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Continued Lackluster Ratings for Republican Field

Obama Job Approval Improves, GOP Contest Remains Fluid

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Continued Lackluster Views of Republican Field

Obama Job Rating Improves, GOP Contest Remains Fluid

With much of the recent political focus on the ever-changing Republican presidential nomination race, Barack Obama's job rating has improved modestly over the past month. And a majority of Americans continue to hold a favorable personal opinion of Obama. This is not the case for his main GOP rivals, whom he mostly bests in test election measures.

Currently, as many approve of Obama's job performance as disapprove; from July through early October his job ratings were more negative than positive.

A majority of Americans (52%) still have a favorable personal impression of Obama, while 45% view him unfavorably. Among the leading GOP candidates, none is viewed favorably on balance. Slightly more have an unfavorable opinion of Mitt Romney (42%) than a favorable opinion (36%), and the balance of opinion toward Herman Cain, Newt Gingrich and Rick Perry is even more negative.

While Obama's overall job rating has ticked up recently, few Americans (35%) approve of the way he is handling the economy. However, the percentage of Americans saying that they have heard mostly bad news about the economy has declined steadily over the past three months. Further, Obama gets more positive ratings for dealing with foreign policy (46% approve), and a resounding 75% approve of his decision to remove all combat troops from Iraq at year's end.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Nov. 9-14 among 2,001 adults, including 1,576 registered voters, finds that Obama holds clear advantages over Cain, Gingrich and Perry in head-to-head matchups among registered voters. As was the case in October, however, Obama runs about even

Obama Job Rating Pulls Even, Favorable Rating Bests GOP Rivals

	July 20-24	Aug 17-21	Sept 22- Oct 4	Nov 9-14
<i>Obama job approval ...</i>	%	%	%	%
Approve	44	43	43	46
Disapprove	48	49	48	46
Don't know	8	7	9	8
	100	100	100	100

<i>View of each ...</i>	Fav	Unfav	DK/ Can't rate
Obama	52	45	3=100
Romney	36	42	21=100
Gingrich	31	48	21=100
Cain	29	50	21=100
Perry	25	50	25=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

with Romney: 49% say they would vote for Obama or lean toward Obama while 47% support or lean toward Romney.

Obama continues to trail Romney by a wide margin among independent voters. Currently, 53% of independents favor Romney while just 41% support Obama. In matchups with other leading GOP candidates, Obama leads or runs about even.

The race for the GOP nomination continues to be fluid. About one-in-five Republican and Republican-leaning independent voters (23%) would like to see Romney win the nomination. In the current survey, about the same percentage (22%) favors Cain while 16% back Gingrich, double the percentage from October. Just 8% favor Perry, down from 17% about a month ago.

Cain's support slipped slightly during the field period. In polling conducted Nov. 9-11, 25% of Republican and Republican-leaning voters supported the former business executive; that edged down to 18% during the latter half of the field period (Nov. 12-14).

Opinions about the truthfulness of allegations of sexual harassment against Cain have changed little since early November. Currently, 39% of registered voters say the allegations are true, compared with 26% who think they are false. Cain's supporters overwhelmingly reject the allegations, while supporters of other candidates are more likely to say they are true.

Romney Holds Clear Advantage over Obama among Independents

All voters	Obama	Rep	Other/ DK	Margin
<i>Obama vs.</i>	%	%	%	
Romney	49	47	4=100	D+2
Perry	53	42	5=100	D+11
Cain	54	42	4=100	D+12
Gingrich	54	42	4=100	D+12
Independents				
<i>Obama vs.</i>				
Romney	41	53	6=100	R+12
Perry	48	45	7=100	D+3
Cain	50	45	5=100	D+5
Gingrich	52	42	6=100	D+10

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q30-33. Based on registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

GOP Primary Preferences

	Total	Field dates	
	Nov 9-14	Nov 9-11	Nov 12-14
<i>Based on Rep/ Rep-leaning RVs</i>	%	%	%
Mitt Romney	23	22	23
Herman Cain	22	25	18
Newt Gingrich	16	15	18
Ron Paul	8	8	9
Rick Perry	8	9	7
Michele Bachmann	5	5	6
Rick Santorum	2	2	3
Jon Huntsman	1	1	1
Other	*	0	*
None/DK	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100
N	738	412	325

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q23. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Republican voters remain generally unimpressed with the quality of the GOP field. Only about half of Republican and Republican-leaning voters (48%) say the Republican candidates are excellent or good while nearly as many (46%) say they are only fair or poor. GOP voters' ratings of the field have shown little improvement since May and are at least as low as ratings for Republican candidates at comparable points in the 2008 and 1996 campaigns.

The survey finds that Obama's personal image remains positive and his overall job rating has drawn even, but his approval on the economy remains low. Moreover, just 35% say Obama is doing as much as he can to improve economic conditions, while 61% say he could be doing more. In March 2009, two months into Obama's presidency, these numbers were virtually reversed (60% doing as much as he can, 30% could do more).

However, the public is hearing less negative news about the economy than it did just a month ago. The most recent Pew Research Center News Interest Index found that as many say they are hearing a mix of good and bad economic news as say the news has been mostly bad (48% each). In early October, 58% said they were hearing mostly negative news about the economy and in early August 67% said the economic news was mostly

Views of the GOP Field: Past and Present

<i>As a group, the Republican candidates are...</i>	Oct 1995	Oct 2007	May 2011	Aug 2011	Nov 2011
All voters	%	%	%	%	%
Excellent/Good	33	31	25	26	28
Only fair/Poor	63	59	62	64	64
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Republican/Rep-leaning RVs					
Excellent/Good	51	51	44	49	48
Only fair/Poor	46	43	43	44	46
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q22. Based on registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Obama Rating on Economy Weak, But Fewer Are Hearing Bad News

<i>Obama job rating on economy ...</i>	April	Aug	Nov	
%	%	%	%	
Approve	39	34	35	
Disapprove	56	60	58	
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	
	100	100	100	
<i>Recent news about the economy</i> <th>Aug</th> <th>Sept</th> <th>Oct</th> <th>Nov</th>	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov
Mostly bad	67	61	58	48
Mix of good, bad	30	35	39	48
Mostly good	1	2	1	3
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q3a. Economic news ratings from Nov. 10-13, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

bad – the highest percentage in more than two years. (For more, see [“Fewer Hearing Mostly Bad News about Economy.” Nov. 15, 2011](#)).

While the race for the GOP nomination remains close, Romney is generally viewed as having the best chance to defeat Obama. Overall, 30% of all registered voters say that Romney has the best chance of beating Obama, while just 12% say that about Cain and even fewer say Gingrich (8%) or Perry (6%) has the best chance of winning. Among Republican and Republican-leaning voters, 30% think Romney has the best chance of beating Obama next fall, 18% say Cain, 13% Gingrich, and 6% Perry.

Romney and Cain, the current GOP front-runners, have distinctly different strengths and weaknesses in the eyes of Republican voters. Large majorities of Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters say Romney is well-qualified to be president (71%) and honest and trustworthy (65%). Only about half of Republican voters say these descriptions apply to Cain (50% honest and trustworthy, 49% well-qualified to be president).

GOP Voters View Romney as Well-Qualified, But More See Cain as a Strong Conservative

Percent of Rep/ Rep-leaning RVs who say each candidate is...	Mitt Romney			Herman Cain		
	Yes %	No %	DK %	Yes %	No %	DK %
Well-qualified to be president	71	18	11=100	49	36	15=100
Honest and trustworthy	65	21	14=100	50	31	19=100
A strong conservative	53	33	15=100	64	18	18=100
Takes consistent positions on issues	47	33	20=100	60	19	21=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q34a,c,e,f & 35a,c,e,f. Based on Republican and Republican leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

By contrast, far more GOP voters say Cain is a strong conservative (64%) and that he takes consistent positions on issues (60%) than say these descriptions apply to Romney (53% and 47%, respectively).

The presidential race has overshadowed last-minute efforts by the congressional “super committee” to come up with substantial reductions in the budget deficit before the panel’s Nov. 23 deadline. Only about one-in-five Americans (21%) say they have heard a lot about the super committee, though another 40% say they have heard a little.

Among those who have heard at least a little about the super committee, there is broad support for compromise: 65% say lawmakers who share their views on the budget deficit should be willing to compromise, even if it results in a deal they disagree with; just 27% say the lawmakers who they agree with should stand by their principles, even if it means no progress is made.

In two previous showdowns over the debt and deficit – in April, amid threats of a government shutdown and July as a possible government default loomed – majorities also favored compromise. There continue to be wide partisan differences in views of compromise. Among those who have heard at least a little about the super committee, 74% of Democrats and 67% of independents support compromise, compared with 52% of Republicans.

Most of those who have heard about the super committee have a negative reaction to possible automatic cuts in spending, including both defense and domestic programs, that will be triggered if Congress fails to pass a deficit reduction plan. Democrats and independents generally view the automatic cuts as a bad idea, but Republicans are divided: 48% say they are a bad idea while nearly as many (46%) say they are a good idea.

Public support for a balanced approach to deficit reduction – both cuts in major programs and tax increases – has been consistent over the past year. Currently, 62% say the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit is through a combination of spending cuts and tax increases; just 17% say the focus should be mostly on program reductions and 8% say it should be mainly on tax increases. Republicans are less supportive of a

Support for Deficit Deal, Opposition to Automatic Cuts

<i>On federal deficit, lawmakers who share your views should ...</i>	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %
Stand by principles, even if no progress is made	27	38	19	26
Be willing to compromise, even if it means a deal you disagree with	65	52	74	67
Don't know	8	9	7	7
	100	100	100	100
<i>Failure by “super committee” will trigger automatic spending cuts. Is this a ...</i>				
Good idea	36	46	26	39
Bad idea	56	48	67	52
Don't know	8	6	6	9
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q43-44. Based on those who have heard at least a little about congressional super committee (61% of public). Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

balanced approach than are Democrats or independents. Even among Republicans, however, 53% favor a combination of spending cuts and tax increases. That compares with 71% of Democrats and 63% of independents.

SECTION 1: THE 2012 ELECTION

Mitt Romney continues to run even with Barack Obama in a hypothetical matchup for the 2012 presidential election. Among all registered voters, 49% say they would back Obama, 47% Romney, virtually unchanged from a month ago when 48% supported each candidate. By contrast, Obama holds double-digit leads over Herman Cain, Newt Gingrich and Rick Perry.

This difference reflects Romney's substantially stronger support among independents. Independents favor Romney by a 12-point margin over Obama – 53% to 41%. This, too, is unchanged from a 13-point margin last month (54% to 41%). By contrast, each of the other leading GOP contenders trails Obama among independents by at least narrow margins.

Regardless of which GOP candidate wins the nomination, at least 80% of Republican voters intend to back their party's nominee. And while enthusiasm for Romney in the primaries may be lagging, there are no signs that Republicans would not back him if he wins the nomination. Fully 87% of Republicans say they would support him over Obama, and 76% say they would support him strongly. This is as high as the level of intense support Cain, Gingrich or Perry would receive from Republican voters.

Similarly, there is little to suggest that the outcome of the GOP primaries would affect Democratic voters, roughly 90% of whom intend to back Obama, regardless of his opponent. At least eight-in-ten Democrats say they would support Obama strongly, with no significant difference in intensity depending on the GOP nominee. (*For details on the 2012 matchups, see [detailed tables](#) at the end of this report*).

Romney Runs Even with Obama, Wins Independents

All voters	Obama	Rep	Other/ DK	Margin
<i>Obama vs.</i>	%	%	%	
Romney	49	47	4=100	D+2
Cain	54	42	5=100	D+12
Gingrich	54	42	4=100	D+12
Perry	53	42	5=100	D+11

Independents

<i>Obama vs.</i>				
Romney	41	53	6=100	R+12
Cain	50	45	5=100	D+5
Gingrich	52	42	6=100	D+10
Perry	48	45	7=100	D+3

Republicans

<i>Obama vs.</i>				Support Rep strongly
Romney	8	87	5=100	76
Cain	13	80	7=100	69
Gingrich	10	86	4=100	72
Perry	12	81	7=100	65

Democrats

<i>Obama vs.</i>				Support Obama strongly
Romney	88	11	1=100	82
Cain	91	8	1=100	87
Gingrich	90	8	2=100	86
Perry	89	10	1=100	85

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q30-33.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

GOP Race Still Muddled

There is no clear frontrunner nationwide for the GOP primary – 23% of Republican and Republican leaning registered voters favor Romney for the party nomination, while 22% support Cain, and 16% back Gingrich. No other candidate breaks double-digits.

A look at Republican voters' second-choice candidates reinforces the separation between the top three candidates and the rest of the field. In addition to the 23% who favor Romney for the nomination, another 19% say he would be their second choice; thus, 42% pick Romney as one of their preferred options. More than a third (36%) pick Cain as either their favorite (22%) or second-choice (14%) candidate and about the same number (35%) names Gingrich as either their first (16%) or second (18%) choice. The next closest candidate – Perry – receives less than half as much support as any of these three.

The overlap in support for these candidates also is noteworthy. A majority of Gingrich supporters name either Romney (38%) or Cain (30%) as their second choice candidate. Most Cain supporters name either Romney (31%) or Gingrich (31%) as their second choice. And most Romney supporters would turn to either Gingrich (35%) or Cain (18%) as their second choice.

