	48	40	-9
Among Women*							
White	59	30	--	--	45	49	-14
Black	27	51	--	--	9	80	-18
18-49	54	36	--	--	33	60	-21
50+	52	31	--	--	44	47	-8
College grad	50	42	--	--	38	59	-12
Some coll or less	55	30	--	--	39	52	-16
Republican	85	8	--	--	83	10	-2
Democrat	28	57	--	--	14	80	-14
Independent	59	28	--	--	35	56	-24

* In sufficient sample size for analysis of Sept. 27-29 survey. Based on registered voters.

Candidate Traits

The presidential candidate's personal images have not changed markedly over the course of the past month. John McCain is still seen as the more patriotic and qualified candidate, while Barack Obama is viewed more often as inspiring and down-to-earth. But Obama strengthened his image substantially – particularly among independent voters – in terms of being seen as down-to-earth and well qualified. McCain's image, meanwhile, suffered a bit, as the number describing him as inspiring fell and the number of independents who see him as risky rose.

Most voters continue to view McCain as patriotic (89%), well-qualified (72%) and honest (61%), and just more than half (54%) see him as down-to-earth. The share of voters who describe McCain as inspiring has fallen from 43% a month ago to 37% today. Meanwhile, almost half (49%) consider McCain to be risky – up slightly from 46% a month ago and now the same as the proportion that see Obama as risky. More than four-in-ten (41%) say the Republican nominee has poor judgment, notably higher than the proportion that says the same about Obama (29%).

Obama continues to be described as inspiring by seven-in-ten voters (71%) and the share who say he is down-to-earth rose from 65% a month ago to 71% now. More people now say he is well-qualified (53%) than said so in mid-September (47%), though he still trails McCain by 19 points on this measure.

While two-thirds (67%) say that Obama is patriotic, roughly a quarter (26%) say he is not. Still, views of Obama's patriotism have improved slightly – last April, 61% said they thought of him as patriotic while 32% said he was not. A slim majority of Republicans (51%) and McCain supporters (52%) say they think Obama is not patriotic.

All Voters*	-----Obama-----			-----McCain-----		
	Sep 9-14	Oct 16-19	Change	Sep 9-14	Oct 16-19	Change
	%	%		%	%	
Is down-to-earth	65	71	+6	56	54	-2
Is inspiring	71	71	0	43	37	-6
Is patriotic	65	67	+2	91	89	-2
Is honest	64	63	-1	62	61	-1
Is well-qualified	47	53	+6	75	72	-3
Is risky	51	49	-2	46	49	+3
Has poor judgment	--	29	--	--	41	--
Independents**	-----Obama-----			-----McCain-----		
	Sep 9-14	Oct 16-19	Change	Sep 9-14	Oct 16-19	Change
	%	%		%	%	
Is down-to-earth	61	72	+11	60	53	-7
Is well-qualified	41	50	+9	80	74	-6
Is patriotic	64	67	+3	93	90	-3
Is honest	63	65	+2	64	59	-5
Is inspiring	70	69	-1	44	33	-11
Is risky	55	51	-4	44	53	+9
Has poor judgment	--	27	--	--	40	--
* Based on 1,266 registered voters in mid-September and 1,300 registered voters in mid-October.** Based on 375 registered voters in mid-September and 365 registered voters in mid-October.						

In most cases, the patterns of change over the past month are most notable among independent voters. The perception that Obama is well qualified and down-to-earth has increased substantially among independents, as has the perception that McCain is risky. Today, about the same number of independents describe McCain and Obama as risky (53% and 51%, respectively.) In September, 55% of independents described Obama as risky while just 44% said this about McCain.

Candidate Ideology

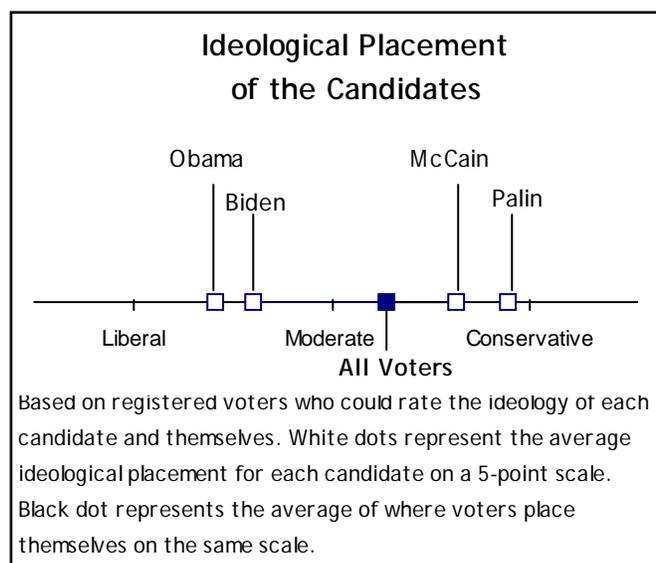
Ideological ratings of the presidential candidates have changed little from earlier this year, with majorities of voters continuing to describe McCain as conservative and Obama as liberal. Roughly six-in-ten voters (61%) who are able to rate McCain's ideology describe him as conservative, up slightly from 56% in April. Obama is seen as liberal by 59% of voters, down slightly from 63% in April. A somewhat larger number view Obama as *very* liberal (21%) than describe McCain as *very* conservative (13%).

	Oba- ma %	Bid- en %	Mc- Cain %	Pal- in %	Your- self %
All voters					
Very conservative	4	3	13	31	9
Conservative	11	12	48	39	33
Moderate	26	37	28	18	38
Liberal	38	36	7	8	15
Very liberal	<u>21</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

Based on registered voters who could rate the ideology of each candidate and themselves.

Roughly equal numbers of voters see the candidates as moderate; 28% say this describes McCain and 26% say the same about Obama. In contrast, nearly a third of voters (31%) described McCain as moderate in April whereas only 23% viewed Obama this way.

On average, voters rate McCain's and Obama's ideology roughly equal distances from moderate. When voters are asked about their own ideology, twice as many describe themselves as conservative than liberal (41% vs. 20%), while 38% say they are moderate. Thus, the ideological rating of a typical voter is closer to McCain's than to Obama's.



Palin is viewed by voters as more conservative than McCain. Seven-in-ten voters see her as conservative, and nearly a third say she is *very* conservative (31%). In contrast, Joe Biden is viewed as more moderate than

Obama. Fully 37% of voters describe Biden as moderate. Nearly half (48%) say he is liberal, while only 12% say he is *very* liberal.

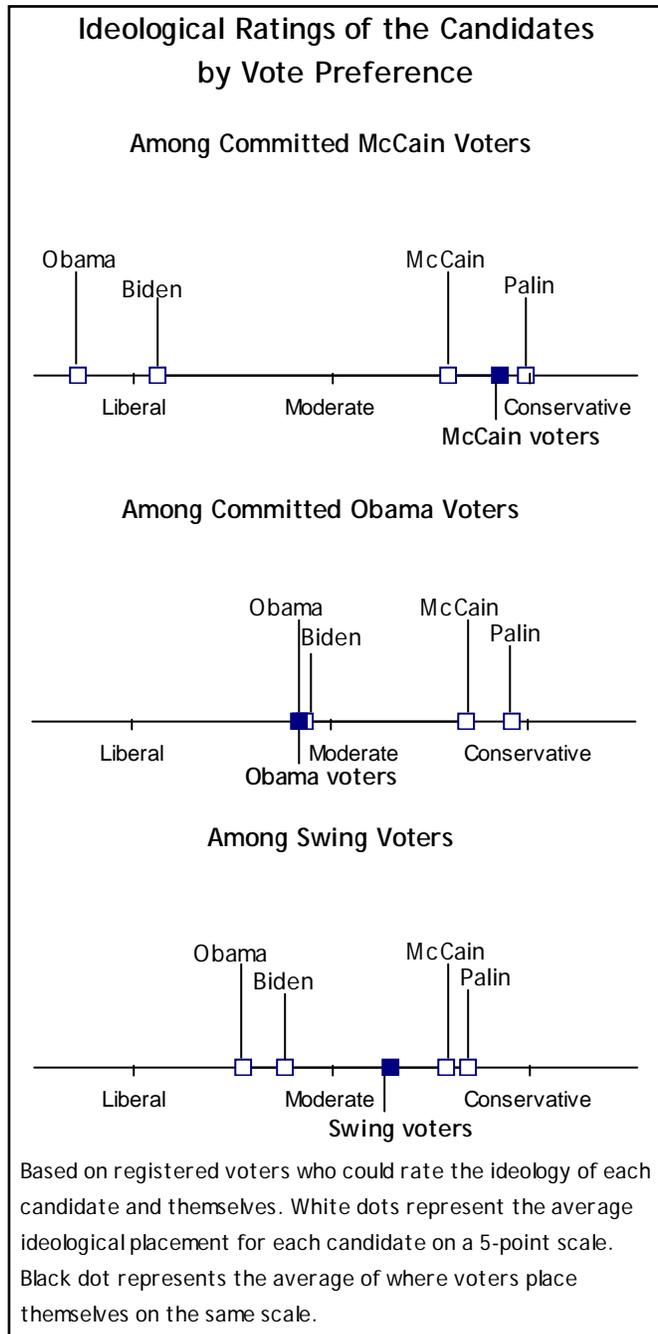
Ideology and Vote Preference

McCain’s electoral base – those voters who support him and say there is no chance they will change their mind – rate McCain as more moderate than they do themselves and Palin as slightly more conservative. While 71% of these committed McCain voters describe themselves as conservative, just over half (56%) see McCain as conservative. Vice presidential nominee Sarah Palin comes closer to these voters’ own positions – 79% rate her as ideologically conservative.

In contrast, Obama and Biden are viewed as far more liberal by committed McCain voters than by voters overall; 85% of McCain supporters describe Obama as liberal and 73% say the same about Biden.

Voters who are certain they will vote for Obama rate their own ideology virtually the same as Obama’s and Biden’s. Among committed Obama voters, 37% describe themselves as liberal and 40% say they are moderate. Similarly, 41% describe Obama as liberal and 36% as moderate. Nearly half (49%) describe Biden’s ideology as moderate and a third (33%) says he is liberal. These committed Obama voters rate McCain and Palin’s ideology about the same as the overall voter average.

Like voters overall, majorities of swing voters describe Obama as liberal (54%) and McCain as conservative (58%). Looking at the average ideological ratings given by swing voters, Barack Obama is seen as about as far to the left as John McCain is to the right. Swing voters, like



voters overall, more often rate themselves as conservative than liberal.

Race and the Vote

Overall, 21% of voters say they personally know anyone who will not vote for Obama because he is black. Far more Obama supporters than McCain supporters say they personally know someone who will not vote for Obama because he is black (27% vs. 10%). More Democrats (29%) and independents (24%) than Republicans (10%) say they know someone who will not vote for Obama because of his race.

There is no difference by race, with roughly equal numbers of white (21%) and black (22%) respondents saying they know someone like this. In addition, there are no substantial gender or age differences in these views among whites and all voters. College graduates are more likely than those with less education to say they know someone who will not support Obama because he is black (26% vs. 18%).

Do You Personally Know Anyone Who Will Not Vote for Obama Because He is Black?		
	All voters %	White voters %
Total	21	21
White	21	21
Black	22	--
Male	21	21
Female	20	20
18-29	20	18
30-49	23	23
50-64	21	22
65+	16	17
Republican	10	10
Democrat	25	29
Independent	24	24
College grad	26	26
Not college grad	18	18
<i>Support...</i>		
McCain	10	11
Obama	27	29
Based on registered voters.		

Obama's Religious Beliefs

When asked about Obama's religious beliefs, a small but consistent minority of voters (12%) continue to say that Obama is a Muslim. This percentage has changed little since last month (13%) and is the same as in June.

Overall, 55% of voters correctly identify Obama as a Christian, while 15% say they do not know because they have not heard enough about his religion. Another 14% are unsure because they have heard different things about Obama's religious beliefs.

Twice as many McCain supporters as Obama supporters say the Illinois senator is a Muslim (16% vs. 8%). This pattern has remained consistent since March. About one-in-five voters under age 30 (19%) identify Obama as a Muslim, the largest percentage in any age group.

Among white voters, 16% of those who have not completed college say they think Obama is a Muslim and 49% say he is a Christian. By comparison, just 7% of white college graduates say Obama is a Muslim and 70% say he is a Christian.

Nearly one-in-five white evangelical Protestants (19%) say that Obama is a Muslim. This compares with just 8% of white non-Hispanic Catholics.

