

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

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November 12, 2008

# The Change Election Awaiting Change

Campaign for America's Future  
Democracy Corps



**DEMOCRACY CORPS**  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

**CAMPAIGN** FOR **AMERICA'S FUTURE**

## Methodology and Overview

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

- **Joint Democracy Corps and Campaign for America's Future national post-election survey of 2,000 voters, with calls conducted on Election Day 2008 and the Wednesday following (November 4-5).**
- **Time series data is from last decade of Democracy Corps surveys**

**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 Change Election Awaiting Change

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- **Big election**
- **Major new electoral alignments**
- **New imbalance in civic engagement**
- **High confidence in Obama and desire to give him honeymoon**
- **Voted for change: middle class economy, rich fair share, move on energy and affordable health care for all and end to Iraq war**
- **Big economic changes: on personal debt, worry and uncertainty about American jobs without health care and pensions' lost value**
- **Progressive winds shaping role of government**
- **Slowed by caution about government waste, over-spending and taxes**
- **Bold policy changes, with new leadership, new politics and reform**

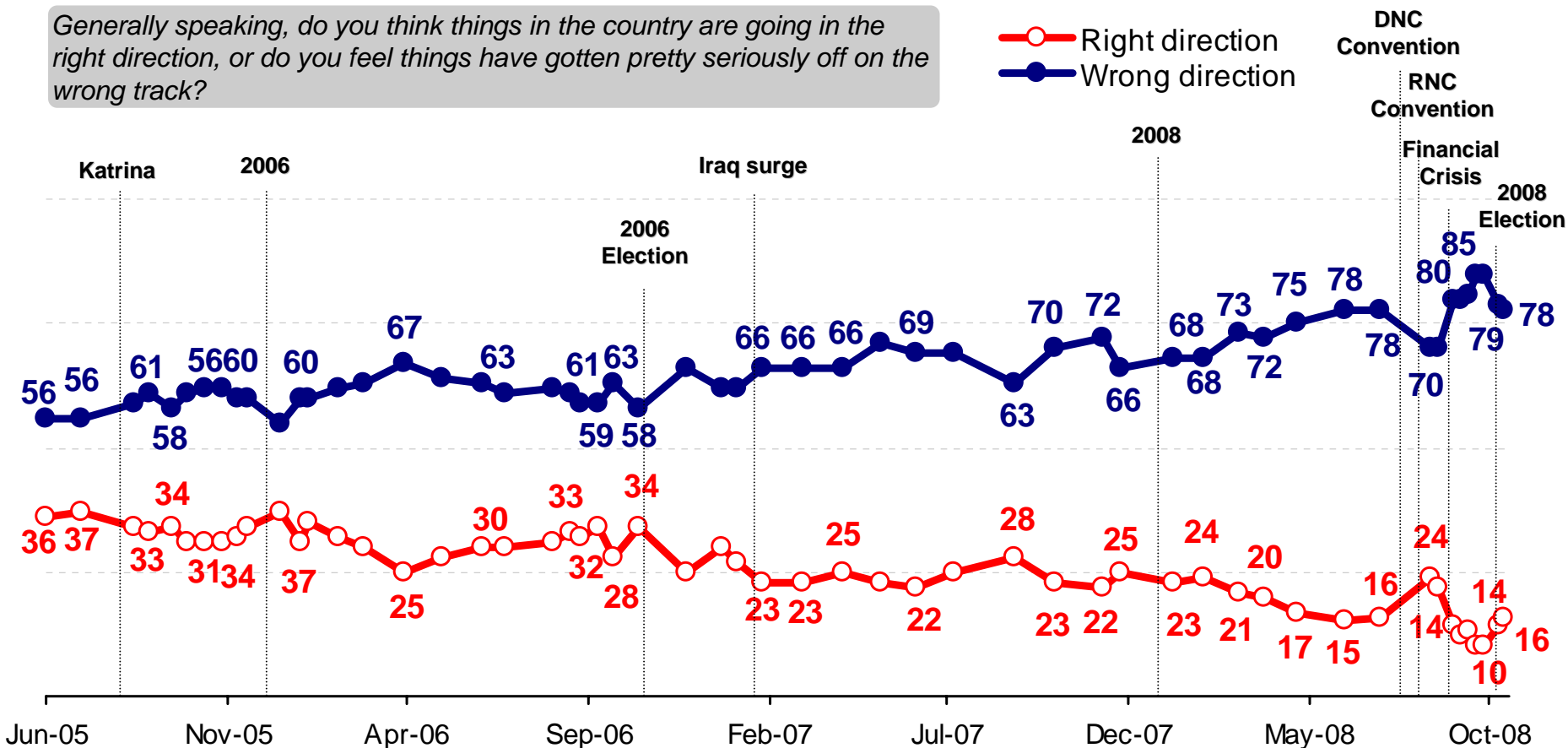
# Political Landscape

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# Over three quarters want a new direction for the country

Generally speaking, do you think things in the country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?

○ Right direction  
● Wrong direction



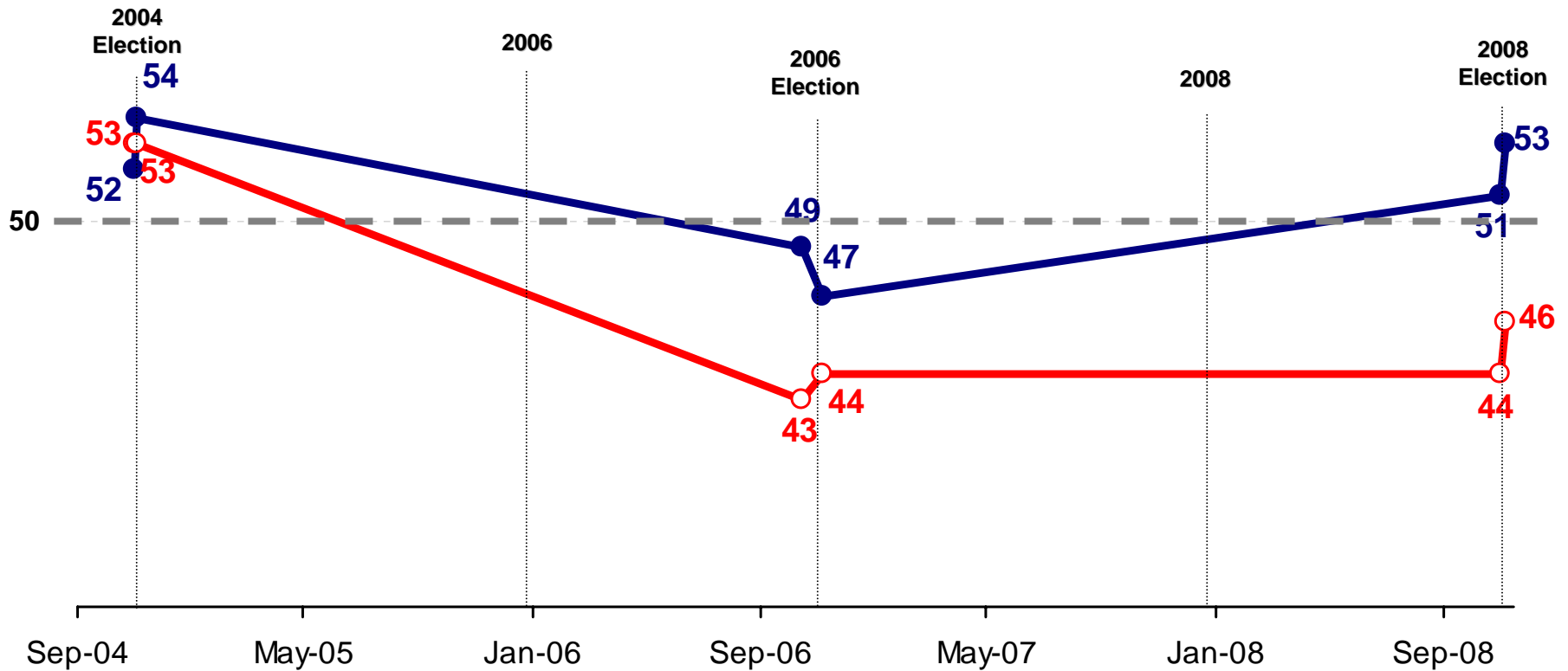
Net Difference	-10	-19	-28	-24	-25	-26	-23	-42	-33	-28	-27	-35	-24	-43	-43	-41	-47	-35	-47	-44	-41	-45	-44	-52	-52	-58	-63	-62	-46	-68	-75	-65	-62
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\*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last several years.

# Party Images before and after elections

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with 100 meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and 50 meaning not particularly warm or cold.

● Democratic Party  
○ Republican Party



Net Difference: -1 +1 +6 +3 +7 +7

\*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.

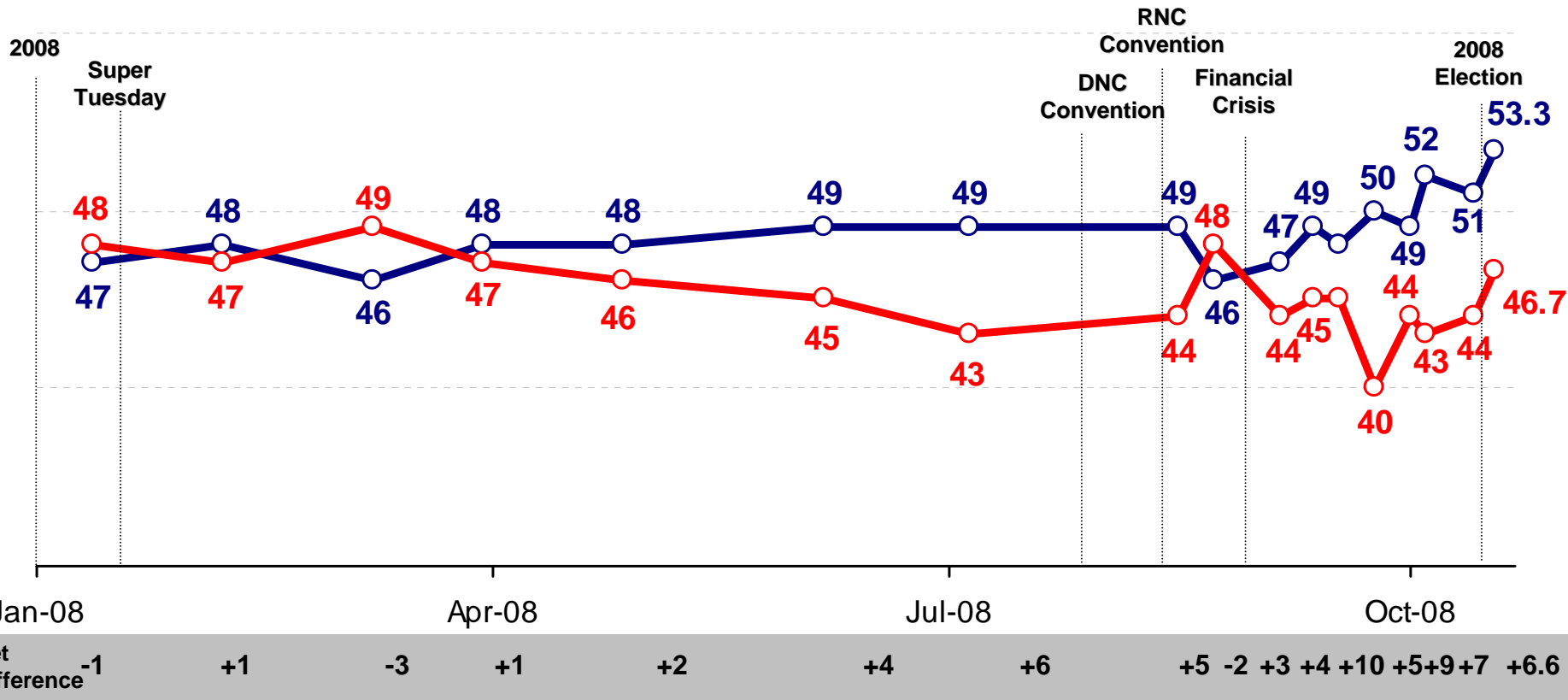
# The Presidential Election

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# Obama wins popular vote by 6.6 point margin

Thinking about the election for president, did you vote for Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, Independent candidate Ralph Nader, or Constitution/Louisiana Taxpayer's Party candidate Ron Paul?

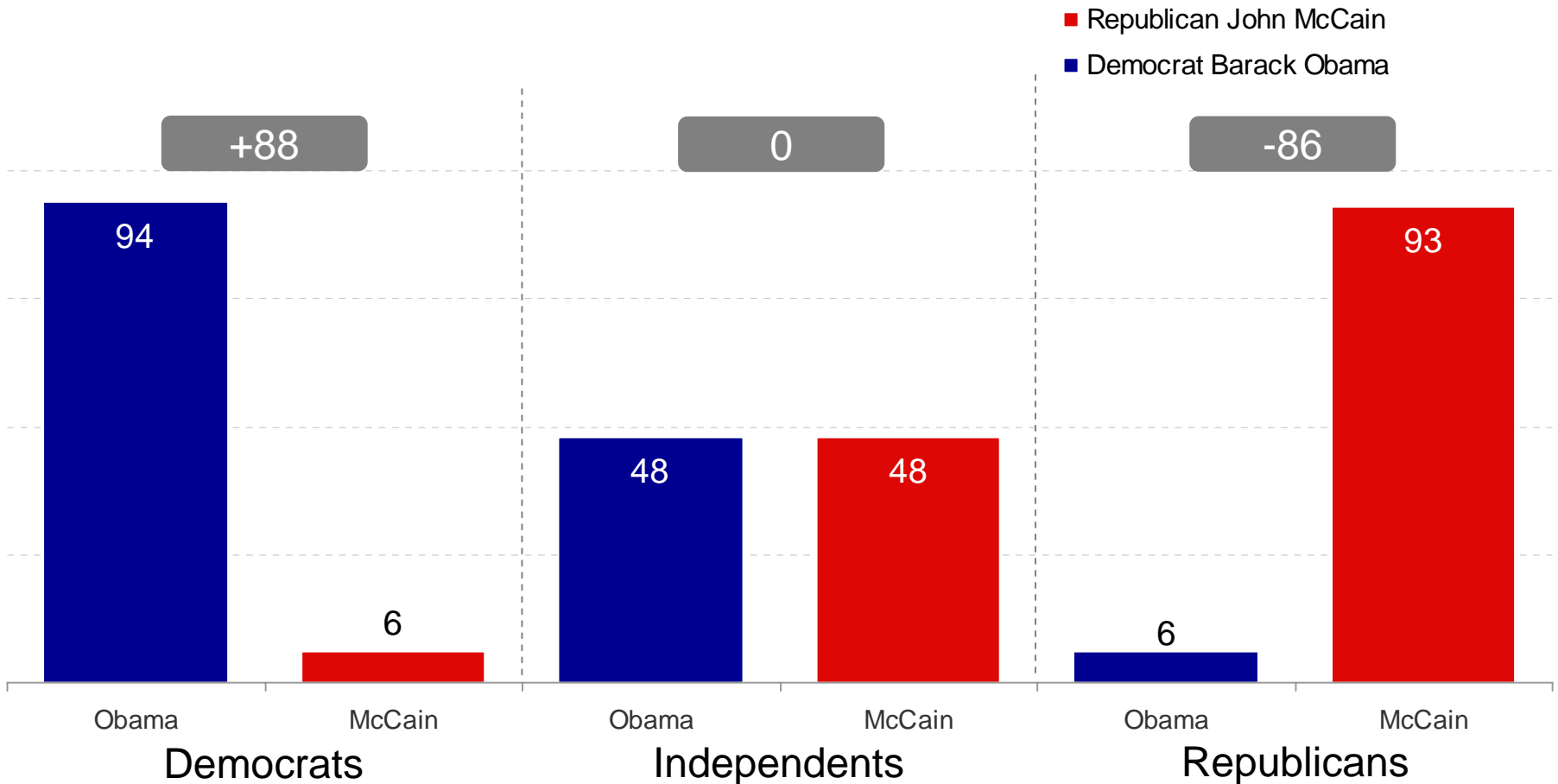
—○— Obama  
—○— McCain



\*Note: 2008 election results based on official CNN report as of 11/12/08 and does not include 3<sup>rd</sup> party voters. Time series data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last year.

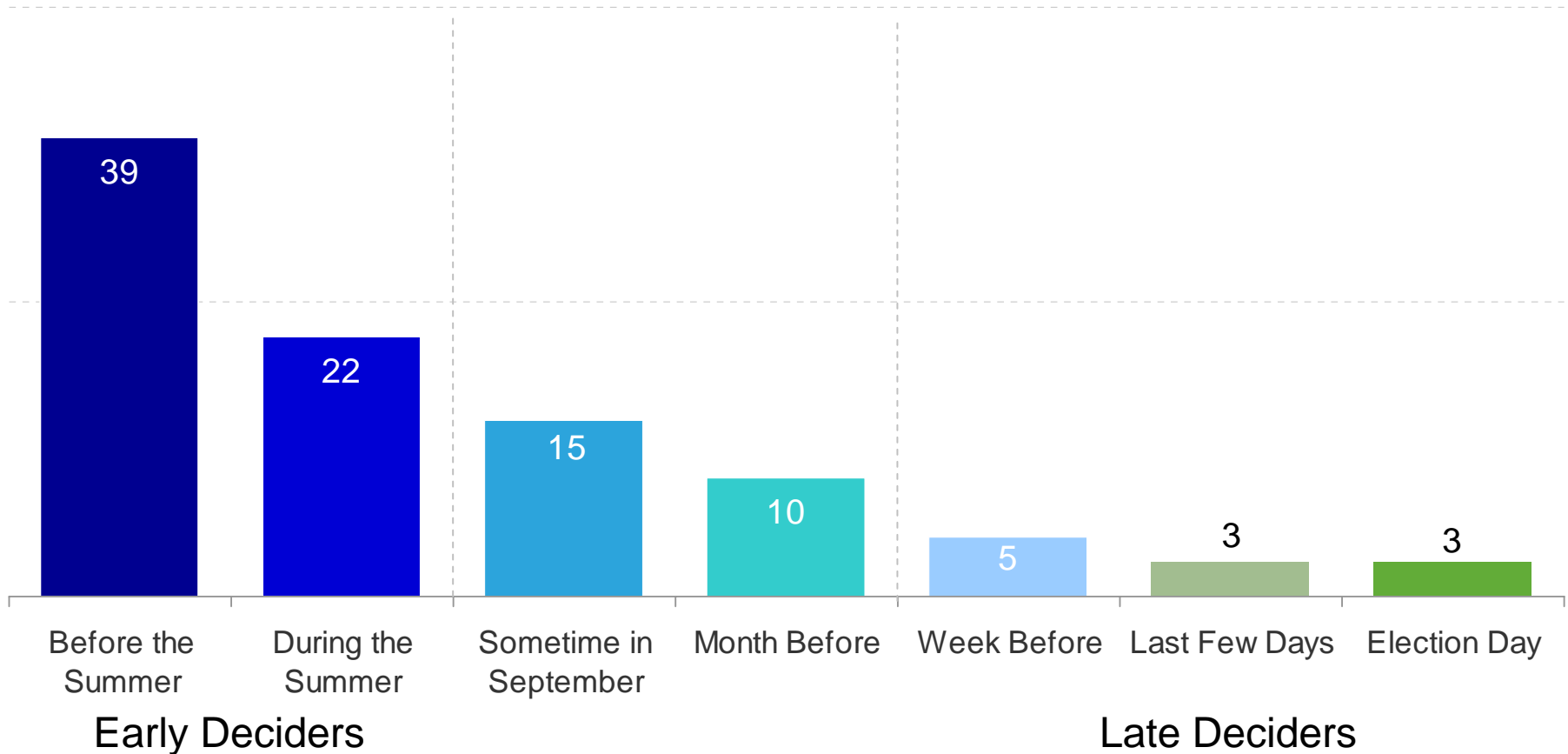
# Both parties consolidated

*Thinking about the election for president, did you vote for Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, Independent candidate Ralph Nader, or Constitution/Louisiana Taxpayer's Party candidate Ron Paul?*



## Not a lot of late deciders in election

*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?*

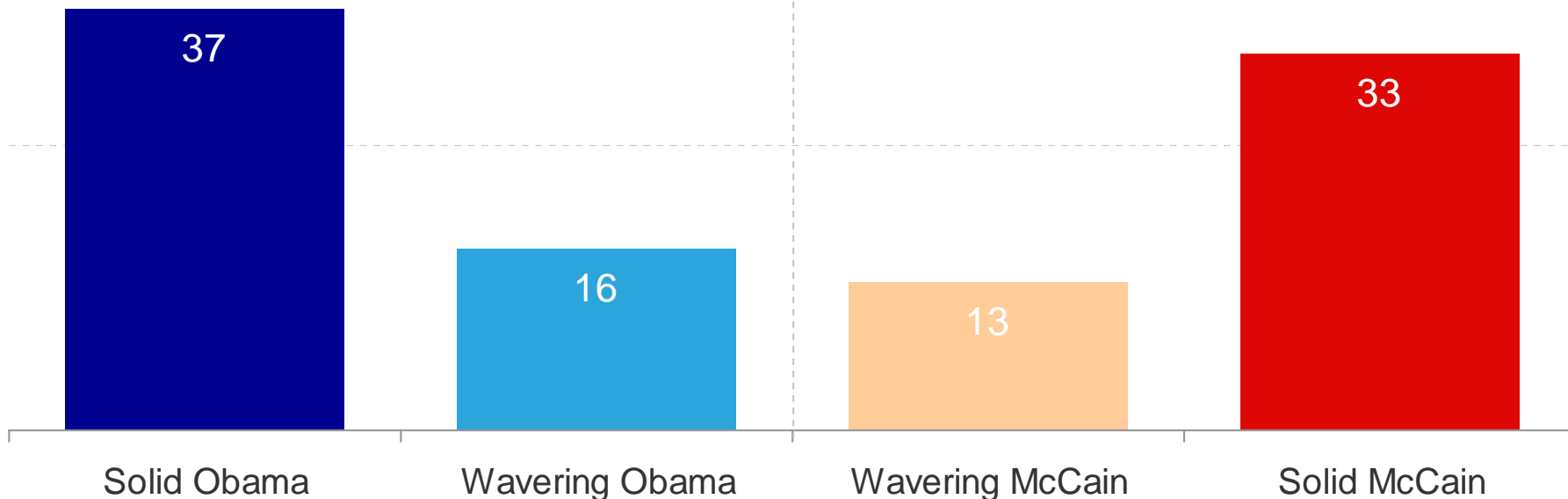


## Large number considered voting for other candidate

*Think back in time for a minute. Did you, at any point in this campaign, think about voting for John McCain/Barack Obama for president? How seriously did you think about voting for John McCain/Barack Obama -- very seriously, somewhat seriously, or only a little seriously?*

