



THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER  
For The People & The Press

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## Voters Pessimistic About Partisan Cooperation

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# Low Marks for the 2012 Election

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## Voters Pessimistic About Partisan Cooperation Low Marks for the 2012 Election

The 2012 presidential campaign was a frustrating experience for many voters, who say the campaign was more negative than usual and had less discussion of issues than in most previous campaigns. Both Obama and Romney get mixed grades for the job they did reaching out to voters, as do campaign consultants, the press and pollsters. On most measures, voters' views of campaign 2012 fall short of the election four years ago.

Similarly, voters do not have a particularly rosy outlook on national politics going forward. Fully 66% say that relations between Republicans and Democrats will either stay about the same (52%) or get worse (14%) over the next year. And while 56% of voters think Obama will be successful in his coming term, that is down from the 67% who thought his first term would be successful at this point four years ago.

While broad majorities of all voters want Barack Obama (72%) and the Republican leadership (67%) to work with the other side to get things done over the coming year, each party's political base sends mixed signals. Only about half (46%) of Republicans want GOP leaders to work with Obama to get things done, while about as many (50%) say they should stand up to Obama, even if less gets done. The message to Obama from Democrats is only somewhat more conciliatory: 54% want the president to try to work with Republicans, but 42% do not.

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### 2012 Election Report Card

	2008 campaign	2012 campaign
<i>Discussion of issues</i>		
More than usual	57	38
Less than usual	34	51
<i>Negative campaigning and mudslinging</i>		
More than usual	54	68
Less than usual	27	19
<i>Average grade for performance in the campaign</i>		
Obama	B+	C+
McCain/Romney	C+	C
The press	C	C-
The pollsters	B-	C+
The campaign consultants	B-	C+
The voters	B	C+

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback.

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### Desire for Bipartisanship Not Fully Shared by Political Bases

<i>Republican leaders in Congress should...</i>	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Work with Obama	67	46	89	64
Stand up to Obama	26	50	7	24
Don't know	7	5	5	12
	100	100	100	100
<hr/>				
<i>Barack Obama should...</i>	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Work with Rep leaders	72	93	54	74
Stand up to Rep leaders	21	3	42	15
Don't know	7	4	4	10
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback.  
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Republicans and Republican leaners remain of the view that the GOP leaders should move in a more conservative direction, not a more moderate one, by a 57% to 35% margin. Democrats and Democratic leaners, meanwhile, continue to support more moderation from their political leaders: Nearly six-in-ten (57%) want Democratic leaders to move in a moderate direction, while 33% want them to move in a more liberal direction.

**Pew Research/PBS Newshour Election Report Card Interactive**

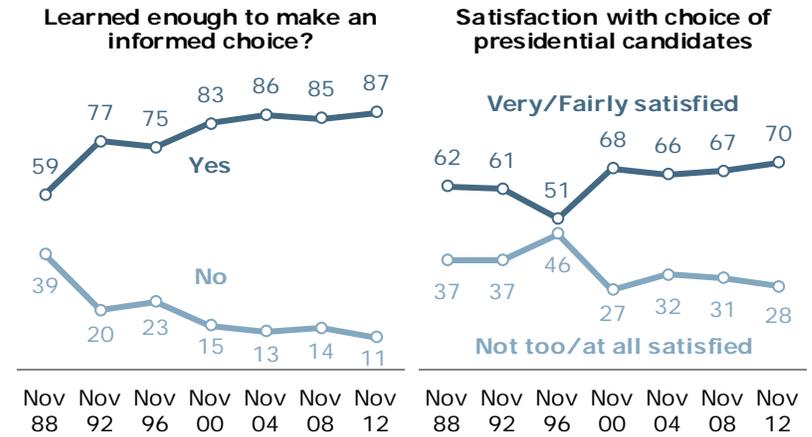
Compare your views of the campaign and the election results to the opinions of other voters.

<http://www.people-press.org/quiz/election-report-card/>

These are the principal findings of the Pew Research Center's quadrennial post-election survey, conducted Nov 8-11, 2012 among 1,206 voters who were originally interviewed before the election. The poll finds that, despite expressing strong criticisms of the campaign, most voters say they were satisfied with the choice of presidential candidates and believe they learned enough about them over the course of the campaign to make an informed choice. The presidential debates, in particular, stand out as positive – about two-thirds (66%) say they were helpful in learning about the candidates.

Republican voters are about as likely as Democratic voters to say they learned enough about the candidates to make an informed choice and to have found the debates helpful.

**Most Voters Feel Informed, Satisfied with Choice**



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q20 & Q18.

**Republicans Give Romney and GOP Good Grades, But Not Voters**

	Nov 2008	Nov 2012	08-12 Change
% of Republican voters who grade each A or B ...	%	%	
John McCain/Mitt Romney	63	75	+12
The Republican Party	44	60	+16
The voters	47	29	-18

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q22b, g, h. Based on those who could rate each individual/group.

Republicans also are less critical of their candidate, and their party, today than they were after John McCain's loss in 2008. Fully 75% of Republican voters give Mitt Romney a grade of A or B for the way he conducted his campaign. In the post-election survey four

years ago, 63% of Republican voters gave McCain an A or B. In that regard, more GOP voters say they were satisfied with their choice of candidates this year than after the 2008 election (57% now, 38% then).

Republicans also are more positive about the GOP’s performance in the campaign. Six-in-ten GOP voters (60%) give their party grades of A or B for the way it conducted the campaign; just 44% rated the party that positively after the election four years ago.

But Republicans give the voters much lower grades than in 2008 – just 29% give a grade of A or B, down from 47%. In fact, Republicans’ grades for the voters equal the lowest grades given by members of either party dating back to 1988. In 1996, after Bob Dole lost to Bill Clinton, just 30% of Republicans gave the voters positive grades.

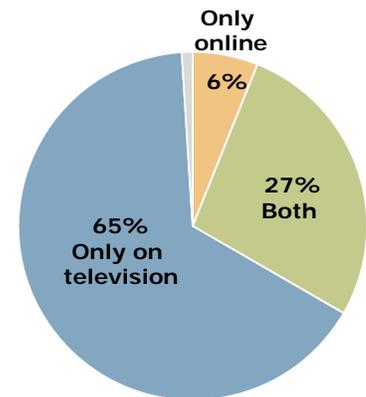
The survey finds that internet has again grown as a source of campaign news. Nearly half (47%) of voters say the internet was a main source of campaign news over the course of the election, up from 36% four years ago. The internet now far surpasses newspapers (27%) as a main source of campaign news, though it still trails television (67%).

In this vein, virtually all voters (92%) who followed the returns on election night tracked them on television, and 34% followed the returns on the internet. Slightly more than a quarter of voters (27%) were “dual screeners,” using both television and the internet to get information. Among voters younger than 40, 39% of those who followed returns on election night kept track both by watching TV and following online.

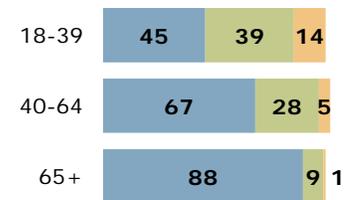
Election night is also a social experience for some voters: 16% of those who followed election returns did so with friends, while 8% used social networking sites like Facebook and Twitter to track the results. Obama supporters were more likely to watch returns with friends, and to use social networks to follow results, than were voters who supported Romney. Aside from long lines, few voters report having had problems casting their ballots. Some 37% of the voters interviewed say they cast their ballot before Election Day, 19% in person and 17% by mail. Many early voters cite convenience as the main factor they cast their ballots early, but for those who

**“Dual-Screening” on Election Night**

*Followed election night returns...*



*Election night sources by age*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q70a-b. Based on those who followed returns.

went to early voting sites the lines were often just as long as for those who waited until Election Day.

While most say the voting process in their area was managed well and that they are very confident that their votes were accurately counted, confidence about the vote nationwide is down from 2008. About three-in-ten (31%) voters say they are very confident that the votes across the country were accurately counted this year, down from 43% four years ago. Just 21% of Romney voters say they are very confident in the accuracy of this year's vote, down from 29% among McCain supporters four years ago. Skepticism is also up among Obama supporters, 42% are very confident that the nation's votes were accurately counted, down from 56% after the 2008 election.

## SECTION 1: CAMPAIGN REPORT CARD

Voters give mixed reviews of the way the candidates and the parties handled the campaign this year. Of voters who rated Obama, 58% give him a grade of A or B for the way he conducted himself in the campaign.

That is far lower than the 76% who gave Obama equivalent grades four years ago, but on par with the ratings for Al Gore in 2000 and Bill Clinton in 1996.

Among Democrats, 93% grade Obama's campaign an A or B, virtually unchanged from 2008 (95%). Obama's ratings among Democrats are higher than Clinton's were for his reelection campaign in 1996 (82% A or B).

As is generally the case for the losing candidate, Romney receives lower marks than Obama; 45% give Romney an A or B for his campaign. Romney's ratings are similar to those for John McCain in 2008, but higher than the grades for Bob Dole in 1996 and George H.W. Bush in 1992.

### Voters Give Mostly Negative Ratings to Campaign Actors

	<i>% who rated each an A or B</i>							Avg for 2012
	Nov 1988	Nov 1992	Nov 1996	Nov 2000	Nov 2004	Nov 2008	Nov 2012	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	
Barack Obama*	39	66	58	54	47	76	58	C+
Dem Party	34	60	50	49	37	70	54	C+
Mitt Romney**	50	31	34	53	56	40	45	C
Rep Party	46	30	29	48	51	28	39	C
Voters	52	67	43	60	64	67	53	C+
Pollsters	46	53	40	34	45	58	49	C+
Campaign consultants	30	44	30	43	48	49	44	C+
Press	30	37	29	29	33	35	32	C-

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q22. Based on those who could rate each individual/group. \*Trends to past Democratic candidates. \*\*Trends to past GOP candidates.

### Republicans Give Romney & GOP Positive Grades

	1988	1992	1996	2000	2004	2008	2012
<i>% rating each an A or B</i>							
<b>Democrats' ratings of the...</b>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Democratic candidate	56	85	82	83	77	95	93
Democratic Party	48	81	71	74	52	88	91
<b>Republicans' ratings of the...</b>							
Republican candidate	76	52	48	85	88	63	75
Republican Party	72	45	42	77	80	44	60

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q22b-c. Based on those who could rate each party/candidate.

Three-fourths of Republicans (75%) say Romney earned an A or B for the way he conducted himself, which is 12 points more than the percentage of Republicans who gave McCain's campaign A or B four years ago. Among Republican voters, Romney gets the highest ratings of any losing GOP candidate in the past 25 years.

The Democratic Party gets higher grades than the Republican Party; 54% of voters who rated the party give it an A or B, compared with 39% for the Republican Party. A majority of Republicans (60%) grade the GOP at A or B, which is higher than the 44% that gave top grades to the party after the 2008 election. Democrats give their party about as positive a rating as they did four years ago (91% A or B).

Ratings for other players in the campaign also are fairly low. Only about half (53%) of voters give “the voters” an A or B, far fewer than did so after any election since 1996. The losing party typically gives the voters lower grades than the victors, but Republicans’ grades for the voters are particularly low this year. Just 29% of Republicans give voters an A or B grade, compared with 51% of independents and 79% of Democrats. As a result, this is the largest partisan gap in evaluations of the voters since 1988.