	June 18-29		September 9-14		October 16-19	
	Chris- tian %	Mus- lim %	Chris- tian %	Mus- lim %	Chris- tian %	Mus- lim %
Total	57	12	54	13	55	12
Republican	55	12	49	17	47	16
Democrat	60	12	58	9	63	9
Independent	59	11	57	14	56	11
<i>Support...</i>						
McCain	56	15	48	19	47	16
Obama	63	9	62	7	64	8
18-29	53	15	45	17	45	19
30-49	63	11	58	12	57	11
50-64	59	13	59	13	59	10
65+	51	9	47	11	55	10
White	58	12	53	14	56	13
Black	62	5	63	4	54	10
<i>Among whites</i>						
College grad	77	6	69	7	70	7
Not college grad	47	15	45	17	49	16
Evangelical Prot	52	19	52	16	50	19
Mainline Prot	60	9	58	13	58	13
Non-Hisp Catholic	56	11	46	13	54	8

Question: "Do you happen to know what Barack Obama's religion is? Is he Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, or something else?" Percentages read horizontally with only Christian and Muslim responses shown. Based on registered voters.

Is McCain "Too Old"?

The share of voters who say they think John McCain is "too old to be president" has risen 11 points from 23% to 34% over the past month. The change has been most pronounced among Democrats (up 21 points since September) and younger voters (up 20 points). A majority of Democrats (57%) now say McCain is too old, but few Republicans agree (8%). Independents fall in between, with 29% now saying he is too old to be president.

The view that the Republican nominee is too old for the job is now as prevalent as it was when Bob Dole was the GOP candidate in 1996. At a comparable point in that campaign, 32% said they thought Dole was too old to be president. Dole was 73 when he made his run for president; McCain is now 72.

	Sept.	Oct.	<i>Change</i>
	9-14	16-19	
<i>% saying "too old"</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	
All Voters	23	34	+11
18-29	20	40	+20
30-49	24	35	+11
50-64	23	28	+5
65+	24	35	+11
Republican	11	8	-3
Democrat	36	57	+21
Independent	21	29	+8

Based on registered voters.

McCain in 2008*	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK</u>
Oct 16-19	34	64	2=100
Sept 9-14	23	73	4=100
June	21	76	3=100
February	26	72	2=100
Bob Dole in 1996**			
Oct 19-20	32	67	1=100
August	28	71	1=100
July	31	66	3=100
February	27	67	6=100

* Based on registered voters.
 ** Data from CNN/USA Today/Gallup.
 Oct. 19-20 based on likely voters.
 August based on registered voters.
 July and February based on general public.

SECTION 3: ISSUES AND PRIORITIES

Obama Improves on Key Issues

Barack Obama has improved his standing at least slightly since mid-September over John McCain on virtually every domestic and foreign policy issue. When voters were asked which candidate would do the best job handling various concerns, Obama boosted his advantage on domestic issues and cut into McCain's lead elsewhere. For the first time, Obama leads by a significant margin as to who would do the best job making wise decisions about Iraq.

Close to half of voters (48%) say Obama would do the best job on Iraq, compared with 42% who choose McCain. McCain still performs relatively well on other foreign policy issues. Nearly half (49%) say he would do the best job defending the country from a terrorist attack, compared with 38% who choose Obama. But the difference between the two has shrunk from 25 points in mid-September to 11 points today.

On the question of who would make wise decisions about foreign policy, voters are split: 45% choose McCain and 44%

choose Obama. But again, Obama has cut into McCain's advantage considerably. Last month, 51% chose McCain and 40% chose Obama.

On most domestic issues, Obama enjoys wide leads over McCain. Voters see Obama as the candidate best able to deal with the current economic crisis, 46%-34%. Obama leads 53% to 32% when voters are asked which would do the best job improving the economy more generally. Voters favor Obama on energy issues 53% to 34%. On handling education, the environment and the health care system, Obama holds advantages of more than 25 points over McCain.

Half of voters say Obama would do a better job dealing with taxes and reducing the budget deficit, while about a third say McCain would do the better job (35% and 30%,

Obama Gains on the Issues					
	Sept 9-14		Oct 16-19		Obama gain
	Obama	McCain	Obama	McCain	
	%	%	%	%	
<i>Who can do best job:</i>					
Economic issues					
Addressing current financial crisis*	46	33	46	34	0
Improving economic conditions	47	38	53	32	+6
Dealing with taxes	44	39	50	35	+6
Reducing budget deficit	--	--	50	30	--
Foreign policy issues					
Making wise decisions on Iraq	41	48	48	42	+7
Handling foreign policy	40	51	44	45	+4
Defending against terrorist attacks	31	56	38	49	+7
Domestic issues					
Dealing with energy problems	46	40	53	34	+7
Improving education	51	32	56	27	+5
Dealing with environment	53	32	57	28	+4
Improving health care system	52	31	57	27	+5
Best on abortion/gay rights	45	39	51	36	+6
Dealing with immigration	38	39	42	38	+4
Reducing the influence of lobbyists	40	36	45	34	+5
Selecting Supreme Court justices	--	--	46	41	--
* Trend from September 27-29. Based on registered voters.					

respectively). Obama also holds a nine-point advantage over McCain on the question of who would best limit the influence of lobbyists, up from a four-point edge in mid-September.

The candidates run about even on the issues of immigration and Supreme Court appointments. Some 42% of voters say Obama would do the best job of dealing with immigration, compared with 38% who choose McCain. On the question of who would do the best job selecting Supreme Court justices, 46% say Obama while 41% say McCain.

Swing Voters' Attitudes

McCain holds an edge over Obama on several issues among swing voters -- those who have not yet decided how they will vote. This is especially so when it comes to foreign policy. However, large numbers of swing voters express no opinion about which candidate is most capable to deal with the important issues of the day.

Fully 58% say McCain would do the best job of defending the country from terrorist attacks, compared with only 16% who choose Obama. McCain also holds solid leads among swing voters when they are asked which candidate would better handle Iraq and foreign policy in general. Beyond foreign policy, swing voters also see McCain as the candidate who can do the best job selecting Supreme Court justices (43% to 26%).

Swing Voters on the Issues			
<i>Who can do best job of...</i>	Obama <u>ma</u> %	McCain <u>Cain</u> %	Neither/ <u>DK</u> %
Economic issues			
Addressing current financial crisis	32	26	42=100
Improving economic conditions	39	22	39=100
Dealing with taxes	36	26	38=100
Reducing budget deficit	34	24	42=100
Foreign policy issues			
Making wise decisions on Iraq	30	41	29=100
Handling foreign policy	23	50	27=100
Defending against terrorist attacks	16	58	26=100
Domestic issues			
Dealing with energy problems	38	26	36=100
Improving education	47	19	34=100
Dealing with environment	49	18	33=100
Improving health care system	46	16	38=100
Dealing with immigration	39	31	30=100
Best on abortion/gay rights	27	33	40=100
Reducing the influence of lobbyists	27	31	42=100
Selecting Supreme Court justices	26	43	31=100
Based on registered voters.			

Despite improved standing on some issues, McCain does not do much better among swing voters than among the electorate at large on many domestic concerns. Obama maintains at least a double-digit lead over McCain in improving the economy, dealing with the environment, improving the health care system, improving education, reducing the budget deficit, and in dealing with energy problems and taxes.

Voters' Issue Priorities

The issue priorities of voters are largely unchanged from August. The economy continues to top the list of voter concerns – about nine-in-ten (91%) say the economy will be very important to their vote choice, far more than rate any other issue as very important – while abortion (41%) and gay marriage (28%) remain at the bottom of the list. Iraq is seen as very important by 71% of voters, virtually unchanged from August (72%), while about the same proportion says terrorism will be very important to their candidate selection (69% vs. 72% in August).

Compared to four years ago, however, voters have considerably different views about what is important to their vote. Three issues on which

Barack Obama now leads John McCain by double-digit margins – the economy, energy, and taxes – are much more important to voters in this election than they were in October 2004. Most notably, nearly eight-in-ten voters (78%) now cite energy as very important, a 24-point increase from October 2004 (54%). The percentage of voters who say the economy and taxes will be very important as they decide how to vote in November also has increased by significant margins since the fall of 2004.

On the other hand, terrorism, McCain's strongest issue, has dropped in importance; 69% say terrorism will be very important to their vote choice, compared with 77% who said the same in October 2004. The share of voters who see Iraq as very important remains largely unchanged (71% now vs. 74%), but the war is now much less important relative to the economy and jobs.

As was the case in the fall of 2004, few voters view gay marriage as very important to their vote choice; 28% now say it is a very important issue, compared with 32% four years ago. About four-in-ten voters (42%) consider abortion a very important issue, a five-point drop from this point in the 2004 campaign (47%).

	Mid-Oct 2004	Aug 2008	Mid-Oct 2008	Oct 04-08 Change
<i>Very important to your vote:</i>	%	%	%	
Economy	78	87	91	+13
Jobs	76	--	80	+4
Energy	54	77	78	+24
Health care	73	73	77	+4
Education	75	73	73	-2
Taxes	59	--	71	+12
Iraq	74	72	71	-3
Terrorism	77	72	69	-8
Environment	53	59	57	+4
Trade policy	--	49	49	--
Immigration	--	52	49	--
Abortion	47	39	41	-6
Gay marriage	32	28	28	-4

Based on registered voters.

Conflicting Voter Concerns

The priorities of committed McCain supporters differ substantially from committed Obama voters. While supporters of both candidates put the economy at the top of the list of issues they consider very important to their vote choice, McCain supporters are much more likely than Obama supporters to cite taxes (81% vs. 63%) and terrorism (79% vs. 59%) as very important. On the other hand, far more certain Obama supporters than certain McCain supporters say health care (88% vs. 60%), education (82% vs. 59%), and the environment (69% vs. 36%) are very important.

In October 2004, certain Bush supporters and certain Kerry supporters also had different priorities. Terrorism topped the list among Bush voters (88% said it was very important, compared with 70% of Kerry voters), while jobs and health care were the most important issues for Kerry supporters (87% each vs. 64% and 57%, respectively, among Bush supporters).

Voting Priorities		
<u>Certain McCain</u>	<u>Certain Obama</u>	<u>Swing Voters</u>
85 Economy	94 Economy	94 Economy
81 Taxes	88 Health care	85 Jobs
79 Terrorism	84 Jobs	79 Health care
76 Energy	82 Education	79 Education
72 Iraq	79 Energy	77 Energy
72 Jobs	73 Iraq	73 Taxes
62 Immigration	69 Environment	70 Terrorism
60 Health care	63 Taxes	68 Iraq
59 Education	59 Terrorism	60 Environment
49 Trade policy	51 Trade policy	48 Immigration
48 Abortion	39 Immigration	47 Trade policy
41 Gay marriage	38 Abortion	39 Abortion
36 Environment	22 Gay marriage	20 Gay marriage
N=454	549	297
Percent ranking each issue as very important to their vote. Based on registered voters.		

The priorities of swing voters are generally closer to those of committed Obama supporters than to committed McCain supporters. In addition to the economy, jobs (85%), health care (79%) and education (79%) top the list of issues swing voters consider very important to their vote choice; the same issues top the list among Obama supporters. Six-in-ten swing voters also say the environment is very important, which is somewhat less than the percentage of committed Obama voters rating the environment as very important (69%), but far greater than the percentage of committed McCain voters saying this (36%). And swing voters, like committed Obama supporters, rate the issue of gay marriage as far less important than do committed McCain voters (20% of swing voters, 22% of certain Obama voters, 41% of certain McCain supporters).

Issue Priorities and the Gender Gap

Women are far more likely than men to rate many issues as very important to their vote choice. The gender gap is largest on abortion; about half of women voters (49%) say abortion is very important to their vote, compared to just a third of men. The differences also are large over other domestic issues, including health care (10 points), education (11 points), jobs (8 points), and the environment (8 points).

The gender gap on issue priorities reaches beyond domestic concerns. Nearly eight-in-ten women (79%) say Iraq is very important, compared to 63% of men. And women are also more concerned about terrorism (72% vs. 64% of men). Women and men are about as likely to rate energy, trade policy, immigration, and gay marriage as very important.

<i>Very important to your vote:</i>	<u>All</u> %	18- 30- 50- 65+					<u>Gap*</u>	Wo- men Men <u>Gap</u>		
		<u>29</u> %	<u>49</u> %	<u>64</u> %	<u>65+</u> %					
Economy	91	89	91	93	90	-1	93	88	+5	
Jobs	80	75	82	82	82	-7	84	76	+8	
Energy	78	72	76	80	83	-11	77	78	-1	
Health care	77	79	74	76	84	-5	82	72	+10	
Education	73	79	72	70	76	+3	79	68	+11	
Taxes	71	70	71	70	76	-6	75	68	+7	
Iraq	71	72	66	72	79	-7	78	63	+15	
Terrorism	69	68	65	69	75	-7	72	64	+8	
Environment	57	64	54	56	53	+11	60	52	+8	
Trade policy	49	39	50	53	55	-16	47	52	-5	
Immigration	49	49	44	48	58	-9	48	49	-1	
Abortion	41	42	41	38	47	-5	49	33	+16	
Gay marriage	28	32	26	25	32	0	29	27	+2	

Based on registered voters.
* Between 18-29-year-olds and those 65 and older.