### Obama Supporters

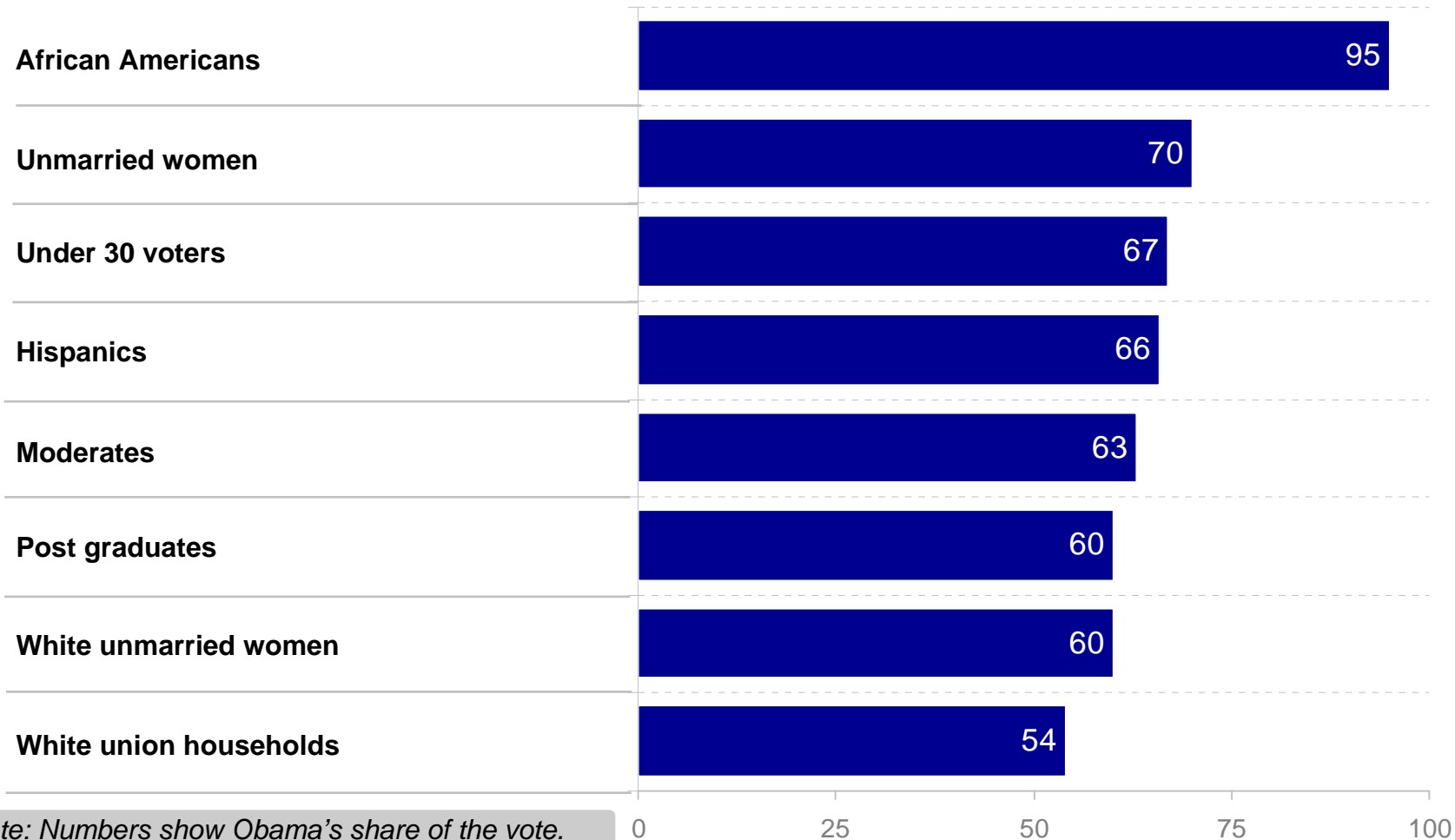
### McCain Supporters



*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.*

## Largest share of the vote for Obama and the new base

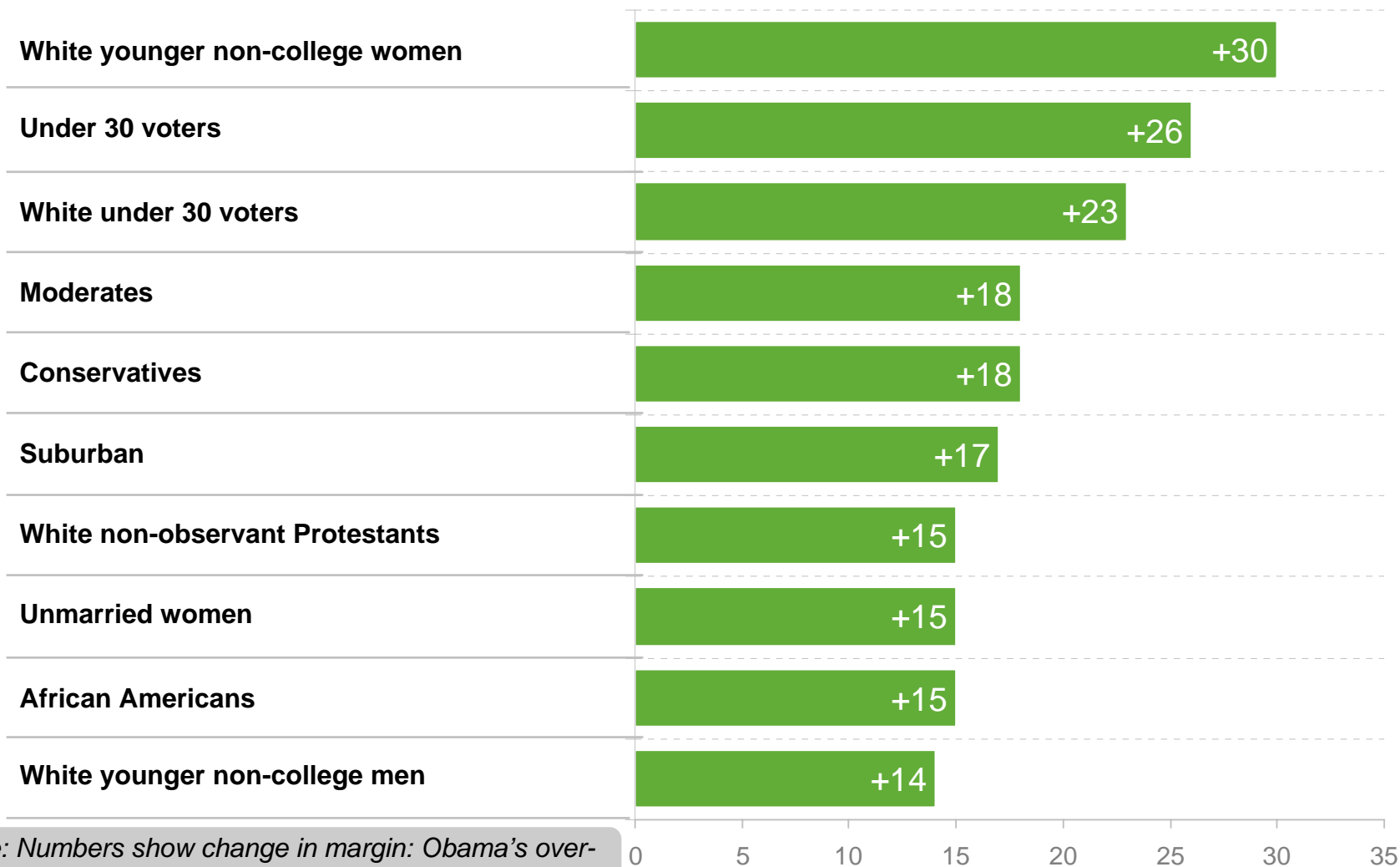
*Thinking about the election for president, did you vote for Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, Independent candidate Ralph Nader, or Constitution/Louisiana Taxpayer's Party candidate Ron Paul, for whom would you vote?*



*\*Note: Numbers show Obama's share of the vote.*

## Biggest Obama gains over Kerry's 2004 margin

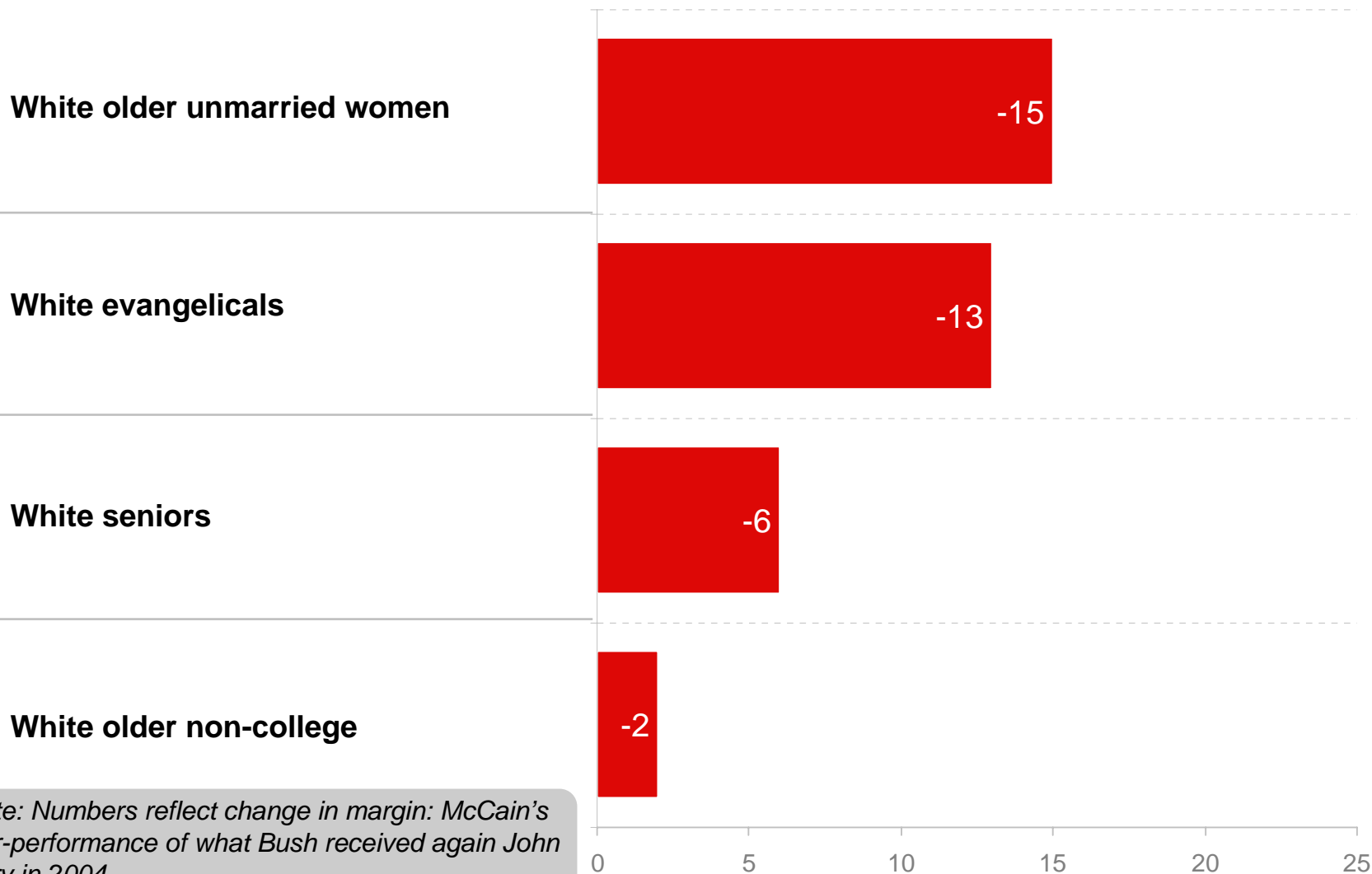
■ Numbers reflect change in vote margin from 2004



\*Note: Numbers show change in margin: Obama's over-performance of what Kerry received v. Bush in 2004

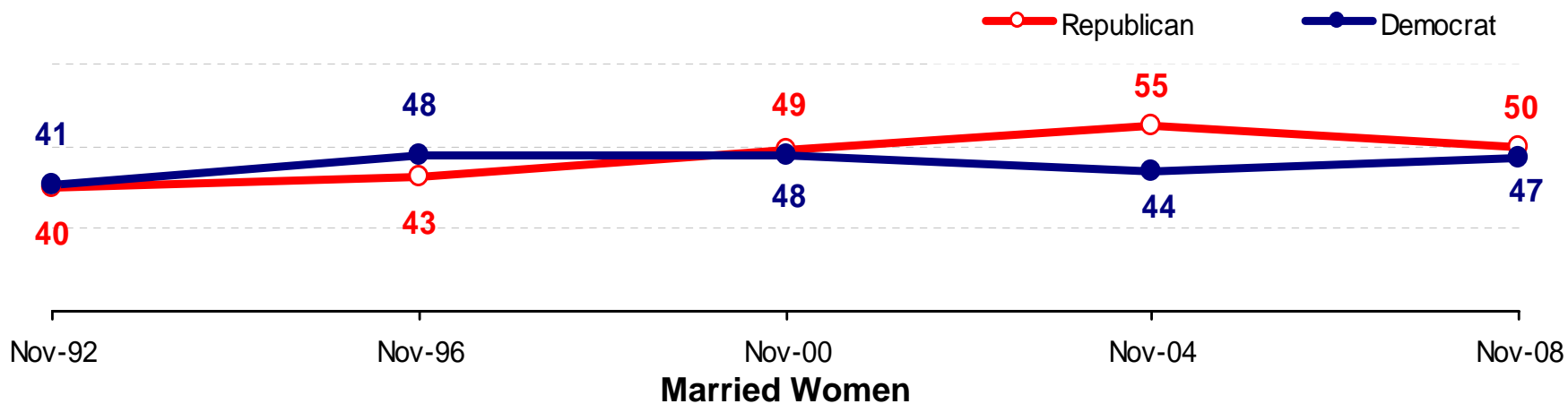
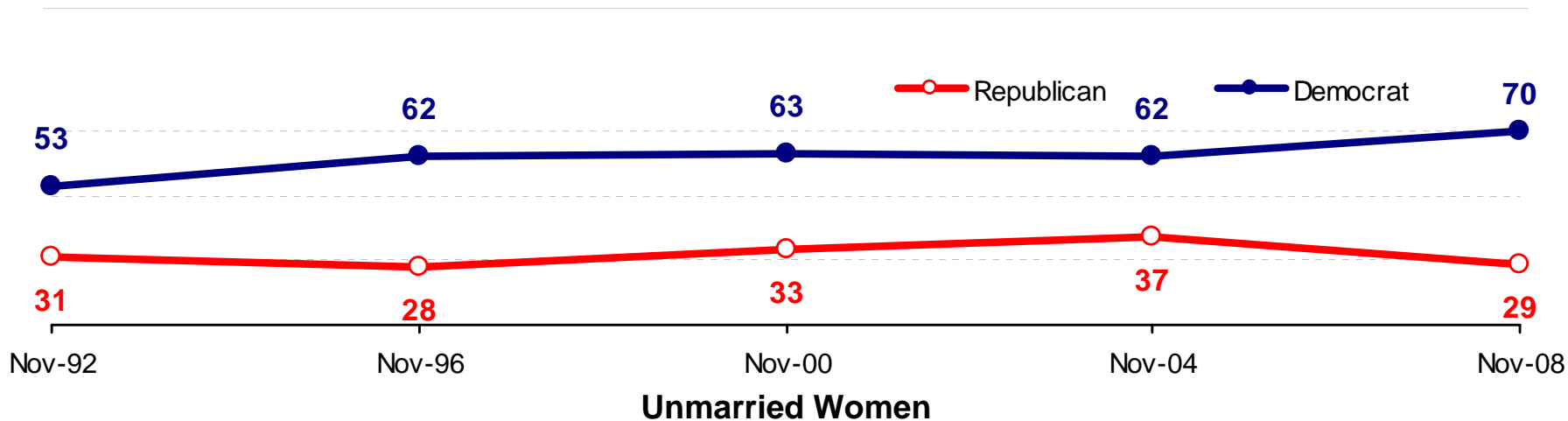
## Groups where Obama lost ground compared to Kerry's 2004 margin

■ Numbers reflect change in vote margin from 2004



*\*Note: Numbers reflect change in margin: McCain's over-performance of what Bush received again John Kerry in 2004*

# Historic Vote Among Married and Unmarried Women



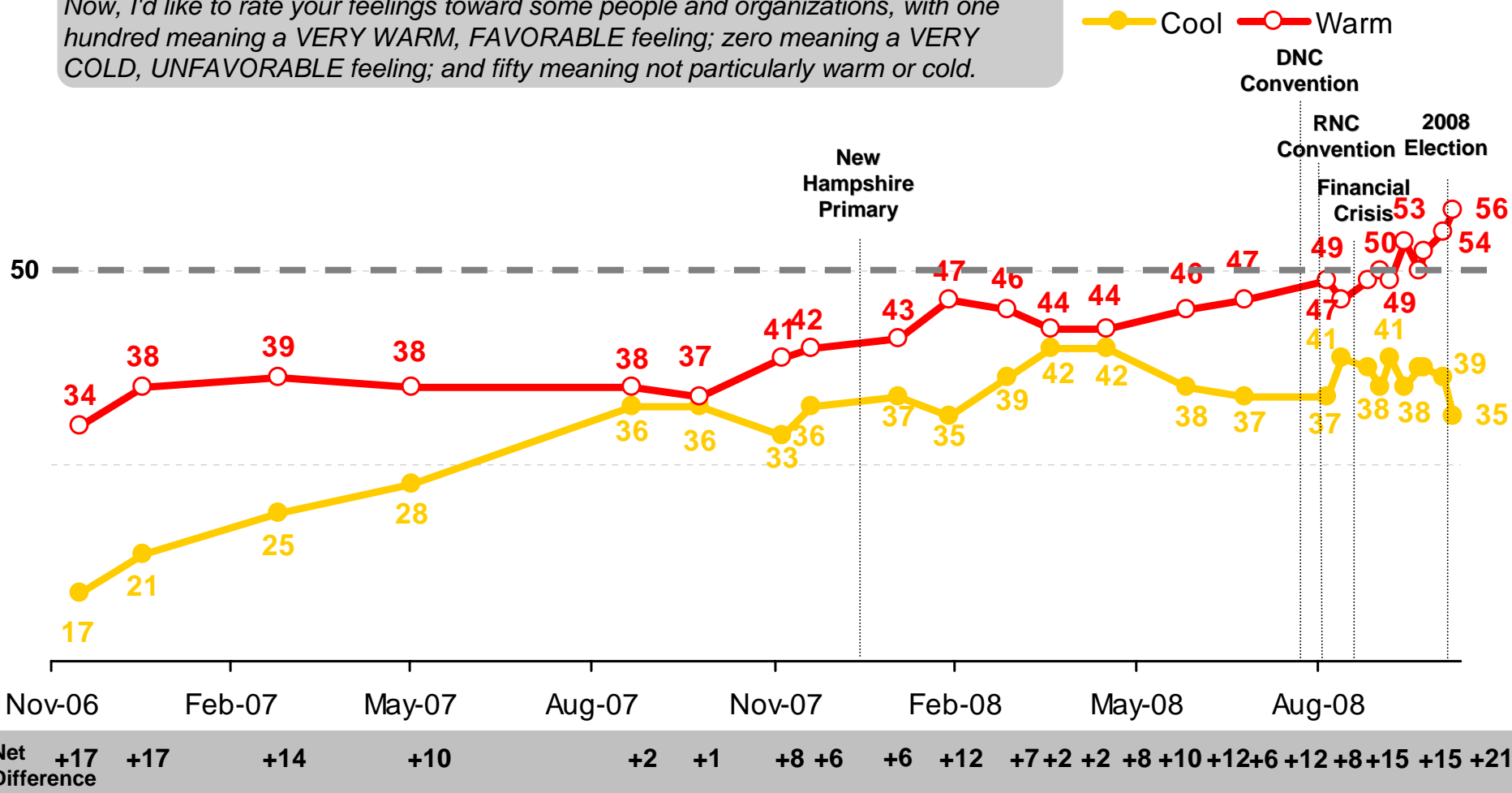
\*Note: CNN Exit Poll Results

# Obama's Honeymoon

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# Obama favorability jumps post-election