Nearly half (49%) of voters give pollsters an A or B, down from 58% four years ago. A majority of Democrats (63%) give the pollsters a positive rating. Fewer Republicans (41%) and independents (40%) grade pollsters an A or B for the way they conducted themselves.

### Republicans Rate the Voters Negatively

	Nov 1988	Nov 1992	Nov 1996	Nov 2000	Nov 2004	Nov 2008	Nov 2012
<i>% rating voters an A or B</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
All voters	52	67	43	60	64	67	53
Republican	62	55	30	49	77	47	29
Democrat	45	78	59	70	49	86	79
Independent	48	66	41	57	65	64	51
<b>Partisan diff</b>	<b>R+17</b>	<b>D+23</b>	<b>D+29</b>	<b>D+21</b>	<b>R+28</b>	<b>D+39</b>	<b>D+50</b>

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q22h. Based on those who could rate the voters.

Ratings for campaign consultants also are highly partisan. Overall, 44% given them an A or B grade, but Democrats (61%) rate campaign consultants much more positively than Republicans (30%) or independents (39%).

The press receives the lowest ratings of any of the campaign players included in the survey. Just 32% give the press an A or B grade for how they conducted themselves in the campaign. Only 19% of Republicans and 21% of independents give the press a positive rating, compared with 52% of Democrats. (For more on press coverage see Section 4.)

## Voters Satisfied With the Candidates

Seven-in-ten voters say they were very (37%) or somewhat (33%) satisfied with the choice of presidential candidates this year; just 28% say they were not satisfied. Voters are about as satisfied with the choice of candidates as they were after the past three presidential elections and are significantly more satisfied with the choice of candidates than in 1996, 1992 or 1988.

Obama voters express far more satisfaction with the choice of candidates than Romney voters. Fully 87% say they were satisfied with the candidates, including 56% who were very satisfied. About half (52%) of voters who backed Romney said they were satisfied; only 17% were very satisfied.

Voters who support the winning candidate have typically expressed far more satisfaction with the choice of presidential candidates. Satisfaction among Obama voters is somewhat lower than four years ago but on par with the satisfaction expressed by voters who supported Bush' reelection in 2004, and higher than among Clinton voters when he was reelected in 1996.

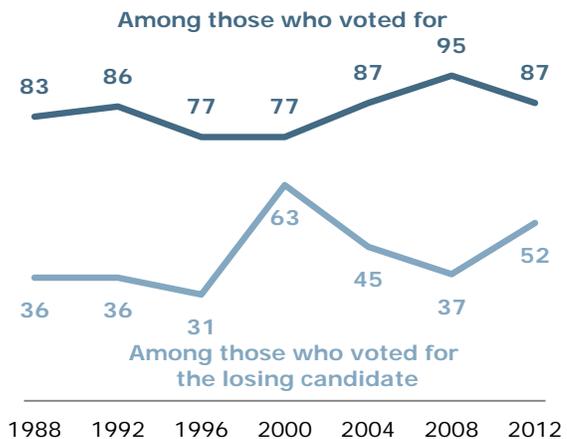
Among Romney voters, satisfaction is somewhat higher than that expressed by voters who backed other losing candidates dating back to 1988, with the exception of those who voted for Gore in the close election in 2000. Satisfaction among Romney voters is 15 points higher than that expressed by McCain voters four years ago.

### Satisfaction with the Choice of Candidates

	Nov 1988	Nov 1992	Nov 1996	Nov 2000	Nov 2004	Nov 2008	Nov 2012
<i>Satisfied with choice of candidates?</i>	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Very/somewhat	62	61	51	68	66	67	70
Not too/Not at all	37	37	46	27	32	31	28
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q18.  
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

### Despite Outcome, Romney Voters Satisfied with Candidates



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q18.

## Most Voters Felt They Made Informed Choice

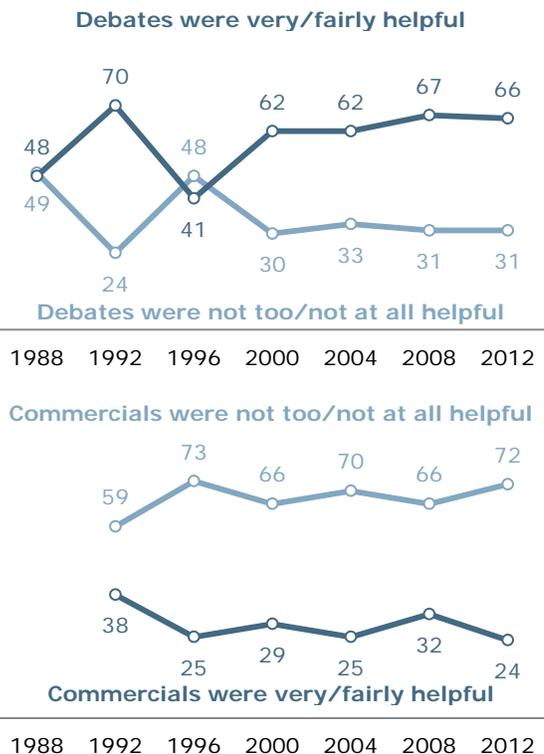
An overwhelming percentage of voters (87%) say they learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice between Obama and Romney. Only 11% said they found it difficult to choose because they did not learn enough from the campaign.

As has been the case in most previous elections, more voters viewed the presidential debates than campaign commercials as helpful in deciding whom to vote for. Fully 66% say the debates were very or somewhat helpful. That compares with just 24% who view the campaign commercials as helpful; 72% say the campaign commercials were not too or not at all helpful.

There are only modest partisan differences in these evaluations. Fully 91% of Republicans and 92% of Democrats say they learned enough to make an informed choice. Somewhat fewer independents (80%) feel that they learned enough about the candidates.

Similarly, 69% of Republicans and the same percentage of Democrats say the debates were very or somewhat helpful in deciding which candidate to vote for, as do 61% of independents. However, more Democrats (33%) than Republicans (18%) or independents (20%) say campaign commercials were helpful in making their choice.

### Debates More Helpful Than Commercials



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q21 & Q23.

While voters said they learned enough about the candidates and the issues to make an informed choice, half (51%) say there was less discussion of issues than in past elections; fewer (38%) say there was more discussion of issues.

That is the lowest percentage saying there was more discussion of issues than in any election since 1996. Following that election, just 25% said there was greater discussion of issues than in previous campaigns.

Since 2008, the decline in the percentages saying there was more discussion about issues has been particularly pronounced among Democrats and independents. Half of Democratic voters (50%) say there was more discussion of issues, down from 76% four years ago. And just 29% of independents say there was more discussion of issues, compared with 52% in 2008.

### Voters Say This Year's Campaign Focused Less on Issues

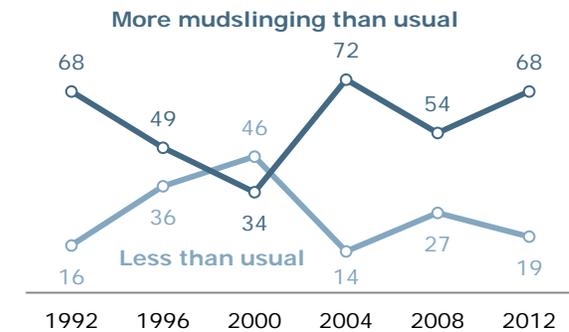
Compared with past elections was there _____ of issues	Nov 1992	Nov 1996	Nov 2000	Nov 2004	Nov 2008	Nov 2012
More discussion	59	25	46	47	57	38
Less discussion	34	65	36	42	34	51
Same (Vol.)	4	6	13	7	6	6
Don't know (Vol.)	3	4	5	4	3	4
	100	100	100	100	1030	100
<i>% saying more discussion of issues</i>						
Republican	51	23	51	56	40	34
Democrat	64	31	45	45	76	50
Independent	58	20	43	39	52	29

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q24.

### Far More See Negative Campaigning

About two-thirds of voters (68%) say there was more negative campaigning, or mudslinging, than in past elections; just 19% think there was less and 11% volunteer there was the same amount of negative campaigning as in previous presidential campaigns. This is a substantial increase from 2008, when 54% said there was more negative campaigning but is on par with voters' views of the negativity of the 2004 campaign.

### More Voters See Increased 'Mudslinging' than in 2008



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q25.

There is a modest partisan difference on evaluations of the negativity campaign; 73% of Republicans said there was more mudslinging in the past, compared with 63% of Democrats. Nearly seven-in-ten (69%) independents also said there was more negative campaigning than in past presidential elections.

## SECTION 2: EXPECTATIONS FOR WASHINGTON, OBAMA'S POST-ELECTION IMAGE

Most voters want President Obama and Republican leaders in Congress to work together in the coming year. Two-thirds (67%) say that GOP leaders in Washington should try as best they can to work with Obama to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Republican supporters. Just 26% say they should stand up to Obama on issues that are important to Republican supporters, even if it means less gets done in Washington.

Similarly, 72% say Barack Obama should work with Republican leaders, even if it means disappointing some Democrats; only 21% say he should stand up to GOP leaders on issues that are important to Democrats, even if it means less gets done in Washington. In both 2008 and 2010, a majority also wanted President Obama and Republican leaders to work together.

Support for compromise is most pronounced among independents – majorities of independents say that Obama should work with GOP leaders (74%) and that GOP leaders should work with Obama (64%). By contrast, Republicans and Democrats take a more one-sided approach to partisan cooperation. Large majorities want the opposition to work with their side; far fewer want the reverse.

While voters want to see compromise in Washington, 52% say they expect partisan relations to stay about the same in the coming year. Of those who expect change, more think that relations between Republicans and Democrats will get better (31%) than worse (14%).

### Independents Want Obama and GOP Leaders to Work Together

	All voters	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>Republican leaders should...</i>	%	%	%	%
Work with Obama	67	46	89	64
Stand up to Obama	26	50	7	24
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>12</u>
	100	100	100	100
N	572	162	197	201
<i>Barack Obama should...</i>				
Work with Rep leaders	72	93	54	74
Stand up to Rep leaders	21	3	42	15
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100
N	634	181	245	192

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q68 & Q69. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

### Voters Expect Continued Partisan Conflict

<i>Relations between Reps and Dems in Washington will...</i>	Nov 2006*	Nov 2008	Nov 2010*	Nov 2012
	%	%	%	%
Get better	29	37	22	31
Get worse	21	18	28	14
Stay about the same	45	42	48	52
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q80. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. \*2006 and 2010 figures based on registered voters.

These views are similar to 2008, although somewhat more voters expect partisan relations to stay the same (52% up from 42%). And there is more optimism than after the 2010 midterm election, when the Republicans won a majority in the House. After that election, 22% of voters said relations between Republicans and Democrats would get better and 28% said they would get worse; 48% said they would stay the same.

Democrats are more optimistic about improved partisan relations than are Republicans and independents. Nearly half (47%) of Democrats say that relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington will get better, compared with just 16% of Republicans and 29% of independents.

However, Democrats are not as optimistic as they were in 2008, when 57% said relations between Republicans and Democrats would get better.

Most Republicans (60%) expect partisan relations in Washington to stay the same. Just 16% think relations between the parties will get better in the coming year while 21% think they will get worse. Republicans are not quite as negative as they were in 2008 when 31% thought partisan relations would get worse.

