#### **GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

November 2-3, 2010

# Post-mortem survey: the historic 2010 election

Campaign for America's Future Democracy Corps



## Methodology and Overview

The results of the following survey are displayed throughout this presentation:

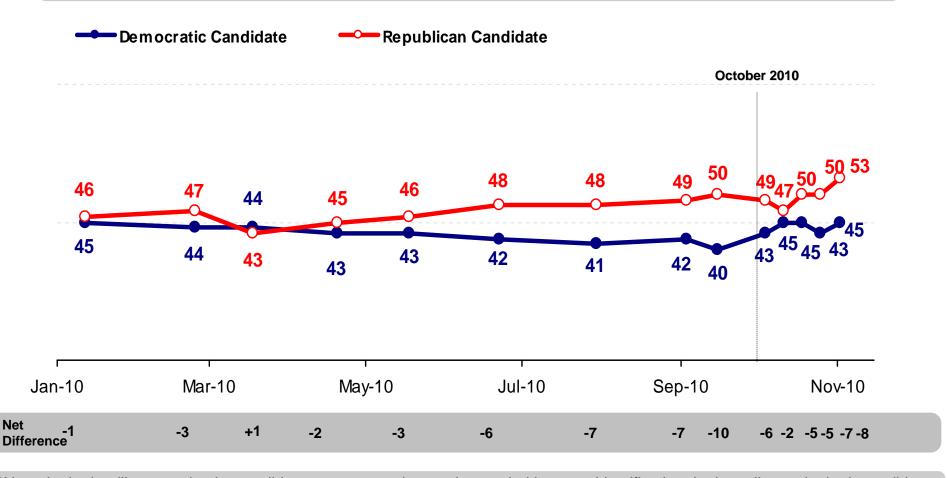
- Joint Democracy Corps and Campaign for America's Future national postelection survey of 1,000 2008 voters, of which 897 2010 voters were included. Calls were conducted on Election Day 2010 and the Wednesday following (November 2-3).
- Time series data is from last decade of Democracy Corps surveys unless otherwise noted.

Greenberg Quinlan Rosner and Campaign for America's Future have collaborated on post-election polls since 1996, and with Democracy Corps starting in 2000.



## The congressional vote

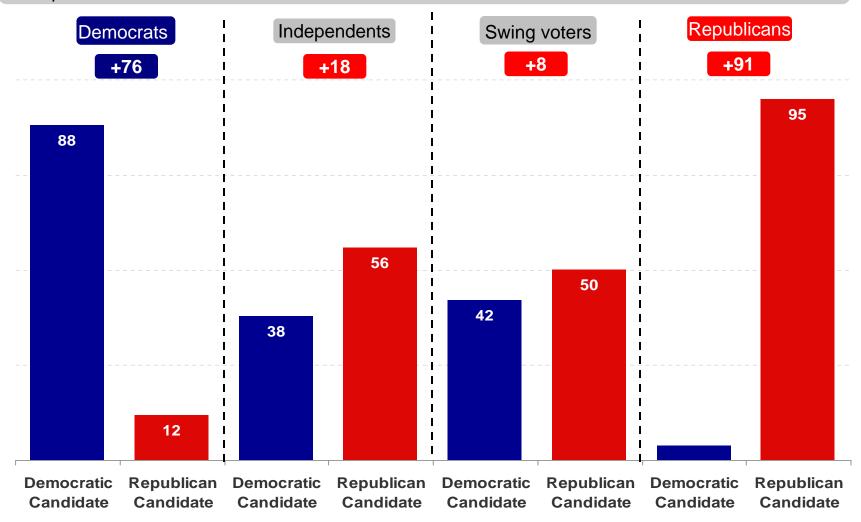
If the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE)?



\*Note: In the landline sample, the candidate names were inserted preceded by party identification. In the cell sample, both candidates were given as generic.

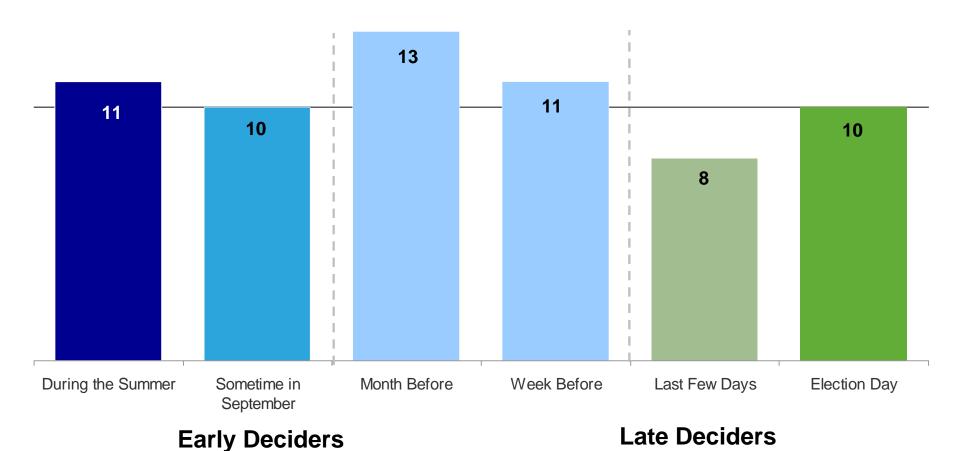
## Congressional vote

Now, let me ask you about the election for Congress. Did you vote for the Democratic House Candidate or the Republican House Candidate?



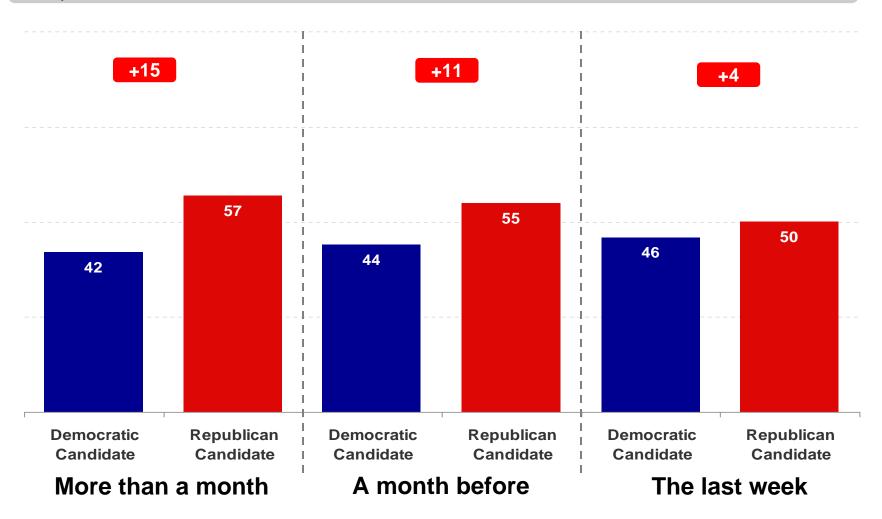
#### Breakdown of early decisions

When did you finally decide to vote for (Your Candidate): on Election Day, in the last few days before the election, the week before the election, a month before the election, sometime in September, during the summer or before that?



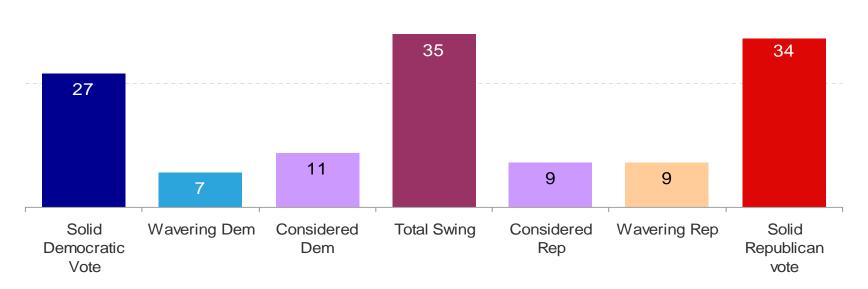
#### Congressional vote based on when one decided to vote

Now, let me ask you about the election for Congress. Did you vote for the Democratic House Candidate or the Republican House Candidate?



## Considered voting for other candidate

Think back in time for a minute. Did you, at any point in this campaign, think about voting for (DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) for Congress? How seriously did you think about voting for (DEMOCRATIC/REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) -- very seriously, somewhat seriously, or only a little seriously?

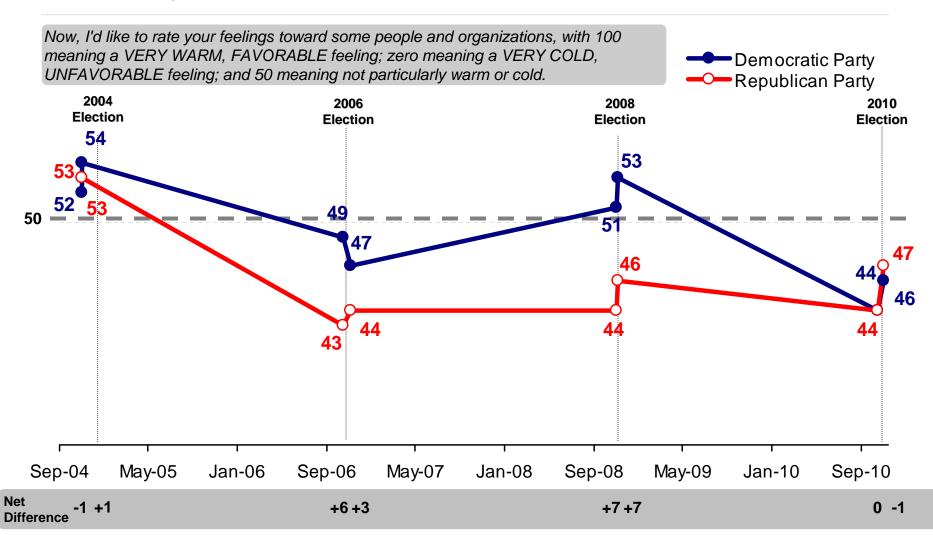


Note: Question asked of respondents who voted for the opposing candidate. Data reflects consideration of other candidate by those who supported opposing candidate. This data does not include "other," refused, or third party voters.