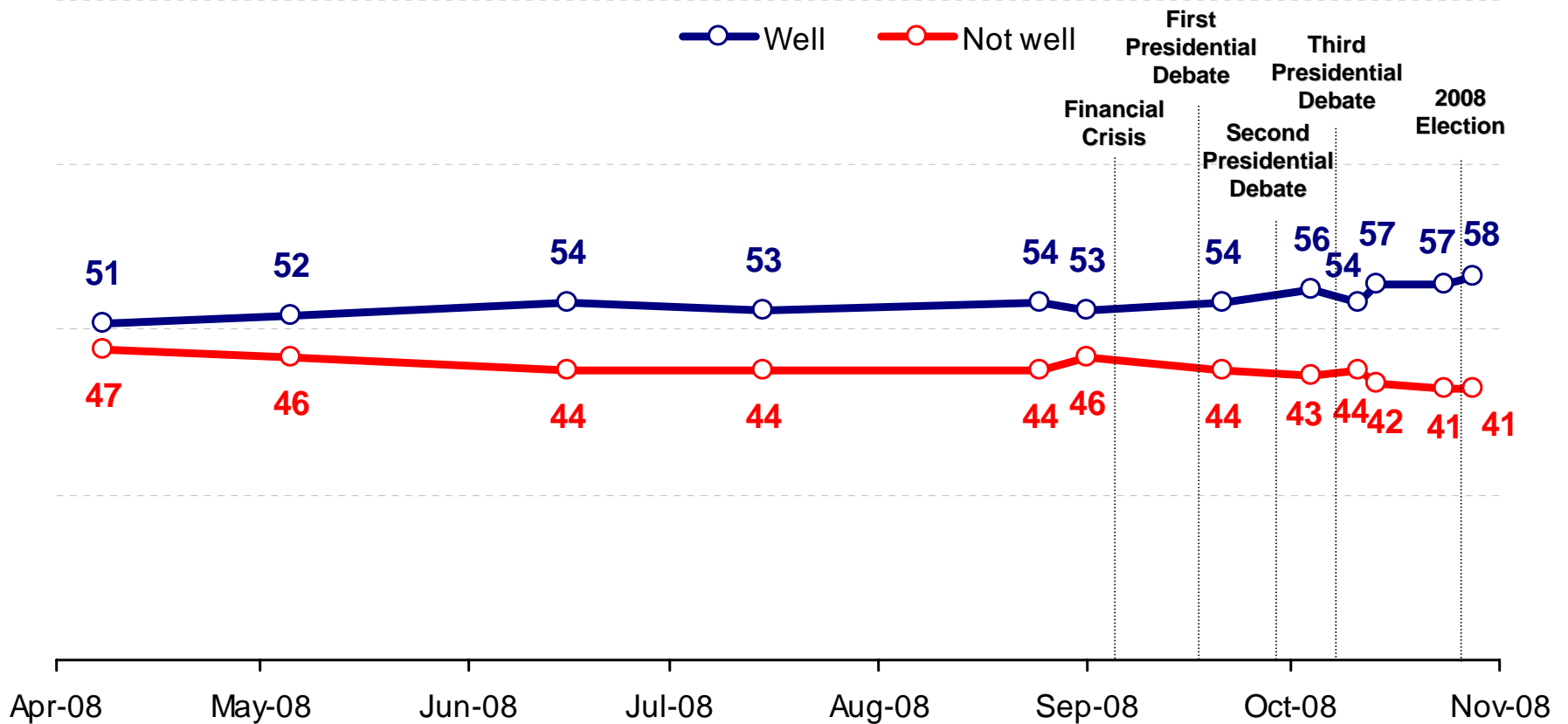
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



\*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last two years.

# Obama “has what it takes to be president”

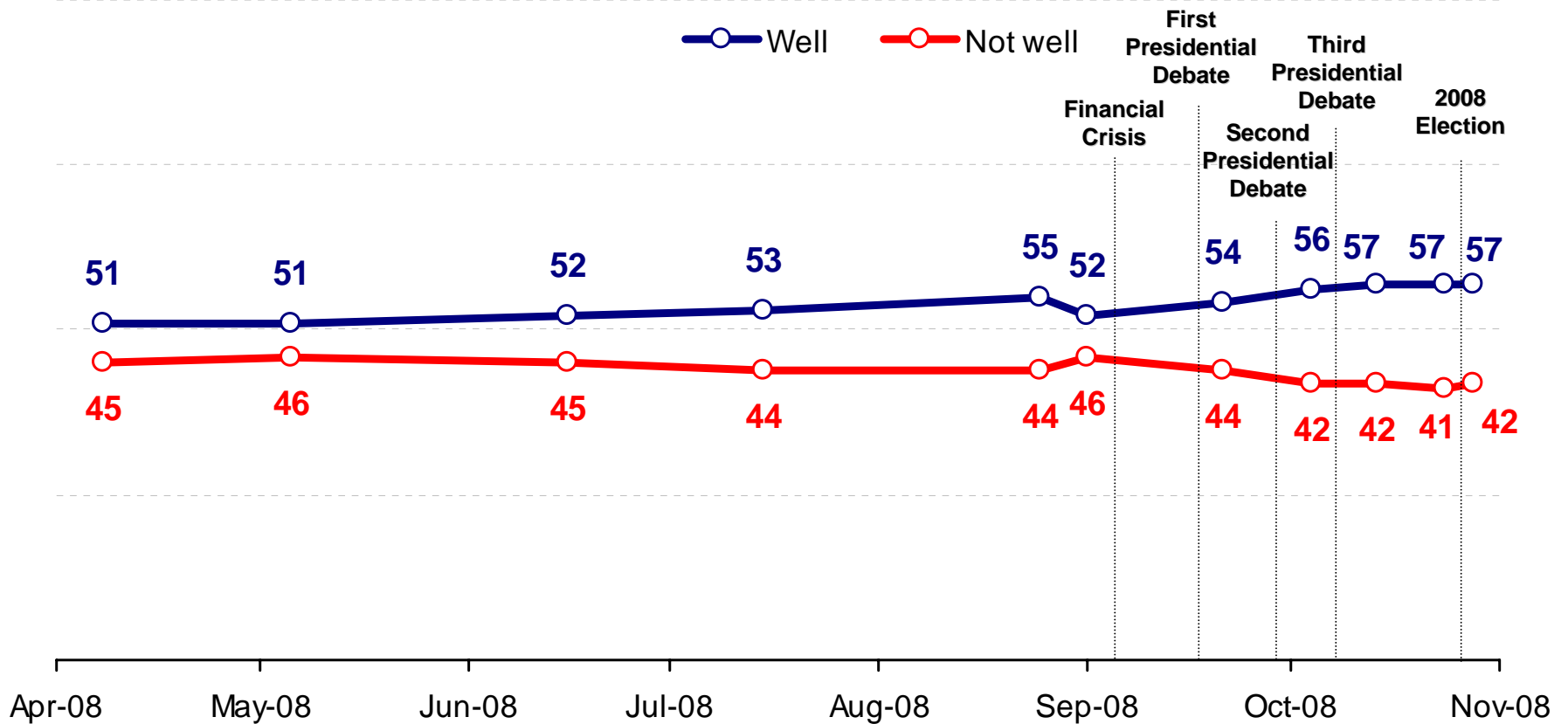
Now I'm going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Barack Obama very well, well, not too well or not well at all... **Has what it takes to be president**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last eight months.

# Voters confident Obama “will keep America strong”

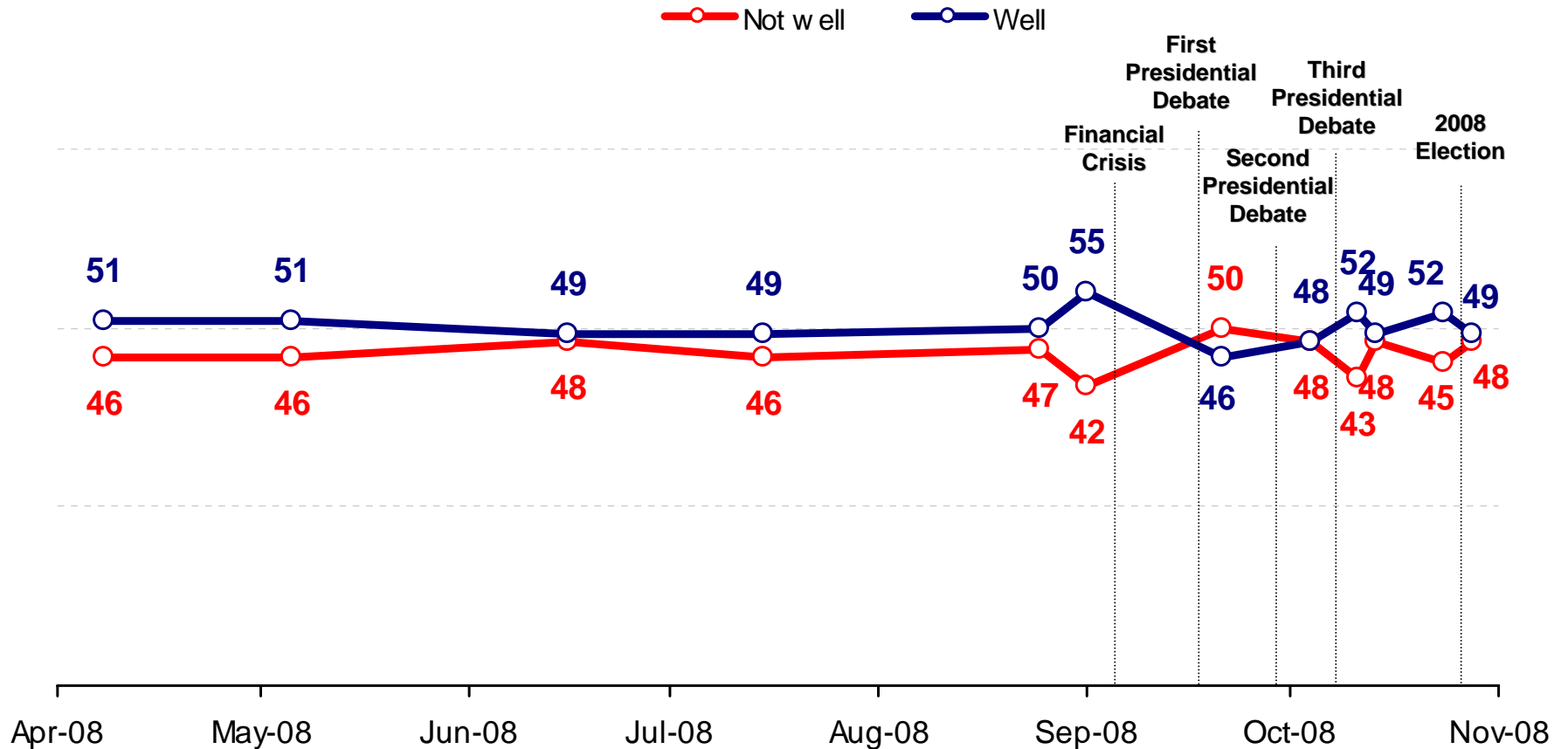
Now I'm going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Barack Obama very well, well, not too well or not well at all... **Will keep America strong.**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last eight months.

# Voters split on whether Obama is “liberal”

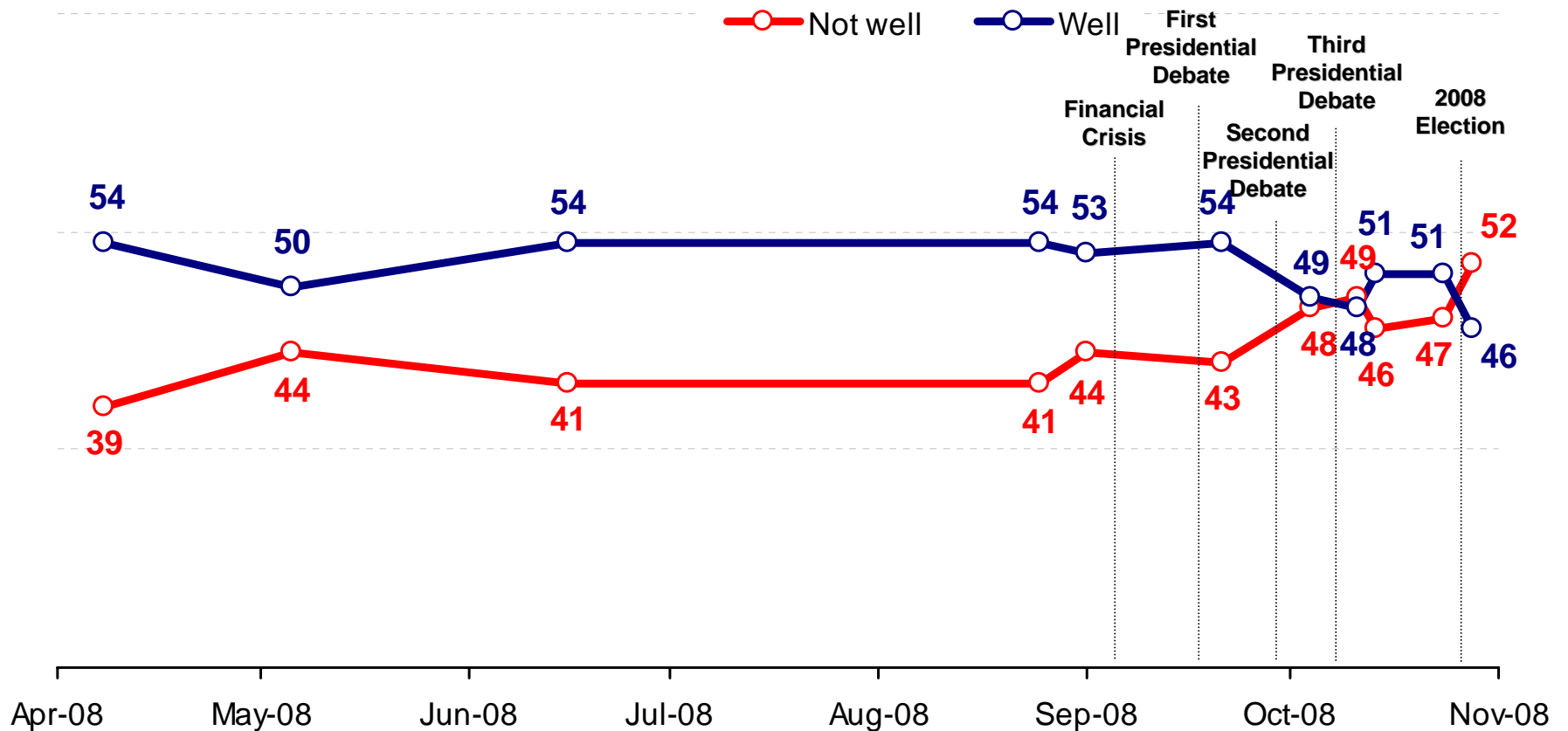
Now I'm going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Barack Obama very well, well, not too well or not well at all... **Too liberal.**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last eight months.

# Majority don't think Obama "will raise my taxes"

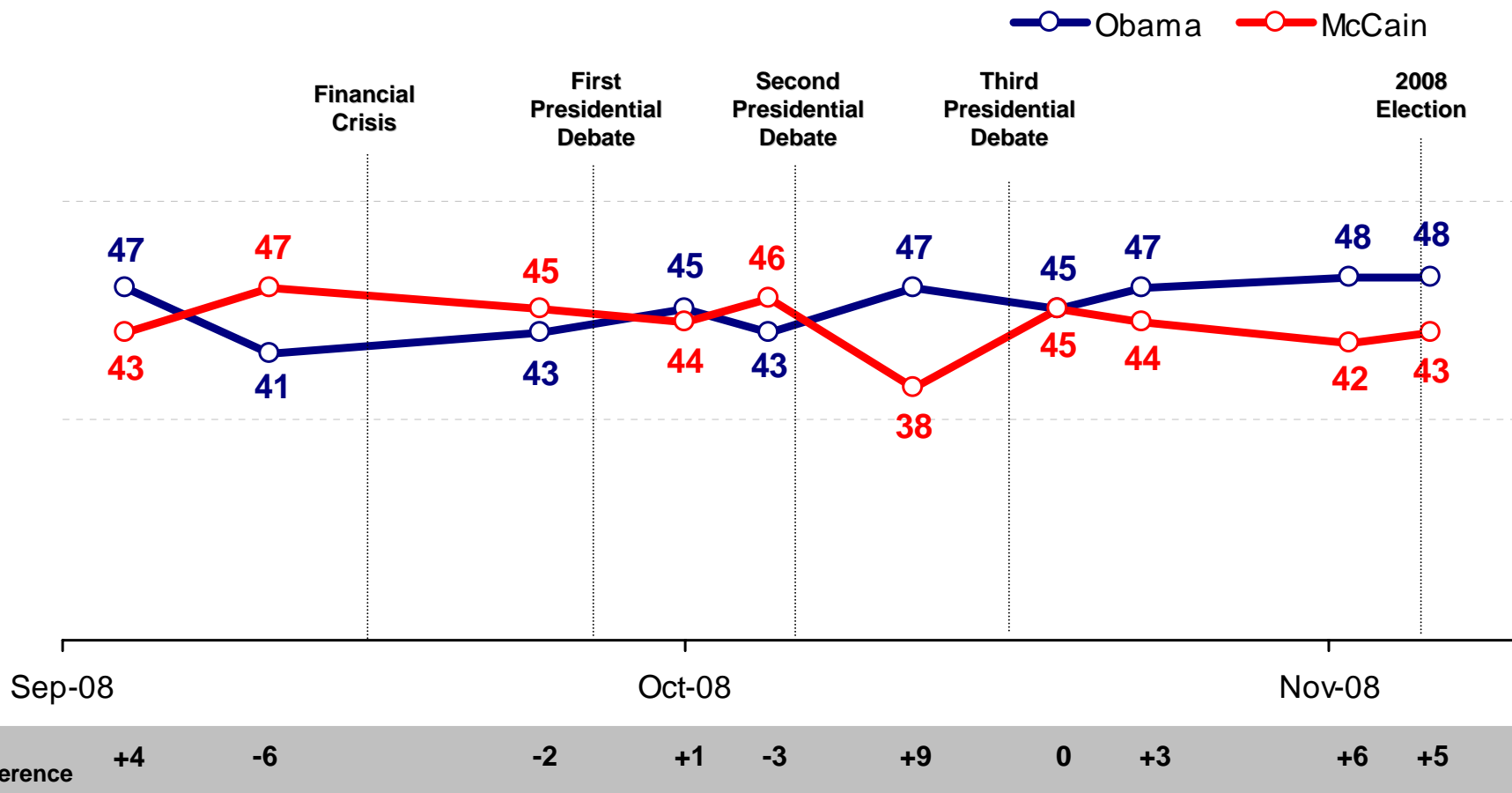
Now I'm going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Barack Obama very well, well, not too well or not well at all... **Will raise my taxes.**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last eight months.