GOP Primary Preferences

	First choice	Second choice	NET 1 st or 2 nd
<i>Based on Rep/ Rep-leaning RVs</i>	%	%	%
Romney	23	19	42
Cain	22	14	36
Gingrich	16	19	35
Paul	8	3	12
Perry	8	8	16
Bachmann	5	6	11
Santorum	2	3	5
Huntsman	1	2	3
Other	*	3	3
None/Too early/DK	<u>14</u>	<u>24</u>	
	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q23-24.
Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Views among Tea Party Republicans

Cain holds a modest edge among Republican and Republican-leaning voters who agree with the Tea Party Republicans: 29% favor Cain, while 21% back Gingrich and 18% favor Romney. Romney holds a sizeable lead among non-Tea Party Republican voters, with 27% backing him compared with 16% for Cain and 12% for Gingrich.

Roughly six-in-ten Republican voters describe themselves as conservative, and their support is divided between Cain (26%), Gingrich (21%), and Romney (18%). Among the smaller share who say they are moderate or liberal, Romney holds a commanding lead, with 30% backing him compared with 16% for Cain and 10% for Gingrich.

Cain, Gingrich Fare Better among Conservative Republicans

<i>Who would you most like to see nominated as GOP candidate?</i>	All Rep/Lean R	<i>Tea Party</i>		<i>Ideology</i>	
		Yes	No	Cons	Mod/Lib
	%	%	%	%	%
Romney	23	18	27	18	30
Cain	22	29	16	26	16
Gingrich	16	21	12	21	10
Paul	8	8	9	7	11
Perry	8	6	9	7	8
Bachmann	5	7	5	5	6
Santorum	2	2	2	2	2
Huntsman	1	1	2	1	2
Other	*	*	*	*	*
None/DK	<u>14</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
N	738	356	374	476	254

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q23. Based on first choice of Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Cain receives less support from Republican women (17%) than from Republican men (27%). He also gets less backing from Republicans 65 and older (13%) than those younger than 65 (25%). By contrast, Gingrich is favored by 22% of GOP voters 65 and older, and 18% of those 40-to-64, but just 6% Republican voters younger than 40.

Cain also gets significantly more support from higher-income Republicans than those with lower incomes. Republican voters with family incomes of \$75,000 or more back Cain at nearly twice the rate of those with incomes of less than \$30,000 (28% vs. 15%).

Gender, Age and Income Differences in Early GOP Preferences

<i>Who would you most like to see nominated as GOP candidate?</i>	All Rep/ Lean R	Men	Women	18-39	40-64	65+	\$75k+	\$30k- \$75k	Less than \$30k
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Romney	23	21	24	20	22	28	26	23	20
Cain	22	27	17	25	25	13	28	20	15
Gingrich	16	18	15	6	18	22	16	19	11
Paul	8	9	8	13	7	7	7	11	6
Perry	8	8	8	8	7	9	7	7	14
Bachmann	5	6	5	10	4	4	5	4	10
Santorum	2	2	2	1	3	3	3	2	3
Huntsman	1	2	1	2	1	*	1	1	1
Other	*	*	*	0	*	0	*	*	0
None/Too early/DK	<u>14</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>22</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
N	738	377	361	135	358	230	254	257	136

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q23. Based on first choice of Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Views of Cain Allegations

As more information about the sexual harassment allegations against Cain has surfaced, a growing proportion of voters feel able to assess the veracity of the claims. While the balance of opinion has not shifted overall, Republican and Democratic assessments of the situation are growing further apart.

The survey began a few days after one of Cain's accusers held a press conference (on Nov. 7) and Cain held his own press conference the next day to deny the allegations. Nearly four-in-ten voters (39%) say the allegations are true, up from 34% in a Pew Research Center survey conducted the previous week (Nov. 3-6). At the same time, a growing number also say the allegations are false (26% up from 20%). The share with no opinion fell from 46% to 34%.

An already wide partisan gap in evaluations has grown larger. The share of Republicans and Republican leaners who say the claims are false has risen from 32% to 42%, while the share of Democrats and Democratic leaners who say they are true rose from 45% to 53%.

Wider Partisan Gap over Cain Allegations

<i>Allegations against Cain are...</i>	Nov 3-6	Nov 9-14	Chg
All voters	%	%	
True	34	39	+5
False	20	26	+6
Don't know	30	21	-9
<i>Not heard</i>	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	-3
	100	100	
Rep/lean R			
True	25	27	+2
False	32	42	+10
Don't know	27	22	-5
<i>Not heard</i>	<u>16</u>	<u>10</u>	-6
	100	100	
Dem/lean D			
True	45	53	+8
False	10	13	+3
Don't know	30	20	-10
<i>Not heard</i>	<u>15</u>	<u>14</u>	-1
	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q39. Based on registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Among Republicans and Republican leaners, most who agree with the Tea Party reject the accusations; 56% say they are false and just 20% true. Among Republicans who disagree or offer no opinion of the Tea Party, views are more divided; 32% say the allegations are true, 29% false. Nearly half (46%) of Republican men say the allegations are false, compared with 37% of Republican women.

Three-quarters (75%) of Republican and GOP-leaning voters who favor Cain for the party's presidential nomination say the claims are false; just 7% think they are true. By a two-to-one margin (49% false, 24% true), Gingrich supporters also reject the claims. Romney supporters differ substantially; nearly half (46%) of Romney's supporters say the allegations are true, while just 23% believe they are false.

Most Tea Party Republicans Reject Allegations against Cain

	<i>Allegations of sexual harassment against Herman Cain are...</i>			Haven't heard about
	True	False	DK	
	%	%	%	%
All Rep/Lean Rep	27	42	22	10=100
Tea Party	20	56	20	3=100
Non-Tea Party	32	29	24	15=100
Men	26	46	20	9=100
Women	28	37	25	10=100
<i>Primary preference</i>				
Mitt Romney	46	23	24	7=100
Herman Cain	7	75	11	7=100
Newt Gingrich	24	49	21	5=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q39. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Comparing Romney and Cain

Fully 71% of Republican and Republican-leaning voters say that Mitt Romney is well-qualified to be president, and 65% describe him as honest and trustworthy. Republicans' assessments of Herman Cain are more divided on these traits. Only about half (49%) of Republican-oriented voters say that Cain is well-qualified to be president, while 36% say he is not. And half (50%) say Cain is honest and trustworthy, while 31% do not think this describes Cain.

GOP Voters Not Sold on Cain's Qualifications, Romney's Consistency

<i>Percent of Republicans and Rep leaners who say each phrase describes candidate</i>	Mitt Romney		Herman Cain	
	Yes	No	Yes	No
	%	%	%	%
Well-qualified to be president	71	18	49	36
Honest and trustworthy	65	21	50	31
Understands the needs of people like you	54	30	60	23
A strong conservative	53	33	64	18
Takes consistent positions on issues	47	33	60	19
Shares your religious beliefs	24	50	34	26

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q34-Q35. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures read across, with percent saying don't know not shown.

But Cain has the advantage over Romney when it comes to consistency and conservatism. Where 64% of Republicans and Republican leaners see Cain as a strong conservative, barely half (53%) say the same about Romney. Among conservatives, 73% say Cain is a strong conservative, while just 53% say the same about Romney.

And the criticism that Romney has been inconsistent also resonates with Republicans: 47% of Republican and Republican-leaning voters say Romney takes consistent positions on issues while 33% say he does not. In assessing Cain, 60% say he holds consistent positions, while 19% say he does not.

Romney and Health Care

One particular issue for Romney is his support of a major healthcare overhaul when he was governor of Massachusetts. By more than two-to-one, more Republicans and Republican leaners have an unfavorable (38%) than favorable (15%) opinion of this law, though nearly half offer either no opinion (9%) or have heard nothing about it (38%).

Disapproval of Romney's Massachusetts health care record is particularly high among engaged Republican voters: 54% of those who have given a lot of thought to the campaign and candidates say they have an unfavorable opinion of the Massachusetts law, while just 15% view it favorably. A comparable majority (55%) of Republicans and GOP leaners who agree with the Tea Party view the law unfavorably, while just 13% view it favorably.

Most Cain and Gingrich supporters are aware of the Massachusetts health care law and disapprove of it. Romney supporters are more divided: 27% view the law favorably while 28% view it unfavorably; the rest either offer no opinion (14%) or say they have not heard about it (31%).

Romney's Health Care Measure Rejected by Tea Party Reps

	<i>Impression of the Massachusetts healthcare law Romney supported</i>			Haven't heard about
	Favor-able	Unfavor-able	DK	
	%	%	%	%
All Rep/Lean Rep	15	38	9	38=100
Tea Party	13	55	10	23=100
Not Tea Party	17	23	8	51=100
<i>Thought given to candidates</i>				
A lot	15	54	11	20=100
Some or less	15	20	7	58=100
<i>Primary preference</i>				
Mitt Romney	27	28	14	31=100
Herman Cain	7	51	12	30=100
Newt Gingrich	11	57	7	25=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q37. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Moderate Republicans Less Satisfied with GOP Field

Republicans continue to show little enthusiasm for the field of candidate running for the party's presidential nomination. Among all Republican and Republican-leaning voters, 48% say that as a group the GOP candidates are excellent or good, while 46% rate them as only fair or poor.

The balance of opinion was somewhat more positive four years ago. As Republicans evaluated a field then headed by Rudy Giuliani, John McCain, Fred Thompson, Mitt Romney and Mike Huckabee, more rated the candidates as excellent or good (51%) than fair or poor (43%).

Moderate and liberal Republican and Republican-leaning voters are particularly unenthusiastic about the field this year. Just 33% rate the current crop of candidates favorably, while 62% say they are only fair or poor. In October 2007, nearly half (47%) offered favorable assessments of the GOP candidates.

There are also differences in how supporters of different candidates rate the field as a whole. Large majorities of Gingrich supporters and Cain supporters say that the field, as a group, is excellent or good (69% and 61%, respectively). Romney supporters are less positive – just 48% say the group of GOP candidates is excellent or good, while 51% say they are only fair or poor.

So-So Ratings for GOP Field

<i>As a group, the Republican candidates are...</i>	Oct 2007		Nov 2011	
	Excel- lent/ Good	Only fair/ Poor	Excel- lent/ Good	Only fair/ Poor
	%	%	%	%
All Rep/lean Rep	51	43	48	46
Conservative	56	39	59	36
Moderate/Liberal	47	47	33	62
Tea Party	--	--	63	33
Not Tea Party	--	--	35	56
<i>Primary preference</i>				
Mitt Romney	--	--	48	51
Herman Cain	--	--	61	37
Newt Gingrich	--	--	69	28

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q22.
Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures read across, with percent saying don't know not shown.

GOP Engagement Spikes

The share of Republican and Republican leaning voters who say they have given a lot of thought to the 2012 candidates has spiked from 39% to 52% over the last month.

Democrats and Democratic leaners, by comparison, are far less engaged in a campaign focused on the looming Republican primaries and caucuses.

At 52%, the share of Republicans closely tracking the campaign is higher than four years ago. Just 42% of Republicans and Republican leaners had given a lot of thought to the 2008 candidates in November of 2007.

Republicans More Focused on the Campaign

	May	July	Aug	Oct	Nov	Oct-Nov change
<i>Given a lot thought to 2012 candidates</i>						
All registered voters	27	24	32	35	44	+9
Rep/Rep-leaning RVs	29	30	36	39	52	+13
Dem/Dem-leaning RVs	26	22	30	34	38	+4
<i>Among Rep/Rep-leaning RVs</i>						
Agree w/Tea Party (41%)	46	44	48	56	66	+10
Disagree/No opinion (58%)	16	18	24	25	40	+15

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q20. Based on registered voters.

There continues to be a sizeable engagement gap between Tea Party and non-Tea Party Republicans – 66% of the former have given a lot of thought to the candidates compared with 40% of the latter. But the recent jump in engagement crosses both segments of the party. In particular, 40% of Republicans and Republican leaners who say they either disagree or have no opinion about the Tea Party movement have now given a lot of thought to the candidates, up from 25% a month ago, and just 18% as recently as July.

Romney Viewed as Most Electable

When voters are asked which Republican has the best chance of defeating Obama next November, Mitt Romney is seen as the strongest candidate by a wide margin. Among all registered voters, 30% say Romney has the best chance to unseat the incumbent Democrat. Just 12% say Herman Cain has the best chance. No other candidate reaches double-digits.

Among Republican and Republican-leaning voters, 30% say Romney has the best chance of beating Obama, 18% say Cain, and 13% Gingrich. (This compares to 23% who support Romney as their first choice for the nomination, 22% who support Cain, and 16% Gingrich).

And as Democrats and Democratic leaners look at the Republican field, only Romney stands out as a significant threat, with 31% saying he has the best chance of defeating Obama. The next closest candidates are at 7% (both Cain and Perry). Fully 26% of Democrats say that none of the GOP candidates has a chance of beating Obama this fall – just 4% of Republicans offer this opinion.