# Key groups

Demographic group	1994		2004		2006		2008		2010	
	Share of voters	Dem Vote								
Independents	27	41	26	49	26	57	28	51	28	38
RAE							47	67	40	60
White men	50	36	36	38	39	44	36	43	37	35
White women	50	46	41	44	40	49	39	46	41	40
Younger voters (<30)	13	48	17	54	12	60	18	63	11	56
White seniors					13	44	13	42	19	37
White non-college					40	44	39	44	39	34
White non-college men					17	43	18	41	18	29
Union household	14	58	24	59	20	64	21	64	17	60
White union household					15	58	15	57	12	52
Hispanic	3	59	6	58	8	69	8	68	8	64
African American	9	91	11	88	10	89	13	93	10	90
White Catholic	31	44			20	50	18	46	19	39
Unmarried women			22	62	18	65	20	69	22	61
White unmarried women			15	52	16	55	18	56	15	47
White non-South rural					13	44	13	41	12	39
Suburban			45	47	16	50	16	52	17	42
Midwest			26	48	27	52	25	53	25	44

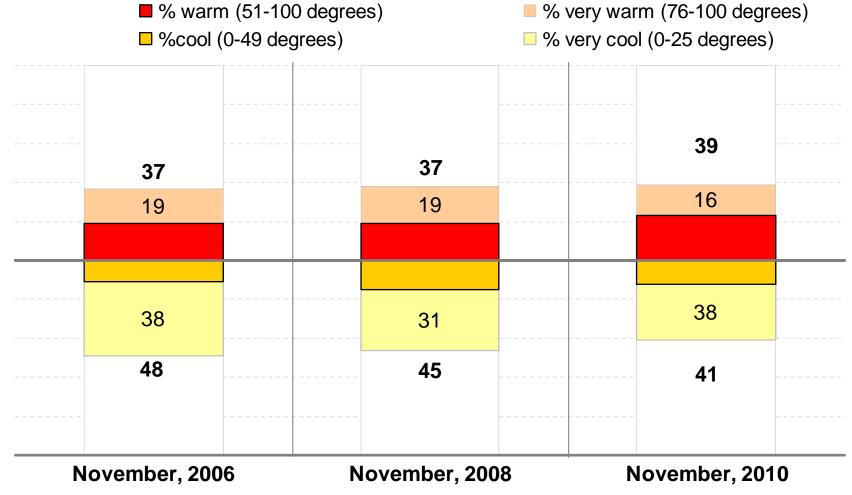
#### Party Images before and after elections



\*Note: Data represents the MEAN ratings from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the past four years. A mean > 50 shows overall positive rating; mean < 50 shows an overall negative rating.

## Thermometers: Republicans in 2006, 2008, 2010

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



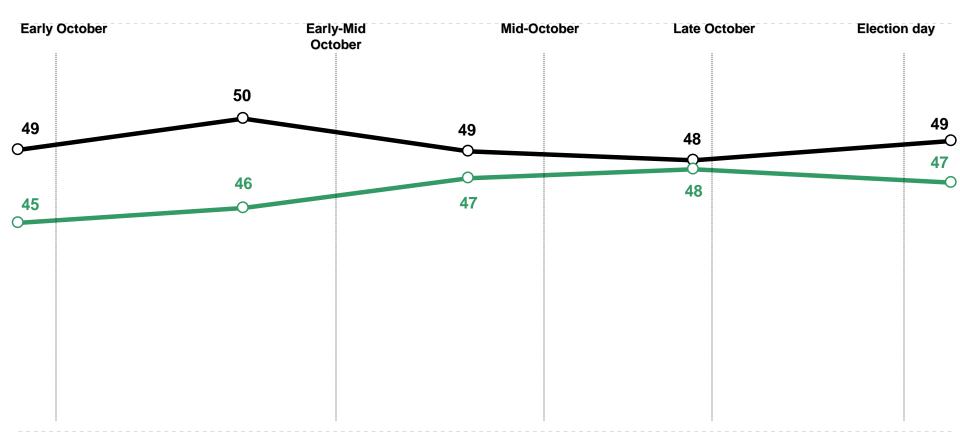


## Thermometers: Obama, Clinton

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—○ Barack Obama

Bill Clinton



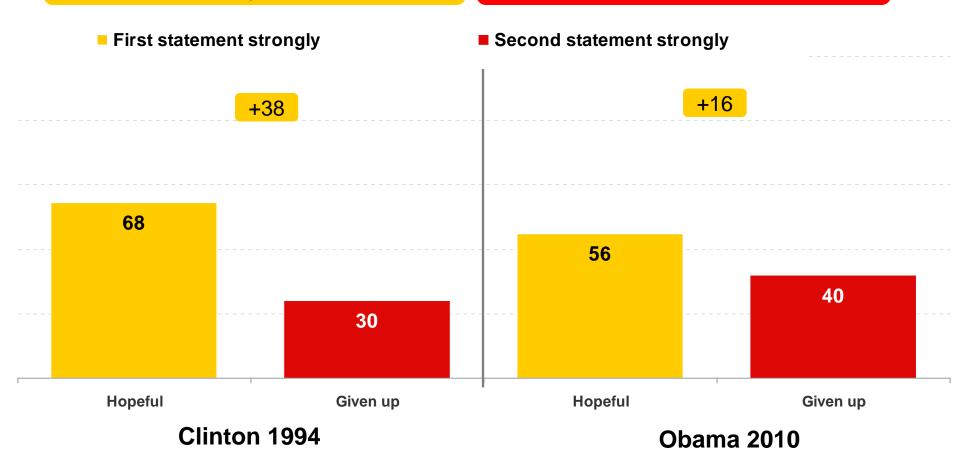
\*Note: From Democracy Corps tracker surveys conducted in October and November. Data represents <u>MEAN</u> ratings, likely 1994 and 2010 voters.

## Hopes about Clinton and Obama after first mid-term

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

First statement: I'm still hopeful that Clinton can succeed. /I'm still hopeful about Obama.

**Second statement:** I've given up on Clinton./ I've given up on Obama.

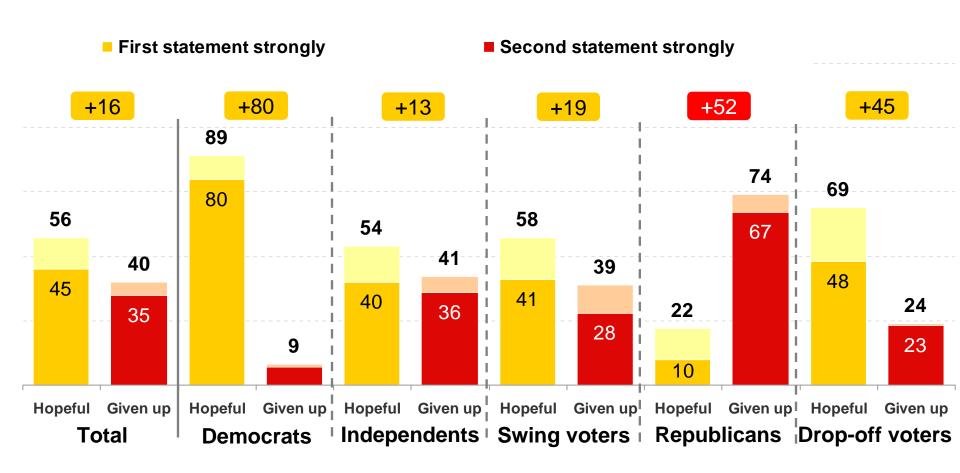


## Hopeful about Obama

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

First statement: I'm still hopeful about Obama.

Second statement: I've given up on Obama.



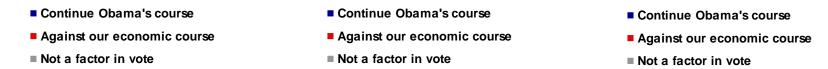


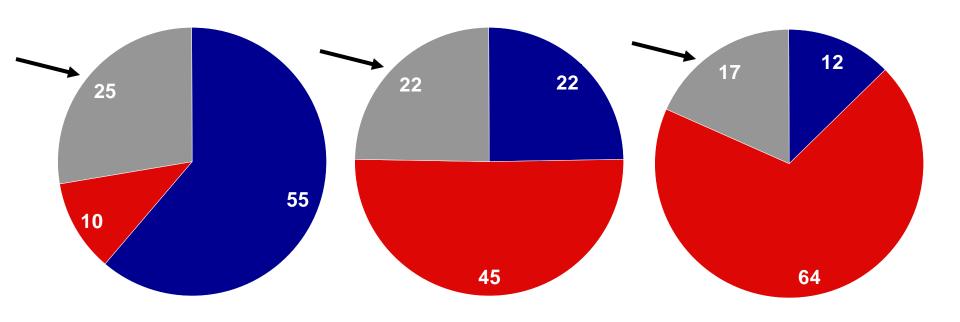
Republicans

#### It's the economy stupid

**Democrats** 

Do you think of your vote for Congress as a vote to continue Obama's economic course, as a vote against our economic course, or was the economy not much of a factor in your vote?

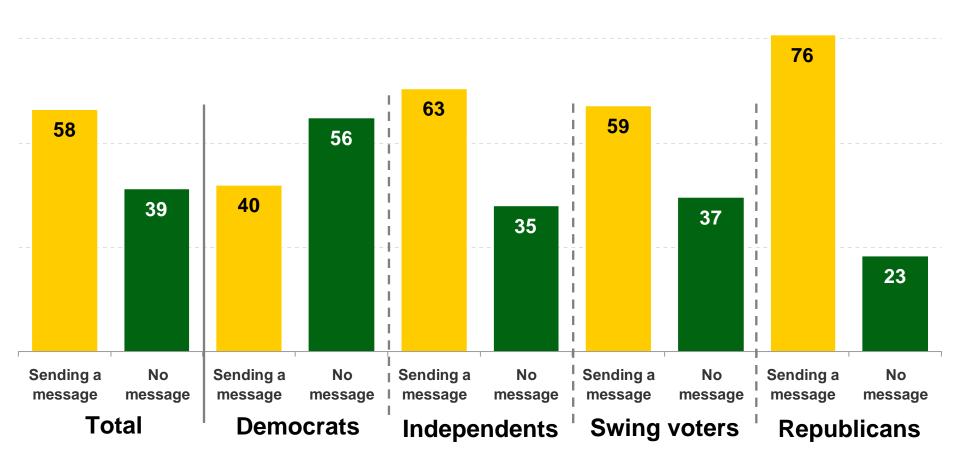




**Swing voters** 

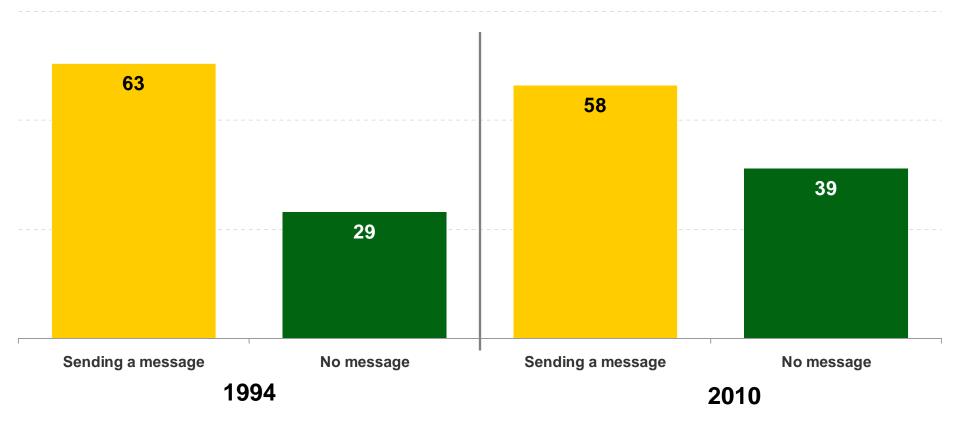
## Voters sending a message

Thinking about your vote for a minute, were you trying to send a message about how dissatisfied you are with things in Washington or weren't you trying to send a message?