Half of independents foresee no change in the level of partisan conflict in the coming year. But, as in 2008, independents are more likely to say that things in Washington will get better than say they will get worse (29% vs. 18%).

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### In the Coming Year, Do You Think Partisan Relations Will ...

	All voters	Rep	Dem	Ind
<b>November 2012</b>	%	%	%	%
Get better	31	16	47	29
Get worse	14	21	4	18
Stay about the same	52	60	46	50
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b>November 2008</b>				
Get better	37	17	57	34
Get worse	18	31	6	18
Stay about the same	42	49	34	44
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback.  
Q80. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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Republicans continue to want the GOP to move in a more conservative direction: 60% say Republican leaders should move in a more conservative direction while just 31% want to see them move in a more moderate direction. Democrats, however, want their party to move in a more moderate – rather than a more liberal – direction by a 55% to 35% margin.

Although these views partly reflect the fact that conservatives make up a larger share of Republicans than liberals do of Democrats, this difference is evident even among the ideological wings of each party. Fully 70% of conservative Republicans want the GOP to move in a more conservative direction. Liberal Democrats are divided; 46% want the party to move in a more liberal direction while 45% prefer a more moderate move by the Democratic Party.

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### Republicans Want Party to Move in a More Conservative Direction

	All Reps	Conserv Reps
<i>Republican leaders should move in a more...</i>	%	%
Conservative direction	60	70
Moderate direction	31	21
No change/Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100
N	343	259

	All Dems	Liberal Dems
<i>Democratic leaders should move in a more...</i>	%	%
Liberal direction	35	46
Moderate direction	55	45
No change/Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100
N	442	204

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q85 & Q86. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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## Most Say Obama's Second Term Will be Successful

A majority of voters (56%) say that Obama will have a successful second term while 37% say his second term will be unsuccessful.

Expectations are lower today than for his first term: In 2008, 67% thought he would be successful and just 22% said he would be unsuccessful. But these ratings are similar to those for George W. Bush's and Bill Clinton's second terms.

Republicans take a particularly negative view of Obama's second term. Just 20% think he will be successful over the next four years, down from 41% in 2008. Republicans' ratings are more negative than they were for Clinton's second term, when 32% said he would be successful. And they are more negative than Democrats' view of Bush's second term; 30% thought Bush's second term would be successful and 55% thought it would be unsuccessful.

A majority of independents think Obama's second term will be successful (54% successful vs. 38% unsuccessful). But that is a smaller margin than in 2008 when 67% of independents thought Obama's first term would be successful and only 20% said it would be unsuccessful. Independent views are similar to those for Bush's and Clinton's second terms.

Nearly all Democrats (91%) say Obama's second term will be successful, which is little changed from 2008. These ratings are also similar to Democrats' view of Clinton's second term in 1996 and Republicans' view of Bush's second term in 2004.

### Fewer Republicans Say Obama Will Be Successful than in 2008

	All voters	Rep	Dem	Ind
<b>Obama 2<sup>nd</sup> term</b>	%	%	%	%
Successful	56	20	91	54
Unsuccessful	37	73	4	38
Neither/DK	<u>7</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b>Obama 1<sup>st</sup> term (Nov 2008)</b>				
Successful	67	41	90	67
Unsuccessful	22	44	6	20
Neither/DK	<u>11</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b>Bush 2<sup>nd</sup> term (Nov 2004)</b>				
Successful	61	93	30	58
Unsuccessful	29	4	55	33
Neither/DK	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b>Clinton 2<sup>nd</sup> term (Nov 1996)</b>				
Successful	58	32	84	52
Unsuccessful	37	63	14	42
Neither/DK	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q31. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

## How Does Obama Make You Feel?

Overall, Obama still elicits more positive than negative feelings among voters but these reactions are less positive than they were in 2008. A 54% majority says the president makes them feel hopeful, down from 69% in 2008. A similar percentage (53%) says Obama makes them feel proud, down 12 points from four years ago.

Currently, 41% say Obama makes them feel uneasy, up from 35% in 2008. And the percentage saying the president makes them feel angry has roughly doubled, from 9% four years ago to 21% today.

Fully 45% of Republicans say Obama makes them feel angry, up sharply from 17% in 2008. Feelings of unease with Obama also have increased among Republicans, from 68% in 2008 to 81% today. Just 10% of Republicans say Obama makes them feel hopeful and 13% say he makes them feel proud, which also are much lower than in 2008.

Independents, too, have grown more negative. About half say Obama makes them feel hopeful (51%) and proud (48%), down 17 and 12 points, respectively, from four years ago. And 19% say the president makes them feel angry, up from just 8% in 2008.

Democrats continue to have overwhelmingly positive reactions to the president. Nearly all Democrats say he makes them feel hopeful (95%) and proud (92%). Very few say he makes them feel uneasy (5%) or angry (1%). Democrats are as positive about Obama as they were in 2008.

### Fewer Say Obama Elicits Feelings of Hope, Pride than in 2008

<i>Obama makes you feel...</i>	<b>Nov 2008</b>	<b>Nov 2012</b>	<b>Change</b>
<b>All voters</b>	%	%	
Hopeful	69	54	-15
Proud	65	53	-12
Uneasy	35	41	+6
Angry	9	21	+12
<b>Republicans</b>			
Hopeful	38	10	-28
Proud	37	13	-24
Uneasy	68	81	+13
Angry	17	45	+28
<b>Democrats</b>			
Hopeful	96	95	-1
Proud	92	92	0
Uneasy	7	5	-2
Angry	2	1	-1
<b>Independents</b>			
Hopeful	68	51	-17
Proud	60	48	-12
Uneasy	36	42	+6
Angry	8	19	+11

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q34. **Bold** indicates significant change from 2008.

## Views of Election Outcomes

By a slim 52% to 45% margin more say they are happy than unhappy that Barack Obama was reelected president. This reaction is not as positive as in 2008 when more said they were happy than unhappy by a 58% to 35% margin. However, these views are on par with reactions to Bush's reelection in 2004 and Clinton's in 1996.

Voters also are more likely to say they are happy than unhappy that Democrats maintained control of the U.S. Senate and that Republicans maintained control of the U.S. House.

Independents express mixed views of Obama's reelection; 49% are happy while 46% are unhappy. Independents seem happy about the prospect of a divided Congress; 54% are happy that Democrats maintained control of the Senate, while 53% say the same about the Republicans maintaining control of the House.

Views of the election outcomes are divided along partisan lines. Democrats are overwhelmingly happy that Obama won reelection (95%) and that Democrats maintained control of the Senate (97%). Among Republicans, 91% are unhappy that Obama won reelection and 84% are unhappy that Democrats maintained control of the Senate. By contrast, 93% of Republicans are happy that the GOP maintained control of the House while 78% of Democrats are unhappy.

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### Majorities Happy About Election Outcomes

	Obama won reelection	Dems maintained control of Senate	Reps maintained control of House
<b>All voters</b>	%	%	%
Happy	52	56	52
Unhappy	45	40	42
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
<b>Independents</b>			
Happy	49	54	53
Unhappy	46	38	40
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q30, Q32 & Q33. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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## Obama Voters 'Relieved'; Romney Voters 'Disappointed'

When voters are asked for a single word that describes their reaction to Obama's victory, the top word among Obama voters is "relieved," far more than expressed this in 2008. Far fewer say they are hopeful than did so four years ago (when that was the second most common reaction among Obama voters). Similar to 2008, a substantial number expressed their positive reaction with words like "happy," "excited" and "elated."

Romney voters responded to Obama's win much like McCain voters did in 2008. The overwhelming response among Republican voters in both elections was disappointment. Romney voters also said they were "disgusted," "shocked," "surprised," "fearful" and "sad."

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### Reaction to Obama Winning in a Word

#	Obama voters	#	Romney voters
134	Relieved	182	Disappointed
106	Happy	35	Disgusted
41	Excited	14	Shocked
39	Satisfied	12	Surprised
26	Elated	11	Fear
24	Pleased	11	Sad
23	Glad	10	Depressed
21	Great	10	Devastated
19	Good	9	Unhappy
16	Ecstatic	9	Upset
14	Thrilled	7	Expected
9	Expected	7	Horrible
9	Hopeful	7	Unsurprised
9	Yes		

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q6. Figures show actual numbers who offered each response; these numbers are not percentages.

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## SECTION 3: THE VOTING PROCESS AND THE ACCURACY OF THE VOTE

Most voters offer a positive assessment of the voting experience, with relatively few criticisms aside from the occasional long lines at polling places. And most remain confident that their vote was accurately counted, and that the voting process in their area was managed well.

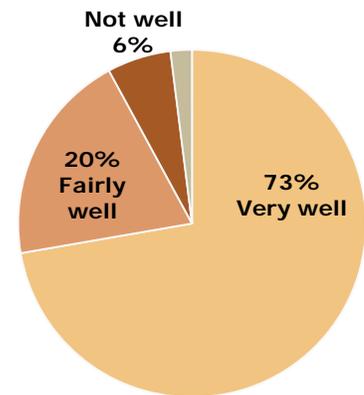
But the proportion of voters – both on the winning and losing side – expressing a high degree of confidence in the accuracy of the nationwide vote count has fallen significantly since 2008.

Most voters (73%) say that the voting process in their area was managed “very well” and 20% say it was managed “fairly well.” Just 6% say it was not managed well. Obama and Romney voters give similar assessments of the voting process. Voters in solidly red, solidly blue, and battleground states do not differ on this question.

About one-in-ten voters (9%) say that someone they know tried to vote but was unable to do so. The percentage is somewhat higher among black voters (14%) and those younger than 30 (21%). When voters are asked why that person was unable to vote, no one reason stands out. Of note, very few cite Hurricane Sandy as the reason, and a similarly small number cites long lines at polling places.

### Few Complaints about Voting Process

*How well was the voting process managed in the area where you live?*



*Did you have any problems voting this year (other than waiting in line)?*



*Do you know anyone who tried to vote but was not able to?*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER  
Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback.  
Q47, Q45, Q78.

Among those who voted in person either early or on Election Day, 38% report having had to wait in line to cast their ballot. That is comparable to voter reports from previous election cycles. In 2008, 36% said they had to wait in line. In 2004, 42% of Election Day voters reported having waited in line.

Of those who had to wait, about half say the wait was less than 30 minutes. Overall, 17% of in-person voters report having had to wait 30 minutes or more to cast a ballot. Those voting in person *before* Election Day were about as likely to report having a long wait as those who voted on Election Day.

Not surprisingly, waiting in line is associated with how people rate the voting process in their area. Just over half (55%) of voters who had to wait a half-hour or more say the voting was managed “very well” in their area, compared with 79% of voters who waited for less than that, and 83% of those who didn’t have to wait at all. And just 56% of those who mailed in their ballot say the voting process was managed very well in their area.

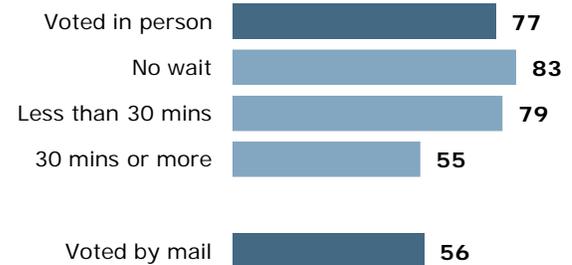
### Waiting in Line to Cast a Ballot

	All in-person voters	Voted early	Voted Election Day
	%	%	%
Waited in line	38	43	37
Less than 30 min.	21	22	21
30 minutes or more	17	21	16
Did not wait	62	57	63
	100	100	100
N	962	247	715

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q42 & Q43. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

### Lower Marks for Voting Process from Those with Long Waits

% saying voting process was managed very well in their area



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q47.