Romney Seen as Biggest Threat to Obama's Reelection

<i>GOP candidate w/ best chance of defeating Obama ...</i>	All voters	Rep/ lean Rep	Dem/ lean Dem
	%	%	%
Mitt Romney	30	30	31
Herman Cain	12	18	7
Newt Gingrich	8	13	5
Rick Perry	6	6	7
Ron Paul	2	2	2
Michele Bachmann	2	1	3
Other	1	2	1
Jon Huntsman	1	*	1
Rick Santorum	0	0	0
None	16	4	26
Don't know	<u>21</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100
N	1,576	738	731

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q25. Based on Republican and Republican-leaning registered voters. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

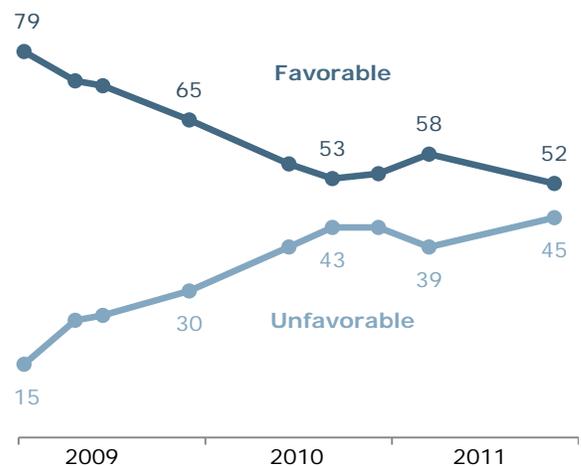
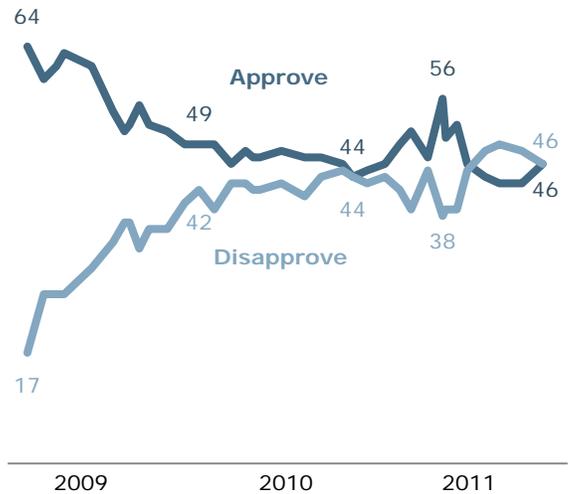
SECTION 2: VIEWS OF OBAMA AND CONGRESSIONAL LEADERS

A year out from the 2012 election, as many Americans approve of the job Obama is doing as president (46%) as disapprove (46%). This marks a modest improvement from August and October when slightly more disapproved than approved of Obama's job performance.

Obama continues to enjoy the support of young people and non-whites: Majorities of both groups say they approve of the job Obama is doing. By contrast, most whites and seniors disapprove of the president's job performance. More independents disapprove (52%) than approve (40%) of the job Obama is doing. (*For a breakdown of Obama job approval ratings, see [detailed tables](#).*)

As Obama's job rating has drawn even, more continue to say they have a favorable, rather than unfavorable view of him. About half (52%) say they have either a very favorable (21%) or mostly favorable (31%) view of Obama. Fewer (45%) say they have either a very unfavorable (24%) or mostly unfavorable (21%) view of him. Since June 2010, Obama's favorability ratings have held fairly steady, with only modest shifts in attitudes.

Obama's Job and Favorability Ratings



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q1, Q10a.

Obama's positive favorability rating contrasts with the more negative ratings of leading GOP presidential candidates. More hold an unfavorable view of Mitt Romney (42%) than a favorable view (36%) of the former Massachusetts Governor. Other Republican candidates fare even worse: about half express unfavorable views of Rick Perry (50%), Herman Cain (50%) and Newt Gingrich (48%); less than a third hold a favorable view of each of these GOP candidates.

Among independents, about as many have a favorable opinion of Obama (50%) as an unfavorable view (47%). Just 36% have a favorable view of Romney. And far more independents hold an unfavorable view of Perry, Cain and Gingrich than view these candidates favorably.

Majorities of Republicans express favorable opinions of Romney (56%) and Gingrich (55%), while just 27% and 29%, respectively, have unfavorable views. Cain is viewed somewhat less positively by Republicans (48% favorable vs. 35% unfavorable). And about as many Republicans have an unfavorable opinion of Rick Perry (41%) as express a favorable opinion (36%).

Independents View Obama More Favorably than GOP Candidates

	Favorable %	Unfavorable %	Can't rate/DK %
Obama			
Total	52	45	3=100
Republican	13	85	2=100
Democrat	85	13	2=100
Independent	50	47	3=100
Romney			
Total	36	42	21=100
Republican	56	27	17=100
Democrat	26	54	19=100
Independent	36	42	22=100
Gingrich			
Total	31	48	21=100
Republican	55	29	16=100
Democrat	17	61	22=100
Independent	31	49	20=100
Cain			
Total	29	50	21=100
Republican	48	35	17=100
Democrat	17	64	20=100
Independent	28	49	23=100
Perry			
Total	25	50	24=100
Republican	36	41	23=100
Democrat	20	60	21=100
Independent	25	50	25=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q10.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Low Marks for Obama on Economy

On specific issues, Obama receives negative ratings for his handling of the economy, budget deficit and immigration policy; he fares better when it comes to his handling of energy policy and foreign policy.

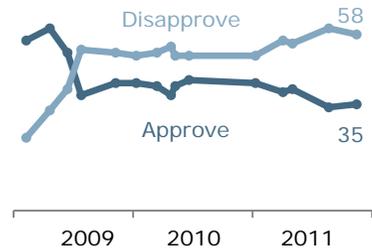
Nearly six-in-ten (58%) disapprove of the way Obama is handling the economy, while just 35% approve. Negative ratings of Obama's handling of the economy are nothing new – majorities have disapproved of his performance since the summer of 2009. Ratings of Obama's handling of the budget deficit are similarly negative (57% disapprove, 34% approve) and, as with the economy, they have been negative for some time.

About half disapprove of how Obama is handling immigration policy (49%); 32% approve. On this issue, the public has consistently expressed more disapproval than approval since Pew Research first asked about immigration in November 2009.

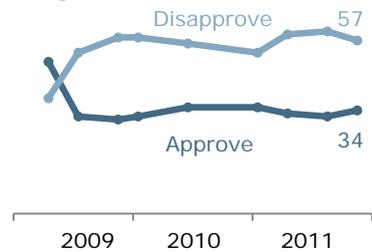
Slim pluralities approve of how Obama is handling foreign policy (46%) and energy policy (44%). Obama has performed comparatively well on these issues over time: At no point have significantly more disapproved than approved of his handling of foreign or energy policy.

Obama on the Issues

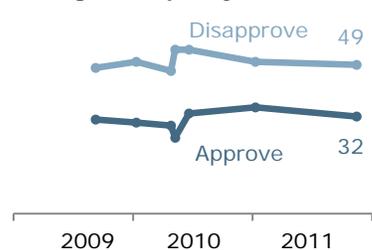
The economy



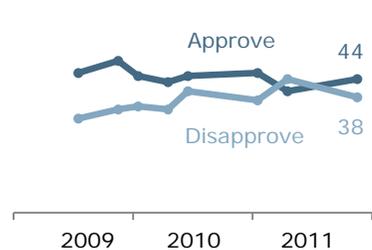
Budget deficit



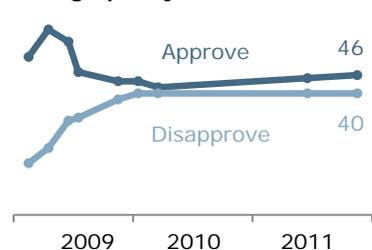
Immigration policy



Energy policy



Foreign policy



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q3.

How Obama Compares with Past Presidents

In addition to his low approval ratings on the economy, most say Obama could be doing more to improve economic conditions. About six-in-ten (61%) say he could be doing more, while far fewer (35%) say he is doing as much as he can. These ratings have become somewhat more negative since February.

While negative, ratings of Obama's economic efforts are better than those given to George W. Bush and George H.W. Bush at comparable points in their presidencies. In September 2003, roughly a year before the 2004 presidential election, 70% said Bush could be doing more to improve economic conditions and just 26% said he was doing all he could. Similarly, in January of 1992, 76% said George H. W. Bush could be doing more to improve the economy.

On the broader measures of approval and favorability, however, Obama lags behind previous presidents at comparable points in their terms. The incumbent presidents of the past two decades, from Reagan to George W. Bush, have had positive job approval ratings, on balance, a year ahead of the election. This is not the case for Obama, whose ratings are mixed.

Both George W. Bush and his father had significantly higher favorable ratings at this point in their presidencies than Obama does today. However, Obama's favorable rating is about the same as Bill Clinton's a year before he won reelection in 1996.

Most Say Obama Could Be Doing More to Improve Economy

<i>On the economy, president is ...</i>	Doing as much as he can	Could be doing more	DK
Barack Obama	%	%	%
Nov 9-14, 2011	35	61	4=100
Feb 2-7, 2011	39	56	5=100
Feb 3-9, 2010	43	50	7=100
March 9-12, 2009	60	30	10=100
George W. Bush			
Sept, 2003	26	70	4=100
George H. W. Bush			
Jan, 1992	21	76	3=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q11.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Views of Recent Presidents Headed into Reelection Campaigns

	1983 Reagan	1991 GW Bush	1995 Clinton	2003 Bush	2011 Obama
	%	%	%	%	%
Approve	54	55	48	50	46
Disapprove	38	33	42	40	46
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100	100
Favorable	--	71	56	60	52
Unfavorable	--	26	42	39	45
Don't know	--	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>
	--	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q1, Q10a. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. Figures for previous president taken from surveys closest to November in a given year. Reagan approval and GW Bush favorability from Gallup.

Ratings of Congressional Leaders

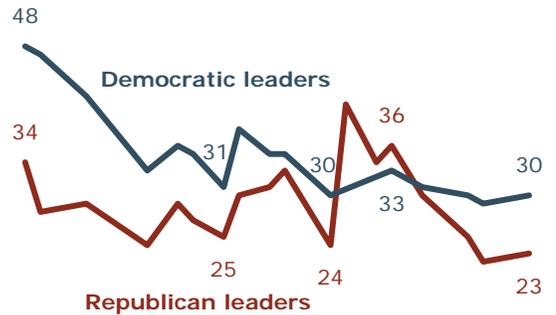
Republican and Democratic leaders in Congress receive highly negative job ratings. Just 23% approve of the job Republican congressional leaders are doing, while 67% disapprove. Ratings for Democratic leaders are not much better: 30% approve while 61% disapprove. Ratings of both parties' leaders have shown little change since August.

Independents hold about equally negative views of both parties' leaders. Roughly seven-in-ten disapprove of Republican (70%) and Democratic (67%) congressional leaders.

Most Democrats (54%) approve of the job their own party's leaders are doing, 37% disapprove. Ratings for Republican leaders are somewhat less positive among Republicans: 49% approve, 43% disapprove.

The job ratings for GOP leaders among Tea Party Republicans have improved since August, following the unpopular debt ceiling agreement between Obama and Republican leaders. Among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party movement, 49% approve of the job performance of Republican congressional leaders, while 43% disapprove. In late August, just 37% approved and 59% disapproved. There has been less change among non-Tea Party Republicans and leaners: 35% currently approve of the way Republican leaders are doing their jobs, little changed from late August (40%).

Poor Job Ratings for Congressional Leaders



Feb 2009 Mar 2010 Oct 2010 Feb 2011 Nov 2011

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q4.

Independents Take a Dim View of Both Parties' Leaders

	Approve	Disapprove	DK
Rep leaders	%	%	%
Total	23	67	10=100
Republican	49	43	9=100
Democrat	9	84	6=100
Independent	19	70	11=100
Dem leaders			
Total	30	61	9=100
Republican	8	85	7=100
Democrat	54	37	9=100
Independent	24	67	9=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q4.
Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

SECTION 3: THE DEFICIT AND THE SUPER COMMITTEE

As the Nov. 23 deadline approaches for the congressional “super committee” to offer a deficit reduction proposal, the public continues to rank the budget deficit second to the job situation among its top national economic concerns. At the same time, 62% of Americans say the best approach to deficit reduction would include both spending cuts and tax increases, with few advocating an approach that focuses primarily on either major program cuts (17%) or tax increases (8%).

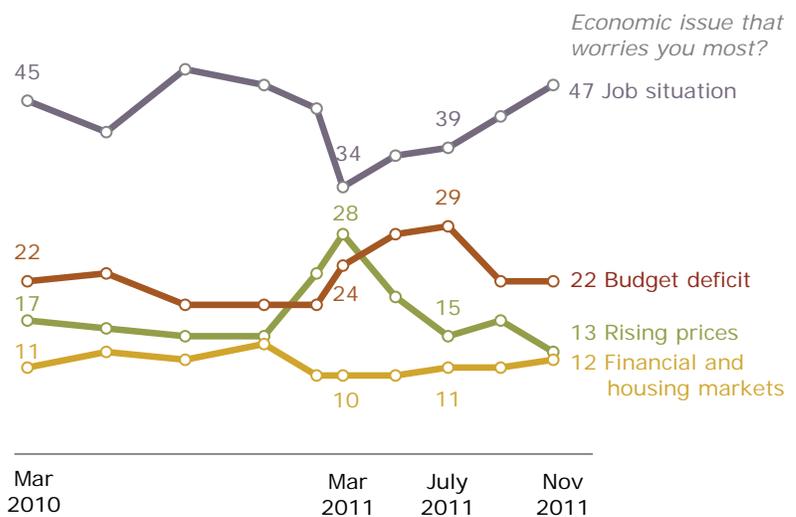
Among those who have heard about the super committee and its task, majorities of Republicans, Democrats and independents say they would like lawmakers who share their views to compromise. And 56% say the automatic cuts in government spending that will be triggered if the super committee does not come up with a plan that passes are a bad idea.

Top Economic Worry: Jobs

Public concern over the job situation trumps concerns about the deficit, rising prices, and the financial and housing markets. Nearly half (47%) say the job situation is the national economic issue that most worries them, up from 39% in July.

The second most cited worry is the budget deficit (22%), although fewer now say this than did so this summer. Smaller percentages name rising prices (13%) or problems in the financial and housing markets (12%) as their biggest economic concern.