# Obama is more “honest and trustworthy”

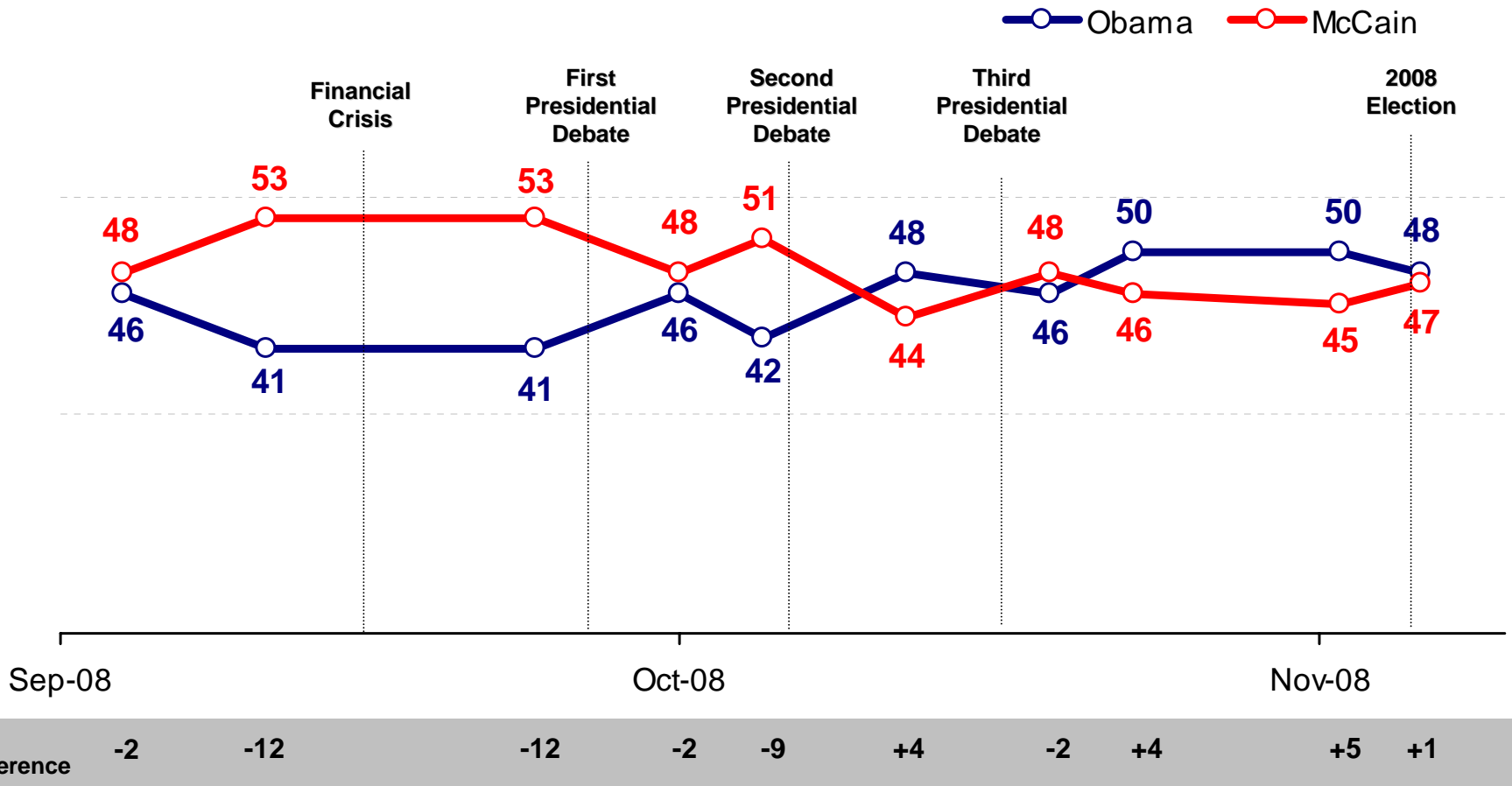
Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain... **Honest and trustworthy.**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

# Voters split on “strong leader”

Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain... **Strong leader.**

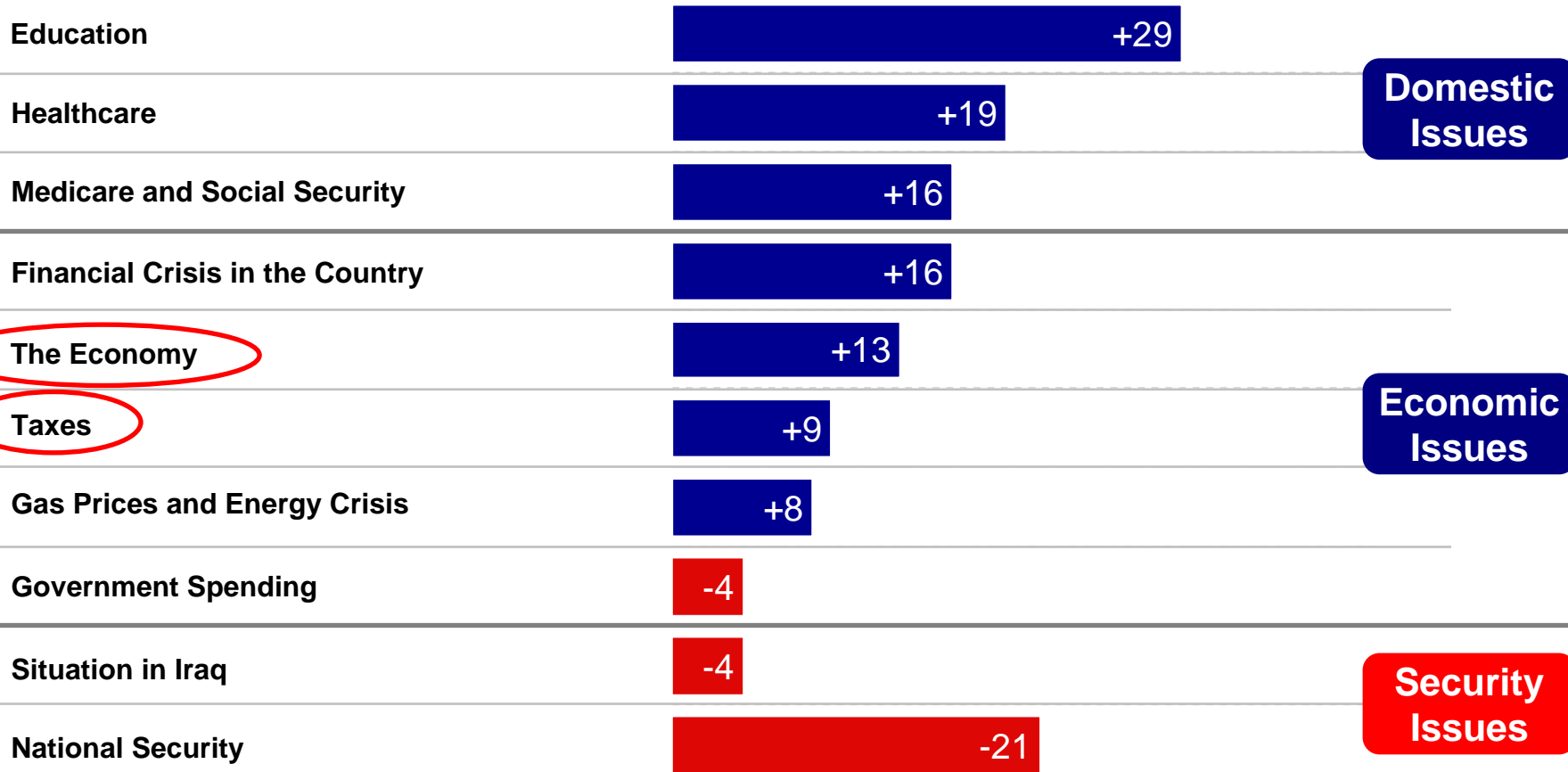


\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

# Obama dominates economic, social issues; McCain advantage in security

Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue.

■ Obama advantage ■ McCain advantage

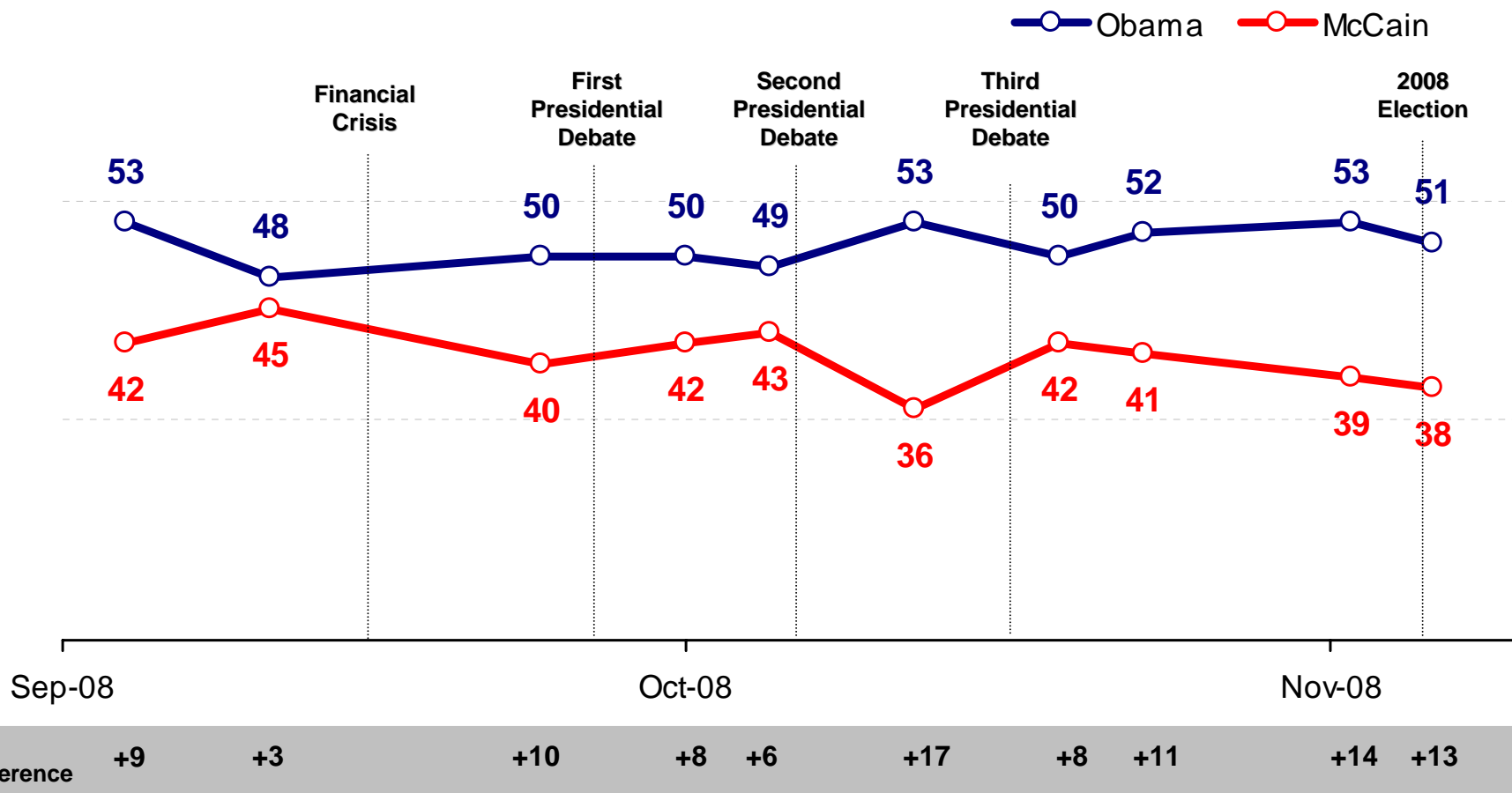


\*Note: "Advantage" shows difference between total choosing Obama as better and total choosing McCain

0 20 40

# Obama's big lead on economy after crisis and 2<sup>nd</sup> debate

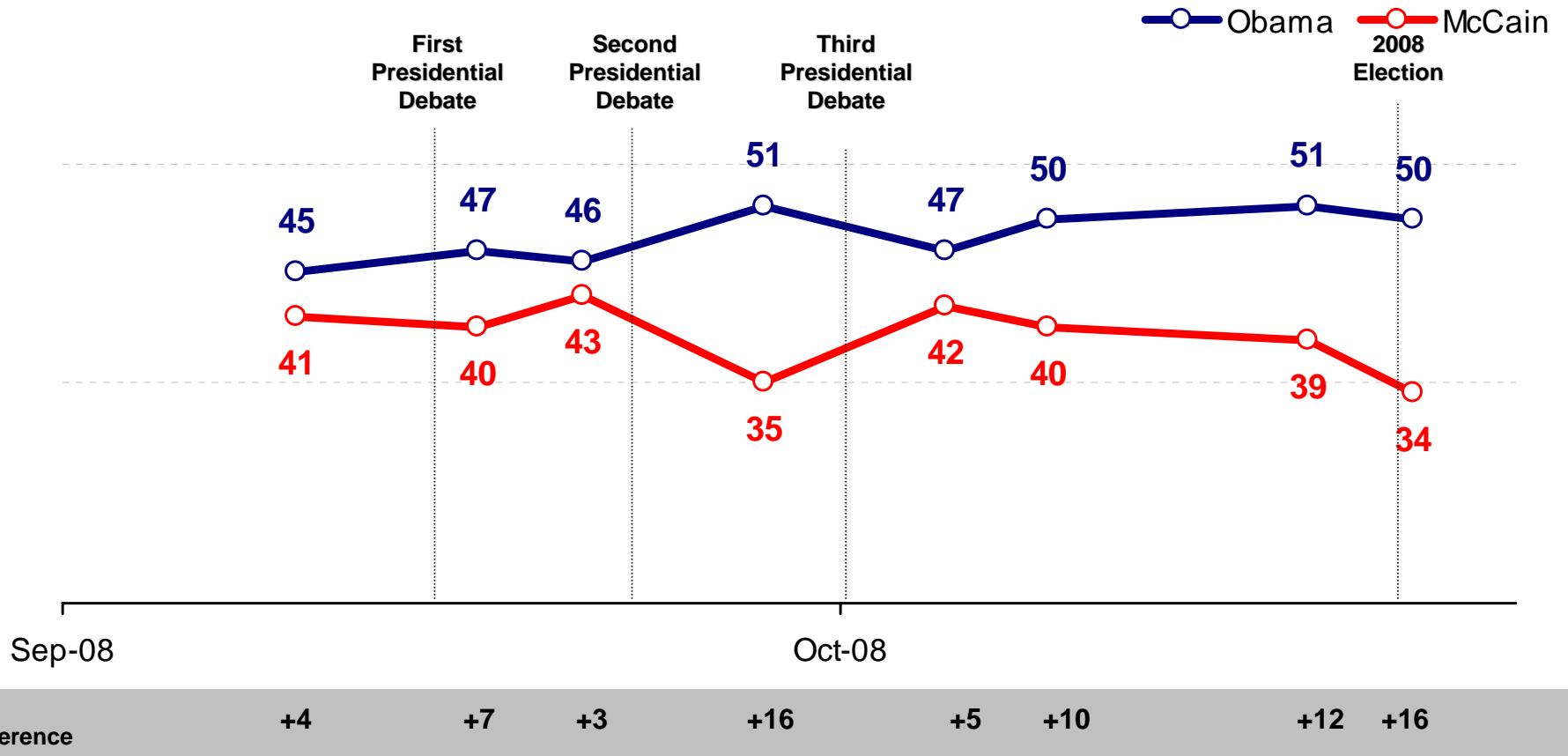
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue... **The Economy.**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

# Obama better to handle the financial crisis, McCain loses ground

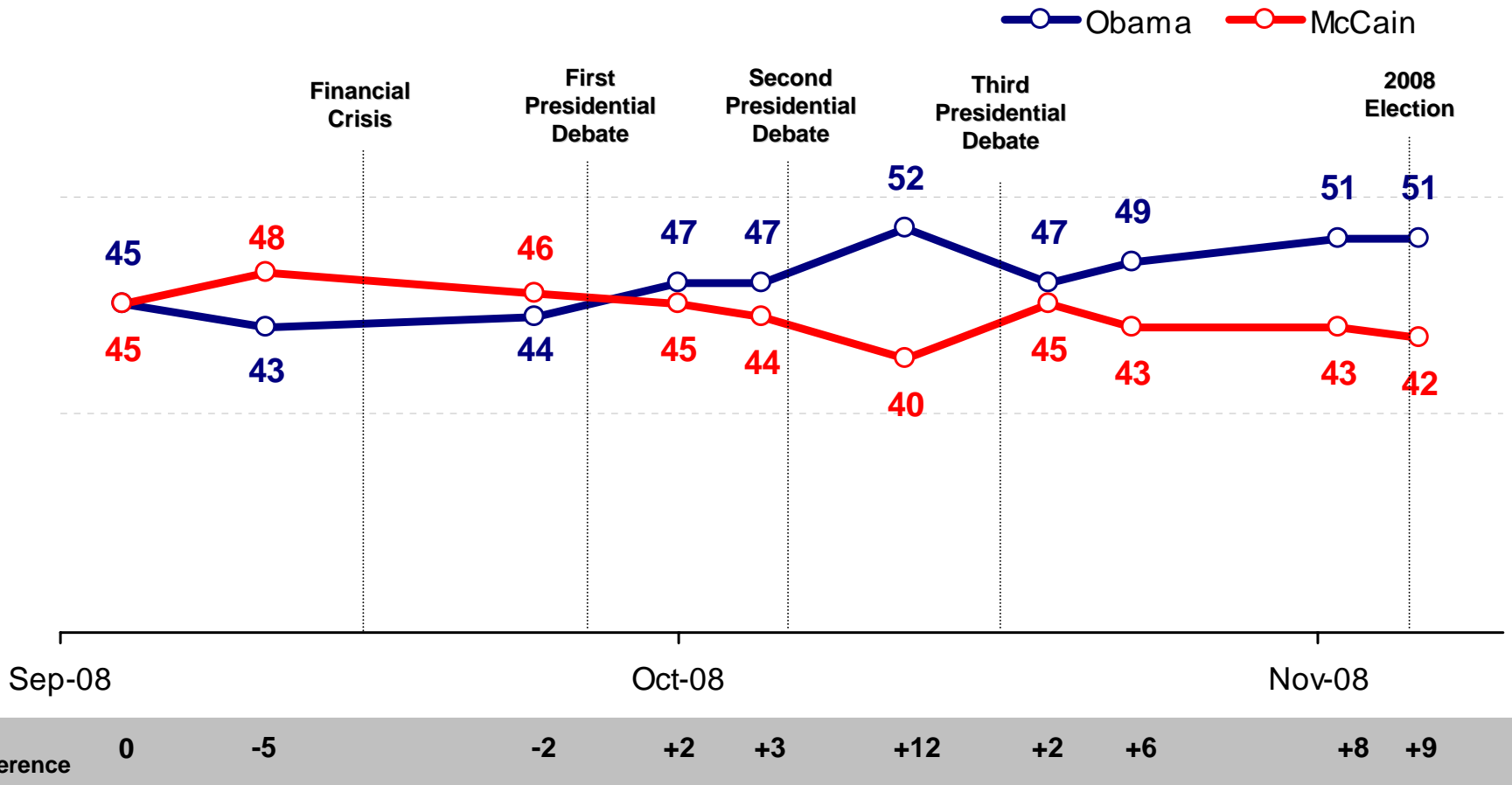
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue... **Financial crisis in the country.**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

# Obama dominates closing tax debate

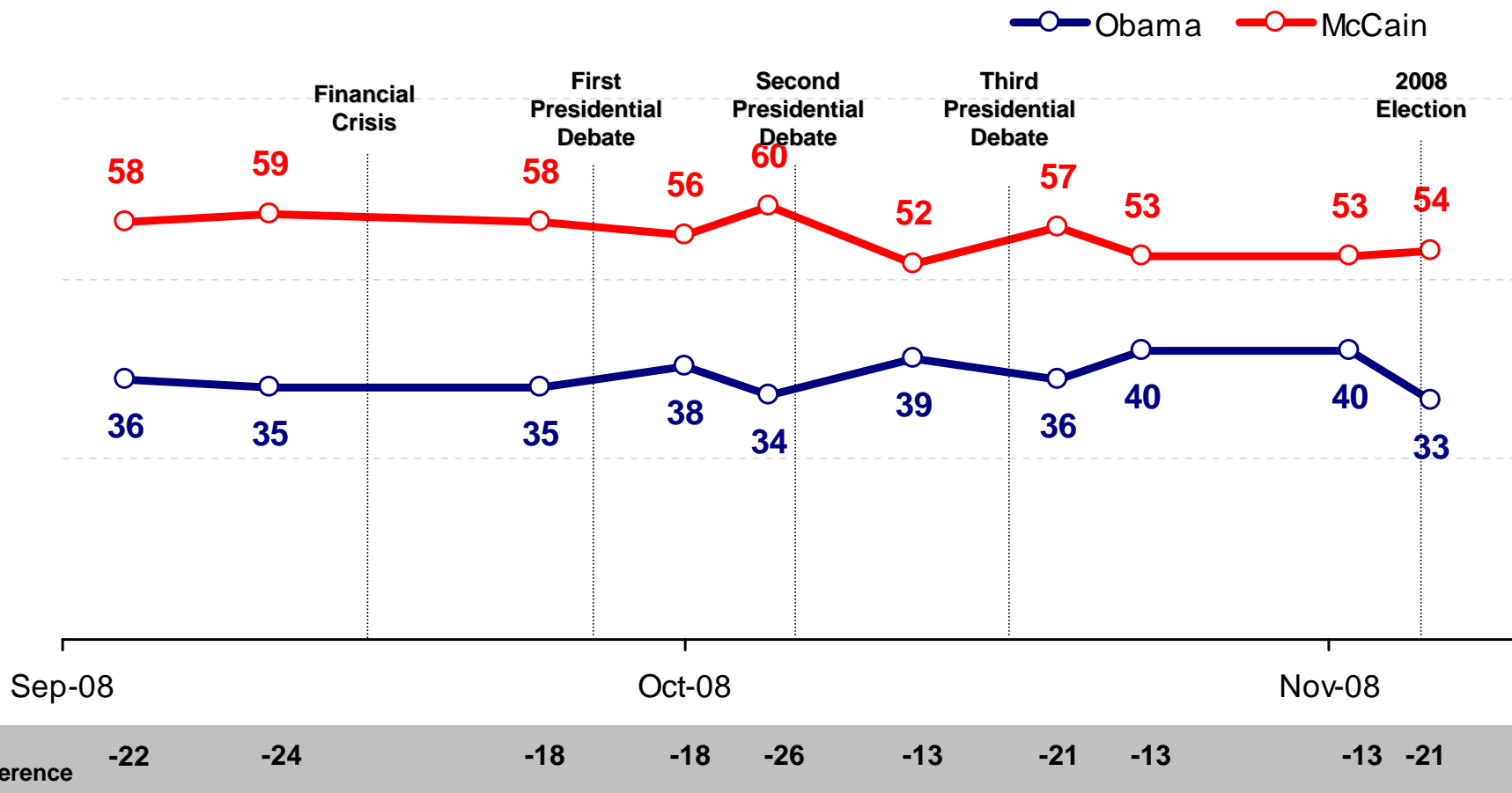
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue... **Taxes.**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

# Obama weakens on national security at end

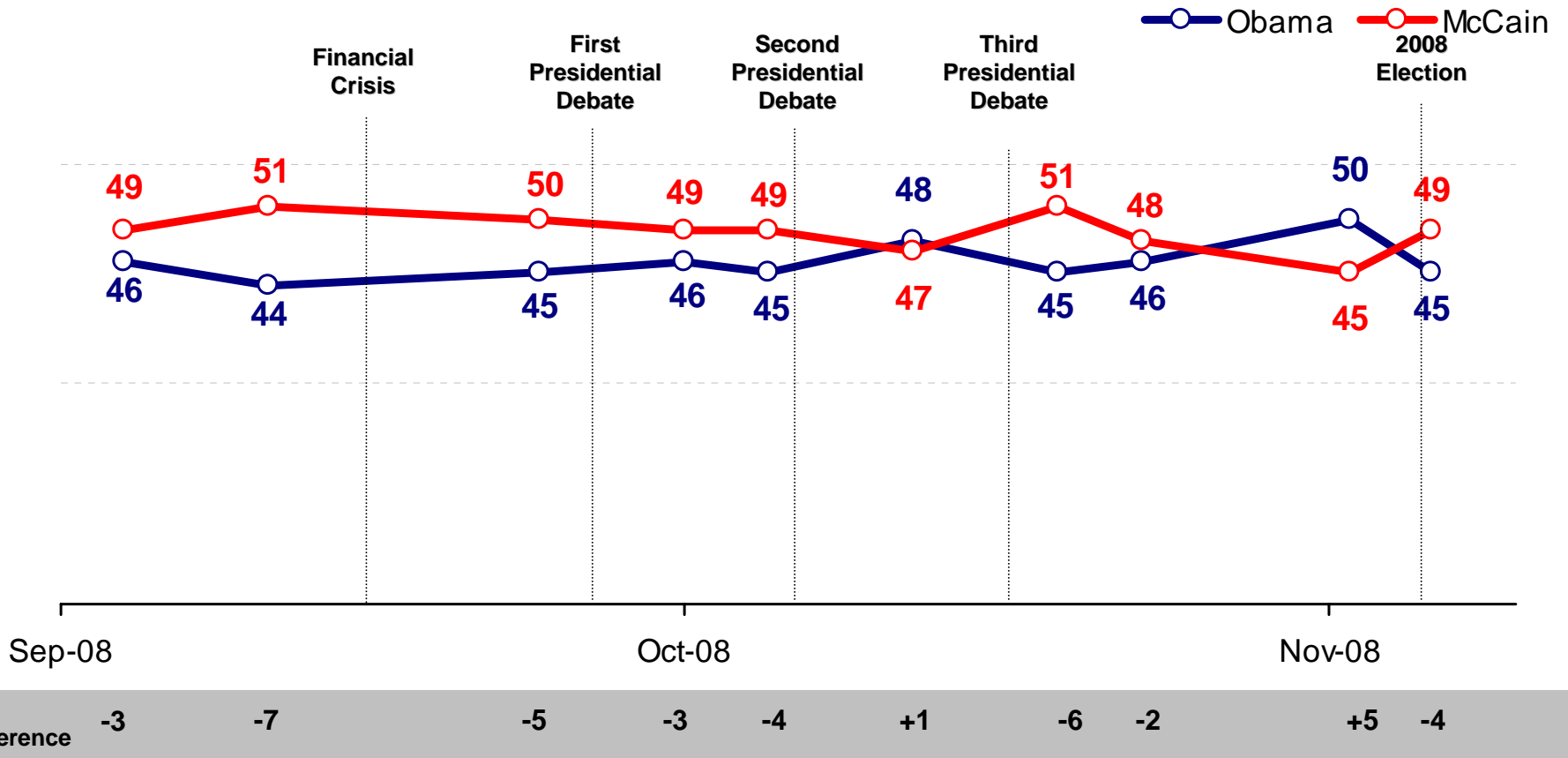
Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue... **National Security.**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

# Iraq breaks almost evenly for the candidates

Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue... **The situation in Iraq.**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last three months.