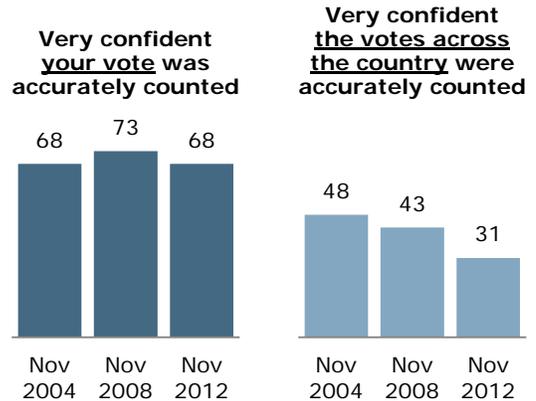
## The Accuracy of the Vote

Most voters are confident that their own vote was accurately counted, but there is less confidence in the accuracy of the vote count across the country. Overall, 68% say that they are very confident that their own vote was accurately counted, but just 31% express the same level of confidence about the vote count nationally.

There has been little change in voters' assessments of their own vote over the past decade; the 68% who are very confident their vote was accurately counted this year is comparable to the share of voters who said this after the 2004 election (68%), though is down slightly from 2008 (73%).

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### Declining Confidence in Accuracy of the National Vote



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q76 & Q77.

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But confidence in the vote count nationwide has been slipping: Just 31% of voters this year say they are very confident the votes across the country were accurately counted, down from 43% after the 2008 election and 48% after the 2004 election.

Early voters are slightly less convinced that their own vote was counted accurately: Roughly two-thirds (64%) are very confident their vote was counted, whether they voted early in person (64%) or by mail (65%). Among those who cast their ballot on Election Day, 71% are very confident their vote was counted accurately.

About seven-in-ten (73%) Obama voters are very confident their vote was counted accurately, compared with 64% of Romney voters. This is similar to the pattern seen among Bush and Kerry voters in 2004, when supporters of Kerry, the losing candidate, were less confident that their vote was registered. Four years ago, there was no difference between Obama and McCain voters in confidence about this.

This year, 42% of Obama voters say they are very confident in the national vote count, but only 21% of Romney's voters do so. The losing candidate's supporters also expressed less confidence than the winning candidate's supporters in the past two elections. But even the confidence of the winning candidate's supporters has declined markedly since 2004. That year, 72% of Bush's voters said they were very confident that votes across the country had been accurately counted. Four years ago, 56% of Obama's voters were very confident. Today, just 42% of Obama voters express this same level of confidence in the accuracy of the vote nationwide.

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### Confidence in the Vote Differs between Winners and Losers

	Nov 2004	Nov 2008	Nov 2012
<i>Very confident <u>your vote</u> was accurately counted</i>	%	%	%
Voted for Democratic candidate	54	73	73
Voted for Republican candidate	83	74	64
Difference	R+29	R+1	D+9
<i>Very confident <u>the votes across the country</u> were accurately counted</i>			
Voted for Democratic candidate	18	56	42
Voted for Republican candidate	72	29	21
Difference	R+54	D+27	D+21

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q76 & Q77.

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## Early Voting Inches Up, But No Surge in 2012

After a dramatic 14-point jump in 2008 in the proportion of voters casting a ballot before Election Day, the 2012 election saw only a modest change in early voting. Overall, 37% of voters say they voted early, compared with 34% four years ago. The same percentage as in 2008 reported voting early in person (19%), while 17% reported voting by mail this year (compared with 14% in 2008).

Obama's and Romney's supporters were about equally likely to vote before Election Day: 36% of Obama's supporters say they voted early, compared with 39% among Romney's voters.

There are significant geographic differences in whether voters cast their ballots early or on Election Day. About six-in-ten (59%) voters in the Western U.S. voted early; most of them voted by mail rather than in person. Early voting was popular in the South as well, where 44% cast their vote before Election Day.

### Nearly Four-in-Ten Voted Before Election Day

	Nov 2002	Nov 2004	Nov 2006	Nov 2008	Nov 2012
	%	%	%	%	%
On Election Day	85	80	80	66	63
Before Election Day	15	20	20	34	37
In person	--	--	--	19	19
By mail	--	--	--	14	17
Another way/DK	--	--	--	1	*
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q40 & Q41.  
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

### Most Westerners Voted Early

	Voted Nov 6	Voted Early
<i>Voted for...</i>	%	%
Obama	64	36=100
Romney	61	39=100
Men	62	38=100
Women	63	37=100
White	64	36=100
Black	56	44=100
18-29	68	32=100
30-49	69	31=100
50-64	61	39=100
65+	52	48=100
Northeast	92	8=100
Midwest	69	31=100
South	56	44=100
West	41	59=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q40.

Voter accounts of when they made a final vote decision suggest that Hurricane Sandy had little impact on the outcome of the election. For all the attention paid to the

hurricane and President Obama's handling of its aftermath, just 8% of voters say they made up their mind within a week of the election, and these late deciders made up the same share of each candidate's supporters.

As is typical in elections featuring an incumbent, many Obama supporters (51%) made up their minds

to vote for him before 2012. Not surprisingly, fewer Romney backers (32%) made up their minds that early, though 52% had decided prior to the party conventions. Roughly three-quarters of both candidates' supporters made up their minds before the debates began.

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### When Voters Made Their Presidential Picks

	All voters	Obama voters	Romney voters
<i>When did you definitely decide to vote for _____ ?</i>	%	%	%
Within a week of Election Day	8	8	8
During/just after debates	11	11	12
During/after conventions	19	15	24
Earlier this year	16	13	20
Before 2012	41	51	32
Other/Don't know/Refused	4	3	5
	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q12. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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## Few Get Political Messages at Church

Among voters who attend religious services at least once a month, 13% say information on political parties or candidates for the election was made available in their place of worship. This is comparable to the percentage receiving such information in 2008 (15%), and is lower than the percentage in 2004 (27%).

White evangelical Protestant voters (16%) and white Catholic voters (19%) are more likely to report having information on political parties or candidates available in their churches than are white mainline Protestant voters (8%).

Far fewer voters had information on local ballot initiatives or constitutional amendments available in their places of worship.

Among all voters who attend religious services at least once a month, only 6% say information on ballot initiatives or constitutional amendments was made available in their places of worship, down from 13% in 2008 and 19% in 2004.

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### How Much Voter Information Was Made Available in Church?

<i>% saying information on parties or candidates was made available at their place of worship</i>	Nov 2000	Nov 2004	Nov 2008	Nov 2012	08-12 Change
All attending voters	14	27	15	13	-2
Protestant	16	26	16	13	-3
White evangelical	20	34	16	16	0
White mainline	4	8	7	8	+1
Catholic	10	31	14	17	+3
White Catholic	11	29	14	19	+5
<i>% saying information on ballot initiatives or constitutional amendments was made available</i>					
All attending voters	--	19	13	6	-7
Protestant	--	18	13	7	-6
White evangelical	--	23	15	8	-7
White mainline	--	8	7	3	-4
Catholic	--	23	11	5	-6
White Catholic	--	18	12	4	-8

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q62 & Q63.

Based on those who attend religious services at least monthly.

White Protestants and white Catholics include only those who are not Hispanic.

Note: In this report, a few estimates for 2000, 2004 and 2008 differ slightly from previous Pew Research Center analyses due to differences in data coding.

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Very few voters who attend religious services monthly or more say they were urged by their clergy to vote a particular way in the election. Only 5% report hearing such explicit endorsements, while 93% say they did not. Among all voters who attend religious services, 3% say they were urged by their clergy to vote for Republicans, and less than 1% say they were urged to vote for Democrats.

Catholic voters who attend church regularly are more than twice as likely as Protestants to report being urged to vote a certain way. (11% vs. 4%).<sup>1</sup> Among white Catholics, 13% say they were urged to vote a particular way by their clergy, compared with 5% of white evangelical Protestants and 3% of white mainline Protestants.

Among Catholic voters overall, 6% say they were encouraged by their clergy to vote for Republican candidates, while none say they were urged to vote for Democratic candidates.

Overall, 8% of voters say they were contacted by any religious organization about the election campaign, about the same as during the 2010 election cycle (6% of registered voters). More voters who were contacted by a religious organization were encouraged to vote for Republican candidates (5% of all voters) than for Democratic candidates (less than 1%).

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## Few Urged to Vote a Particular Way at Their Place of Worship

*Did the clergy at your place of worship urge you to vote in a particular way in the election, or not?*

	Yes %	No %	DK %	N
All attending voters	5	93	2=100	659
Protestant	4	95	2=100	435
White evangelical	5	93	2=100	212
White mainline	3	96	1=100	124
Catholic	11	86	3=100	168
White Catholic	13	84	3=100	131

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q64. Based on those who attend religious services at least monthly. White Protestants and white Catholics include only those who are not Hispanic. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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## Contact by Religious Organizations

*Were you contacted by any religious organization about the election campaign? Were you urged to vote for...*

	%
Yes	8
Republican candidates	5
Democratic candidates	*
Both	*
No particular candidate	2
Other/DK	*
No	91
Don't know	1
	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q61, Q61a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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<sup>1</sup> A similar question asked in previous Pew Research Center surveys, about being urged to vote by clergy or other religious groups, found the same pattern. In 2000, 2004 and 2008, more Catholics than Protestants report being urged to vote a certain way by clergy or other religious organizations (see <http://www.people-press.org/2008/11/13/high-marks-for-the-campaign-a-high-bar-for-obama/>).

## SECTION 4: NEWS SOURCES, ELECTION NIGHT AND VIEWS OF PRESS COVERAGE

Television remains the leading source for news and information about the presidential campaign, but voters are increasingly turning to the internet for election coverage. Television plays an even more dominant role in election-night coverage: Virtually all voters who followed election returns watched on television. Even among the roughly third of voters who tracked election returns on the internet, most followed on TV as well.

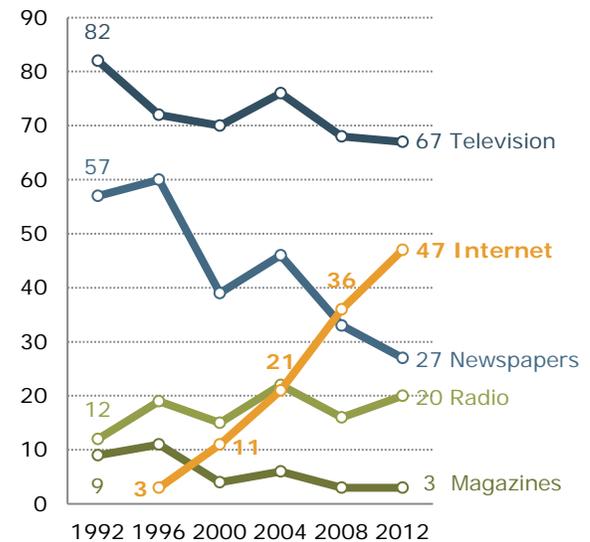
The percentage naming television as a main source of campaign news has changed little from 2008 (68% then, 67% now). In 2004, 76% of voters named television as a main source of election news. Among TV news outlets, 42% cite cable news as a main source. Network television is named by 19% of voters, while 11% cite local TV news. These percentages are little changed from 2008.