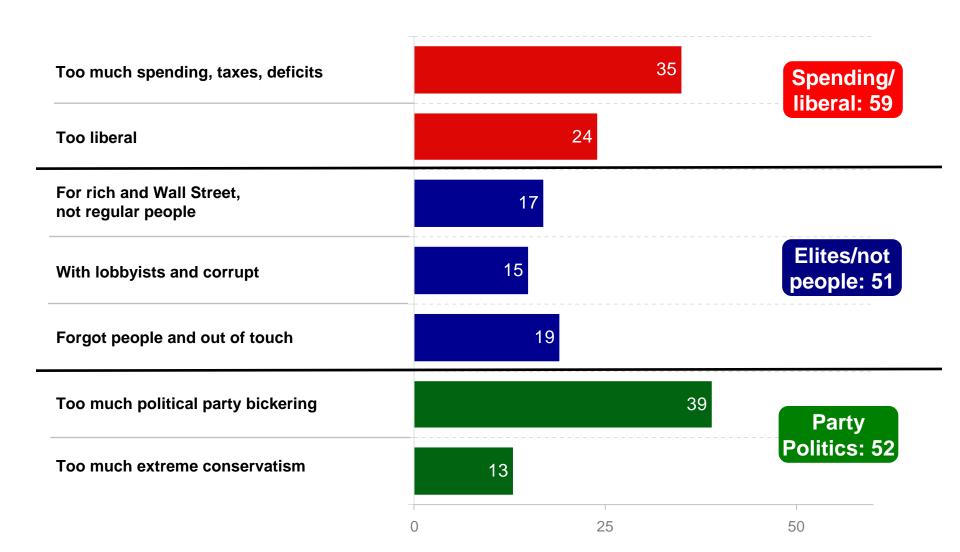
## Voters sending a message: 1994 and 2010

Thinking about your vote for a minute, were you trying to send a message about how dissatisfied you are with things in Washington or weren't you trying to send a message?



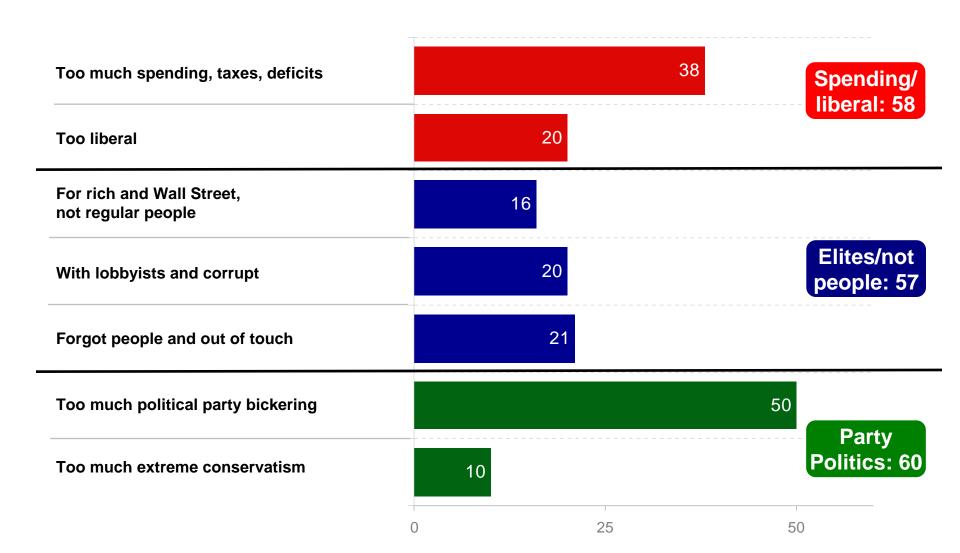
## Anger at spending/taxes, elites and party politics – equal measure

Which TWO of the following were you most upset about on what was happening with elected officials in Washington?



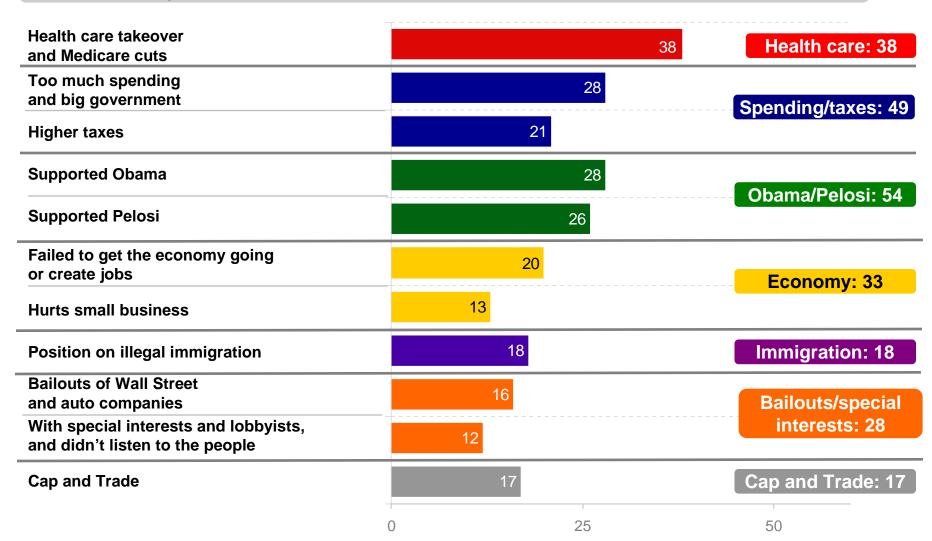
## Anger at spending/taxes, elites and party politics – swing voters

Which TWO of the following were you most upset about on what was happening with elected officials in Washington?



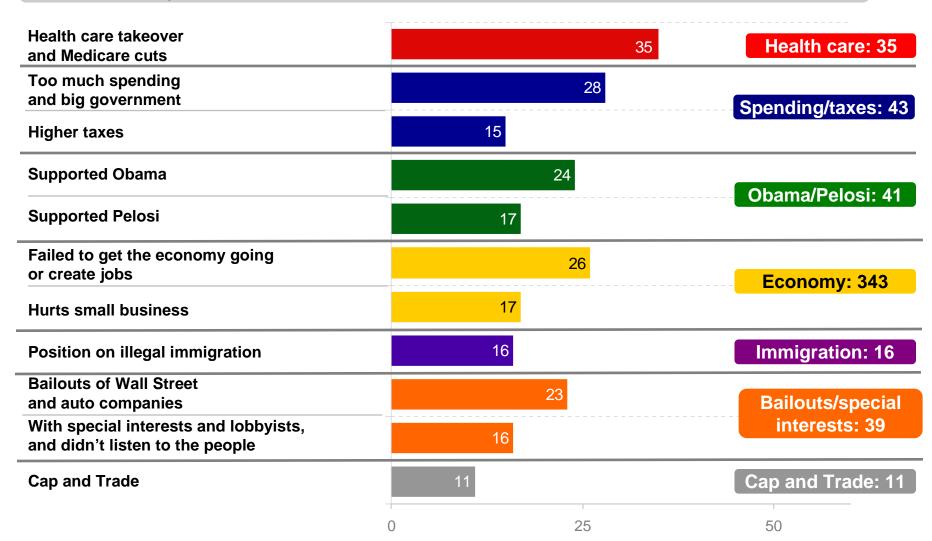
## Top reasons to vote against Democratic candidate

Let me read you a list of doubts about the Democratic House Candidate. Regardless of how you voted, which THREE describe the most important issues and best reasons NOT to vote for the Democratic House candidate in the election?



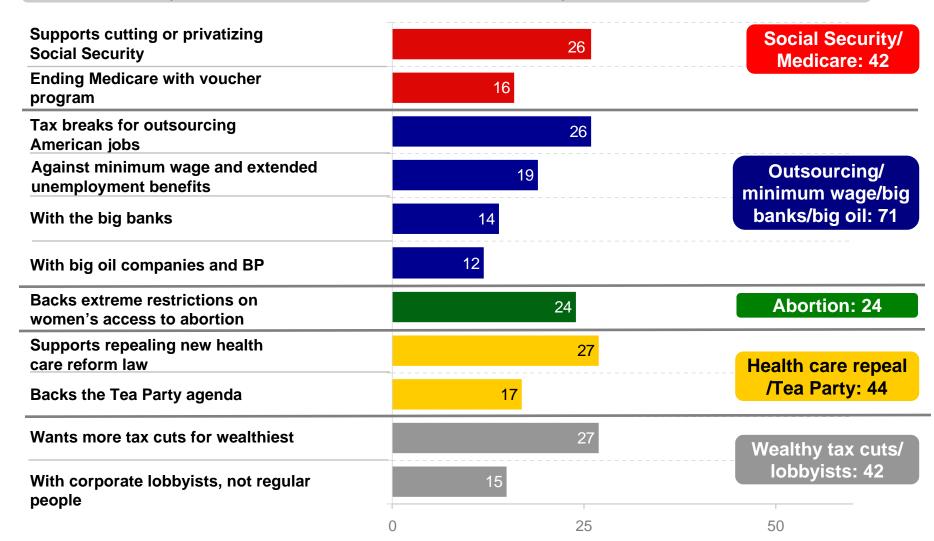
## Top reasons to vote against Democratic candidate: swing voters

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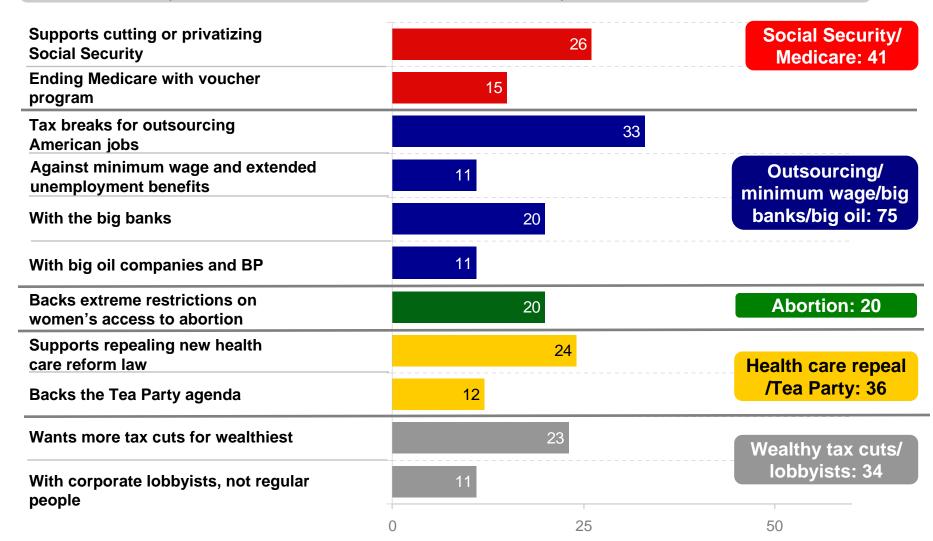
#### Top reasons to not vote for the Republican candidate

Let me read you a list of doubts about the Republican House candidate. Regardless of how you voted, which THREE describe the most important issues and best reasons NOT to vote for the Republican House candidate in the election?



#### Top reasons to not vote for the Republican candidate: swing voters

Let me read you a list of doubts about the Republican House candidate. Regardless of how you voted, which THREE describe the most important issues and best reasons NOT to vote for the Republican House candidate in the election?