There is little evidence of an age gap in the importance assigned to various issues. The economy tops the list among all age groups, and younger and older voters do not offer significantly different ratings of most issues, including health care, education, and gay marriage. Younger and older voters differ on the environment, energy, and trade policy, however. Voters younger than 30 are considerably more likely than older voters to say the environment will be very important to their vote, while older voters place more importance than young voters on energy and trade policy.

Voters' Views on Issues

Voters who have opposing issue positions often have substantially different views regarding the importance of those issues. For example, among voters who favor government-guaranteed health care, even if it means higher taxes – 58% of voters – nearly nine-in-ten (88%) say the issue will be very important to their vote. Among those who oppose government-backed health insurance (35% of voters), just 58% view the issue as very important.

Overall, voters are divided over gay marriage – 41% say gays and lesbians should be allowed to marry legally and 46% say they should not. In this case, voters who oppose gay marriage are more than twice as likely as those who favor gay marriage to say the issue is very important (41% vs. 19%).

A 59% majority of voters say abortion should be legal in all or most cases, but just 34% of this group rates abortion as a very important issue to their vote choice. On the other hand, among the 35% who say abortion should be illegal in all or most cases, nearly six-in-ten (59%) say the issue is very important.

Voters are largely in favor of providing illegal immigrants with a path to citizenship if they pass background checks, pay fines, and have jobs (66% favor it and 30% oppose it); those who oppose this proposal place much greater priority on immigration. About two-thirds of those who oppose a path to citizenship say immigration will be very important to their vote (66%), compared with just 41% of those who favor it.

More than seven-in-ten voters (71%) favor allowing more offshore oil and gas drilling in U.S. waters, while 24% oppose increased drilling; large majorities of the proponents of both positions say the issue will be very important to their vote (77% vs. 79%). And while voters are divided over whether the United States should keep troops in Iraq (49%) or bring troops home as soon as possible (47%), about the same proportion of each side of the question sees it as very important.

Voters' Views on the Issues - And Their Importance	
	<i>% rating issue as "very important"</i>
<u>Abortion</u>	
<i>Abortion should be...</i>	%
Legal in all/most cases (59%)	34
Illegal in all/most cases (35%)	59
<u>Gay marriage</u>	
<i>Gay marriage</i>	
Favor (41%)	19
Oppose (46%)	41
<u>Health care</u>	
<i>Guaranteed health care</i>	
Favor (58%)	88
Oppose (35%)	58
<u>Immigration</u>	
<i>Path to citizenship</i>	
Favor (66%)	41
Oppose (30%)	66
<u>Energy</u>	
<i>Offshore drilling</i>	
Favor (70%)	77
Oppose (24%)	79
<u>Taxes</u>	
<i>Bush tax cuts</i>	
All should remain in place (26%)	82
Repealed for the wealthy (37%)	66
Repealed for all (25%)	72
<u>Iraq</u>	
<i>Iraq</i>	
Keep troops (49%)	71
Bring troops home (48%)	73

Based on registered voters. Entries in parentheses show the percent holding each position.

Swing Voters' Positions on Key Issues

Six-in-ten swing voters say abortion should be legal in all or most cases (60%) and the same number favors government-guaranteed health insurance and providing illegal immigrants with a path to citizenship. On these three issues, the views of swing voters are more closely aligned with those of committed Obama supporters.

When it comes to offshore drilling, however, swing voters offer more conservative views; three-quarters favor drilling in U.S. waters and just 15% oppose. Certain McCain voters are nearly unanimous in their support for offshore drilling (92% favor it), while certain Obama voters are more divided – 52% favor and 41% oppose drilling in U.S. waters.

Swing voters offer mixed views on gay marriage, President Bush's tax cuts, and whether the U.S. should keep troops in Iraq or bring troops home as soon as possible. Committed McCain and Obama supporters, on the other hand, offer clear views on these issues. For example, nearly three-quarters of Obama voters favor bringing U.S. troops home (73%), while 84% of McCain supporters say the U.S. should keep troops in Iraq.

Where Voters Stand on Issues			
	Certain McCain	Certain Obama	Swing Voters
<i>Abortion should be...</i>	%	%	
Legal in all/most cases	37	74	60
Illegal in all/most cases	57	20	32
<i>Gay Marriage</i>			
Favor	20	59	38
Oppose	70	28	46
<i>Guaranteed health care</i>			
Favor	28	80	60
Oppose	66	14	33
<i>Path to citizenship</i>			
Favor	58	76	60
Oppose	38	20	36
<i>Offshore drilling</i>			
Favor	92	52	75
Oppose	6	41	15
<i>Bush tax cuts</i>			
All should remain in place	55	6	23
Repealed for the wealthy	20	52	34
Repealed for all	13	33	27
<i>Iraq</i>			
Keep troops	84	23	50
Bring troops home	15	73	45
Based on registered voters.			

ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates and Abt SRBI, Inc. among a nationwide sample of 3,016 adults, 18 years of age or older, from October 16-19, 2008 (2,264 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 752 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 267 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race/ethnicity, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2007 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample is also weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2007 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the 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:

Group	Sample Size	Plus or minus...
Total sample	3,016	2.0 percentage points
Registered voter sample	2,599	2.5 percentage points
Likely voter sample	2,382	2.5 percentage points
Form 1 registered voter sample	1,299	3.0 percentage points
Form 2 registered voter sample	1,300	3.0 percentage points
Republican registered voter sample	803	4.0 percentage points
Democratic registered voter sample	953	3.5 percentage points
Independent registered voter sample	726	4.0 percentage points
Certain McCain voters	911	4.0 percentage points
Certain Obama voters	1,101	3.5 percentage points
Swing voters	587	4.5 percentage points

In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

ABOUT THE CENTER

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

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

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

Andrew Kohut, Director
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors
Kim Parker, Senior Researcher
Michael Remez, Senior Writer
Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Robert Suls, Shawn Neidorf, Leah Christian and Jocelyn Kiley,
Research Associates
Kathleen Holzward and Alec Tyson, Research Analysts

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
MID-OCTOBER 2008 POLITICAL SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
October 16-19, 2008
N=3,016

ASK ALL:

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

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2599]:

		Quite	(VOL.)	Only a	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Little</u>	<u>None</u>	<u>DK/</u>
						<u>Ref.</u>
2008	Mid-October, 2008	81	3	13	3	*=100
	Early October, 2008	81	2	14	2	1=100
	Late September, 2008	80	3	14	2	1=100
	Mid-September, 2008	78	4	14	3	1=100
	August, 2008	74	6	17	2	1=100
	July, 2008	74	2	20	3	1=100
	June, 2008	72	2	23	2	1=100
	Late May, 2008	75	4	17	3	1=100
	April, 2008	77	7	13	2	1=100
	March, 2008	78	3	15	3	1=100
	Late February, 2008	74	3	19	2	2=100
2004	November, 2004	82	3	12	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	76	5	15	3	1=100
	Early October, 2004	74	4	19	2	1=100
	September, 2004	71	3	22	3	1=100
	August, 2004	69	2	26	2	1=100
	July, 2004	67	2	28	2	1=100
	June, 2004	58	3	36	2	1=100
	May, 2004	59	6	30	4	1=100
	Late March, 2004	60	4	31	4	1=100
	Mid-March, 2004	65	2	31	2	*=100
2000	November, 2000	72	6	19	2	1=100
	Late October, 2000	66	6	24	4	*=100
	Mid-October, 2000	67	9	19	4	1=100
	Early October, 2000	60	8	27	4	1=100
	September, 2000	59	8	29	3	1=100
	July, 2000	46	6	45	3	*=100
	June, 2000	46	6	43	5	*=100
	May, 2000	48	4	42	5	1=100
	April, 2000	45	7	41	7	*=100
1996	November, 1996	67	8	22	3	*=100
	October, 1996	65	7	26	1	1=100
	Late September, 1996	61	7	29	2	1=100
	Early September, 1996	56	3	36	4	1=100
	July, 1996	55	3	41	1	*=100
	June, 1996	50	5	41	3	1=100
1992	Early October, 1992	77	5	16	1	1=100
	September, 1992	69	3	26	1	1=100
	August, 1992	72	4	23	1	*=100
	June, 1992	63	6	29	1	1=100
1988	Gallup: November, 1988	73	8	17	2	0=100

THOUGHT CONTINUED...

	Quite <u>A lot</u>	(VOL.) <u>Some</u>	Only a <u>Little</u>	(VOL.) <u>None</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>
Gallup: October, 1988	69	9	20	2	0=100
Gallup: August, 1988	61	10	27	2	0=100
Gallup: September, 1988	57	18	23	2	0=100

NO QUESTION 1

QUESTION 2 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

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?

- 83 Yes, Registered
- 81 Absolutely certain
- 2 Chance registration has lapsed
- * Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 16 No, not registered
- 1 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=2599]:

	Early <u>Oct</u> <u>2008</u>	Late-Sept <u>2008</u>	Mid-Sept <u>2008</u>	Aug <u>2008</u>	July <u>2008</u>
83 Yes	84	86	86	88	87
17 No	16	14	14	12	13
* Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	*	*	*	*
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

OFTVOTE How often would you say you vote... (READ)¹

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,599]:

	<u>Always</u>	Nearly <u>Always</u>	Part of <u>The time</u>	<u>Seldom</u>	(VOL.) <u>Never</u> <u>Vote</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>
Mid-October, 2008	57	27	7	5	3	1	*=100
Early October, 2008	53	27	9	6	3	1	1=100
Late September, 2008	55	27	9	6	2	1	*=100
Mid-September, 2008	54	28	10	5	2	1	*=100

¹ Complete trend for OFTVOTE not shown; comparable election year trends are presented.

OFTVOTE CONTINUED...

	(VOL.)						
	<u>Always</u>	Nearly <u>Always</u>	Part of <u>The time</u>	Seldom	Never <u>Vote</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>
July, 2008	53	30	10	4	1	1	1=100
November, 2004	62	21	7	6	3	1	*=100
Mid-October, 2004	63	22	7	5	2	1	*=100
November, 2000	57	26	8	6	2	1	*=100
Late October, 2000	52	30	9	6	1	2	0=100
Mid-October, 2000	54	27	10	6	*	3	*=100
Early October, 2000	51	29	10	6	3	1	*=100
November, 1996	55	28	8	6	2	1	*=100
October, 1996	52	30	9	5	2	2	*=100
Early October, 1992	54	33	8	4	*	1	*=100
October, 1988	51	37	8	3	1	*	*=100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.3 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote [READ AND ROTATE] [for the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin] OR [for the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden]?

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

Q.3a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.3]?

IF CHOSE MCCAIN OR OBAMA IN Q.3 (Q.3=1,2), ASK:

Q.3b Do you support (INSERT PRESIDENTIAL CHOICE FROM Q.3—LAST NAME ONLY) strongly or only moderately?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2599]:

	<u>Mc-Cain</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only Mod²</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Oba-ma</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only Mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Third party</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/Don't know</u>
Mid-October, 2008	38	21	16	1	52	36	16	*	n/a	n/a	10=100
Early October, 2008	40	21	18	1	50	36	14	*	n/a	n/a	10=100
Late September, 2008	42	23	19	*	49	33	15	1	n/a	n/a	9=100
Mid-September, 2008 ³	44	25	19	*	46	30	15	1	n/a	n/a	10=100
August, 2008	43	17	26	*	46	27	19	*	n/a	n/a	11=100
July, 2008	42	17	24	1	47	24	22	1	n/a	n/a	11=100
June, 2008	40	14	26	*	48	28	19	1	n/a	n/a	12=100
Late May, 2008	44				47				n/a	n/a	9=100
April, 2008	44				50				n/a	n/a	6=100
March, 2008	43				49				n/a	n/a	8=100
Late February, 2008	43				50				n/a	n/a	7=100

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only Mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only Mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/Don't know</u>
November, 2004	45	34	11	*	46	29	16	1	1	n/a	8=100
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	13	*	45	28	16	1	1	n/a	9=100
Early October, 2004	48	35	12	1	41	24	17	*	2	n/a	9=100
September, 2004	49	33	15	1	43	22	20	1	1	n/a	7=100
August, 2004	45	32	13	*	47	28	19	*	2	n/a	6=100
July, 2004	44				46				3	n/a	7=100

² Includes those who say they lean to the Republican or Democratic candidate.

³ Prior to Mid-September, 2008, July, 2004, September, 2000, September, 1996, August, 1992, and September, 1988 the question did not specify vice presidential candidates.

Q.3/Q.3a/Q.3b CONTINUED...