Job Situation Remains Biggest Concern



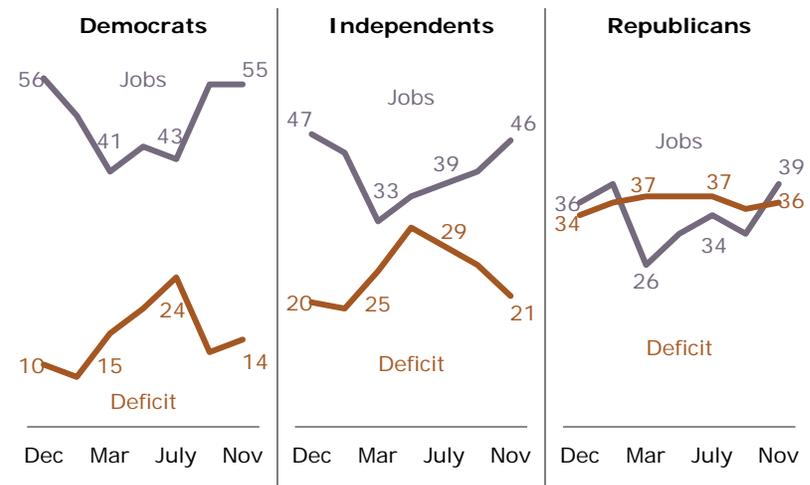
PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q12.

Both Democrats and independents are more than twice as likely to cite jobs as their top economic concern as to name any other worry. More than half of Democrats (55%) and 46% of independents say this.

While the job situation also tops the list of worries among Republicans, the deficit rivals jobs as the most cited concern. Today, 39% of Republicans name jobs, while 36% name the deficit.

Among Republicans and Republican-leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party, the job situation and the deficit are about equally likely to be named as the top national economic worry (37% jobs, 42% deficit), but Republicans and Republican-leaners who disagree with or have no opinion of the Tea Party are significantly more likely to say jobs are their top concern (40% jobs, 30% deficit).

For Independents, Jobs Trump Deficit



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q12.

Most Back Mixed Approach to Deficit Reduction

As has been the case throughout the past year, about six-in-ten Americans (62%) say the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit includes a combination of both cuts in major programs and increases in taxes; just 17% say the focus should mostly be on program cuts and only 8% say it should mostly be on tax increases.

Currently, substantial majorities of Democrats (71%) and independents (63%) say focusing on both cutting spending and increasing taxes is the best approach to reducing the deficit. A narrow majority (53%) of Republicans agree, although about a third (36%) say deficit reduction should mostly come through program cuts. Republican opinion was more divided in July (46% combination of both, 39% cuts in major programs).

Tea Party Republicans are far more likely than those who do not agree with the movement to favor mostly focusing on program cuts to reduce the deficit. Nearly half (48%) of Republicans and Republican leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party say the best way to reduce the deficit is through program cuts. Just 22% of Republicans and Republican leaners who have no opinion of the Tea Party or disagree with the movement agree.

Support for Mix of Program Cuts, Tax Hikes

<i>What is the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit?</i>	Cut major programs	Increase taxes	Combination of both	Other/DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	17	8	62	12=100
Republican	36	2	53	8=100
Conservative Rep	46	3	44	8=100
Mod/Lib Rep	21	1	70	9=100
Independent	17	7	63	14=100
Democrat	4	15	71	10=100
Cons/Mod Dem	4	11	74	11=100
Liberal Dem	3	24	67	7=100
<i>Among Reps/Rep leaners</i>				
Agree w/ Tea Party	48	2	41	9=100
No opinion/Disagree	22	3	64	11=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER November 9-14, 2011. Q40. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Deficit Compromise Favored

About six-in-ten have heard either a lot (21%) or a little (40%) about the congressional super committee, whose job is to propose a plan to significantly reduce the budget deficit. Overall, Republicans (68%) are somewhat more likely than independents (60%) to be aware of the super committee. Among Democrats, 63% had heard at least a little about the congressional panel.

Among those who have heard about the super committee, nearly two-thirds (65%) say they would like lawmakers who share their views on the deficit to be willing to compromise, even if that results in a deal they may not agree with; about a quarter (27%) say lawmakers should stand by their principles, even if nothing gets done.

Nearly three-quarters of Democrats (74%) and two-thirds of independents (67%) say they would prefer lawmakers to compromise. A modest majority of Republicans (52%) also say this, while 38% say lawmakers should stand by their principles.

Republicans and Republican leaners who agree with the Tea Party are particularly likely to say they would like lawmakers to stand by their principles: Half (50%) say this, while 43% they would like them to compromise. Among other Republicans and leaners, seven-in-ten (70%) prefer compromise, even if that means a deal with which they disagree.

Among Democrats and Democratic leaners, large majorities of both liberals (78%) and moderates and conservatives (72%) favor compromise.

The public reacts negatively to the prospect of automatic spending cuts, including cuts in defense and domestic programs, if the super committee fails to agree on a plan that passes Congress. Just 36% see these automatic cuts as a good idea while 56% say this is a bad idea.

Democrats overwhelmingly say this is a bad idea rather than a good idea (67% vs. 26%). By comparison, Republicans are split over these automatic cuts (46% good idea, 48% bad idea). Among Republicans and GOP leaners, Tea Party supporters are more likely than others to say these cuts are a good idea (50%, compared with 40% of other Republicans).

Most Say Automatic Spending Cuts “Bad Idea”

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind	R-D diff
<i>How much have you heard about the super committee?</i>					
	%	%	%	%	
A lot	21	24	22	20	+2
A little	40	45	40	40	+5
Nothing at all	38	31	37	40	-6
Don't know	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>*</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
<i>Would like lawmakers who share your views to*...</i>					
Stand by their principles, even if no progress is made	27	38	19	26	+19
Compromise, even if a they strike a deal you disagree with	65	52	74	67	-22
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>	
	100	100	100	100	
<i>If plan is not passed and automatic cuts in spending are triggered, is this a*...</i>					
Good idea	36	46	26	39	+20
Bad idea	56	48	67	52	-19
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	
	100	100	100	100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q42-44. *Based on those who have heard at least a little about the super committee. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

SECTION 4: VIEWS OF IRAQ

A majority of Americans (56%) say the United States has mostly succeeded in achieving its goals in Iraq. And the public is overwhelmingly supportive of winding down U.S. military involvement in the country: Fully 75% approve of Barack Obama's decision to withdraw all U.S. combat troops from Iraq by the end of the year. Just 21% disapprove of Obama's decision.

The original decision to use military force in Iraq, by contrast, remains contentious. While 48% say the United States made the right decision to use military force in Iraq, nearly as many (46%) disagree. And more than eight years after the war began, that decision continues to be politically divisive: 72% of Republicans support the decision to use force compared with just 44% of independents and 37% of Democrats.

Broad Support for U.S. Troop Pullout

Democrats overwhelmingly approve of Obama's decision to withdraw all U.S. combat forces by the end of the year. Fully 90% of Democrats approve of that decision while just 8% disapprove. Independents support Obama's decision by more than four-to-one (79% to 18%).

However, Republicans are divided: 48% approve of Obama's decision to withdraw all combat forces by the end of 2011 while 47% disapprove. Tea Party Republicans are much less supportive of Obama's decision than are non-Tea Party Republicans. Just 42% of Republicans and Republican-leaning independents who agree with the Tea Party agree with Obama's decision; that compares with 65% of Republicans and GOP leaners who have no opinion of the Tea Party or disagree with the movement.

Most Say U.S. Has Succeeded in Iraq

	Nov
<i>In achieving goals in Iraq, U.S. has ...</i>	%
Mostly succeeded	56
Mostly failed	33
Don't know	<u>10</u>
	100
<i>Obama's decision to withdraw all combat troops by end of 2011 ...</i>	
Approve	75
Disapprove	21
Don't know	<u>4</u>
	100
<i>Decision to use military force in Iraq was the...</i>	
Right decision	48
Wrong decision	46
Don't know	<u>6</u>
	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q56, Q57F1, Q59. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Notably, Obama's decision to withdraw all combat forces by the end of the year draws as much support as his *plans* to withdraw combat forces did shortly after he took office. In March 2009, 76% approved of his plans to withdraw most combat forces by the end of August 2010.

In the current survey, one group of respondents was asked whether they approved of Obama's decision to withdraw all combat troops from Iraq while a separate group was asked whether they approved of the government's decision to withdraw the troops. The results were almost identical: The decision, when attributed to Obama, draws as much support as when it is attributed to the government and Obama is not mentioned (75% approve Obama's decision vs. 76% approve government's decision).

Continued Support for Obama's Troop Withdrawal

<i>Obama's <u>decision</u> to withdraw all combat troops by end of 2011</i>	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Nov 2011				
Approve	75	48	90	79
Disapprove	21	47	8	18
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Obama's <u>plans</u> to withdraw most combat troops by end of Aug 2010</i>				
March 2009				
Approve	76	50	94	77
Disapprove	18	41	5	16
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011 Q57f1. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

Majority Says United States Has Succeeded in Iraq

More than half the public says the United States has mostly succeeded in achieving its goals in Iraq, a view expressed by a majority of all partisan groups, but most common among the GOP. Almost seven-in-ten (68%) Republicans say U.S. goals have been met in Iraq, compared with 56% of Democrats and 52% of independents.

Current assessments are very similar to predictions the public made in June 2010, when 58% of Americans said the United States would definitely or probably succeed in achieving its goals, while 35% said the United States would definitely or probably fail.

Three-quarters (77%) of those who say using military force was the right decision say the United States has mostly succeeded in achieving its goals, a view shared by just 38% of those who say using force was the wrong decision. Majorities of those who approve of removing combat troops by years' end and those who disapprove of that decision say the United States has mostly succeeded in achieving its goals in Iraq.

Has U.S. Achieved Goals in Iraq?

	Mostly succeeded	Mostly failed	DK
	%	%	%
Total	56	33	10=100
Republican	68	22	10=100
Democrat	56	35	9=100
Independent	52	39	9=100
<i>Using force was...</i>			
Right decision	77	16	7=100
Wrong decision	38	53	9=100
<i>Removing troops by end of 2011*:</i>			
Approve	55	36	9=100
Disapprove	62	27	10=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011. Q59.
 Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.
 * Based on combined answers to Q57f1 and Q58f2.

Public Split over Use of Force in Iraq

Americans are divided over whether using military force in Iraq was the right decision. Nearly half (48%) say using force was the right choice, while 46% say it was the wrong decision. The percentage supporting the decision to use military force is at its highest point in five years. The last time more than half of Americans supported the war was in February of 2006, when 51% said it was the right decision.

When the war in Iraq began in March 2003, more than seven-in-ten Americans (73%) said using force was the right decision. The share expressing this view dropped over the next year-and-a-half, dipping to less than half for the first time in October 2004, when 46% said using force was the right decision. The percentage reached its low, at 36%, in December 2007. It has remained at around 40% until the current survey.

Since the start of the war, there has been a wide partisan gap over using force in Iraq. Even in March 2003, with major combat still continuing, there were substantial differences: 93% of Republicans supported the decision to use force, compared with 66% of independents and 59% of Democrats. This gap persisted through the first year. Across all surveys conducted in 2003, 90% of Republicans backed the decision to use force, compared with 66% of independents and 50% of Democrats.

Over the ensuing years, support among

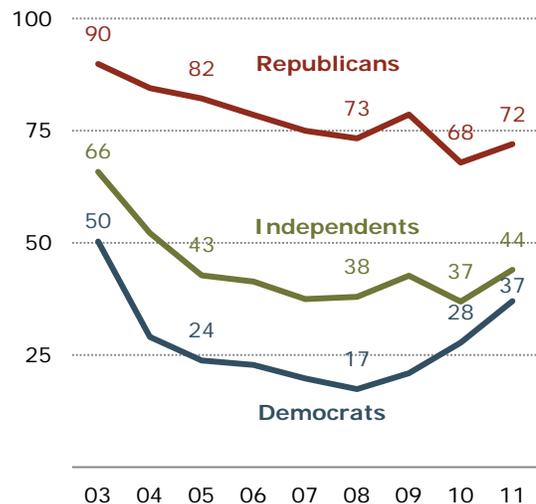
Using Military Force In Iraq Was...



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011 Q56.

Persistent Partisan Gap in Views of Iraq Engagement

Using military force in Iraq was the right decision



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Nov. 9-14, 2011 Q56. Trend for 2003 to 2008 based on yearly averages across all surveys each year and for 2009-2011 based on one survey each year.

independents and Democrats plummeted, while Republicans remained largely supportive of the war. In surveys conducted in 2008 – the last year of George W. Bush’s presidency – just 17% of Democrats said it was the right decision to take military action in Iraq, compared with 73% of Republicans.

Since Obama took office, support for the decision to go to war in Iraq has increased among Democrats. In the current survey, 37% support the decision to use force in Iraq, up from just 21% in early 2009. Opinions among Republicans (72% right decision currently) and independents (44%) have changed less since 2009.

About the Survey

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted November 9-14, 2011 among a national sample of 2,001 adults, 18 years of age or older, living in all 50 U.S. states and the District of Columbia (1200 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 801 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 397 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <http://people-press.org/methodology/>

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin and nativity, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2010 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2010 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group	Sample Size	Plus or minus ...
Total sample	2,001	3.0 percentage points
Republicans	549	5.5 percentage points
Democrats	638	5.0 percentage points
Independents	723	4.5 percentage points
Registered voters	1,576	3.0 percentage points
Republican voters	480	5.5 percentage points
Democrat voters	524	5.5 percentage points
Independent voters	526	5.5 percentage points
Rep/Rep leaning voters	738	4.5 percentage points
Dem/Dem leaning voters	731	4.5 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.

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PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEATS

Q.30 If you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Mitt Romney, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.30a Who do you lean towards? Q.32 If you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Herman Cain, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.32a Who do you lean towards?