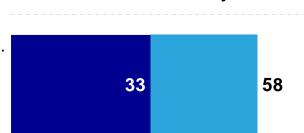




#### Democratic campaign messages in the 2010 election

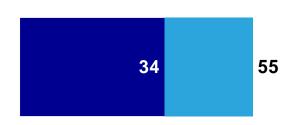
Let me describe some themes that were raised by candidates in this election. Regardless of how you voted, does each statement make you much more likely to support this candidate, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, or less likely to support this candidate.

(MADE IN AMERICA) We are committed to "made in America," working to support small businesses, American companies and new American industries. Republicans have pledged to support free trade deals and protect tax breaks for companies that send American jobs to India and China. We need a different approach: helping small businesses expand and hire new workers and cutting taxes for companies that create jobs right here in America.

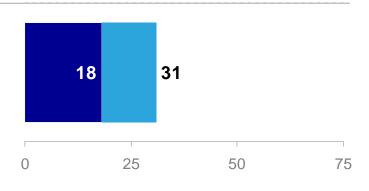


■ Much more likely

(CHANGE MIDDLE CLASS) We have to change Washington for the middle class. That means eliminating the special deals and tax breaks won by corporate lobbyists for Wall Street, paid for by American taxpayers and workers' outsourced jobs. Republicans have pledged to protect those breaks. We should cut taxes for the middle class and small business to create jobs. Let's make our country work for the middle class again.



(DON'T GO BACK) Republicans hope you forget. It was their policies that hurt middle class incomes, lost 8 million jobs and put us in the hole. They obstructed every effort to help get us out. The Recovery Act has started to bring the economy back and we've curbed Wall Street abuse. And now they want to go back to same policies that caused the mess in the first place. America has to move forward.



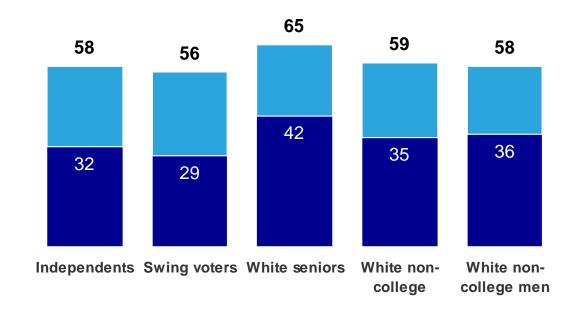
## Messages voters agree with most: made in America

Let me describe some themes that were raised by candidates in this election. Regardless of how you voted, does each statement make you much more likely to support this candidate, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, or less likely to support this candidate.

#### Made in America

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#### Much more likely



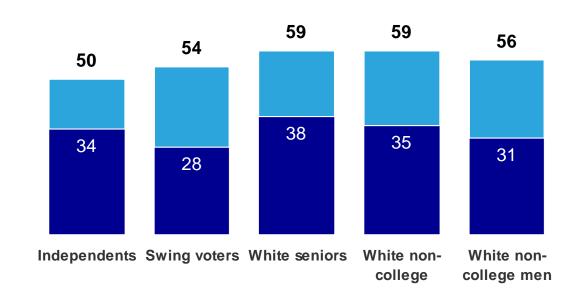
## Messages voters agree with most: change middle class

Let me describe some themes that were raised by candidates in this election. Regardless of how you voted, does each statement make you much more likely to support this candidate, somewhat more likely, a little more likely, or less likely to support this candidate.

#### Change middle class

We have to change Washington for the middle class. That means eliminating the special deals and tax breaks won by corporate lobbyists for Wall Street, paid for by American taxpayers and workers' outsourced jobs. Republicans have pledged to protect those breaks. We should cut taxes for the middle class and small business to create jobs. Let's make our country work for the middle class again.

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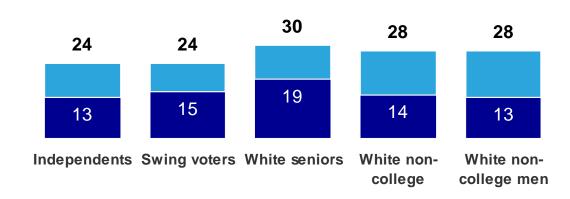
## Messages voters agree with most: don't go back

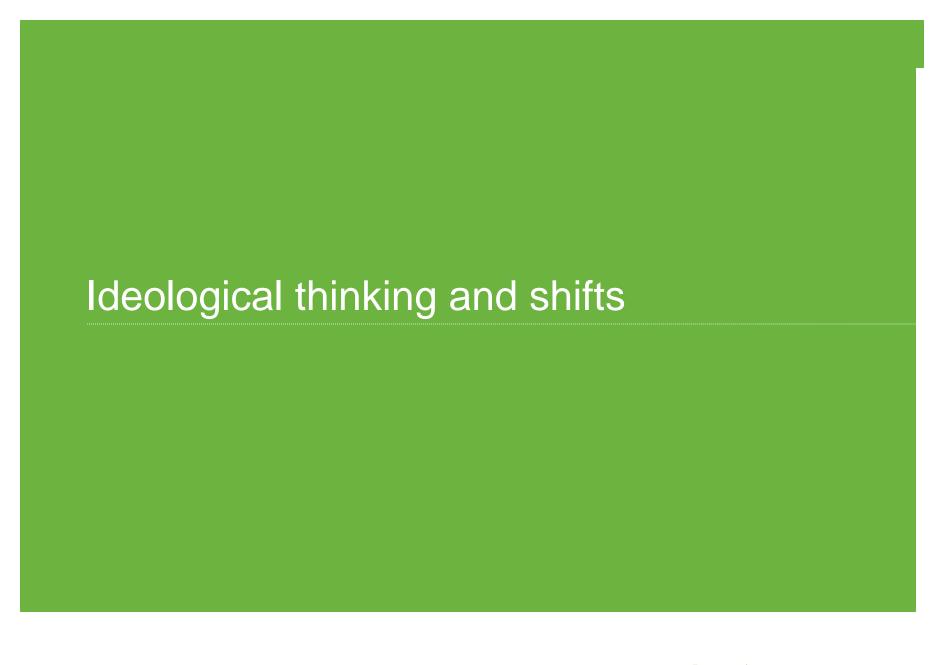
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#### Don't go back

Republicans hope you forget. It was their policies that hurt middle class incomes, lost 8 million jobs and put us in the hole. They obstructed every effort to help get us out. The Recovery Act has started to bring the economy back and we've curbed Wall Street abuse. And now they want to go back to same policies that caused the mess in the first place. America has to move forward.

#### ■ Much more likely

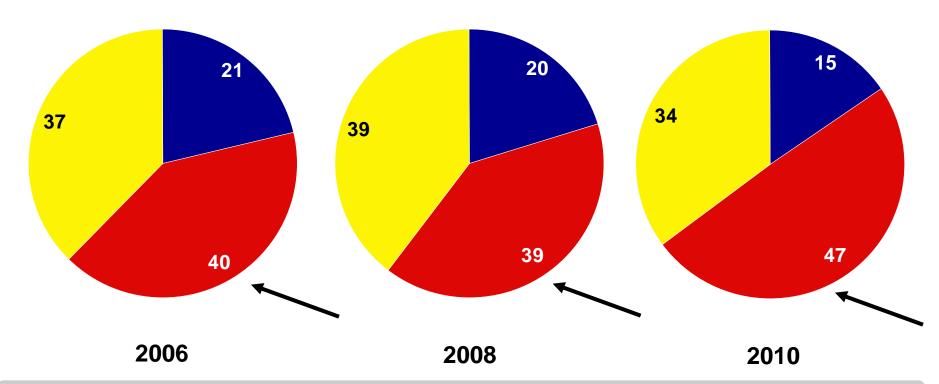




## Ideology of the electorate

Thinking in political terms, would you say that you are a Conservative, Moderate, or Liberal?

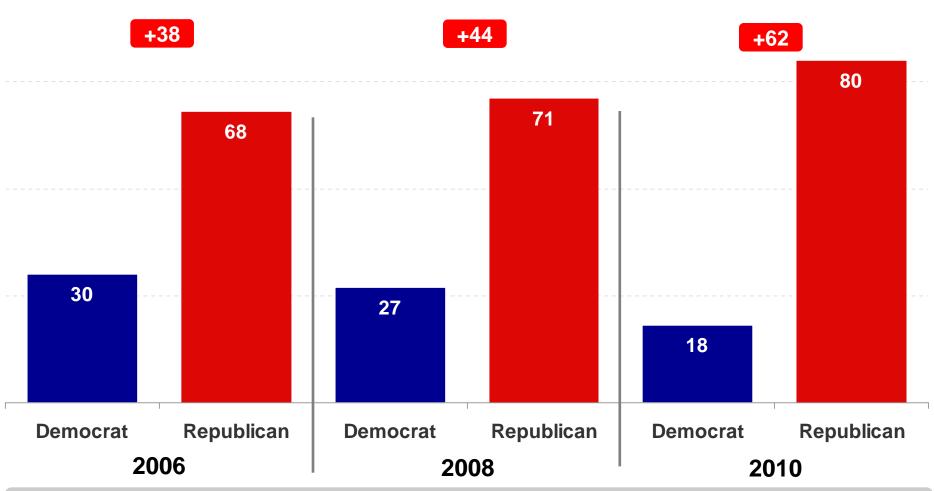
■ Liberal ■ Conservative ■ Moderate



\*Note: Numbers from past waves come from two Democracy Corps surveys conducted 11/5/08 of 2000 voters, and 11/7/06 of 1011 voters.

## Conservative vote in congressional elections

Now let me ask you about the election for Congress held yesterday. Did you vote for (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE)?



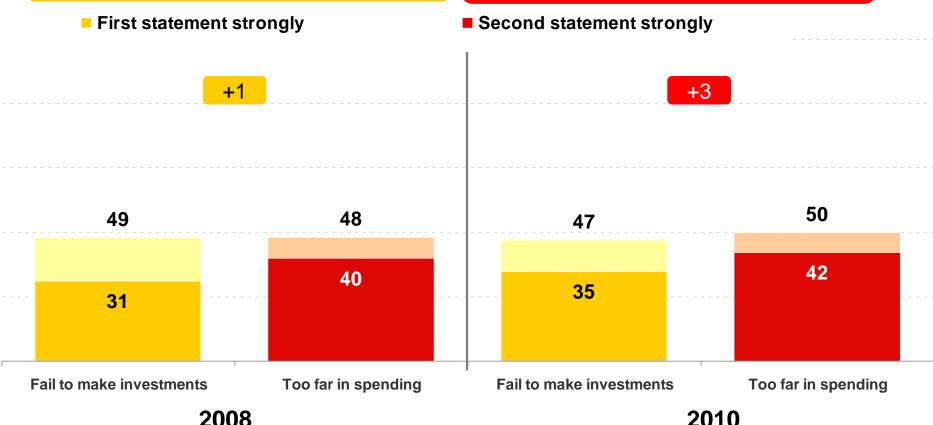
\*Note: Numbers from past waves come from two Democracy Corps surveys conducted 11/5/08 of 2000 voters, and 11/7/06 of 1011 voters.

## Investment versus reduce spending: now vs. 2008

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** I'm worried that we will fail to make the investments we need to create jobs and strengthen the economy.