	Bush	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Only Mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	Kerry	<i>Strongly</i>	<i>Only Mod</i>	<i>DK</i>	Other/ Nader	Fourth party	Don't know
June, 2004	46				42				6	n/a	6=100
May, 2004	43				46				6	n/a	5=100
Late March, 2004	44				43				6	n/a	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	n/a	5=100
<i>Two-way trial heats:</i>											
June, 2004	48				46				n/a	n/a	6=100
May, 2004	45				50				n/a	n/a	5=100
Late March, 2004	46				47				n/a	n/a	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	43				52				n/a	n/a	5=100
Late February, 2004	44				48				n/a	n/a	8=100
Early February, 2004	47				47				n/a	n/a	6=100
Early January, 2004	52				41				n/a	n/a	7=100
October, 2003	50				42				n/a	n/a	8=100
Bush Gore Nader Buchanan											
November, 2000	41	26	15	*	45	25	19	1	4	1	9=100
Late October, 2000	45	29	16	*	43	24	19	*	4	1	7=100
Mid-October, 2000	43	25	18	*	45	22	23	*	4	1	7=100
Early October, 2000	43	26	17	*	44	22	22	*	5	*	8=100
September, 2000	41	21	19	1	47	25	21	1	2	1	9=100
July, 2000	42				41				6	2	9=100
Late June, 2000	42				35				2	2	19=100
Mid-June, 2000	41				42				4	3	10=100
January, 2000	51				39				n/a	4	6=100
September, 1999	49				35				n/a	10	6=100
<i>Two-way trial heats:</i>											
July, 2000	48				46				n/a	n/a	6=100
Mid-June, 2000	45	20	25	*	46	18	27	1	n/a	n/a	9=100
May, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9=100
March, 2000	43				49				n/a	n/a	8=100
February, 2000	46	19	27	*	45	18	26	1	n/a	n/a	9=100
December, 1999	55				40				n/a	n/a	5=100
October, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7=100
September, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7=100
July, 1999	53				42				n/a	n/a	5=100
March, 1999	54				41				n/a	n/a	5=100
January, 1999	50				44				n/a	n/a	6=100
Early September, 1998	53				40				n/a	n/a	7=100
Dole Clinton Perot											
November, 1996	32	17	15	*	51	26	24	1	9	n/a	8=100
October, 1996	34	17	16	1	51	25	26	*	8	n/a	7=100
Late September, 1996	35	16	18	1	51	26	25	*	7	n/a	7=100
Early September, 1996	34	17	17	*	52	26	26	0	8	n/a	6=100
July, 1996	34				44				16	n/a	6=100
March, 1996	35				44				16	n/a	5=100
September, 1995	36				42				19	n/a	3=100
July, 1994	36				39				20	n/a	5=100
<i>Two-way trial heats:</i>											
July, 1996	42	11	30	*	53	20	31	1	n/a	n/a	5=100
June, 1996	40	13	23	1	55	22	29	1	n/a	n/a	5=100
April, 1996	40				54						6=100
March, 1996	41				53						6=100

Q.3/Q.3a/Q.3b CONTINUED...

	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only Mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only Mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/ Don't know</u>
February, 1996	44				52						4=100
January, 1996	41				53						6=100
July, 1994	49				46						5=100
	Bush, Sr.				Clinton				Perot		
Late October, 1992	34	20	14	--	44	26	18	--	19	n/a	3=100
Early October, 1992	35	14	21	--	48	23	25	--	8	n/a	9=100
June, 1992	31				27				36	n/a	6=100
Two-way trial heats:											
September, 1992	38	14	21	--	53	25	28	--	n/a	n/a	9=100
August, 1992	37	14	23	--	57	24	33	--	n/a	n/a	6=100
June, 1992	46	13	33	--	41	9	32	--	n/a	n/a	13=100
May, 1992	46	15	31	--	43	10	33	--	n/a	n/a	11=100
Late March, 1992	50	19	31	--	43	9	34	--	n/a	n/a	7=100
	Bush, Sr.				Dukakis						
October, 1988	50	24	26	--	42	20	22	--	n/a	n/a	8=100
September, 1988	50	26	24	--	44	19	25	--	n/a	n/a	6=100
May, 1988	40	12	28	--	53	14	39	--	n/a	n/a	7=100

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.3 If the presidential election were being held TODAY, would you vote [READ AND ROTATE] [for the Republican ticket of John McCain and Sarah Palin OR [for the Democratic ticket of Barack Obama and Joe Biden?

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

Q.3a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to [READ, ROTATE IN SAME ORDER AS Q.3]?

IF RESPONDENT CHOSE JOHN MCCAIN (1 IN Q.3 OR 1 IN Q.3a):

Q.4a 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.3 OR 2 IN Q.3a):

Q.4b 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=2599]:

	<u>Mc-Cain</u>	<u>Pro-McCain</u>	<u>Anti-Obama</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Pro-Obama</u>	<u>Anti-McCain</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Third party</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/ Don't know</u>
Mid-October, 2008	38	24	12	2	52	40	10	2	n/a	n/a	10=100
Mid-September, 2008	44	29	13	2	46	32	11	3	n/a	n/a	10=100
August, 2008	43	25	16	2	46	33	12	1	n/a	n/a	11=100
July, 2008	42	25	14	3	47	32	12	3	n/a	n/a	11=100
June, 2008	40				48				n/a	n/a	12=100
Late May, 2008	44	28	14	2	47	35	11	1	n/a	n/a	9=100
April, 2008	44				50				n/a	n/a	6=100
March, 2008	43				49				n/a	n/a	8=100
Late February, 2008	43	27	14	2	50	38	10	2	n/a	n/a	7=100

Q.3/Q.3a/Q.4a/Q.4b CONTINUED...

	<u>Bush</u>	<i>Pro-Bush</i>	<i>Anti-Kerry</i>	<i>DK</i>	Kerry	<i>Pro-Kerry</i>	<i>Anti-Bush</i>	<i>DK</i>	Nader⁴	Fourth party	Other/Don't know
November, 2004	45	34	9	2	46	20	23	3	1	n/a	8=100
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	10	3	45	18	24	3	1	n/a	9=100
Early October, 2004	48	36	10	2	41	15	23	3	2	n/a	9=100
September, 2004	49	38	9	2	43	15	26	2	1	n/a	7=100
August, 2004	45	34	8	3	47	20	24	3	2	n/a	6=100
July, 2004	44				46				3	n/a	7=100
June, 2004	46				42				6	n/a	6=100
May, 2004	43				46				6	n/a	5=100
Late March, 2004	44				43				6	n/a	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	n/a	5=100
Two-way trial heats:											
June, 2004	48	35	11	2	46	17	27	2	n/a	n/a	6=100
May, 2004	45	33	10	2	50	15	32	3	n/a	n/a	5=100
Late March, 2004	46	36	8	2	47	17	27	3	n/a	n/a	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	43	34	7	2	52	21	29	2	n/a	n/a	5=100
Late February, 2004	44				48				n/a	n/a	8=100
Early February, 2004	47	39	6	2	47	15	30	2	n/a	n/a	6=100
Early January, 2004	52				41				n/a	n/a	7=100
October, 2003	50				42				n/a	n/a	8=100

	<u>Bush</u>	<i>Pro-Bush</i>	<i>Anti-Gore</i>	<i>DK</i>	Gore	<i>Pro-Gore</i>	<i>Anti-Bush</i>	<i>DK</i>	Nader⁵	Buchanan	Other/Don't know
November, 2000	41	27	12	2	45	29	14	2	4	1	9=100
Late October, 2000	45				43				4	1	7=100
Mid-October, 2000	43				45				4	1	7=100
Early October, 2000	43				44				5	*	8=100
September, 2000	41	24	14	3	47	30	14	3	2	1	9=100
July, 2000	42				41				6	2	9=100
Late June, 2000	42				35				2	2	19=100
Mid-June, 2000	41				42				4	3	10=100
January, 2000	51				39				n/a	4	6=100
September, 1999	49				35				n/a	10	6=100
Two-way trial heats:											
July, 2000	48				46				n/a	n/a	6=100
Mid-June, 2000	45				46				n/a	n/a	9=100
May, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9=100
March, 2000	43				49				n/a	n/a	8=100
February, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9=100
December, 1999	55				40				n/a	n/a	5=100
October, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7=100
September, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7=100
July, 1999	53				42				n/a	n/a	5=100
March, 1999	54				41				n/a	n/a	5=100
January, 1999	50				44				n/a	n/a	6=100
Early September, 1998	53				40				n/a	n/a	7=100

⁴ 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 in 2004.

⁵ 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.3/Q.3a/Q.4a/Q.4b CONTINUED...

	<u>Dole</u>	<u>Pro-Dole</u>	<u>Anti-Other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Pro-Clinton</u>	<u>Anti-Other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Pro-Perot</u>	<u>Anti-Other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other/DK</u>
November, 1996	32	15	15	2	51	33	15	3	9	4	5	*	8=100
October, 1996	34	15	18	1	51	33	16	2	8	4	4	*	7=100
Late Sept, 1996	35				51				7				7=100
Early Sept., 1996	34	16	17	1	52	35	15	2	8	3	5	0	6=100
July, 1996	34				44				16				6=100
March, 1996	35				44				16				5=100
September, 1995	36				42				19				3=100
July, 1994	36				39				20				5=100
Two-way trial heats:													
July, 1996	42				53				n/a				5=100
June, 1996	40				55				n/a				5=100
April, 1996	40				54				n/a				6=100
March, 1996	41	15	25	1	53	30	20	3	n/a				6=100
February, 1996	44				52				n/a				4=100
January, 1996	41				53				n/a				6=100
July, 1994	49				46				n/a				5=100

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<u>Pro-Bush</u>	<u>Anti-Other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Pro-Clinton</u>	<u>Anti-Other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Pro-Perot</u>	<u>Anti-Other</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other/DK</u>
Late October, 1992	34	19	13	2	44	25	17	2	19	10	7	2	3=100
Early October, 1992	35	19	13	3	48	23	22	3	8	3	5	*	9=100
June, 1992	31				27				36				6=100
Two-way trial heats:													
September, 1992	38	20	16	2	53	21	29	3	n/a				9=100
August, 1992	37	20	16	1	57	27	28	2	n/a				6=100
June, 1992	46				41				n/a				13=100
May, 1992	46				43				n/a				11=100
Late March, 1992	50	33	15	2	43	13	28	2	n/a				7=100

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<u>Pro-Bush</u>	<u>Anti-Dukakis</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Du-kakis</u>	<u>Pro-Dukakis</u>	<u>Anti-Bush</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Third party</u>	<u>Fourth party</u>	<u>Other/Don't know</u>
October, 1988	50	31	16	3	42	23	15	4	n/a	n/a	8=100
September, 1988	50	31	15	4	44	21	19	4	n/a	n/a	6=100
May, 1988	40	26	11	3	53	23	26	4	n/a	n/a	7=100

**IF RESPONDENT DID NOT CHOOSE MCCAIN IN Q.3/3a (Q.3=2 OR Q.3a=2,3,9) ASK:
ROTATE Q.5 AND Q.6**

Q.5 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=2599]:

		Chance might <u>vote for</u>	Decided not <u>to vote for</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
McCain	Mid-October, 2008	9	47	6=62%
	Early October, 2008	10	45	5=60%
	Late September, 2008	10	42	6=58%
	Mid-September, 2008	9	40	7=56%
	August, 2008	14	37	6=57%
	July, 2008	13	38	7=58%
	June, 2008	12	41	7=60%
Bush	November, 2004	6	44	5=55%
	Mid-October, 2004	5	43	7=55%
	Early October, 2004	9	39	4=52%
	September, 2004	9	38	4=51%
	August, 2004	10	42	3=55%
	July, 2004	10	41	5=56%
	June, 2004 ⁶	9	41	2=52%
	May, 2004	9	42	4=55%
	Late March, 2004	11	40	3=54%
	Mid-March, 2004	11	44	2=57%
	Late February, 2004	10	43	3=56%
Early February, 2004	10	41	2=53%	
Bush	November, 2000	8	44	7=59%
	Late October, 2000	10	41	4=55%
	Mid-October, 2000	12	40	5=57%
	Early October, 2000	11	39	7=57%
	September, 2000	15	38	6=59%
	Mid-June, 2000	15	33	6=54%
Dole	November, 1996	8	54	6=68%
	October, 1996	11	51	4=66%
	Late September, 1996	16	44	5=65%
	Early September, 1996	14	47	5=66%
	July, 1996	15	40	3=58%
Bush, Sr	Late October, 1992	11	53	2=66%
	Early October, 1992	13	46	6=65%
	September, 1992	12	44	6=62%
	August, 1992	15	45	4=64%
	May, 1992	8	40	5=53%