## Regressions: Obama favorability predictor of vote nationally

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Vote Drivers:	Odds Ratio
• <i>Obama Thermometer</i>	4.09
• <i>Party ID</i>	4.01
• <i>McCain Thermometer</i>	2.08
• <i>Biden Thermometer</i>	2.01

## Regressions: Predictors of vote nationally (CAF)

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Vote Drivers:	Odds Ratio
• <i>Better Job on “Economy”</i>	3.80
• <i>Better Job on “Taxes”</i>	3.46
• <i>Better Job on “National Security”</i>	2.67
• <i>Party ID</i>	2.07

## Regressions: Predictors of vote nationally (Democracy Corps)

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Vote Drivers:	Odds Ratio
• <i>Better Associated with “On Your Side”</i>	4.92
• <i>Better Associated with “Shares Your Values”</i>	2.42
• <i>Party ID</i>	2.18
• <i>Better Associated with “Strong Leader”</i>	2.17

## Regressions: Drivers of Obama favorability (Democracy Corps)

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Thermometer Drivers:	Odds Ratio
• <i>Will Keep America Strong</i>	2.67
• <i>Makes me Hopeful about the Future</i>	2.49
• <i>Has What it Takes to be President</i>	1.94
• <i>Better Associated with “Shares Your Values”</i>	1.63
• <i>Better Associated with “Bring the Right Kind of Change”</i>	1.51

## Regressions: Drivers of Obama favorability (CAF)

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Thermometer Drivers:	Odds Ratio
• <i>Better Job on “Economy”</i>	2.27
• <i>Better Job on “National Security”</i>	2.03
• <i>Better Job on “Taxes”</i>	2.02
• <i>Better Job on “Education”</i>	1.89

# Why People Voted the Way They Did

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# Reasons for supporting John McCain

Now let me read you a list reasons to support John McCain. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for John McCain?

Strong leader/commander-in-chief



Supported surge, no Iraq retreat



POW, puts country first



**Security and Strength**

Drill for oil, energy independence



Would cut taxes



**Policy**

Stabilize home prices, fix crisis



Health care tax credit plan



Is a maverick who works with both parties



Would end earmarks and pork barrel spending



**Reformer**

Is a reformer



Picked Sarah Palin as his running mate



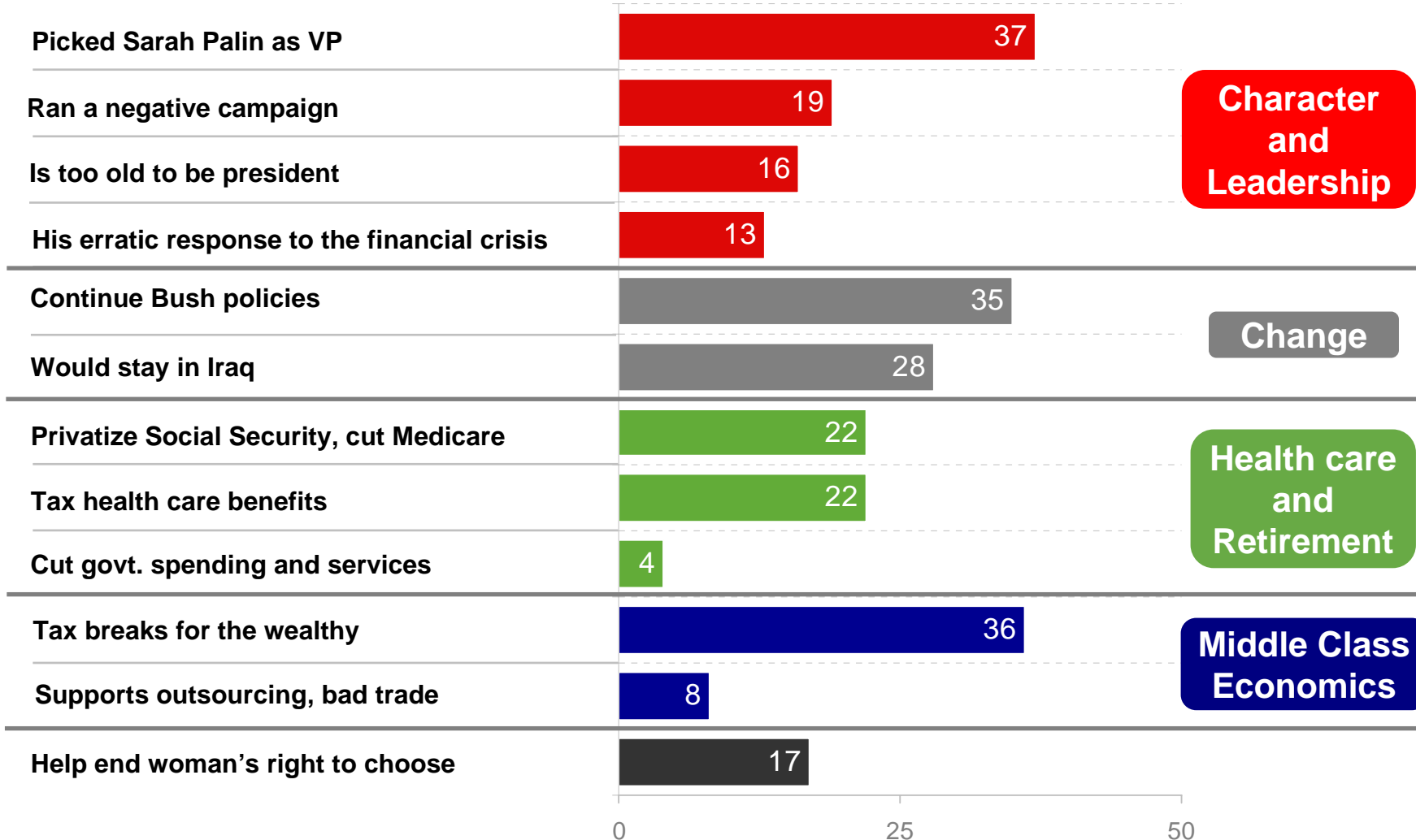
I just couldn't vote for Barack Obama



0 25 50

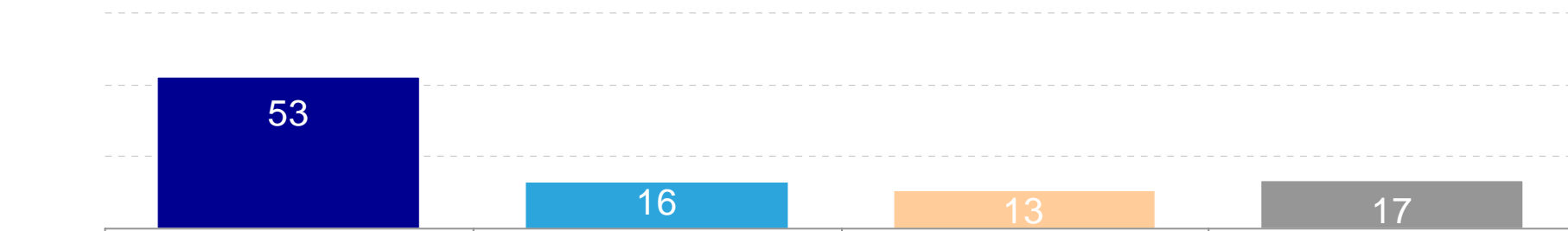
# Reasons not to support John McCain

Let me read you a list of doubts about John McCain. Regardless of how you voted, which THREE describe the most important reasons NOT to vote for John McCain?



# Reasons for not supporting John McCain

Let me read you a list of doubts about John McCain. Regardless of how you voted, which THREE describe the most important reasons NOT to vote for John McCain?

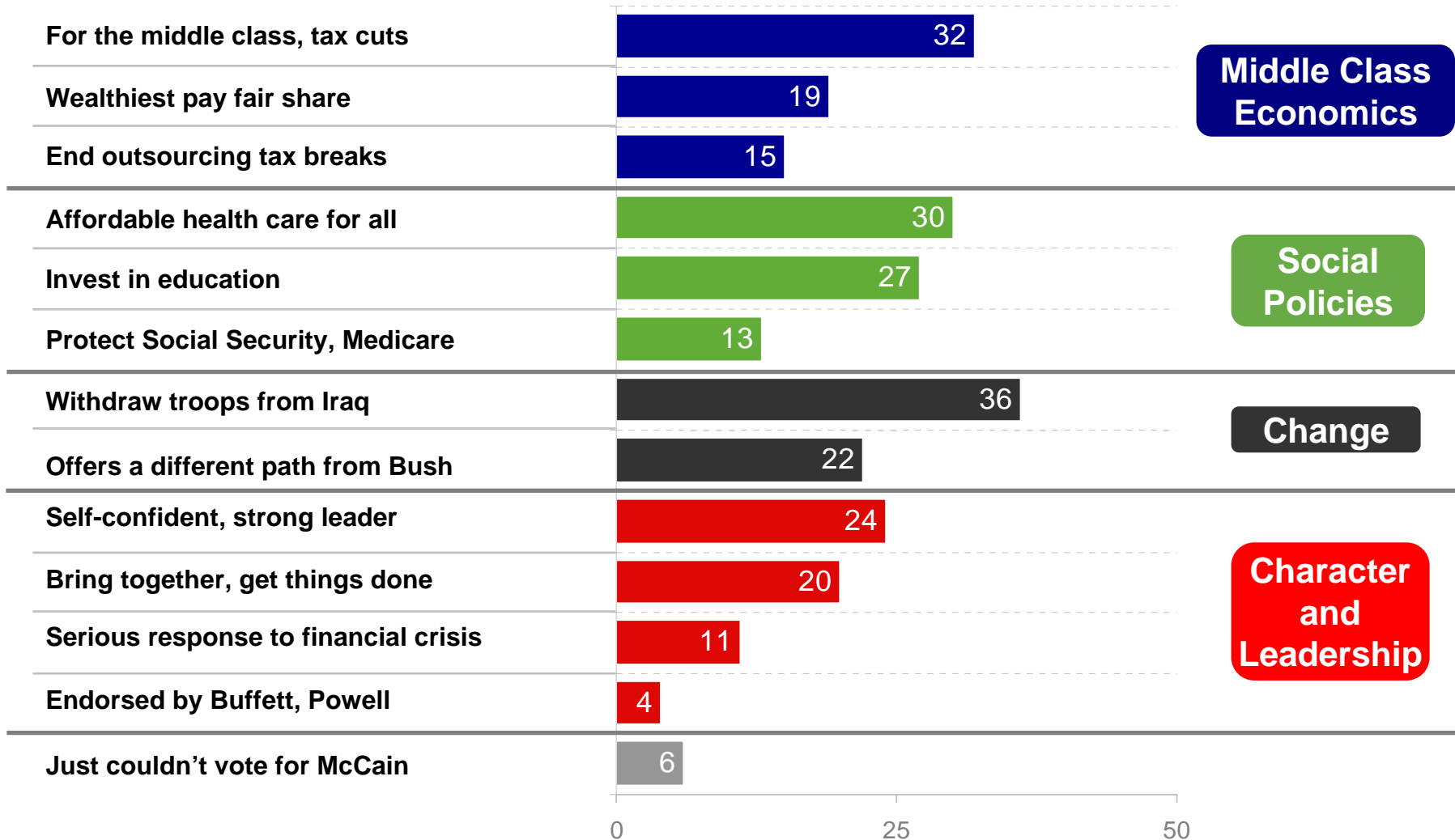


	Total Obama Voters	“Wavering” Obama Voters	“Wavering” McCain Voters	Independents
1st	Picked Sarah Palin for VP (43%)	Picked Sarah Palin for VP (52%)	Tax breaks for the wealthy (29%)	Picked Sarah Palin for VP (39%)
2nd	Continue Bush Policies (39%)	Tax breaks for the wealthy (34%)	Privatize Social Security (29%)	Tax breaks for the wealthy (34%)
3rd	Tax breaks for the wealthy (37%)	Continue Bush policies (32%)	Tax health care benefits (29%)	Continue Bush policies (31%)

Note: Question not asked of those who voted for McCain **and** did **not** consider voting for Barack Obama; *independents* percentage (shown above) reflects the percentage of the total population answering this question that are independents.

# Reasons for supporting Barack Obama

Now let me read you a list reasons to support Barack Obama. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for Barack Obama?



# Reasons for supporting Barack Obama

Now let me read you a list reasons to support Barack Obama. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for Barack Obama?

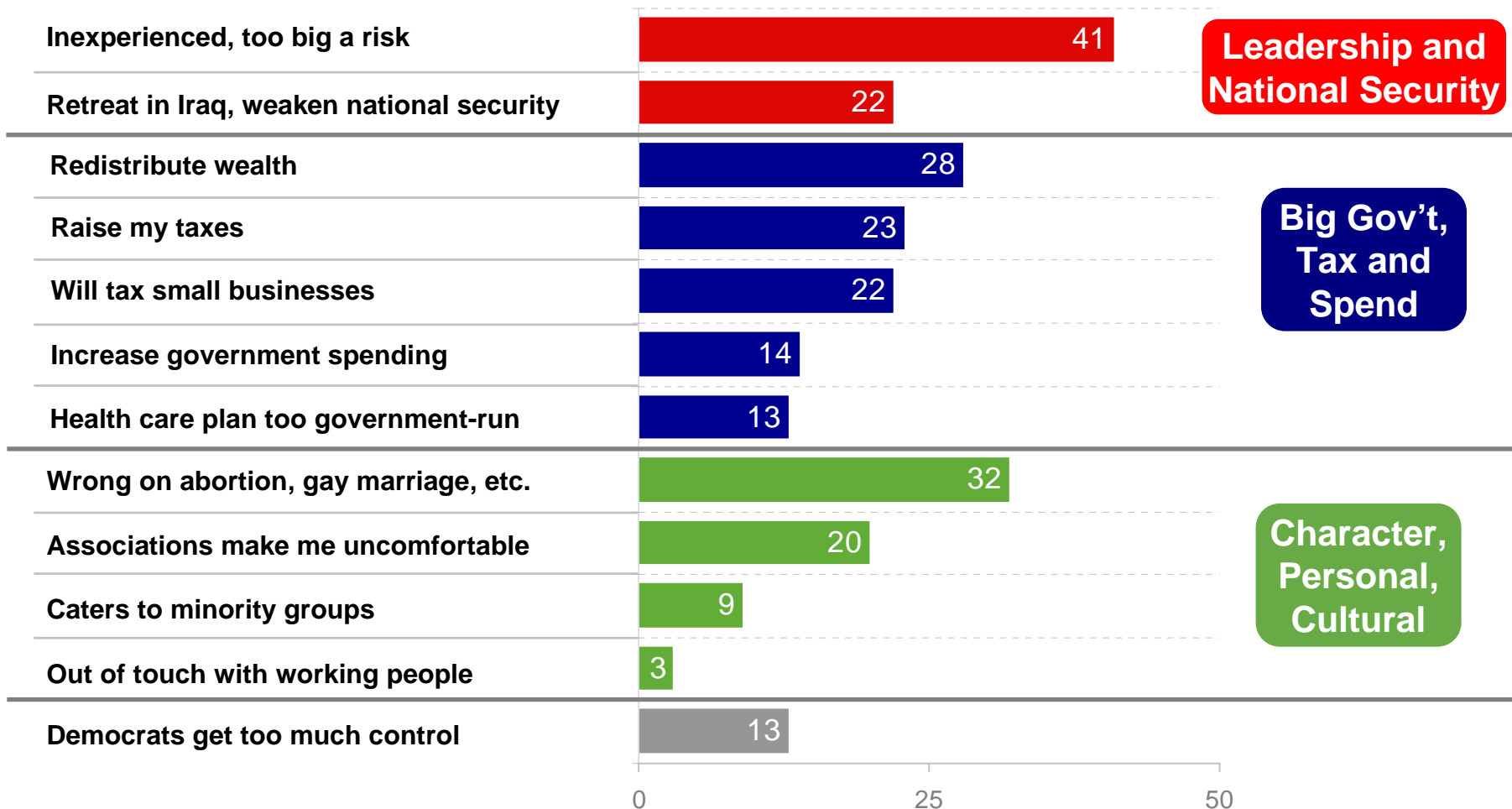


	“Certain” Obama Voters	“Wavering” Obama Voters	Independents
<b>1<sup>st</sup></b>	Withdraw from Iraq (33%)	Withdraw from Iraq (42%)	Withdraw from Iraq (35%)
<b>2<sup>nd</sup></b>	Cut Middle Class Taxes (30%)	Cut Middle Class Taxes (37%)	Cut Middle Class Taxes (33%)
<b>3<sup>rd</sup></b>	Affordable Healthcare (30%)	Affordable Healthcare (29%)	Bring People Together (28%)

Note: “Certain” Obama voters voted Obama and did not consider voting for McCain. “Wavering” Obama voters did consider supporting McCain. “Certain” and “wavering” percentage (shown above) taken from total number of respondents; independents percentage (shown above) reflects the percentage of the total population answering this question that are independents.

# Reasons for not supporting Barack Obama

Now let me read you a list reasons to support Barack Obama. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for Barack Obama?