**Second statement:** I'm more worried that we will go too far in increasing government spending and will end up raising taxes to pay for it.



## Investment versus reduce spending

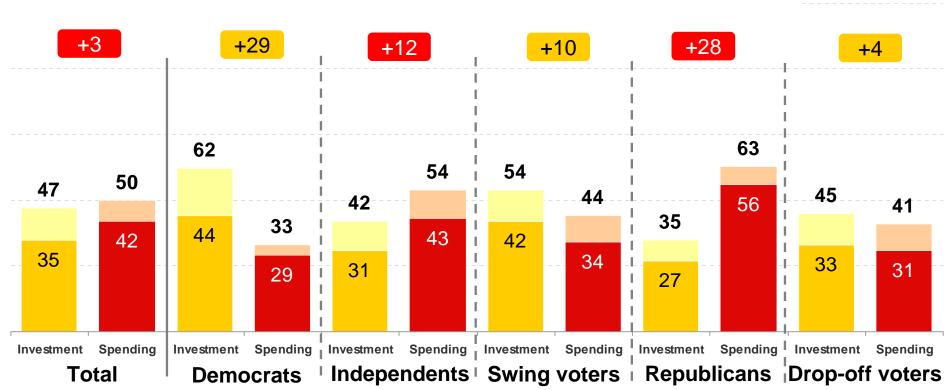
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**Second statement:** I'm more worried that we will go too far in increasing government spending and will end up raising taxes to pay for it.

First statement strongly

Second statement strongly

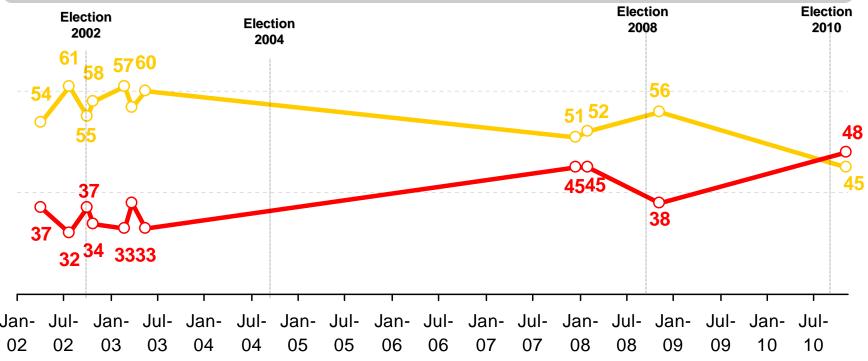


## Now a mixed view on government regulation

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

——Government regulation of businesses and corporations is necessary to protect the public.

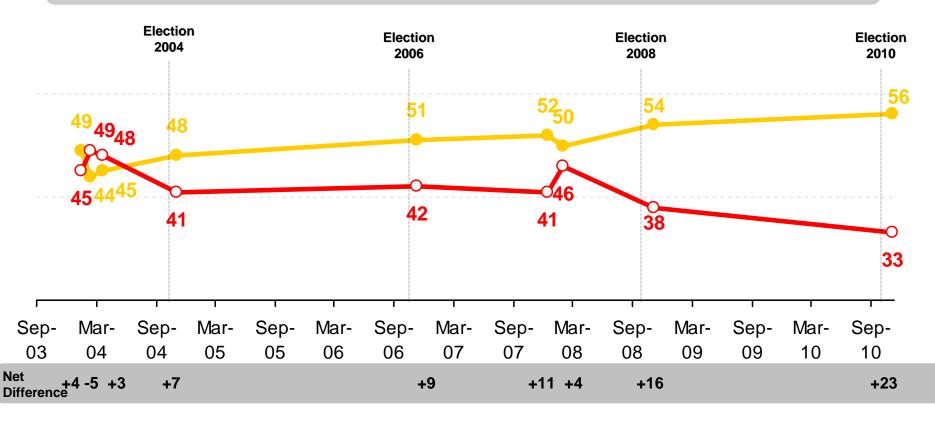
Government regulation of businesses and corporations frequently does more harm than good.



## Opposition to homosexuality drops sharply

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society.
Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society.

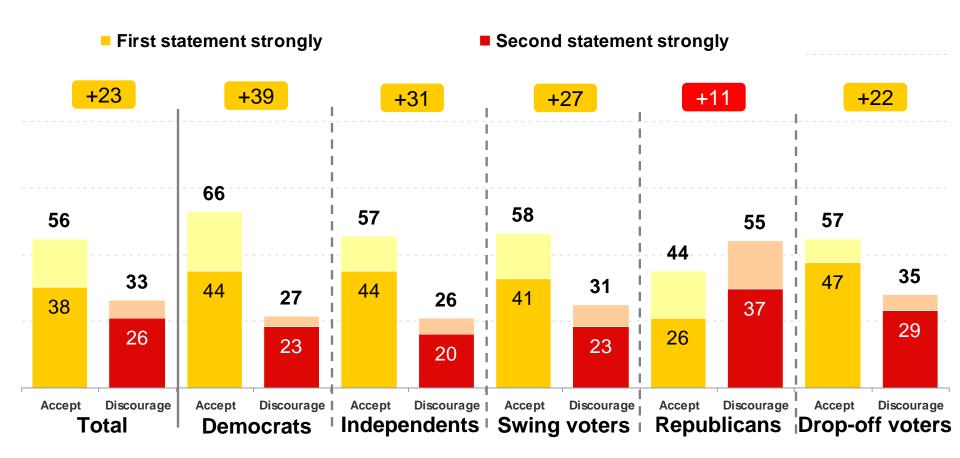


# Homosexuality

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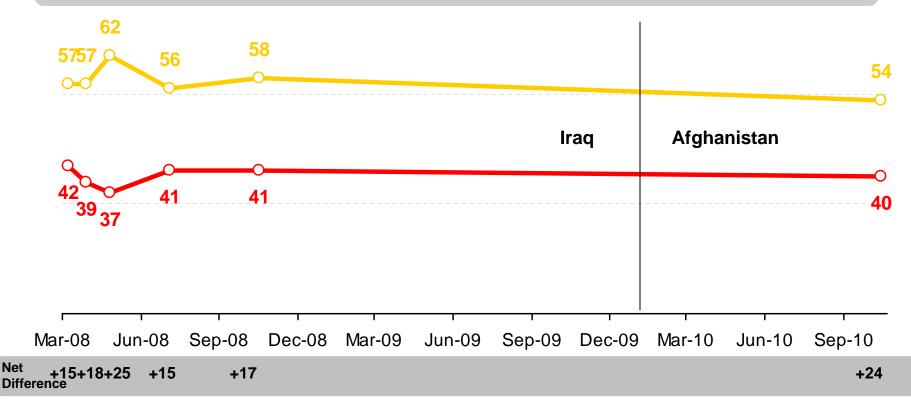


# Support for reduced troops similar: Iraq and now Afghanistan

Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read the pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

——We need to start reducing the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan/Iraq.

--- We must stay the course to achieve stability and finish the job in Afghanistan/Iraq

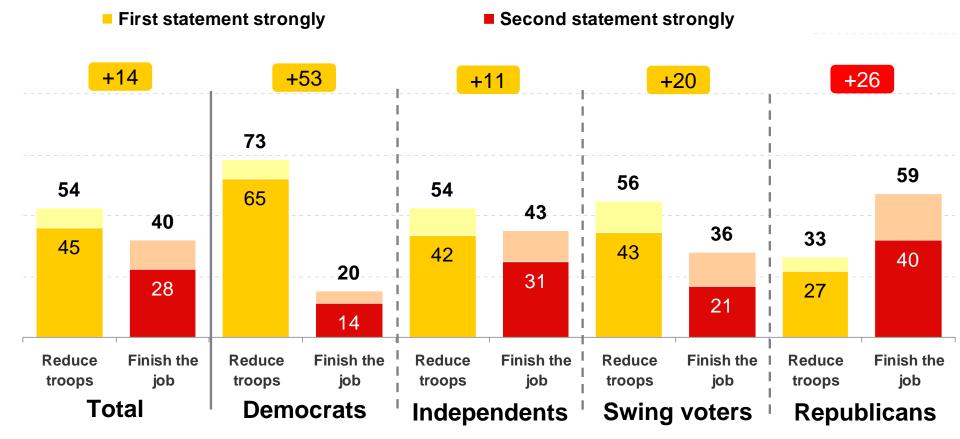


## Afghanistan

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** We need to start reducing the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan.

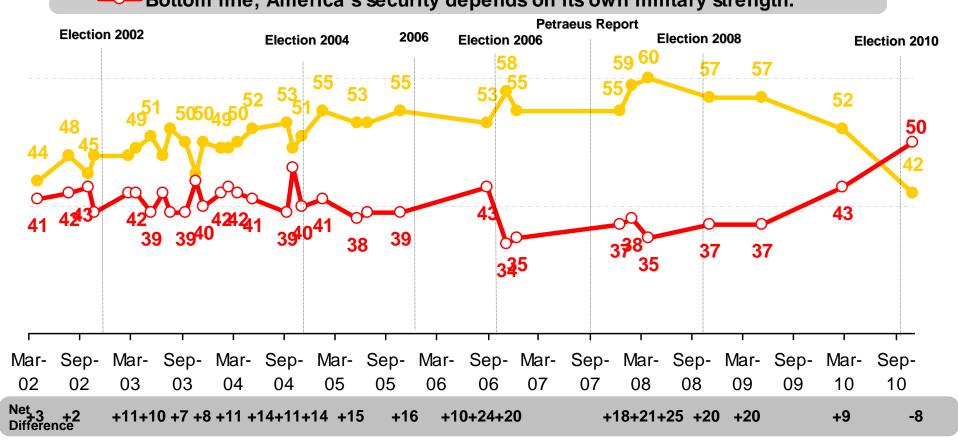
**Second statement:** We must stay the course to achieve stability and finish the job in Afghanistan.

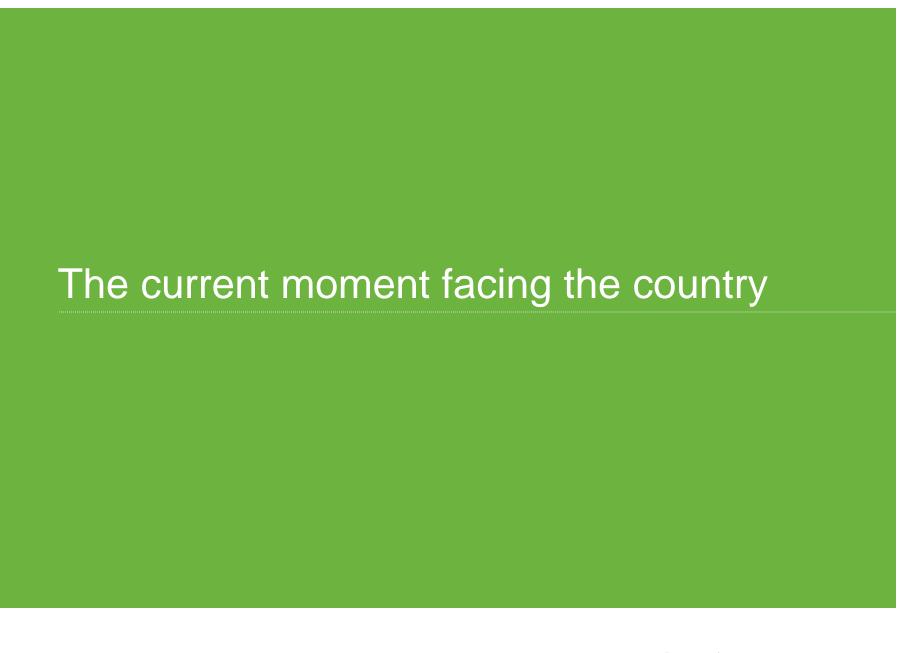


# Support for multilateralism drops sharply in conservative electorate

Now I'm going to read you some statements. Please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

——America's security depends on building strong ties with other nations.
——Bottom line, America's security depends on its own military strength.