Among cable networks, 23% of voters name the Fox News Channel as a main source; 18% cite CNN and 9% MSNBC. There also is little change in the percentage naming any of these cable networks from 2008.

Since 2008, the percentage using the internet as a main campaign news source has increased 11 points, to 47%, making it the second most frequently used news source by voters. Nearly three-in-ten voters (27%) name newspapers, while 20% cite radio and 3% magazines.

There continue to be large age differences in campaign news sources. More than six-in-ten (64%) voters under 30 name the internet as a main source, while 56% cite television. Even

### Internet Grows as Campaign News Source



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q26.

### Little Change in TV Sources

Main source of campaign news ...	Nov 2008 %	Nov 2012 %
<b>Television</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>67</b>
Cable TV (Net)	44	42
Fox Cable News	22	23
CNN	21	18
MSNBC	9	9
Network TV (Net)	18	19
NBC	8	7
ABC	7	8
CBS	6	6
Local News	10	11

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q26 & Q26a. Multiple TV sources accepted.

among those 30 to 49, as many cite the internet (65%) as television (60%). However, 74% of voters 50 and older name television as their main campaign news source, while just 31% cite the internet.

## Election Night Experience

About eight-in-ten (78%) voters say they followed election returns on the night of Nov. 6. Among voters who followed election returns, 92% followed them on television, while 34% followed the returns online.

Most voters who tracked the election returns followed them only on television (65%); very few (6%) followed them only on the internet. But 27% “dual-screened” the election returns, following them on television and online over the course of the evening.

About four-in-ten (39%) voters under 40 who followed election returns followed them on TV and the internet. In fact, about as many in this age group followed the returns on TV and online as followed them just on television (45%). Far fewer older voters who followed election returns used both TV and the internet.

### Many Younger Voters Followed Returns on TV and Online

<i>Among voters who followed returns ...</i>	<i>Followed returns on ...</i>			N
	<b>TV only</b>	<b>Online only</b>	<b>Both</b>	
Total	65	6	27	959
18-39	45	14	39	157
40-64	67	5	28	452
65+	88	1	9	337
College grad+	55	7	36	487
Some college	62	8	28	256
HS or less	82	3	14	209
Obama voters	63	6	30	528
Romney voters	69	6	24	389

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q70. Based on voters who followed returns.

College graduates and those with some college experience are far more likely than those with no more than a high school education to say they followed election returns on both TV and the internet (36% and 28% vs.14%).

The vast majority of voters who followed the election returns (84%) tracked them by themselves or with their families; 16% followed them with friends, or volunteered that they followed them with friends and alone or with family. By comparison, just 8% followed the returns on Facebook, Twitter or another social network.

Among voters younger than 40 who followed the returns, 24% followed them with friends; that compares with 12% who followed the returns on social networks. Voters 65 and older who tracked the returns were far less likely to follow them with friends (7%) and on social networks (3%).

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### Obama Voters More Likely to Follow Returns with Friends

<i>Among voters who followed election returns ...</i>	<i>Followed returns ...</i>		N
	<b>With friends*</b>	<b>On social networks</b>	
Total	16	8	959
18-39	24	12	157
40-64	15	7	452
65+	7	3	337
White	13	7	766
Nonwhite	26	10	174
Obama voters	21	11	528
Romney voters	10	4	389

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q70-Q71. Based on voters who followed returns.

\* Includes those who volunteered they followed returns both with friends and alone or with family.

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Obama voters were more likely than Romney voters to follow returns with friends on election night: 21% of those who say they voted for Obama watched the returns with friends, compared with just 10% of Romney supporters. In addition, more Obama voters than Romney voters followed the returns on social networks (11% vs. 4%).

## Views of the Press

Voters are divided over the press’s impact on the election. About as many say the press had too much influence on the election outcome (48%) as say the press had about the right amount (42%); 6% say the press had too little influence. Fully 70% of Republicans say the press had too much influence. By contrast, 63% of Democrats say the press had the right amount of impact. About half of independents (49%) say the press had too much impact, while 40% say it had the right amount.

### Voters Divided on Press Influence

<i>Press influence on election outcome</i>	<b>All voters</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>
	%	%	%	%
Too much	48	70	27	49
Too little	6	6	7	7
Right amount	42	22	63	40
Don't know	3	2	4	4
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q27.

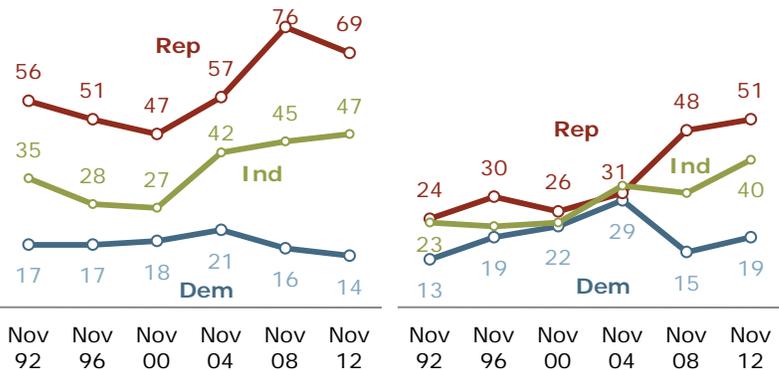
Overall, voters think that the press treated each candidate fairly. Six-in-ten (60%) voters say that the press was fair in the way that it covered Obama’s campaign, while 36% say it was unfair; 54% of voters say press coverage of the Romney campaign was fair and 43% say it was unfair.

However, Republicans are far more likely to see unfair treatment of the candidates – 51% of Republicans say Obama’s campaign was covered unfairly while 69% say the press covered Romney’s campaign unfairly.

Until 2008, Republicans have generally viewed coverage of the Democratic candidate as fair. But in 2008, 48% said coverage of Obama was unfair; about the same percentage say that today (51%). Republicans have consistently been more likely than Democrats or independents to say that coverage of the GOP candidate is unfair.

### Widening Partisan Gaps in Views of Coverage

% saying press coverage of \_\_\_\_\_’s campaign has been unfair



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 8-11, 2012 voter callback. Q28-Q29.

## About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted November 8-11, 2012 among a national sample of 1,206 voters (“Voters” are those who said they voted in the 2012 election). The interviews were conducted among registered voters, 18 years of age or older, previously interviewed in a Pew Research survey conducted of 3,151 registered voters October 31-November 3, 2012 (for more about the methodology of the original survey, see [here](#)). Interviews were conducted on both landline telephones and cell phones (760 respondents for this survey were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 446 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 189 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Interviewers asked to speak with the respondent from the previous interview by first name, if it was available, or by age and gender.

The weighting was accomplished in multiple stages. The first stage used the respondents’ final weight from the original survey to correct for any biases in that survey. In the second stage, the sample was weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity and region to targets for all registered voters eligible for re-contact from the original survey. This step helps to minimize bias that could occur because certain types of respondents may have been easier or more difficult to re-interview. In addition, the sample was weighted to reflect the margin of the 2012 election results (an approximately 3-point Obama advantage over Romney). Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups of voters in the survey:

Group	Unweighted sample size	Plus or minus...
All voters	1,206	3.4 percentage points
Form 1	572	5.0 percentage points
Form 2	634	4.7 percentage points
Obama voters	623	4.8 percentage points
Romney voters	514	5.3 percentage points
Republicans	343	6.5 percentage points
Democrats	442	5.7 percentage points
Independents	393	6.0 percentage points

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

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

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**NOVEMBER 2012 POST-ELECTION SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**November 8-11, 2012**  
**N=1,206 Voters**

**ASK ALL:**

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

Nov 8-11

2012

100

Yes, voted - **CONTINUE WITH INTERVIEW; SKIP TO Q.2**No, did not vote - **GO TO Q.1b**Don't remember - **THANK RESPONDENT AND END**Refused - **THANK RESPONDENT AND END****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

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

Nov 8-11

2012

43

Satisfied

53

Dissatisfied

4

Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

Nov

2008

20

Nov

2004

51

Nov

2000

46

Nov

1996

51

42

7

7

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

Now, thinking about the recent election...

Q.3 Did you happen to vote for **[READ AND RANDOMIZE OBAMA AND ROMNEY FIRST AND RANDOMIZE JOHNSON AND STEIN LAST WHERE APPLICABLE]** for president?  
**[INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: Do not need to read entire list if respondent indicates for whom he or she voted]**

Nov 8-11

2012<sup>1</sup>

47

Mitt Romney

51

Barack Obama

1

Gary Johnson <sup>2</sup>

\*

Jill Stein

1

Other candidate/Don't know/Can't remember/Refused **(VOL.)**

<sup>1</sup> The survey was weighted to approximately reflect the margin of the election results.

<sup>2</sup> Johnson and Stein were only asked of respondents who live in a state where that candidate was on the ballot.

**ASK IF RESPONDENT CHOSE ROMNEY (Q.3=1):**

Q.4 Would you say that your vote was more a vote FOR Mitt Romney or more a vote AGAINST Barack Obama?

**ASK IF RESPONDENT CHOSE OBAMA (Q.3=2):**

Q.5 Would you say that your vote was more a vote FOR Barack Obama or more a vote AGAINST Mitt Romney?

**BASED ON ALL VOTERS [N=1206]:**

Nov 8-11

2012

47	<u>Romney Supporters</u>
28	Pro-Romney
18	Anti-Obama
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
51	<u>Obama Supporters</u>
40	Pro-Obama
9	Anti-Romney
1	Don't know /Refused (VOL.)
2	Other/ Don't know /Can't Remember/Refused (VOL.)