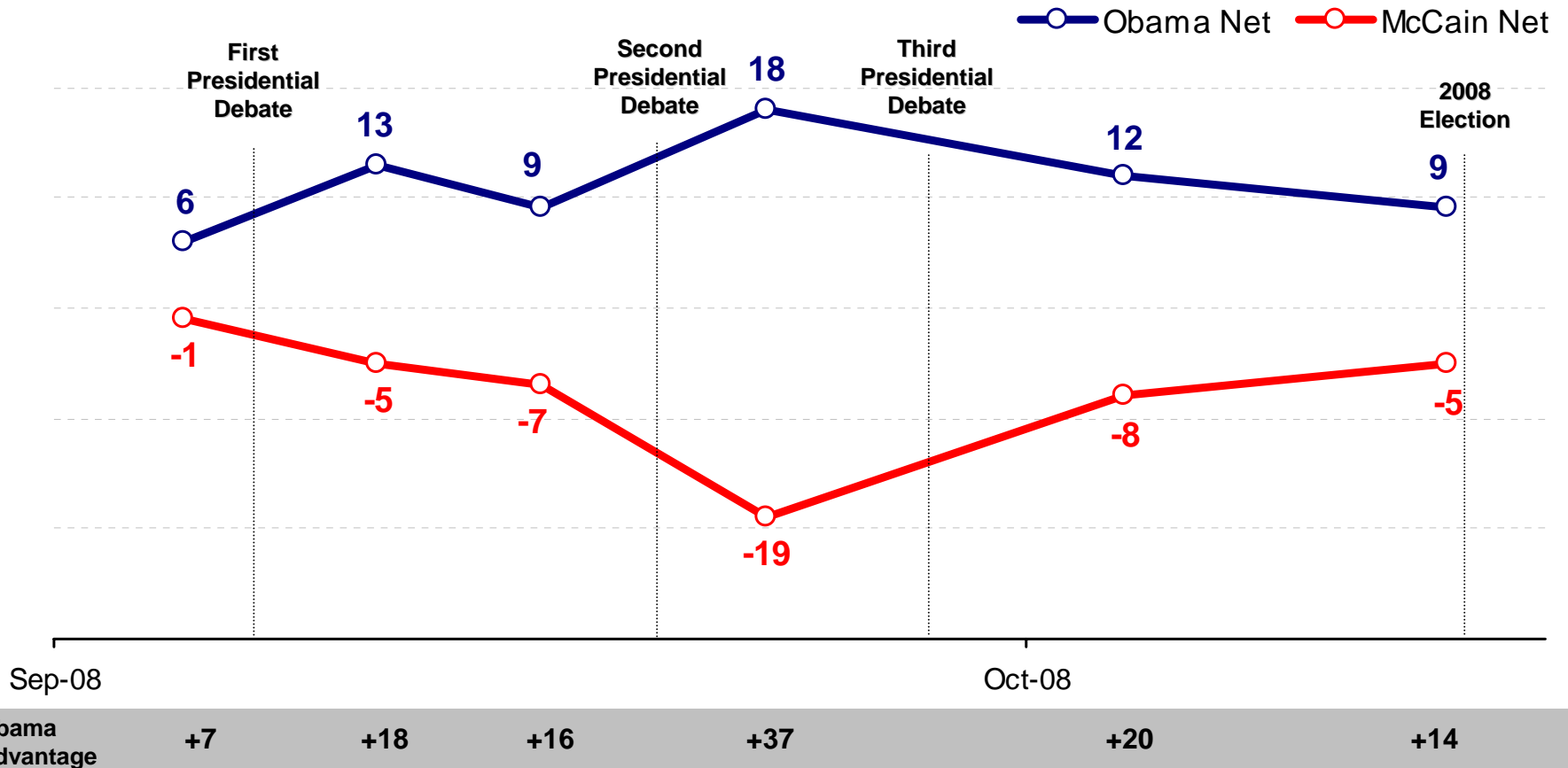


# The Extraordinary Campaign

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# Information environment relentlessly positive for Obama

*Has what you have seen, heard or read about Barack Obama/John McCain in the past couple of days made you feel more positive or less positive in your opinion of him?*



*\*Note: Time series data from Democracy Corps survey of 1000 likely voters conducted October 30 – November 2, 2008*

# New forms of campaign communications

Now I'd like to ask you which presidential candidate's campaign has tried more to reach you in different ways, Barack Obama or John McCain.

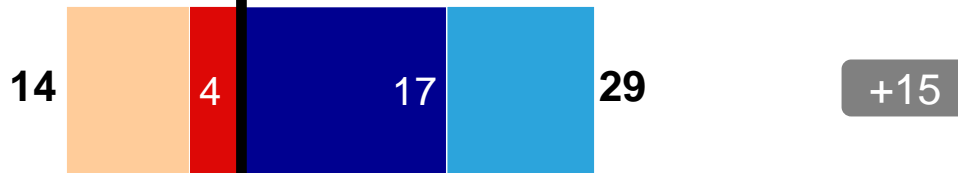
**Obama Advantage**

■ John McCain much more ■ McCain smwht more/both ■ Barack Obama much more ■ Obama smwht more/both

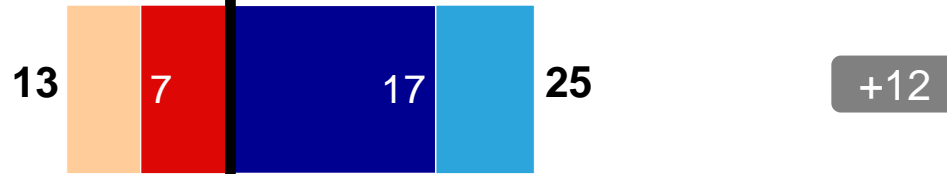
**Watched a campaign commercial online**



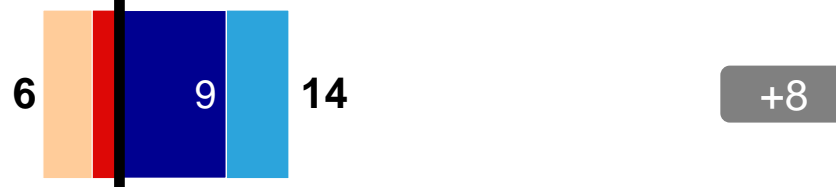
**Visited a campaign-sponsored website**



**Received emails from the campaigns or other political organizations**



**Received campaign or candidate information on your cell phone or personal digital assistant**



30 15 0 15 30 45

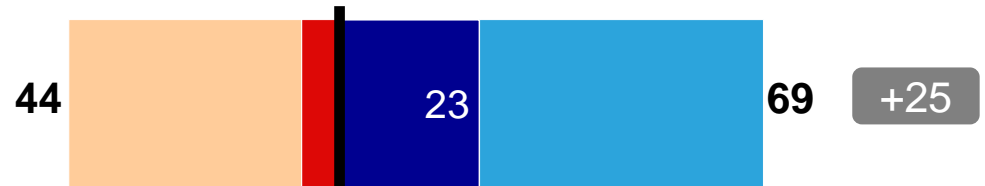
# Traditional campaign communications

Now I'd like to ask you which presidential candidate's campaign has tried more to reach you in different ways, Barack Obama or John McCain.

**Obama Advantage**

■ John McCain much more ■ McCain smwht more/both ■ Barack Obama much more ■ Obama smwht more/both

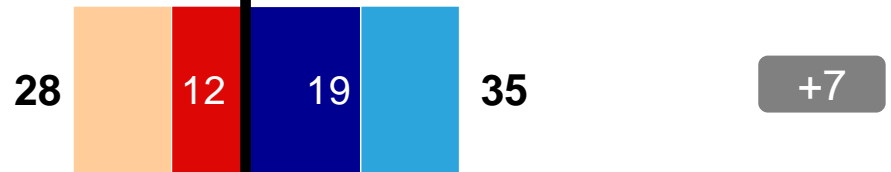
**Watched campaign ads on television**



**Spoken with someone who came to your door from the campaigns or another political organization**



**Received phone calls from the campaigns or other political organization**



**Received printed materials in the mail from the campaigns or another political organization**



\*Note: Ads on television not asked pre-election.



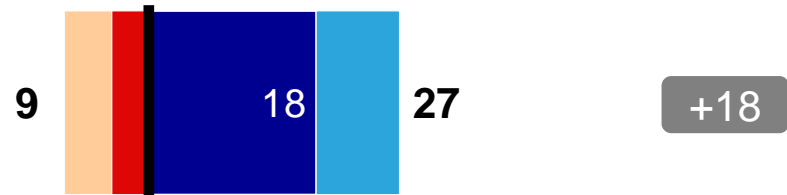
# Modes of political participation

Now I'd like to ask you which presidential candidate's campaign has tried more to reach you in different ways, Barack Obama or John McCain.

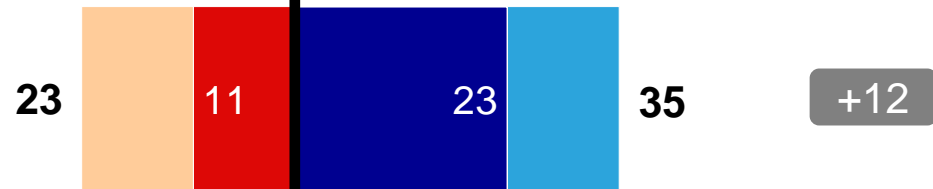
**Obama Advantage**

■ John McCain much more ■ McCain smwht more/both ■ Barack Obama much more ■ Obama smwht more/both

**Contacted by a friend, neighbor or co-worker, volunteering on behalf of a campaign**



**Contacted by the campaign and urged to vote in the last few days before the election**



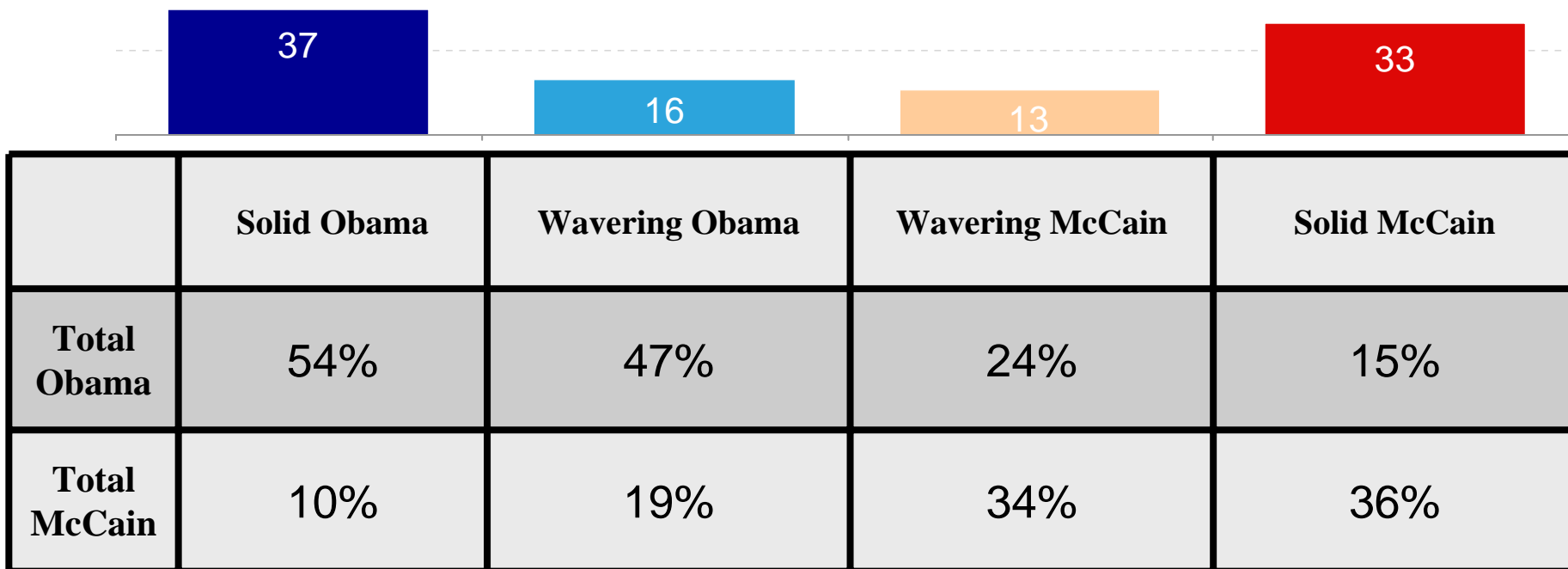
**Volunteered yourself and worked for a campaign**



\*Note: Questions not asked in pre-election survey.

## Last 72 Hour Contact

Now let me read you a list reasons to support Barack Obama. Which THREE describe the most important reasons why you voted for Barack Obama?



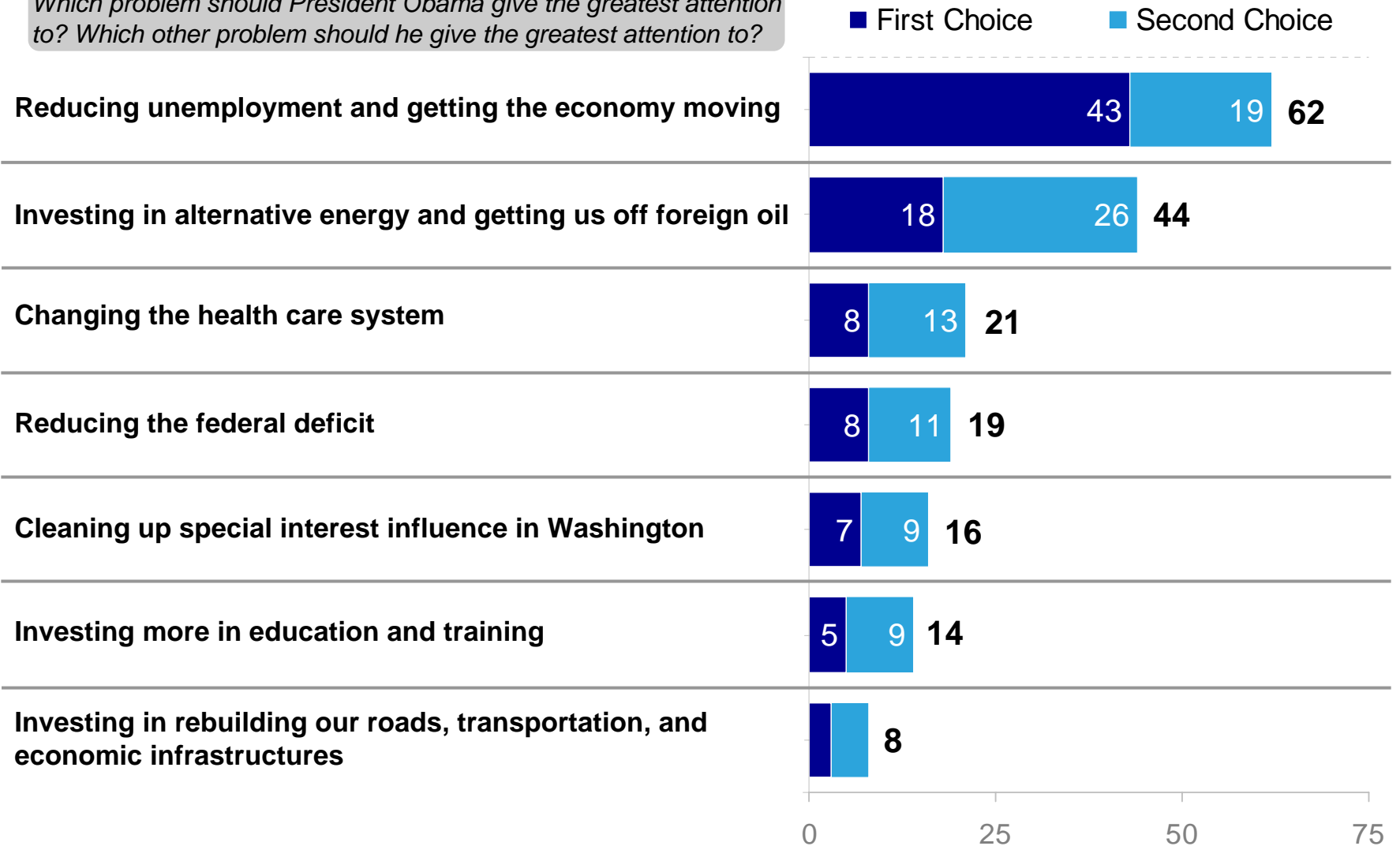
Note: "Certain" Obama voters voted Obama and did not consider voting for McCain. "Wavering" Obama voters did consider supporting McCain. All percentages reflect percentages within their category: certain and wavering out of total voters.

# The Economy as Dominant Issue

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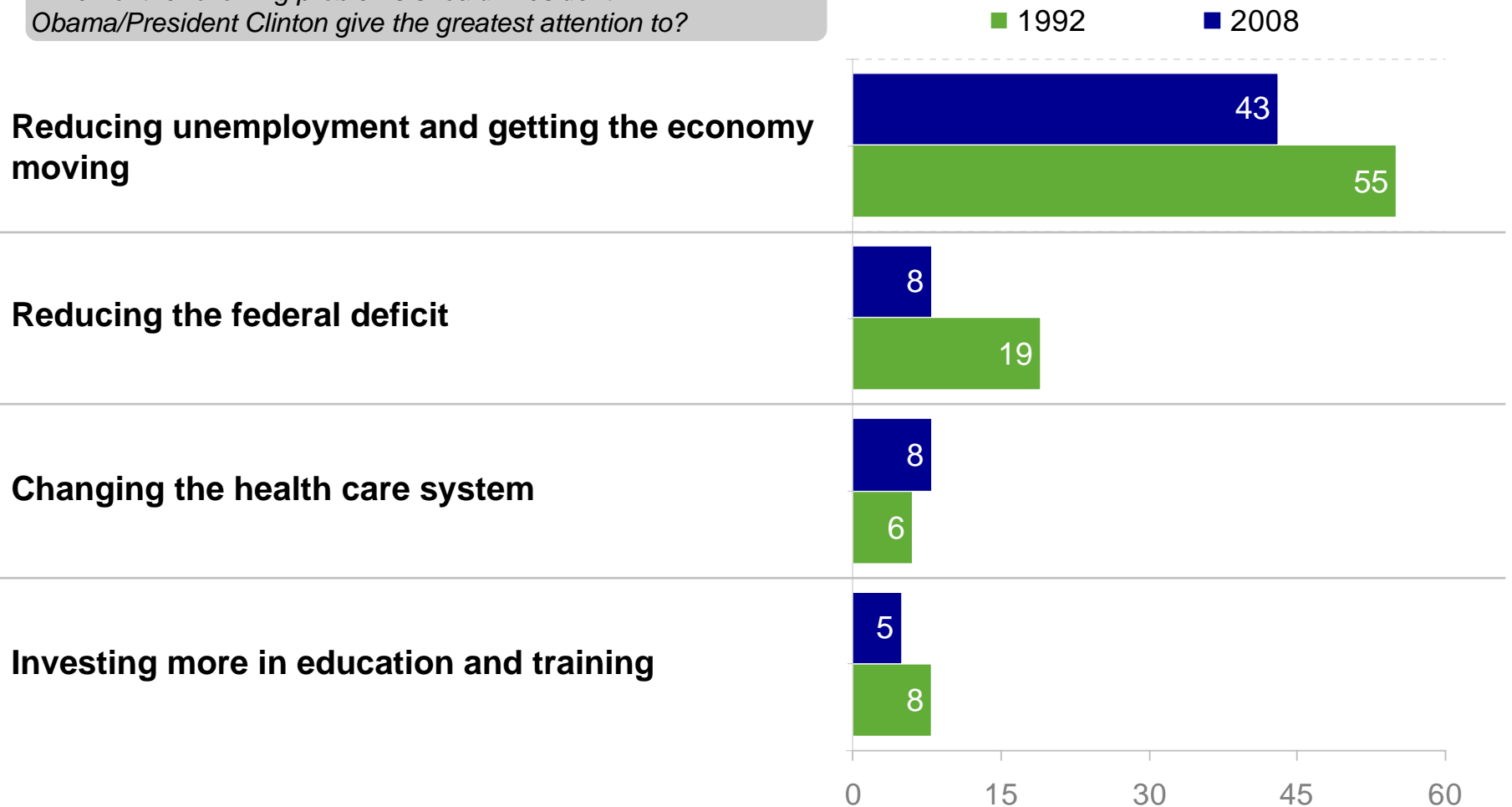
# Most important economic issues: 2008

*Which problem should President Obama give the greatest attention to? Which other problem should he give the greatest attention to?*



# Most important economic issues: 2008 vs. 1992

Which of the following problems should President Obama/President Clinton give the greatest attention to?



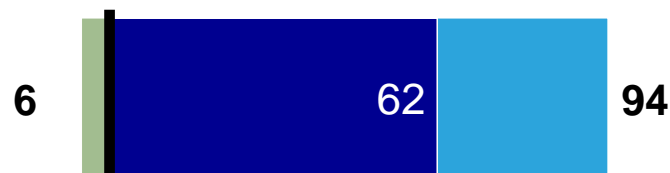
\*Note: 1992 data from Greenberg-Lake, the Analysis Group conducted November 4-8, 1992.