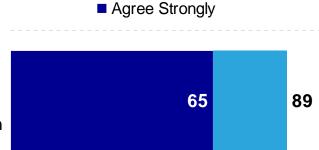




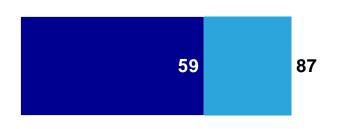
#### The state of the country, and the outlook for the future

Now I'm going to read you some statements about the state of the country today and what the new Congress and the president really face. Regardless of how you voted or whether you voted, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one.

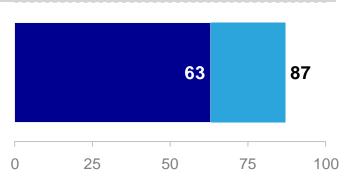
**(COUNTRY IN DECLINE)** America has been falling behind, while countries like China have a vision to succeed. We need our own vision for American success. Our economic problems have been building for years -- with good jobs outsourced and wages and benefits falling behind rising costs. Schools, sewers, and roads are in disrepair. We need a clear strategy to make things in America, make our economy competitive, and revive America's middle class.



(SPECIAL INTERESTS) To solve the big problems facing our country we need to overcome the entrenched special interests that finance both parties' campaigns. That means limiting the power of lobbyists and big campaign donations with full disclosure of who's paying. We need leaders who are prepared to lay out an independent path and challenge those interests standing in the way of change.



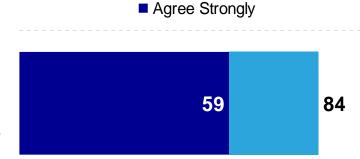
**(POST-PARTISAN)** Politicians from both parties go to Washington and pursue their own party's agenda - ignoring the needs of regular citizens and the country. They fight the same old battles and the problems facing the country don't get fixed. The country needs leaders who will work together across party lines on the economy and jobs, deficits, health care and energy and do the right thing.



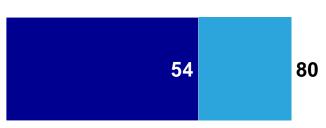
#### The state of the country, and the outlook for the future (continued)

Now I'm going to read you some statements about the state of the country today and what the new Congress and the president really face. Regardless of how you voted or whether you voted, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one.

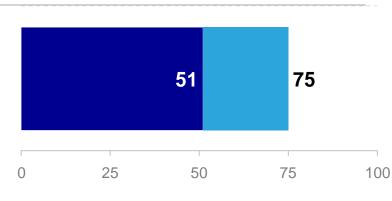
(WALL STREET NOT MAIN STREET) Middle class families and small businesses played by the rules, while the big banks, CEOs and Wall Street drove a speculative frenzy that eventually sank the economy. Yet Wall Street got bailed out, while Main Street is still looking for work and their houses are under water. That needs to change. We needs to put the middle class first, not just those who call the shots at the top.



(MIDDLE CLASS IN DECLINE) America's prosperity was built on a growing middle class. But the middle class has been sinking for years while CEOs take obscene bonuses and the very wealthiest capture almost all the gains of our economy. They now dominate Washington. To get America back, we need a government that works for middle class Americans -- fostering good jobs and education to compete in the economy of the future.



(GOVERNMENT SPENDING/DEBT) Politicians have spent the country into bankruptcy, with federal deficits going through the ceiling. This debt held by China weakens the country and the economy. Priority number one is to reduce the size of government and the deficit. We have to balance the budget by making major cuts in big spending programs now, not later. That will free up our citizens and bring America back.

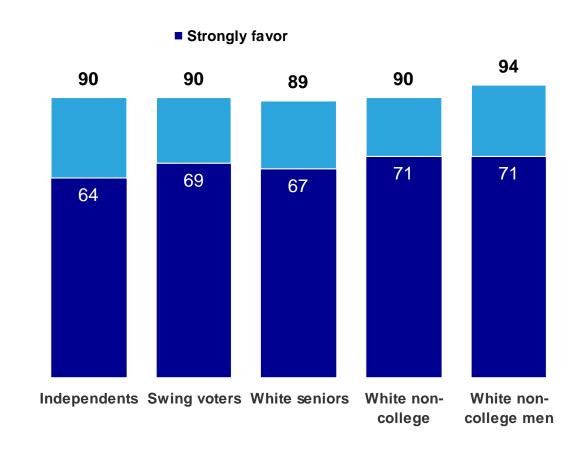


# Messages voters agree with most: country in decline

Now I'm going to read you some statements about the state of the country today and what the new Congress and the president really face. Regardless of how you voted or whether you voted, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one.

#### **Country in decline**

America has been falling behind, while countries like China have a vision to succeed. We need our own vision for American success. Our economic problems have been building for years -- with good jobs outsourced and wages and benefits falling behind rising costs. Schools, sewers, and roads are in disrepair. We need a clear strategy to make things in America, make our economy competitive, and revive America's middle class.

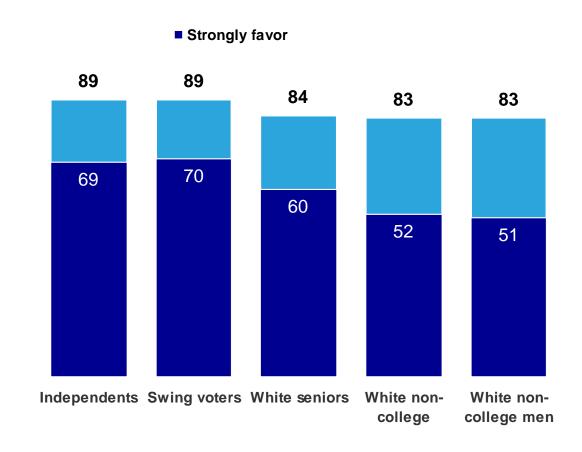


## Messages voters agree with most: special interests

Now I'm going to read you some statements about the state of the country today and what the new Congress and the president really face. Regardless of how you voted or whether you voted, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one.

#### **Special interests**

To solve the big problems facing our country we need to overcome the entrenched special interests that finance both parties' campaigns. That means limiting the power of lobbyists and big campaign donations with full disclosure of who's paying. We need leaders who are prepared to lay out an independent path and challenge those interests standing in the way of change.

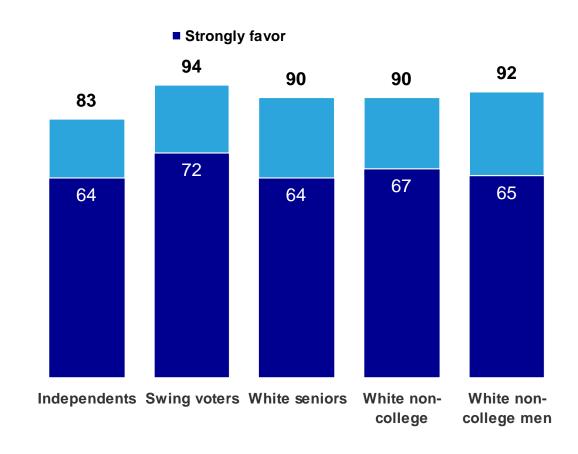


# Messages voters agree with most: post partisan

Now I'm going to read you some statements about the state of the country today and what the new Congress and the president really face. Regardless of how you voted or whether you voted, please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each one.

#### Post partisan

Politicians from both parties go to Washington and pursue their own party's agenda - ignoring the needs of regular citizens and the country. They fight the same old battles and the problems facing the country don't get fixed. The country needs leaders who will work together across party lines on the economy and jobs, deficits, health care and energy and do the right thing.

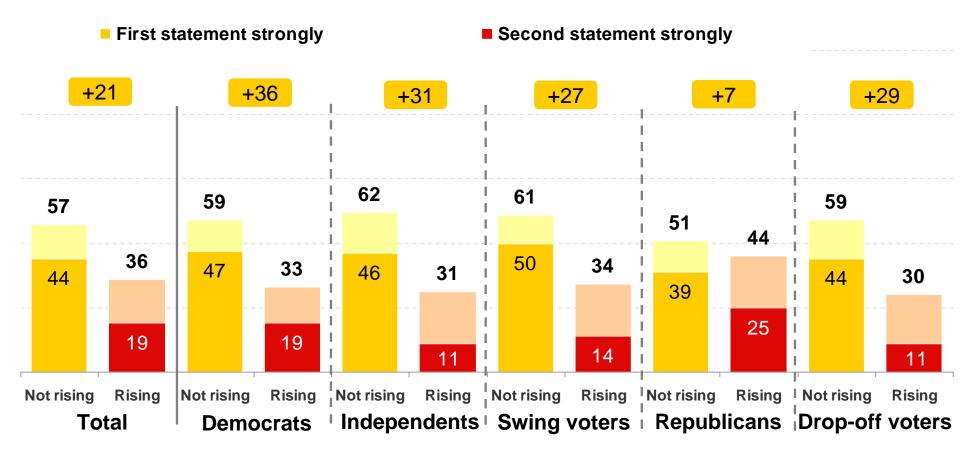


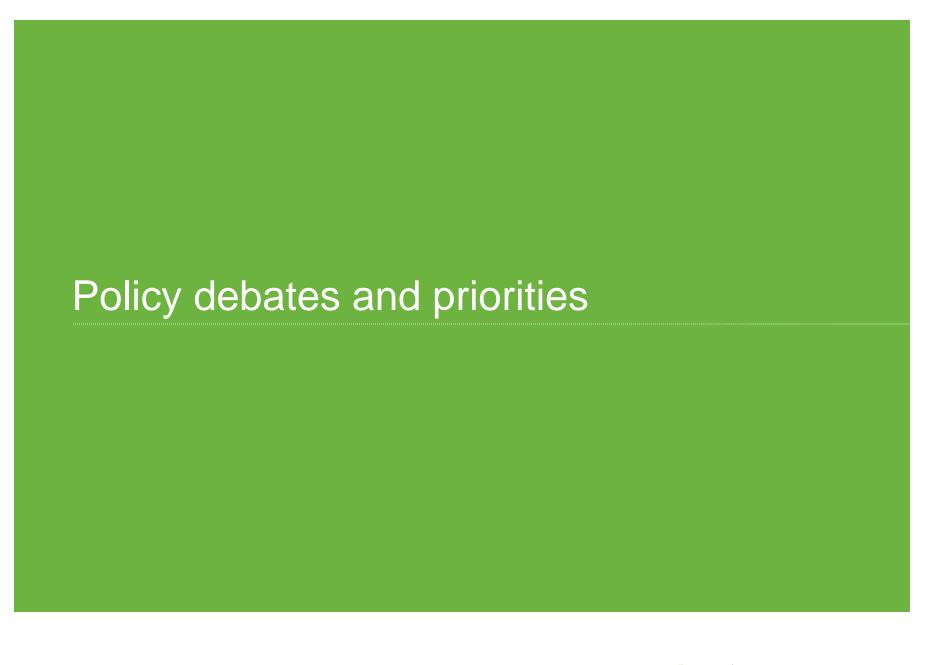
# Disappearing middle class

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** America is no longer a country with a rising middle class.