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

Q.6 What one word best describes your reaction to Barack Obama winning the presidential election this year? Just the one word that best describes your reaction. **[OPEN-END. RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE. PROBE ONCE ONLY WITH "JUST THE FIRST REACTION YOU HAD" IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW" INITIALLY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD IN ORDER OF MENTION.]**

**Obama voters**

Nov 8-11

2012

134	Relief/Relieved
106	Happy/Happiness
41	Excited
39	Satisfied
26	Elated
24	Pleased
23	Glad
21	Great
19	Good
16	Ecstatic
14	Thrilled
9	Expected
9	Hope/Hopeful
9	Yes/Yeah
8	Grateful
8	Surprised
7	Delighted
6	Thank God
6	Wonderful
5	Hooray
4	Fantastic
4	Overjoyed
4	Unsurprised

**[N=623]****Romney voters**

Nov 8-11

2012

182	Disappointed/Disappointment
35	Disgusted
14	Shocked
12	Surprised
11	Fear
11	Sad
10	Depressed
10	Devastated
9	Unhappy
9	Upset
7	Expected
7	Horrible/Horrified
7	Unsurprised
6	Disaster/Disastrous
6	Dissatisfied
6	Dismay/Dismayed
6	Sick/Sickening
5	Angry
5	Frustrated
5	OK
4	Concerned
4	Discouraged
4	Hope/Hopeful
4	Resigned
4	Terrible

**[N=514]**

*NOTE: The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages.*

**Q.6 TREND FOR COMPARISON....****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1)**

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

**Obama voters**

Nov 2008	
87	Happy
71	Hope/Hopeful
53	Excited
46	Ecstatic
44	Elated
44	Relieved
35	Great
32	Change
30	Pleased
27	Satisfied
21	Good
20	Historic
19	Thrilled
13	Surprised
10	Glad
10	Joy
9	Amazed
8	Proud
7	Awesome
7	Fantastic
7	Optimistic
6	Delighted
6	Hallelujah
6	Jubilant
6	Thankful
5	Exhilarated
5	OK
5	Shocked
5	Wonderful
5	Wow
4	Excellent
4	Not surprised

**McCain voters**

Nov 8-11 2008	
139	Disappointed
30	Not surprised
27	Expected
21	Surprised
18	Hope/Hopeful
18	Scared
15	Fear/Fearful
11	Historic
10	Satisfied
10	Shocked
9	Concerned
8	Fine
7	Disgusted
7	OK
6	Terrified
6	Worried
5	Apprehensive
5	Good luck
5	Happy
4	Afraid
4	Disbelief
4	Dismay
4	Good
4	Indifferent
4	Nervous
4	Not happy
4	Sad

*NOTE: The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages.*

**NO QUESTIONS 7-8**

**ASK FORM 1 WHO VOTED (Q.1=1) [N=572]:**

Q.9F1 What one issue mattered most to you in deciding how you voted for president? [OPEN END: RECORD VERBATIM RESPONSE; PROBE FOR CLARITY. IF MORE THAN ONE MENTION, RECORD IN ORDER OF MENTION, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS]

Nov <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
35	Economy/Jobs	38	14
11	Health care/Obamacare	4	3
5	Debt/Deficit	--	--
4	Abortion	4	3
4	Taxes	6	1
3	Women's issues/rights	--	--
3	Social Security/Medicare	--	--
3	Honesty/Integrity/Trust	1	5
3	Direction of the country	1	3
3	Helping middle class/Regular people	1	--
2	Chance to finish job/Continuity	--	--
2	Foreign policy	2	2
2	Social issues	--	--
2	Government spending	--	--
2	Immigration	--	--
1	Gay marriage/Marriage	--	--
1	Education	1	1
1	Moral values	2	9
1	Supreme Court	1	1
1	Other Obama (Kerry in 04)	2	4
1	Energy/Energy prices	--	--
14	Other	n/a	n/a
6	Don't know/Nothing/Everything	8	5

*Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.*

**ASK FORM 2 WHO VOTED (Q.1=1) [N=634]:**

Q.10F2 Which of these best describes your opinion: [READ; READ CATEGORIES IN REVERSE ORDER FOR HALF THE SAMPLE]?

	The economy <u>is recovering</u>	The economy is not yet recovering <u>but will recover soon</u>	It will be a long time before the <u>economy recovers</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 8-11, 2012	32	18	47	3

**NO QUESTION 11**

**ASK IF CHOSE A CANDIDATE IN Q.3 (Q.3=1-5):**

Q.12 When did you make up your mind definitely to vote for [IF Q.3=1: "Mitt Romney;" IF Q.3=2 "Barack Obama;" IF Q.3=3: "Gary Johnson;" IF Q.3=4: "Jill Stein," IF Q.3=5: "The candidate of your choice"]? [OPEN END. DO NOT READ PRECODES. INTERVIEWER: GET TIME AS SPECIFICALLY AS POSSIBLE]

**BASED ON ALL VOTERS:**

Nov 8-11 2012		Nov 2004	Nov 2000	Nov 1996	Nov 1992	Nov 1988
4	On Election Day	4	5	6	9	6
1	On Monday (day before the election)	1	2	3	4	3
1	Over the last weekend	1	2	2	4	2
2	In the last week	3	5	6	8	4
11	Debate period (NET)	12	20	3	13	20
10	<i>During or just after the Presidential debates</i>	11	17	--	12	--
1	<i>After the Vice Presidential debate</i>	1	3	--	1	--
9	In September, before debates/after the Conventions	6	9	12	6	16
10	Convention period (NET)	7	7	8	12	15
9	<i>During or after the Republican Convention</i>	1	4	--	--	--
1	<i>During or after the Democratic Convention</i>	6	3	--	--	--
16	This year, before the summer, during or just after the primaries	23	21	13	18	19
41	Before 2012	38	20	39	12	9
0	Other	0	--	*	8	--
4	Don't know/Refused	2	3	2	1	2
1	Don't remember who voted for	4	6	6	5	4

**NO QUESTIONS 13-17****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.18 Now that the campaign is over, how satisfied were you with the choice of presidential candidates? Would you say that you were [READ IN ORDER]? [IF RESPONDENT HAS DIFFICULTY, PROBE ONCE WITH: Just overall, how satisfied were you with the choice of candidates in this election?]

Nov 8-11 2012		Nov 2008	Nov 2004	Nov 2000	Nov 1996	Nov 1992	Nov 1988
37	Very satisfied	39	33	24	18	24	26
33	Fairly satisfied	28	33	44	33	37	36
16	Not very satisfied	17	16	18	24	21	20
12	Not at all satisfied	14	16	9	22	16	17
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	2	5	3	2	1

**NO QUESTION 19****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

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

Nov 8-11 2012		Nov 2008	Nov 2004	Nov 2000	Nov 1996	Nov 1992	Nov 1988
87	Learned enough to make an informed choice	85	86	83	75	77	59
11	Did not learn enough from the campaign	14	13	15	23	20	39
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	2	2	3	2

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

Q.21 How helpful were the presidential debates to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were **[READ IN ORDER]**?

Nov 8-11 2012		Nov 2008	Nov 2004	Nov 2000	Nov 1996	Nov 1992	Nov 1988
29	Very helpful	28	24	25	13	31	13
37	Somewhat helpful	39	38	37	28	39	35
14	Not too helpful	17	14	14	23	11	24
17	Not at all helpful	14	19	16	25	13	25
3	Did not watch the debates <b>(VOL.)</b>	2	4	7	10	5	3
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	*	1	1	1	1	*

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

Q.22 Students are often given the grades A, B, C, D, or Fail to describe the quality of their work. Looking back over the campaign, what grade would you give to each of the following groups for the way they conducted themselves in the campaign? First... **[READ AND RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS; ITEM h FULL FORM]** How about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[IF NECESSARY: What grade—A, B, C, D, or Fail would you give to [ITEM] for the way they/he conducted themselves/himself in the campaign?]**

	A	B	C	D	E	<b>(VOL.)</b> DK/Ref
<b>ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=572]:</b>						
a.F1 The campaign consultants						
Nov 8-11, 2012	11	23	27	10	6	22
November, 2008	12	27	29	7	6	19
November, 2004	7	31	29	9	5	19
November, 2000	5	26	29	8	5	27
November, 1996	4	18	33	11	8	26
November, 1992	7	26	31	7	4	25
November, 1988	5	20	37	14	8	16
b.F1 The Republican Party						
Nov 8-11, 2012	9	29	29	15	15	3
November, 2008	5	23	38	19	14	1
November, 2004	17	33	24	12	12	2
November, 2000	10	35	31	10	9	5
November, 1996	4	23	39	18	13	3
November, 1992	4	25	34	18	15	4
November, 1988	11	34	31	12	10	2
c.F1 The Democratic Party						
Nov 8-11, 2012	20	34	18	12	15	1
November, 2008	26	43	17	6	7	1
November, 2004	9	28	37	16	9	1
November, 2000	14	33	30	11	8	4
November, 1996	12	36	29	11	9	3
November, 1992	18	40	26	6	6	4
November, 1988	7	26	45	13	7	2

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=634]:**

d.F2 The pollsters						
Nov 8-11, 2012	16	27	27	10	9	11
November, 2008	20	31	23	6	8	12
November, 2004	16	26	33	9	8	8
November, 2000	7	22	28	15	14	14
November, 1996	11	23	29	11	10	16
November, 1992	15	31	27	9	6	12
November, 1988	13	29	29	12	11	6

## Q.22 CONTINUED...

		A	B	C	D	E	(VOL.) DK/Ref
e.F2	The press						
	Nov 8-11, 2012	8	23	29	12	26	2
	November, 2008	9	25	26	15	24	1
	November, 2004	8	24	32	19	16	1
	November, 2000	6	22	31	18	20	3
	November, 1996	6	22	33	19	18	2
	November, 1992	11	25	29	16	15	4
	November, 1988	8	22	33	19	16	2
f.F2	Barack Obama						
	Nov 8-11, 2012	25	32	16	8	18	1
	November, 2008	45	30	14	5	5	1
	November, 2004 <i>Kerry</i>	15	31	25	13	14	2
	November, 2000 <i>Gore</i>	17	36	25	10	10	2
	November, 1996 <i>Clinton</i>	20	37	22	8	11	2
	November, 1992 <i>Clinton</i>	26	38	21	7	5	3
	November, 1988 <i>Dukakis</i>	9	29	40	13	7	1
g.F2	Mitt Romney						
	Nov 8-11, 2012	13	31	23	15	17	1
	November, 2008 <i>McCain</i>	10	30	35	14	10	1
	November, 2004 <i>Bush</i>	22	34	22	10	11	1
	November, 2000 <i>Bush</i>	15	37	27	10	9	2
	November, 1996 <i>Dole</i>	7	26	34	20	12	1
	November, 1992 <i>Bush, Sr</i>	4	26	33	18	16	3
	November, 1988 <i>Bush, Sr</i>	15	34	26	13	11	1

## ASK ALL:

h.	The voters						
	Nov 8-11, 2012	23	27	22	10	13	6
	November, 2008	33	31	18	6	8	4
	November, 2004	30	30	20	7	8	5
	November, 2000	22	31	25	7	4	11
	November, 1996	12	27	29	13	10	9
	November, 1992	32	29	20	5	5	9
	November, 1988	18	31	28	10	7	6

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

Q.23 How helpful were the campaign commercials to you in deciding which candidate to vote for? Would you say they were **[READ IN ORDER]**?

Nov 8-11 2012		Nov 2008 <sup>3</sup>	Nov 2004	Nov 2000	Nov 1996	Nov 1992
9	Very helpful	9	6	6	4	10
15	Somewhat helpful	23	19	23	21	28
18	Not too helpful	26	22	24	27	28
54	Not at all helpful	40	48	42	46	31
3	Didn't see any (VOL.)	2	4	--	--	--
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	1	5	2	3

<sup>3</sup> In 2008 and earlier, question asked about "candidates' commercials."

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

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

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
38	More	57	47	46	25	59
51	Less	34	42	36	65	34
6	Same (VOL.)	6	7	13	6	4
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	4	5	4	3

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

Q.25 Compared with past presidential elections, would you say there was MORE mudslinging or negative campaigning or LESS mudslinging or negative campaigning?

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
68	More	54	72	34	49	68
19	Less	27	14	46	36	16
11	Same (VOL.)	16	12	16	12	14
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	2	4	3	2

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

Q.26 How did you get most of your news about the presidential election campaign? From **[READ AND RANDOMIZE] [ACCEPT TWO ANSWERS: IF ONLY ONE RESPONSE IS GIVEN, PROBE FOR ONE ADDITIONAL "Was there a second source you used frequently?"]**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
67	Television	68	76	70	72	82
27	Newspapers	33	46	39	60	57
20	Radio	16	22	15	19	12
3	Magazines	3	6	4	11	9
47	Internet	36	21	11	3	--
3	Other (VOL.)	2	2	1	4	6
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	1	*	1	1

**ASK IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' TELEVISION AS EITHER 1ST OR 2ND RESPONSE IN Q26:**

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

**BASED ON ALL VOTERS:**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
23	The Fox News Cable Channel	22	21
18	CNN Cable news	21	15
9	MSNBC Cable news	9	6
11	Local news programming	10	12
8	ABC Network news	7	11
7	NBC Network news	8	13
6	CBS Network news	6	9
2	Other (VOL.)	3	2
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	5

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

Q.26b Did you happen to get any news or information about the 2012 elections online on a computer, tablet, cell phone or other device, or not?