	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Romney</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Cain</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
ALL VOTERS	49	47	4	54	42	5	1576
SEX							
Men	47	50	3	51	46	3	732
Women	51	44	5	57	37	6	844
AGE							
18-49	53	44	3	57	40	3	552
50+	46	49	4	52	42	6	997
DETAILED AGE							
18-29	62	34	4	67	30	3	164
30-49	49	48	3	52	45	3	388
50-64	48	47	5	52	43	4	526
65+	44	53	4	52	41	7	471
SEX BY AGE							
Men 18-49	50	47	3	52	46	2	286
Men 50+	44	54	3	49	47	3	435
Women 18-49	55	42	3	61	35	4	266
Women 50+	48	46	6	54	39	7	562
RACE							
White, non-Hispanic	41	55	4	47	48	5	1245
Black, non-Hispanic	94	5	1	90	9	2	140
Hispanic	55	42	3	61	36	4	90
EDUCATION							
College grad+	52	45	3	59	38	4	664
Some college	49	46	5	54	41	5	408
High school or less	47	49	4	51	45	5	500
FAMILY INCOME							
\$75,000+	48	50	2	51	47	2	498
\$30,000-\$74,999	46	51	4	52	44	4	529
Less than \$30,000	57	39	4	61	34	5	376
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE							
Total Protestant	43	53	4	46	49	5	829
Total White NH Prot.	31	64	5	35	59	5	655
White NH evang. Prot.	26	70	4	27	68	4	354
White NH mainline Prot.	38	56	6	46	48	7	301
Total Black NH Prot.	96	3	1	93	6	1	102
Total Catholic	50	48	2	58	39	3	336
White NH Cath.	46	53	1	56	41	4	265
Unaffiliated	64	31	5	69	27	4	250
ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES							
Weekly or more	41	55	4	46	50	4	681
Less than weekly	55	42	3	60	36	4	870
REGION							
Northeast	56	39	5	63	33	4	272
Midwest	42	53	5	50	46	4	394
South	49	48	3	51	43	5	558
West	50	47	3	56	40	4	352

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEATS (CONT.)

Q.35 If you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Mitt Romney, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.35a Who do you lean towards? Q.36 If you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Rick Perry, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.36a Who do you lean towards?

	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Romney</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Cain</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
PARTY ID							
Republican	8	87	5	13	80	7	480
Democrat	88	11	1	91	8	1	524
Independent	41	53	6	50	45	5	526
PARTY WITH LEANERS							
Rep/Lean Rep	9	87	4	16	78	6	738
Dem/Lean Dem	87	11	1	89	10	1	731
IDEOLOGY							
Conservative	24	70	5	28	67	5	634
Moderate	53	43	4	63	33	4	582
Liberal	87	12	1	86	14	1	324
PARTY AND IDEOLOGY							
Conservative Republican	4	91	6	4	89	7	325
Mod/Lib Republican	17	80	2	29	65	6	150
Mod/Cons Democrat	85	14	1	89	10	1	300
Liberal Democrat	94	6	0	94	6	0	213
TEA PARTY MOVEMENT							
Agree	3	95	2	9	87	4	356
Disagree/No opinion	14	81	5	23	70	7	374
AMONG WHITES							
Men	39	58	3	44	53	3	577
Women	43	52	5	50	43	7	668
18-49	42	54	4	48	48	4	392
50+	40	55	5	47	48	6	832
College grad+	47	50	3	55	40	5	547
Some college or less	37	58	5	43	52	5	695
\$75,000+	42	56	1	47	51	2	408
\$30,000-\$74,999	37	59	4	46	50	4	429
Less than \$30,000	45	49	5	51	43	6	267
Republican	7	88	4	13	80	6	438
Democrat	84	15	1	88	11	1	360
Independent	36	58	6	46	49	5	416
Northeast	50	45	5	59	37	4	215
Midwest	38	58	4	46	50	4	350
South	36	59	4	40	54	7	419
West	43	54	3	49	46	5	261

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEATS-GINGRICH, PERRY

Q.33 If you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Newt Gingrich, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.33a Who do you lean towards? Q.31 If you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Rick Perry, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.31a Who do you lean towards?

	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Gingrich</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Perry</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
ALL VOTERS	54	42	4	53	42	5	1576
SEX							
Men	53	44	3	51	45	4	732
Women	55	40	5	54	40	7	844
AGE							
18-49	57	39	3	55	42	4	552
50+	51	45	5	51	42	7	997
DETAILED AGE							
18-29	67	29	4	63	34	3	164
30-49	53	43	3	51	45	4	388
50-64	52	43	5	52	42	6	526
65+	49	46	5	50	43	8	471
SEX BY AGE							
Men 18-49	56	41	3	52	45	3	286
Men 50+	49	48	3	50	45	5	435
Women 18-49	59	37	4	57	39	4	266
Women 50+	52	42	6	52	40	8	562
RACE							
White, non-Hispanic	46	49	5	45	48	6	1245
Black, non-Hispanic	96	3	1	93	6	1	140
Hispanic	61	36	3	56	41	3	90
EDUCATION							
College grad+	58	38	4	58	37	4	664
Some college	53	43	4	50	43	7	408
High school or less	50	44	5	50	45	5	500
FAMILY INCOME							
\$75,000+	52	44	4	52	44	4	498
\$30,000-\$74,999	50	47	2	51	45	4	529
Less than \$30,000	62	34	5	57	38	5	376
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE							
Total Protestant	47	48	5	46	50	5	829
Total White NH Prot.	35	60	6	34	60	6	655
White NH evang. Prot.	27	68	4	27	68	6	354
White NH mainline Prot.	44	49	7	44	50	6	301
Total Black NH Prot.	97	2	1	95	3	2	102
Total Catholic	55	42	3	54	41	5	336
White NH Cath.	52	45	3	53	42	5	265
Unaffiliated	71	25	4	68	27	5	250
ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES							
Weekly or more	45	51	4	44	50	6	681
Less than weekly	60	36	4	59	37	4	870
REGION							
Northeast	62	34	3	61	33	6	272
Midwest	50	45	5	49	45	6	394
South	51	44	5	50	45	5	558
West	54	42	3	53	42	5	352

PRESIDENTIAL TRIAL HEATS-GINGRICH, PERRY (CONT.)

Q.33 If you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Newt Gingrich, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.33a Who do you lean towards? Q.31 If you had to choose between Barack Obama, the Democrat, and Rick Perry, the Republican, who would you vote for?/Q.31a Who do you lean towards?

	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Gingrich</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Perry</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	<u>N</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
PARTY ID							
Republican	10	86	4	12	81	7	480
Democrat	90	8	2	89	10	1	524
Independent	52	42	6	48	45	7	526
PARTY WITH LEANERS							
Rep/Lean Rep	14	81	5	14	79	7	738
Dem/Lean Dem	90	9	1	89	10	1	731
IDEOLOGY							
Conservative	27	68	5	27	66	6	634
Moderate	62	33	4	60	34	6	582
Liberal	88	10	2	85	13	1	324
PARTY AND IDEOLOGY							
Conservative Republican	4	92	4	6	87	7	325
Mod/Lib Republican	22	75	4	23	69	8	150
Mod/Cons Democrat	88	10	1	87	12	2	300
Liberal Democrat	94	5	1	93	6	0	213
TEA PARTY MOVEMENT							
Agree	6	91	2	8	88	4	356
Disagree/No opinion	21	72	6	20	71	10	374
AMONG WHITES							
Men	45	52	3	45	51	4	577
Women	47	47	7	46	46	8	668
18-49	48	48	4	45	50	4	392
50+	45	50	5	46	46	8	832
College grad+	55	41	3	55	41	4	547
Some college or less	41	54	6	40	52	7	695
\$75,000+	49	48	4	48	49	4	408
\$30,000-\$74,999	43	55	2	43	52	5	429
Less than \$30,000	49	44	7	48	45	7	267
Republican	10	86	4	11	81	7	438
Democrat	87	12	2	86	13	1	360
Independent	47	46	7	44	48	8	416
Northeast	56	40	4	56	37	7	215
Midwest	46	48	5	46	48	6	350
South	39	55	6	38	56	6	419
West	47	50	4	48	47	5	261

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL TABLE

Q1: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handing his job as president?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>N</u>
	%		%	
TOTAL	46	46	8	2001
SEX				
Men	44	49	8	953
Women	48	44	8	1048
AGE				
18-49	48	44	9	832
50+	44	50	6	1133
DETAILED AGE				
18-29	53	37	11	321
30-49	45	48	7	511
50-64	46	48	6	620
65+	40	54	6	513
SEX BY AGE				
Men 18-49	46	47	7	437
Men 50+	41	52	7	499
Women 18-49	50	40	10	395
Women 50+	46	49	5	634
RACE				
White, non-Hispanic	38	55	8	1470
Black, non-Hispanic	85	9	6	192
Hispanic	49	43	8	180
EDUCATION				
College grad+	49	43	8	754
Some college	44	47	9	510
High school or less	44	48	7	725
FAMILY INCOME				
\$75,000+	43	52	5	570
\$30,000-\$74,999	43	49	8	642
Less than \$30,000	53	39	8	555
RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE				
Total Protestant	42	52	7	997
Total White NH Prot.	31	62	7	760
White NH evang. Prot.	24	71	5	412
White NH mainline Prot.	39	52	9	348
Total Black NH Prot.	89	7	5	132
Total Catholic	48	45	6	449
White NH Cath.	44	49	7	310
Unaffiliated	51	37	12	346
ATTEND RELIGIOUS SERVICES				
Weekly or more	41	53	6	815
Less than weekly	49	43	9	1152
REGION				
Northeast	52	39	9	345
Midwest	44	49	7	472
South	47	45	8	706
West	41	52	7	478

PRESIDENTIAL APPROVAL TABLE (CONT.)

Q1: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handing his job as president?

	<u>Approve</u> %	<u>Disapprove</u> %	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u> %	<u>N</u>
REGISTERED VOTER				
Yes, certain	44	50	6	1576
Not registered	51	38	11	425
PARTY ID				
Republican	11	83	7	549
Democrat	79	16	5	638
Independent	40	52	9	723
PARTY WITH LEANERS				
Rep/Lean Rep	13	81	6	863
Dem/Lean Dem	75	18	7	929
IDEOLOGY				
Conservative	26	68	6	762
Moderate	53	40	7	741
Liberal	66	25	9	434
PARTY AND IDEOLOGY				
Conservative Republican	4	91	6	363
Mod/Lib Republican	23	68	9	180
Mod/Cons Democrat	78	18	4	375
Liberal Democrat	80	13	7	250
TEA PARTY MOVEMENT				
Agree	4	93	2	386
Disagree/No opinion	19	73	8	464
AMONG WHITES				
Men	35	57	8	688
Women	40	52	8	782
18-49	39	52	10	532
50+	37	58	6	915
College grad+	45	48	7	601
Some college or less	34	58	8	864
\$75,000+	39	57	4	459
\$30,000-\$74,999	34	57	8	497
Less than \$30,000	42	49	9	351
Republican	9	85	6	482
Democrat	74	19	6	407
Independent	35	56	9	530
Northeast	45	47	8	254
Midwest	40	54	7	406
South	33	58	9	488
West	35	58	7	322

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS/
PEW FORUM ON RELIGION & PUBLIC LIFE
NOVEMBER 2011 RELIGION AND POLITICS SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
November 9-14, 2011
N=2,001**

ASK ALL:

Q.1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Dis- approve</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Nov 9-14, 2011	46	46	8	May 6-9, 2010	47	42	11
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	43	48	9	Apr 21-26, 2010	47	42	11
Aug 17-21, 2011	43	49	7	Apr 8-11, 2010	48	43	9
Jul 20-24, 2011	44	48	8	Mar 10-14, 2010	46	43	12
Jun 15-19, 2011	46	45	8	Feb 3-9, 2010	49	39	12
May 25-30, 2011	52	39	10	Jan 6-10, 2010	49	42	10
May 5-8, 2011	50	39	11	Dec 9-13, 2009	49	40	11
May 2, 2011	56	38	6	Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	51	36	13
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	47	45	8	Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	52	36	12
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	51	39	10	Sep 10-15, 2009	55	33	13
Feb 2-7, 2011	49	42	9	Aug 20-27, 2009	52	37	12
Jan 5-9, 2011	46	44	10	Aug 11-17, 2009	51	37	11
Dec 1-5, 2010	45	43	13	Jul 22-26, 2009	54	34	12
Nov 4-7, 2010	44	44	12	Jun 10-14, 2009	61	30	9
Oct 13-18, 2010	46	45	9	Apr 14-21, 2009	63	26	11
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	47	44	9	Mar 31-Apr 6, 2009	61	26	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	47	41	12	Mar 9-12, 2009	59	26	15
Jun 8-28, 2010	48	41	11	Feb 4-8, 2009	64	17	19
Jun 16-20, 2010	48	43	9				

NO QUESTION 2**ASK ALL:**

Now, thinking about how Barack Obama is handling some issues...