**Second statement:** America is still a country with a rising middle class.



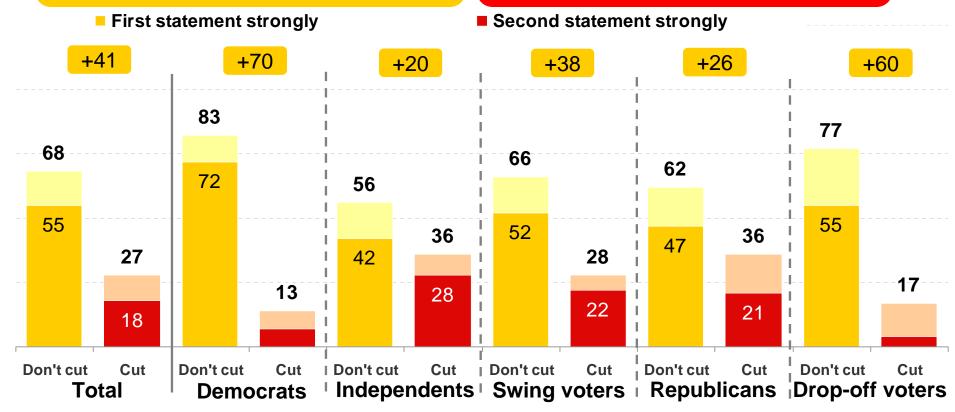


## Ways to deal with deficit – don't touch Social Security

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** The federal deficit is a big national problem but politicians should keep their hands off Social Security and Medicare. The American people cannot afford cuts in these programs.

**Second statement:** The federal deficit is such a threat to our country that we have to cut spending broadly, including raising the Social Security age to 70.

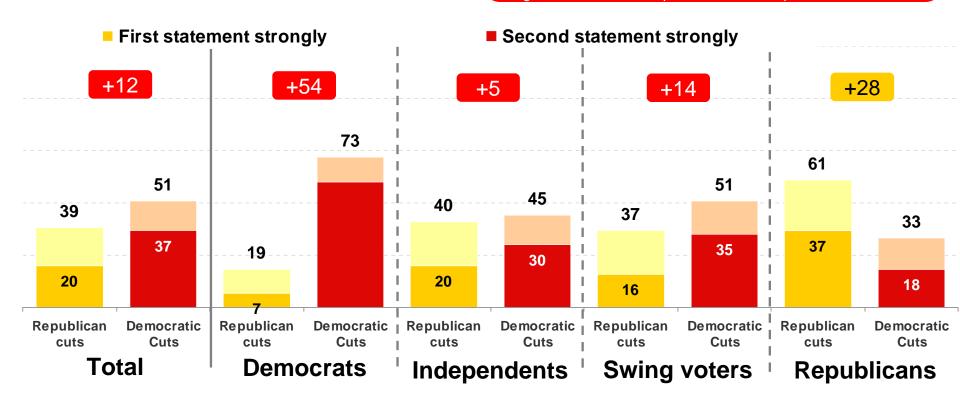


## Deficit reduction: Republican vs. progressive

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about Democratic and Republican policy priorities on different issues. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** On addressing the federal deficit, the Republican leaders propose returning all unspent stimulus, cutting 100 billion dollars or 20 percent from domestic programs, including education, raising the retirement age for Social Security and turning Medicare into a voucher program to limit costs.

**Second statement:** On addressing the federal deficit, the Democratic leaders propose ending the tax cuts for those earning over 250,000 dollars, while continuing middle class tax cuts, and adding a bank tax to reduce financial speculation, cutting wasteful military spending and freezing discretionary domestic spending, and ending subsidies to oil companies and other special interests.

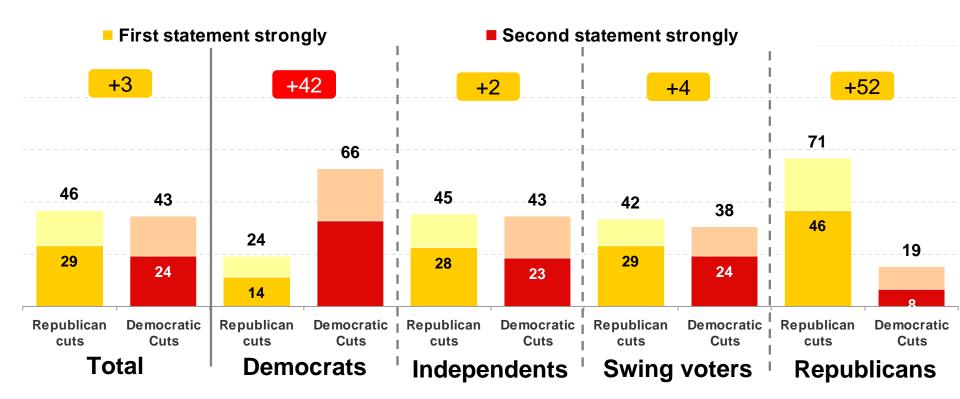


# Deficit reduction: Republican vs. progressive with Social Security

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**Second statement:** On addressing the federal deficit, the Democratic leaders propose ending the tax cuts for those earning over 250,000 dollars, while continuing middle class tax cuts, and adding a bank tax to reduce financial speculation, cutting wasteful military spending and freezing discretionary domestic spending, and ending subsidies to oil companies and other special interests. They would also raise the retirement age for Social Security to 70.

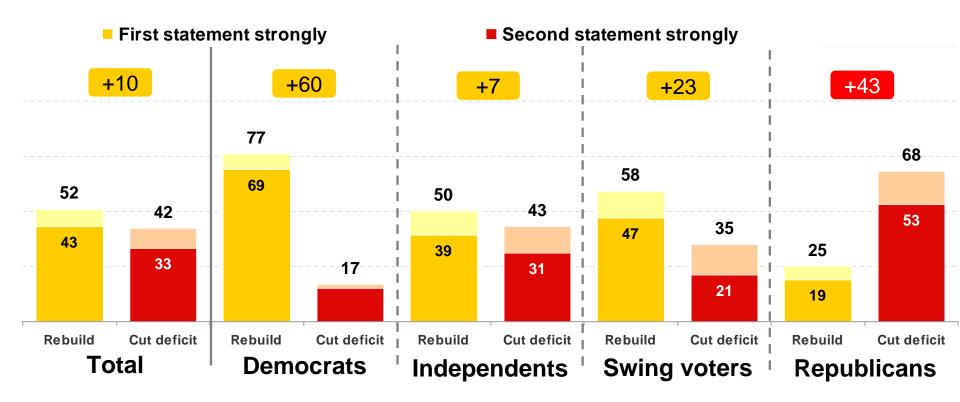


# Job growth: Invest in infrastructure vs. cut deficit and taxes

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about Democratic and Republican policy priorities on different issues. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** To get our country back on track we must first create jobs by rebuilding our infrastructure, providing tax credits for small business, extending all tax cuts for the middle class, and investing in education, science and technology while also working to reduce the federal deficit each year.

**Second statement:** To get our country back on track, we must cut the federal deficit by cutting spending while giving small businesses a tax deduction worth 20 percent of income encouraging them to create jobs as well as extending the tax cuts for everyone that are set to expire in January.

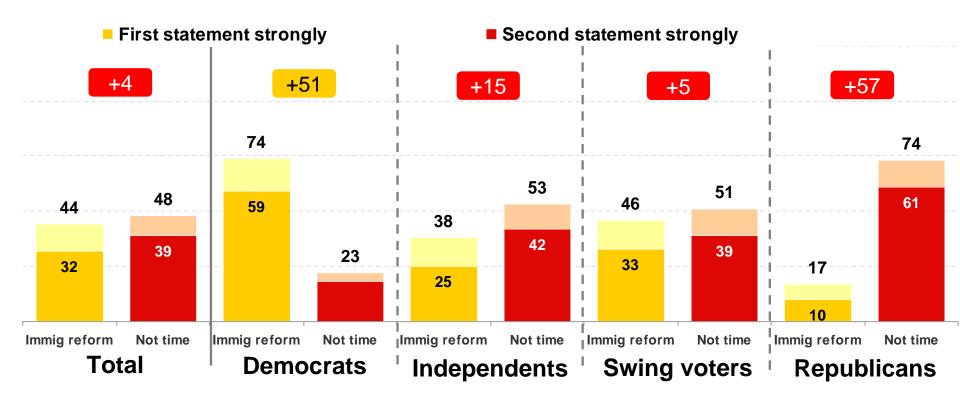


# Immigration reform: comprehensive vs. tough border and benefits

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about Democratic and Republican policy priorities on different issues. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** On immigration, the Democratic leaders propose comprehensive reforms, including tougher enforcement at the border and work place, but also providing a path to citizenship for law-abiding, undocumented immigrants who pay fines and back taxes and get to the back of the line.

**Second statement:** Republican leaders propose much tougher enforcement at the border, to arrest and deport many more illegal immigrants and, to prohibit those here illegally from benefiting from any taxpayer funded social services. This is not the time for immigration reforms.

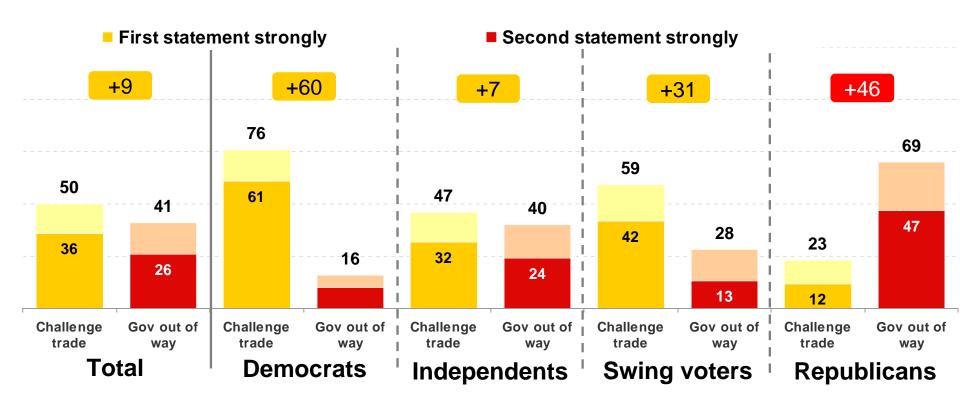


# Trade policy: American jobs, China and NAFTA vs. free trade

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about Democratic and Republican policy priorities on different issues. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** On trade and exports, the Democratic leaders say, It's time to challenge countries like China that are taking our jobs, end subsidies to corporations that send jobs abroad, stop passing NAFTA-like trade deals until we have a national strategy for making things in America and exporting goods, not jobs.