⁶ 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.3/3a (Q.3=1 OR Q.3a=1,3,9) ASK:
ROTATE Q.5 AND Q.6**

Q.6 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=2599]:

		Chance might <u>vote for</u>	Decided not <u>to vote for</u>	Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Obama	Mid-October, 2008	8	35	5=48%
	Early October, 2008	7	38	5=50%
	Late September, 2008	8	37	6=51%
	Mid-September, 2008	11	38	5=54%
	August, 2008	12	36	6=54%
	July, 2008	12	34	7=53%
	June, 2008	14	32	6=52%
	Kerry	November, 2004	6	43
Mid-October, 2004		6	42	7=55%
Early October, 2004		9	45	5=59%
September, 2004		11	42	4=57%
August, 2004		11	39	3=53%
July, 2004		13	36	5=54%
June, 2004 ⁷		10	41	3=54%
May, 2004		11	35	4=50%
Late March, 2004		13	37	3=53%
Mid-March, 2004		13	32	3=48%
Late February, 2004		13	36	3=52%
Early February, 2004		15	33	5=53%
Gore	November, 2000	8	41	6=55%
	Late October, 2000	9	44	4=57%
	Mid-October, 2000	10	40	5=55%
	Early October, 2000	11	38	7=56%
	September, 2000	13	35	5=53%
	June, 2000	14	34	6=54%
Clinton	November, 1996	6	37	6=49%
	October, 1996	10	35	4=49%
	Late September, 1996	11	35	3=49%
	Early September, 1996	10	34	4=48%
	July, 1996	8	36	4=48%
Clinton	Late October, 1992	11	43	2=56%
	Early October, 1992	14	32	6=52%
	September, 1992	12	28	6=46%
	August, 1992	14	26	3=43%
	May, 1992	11	38	6=55%

⁷

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 FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.7F1 If John McCain were to win the presidency, do you think he would continue George W. Bush’s policies, or would he take the country in a different direction? **[IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Just in general, do you think John McCain would continue George W. Bush’s policies or take the country in a different direction?]**

BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1299]:

		Late Sept <u>2008</u>	Mid-Sept <u>2008</u>	June <u>2008</u>	Late May <u>2008</u>	March <u>2008</u>
44	Continue Bush’s policies	41	45	46	44	46
45	Take country in a different direction	46	44	42	45	43
<u>11</u>	Don’t know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

NO QUESTIONS 8-10

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

PLANTO1 Do you yourself plan to vote in the election this November?

IF YES IN PLANTO1 (PLANTO1=1), ASK:

PLANTO2 How certain are you that you will vote? Are you absolutely certain, fairly certain, or not certain?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2,599]:

	<u>Yes, Plan To Vote</u>	<u>Absolutely Certain</u>	<u>Fairly Certain</u>	<u>Not Certain</u>	<u>No, Don’t Plan To</u>	<u>Don’t know/ Refused</u>
Mid-October, 2008 ⁸	97	92	5	*	2	1=100
Early October, 2008	97	92	4	1	2	1=100
Late September, 2008	97	91	6	*	2	1=100
Mid-September, 2008	97	90	6	1	2	1=100
August, 2008	97	--	--	--	2	1=100
July, 2008	97	--	--	--	2	1=100
June, 2008	95	85	8	2	2	3=100
November, 2006*	90	--	--	--	8	2=100
Late October, 2006*	94	--	--	--	3	3=100
Early October, 2006*	93	75	17	1	4	3=100
Early September, 2006*	92	--	--	--	5	3=100
November, 2004	97	--	--	--	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2004	98	--	--	--	1	1=100
Early October, 2004	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
September, 2004	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
August, 2004	98	89	8	1	2	*=100
June, 2004	96	85	10	1	2	2=100
Early November, 2002*	90	--	--	--	8	2=100
Early October, 2002*	95	--	--	--	3	2=100
Early November, 2000	96	--	--	--	3	1=100
Late October, 2000	97	--	--	--	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2000	96	--	--	--	2	2=100
Early October, 2000	97	87	9	1	2	1=100

8

In Mid-October 2008 and 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, 2000, 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?”

PLANTO1/PLANTO2 CONTINUED...

	<u>Yes, Plan To Vote</u>	<u>Absolutely Certain</u>	<u>Fairly Certain</u>	<u>Not Certain</u>	<u>No, Don't Plan To</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
September, 2000	95	84	10	1	3	2=100
June, 2000	95	84	10	1	2	3=100
Late October, 1998*	91	--	--	--	6	3=100
Early October, 1998*	92	--	--	--	4	4=100
Early September, 1998*	95	--	--	--	2	3=100
Late August, 1998*	93	75	17	1	3	4=100
June, 1998*	95	74	19	2	3	2=100
November, 1996	96	--	--	--	2	2=100
October, 1996	98	87	10	1	1	1=100
Late September, 1996	98	89	8	1	1	1=100
Early September, 1996	96	83	11	2	2	2=100
July, 1996	95	82	12	1	3	2=100
June, 1996	96	84	11	1	2	2=100
November, 1994*	93	--	--	--	5	2=100
October, 1994*	95	--	--	--	3	2=100
October, 1992	98	91	6	1	1	1=100
September, 1992	98	85	11	2	1	1=100
August, 1992	97	89	8	*	1	2=100
June, 1992	97	88	8	1	1	2=100
Gallup: November, 1988	97	87	9	1	2	1=100
October, 1988	98	--	--	--	1	1=100

* Non-Presidential elections

IF YES IN PLANTO1 (PLANTO1=1), ASK:

PLANTO3 Do you plan to cast your vote BEFORE Election Day, ON Election Day, OR have you already cast your vote?

BASED ON ALL REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2599]:

	Nov 2006 ⁹	Late Oct 2006	Early Oct 2006	Nov 2004	Mid- Oct 2004	Early Sept 2004	June 2004
24 BEFORE Election Day	6	15	14	9	16	13	19
66 ON Election Day	71	74	77	75	78	84	77
7 Already voted ¹⁰	12	2	*	13	3	*	n/a
1 Don't know/Refused	1	3	2	*	1	1	*
<u>2</u> Don't plan to vote/Don't know (IN PLANTO1)	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

⁹ In June 2004, the question was worded: "...do you plan to vote BEFORE Election Day, that is through the mail or with an absentee ballot, or will you probably vote at your polling place on Election Day?" That wording was maintained in Early September 2004, but a volunteered category for "already voted" was added. From mid-October 2004 through November, 2006, the question was worded "Do you plan to vote BEFORE Election Day, OR will you probably vote at your polling place ON Election Day OR have you already cast your vote," making "already voted" an offered category.

¹⁰ This category includes those who volunteer they already have voted in response to PLANTO1. From November 2004 through November 2006, this category included only those who both volunteered that they voted early in PLANTO1 and verified in a follow-up question that they had voted early. Those who said they intended to vote early in the follow-up question were included in the category "before Election Day."

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS ONLY (REGICERT=1):

Q.11F1 Regardless of who you might support, who do you think is most likely to win the presidential election?
[READ AND ROTATE]?

BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1299]:

	<u>John McCain</u>	<u>Barack Obama</u>	<u>(VOL.) Other/DK</u>
Mid-October, 2008	17	61	22=100
Mid-September, 2008	39	39	22=100
June, 2008	27	53	20=100
April, 2008	42	47	11=100
March, 2008	38	50	12=100
2004 Election			
November, 2004	48 <i>Bush</i>	27 <i>Kerry</i>	25=100
Mid-October, 2004	54 <i>Bush</i>	27 <i>Kerry</i>	19=100
Early October, 2004	61 <i>Bush</i>	27 <i>Kerry</i>	12=100
September, 2004	60 <i>Bush</i>	22 <i>Kerry</i>	18=100
August, 2004	44 <i>Bush</i>	37 <i>Kerry</i>	19=100
July, 2004	42 <i>Bush</i>	38 <i>Kerry</i>	20=100
June, 2004	51 <i>Bush</i>	35 <i>Kerry</i>	14=100
May, 2004	52 <i>Bush</i>	31 <i>Kerry</i>	17=100
Early February, 2004	56 <i>Bush</i>	32 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	12=100
Mid-January, 2004	61 <i>Bush</i>	21 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	18=100
September, 2003	47 <i>Bush</i>	34 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	19=100
June, 2003	66 <i>Bush</i>	22 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	12=100
2000 Election			
November, 2000	43 <i>Bush</i>	32 <i>Gore</i>	25=100
Late October, 2000	48 <i>Bush</i>	38 <i>Gore</i>	14=100
Early October, 2000	33 <i>Bush</i>	46 <i>Gore</i>	21=100
June, 2000	51 <i>Bush</i>	33 <i>Gore</i>	16=100
October, 1999	70 <i>Bush</i>	23 <i>Gore</i>	7=100
1996 Election			
Late September, 1996 ¹¹	12 <i>Dole</i>	79 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
Early September, 1996	16 <i>Dole</i>	75 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
July, 1996	19 <i>Dole</i>	72 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
1992 Election			
October, 1992	30 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	61 <i>Clinton</i>	9=100
March, 1992	72 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	20 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	8=100
February, 1992	66 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	25 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	9=100
October, 1991	78 <i>Bush, Sr.</i>	11 <i>Dem Candidate</i>	11=100

NO QUESTION 12

¹¹

In 1996 and October 1992, the question also asked about Ross Perot. Results here are included in the "Other/DK" category.

ASK ALL FORM 2:

Q.13F2 As far as making progress on the important issues facing the country is concerned, does it really matter who wins the 2008 presidential election, or will things be pretty much the same regardless of who is elected president?

BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1300]:		<i>General Public Opinion Research Corporation</i>					
		Mid-		Mid-			
		Sept	June	June	March	June	Aug
		<u>2008</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1976</u>
72	Really matters who wins the 2008 presidential election	70	63	67	70	50	45
24	Things will pretty much be the same regardless	24	32	29	26	44	46
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100

QUESTION 14 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

**ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
ROTATE Q.15F2 WITH Q.16F2**

Q.15F2 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 Obama as [NEXT ITEM] or not? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW CANDIDATE WELL ENOUGH ENTER AS DON'T KNOW AND EMPHASIZE THAT THAT IS A LEGITIMATE ANSWER]

BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1300]:

		Yes, describes <u>Obama</u>	No	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.F2	Patriotic			
	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.F2	Honest			
	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.F2	Down-to-earth			
	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.F2	Inspiring			
	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.F2	Well-qualified			
	Mid-October, 2008	53	42	5=100
	Mid-September, 2008	47	48	5=100

Q.15F2 CONTINUED...

		Yes, describes <u>Obama</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
f.F2	Risky			
	Mid-October, 2008	49	46	5=100
	Mid-September, 2008	51	44	5=100
g.F2	Having poor judgment			
	Mid-October, 2008	29	62	9=100

**ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
ROTATE Q.15F2 WITH Q.16F2**

Q.16F2 As I name some traits, please tell me whether you think each one describes John McCain. First, [INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE] do you think of John McCain as [FIRST ITEM] or not? Do you think of McCain as [NEXT ITEM] or not? [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT SAYS THEY DON'T KNOW CANDIDATE WELL ENOUGH ENTER AS DON'T KNOW AND EMPHASIZE THAT THAT IS A LEGITIMATE ANSWER]

BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1300]:

		Yes, describes <u>McCain</u>	<u>No</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
a.F2	Patriotic			
	Mid-October, 2008	89	7	4=100
	Mid-September, 2008	91	6	3=100
	April, 2008	90	7	3=100
b.F2	Honest			
	Mid-October, 2008	61	32	7=100
	Mid-September, 2008	62	30	8=100
	April, 2008	65	26	9=100
c.F2	Down-to-earth			
	Mid-October, 2008	54	42	4=100
	Mid-September, 2008	56	39	5=100
	April, 2008	60	33	7=100
d.F2	Inspiring			
	Mid-October, 2008	37	59	4=100
	Mid-September, 2008	43	53	4=100
	April, 2008	39	55	6=100
e.F2	Well-qualified			
	Mid-October, 2008	72	23	5=100
	Mid-September, 2008	75	20	5=100
f.F2	Risky			
	Mid-October, 2008	49	47	4=100
	Mid-September, 2008	46	48	6=100
g.F2	Having poor judgment			
	Mid-October, 2008	41	53	6=100

ASK ALL FORM 2:

Q.17F2 Now a different kind of question about how conservative, moderate, or liberal the candidates are. From what you've read and heard, would you say [INSERT NAME, RANDOMIZE] is very conservative, conservative, moderate, liberal, or very liberal? How about [NEXT NAME]? [IF NECESSARY: From what you've read and heard, would you say [NAME] is very conservative, conservative, moderate, liberal, or very liberal?]