Q.3 Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling **[INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]** How about **[NEXT ITEM]**? **[REPEAT INTRODUCTION AS NECESSARY]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a. The economy			
Nov 9-14, 2011	35	58	6
Aug 17-21, 2011	34	60	6
May 2, 2011	40	55	4
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	39	56	6
Jan 6-9, 2011	42	51	7
Jun 16-20, 2010	43	51	5
May 6-9, 2010	41	51	8
Apr 21-26, 2010	38	54	8
Mar 10-14, 2010	41	52	7
Jan 6-10, 2010	42	51	7
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	42	52	5
Jul 22-26, 2009	38	53	9
Jun 10-14, 2009	52	40	8
Apr 14-21, 2009	60	33	7
Feb 4-8, 2009	56	24	20
b. The federal budget deficit			
Nov 9-14, 2011	34	57	9

Q.3 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Aug 17-21, 2011	32	60	9
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	33	59	8
Jan 6-9, 2011	35	53	12
Jun 16-20, 2010	35	56	9
Jan 6-10, 2010	32	58	11
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	31	58	11
Jul 22-26, 2009	32	53	15
April 14-21, 2009	50	38	12
c. The nation's foreign policy			
Nov 9-14, 2011	46	40	13
Jun 16-20, 2010	45	40	15
Mar 10-14, 2010	42	40	18
Jan 6-10, 2010	44	40	16
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	44	38	18
Jul 22-26, 2009	47	32	21
Jun 10-14, 2009	57	31	12
Apr 14-21, 2009	61	22	17
Feb 4-8, 2009	52	17	31

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=981]

d.F1 The nation's immigration policy			
Nov 9-14, 2011	32	49	20
Jan 6-9, 2011	35	50	16
Jun 16-20, 2010	33	54	12
May 6-9, 2010	25	54	21
Apr 21-26, 2010	29	47	24
Jan 6-10, 2010	30	50	21
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	31	48	21

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,020]

e.F2 Energy policy			
Nov 9-14, 2011	44	38	18
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	40	44	16
Jan 6-9, 2011	46	37	18
Jun 16-20, 2010	45	40	15
Apr 21-26, 2010	43	34	23
Jan 6-10, 2010	45	35	20
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	50	34	16
Jul 22-26, 2009	46	31	22

ASK ALL:

- Q.4 Do you approve or disapprove of the job the **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** are doing? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the job the [ITEM] are doing? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]. [INTERVIEWER INSTRUCTION: REPEAT FULL QUESTION FOR NEXT ITEM]**

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a. Republican leaders in Congress			
Nov 9-14, 2011	23	67	10
Aug 17-21, 2011	22	69	9
Jul 20-24, 2011	25	66	10
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	30	61	9
Feb 24-27, 2011	36	45	19
Jan 5-9, 2011 ¹	34	43	22
Nov 4-7, 2010	41	37	22

¹ Question wording for Nov. 4-7, 2010, and Jan. 5-9, 2011, was: "Do you approve or disapprove of Republican congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?"

Q.4 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010	24	60	16
Jul 22-25, 2010	33	53	14
Jun 16-20, 2010	31	55	14
Apr 8-11, 2010	30	56	14
Mar 10-14, 2010	25	59	16
Jan 6-10, 2010	27	57	16
Dec 9-13, 2009	29	51	20
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	24	60	17
Jun 10-14, 2009	29	56	15
Mar 9-12, 2009	28	51	21
Feb 4-8, 2009	34	51	15
Early October, 2006	33	56	11
June, 2006	30	53	17
March, 2006	32	50	18
January, 2006	33	52	15
Early November, 2005	33	50	17
Early October, 2005	32	52	16
Mid-September, 2005	36	49	15
Mid-May, 2005	35	50	15
Mid-March, 2005	39	44	17
Early February, 2004	41	42	17
January, 2003	48	37	15
June, 2002	50	34	16
May, 2002	49	34	17
February, 2002	56	24	20
Early September, 2001	43	39	18
June, 2001	40	40	20
May, 2001	45	36	19
April, 2001	45	30	25
January, 2001	43	36	21
July, 2000	36	46	18
May, 2000	40	42	18
March, 2000	38	43	19
February, 2000	40	43	17
January, 2000	39	41	20
December, 1999	38	42	20
October, 1999	34	50	16
Late September, 1999	34	46	20
August, 1999	40	44	16
July, 1999	36	45	19
June, 1999	37	46	17
May, 1999	38	44	18
March, 1999	38	47	15
February, 1999	37	51	12
January, 1999	38	50	12
Early December, 1998	38	49	13
November, 1998	41	48	11
Early September, 1998	44	37	19
Early August, 1998	43	37	20
June, 1998	42	38	20
May, 1998	40	41	19
April, 1998	41	40	19
March, 1998	43	39	18
January, 1998	43	41	16
November, 1997	41	43	16
August, 1997	42	44	14
June, 1997	33	50	17
May, 1997	40	44	16
April, 1997	40	44	16
February, 1997	44	42	14

Q.4 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
January, 1997	38	47	15
December, 1996 ²	40	43	17
July, 1996	38	48	14
June, 1996	36	50	14
April, 1996	39	46	15
March, 1996	35	51	14
February, 1996	33	53	14
January, 1996	36	54	10
October, 1995	36	51	13
September, 1995	36	50	14
August, 1995	38	45	17
June, 1995	41	45	14
April, 1995	44	43	13
March, 1995	43	39	18
December, 1994	52	28	20
b. Democratic leaders in Congress			
Nov 9-14, 2011	30	61	9
Aug 17-21, 2011	29	63	9
Jul 20-24, 2011	30	60	10
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	31	60	9
Feb 24-27, 2011	33	48	19
Sep 30-Oct 3, 2010	30	53	17
Jul 22-25, 2010	35	56	10
Jun 16-20, 2010	35	53	12
Apr 8-11, 2010	38	51	11
Mar 10-14, 2010	31	57	12
Jan 6-10, 2010	35	53	11
Dec 9-13, 2009	36	47	17
Sep 30-Oct 4, 2009	33	53	15
Jun 10-14, 2009	42	45	13
Mar 9-12, 2009	47	35	18
Feb 4-8, 2009	48	38	14
August, 2008	31	58	11
January, 2008	31	53	16
November, 2007	35	50	15
October, 2007	31	54	15
July, 2007	33	54	13
June, 2007	34	49	17
April, 2007	36	43	21
March, 2007 ³	37	42	21
February, 2007	41	36	23
Mid-January, 2007	39	34	27
November, 2006 ⁴	50	21	29
Early October, 2006	35	53	12
June, 2006	32	50	18
March, 2006	34	46	20
January, 2006	34	48	18
Early November, 2005	36	44	20
Early October, 2005	32	48	20
Mid-September, 2005	36	45	19
Mid-May, 2005	39	41	20
Mid-March, 2005	37	44	19
Early February, 2004	38	42	20

² From December, 1994, through December, 1996, the question was worded: "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Republican leaders in Congress?"

³ In March 2007 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the policies and proposals of the Democratic leaders in Congress?"

⁴ Question wording in November, 2006, and December, 1994, was: "As best you can tell, do you approve or disapprove of Democratic congressional leaders' policies and plans for the future?"

Q.4 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
June, 2002	47	36	17
May, 2002	42	37	21
February, 2002	49	30	21
Early September, 2001	49	30	21
June, 2001	50	28	22
December, 1994	52	28	20

NO QUESTIONS 5-9

ASK ALL:

Q.10 As I read some names, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each person. First, **[INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE]** would you say your overall opinion of **[INSERT NAME]** is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly Unfavorable, or very unfavorable? How about **[NEXT NAME]**? **[IF NECESSARY: would you say your overall opinion of [NAME] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly Unfavorable, or very unfavorable?]** **[INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE."]**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.) Never	(VOL.) Can't
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>heard of</u>	<u>rate/Ref</u>
a. Barack Obama								
Nov 9-14, 2011	52	21	31	45	24	21	*	3
Mar 8-14, 2011	58	22	36	39	20	19	*	3
Dec 2-5, 2010	54	26	29	43	25	18	*	2
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	53	21	32	43	23	20	*	5
Jun 10-13, 2010	56	27	30	39	20	19	0	4
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	65	33	32	30	16	14	*	5
Jun 10-14, 2009	72	37	35	25	11	14	*	3
Apr 14-21, 2009	73	38	35	24	10	14	*	3
Jan 7-11, 2009	79	40	39	15	4	11	0	6
Mid-October, 2008	66	33	33	28	13	15	*	6
Late September, 2008	65	33	32	30	11	19	*	5
Mid-September, 2008	62	28	34	34	15	19	*	4
Late May, 2008	51	23	28	40	21	19	*	9
April, 2008	52	21	31	42	21	21	*	6
March, 2008	56	21	35	34	18	16	1	9
Late February, 2008	57	24	33	34	16	18	1	8
Early February, 2008	58	19	39	30	13	17	2	10
January, 2008	56	20	36	33	13	20	3	8
Late December, 2007	54	16	38	30	12	18	5	11
August, 2007	48	14	34	26	10	16	13	13
b. Mitt Romney								
Nov 9-14, 2011	36	7	29	42	16	26	9	12
Oct 28-Nov 30, 2009	35	11	25	21	9	13	25	18
Jun 10-14, 2009	40	9	31	28	8	20	19	13
Early February, 2008	30	6	24	44	15	29	8	18
January, 2008	31	7	24	43	13	30	8	18
Late December, 2007	29	4	25	35	11	24	17	19
August, 2007	28	5	23	24	7	17	29	19
c. Rick Perry								
Nov 9-14, 2011	25	4	21	50	25	26	12	13
d. Herman Cain								
Nov 9-14, 2011	29	9	20	50	25	25	10	11
e. Newt Gingrich								
Nov 9-14, 2011	31	9	23	48	23	25	11	10
Jun 10-14, 2009	35	8	27	38	16	22	16	10

Q. 10 CONTINUED...

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
October, 1998	41	8	33	49	23	26	1	9
Early September, 1998	42	7	35	48	20	28	3	7
Late August, 1998	43	5	38	52	19	33	2	3
March, 1998	36	6	30	49	20	29	6	9
November, 1997	30	6	24	59	24	35	4	7
August, 1997	30	6	24	62	27	35	2	6
April, 1997	28	5	23	64	28	36	3	5
January, 1997	28	4	24	65	26	39	2	5
August, 1995	30	9	21	54	25	29	4	12
February, 1995	41	12	29	37	15	22	10	12
December, 1994	25	7	18	28	13	15	30	17
July, 1994	14	2	12	12	4	8	65	9

ASK ALL:

Q.11 In your opinion, is President Obama doing as much as he can to improve economic conditions or do you think he could be doing more?

	Doing as much <u>as he can</u>	Could be <u>doing more</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 9-14, 2011	35	61	4
Feb 2-7, 2011	39	56	5
Feb 3-9, 2010	43	50	7
Mar 9-12, 2009	60	30	10
G. W. Bush			
February, 2004	30	65	5
September, 2003	26	70	4
Early July, 2003	33	62	5
May, 2003	42	53	5
Late March, 2003	41	52	7
January, 2003	33	61	6
Early October, 2002	31	63	6
June, 2002	33	62	5
January, 2002	48	46	6
G. H. W. Bush			
March, 1992	21	76	3
January, 1992	21	76	3

ASK ALL:

Q.12 Which of the following national economic issues worries you most? [READ AND RANDOMIZE]

	The job <u>situation</u>	The federal budget <u>deficit</u>	Rising <u>prices</u>	Problems in the financial and housing <u>markets</u>	(VOL.) <u>Other</u>	(VOL.) None/not worried <u>about any</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 9-14, 2011	47	22	13	12	2	1	2
Sep 1-4, 2011	43	22	17	11	4	2	2
Jul 20-24, 2011	39	29	15	11	3	1	2
May 25-30, 2011	38	28	20	10	2	*	2
Mar 8-14, 2011	34	24	28	10	3	*	1
Feb 2-7, 2011	44	19	23	10	1	1	3
Dec 1-5, 2010	47	19	15	14	1	1	3
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	49	19	15	12	2	1	2
Jun 3-6, 2010	41	23	16	13	3	1	2
Mar 10-14, 2010	45	22	17	11	2	*	2

NO QUESTIONS 13-19

ASK ALL:

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

[INSTRUCTION: IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS THAT THEY ARE IN NORTH DAKOTA AND DON'T HAVE TO REGISTER, PUNCH 1 FOR REGIST AND REGICERT]

ASK IF RESPONDENT ANSWERED '1' YES IN REGIST:

REGICERT Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote, or is there a chance that your registration has lapsed because you moved or for some other reason?

Nov 9-14

2011

77	Yes, Registered
72	Absolutely certain
4	Chance registration has lapsed
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
23	No, not registered
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Thinking about the 2012 Presidential election...

Q.20 How much thought, if any, have you given to candidates who may be running for president in 2012?
[READ IN ORDER]

	<u>A lot</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not much</u>	<u>None at all</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
Nov 9-14, 2011	36	26	21	15	1
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	29	29	22	19	2
Aug 17-21, 2011	27	30	23	18	1
Jul 20-24, 2011	20	29	27	23	1
May 25-30, 2011	23	30	27	19	1
TREND FOR COMPARISON:					
2008 Presidential Election					
December, 2007	35	33	13	18	1
November, 2007	34	35	16	14	1
October, 2007	30	37	17	14	2
September, 2007	27	33	21	17	2
July, 2007	30	38	16	15	1
June, 2007	29	34	20	16	1
April, 2007	26	34	21	17	2
March, 2007	24	36	20	18	2
February, 2007	24	34	22	18	2
December, 2006	23	36	20	20	1

NO QUESTION 21

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.22 Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the REPUBLICAN presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, only fair candidates, or poor candidates?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,576]:

		SELECTED TRENDS FOR COMPARISON⁵:									
		Aug	May	Oct		Sep	Oct	Oct	Jan		
Nov 9-14		17-21	25-30	2007		2003	1995	1991	1988		
<u>2011</u>		<u>2011</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	
		<u>cands</u>	<u>cands</u>	<u>cands</u>	<u>cands</u>	<u>cands</u>	<u>cands</u>	<u>cands</u>	<u>cands</u>	<u>cands</u>	
5	Excellent	4	3	3	9	3	3	2	4	2	
23	Good	22	22	28	35	29	30	19	36	29	
36	Only fair	38	35	40	33	39	44	39	41	44	
28	Poor	26	27	19	17	15	19	16	11	17	
7	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	9	13	10	6	14	4	24	8	8	

FULL TREND:

Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the REPUBLICAN presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, only fair candidates or poor candidates?