**Second statement:** On trade and exports, the Republican leaders say we need to increase our exports, and that requires passing more trade agreements, getting government out of the way. American workers can compete and win with any workers across the world.

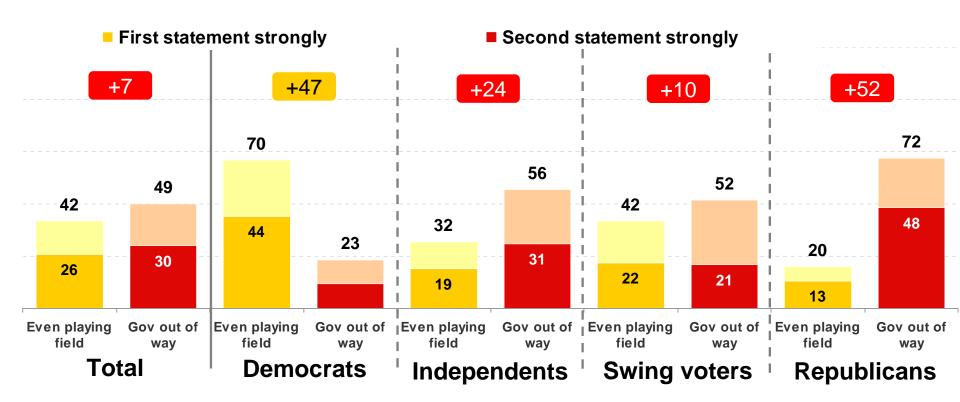


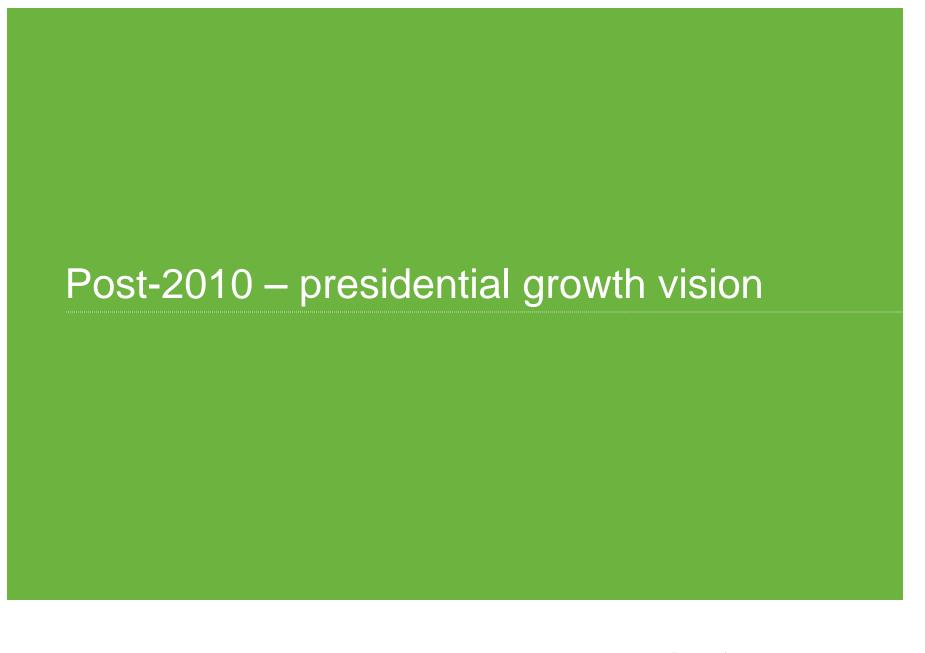
# Trade policy: American jobs with free trade agreements vs. free trade

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements about Democratic and Republican policy priorities on different issues. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** On trade and exports, the Democratic leaders say we need to double our exports over the next five years, that requires ending subsidies to corporations that send jobs abroad, passing trade agreements to open markets, enforcing an even playing field for US companies, and working globally to limit trade imbalances.

**Second statement:** Republican leaders say we need to increase our exports, and that requires passing more trade agreements, getting government out of the way. American workers can compete and win with any workers across the world.

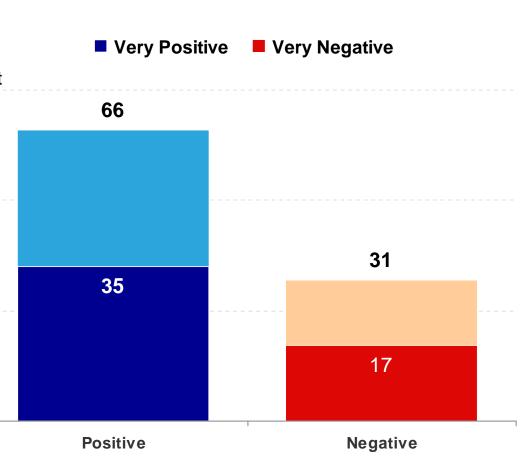




# Obama message: How to move forward

Now, I'm going to read you a statement by President Obama and about issues facing the country and get your reaction to it. What is your reaction to the President's statement, is it very positive, somewhat positive, somewhat negative, or very negative?

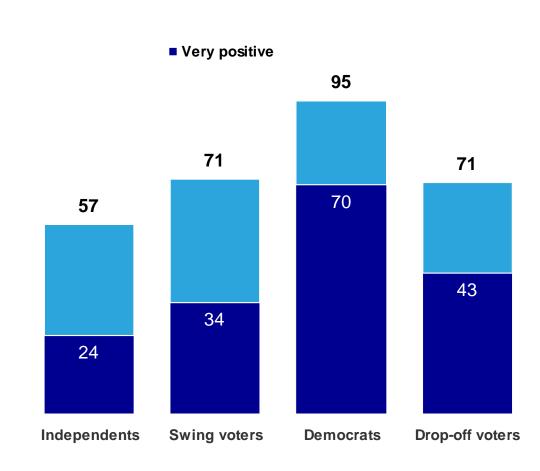
"I have just met with the new Republican and Democratic leaders and asked them to work together with me to solve the country's problems. Voters across the country have sent a clear message and I've heard it. The economy isn't creating enough jobs but we can't go back to rising debt and dangerous bubbles. My commitment is to build a new foundation for jobs and growth that begins with making things in America again. Yes, we have to reduce our deficits, but it is not enough. We have to make investments in education, in research and innovation, in a competitive 21st century infrastructure. We have to lead in the new energy, Green industrial revolution sweeping the world. This has to be affordable, but my priority is working together to rebuild a successful America with a rising middle class."



# Obama message: Among key groups

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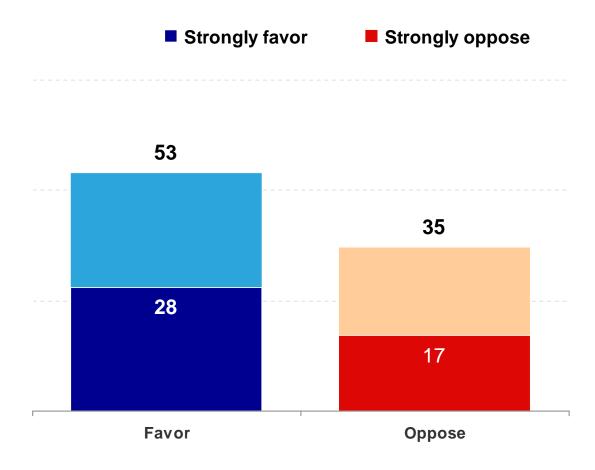
"I have just met with the new Republican and Democratic leaders and asked them to work together with me to solve the country's problems. Voters across the country have sent a clear message and I've heard it. The economy isn't creating enough jobs but we can't go back to rising debt and dangerous bubbles. My commitment is to build a new foundation for jobs and growth that begins with making things in America again. Yes, we have to reduce our deficits, but it is not enough. We have to make investments in education, in research and innovation, in a competitive 21st century infrastructure. We have to lead in the new energy, Green industrial revolution sweeping the world. This has to be affordable, but my priority is working together to rebuild a successful America with a rising middle class."



# Post-message economic proposals

Now I am going to read you a specific economic proposal that could be considered by the Congress. Please tell me whether this is something that you favor or oppose.

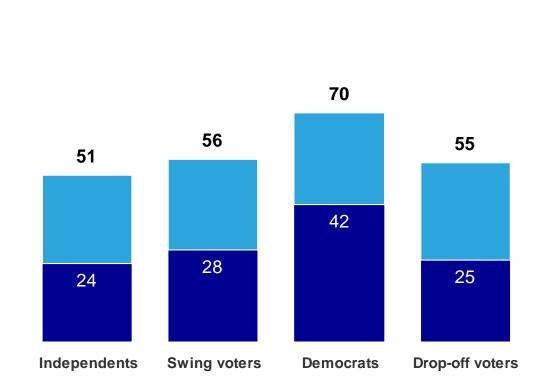
Rebuild our decaying infrastructure now at time when finance and workers are readily available. Create a National Infrastructure Bank that can mobilize public and private investment for a national renovation of everything from vital bridges to a modern electric grid. This has to be done and will cost more to do later.



# Post-message economic proposals among key groups

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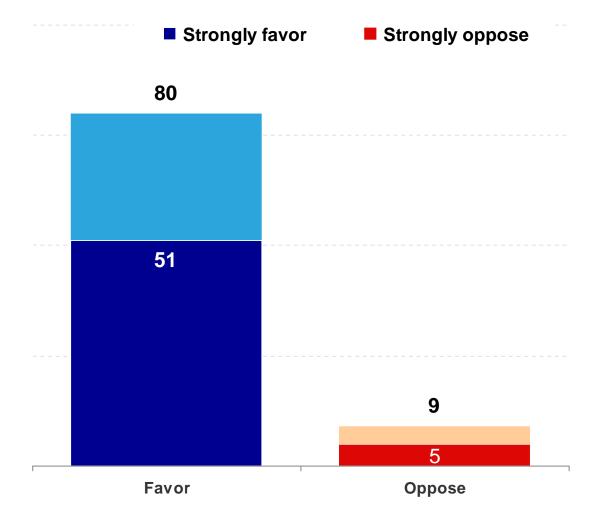


Strongly favor

# Post-message economic proposals

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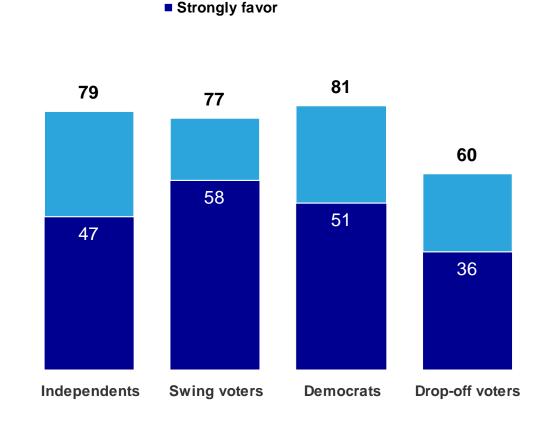
Launch a five year strategy to revive manufacturing in America, providing companies incentives to make it in America, ending tax breaks that reward moving jobs abroad, enforcing buy America provisions on government spending, countering unfair trade and currency practices by China and others, investing in research and technology to foster new products and markets



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