BASED ON FORM 2 [N=1500]:

		Very				Very	(VOL.)
		<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Conservative</u>	<u>Moderate</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Liberal</u>	<u>Don't Know</u>
a.F2	Barack Obama						
	Mid-October, 2008	5	11	23	33	19	9=100
	April, 2008	4	11	21	33	20	11=100
	January, 2008	4	10	23	33	13	17=100
b.F2	John McCain						
	Mid-October, 2008	12	41	24	7	4	12=100
	April, 2008	10	38	27	8	4	13=100
	January, 2008	7	35	27	10	2	19=100
c.F2	Sarah Palin						
	Mid-October, 2008	24	31	16	7	4	18=100
d.F2	Joe Biden						
	Mid-October, 2008	3	11	30	28	9	19=100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.18F1 Regardless of who you support, which one of the presidential candidates — **[ROTATE ORDER OF CANDIDATES]** John McCain or Barack Obama — do you think would do the best job of **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE QUARTER FORM SPLITS]**?

And who do you think would do the best job of **[INSERT NEXT ITEM]**?

IF RESPONDENT MENTIONS ANYONE OTHER THAN MCCAIN OR OBAMA PROBE ONCE:

"If you had to choose between McCain and Obama. . . "?]

BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1299]:		John <u>McCain</u>	Barack <u>Obama</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>
a.F1	Improving economic conditions				
	Mid-October, 2008	32	53	5	10=100
	Late September, 2008	33	51	6	10=100
	Mid-September, 2008	38	47	5	10=100
	July, 2008	32	47	7	14=100
	June, 2008	31	51	8	10=100
	Late May, 2008	36	51	4	9=100
	April, 2008	33	53	8	6=100
Bush/Kerry	Mid-October, 2004	40	47	4	9=100
	Early October, 2004	40	46	5	9=100
	September, 2004	42	45	4	9=100
	August, 2004	37	52	3	8=100
Bush/Kerry	May, 2004	38	48	5	9=100
	Late March, 2004	39	44	6	11=100
	Mid-March, 2004	37	53	2	8=100
Bush/Gore	Mid-October, 2000	37	49	3	11=100
	Early October, 2000	35	47	6	12=100
	September, 2000	38	46	5	11=100
	June, 2000	38	41	5	16=100
	March, 2000	42	46	4	8=100
Dole/Clinton	September, 1996	35	49	8	8=100
	July, 1996	38	45	8	9=100
	TREND FOR COMPARISON	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Neither</u>
Bush/Clinton	October, 1992	26	41	16	5 12=100
b.F1	Making wise decisions about what to do in Iraq	John <u>McCain</u>	Barack <u>Obama</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>
	Mid-October, 2008	42	48	2	8=100
	Late September, 2008	48	43	3	6=100
	Mid-September, 2008	48	41	4	7=100
	July, 2008	44	41	3	12=100
	June, 2008	47	41	4	8=100
	Late May, 2008	46	43	2	9=100
	April, 2008	50	38	5	7=100
Bush/Kerry	Mid-October, 2004	47	41	4	8=100
	Early October, 2004	50	40	2	8=100
	September, 2004	51	39	3	7=100
	August, 2004	44	46	3	7=100
	May, 2004	44	41	4	11=100
	Late March, 2004	49	37	4	10=100
	Mid-March, 2004	47	45	2	6=100

Q.18F1 CONTINUED...

BASED ON FORM 1a		John	Barack	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=651]		<u>McCain</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
c.F1a	Making wise decisions about foreign policy				
	Mid-October, 2008	45	44	1	10=100
	Late September, 2008	49	42	2	7=100
	Mid-September, 2008	51	40	2	7=100
	July, 2008	43	42	2	13=100
Bush/Kerry	September, 2004	53	37	3	7=100
	August, 2004	43	47	2	8=100
	May, 2004	43	42	4	11=100
	Late March, 2004	44	38	4	14=100
	Mid-March, 2004	44	45	3	8=100
Bush/Gore	March, 2000	40	46	4	10=100
Dole/Clinton	Early September, 1996	39	44	7	10=100
	July, 1996	42	42	5	11=100
	TREND FOR COMPARISON	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Clinton</u>	<u>Perot</u>	<u>Neither</u>
Bush/Clinton	October, 1992	53	27	6	3
					11=100

BASED ON FORM 1
REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=1299]

		John	Barack	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		<u>McCain</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
d.F1	Defending the country from future terrorist attacks				
	Mid-October, 2008	49	38	3	10=100
	Late September, 2008	53	36	3	8=100
	Mid-September, 2008	56	31	4	9=100
	July, 2008	48	33	5	14=100
	June, 2008	55	31	5	9=100
	April, 2008	63	26	5	6=100
Bush/Kerry	Mid-October, 2004	53	35	4	8=100
	Early October, 2004	57	32	3	8=100
	September, 2004	58	31	3	8=100
	August, 2004	49	39	4	8=100
	May, 2004	52	33	5	10=100
	Late March, 2004	53	29	4	14=100
	Mid-March, 2004	57	32	4	7=100
e.F1	Dealing with the nation's energy problems				
	Mid-October, 2008	34	53	4	9=100
	Late September, 2008	36	52	4	8=100
	Mid-September, 2008	40	46	4	10=100
	Late May, 2008	33	51	5	11=100
f.F1	Dealing with taxes				
	Mid-October, 2008	35	50	5	10=100
	Late-September, 2008	36	49	6	9=100
	Mid-September, 2008	39	44	5	12=100
	June, 2008	36	47	6	11=100
	Late May, 2008	44	39	5	12=100

Q.18F1 CONTINUED...		John <u>McCain</u>	Barack <u>Obama</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>	
Bush/Gore	Late October, 2000	45	41	5	9=100	
	Mid-October, 2000	41	42	5	12=100	
	Early October, 2000	39	42	6	13=100	
	September, 2000	41	41	5	13=100	
	June, 2000	41	34	7	18=100	
	March, 2000	40	44	5	11=100	
	TREND FOR COMPARISON					
Cutting taxes						
Dole/Clinton	September, 1996	42	34	14	10=100	
	July, 1996	42	35	12	11=100	
TREND FOR COMPARISON						
Not increasing taxes						
Bush/Clinton	October, 1992	35	25	8	16	16=100
g.F1	Reflecting your views on social issues like abortion and gay rights	John <u>McCain</u>	Barack <u>Obama</u>	(VOL.) <u>Neither</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref.</u>	
	Mid-October, 2008	36	51	4	9=100	
	Mid-September, 2008	39	45	5	11=100	
	Late May, 2008	34	48	5	13=100	
BASED ON FORM 1a						
REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=651]						
h.F1a	Improving education					
	Mid-October, 2008	27	56	4	13=100	
	Mid-September, 2008	32	51	5	12=100	
Bush/Kerry	September, 2004	43	43	5	9=100	
	August, 2004	36	53	3	8=100	
	May, 2004	35	50	5	10=100	
	Late March, 2004	39	43	5	13=100	
	Mid-March, 2004	36	52	3	9=100	
Bush/Gore	Late-October, 2000	41	45	4	10=100	
	Mid-October, 2000	40	46	3	11=100	
	Early October, 2000	41	43	6	10=100	
	September, 2000	39	45	4	12=100	
	June, 2000	34	44	5	17=100	
	March, 2000	42	44	3	11=100	
Dole/Clinton	September, 1996	29	57	5	9=100	
	July, 1996	28	55	6	11=100	
TREND FOR COMPARISON						
Bush/Clinton	October, 1992	28	46	9	5	12=100
i.F1a	Dealing with environmental issues					
	Mid-October, 2008	28	57	3	12=100	
	Mid-September, 2008	32	53	5	10=100	
TREND FOR COMPARISON						
Protecting the environment						
Bush/Gore	September, 2000	24	58	4	14=100	
	March, 2000	24	61	4	11=100	
Dole/Clinton	July, 1996	24	58	6	12=100	
TREND FOR COMPARISON						
Bush/Clinton	October, 1992	24	50	5	6	16=100

Q.18F1 CONTINUED...

BASED ON FORM 1b		John	Barack	(VOL.)	(VOL.)
REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=648]		<u>McCain</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Neither</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
j.F1b	Improving the health care system				
	Mid-October, 2008	27	57	6	10=100
	Mid-September, 2008	31	52	7	10=100
	Late May, 2008	32	49	6	13=100
Bush/Kerry	Early October, 2004	31	49	8	12=100
	September 22-26, 2004	32	48	7	13=100
	Early September, 2004	32	50	8	10=100
	August, 2004	29	55	5	11=100
	May, 2004	29	51	7	13=100
	Late March, 2004	33	46	6	15=100
	Mid-March, 2004	29	57	4	10=100
Bush/Gore	Late-October, 2000	38	47	5	10=100
	Mid-October, 2000	37	48	4	11=100
	Early October, 2000	36	49	5	10=100
	September, 2000	32	51	6	11=100
	June, 2000	31	44	6	19=100
	March, 2000	31	51	6	12=100
k.F1b	Dealing with immigration				
	Mid-October, 2008	38	42	7	13=100
	Mid-September, 2008	39	38	8	15=100
	Late May, 2008	44	39	7	10=100
l.F1b	Reducing the influence of lobbyists and special interest groups in Washington				
	Mid-October, 2008	34	45	8	13=100
	Mid-September, 2008	36	40	9	15=100
	June, 2008	26	51	10	13=100
BASED ON FORM 1a					
REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=651]					
m.F1a	Reducing the budget deficit				
	Mid-October, 2008	30	50	9	11=100
Dole/Clinton	September, 1996	41	38	11	10=100
	July, 1996	39	40	11	10=100
BASED ON FORM 1b					
REGISTERED VOTERS: [N=648]					
n.F1b	Selecting justices to serve on the Supreme Court				
	Mid-October, 2008	41	46	3	10=100
Bush/Gore	Early October, 2000	37	39	4	20=100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.19F1 Which candidate do you think could best address the current problems with financial institutions and markets? [READ AND ROTATE]

BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1299]:

		Early Oct <u>2008</u>	Late-Sept <u>2008</u> ¹²	-NII GP- Sept. 19-22 <u>2008</u> ¹³
46	Barack Obama	47	46	47
34	John McCain	33	33	35
8	Neither (VOL. DO NOT READ)	6	7	8
3	Both/Either (VOL. DO NOT READ)	3	3	3
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

ROTATE ORDER OF Q.20F1 AND Q.21F1

Q.20F1 What grade would you give Barack Obama as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him? Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1299]:

		<i>Obama</i> June <u>2008</u>	<i>----- Kerry -----</i> Mid-Oct <u>2004</u>	June <u>2004</u>	<i>Gore</i> June <u>2000</u>	<i>----- Clinton -----</i> Sept <u>1996</u>	July <u>1996</u>	Sept <u>1992</u>
32	A	23	15	6	9	18	9	21
33	B	33	31	25	26	32	28	37
14	C	18	21	30	31	23	30	24
7	D	11	12	16	13	8	12	7
11	F	12	18	18	16	16	18	7
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

¹² In the Late September, 2008 survey the question was worded: "Which candidate do you think could best address the current problems involving investment banks and companies with ties to the housing market?"

¹³ In the Sept. 19-22, 2008, News Interest Index the question was worded: "Regardless of which candidate you prefer, which candidate do you think could best address the problems investment banks and companies with ties to the house market are having?"

**ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
ROTATE ORDER OF Q.20F1 AND Q.21F1**

Q.21F1 What grade would you give John McCain as to how good a job he is doing in convincing you to vote for him? Would you grade his election campaign: A, B, C, D, or F?

BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1299]:

		<i>McCain</i>	<i>----- Bush -----</i>	<i>Bush</i>	<i>----- Dole -----</i>	<i>Bush, Sr.</i>		
		June	Mid-Oct	June	Sept	July	Sept	
		<u>2008</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1992</u>	
10	A	5	16	13	10	8	3	14
24	B	27	26	26	30	21	19	24
27	C	35	22	23	29	30	36	27
18	D	16	12	12	13	18	19	15
19	F	14	20	23	13	19	20	16
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
ROTATE ORDER OF R.1 AND R.2**

R.1 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think Barack Obama has been too personally critical of John McCain, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2599]:

	Too Personally	Not too	(VOL.)
	<u>Critical</u>	Personally	Don't know/
		<u>Critical</u>	<u>Refused</u>
Mid-October, 2008	26	69	5=100
Early October, 2008	22	69	9=100
Mid-September, 2008	28	65	7=100
June, 2008	19	73	8=100
Kerry Critical of Bush			
September, 2004	52	45	3=100
June, 2004	44	48	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	48	46	6=100
Gore Critical of Bush			
Early October, 2000	29	61	10=100
Clinton Critical of Dole			
Late September, 1996	21	70	9=100
Dukakis Critical of Bush, Sr.			
October, 1988	45	50	5=100

**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):
ROTATE ORDER OF R.1 AND R.2**

R.2 In the presidential campaign so far, do you think John McCain has been too personally critical of Barack Obama, or not?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=2599]:

	Too Personally <u>Critical</u>	Not too Personally <u>Critical</u>	(VOL.) Don't know/ <u>Refused</u>
Mid-October, 2008	56	39	5=100
Early October, 2008	48	44	8=100
Mid-September, 2008	42	52	6=100
June, 2008	26	65	9=100
Bush Critical of Kerry			
September, 2004	49	47	4=100
June, 2004	33	58	9=100
Mid-March, 2004	33	58	9=100
Bush Critical of Gore			
Early October, 2000	40	50	10=100
Dole Critical of Clinton			
Late September, 1996	53	40	7=100
Bush, Sr. Critical of Dukakis			
October, 1988	52	43	5=100

QUESTIONS 22 THROUGH 25 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK ALL FORM 1:

Q.26F1 Now I'd like your views on some people. As I read some names, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each person. (First, **INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE**) would you say your overall opinion of... **[INSERT ITEM]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about (**NEXT NAME**)? **[IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [NAME] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? [INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

BASED ON FORM 1 [N=1516]:

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.) Never	(VOL.) Can't
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	heard of	rate/Ref
a.F1 John McCain								
Mid-October, 2008	51	17	34	44	17	27	*	5=100
Late September, 2008	55	19	36	38	14	24	*	7=100
Mid-September, 2008	58	20	38	38	16	22	*	4=100
Late May, 2008	46	12	34	44	20	24	1	9=100
April, 2008	48	11	37	40	17	23	2	10=100
March, 2008	45	8	37	41	16	25	2	12=100
Late February, 2008	48	12	36	38	14	24	1	13=100
Early February, 2008	53	12	41	31	10	21	3	13=100
January, 2008	55	14	41	31	9	22	3	11=100
Late December, 2007	46	8	38	34	10	24	7	13=100
August, 2007	47	8	39	29	8	21	12	12=100
December, 2006	51	13	38	26	6	20	10	13=100
April, 2006	54	14	40	26	7	19	8	12=100

Q.26F1 CONTINUED...

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
		<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never	Can't
								heard of	rate/Ref
	Late October, 2005	56	15	41	19	5	14	10	15=100
	Late March, 2005	59	15	44	17	4	13	8	16=100
	July, 2001	51	14	37	22	5	17	13	14=100
	January, 2001	59	18	41	15	3	12	9	17=100
	May, 2000	54	14	40	20	5	15	11	15=100
b.F1	Barack Obama								
	Mid-October, 2008	66	33	33	28	13	15	*	6=100
	Late September, 2008	65	33	32	30	11	19	*	5=100
	Mid-September, 2008	62	28	34	34	15	19	*	4=100
	Late May, 2008	51	23	28	40	21	19	*	9=100
	April, 2008	52	21	31	42	21	21	*	6=100
	March, 2008	56	21	35	34	18	16	1	9=100
	Late February, 2008	57	24	33	34	16	18	1	8=100
	Early February, 2008	58	19	39	30	13	17	2	10=100
	January, 2008	56	20	36	33	13	20	3	8=100
	Late December, 2007	54	16	38	30	12	18	5	11=100
	August, 2007	48	14	34	26	10	16	13	13=100
c.F1	Sarah Palin								
	Mid-October, 2008	42	18	24	48	27	21	2	8=100
	Early Oct., 2008 (callback)	49	19	30	43	20	23	1	7=100
	Late September, 2008	47	18	29	40	21	19	4	9=100
	Mid-September, 2008	50	25	25	34	15	19	6	10=100
d.F1	Joe Biden								
	Mid-October, 2008	55	20	34	35	10	19	6	10=100
	Early Oct., 2008 (callback)	61	20	41	30	10	20	1	8=100
	Late September, 2008	49	15	34	30	10	20	8	13=100
	Mid-September, 2008	48	14	34	30	11	19	8	14=100
	April, 2006	28	7	21	20	5	15	38	14=100
	Late October, 2005	21	4	17	20	6	14	43	16=100
	September, 1987	22	4	18	15	4	11	25	38=100

QUESTIONS 27 AND 28 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.29F1 Do you feel John McCain is too old to be president, or not?

BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1299]:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
Mid-October 2008	34	64	2=100
Mid-September 2008	23	73	4=100
June 2008	21	76	3=100
Late February 2008	26	72	2=100

TREND FOR COMPARISON

Bob Dole (CNN/USA Today/Gallup Poll)

Mid-October 1996 (Likely voters)	32	67	1=100
Early October 1996 (RVs)	32	66	2=100
Mid-August 1996 (RVs)	28	71	1=100
Early August 1996 (RVs)	32	64	4=100
July 1996 (General population)	31	66	3=100
March 1996 (General population)	25	72	3=100
February 1996 (General population)	27	67	6=100

ASK FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.30F1 Thinking about the people you know...Do you personally know anyone who will not vote for Barack Obama because he is black?

BASED ON FORM 1 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1299]:

21	Yes, know someone
78	No, do not know someone
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK ALL FORM 1:

R.3F1 Now, thinking about Barack Obama's religious beliefs... Do you happen to know what Barack Obama's religion is? Is he Christian, Jewish, Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu, atheist, agnostic, or something else?

[INTERVIEWERS: IF DON'T KNOW PROBE: "Is that because you've heard different things about his religion, or because you just don't know enough about him?"]

BASED ON FORM 1 [N=1516]:

		<u>Mid-Sept 2008</u>	<u>(RVs) June 2008</u>	<u>March 2008</u>
51	Christian (include volunteers of: Protestant, Church of Christ, Trinity Church, Baptist, Methodist, etc.)	48	57	47
*	Jewish	1	1	*
12	Muslim (include Islam/Islamic)	12	12	12
*	Buddhist	*	*	*
0	Hindu	*	*	*
*	Atheist	*	*	*
*	Agnostic	*	*	*
1	Something else	4	2	1
13	Don't know - Heard different things (VOL.)	18	10	10
20	Don't know - Haven't heard enough (VOL.)	15	15	27
<u>3</u>	Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Now I'd like to ask about how important some issues are to you...

Q.31F2 In making your decision about who to vote for this fall, will the issue of [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] be very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important? How about [NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: How important will the issue of [ITEM] be to you in making your decision about who to vote for this fall?] [INTERVIEWER: PLEASE RE-READ RESPONSE OPTIONS AS NECESSARY TO REMIND RESPONDENTS OF OPTIONS]

BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1300]:

		Very <u>Important</u>	Somewhat <u>Important</u>	Not too <u>Important</u>	Not at all <u>Important</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refuse</u>
a.F2	The economy					
	Mid-October, 2008	91	7	2	*	*=100
	August, 2008	87	12	1	*	*=100
	Late May, 2008	88	9	1	1	1=100
	October, 2007	79	18	1	1	1=100
	June, 2007	74	22	2	1	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	78	18	3	1	*=100
	August, 2004	76	22	1	1	*=100
b.F2	Iraq					
	Mid-October, 2008	71	22	5	2	*=100
	August, 2008	72	21	4	2	1=100
	Late May, 2008	72	20	4	2	2=100
	October, 2007	76	18	2	2	2=100
	June, 2007	73	20	3	3	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	74	20	3	2	1=100
	August, 2004	70	24	3	2	1=100
c.F2	Terrorism					
	Mid-October, 2008	69	20	7	3	1=100
	August, 2008	72	20	5	2	1=100
	Late May, 2008	68	23	6	2	1=100
	October, 2007	69	22	5	3	1=100
	June, 2007	69	24	4	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	77	17	3	2	1=100
	August, 2004	75	19	3	2	1=100
d.F2	Gay marriage					
	Mid-October, 2008	28	21	21	27	3=100
	August, 2008	28	20	18	32	2=100
	Late May, 2008	28	21	19	29	3=100
	October, 2007	22	21	21	32	4=100
	Mid-October, 2004	32	22	19	24	3=100
	August, 2004	34	19	15	30	2=100

Q.31F2 CONTIUNED...

		Very <u>Important</u>	Somewhat <u>Important</u>	Not too <u>Important</u>	Not at all <u>Important</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refuse</u>
e.F2	Taxes					
	Mid-October, 2008	71	24	3	1	1=100
	Late May, 2008	68	24	5	2	1=100
	October, 2007	63	28	6	1	2=100
	June, 2007	62	29	7	2	*=100
	Mid-October, 2004	59	31	7	2	1=100
f.F2	Abortion					
	Mid-October, 2008	41	29	16	12	2=100
	August, 2008	39	26	17	15	3=100
	Late May, 2008	40	27	15	15	3=100
	October, 2007	39	26	17	13	5=100
	June, 2007	40	30	13	14	3=100
	Mid-October, 2004	47	27	12	11	3=100
	August, 2004	45	25	13	14	3=100
g.F2	Energy					
	Mid-October, 2008	78	18	3	1	*=100
	August, 2008	77	19	2	1	1=100
	Late May, 2008	77	20	2	*	1=100
	October, 2007	65	28	3	2	2=100
	June, 2007	61	32	4	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	54	37	6	2	1=100
	August, 2004	53	40	6	*	1=100
h.F2	Health care					
	Mid-October, 2008	77	19	2	1	1=100
	August, 2008	73	21	5	1	*=100
	Late May, 2008	78	17	3	2	*=100
	October, 2007	76	18	4	1	1=100
	June, 2007	71	23	4	2	*=100
	Mid-October, 2004	73	22	4	1	*=100
	August, 2004	72	21	5	2	*=100
i.F2	Education					
	Mid-October, 2008	73	21	4	2	*=100
	August, 2008	73	20	5	1	1=100
	Late May, 2008	78	17	3	1	1=100
	October, 2007	75	21	2	1	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	75	20	3	2	*=100
	August, 2004	70	26	3	1	*=100
j.F2	The environment					
	Mid-October, 2008	57	31	8	3	1=100
	August, 2008	59	31	6	3	1=100
	Late May, 2008	62	27	8	3	*=100
	October, 2007	58	31	8	2	1=100
	June, 2007	55	36	6	3	*=100
	Mid-October, 2004	53	37	7	2	1=100
	August, 2004	55	35	7	3	*=100

Q.31F2 CONTIUNED...

		Very <u>Important</u>	Somewhat <u>Important</u>	Not too <u>Important</u>	Not at all <u>Important</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refuse</u>
k.F2	Jobs					
	Mid-October, 2008	80	15	2	2	1=100
	Late May, 2008	78	17	3	1	1=100
	October, 2007	71	23	3	2	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	76	19	4	1	*=100
l.F2	Immigration					
	Mid-October, 2008	49	32	13	5	1=100
	August, 2008	52	33	10	4	1=100
	Late May, 2008	54	32	9	3	2=100
	October, 2007	56	31	7	4	2=100
	June, 2007	54	34	7	3	2=100
m.F2	Trade policy					
	Mid-October, 2008	49	38	8	2	3=100
	August, 2008	49	38	8	2	3=100
	Late May, 2008	51	38	6	1	4=100

ASK ALL FORM 2 [N=1500]:

Q.32F2 As you may know, the government is investing billions to try to keep financial institutions and markets secure. Do you think this is the right thing or the wrong thing for the government to be doing?

		-NII-	
		Late Sept <u>2008¹⁴</u>	Sept. 19-22 <u>2008</u>
47	Right thing	45	57
37	Wrong thing	38	30
<u>16</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>17</u>	<u>13</u>
100		100	100

ASK FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1) ONLY:

Q.33F2 All in all, do you favor or oppose [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]? Do you favor or oppose [NEXT ITEM]?

BASED ON FORM 2 REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1300]

		<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.F2	The U.S. government guaranteeing health insurance for all citizens, even if it means raising taxes			
	Mid-October, 2008	58	35	7=100
b.F2	Allowing gays and lesbians to marry legally?			
	Mid-October, 2008	41	46	13=100

¹⁴

In Late September 2008 and in the Sept. 19-22 *News Interest Index* the question was worded, "As you may know, the government is potentially investing billions to try to keep financial institutions and markets secure. Do you think this is the right thing or the wrong thing for the government to be doing?" In Late September 2008, an experiment testing the word "committing" instead of "investing" showed no difference in the results. Results for the two versions have been combined.

Q.33F2 CONTINUED...