**BASED ON ALL VOTERS:**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u> <sup>4</sup>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>
20	Yes	20	20	19	7
33	No	44	59	70	90
0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	0	*	*
47	Answered 'Internet' in Q.26	36	21	11	3
67	NET: Got news online	56	41	30	10

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

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

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
48	Too much	46	43	53	47	46
6	Too little	3	7	4	4	2
42	About the right amount	48	45	39	46	49
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	5	4	3	3

**RANDOMIZE Q.28 AND Q.29****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

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

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	<i>Kerry</i> Nov <u>2004</u>	<i>Gore</i> Nov <u>2000</u>	<i>Clinton</i> Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
60	Fair	67	65	71	73	77
36	Unfair	30	31	24	24	19
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	4	5	3	4

**RANDOMIZE Q.28 AND Q.29****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

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

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		<i>McCain</i> Nov <u>2008</u>	<i>Bush</i> Nov <u>2004</u>	<i>Dole</i> Nov <u>2000</u>	<i>Bush, Sr.</i> Nov <u>1996</u>	Nov <u>1992</u>
54	Fair	53	56	65	65	61
43	Unfair	44	40	30	32	35
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	4	5	3	4

<sup>4</sup> In 2008 and earlier, question read "Did you happen to get any or information about the 2008 elections from the internet, or not?"

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

Generally...

Q.30 Are you happy or unhappy that Barack Obama was reelected president?

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		<i>Bush Clinton</i>		
		Nov <u>2008</u> <sup>5</sup>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>1996</u>
52	Happy	58	53	53
45	Unhappy	35	43	42
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7	4	5

**ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**Q.31 Thinking ahead to the next four years, which is more likely to happen? Do you think... **[READ IN ORDER]**?

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		<i>Obama Bush Clinton</i>		
		<u>1<sup>ST</sup></u> Nov <u>2008</u> <sup>6</sup>	<u>2<sup>nd</sup></u> Nov <u>2004</u>	<u>2nd</u> Nov <u>1996</u>
56	Barack Obama will have a SUCCESSFUL second term	67	61	58
37	Barack Obama will have an UNSUCCESSFUL second term	22	29	37
*	Neither (VOL.)	1	1	1
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	9	4

**RANDOMIZE Q.32 AND Q.33****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.32 Are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. House of Representatives?

Nov 8-11, 2012	(VOL.)		
	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	52	42	6

**RANDOMIZE Q.32 AND Q.33****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.33 Are you happy or unhappy that the Democratic Party maintained control of the U.S. Senate ?

Nov 8-11, 2012	(VOL.)		
	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
	56	40	4

**Q.32 AND Q.33 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:**

	(VOL.)		
	<u>Happy</u>	<u>Unhappy</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
<b>Among Voters</b>			
November, 2008 ("Dems maintained control of Congress")	53	41	6
November, 2004 ("Reps maintained control of Congress")	51	44	5
November, 2000 ("Reps maintained control of Congress")	48	39	13
November, 1996 ("Reps maintained control of Congress")	65	27	8
<b>Among Registered Voters</b>			
Nov 4-7, 2010 ("Reps won the House of Representatives")	50	34	16
November, 2006 ("Dems won control of Congress")	61	25	14
December, 2002 ("Reps won control of Senate")	49	37	14
November, 1998 ("Reps maintained control of Congress")	48	33	19
December, 1994 ("Reps won control of Congress")	58	32	10

<sup>5</sup> In 2008, question read "...Barack Obama was elected president?"<sup>6</sup> In 2008, question asked whether Obama would have successful/unsuccessful "first term." In 1996, the question was worded: "Thinking Ahead to the year 2000, as I read the following pairs, please tell me which is more likely to happen" and was asked as part of a series.

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

Q.34 Does Barack Obama make you feel **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** or not? Does Obama make you feel **[NEXT ITEM]** or not?

		<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.	Hopeful			
	Nov 8-11, 2012	54	45	1
	Sep 12-16, 2012 (RVs)	50	48	2
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 (RVs)	43	55	2
	Mar 10-14, 2010 (RVs)	52	46	2
	November, 2008	69	29	2
	March, 2008 <sup>7</sup> (RVs)	54	43	3
b.	Proud			
	Nov 8-11, 2012	53	45	2
	Sep 12-16, 2012 (RVs)	51	45	3
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 (RVs)	45	52	3
	Mar 10-14, 2010 (RVs)	48	48	4
	November, 2008	65	32	3
	March, 2008 (RVs)	42	53	5
c.	Angry			
	Nov 8-11, 2012	21	78	1
	Sep 12-16, 2012 (RVs)	31	68	1
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 (RVs)	31	68	1
	Mar 10-14, 2010 (RVs)	31	67	2
	November, 2008	9	91	*
	March, 2008 (RVs)	26	71	3
e.	Uneasy			
	Nov 8-11, 2012	41	58	1
	Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011 (RVs)	42	56	1
	November, 2008	35	64	1
	March, 2008 (RVs)	38	60	2

**NO QUESTIONS 35-39****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Thinking again about voting...

Q.40 Did you vote ON Election Day or BEFORE Election DAY?

**ASK IF VOTED BEFORE ELECTION DAY (Q.40=2):**

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

<u>Nov 8-11</u> <u>2012</u>		<u>Nov</u> <u>2008</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>2006</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>2004</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>2002</u>
63	On Election Day	66	80	80	85
37	Before Election Day	34	20	20	15
19	Voted in person	19	n/a	n/a	n/a
17	Mailed in ballot	14	n/a	n/a	n/a
*	Other way/DK/Ref (VOL.)	1	n/a	n/a	n/a
0	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	*	*	*

<sup>7</sup> For all March 2008 trends, the question was worded "Has Barack Obama ever made you feel [INSERT ITEM] or not?"

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

Q.42 Did you have to wait in line to vote, or not?

**ASK IF YES, WAITED IN LINE (Q.42=1)**

Q.43 How long did you wait to vote? [OPEN END]

	Yes, <u>waited</u>	<15 <u>mins</u>	15-29 <u>mins</u>	30-59 <u>mins</u>	1-2 <u>hrs</u>	2+ <u>hrs</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>	No, <u>didn't wait</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
<b>Nov 8-11, 2012</b>									
All in person voters	38	14	8	9	6	2	0	62	0
Early voters	43	15	7	10	7	4	0	57	0
Election day voters	37	13	8	9	5	1	0	63	0
<b>November, 2008<sup>8</sup></b>									
All in person voters	36	11	8	7	6	4	*	64	*
Early voters	48	12	15	8	8	5	0	52	0
Election day voters	33	11	5	7	6	4	*	67	*
<b>November, 2006<sup>9</sup></b>									
Election day voters	28	14	7	3	2	1	1	72	0
<b>November, 2004</b>									
Election day voters	42	13	11	10	6	2	0	58	0

**ASK IF VOTED BEFORE ELECTION DAY (Q.40=2):**

Q.44 Why did you decide to vote early instead of voting on Election Day? [OPEN END. ACCEPT UP TO THREE REASONS; DO NOT PROBE FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES]

**BASED ON THOSE WHO VOTED EARLY [N=491]:**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>
<b>40</b>	<b>(NET) MORE CONVENIENT</b>	<b>48</b>
22	Avoid lines/Crowds	31
8	Convenient	11
7	Easy/Easier	5
2	Because I could/It was an option	2
2	Didn't want to be rushed	2
1	Weather	1
<b>35</b>	<b>(NET) UNABLE/DIFFICULT TO VOTE ON ELECTION DAY</b>	<b>32</b>
12	Out of town/Not home on election day	11
12	Working on election day (includes volunteer work or school)	9
4	Other busy/Not available on election day	5
3	Health/handicap/Illness	4
2	Caring for someone on election day	2
2	Hard to get to polling place (includes no transportation or too far)	2
2	Age	2
8	Get it done/Over with	5
5	Already made up my mind/Knew who I was voting for	5
4	Always how I do it	4
4	To make sure I voted	3
3	No other option in state/No choice	5
2	Make sure my vote was counted	3
4	Other	7
*	No reason	*
0	Don't know/No answer	0

Total exceeds 100% because of multiple responses.

<sup>8</sup> In 2008 and earlier, question read "Did you have to wait in line at your polling place, or not?"  
<sup>9</sup> In 2006 and 2004, only asked of election day voters.

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

Q.45 **[IF Q.42=1 READ: Other than waiting in line...]** Did you have any problems or difficulties voting this year, or not? **[IF YES, PROBE FOR SPECIFICATION ONCE WITH "What problems or difficulties did you have?" RECORD UP TO THREE MENTIONS]**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2006</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
3	Yes	3	4	4
97	No	97	96	96
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	0	*	*

**NO QUESTION 46****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.47 Overall, how well do you think the voting process was managed in the area where you live? **[READ IN ORDER]**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>	
73	Very well
20	Fairly well
4	Not too well
2	Not at all well
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

**NO QUESTIONS 48-50****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.51 Before the election, were you contacted over the phone by any candidates, campaigns or other groups urging you to vote in a particular way?

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>
53	Yes	53	55	42
47	No	46	44	58
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1	*

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

Q.52 Did anyone from a campaign or other group contact you IN PERSON – such as by coming to your door – to urge you to vote in a particular way in the election?

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
16	Yes	15	14
84	No	85	86
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	*

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

Q.53 Did anyone from a campaign or other group contact you BY EMAIL or TEXT MESSAGE to urge you to vote in a particular way in the election?

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u> <sup>10</sup>	Nov <u>2004</u>
25	Yes	24	14
74	No/No e-mail/text message	74	85
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	2	1

<sup>10</sup> In 2008 and earlier, question only asked about email, not text messages.

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

Q.54 Did anyone from a campaign or other group use Facebook, Twitter, or another social network to urge you to vote in a particular way in the election?

Nov 8-11

2012

17	Yes
82	No/Don't use social networks
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**NO QUESTION 55****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

Q.56 Did you, yourself, volunteer any of your time to help one of the presidential election campaigns, or not?

Nov 8-11

2012

8	Yes
92	No
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

Nov

2008

7

93

\*

Nov

2006<sup>11</sup>

9

91

\*

Nov

2004

9

91

\*

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

Q.57 Did you, yourself, contribute money to a campaign in support of one of the presidential candidates this year, or not?

Nov 8-11

2012

17	Yes
83	No
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

Nov

2008

17

83

\*

Nov

2006<sup>12</sup>

12

87

1

Nov

2004

15

84

\*

**NO QUESTIONS 58-60****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1)**

Q.61 Were you contacted by any religious organizations about the election campaign, or not?

Nov 8-11

2012

8	Yes
91	No
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

*RVs*

Nov 4-7

2010

6

93

2

<sup>11</sup> In 2006, question asked "...to help one of the election campaigns this fall or not?"