## Most serious economic problems

*I am going to read you a list of issues relating to the economy. For each issue I want you to tell me whether today you think it is a very serious problem, a serious problem, not too serious a problem, or not a problem at all in the current economy?*

■ Not at all serious    
 ■ Not too serious a problem    
 ■ Very serious problem    
 ■ Serious problem

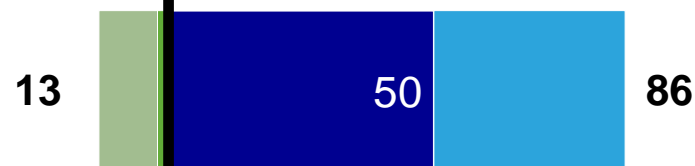
**Too much debt, little savings and high interest payments that leave people squeezed**



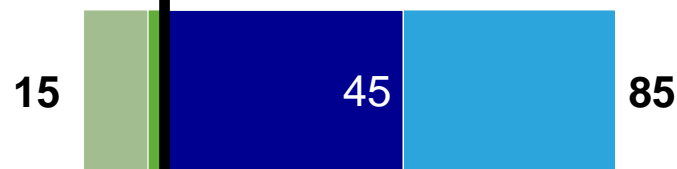
**The risk of losing a job and not being able to find one with similar benefits like health care very quickly**



**The inability to get good jobs because jobs are being outsourced, company operations moved overseas, or because products are now made abroad**



**Insecurity, where people could find their pensions not offering the income they thought they would receive**

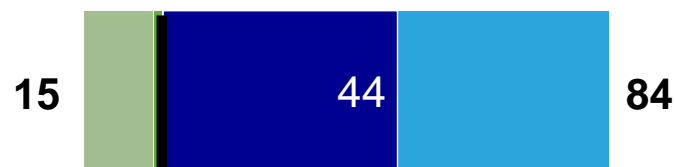


## Next most serious economic problems

*I am going to read you a list of issues relating to the economy. For each issue I want you to tell me whether today you think it is a very serious problem, a serious problem, not too serious a problem, or not a problem at all in the current economy?*

■ Not at all serious    
 ■ Not too serious a problem    
 ■ Very serious problem    
 ■ Serious problem

**Failure to make the investments we need in education and research to maintain America's leadership.**



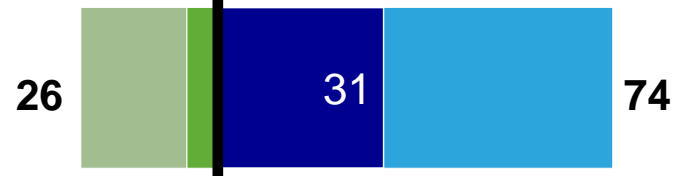
**The richest 1 percent are seeing big increases in their income and wealth and most other people are seeing no increase or little increase in their income each year.**



**Inequality, where the richest 1 percent are seeing big increases in their income and wealth and most other people are seeing no increase or little increase in their income each year.**



**Most people in the country receiving no increase or little increase in income each year.**



# The Agenda

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# The Highest Priorities

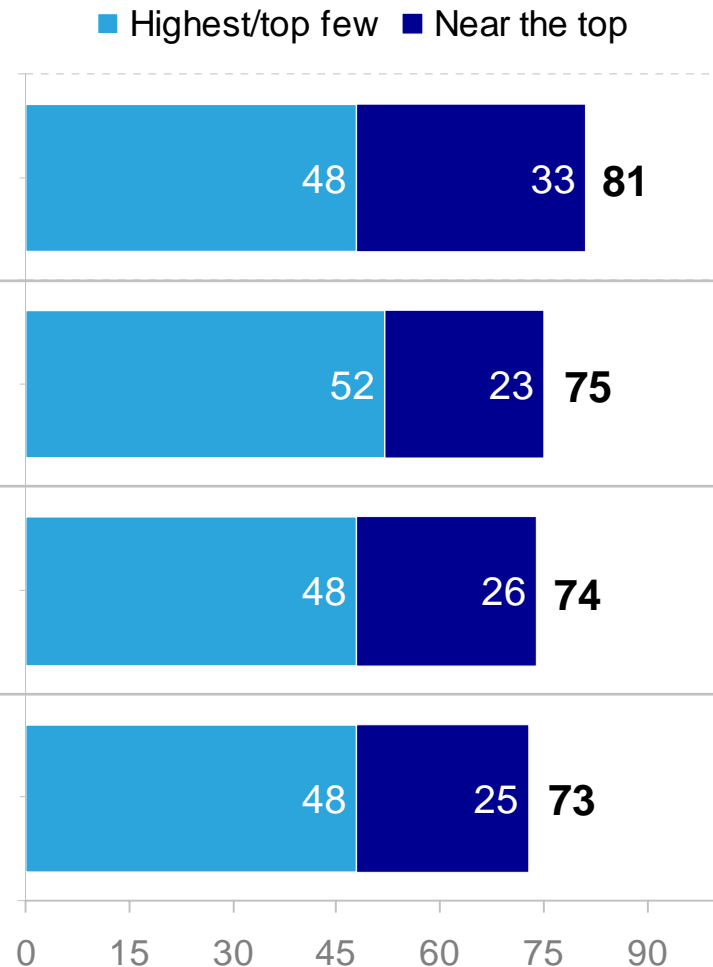
*Which of the following problems should President Obama/President Clinton give the greatest attention to?*

**End dependence on foreign oil by 2025 by requiring one quarter of U.S. electric power to come from alternative energy where new investments will create new jobs**

**End the war in Iraq responsibly and redeploy our troops from Iraq to Afghanistan**

**Regulate the banking system to make sure a financial crisis like this one can never happen again.**

**Make health insurance affordable and accessible to all Americans**



# Economic Projects Compete for Attention

*Which of the following problems should President Obama/President Clinton give the greatest attention to?*

■ Highest/top few ■ Near the top

**Repeal the Bush tax cuts for those making over \$250,000 and cut taxes for middle class families and anyone making under \$200,000**



**Make job-creating investments in America's aging roads and transportation systems and stimulate new economic activity**



**Repeal tax breaks that benefit companies that move jobs overseas**



**Raise the minimum wage so full-time workers earn a living wage that can cover basic needs for their family**



**Enact a three-month moratorium on all foreclosures so that people don't lose their homes**



**Make college affordable to all Americans with a tax credit of \$4,000 in exchange for community service**



**Expand opportunities for employees to organize in unions so full-time workers earn a living wage that can cover basic needs for their family**



0 15 30 45 60 75 90

# Progressive Winds Shaping Role of Government

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# Middle class is financially squeezed and in decline

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.

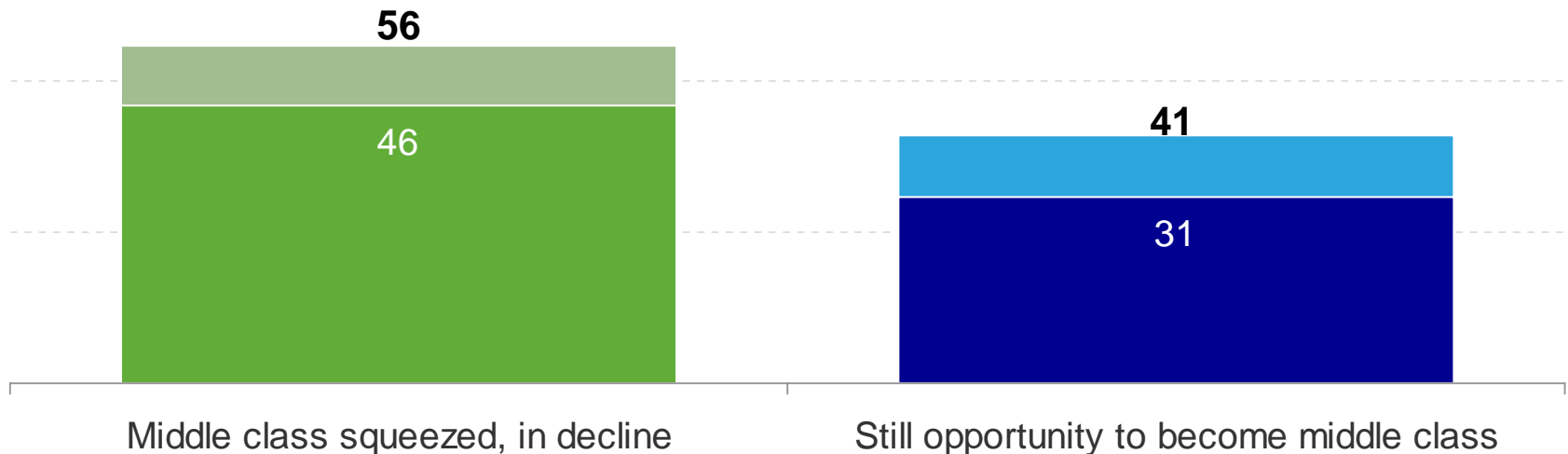
**Statement 1:** America has been a middle class country but now the middle class is financially squeezed and in decline.

**Statement 2:** America is a country where there is still broad opportunity to become middle class.

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly

- First statement somewhat
- Second statement somewhat

+15

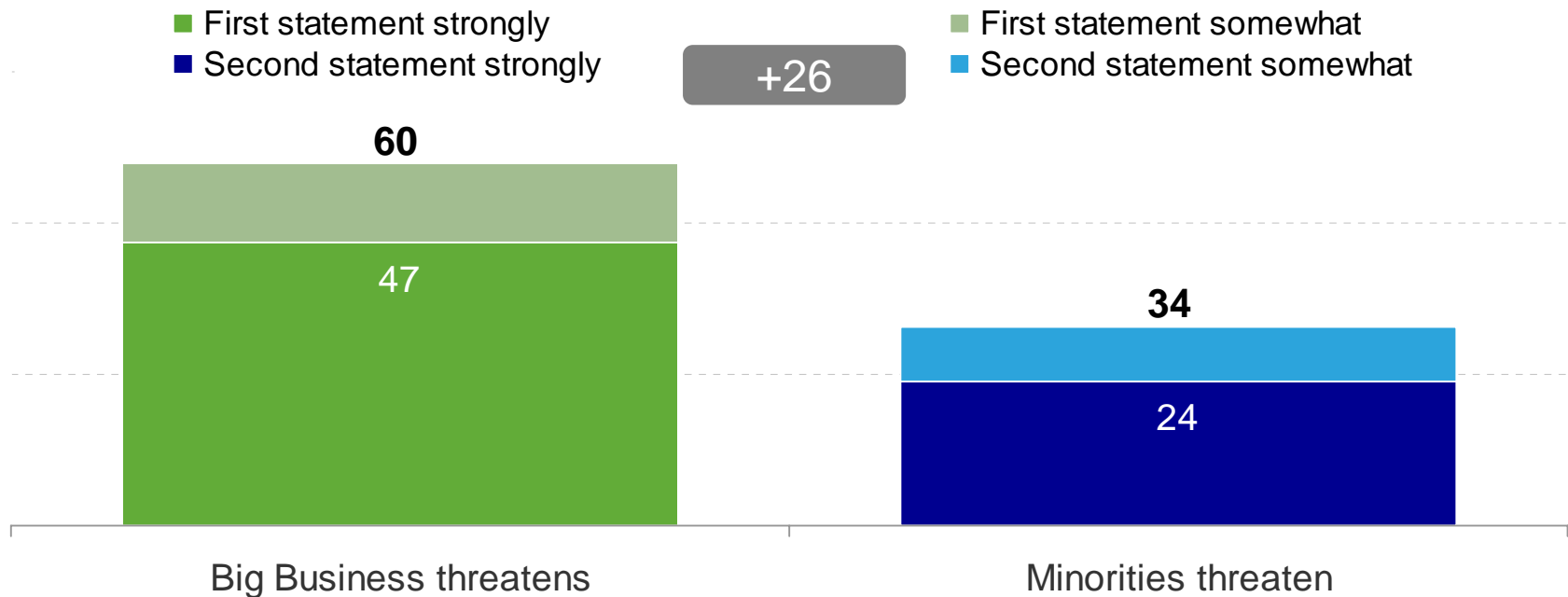


# MC threatened by global and economic forces, not minorities/immigrants

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.

**Statement 1:** The middle class now is more threatened by global trade, CEOs who care more about their companies than their own country and politicians who support free trade agreements backed by corporate special interests.

**Statement 2:** The middle class today is more threatened by affirmative action for minorities who don't take responsibility for their own lives and by illegal immigrants getting free government benefits.



# More worried that we will give more tax breaks to rich and corporations

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.

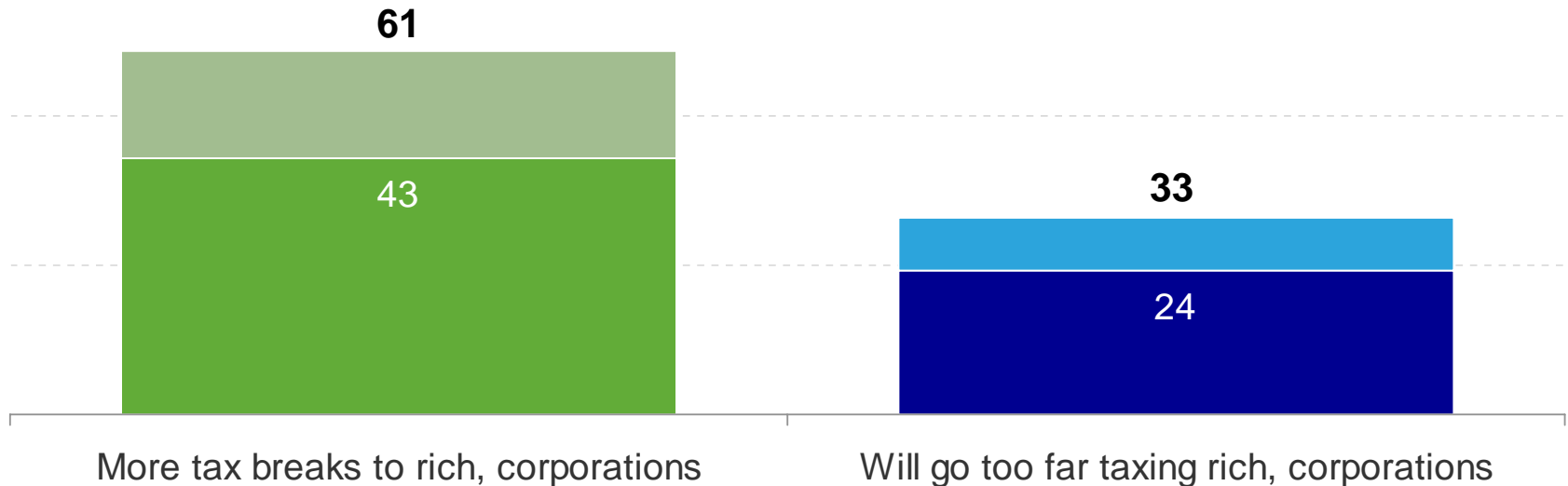
**Statement 1:** I'm more worried that we will give more tax breaks to the rich and corporations

**Statement 2:** I'm more worried that we will go too far taxing the rich and corporations.

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly

- First statement somewhat
- Second statement somewhat

+28



# Voters overwhelmingly prefer investing in schools over vouchers

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.

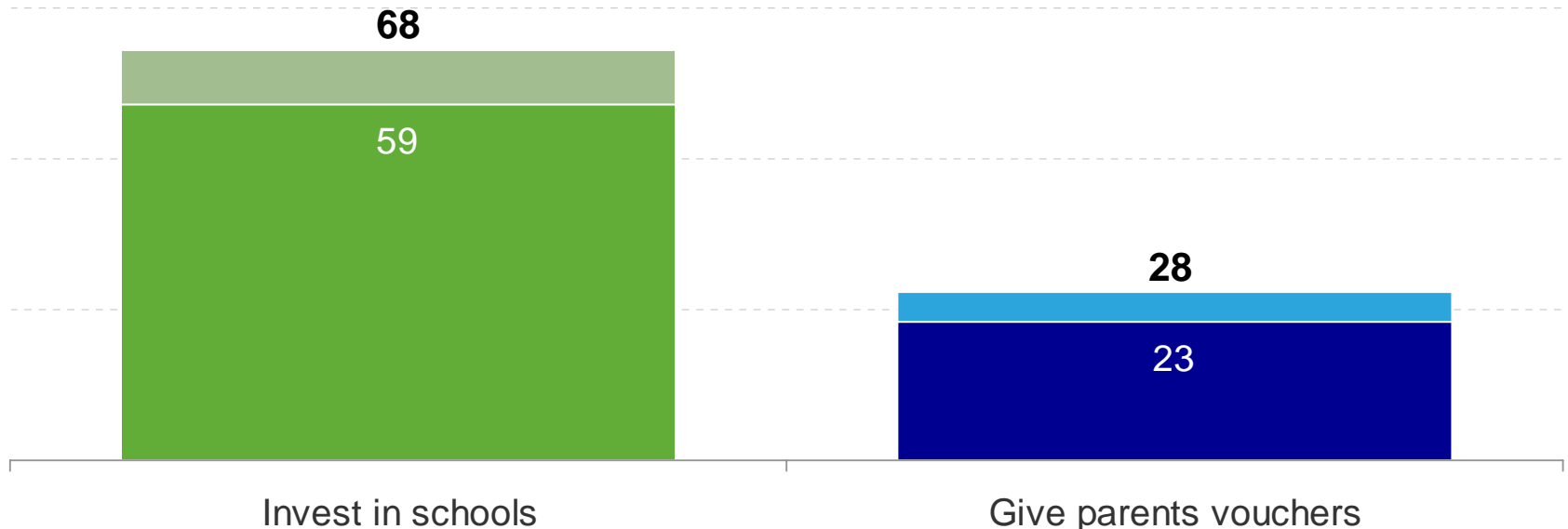
**Statement 1:** We need to reform our public schools and invest properly so that we can give our children a world class education.

**Statement 2:** We need to reform our schools by giving parents vouchers so they have more choice and can send their children to private schools when public schools are failing

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly

- First statement somewhat
- Second statement somewhat

+40



# Voters more worried that too little will be done to enforce fair trade

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.

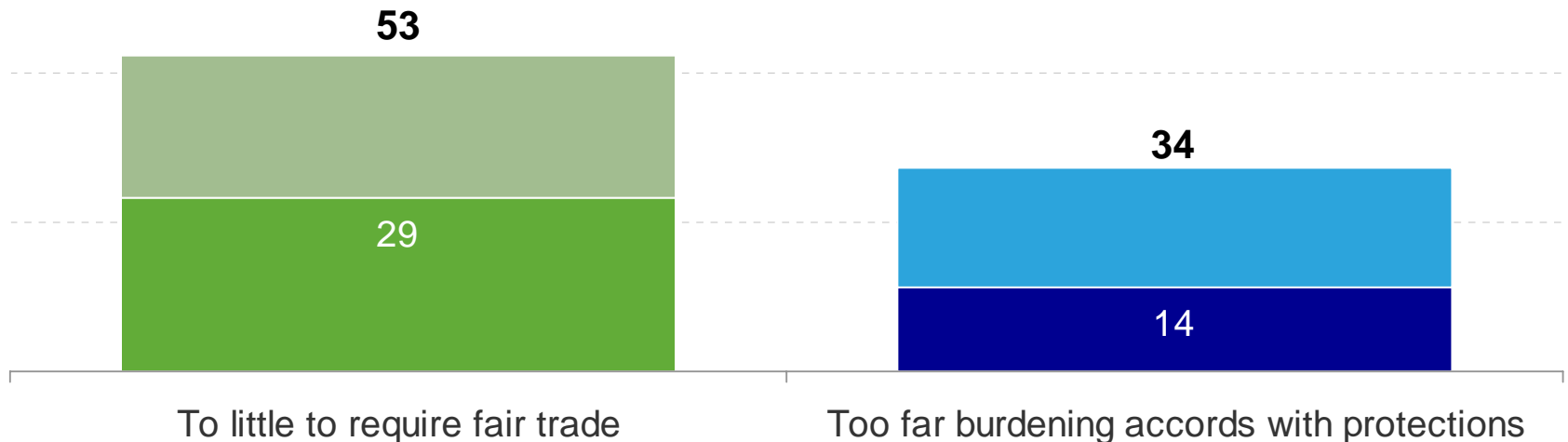
**Statement 1:** I'm more worried that we will do too little to require fair trade and enforce worker and consumer protections.

**Statement 2:** I'm more worried that we will go too far burdening free trade accords with protections for consumers and labor.