BASED ON REPUBLICAN AND REPUBLICAN-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS [N=738]:

	(VOL.)				
	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 9-14, 2011	10	38	39	7	6
Aug 17-21, 2011	9	40	38	6	7
May 25-30, 2011	5	39	36	7	13
February, 2008	10	50	31	7	2
January, 2008	11	57	28	3	1
November, 2007	9	47	34	7	3
October, 2007	5	46	36	7	6
September, 2007	8	41	36	8	6
October, 1995	5	46	40	6	3
January, 1988 (GP)	6	50	35	4	5

Overall, what's your impression of the candidates running for the DEMOCRATIC presidential nomination? AS A GROUP, would you say they are excellent candidates, good candidates, only fair candidates or poor candidates?

BASED ON DEMOCRATIC AND DEMOCRATIC-LEANING REGISTERED VOTERS:

	(VOL.)				
	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Only fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
February, 2008	30	50	16	2	2
January, 2008	28	50	18	2	2
November, 2007	16	51	28	2	3
October, 2007	16	48	26	5	5
September, 2007	15	49	29	2	5
January, 2004	8	39	41	6	8
December, 2003	5	40	39	7	9
September, 2003	4	40	39	5	12
February, 1992	6	39	47	4	5
October, 1991	3	24	38	11	23
January, 1988 (GP)	4	33	45	11	7

⁵ Before October 2007, answer choice read "Fair" not "Only Fair." In October 2007 the question was asked both ways and no difference was found. As a result, October 2007 numbers combine both versions of the question. In 1988, 1991 and 1993 question asked about "men running for the [party] presidential nomination."

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.23 As I name some possible Republican candidates for president in 2012, please tell me which one, if any, you would most like to see nominated as the Republican Party's candidate? **[READ AND RANDOMIZE] [PROBE IF NECESSARY: As of today, who would you say you LEAN toward?]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,576]:

Nov 9-14 2011		Sep 22-Oct 4 2011	Jul 20-24 2011	Mar 8-14 2011	Nov 4-7 2010
22	Mitt Romney	20	18	16	14
15	Herman Cain	7	5	--	--
10	Newt Gingrich	5	3	7	7
10	Ron Paul	9	8	8	9
7	Rick Perry	10	6	--	--
6	Michele Bachmann	5	8	--	--
5	Jon Huntsman	3	3	--	--
2	Rick Santorum	2	1	2	2
*	Other (VOL.) ⁶	1	1	1	3
--	Sarah Palin	8	10	11	16
--	Tim Pawlenty	--	2	2	3
--	Mike Huckabee	--	--	14	16
--	Mitch Daniels	--	--	2	--
--	Haley Barbour	--	--	2	2
--	Chris Christie	--	--	1	--
14	None (VOL.)	20	21	22	14
3	Too early to tell (VOL.)	4	5	2	--
5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	7	10	9	13

ASK IF HAS FIRST CHOICE (Q.23=1-9):

Q.24 Who, if anyone, would be your second choice for the Republican nomination in 2012? **[READ OPTIONS IF NECESSARY, ELIMINATING NAME CHOSEN IN Q.23]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,576]:

Nov 9-14, 2011			Jul 20-24, 2011			Mar 8-14, 2011			
First choice	Second choice	Total	First choice	Second choice	Total	First choice	Second choice	Total	
22	15	37	Mitt Romney	18	11	28	16	9	25
15	10	25	Herman Cain	5	3	8	--	--	--
10	11	21	Newt Gingrich	3	3	6	7	7	15
10	5	14	Ron Paul	8	4	12	8	6	14
7	7	14	Rick Perry	6	4	10	--	--	--
6	6	12	Michele Bachmann	8	9	17	--	--	--
5	3	8	Jon Huntsman	3	2	5	--	--	--
2	3	4	Rick Santorum	1	2	3	2	2	4
*	2	2	Other (VOL.)	1	1	2	1	2	3
--	--	--	Sarah Palin	10	7	16	11	9	20
--	--	--	Tim Pawlenty	2	2	4	2	3	5
--	--	--	Mike Huckabee	--	--	--	14	12	26
--	--	--	Mitch Daniels	--	--	--	2	2	4
--	--	--	Haley Barbour	--	--	--	2	1	3
--	--	--	Chris Christie	--	--	--	1	*	1
14	11	14	None (VOL.)	21	12	21	22	9	22
3	*	3	Too early to tell (VOL.)	5	*	5	2	1	2
5	4	5	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	10	4	10	9	3	9
--	23	--	No first choice/DK	--	36	--	--	33	--

⁶ Palin, Pawlenty, Huckabee, Daniels and Barbour were explicitly named in some previous surveys. Chris Christie was never named in any surveys. In surveys in which they received less than 1% support, these responses are included in other. Dashes indicate that candidates were not explicitly asked about and received less than 1% support.

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS

Q.25 Apart from who you would like to see nominated, which Republican candidate do you think has the best chance of defeating Barack Obama next November? **[OPEN END; RECORD FIRST MENTION ONLY.] [IF PERSON OFFERS MULTIPLE CANDIDATES, PROBE WITH: Which of those do you think has the best chance of defeating Obama?]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,576]:

Nov 9-14 <u>2011</u>		Aug 17-21 <u>2011</u> ⁷
30	Mitt Romney	24
12	Herman Cain	1
8	Newt Gingrich	3
6	Rick Perry	18
2	Ron Paul	4
2	Michele Bachmann	7
1	Jon Huntsman	2
1	Other	10
1	All	0
16	None	11
21	Don't know/Refused	21

NO QUESTIONS 26-29**RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.30-Q.30a-Q.30b/Q.31-Q.31a-Q.31b/Q.32-32a-Q.32b/Q.33-33a-Q.33b IN BLOCKS****ASK BEFORE FIRST BLOCK:**

Now, suppose the 2012 presidential election were being held TODAY and...

ASK BEFORE SECOND, THIRD AND FOURTH BLOCK:

If the election were TODAY and...

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.30-Q.33 You had to choose between, **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**, who would you vote for?

ASK IF OTHER OR DK (Q.30-Q.33=3,9):

Q.30a-Q.33a As of TODAY, do you LEAN more to **[READ IN SAME ORDER AS Q.30-Q.33]**?

ASK IF NAMED A CANDIDATE (Q.30-Q.33=1,2):

Q.30b-Q.33b Would you support **[INSERT LAST NAME OF CANDIDATE CHOSEN IN Q.30-Q.33]** over **[INSERT LAST NAME OF CANDIDATE NOT CHOSEN IN Q.30-Q.33]** strongly, or not? 8

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,576]:

Q.30 Mitt Romney

	<i>Not</i>				<i>Not</i>				(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Romney</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>strongly</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>strongly</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 9-14, 2011	47	36	10	1	49	42	7	*	1	3
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	48	--	--	--	48	--	--	--	1	4

Q.31 Rick Perry

	<i>Not</i>				<i>Not</i>				(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Perry</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>strongly</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>strongly</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
Nov 9-14, 2011	42	31	10	1	53	47	6	*	1	4
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	46	--	--	--	50	--	--	--	1	4

⁷ In August 2011, question began "Apart from your opinions about the Republican candidates, which Republican candidate..."

⁸ Those who lean to a candidate are included in "Not strongly."

Q.32 Herman Cain

	<u>Cain</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
			<i>strongly</i>			<i>strongly</i>			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
Nov 9-14, 2011	42	34	7	*	54	47	6	*	1	3

Q.33 Newt Gingrich

	<u>Gingrich</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Other</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
			<i>strongly</i>			<i>strongly</i>			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
Nov 9-14, 2011	42	33	9	1	54	47	6	*	1	3

Q.30a-b/Q.31a-b/Q.32a-b/Q.33a-b TREND FOR COMPARISON:**BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS:**

	<u>McCain</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Obama</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Barr</u>	<u>Other/</u>
			<i>mod</i>			<i>mod</i>					<u>DK/Ref</u>
November, 2008	39	21	18	*	50	35	14	1	1	1	9
Late October, 2008	36	20	15	1	52	39	12	1	3	1	8
Mid-October, 2008	38	21	16	1	52	36	16	*	n/a	n/a	10
Early October, 2008	40	21	18	1	50	36	14	*	n/a	n/a	10
Late September, 2008	42	23	19	*	49	33	15	1	n/a	n/a	9
Mid-September, 2008 ¹⁰	44	25	19	*	46	30	15	1	n/a	n/a	10
August, 2008	43	17	26	*	46	27	19	*	n/a	n/a	11
July, 2008	42	17	24	1	47	24	22	1	n/a	n/a	11
June, 2008	40	14	26	*	48	28	19	1	n/a	n/a	12
Late May, 2008	44				47				n/a	n/a	9
April, 2008	44				50				n/a	n/a	6
March, 2008	43				49				n/a	n/a	8
Late February, 2008	43				50				n/a	n/a	7

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Kerry</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Other/</u>	
			<i>mod</i>			<i>mod</i>				<u>DK/Ref</u>	
November, 2004	45	34	11	*	46	29	16	1	1	8	
Mid-October, 2004	45	32	13	*	45	28	16	1	1	9	
Early October, 2004	48	35	12	1	41	24	17	*	2	9	
September, 2004	49	33	15	1	43	22	20	1	1	7	
August, 2004	45	32	13	*	47	28	19	*	2	6	
July, 2004	44				46				3	7	
June, 2004	46				42				6	6	
May, 2004	43				46				6	5	
Late March, 2004	44				43				6	7	
Mid-March, 2004	42				49				4	5	
Two-way trial heats:											
June, 2004	48				46				n/a	6	
May, 2004	45				50				n/a	5	
Late March, 2004	46				47				n/a	7	
Mid-March, 2004	43				52				n/a	5	
Late February, 2004	44				48				n/a	8	
Early February, 2004	47				47				n/a	6	
Early January, 2004	52				41				n/a	7	
October, 2003	50				42				n/a	8	

	<u>Bush</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Gore</u>	<u>Strongly</u>	<u>Only</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Nader</u>	<u>Buchanan</u>	<u>Other/</u>
			<i>mod</i>			<i>mod</i>					<u>DK/Ref</u>
November, 2000	41	26	15	*	45	25	19	1	4	1	9
Late October, 2000	45	29	16	*	43	24	19	*	4	1	7

⁹ Includes those who say they lean to the Republican or Democratic candidate.¹⁰ After August 2008, June 2004, July 2000, July 1996, June 1992, and June 1988 the question specified vice presidential candidates.

Q.30a-b/Q.31a-b/Q.32a-b/Q.33a-b TREND FOR COMPARISON CONTINUED...

	<u>Bush</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Gore</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Nader</u>	<u>Buchanan</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
		<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>		<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>			
Mid-October, 2000	43	25	18	*	45	22	23	*	4	1	7
Early October, 2000	43	26	17	*	44	22	22	*	5	*	8
September, 2000	41	21	19	1	47	25	21	1	2	1	9
July, 2000	42				41				6	2	9
Late June, 2000	42				35				2	2	19
Mid-June, 2000	41				42				4	3	10
January, 2000	51				39				n/a	4	6
September, 1999	49				35				n/a	10	6
Two-way trial heats:											
July, 2000	48				46				n/a	n/a	6
Mid-June, 2000	45	20	25	*	46	18	27	1	n/a	n/a	9
May, 2000	46				45				n/a	n/a	9
March, 2000	43				49				n/a	n/a	8
February, 2000	46	19	27	*	45	18	26	1	n/a	n/a	9
December, 1999	55				40				n/a	n/a	5
October, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7
September, 1999	54				39				n/a	n/a	7
July, 1999	53				42				n/a	n/a	5
March, 1999	54				41				n/a	n/a	5
January, 1999	50				44				n/a	n/a	6
Early September, 1998	53				40				n/a	n/a	7

	<u>Dole</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Clinton</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Perot</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	
		<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>		<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>			
November, 1996	32	17	15	*	51	26	24	1	9	8	
October, 1996	34	17	16	1	51	25	26	*	8	7	
Late September, 1996	35	16	18	1	51	26	25	*	7	7	
Early September, 1996	34	17	17	*	52	26	26	0	8	6	
July, 1996	34				44				16	6	
March, 1996	35				44				16	5	
September, 1995	36				42				19	3	
July, 1994	36				39				20	5	
Two-way trial heats:											
July, 1996	42	11	30	*	53	20	31	1	n/a	5	
June, 1996	40	13	23	1	55	22	29	1	n/a	5	
April, 1996	40				54					6	
March, 1996	41				53					6	
February, 1996	44				52					4	
January, 1996	41				53					6	
July, 1994	49				46					5	

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Clinton</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Perot</u>	<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>	
		<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>		<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>			
Late October, 1992	34	20	14	--	44	26	18	--	19	3	
Early October, 1992	35	14	21	--	48	23	25	--	8	9	
June, 1992	31				27				36	6	
Two-way trial heats:											
September, 1992	38	14	21	--	53	25	28	--	n/a	9	
August, 1992	37	14	23	--	57	24	33	--	n/a	6	
June, 1992	46	13	33	--	41	9	32	--	n/a	13	
May, 1992	46	15	31	--	43	10	33	--	n/a	11	
Late March, 1992	50	19	31	--	43	9	34	--	n/a	7	

	<u>Bush Sr.</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Dukakis</u>	<i>Only</i>			<u>Other/ DK/Ref</u>
		<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>		<u>Strongly</u>	<u>mod</u>	<u>DK</u>	
October, 1988	50	24	26	--	42	20	22	--	8
September, 1988	50	26	24	--	44	19	25	--	6
May, 1988	40	12	28	--	53	14	39	--	7

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.34 AND Q.35**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

Q.34 As I read some phrases, please tell me whether you think each one describes Mitt Romney. First, **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**, does this describe Mitt Romney, or not? How about **[INSERT NEXT ITEM]**? **[REPEAT IF NECESSARY: does this describe Mitt Romney, or not]**?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,576]:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a. A strong conservative Nov 9-14, 2011	48	35	17
b. Shares your religious beliefs Nov 9-14, 2011	19	56	24
c. Takes consistent positions on issues Nov 9-14, 2011	37	43	20
d. Understands the needs of people like you Nov 9-14, 2011	37	47	16
e. Well-qualified to be president Nov 9-14, 2011	54	33	13
f. Honest and trustworthy Nov 9-14, 2011	52	32	16

RANDOMIZE ORDER OF Q.34 AND Q.35**ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):**

Q.35 As I read some phrases, please tell me whether you think each one describes Herman Cain. First, **[INSERT FIRST ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**, does this describe Herman Cain, or not? How about **[INSERT NEXT ITEM]**? **[REPEAT IF NECESSARY: does this describe Herman Cain, or not]**?