<sup>12</sup> In 2006, question asked "...in support of a candidate in the elections this fall, or not?"

**ASK IF CONTACTED BY RELIGIOUS ORGANIZATIONS (Q.61=1):**

Q.61a When you were contacted by these religious organizations, were you urged to vote for **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

**BASED ON ALL WHO VOTED [N=1,206]:**

Nov 8-11	
<u>2012</u>	
8	Yes
5	Republican candidates
*	Democratic candidates
*	Other candidates or issues <b>(VOL.)</b>
*	Both <b>(VOL.)</b>
2	Urged to vote, but not for any particular candidate <b>(VOL.)</b>
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
91	No
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK IF ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH-AND VOTED IN THE ELECTION (ATTEND=1-3 IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW AND Q.1=1):**

Q.62 Was information on political parties or candidates for the recent election made available in your place of worship, or not?

**BASED ON VOTERS WHO ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH [N=659]:**

Nov 8-11		<i>RVs</i>					
<u>2012</u>		Nov 4-7	Nov	Nov	Nov	Nov	Nov
13	Yes	<u>2010</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1996</u>
84	No	16	15	25	27	14	28
3	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	81	82	72	71	83	69
		3	3	3	2	3	3

**ASK IF ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH AND VOTED IN THE ELECTION (ATTEND=1-3 IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW AND Q.1=1):**

Q.63 Was information on any state or local ballot initiatives or constitutional amendments made available in your place of worship, or not?

**BASED ON VOTERS WHO ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH [N=659]:**

Nov 8-11		<i>RVs</i>		
<u>2012</u>		Nov 4-7	Nov	Nov
6	Yes	<u>2010</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2004</u>
89	No	13	13	19
4	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	84	85	80
		3	2	1

**ASK IF ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH AND VOTED IN THE ELECTION  
(ATTEND=1-3 IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW AND Q.1=1):**

Q.64 And did the clergy at your place of worship urge you to vote a particular way in the recent election, or not?

**ASK IF YES (Q.64=1):**

Q.65 Were you urged to vote for **[READ AND RANDOMIZE:]**

**BASED ON VOTERS WHO ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH  
[N=659]:**

Nov 8-11

2012

5	Yes
3	Republican candidates
*	Democratic candidates
*	Other candidates or issues <b>(VOL.)</b>
0	Both <b>(VOL.)</b>
2	Urged to vote, but not for any particular candidate <b>(VOL.)</b>
0	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
93	No
2	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK IF ATTEND CHURCH AT LEAST ONCE OR TWICE A MONTH AND VOTED IN THE ELECTION  
(ATTEND=1-3 IN PREVIOUS INTERVIEW AND Q.1=1):**

Q.64 And did the clergy at your place of worship urge you to vote a particular way in the recent election, or not?

**ASK IF YES IN Q.64 (Q.64=1):**

Q.66 Were you urged to vote in a particular way in the PRESIDENTIAL race, a Congressional race, a state race a local race or on specific ballot issues? **[ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES]**

**BASED ON VOTERS WHO ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES AT LEAST ONCE A MONTH  
[N=659]:**

Nov 8-11

2012

5	Yes
3	Presidential
2	Ballot issues
1	Congressional
1	State
1	Local
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
93	No
2	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**NO QUESTION 67**

**ASK FORM 1 WHO VOTED (Q.1=1 AND FORM=1) [N=572]:**Q.68F1 Next year, should the Republican leaders in Washington... **[READ]**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		GP Jan 11-16 <u>2012</u> <sup>13</sup>	GP Jan 5-9 <u>2011</u>	GP Nov 4-7 <u>2010</u>	Nov <u>2008</u> <sup>14</sup>
67	Try as best they can to work with Barack Obama to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Republican supporters?	58	61	55	66
	[OR]				
26	Should they stand up to Barack Obama on issues that are important to Republican supporters, even if it means less gets done in Washington?	35	33	38	28
7	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	8	6	8	6

**GENERAL PUBLIC TREND FOR COMPARISON:***This year should the Democratic leaders in Washington... [READ]*

	Jan <u>2007</u> <sup>15</sup>	Nov <u>2006</u>
Try as best they can to work with George W. Bush to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Democratic supporters?	52	54
[OR]		
Should they stand up to George W. Bush on issues that are important to Democratic supporters, even if it means less gets done in Washington?	43	36
Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	5	11

**ASK FORM 2 WHO VOTED (Q.1=1 AND FORM=2) [N=634]:**Q.69F2 Next year, should Barack Obama... **[READ]**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		GP Jan 11-16 <u>2012</u> <sup>16</sup>	GP Jan 5-9 <u>2011</u>	GP Nov 4-7 <u>2010</u>
72	Try as best he can to work with Republican leaders to accomplish things, even if it means disappointing some groups of Democratic supporters?	59	65	62
	[OR]			
21	Should he stand up to the Republicans on issues that are important to Democratic supporters, even if it means less gets done in Washington?	28	28	27
7	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	13	7	11

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

Now thinking about election night...

Q.70 Did you happen to follow election returns on Tuesday night, or not?

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Nov <u>2000</u>
78	Yes	82	84	88
21	No	18	16	12
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	*	*	0

<sup>13</sup> In Jan 2011 and Jan 2012, the question began "This year..."<sup>14</sup> November 2008 question was rotated and figures are based only on those who received the question first in the rotation.<sup>15</sup> In January 2007 and November 2006 the question was rotated. Figures are based only on those who received this question first in the rotation.<sup>16</sup> In Jan 2011 and Jan 2012, the question began "This year..."

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

Now thinking about election night...

Q.70 Did you happen to follow election returns on Tuesday night, or not?

**ASK IF FOLLOWED RETURNS (Q.70=1):**

Q.70a Did you follow the election returns on television, or not?

Nov 8-11, 2012			Nov 2008		Nov 2004	
Followed	All		Followed	All	Followed	All
<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>		<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>	<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>
92	72	Yes	96	79	97	81
7	6	No	4	3	3	3
*	*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	0	0	0	0
--	22	<i>Did not follow returns election night</i>	--	18	--	16

[N=959] [N=1,206]

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

Now thinking about election night...

Q.70 Did you happen to follow election returns on Tuesday night, or not?

**ASK IF FOLLOWED RETURNS (Q.70=1):**

Q.70b Did you follow the election returns online on a computer, tablet, cell phone or other device, or not?

**ASK IF FOLLOWED RETURNS ONLINE (Q70b=1):**

Q.70c Did you follow the election returns on Facebook, Twitter or another social network, or not?

Nov 8-11, 2012			Nov 2008 <sup>17</sup>		Nov 2004	
Followed	All		Followed	All	Followed	All
<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>		<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>	<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>
34	26	Yes, followed online	23	19	19	16
8	6	Followed on a social network				
26	20	Did not follow on a social network				
*	*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>				
66	52	No, did not follow online	77	63	81	68
0	0	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	0	0	*	*
--	22	<i>Did not follow returns election night</i>	--	18	--	16

[N=959] [N=1,206]

**ASK IF FOLLOWED RETURNS (Q.70=1):**

Q.71 Did you follow the election returns with friends or just with your family or by yourself?

Nov 8-11, 2012			Nov 2008	
Followed	All		Followed	All
<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>		<u>returns</u>	<u>voters</u>
11	9	With friends	13	10
84	66	Just with family/By yourself	81	67
5	4	Both <b>(VOL.)</b>	6	5
*	*	Don't know <b>(VOL.)</b>	*	*
--	22	<i>Did not follow returns election night</i>	--	18

[N=959] [N=1,206]

<sup>17</sup>

In 2008 and earlier, question read " Did you follow election returns on the Internet or not?"

**ASK IF FOLLOWED RETURNS (Q.70=1):**

Q.72 Do you think news organizations did an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job on election night?

**BASED ON THOSE WHO FOLLOWED RETURNS [N=959]:**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
21	Excellent	28	17
46	Good	48	52
25	Only fair	20	22
6	Poor	3	8
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	1

**NO QUESTIONS 73-75****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

In the election...

Q.76 How confident are you that your vote was accurately counted? **[READ IN ORDER]**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2006</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>	Based on Registered Voters Prior to an Election			
					Mid- Oct <u>2008</u> <sup>18</sup>	Early Nov <u>2006</u>	Early Oct <u>2006</u>	Mid- Oct <u>2004</u>
68	Very confident	73	70	68	57	57	58	62
22	Somewhat confident	22	23	24	31	28	29	26
5	Not too confident	3	3	4	6	8	9	7
3	Not at all confident	2	2	3	4	4	3	4
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	*	2	1	2	3	1	1

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

Q.77 How confident are you that the votes across the country were accurately counted? **[READ IN ORDER]**

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>		Nov <u>2008</u>	Nov <u>2006</u>	Nov <u>2004</u>
31	Very confident	43	39	48
44	Somewhat confident	41	46	37
15	Not too confident	10	7	7
6	Not at all confident	5	3	7
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	1	5	1

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

Q.78 Do you know anyone who tried to vote in this election, but was not able to vote?

**ASK IF KNOW SOMEONE WHO COULD NOT VOTE (Q.78=1) [N=84]:**

Q.79 "Why was that person/Why were those people not able to vote?" **[OPEN END. RECORD UP TO THREE MENTIONS, IN ORDER. PROBE FOR CLARITY, BUT NOT FOR ADDITIONAL MENTIONS. DO NOT READ PRECODES]**<sup>19</sup>

Nov 8-11 <u>2012</u>	
9	Yes
91	No
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

<sup>18</sup> In Mid-October 2008, Early November 2006, Early October 2006, and Mid-October 2004 the question was worded "How confident are you that your vote will be accurately counted in the upcoming election?"

<sup>19</sup> Q.79 Open-end results not show because of small sample size [N=84].

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

Q.80 Thinking about the coming year, do you think relations between Republicans and Democrats in Washington will get better, get worse, or stay about the same as they are now?

Nov 8-11		RVs		RVs
		Nov 4-7	Nov	Nov
<u>2012</u>		<u>2010</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>2006</u>
31	Get better	22	37	29
14	Get worse	28	18	21
52	Stay about the same	48	42	45
3	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	3	3	5

**NO QUESTIONS 81-84****ASK ALL WHO VOTED (Q.1=1):**

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

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

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

Nov 8-11, 2012	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	<i>Lean</i>	<i>Lean</i>
				No	Other	DK/Ref	<i>Rep</i>	<i>Dem</i>
				<u>preference</u>	<u>party</u>			
	31	35	32	*	*	1	14	14

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

Q.85 Would you like to see Republican leaders in Washington move in a more conservative direction or a more moderate direction?

**BASED ON REPUBLICAN AND REPUBLICAN-LEANING VOTERS [N=505]:**

Nov 8-11		GP	
		Nov 4-7	Nov
<u>2012</u>		<u>2010</u>	<u>2008</u>
57	Conservative	56	60
35	Moderate	38	35
3	No change (VOL.)	2	1
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	5	4

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

Q.86 Would you like to see Democratic leaders in Washington move in a more liberal direction or a more moderate direction?

**BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING VOTERS [N=627]:**

Nov 8-11		GP	
		Nov 4-7	Nov
<u>2012</u>		<u>2010</u>	<u>2008</u>
33	Liberal	34	33
57	Moderate	54	57
4	No change (VOL.)	3	2
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	8