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
c.F2 Providing a way for illegal immigrants currently in the country to gain legal citizenship if they pass background checks, pay fines, and have jobs? Mid-October, 2008	66	30	4=100
d.F2 Allowing more offshore oil and gas drilling in U.S. waters Mid-October, 2008	70	24	6=100

ASK ALL FORM 2 ONLY [N=1500]:

Q.34F2 Do you think abortion should be **(READ)**

(PLEASE READ CATEGORIES IN REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF THE SAMPLE)

	<u>Legal in all cases</u>	<u>Legal in most cases</u>	<u>Illegal in most cases</u>	<u>Illegal in all cases</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Mid-October, 2008	19	38	22	14	7=100
August, 2008	17	37	26	15	5=100
June, 2008	19	38	24	13	6=100
November, 2007	18	33	29	15	5=100
October, 2007	21	32	24	15	8=100
August, 2007	17	35	26	17	5=100
March, 2007 Pew Social Trends	15	30	30	20	5=100
February, 2006 <i>Associated Press/Ipsos-Poll</i>	19	32	27	16	6=100
December 2005 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	17	40	27	13	3=100
April 2005 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	20	36	27	14	3=100
December 2004 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	21	34	25	17	3=100
May 2004 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	23	31	23	20	2=99
January 2003 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	23	34	25	17	2=100
August 2001 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	22	27	28	20	3=100
June 2001 <i>ABC/BeliefNet Poll</i>	22	31	23	20	4=100
January 2001 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	21	38	25	14	1=99
September 2000 (RVs) <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	20	35	25	16	3=99
July 2000 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	20	33	26	17	4=100
September 1999 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	20	37	26	15	2=100
March 1999 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	21	34	27	15	3=100
July 1998 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	19	35	29	13	4=100
August 1996 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	22	34	27	14	3=100
June 1996 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	24	34	25	14	2=99
October 1995 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	26	35	25	12	3=100
September 1995 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	24	36	25	11	4=100
July 1995 <i>ABC/Washington Post</i>	27	32	26	14	1=100

ASK ALL FORM 2 ONLY [N=1500]:

Q.35F2 Which comes closer to your view about the tax cuts passed under President Bush over the past few years?
[READ IN ORDER]

		-RVs-						
		Early		Early		Early		
		Nov	Oct	Nov	Oct	April	Dec	Sept
		<u>2007</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>
25	All of the tax cuts should be made permanent	30	24	30	26	25	28	27
37	Tax cuts for the wealthy should be repealed, while others stay in place, OR	38	31	34	36	36	35	31
25	All of the tax cuts should be repealed	22	30	22	26	28	25	28
<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL. DO NOT READ)	<u>10</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.36F2 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

BASED ON FORM 2 [N=1500]:

	<u>Right</u> <u>decision</u>	<u>Wrong</u> <u>decision</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Mid-October, 2008	40	54	6=100
Mid-September, 2008	43	50	7=100
June, 2008	39	55	6=100
April, 2008	37	57	6=100
Late February, 2008	38	54	8=100
Late December, 2007	36	56	8=100
October, 2007	39	54	7=100
September, 2007	42	50	8=100
July, 2007	41	53	6=100
June, 2007	40	51	9=100
April, 2007	45	47	8=100
March, 2007	43	49	8=100
February, 2007	40	54	6=100
Mid-January, 2007	40	51	9=100
Early January, 2007	40	53	7=100
December, 2006	42	51	7=100
Mid-November, 2006	41	51	8=100
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	45	48	7=100
Late October, 2006	43	47	10=100
Early October, 2006	45	47	8=100
Early September, 2006	49	43	8=100
August, 2006	45	46	9=100
July, 2006	44	50	6=100
June, 2006	49	44	7=100
April, 2006	47	46	7=100
March, 2006	45	49	6=100
February, 2006	51	44	5=100
January, 2006	45	47	8=100
December, 2005	47	48	5=100
Late October, 2005	48	45	7=100
Early October, 2005	44	50	6=100
Mid-September, 2005	49	44	7=100
July, 2005	49	44	7=100
June, 2005	47	45	8=100

Q.36F2 CONTINUED...

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
February, 2005	47	47	6=100
January, 2005	51	44	5=100
December, 2004	49	44	7=100
November, 2004 (<i>RVs</i>)	48	41	11=100
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12=100
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
September, 2004	53	39	8=100
August, 2004	53	41	6=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>7=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>72</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>8=100</i>
<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>69</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>71</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>7=100</i>
Late January, 1991	77	15	8=100

ASK ALL FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.37F2 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

BASED ON FORM 2 [N=1500]:

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/ Refused</u>
Mid-October, 2008	17	40	26	12	5=100
September, 2008	19	39	24	13	5=100
June, 2008	10	34	31	21	4=100
April, 2008	10	34	28	24	4=100
Late February, 2008	12	36	25	23	4=100
Late December, 2007	11	30	31	23	5=100
November, 2007	11	37	29	19	4=100
October, 2007	10	34	29	22	5=100
September, 2007	9	32	30	24	5=100
July, 2007	8	28	34	25	5=100
June, 2007	7	27	33	28	5=100
April, 2007	7	31	34	25	3=100
March, 2007	10	30	32	24	4=100

Q.37F2 CONTINUED...

	Very <u>well</u>	Fairly <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at all <u>well</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Refused</u>
February, 2007	5	25	38	29	3=100
Mid-January, 2007	7	28	32	30	3=100
December, 2006	4	28	37	27	4=100
Mid-November, 2006	6	26	34	30	4=100
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	7	30	32	27	4=100
Late October, 2006	5	30	34	25	6=100
Early October, 2006	8	29	33	25	5=100
Early September, 2006	8	39	28	20	5=100
August, 2006	8	33	32	23	4=100
June, 2006	16	37	25	18	4=100
April, 2006	13	34	29	21	3=100
March, 2006	9	34	30	21	6=100
February, 2006	13	38	29	17	3=100
January, 2006	12	39	27	17	5=100
December, 2005	14	37	29	17	3=100
Early October, 2005	9	35	31	22	3=100
Mid-September, 2005	12	41	26	18	3=100
July, 2005	14	38	27	17	4=100
June, 2005	9	41	27	19	4=100
February, 2005	14	40	25	17	4=100
January, 2005	9	39	29	20	3=100
December, 2004	10	40	28	18	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	13	38	26	17	6=100
September, 2004	12	40	26	18	4=100
August, 2004	12	41	28	16	3=100
July, 2004	13	42	26	16	3=100
June, 2004	16	41	25	14	4=100
May, 2004	10	36	32	19	3=100
Late April, 2004	12	43	26	15	4=100
Early April, 2004	14	43	26	13	4=100
Mid-March, 2004	16	45	26	11	2=100
Early February, 2004	17	46	23	11	3=100
Mid-January, 2004	22	51	18	6	3=100
Early January, 2004	23	47	18	7	5=100
December, 2003	28	47	16	6	3=100
October, 2003	16	44	25	11	4=100
September, 2003	15	47	26	9	3=100
August, 2003	19	43	24	11	3=100
Early July, 2003	23	52	16	5	4=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>March 25-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7=100</i>

ASK ALL FORM 2 ONLY:

Q.38F2 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

BASED ON FORM 2 [N=1500]:

	Keep troops <u>in Iraq</u>	Bring troops <u>home</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/ Ref</u>
Mid-October, 2008	45	51	4=100
Mid-September, 2008	45	50	5=100
June, 2008	43	52	5=100
April, 2008	41	56	3=100
Late February, 2008	47	49	4=100
Late December, 2007	40	54	6=100
November, 2007	41	54	5=100
October, 2007	42	54	4=100
September, 2007	39	54	7=100
July, 2007	39	54	7=100
June, 2007	39	56	5=100
April, 2007	41	53	6=100
March, 2007	43	52	5=100
February, 2007	42	53	5=100
Mid-January, 2007	46	48	6=100
Early January, 2007	41	53	6=100
December, 2006	44	50	6=100
Mid-November, 2006	46	48	6=100
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	49	44	7=100
Late October, 2006	46	47	7=100
Early October, 2006	47	47	6=100
Early September, 2006	47	47	6=100
August, 2006	48	46	6=100
June, 2006	50	45	5=100
April, 2006	48	48	4=100
March, 2006	44	50	6=100
February, 2006	50	46	4=100
January, 2006	48	48	4=100
December, 2005	49	46	5=100
Early October, 2005	47	48	5=100
Mid-September, 2005	51	45	4=100
July, 2005	52	43	5=100
June, 2005	50	46	4=100
February, 2005	55	42	3=100
January, 2005	54	41	5=100
December, 2004	56	40	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	57	36	7=100
September, 2004	54	40	6=100
August, 2004	54	42	4=100
July, 2004	53	43	4=100
June, 2004 ¹⁵	51	44	5=100
May, 2004	53	42	5=100
Late April, 2004	53	40	7=100
Early April, 2004	50	44	6=100

¹⁵

In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: "Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?"

Q.38F2 CONTINUED...

	Keep troops <u>in Iraq</u>	Bring troops <u>home</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/ Ref</u>
Early January, 2004	63	32	5=100
October, 2003	58	39	3=100
September, 2003	64	32	4=100

QUESTIONS 39 THROUGH 46 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?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) <u>No Preference</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other Party</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/ Ref</u>	<i>Lean <u>Rep</u></i>	<i>Lean <u>Dem</u></i>
Mid-October, 2008	27	35	31	4	*	3=100	9	16
Early October, 2008	26	36	31	4	*	3=100	11	15
Late September, 2008	25	35	34	3	1	2=100	13	15
Mid-September, 2008	28	35	32	3	*	2=100	12	14
August, 2008	26	34	34	4	*	2=100	12	17
July, 2008	24	36	34	3	*	3=100	12	15
June, 2008	26	37	32	3	*	2=100	11	16
Late May, 2008	25	35	35	2	*	3=100	13	15
April, 2008	24	37	31	5	1	2=100	11	15
March, 2008	24	38	29	5	*	4=100	9	14
Late February, 2008	24	38	32	3	*	3=100	10	17
Early February, 2008	26	35	31	5	*	3=100	11	14
January, 2008	24	33	37	4	*	2=100	12	18
Yearly Totals								
2007	25.4	32.9	33.7	4.6	.4	3.1=100	10.7	16.7
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9=100	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8=100	10.2	14.9
2004	29.5	33.1	30.0	4.0	.4	3.0=100	11.8	13.6
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5=100	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7=100	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7=100	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6=100	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1=100	11.7	12.5
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0=100	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9=100	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4=100	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3=100	12.3	13.8
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2=100			12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4=100			14.4	12.9
1994	29.8	31.8	33.8	4.6=100			14.3	12.6
1993	27.4	33.8	34.0	4.8=100			11.8	14.7
1992	27.7	32.7	35.7	3.9=100			13.8	15.8
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5=100			14.6	10.8
1990	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8=100			12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34=100					
1987	26	35	39=100					

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

SCALE10 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=2599]:

	Definitely will vote					Definitely will not vote					(VOL.)
	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	DK/Ref
Mid-October, 2008	86	5	3	1	1	1	*	*	*	2	1=100
Mid-September, 2008	84	6	3	1	1	2	0	*	1	1	1=100
August, 2008	80	6	5	2	1	2	*	1	*	2	1=100
July, 2008	80	7	4	2	1	3	*	1	*	2	0=100
November, 2006 ¹⁶	72	7	5	3	2	4	*	1	1	4	1=100
Late October, 2006	71	8	9	4	2	3	*	1	*	1	1=100
Early October, 2006	68	10	9	4	1	4	*	1	*	2	1=100
September, 2006	67	9	9	2	2	5	1	1	1	2	1=100
November, 2004	87	4	3	1	1	1	*	*	*	2	1=100
Mid-October, 2004	87	4	3	1	1	1	*	*	*	2	1=100
Early November, 2002	66	9	9	3	1	4	1	1	1	5	1=100
Early October, 2002	64	10	10	4	3	4	1	*	*	2	2=100
Early November, 2000	80	6	5	2	1	3	*	*	*	3	1=100
Late October, 2000	83	5	5	1	1	2	*	1	1	1	*=100
Mid-October, 2000	80	7	4	3	1	3	1	*	*	1	1=100
Early October, 2000	78	7	5	2	2	2	*	1	1	1	1=100
Late October, 1998	70	6	7	4	1	4	1	1	1	4	1=100
Early October, 1998	64	9	10	4	2	4	1	2	1	2	1=100
November, 1996	77	7	7	2	1	2	*	1	*	2	1=100
October, 1996	77	9	7	2	2	2	*	*	*	1	*=100
Late September, 1996	78	10	6	2	1	1	*	*	*	1	1=100
November, 1994	67	9	8	2	2	4	1	1	1	3	2=100
October, 1994	66	10	9	4	2	4	1	1	*	2	1=100
Gallup: September, 1992	77	5	4	3	2	4	*	1	*	4	*=100
Gallup: November, 1988	77	7	6	2	1	3	*	*	*	2	2=100
Gallup: October, 1988	73	8	7	3	2	3	1	*	*	1	2=100

¹⁶

In November 2006, November 2004 and Early November 2002, the “10 – definitely will vote” category also includes people who volunteered that they already voted.