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,576]:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
a. A strong conservative Nov 9-14, 2011	52	27	21
b. Shares your religious beliefs Nov 9-14, 2011	23	42	35
c. Takes consistent positions on issues Nov 9-14, 2011	45	33	23
d. Understands the needs of people like you Nov 9-14, 2011	38	46	16
e. Well-qualified to be president Nov 9-14, 2011	33	53	15
f. Honest and trustworthy Nov 9-14, 2011	32	49	19

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.36 How much, if anything, have you heard about a Massachusetts health care law that Mitt Romney supported when he was governor? Have you heard **[READ]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,576]:

Nov 9-14

2011

22	A lot
35	A little
42	Nothing at all
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.36 How much, if anything, have you heard about a Massachusetts health care law that Mitt Romney supported when he was governor? Have you heard **[READ]**

ASK IF HEARD A LOT OR A LITTLE (Q.36=1,2):

Q.37 From what you've read and heard, do you have a favorable or unfavorable impression of the Massachusetts health care law?

<i>Based on all RVs</i>	<i>Based on those who heard a lot/a little</i>	
Nov 9-14	Nov 9-14	
<u>2011</u>	<u>2011</u>	
24	41	Favorable
23	40	Unfavorable
11	19	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
42	--	Had not heard a lot/little about it
[N=1,576]	[N=995]	

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.38 How much, if anything, have you heard about accusations that Herman Cain sexually harassed several women in the 1990s? Have you heard **[READ]**

BASED ON REGISTERED VOTERS [N=1,576]:

Nov 9-14

2011

67	A lot
20	A little
12	Nothing at all
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

Nov 3-6

2011¹¹

61
23
15
1

ASK ALL REGISTERED VOTERS (REGICERT=1):

Q.38 How much, if anything, have you heard about accusations that Herman Cain sexually harassed several women in the 1990s? Have you heard **[READ]**

ASK IF HEARD A LOT OR A LITTLE (Q.38=1,2):

Q.39 From what you've read and heard, do you think the allegations of sexual harassment against Herman Cain are true or false?

<i>Based on all RVs</i>	<i>Based on those who heard a lot/a little</i>		<i>Based on all RVs</i>	<i>Based on those who heard a lot/a little</i>
Nov 9-14	Nov 9-14		Nov 3-6	Nov 3-6
<u>2011</u>	<u>2011</u>		<u>2011</u>	<u>2011</u>
39	45	True	34	41
26	30	False	20	24
21	24	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	30	35
13	--	Had not heard a lot/little about it	16	--
[N=1,576]	[N=1,419]			

¹¹ In November 3-6, 2011, question was asked as part of a list and read "Republican presidential candidate Herman Cain."

ASK ALL:

On another subject...

Q.40 In your view, what is the best way to reduce the federal budget deficit? Should we mostly focus on **[RANDOMIZE: Cutting major programs / Increasing taxes]** mostly focus on **[increasing taxes / cutting major programs]** or should we do a combination of both?

Nov 9-14		Jul 20-24	Apr 7-10	Dec 1-5
<u>2011</u>		<u>2011</u>	<u>2011</u>	<u>2010</u>
17	Cutting major programs	19	20	16
8	Increasing taxes	8	6	4
62	Combination of both	60	64	65
1	Deficit is not a priority/Don't focus on deficit (VOL.)	1	*	1
11	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	12	9	13

NO QUESTION 41**ASK ALL:**

Q.42 How much, if anything, have you heard about a Congressional "super committee" whose job is to propose a plan to significantly reduce the federal budget deficit? Have you heard **[READ]**

Nov 9-14	
<u>2011</u>	
21	A lot
40	A little
38	Nothing at all
1	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.43 When it comes to the federal budget deficit, would you like lawmakers who share your views to **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**?

Nov 9-14	
<u>2011</u>	
29	Stand by their principles, even if that means the problems don't get dealt with
61	Be willing to compromise, even if that means a deal that includes things you don't like
10	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

TREND FOR COMPARISON:

*When it comes to the deficit and the economy, would you like lawmakers who share your views to **[READ AND RANDOMIZE]***

Sep 22-Oct 4

<u>2011</u>	
35	Stand by their principles, even if that means the problems don't get dealt with-[OR]
56	Be willing to compromise, even if that means a deal that includes things you don't like
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

ASK ALL:

Q.44 As you may know, if this super committee does not come up with a plan that passes by the end of this year it will trigger automatic cuts in government spending, including both defense and domestic programs. Do you think this is a good idea or a bad idea?

Nov 9-14	
<u>2011</u>	
34	Good idea
56	Bad idea
9	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)

NO QUESTIONS 45-49

QUESTIONS 50-53 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

NO QUESTIONS 54-55

ASK ALL:

Thinking about Iraq...

Q.56 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Nov 9-14, 2011	48	46	6
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	41	51	7
January, 2009	43	49	8
November, 2008	39	50	11
Late October, 2008	38	56	6
Mid-October, 2008	40	54	6
Mid-September, 2008	43	50	7
June, 2008	39	55	6
April, 2008	37	57	6
Late February, 2008	38	54	8
Late December, 2007	36	56	8
October, 2007	39	54	7
September, 2007	42	50	8
July, 2007	41	53	6
June, 2007	40	51	9
April, 2007	45	47	8
March, 2007	43	49	8
February, 2007	40	54	6
Mid-January, 2007	40	51	9
Early January, 2007	40	53	7
December, 2006	42	51	7
Mid-November, 2006	41	51	8
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	45	48	7
Late October, 2006	43	47	10
Early October, 2006	45	47	8
Early September, 2006	49	43	8
August, 2006	45	46	9
July, 2006	44	50	6
June, 2006	49	44	7
April, 2006	47	46	7
March, 2006	45	49	6
February, 2006	51	44	5
January, 2006	45	47	8
December, 2005	47	48	5
Late October, 2005	48	45	7
Early October, 2005	44	50	6
Mid-September, 2005	49	44	7
July, 2005	49	44	7
June, 2005	47	45	8
February, 2005	47	47	6
January, 2005	51	44	5
December, 2004	49	44	7
November, 2004 (RVs)	48	41	11
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12
Early October, 2004	50	39	11
September, 2004	53	39	8
August, 2004	53	41	6
July, 2004	52	43	5
June, 2004	55	38	7
May, 2004	51	42	7
Late April, 2004	54	37	9
Early April, 2004	57	35	8

Q.56 CONTINUED...

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	(VOL.) DK/Ref
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6
Late February, 2004	60	32	8
Early February, 2004	56	39	5
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5
Early January, 2004	62	28	10
December, 2003	67	26	7
October, 2003	60	33	7
September, 2003	63	31	6
August, 2003	63	30	7
Early July, 2003	67	24	9
May, 2003	74	20	6
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	74	19	7
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	74	19	7
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	72	20	8
<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	69	25	6
<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	74	21	5
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	74	21	5
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	71	22	7
Late January, 1991	77	15	8

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=981]:

Q.57F1 Do you approve or disapprove of Barack Obama's decision to withdraw all combat troops from Iraq by the end of this year?

Nov 9-14

2011

75 Approve
21 Disapprove
4 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

Q.57 TREND FOR COMPARISON

Do you approve or disapprove of Barack Obama's plan to withdraw most combat troops from Iraq by the end of August 2010?

Mar 9-12

2009

76 Approve
18 Disapprove
6 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=1,020]:

Q.58F2 Do you approve or disapprove of the government's decision to withdraw all combat troops from Iraq by the end of this year?

Nov 9-14

2011

76 Approve
18 Disapprove
6 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

ASK ALL:

Q.59 Overall, do you think the United States has mostly succeeded or mostly failed in achieving its goals in Iraq?

Nov 9-14

2011

56 Mostly succeeded
33 Mostly failed
10 Don't know/Refused **(VOL.)**

Q.59 TREND FOR COMPARISON:

Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Iraq, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in achieving its goals in Iraq?¹²

	Definitely/ <u>Probably succeed</u>	Definitely/ <u>Probably fail</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
Jun 16-20, 2010	58	35	7
Mar 10-14, 2010	59	30	10
Dec 9-13, 2009	63	29	8
Jan, 2009	61	29	10
September, 2008	58	34	8
June, 2008	50	42	8
April, 2008	47	46	7
Late February, 2008	53	39	8
Late December, 2007	45	45	10
November, 2007	48	46	6
October, 2007	46	44	10
September, 2007	42	47	11
July, 2007	43	49	8
April, 2007	45	46	9
February, 2007	47	46	7
November, 2006	53	41	6
Mid-September, 2006	57	35	8
August, 2006	54	40	6

NO QUESTIONS 60-64**QUESTIONS 65-73 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****NO QUESTIONS 74-75****QUESTIONS 76-81 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE****ASK ALL:**

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

ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

				(VOL.) No	(VOL.) Other	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Lean <i>Rep</i>	Lean <i>Dem</i>
	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>preference</u>	<u>party</u>			
Nov 9-14, 2011	24	33	38	3	1	2	16	15
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	23	33	38	2	1	3	18	16
Aug 17-21, 2011	24	30	40	3	*	3	17	18
Jul 20-24, 2011	24	32	38	4	*	2	16	14
Jun 15-19, 2011	26	34	32	4	*	4	13	13
May 25-30, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	15	17
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	25	32	37	3	*	3	17	16
Mar 8-14, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	17	15
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	24	33	37	3	*	3	15	16
Feb 2-7, 2011	24	31	39	3	*	2	16	16
Jan 5-9, 2011	27	32	35	4	*	2	15	14
Dec 1-5, 2010	25	33	34	5	1	2	13	14
Nov 4-7, 2010	26	30	37	4	*	2	17	13
Yearly Totals								
2010	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	.4	2.8	14.5	14.1
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.7	36.0	31.5	3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.2

12 Trend for comparison only shows the net of answers "Definitely succeed" and "Probably succeed" and the net of answers "Definitely fail" and "Probably fail." See June 2010 [topline](#) for full trend.

PARTY/PARTYLN CONTINUED...

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	No preference	Other party	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem
2007	25.3	32.9	34.1	4.3	.4	2.9	10.9	17.0
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	27.3	34.4	30.9	5.1	.6	1.7	12.1	13.5
2000	28.0	33.4	29.1	5.5	.5	3.6	11.6	11.7
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.9	33.7	31.1	4.6	.4	2.3	11.6	13.1
1997	28.0	33.4	32.0	4.0	.4	2.3	12.2	14.1
1996	28.9	33.9	31.8	3.0	.4	2.0	12.1	14.9
1995	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3	--	3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
1990	30.9	33.2	29.3	1.2	1.9	3.4	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

ASK ALL:

TEAPARTY2 From what you know, do you agree or disagree with the Tea Party movement, or don't you have an opinion either way?

	Agree	Disagree	No opinion either way	(VOL.) Haven't heard of	(VOL.) Refused	Not heard of/ DK
Nov 9-14, 2011	20	27	51	1	1	--
Sep 22-Oct 4, 2011	19	27	51	2	1	--
Aug 17-21, 2011	20	27	50	1	1	--
Jul 20-24, 2011	20	24	53	1	1	--
Jun 15-19, 2011	20	26	50	3	2	--
May 25-30, 2011	18	23	54	2	2	--
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	22	29	47	1	1	--
Mar 8-14, 2011	19	25	54	1	1	--
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	20	25	52	2	2	--
Feb 2-7, 2011 ¹³	22	22	53	2	2	--
Jan 5-9, 2011	24	22	50	2	1	--
Dec 1-5, 2010	22	26	49	2	2	--
Nov 4-7, 2010	27	22	49	1	1	--
Oct 27-30, 2010 (RVs)	29	25	32	--	1	13
Oct 13-18, 2010 (RVs)	28	24	30	--	1	16
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010 (RVs)	29	26	32	--	1	13
Jul 21-Aug 5, 2010	22	18	37	--	1	21
Jun 16-20, 2010	24	18	30	--	*	27
May 20-23, 2010	25	18	31	--	1	25
Mar 11-21, 2010	24	14	29	--	1	31

13 In the February 2-7, 2011 survey and before, question read "...do you strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree with the Tea Party movement..." In October 2010 and earlier, question was asked only of those who had heard or read a lot or a little about the Tea Party. In May through October, it was described as: "the Tea Party movement that has been involved in campaigns and protests in the U.S. over the past year." In March it was described as "the Tea Party protests that have taken place in the U.S. over the past year."