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly

- First statement somewhat
- Second statement somewhat

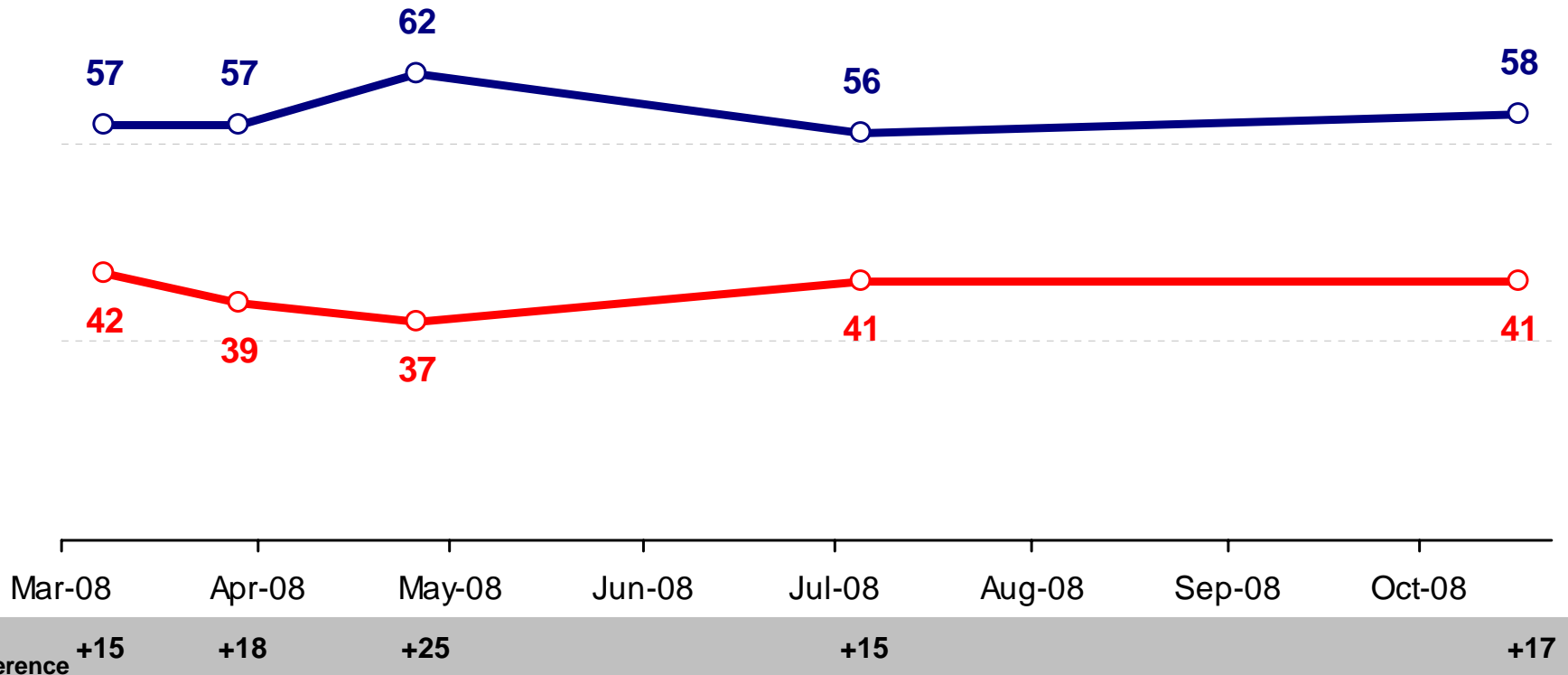
+19



## Support for reducing troops stable and strong

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

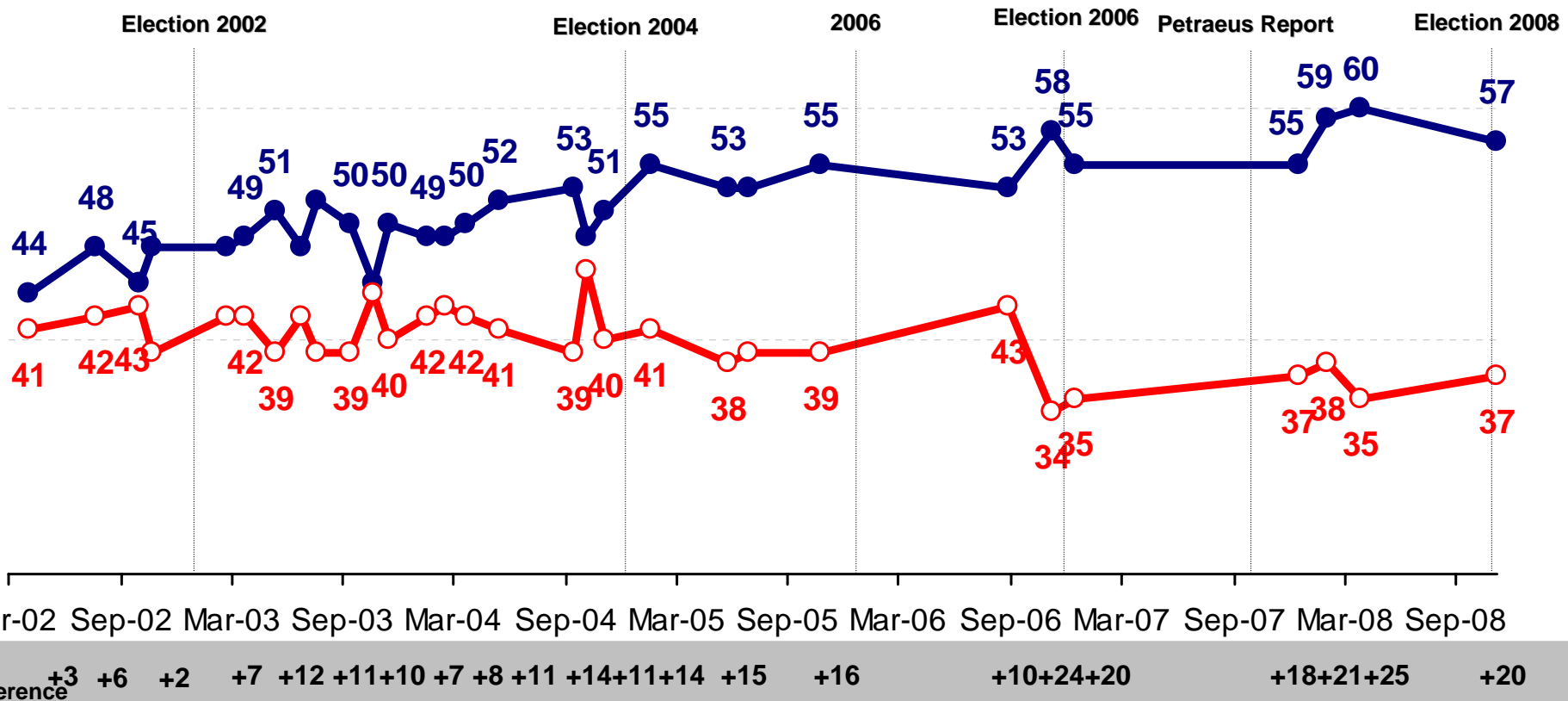


\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last several months.

# Support for multilateralism near highest level

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:

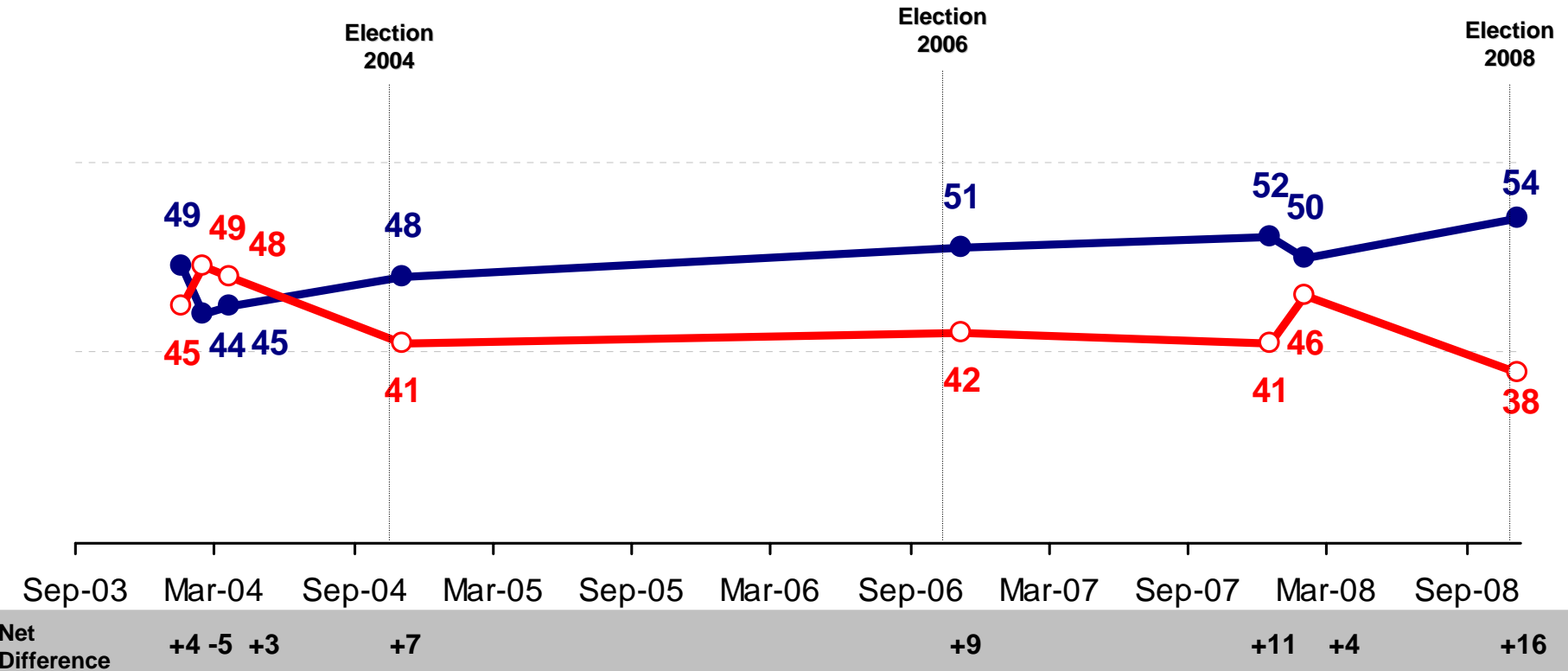
- **America's security depends on building strong ties with other nations.**
- **Bottom line, America's security depends on its own military strength.**



# Inexorable gains on tolerance on sexual preference

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:

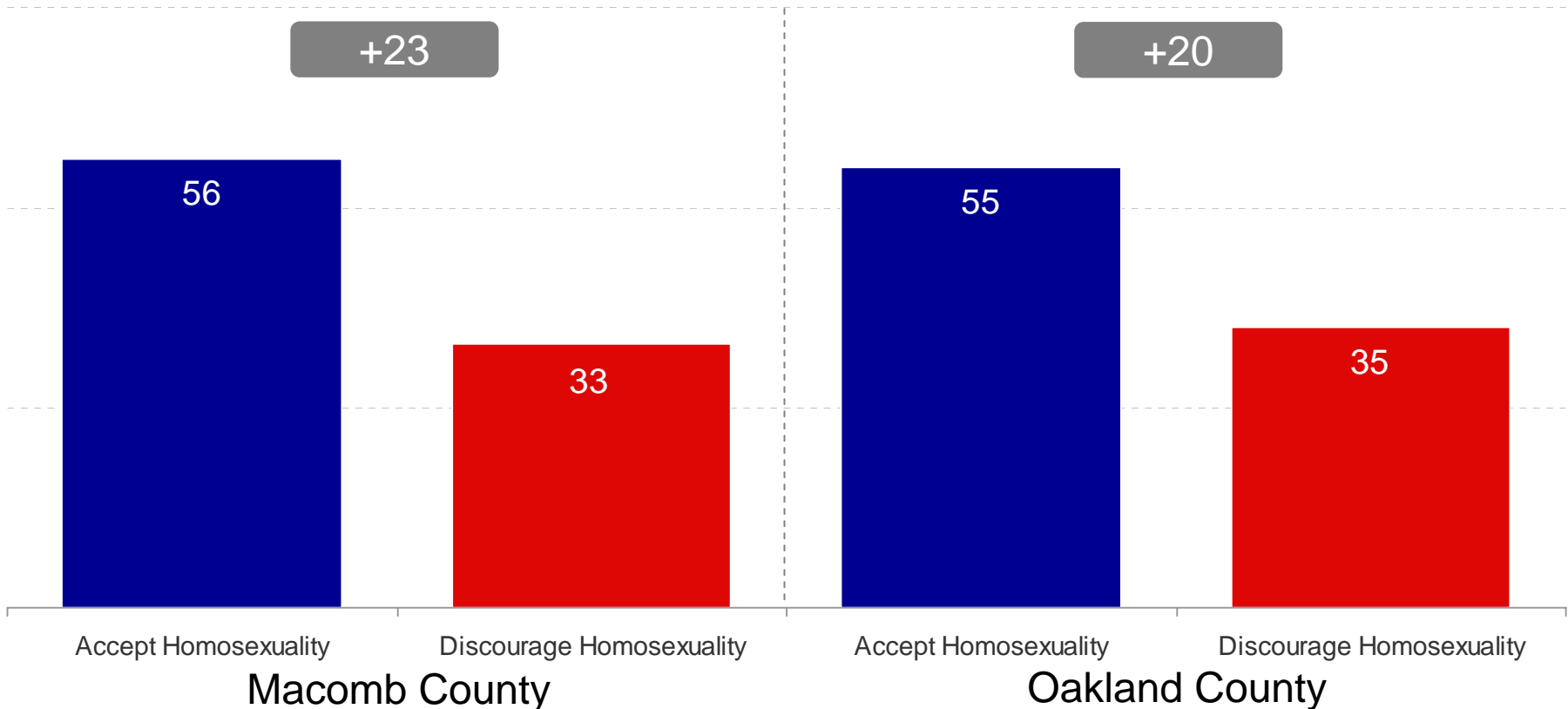
- Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society.
- Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society.



# Voters more tolerant in Macomb, Oakland Michigan

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:

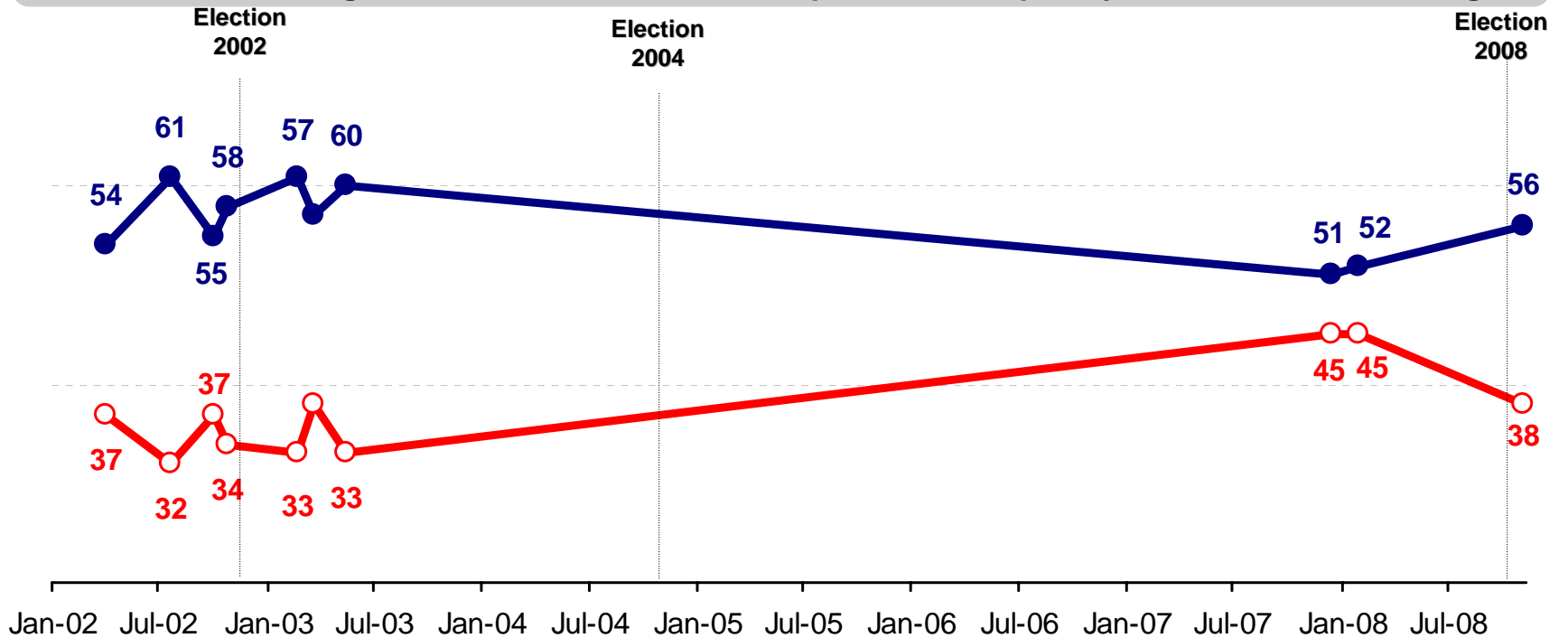
- Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society.
- Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society.



# Government regulation seen as necessary to protect the public

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.**



Net Difference +17 +29 +18 +24 +27

+6 +7 +18

# Caution on unaccountable spending & taxes

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# Voters more worried McCain would continue economic policies than Obama being a tax and spender

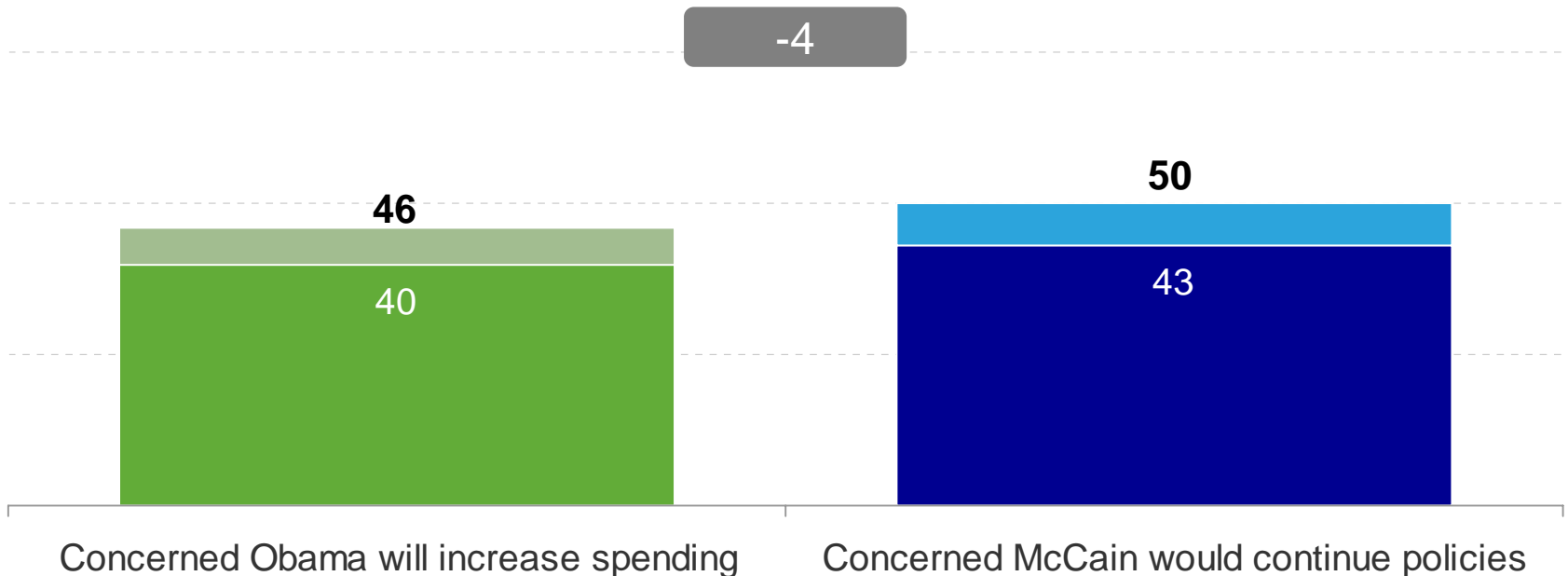
Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read the pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**Statement 1:** When I voted, I was more concerned that Obama will raise taxes and increase government spending.

**Statement 2:** When I voted, I was more concerned that McCain will continue the economic policies that have cost us jobs and caused higher prices.

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly

- First statement somewhat
- Second statement somewhat

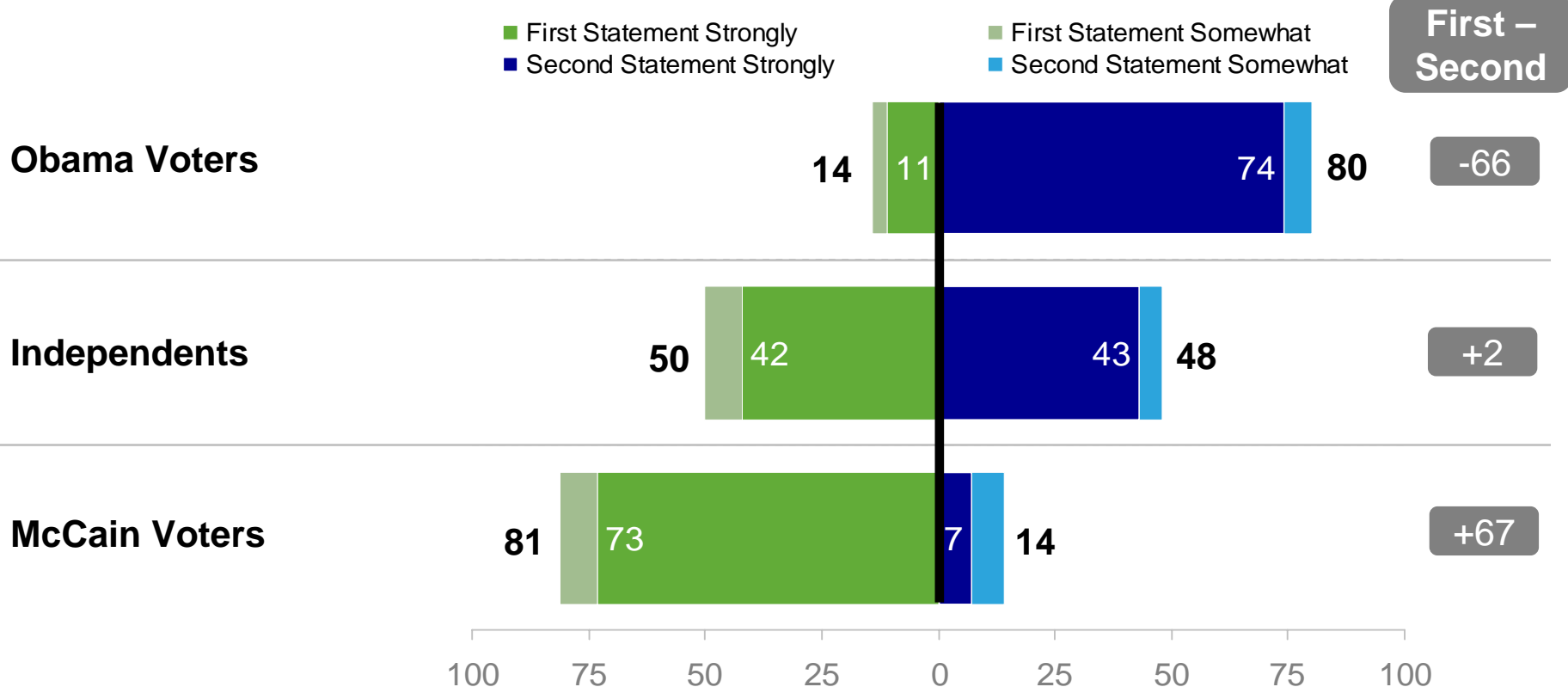


# Independents more worried Obama would tax and spend

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.

**Statement 1:** When I voted, I was more concerned that Obama will raise taxes and increase government spending.

**Statement 2:** When I voted, I was more concerned that McCain will continue the economic policies that have cost us jobs and caused higher prices.



# Voters split on investment vs. spending

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.

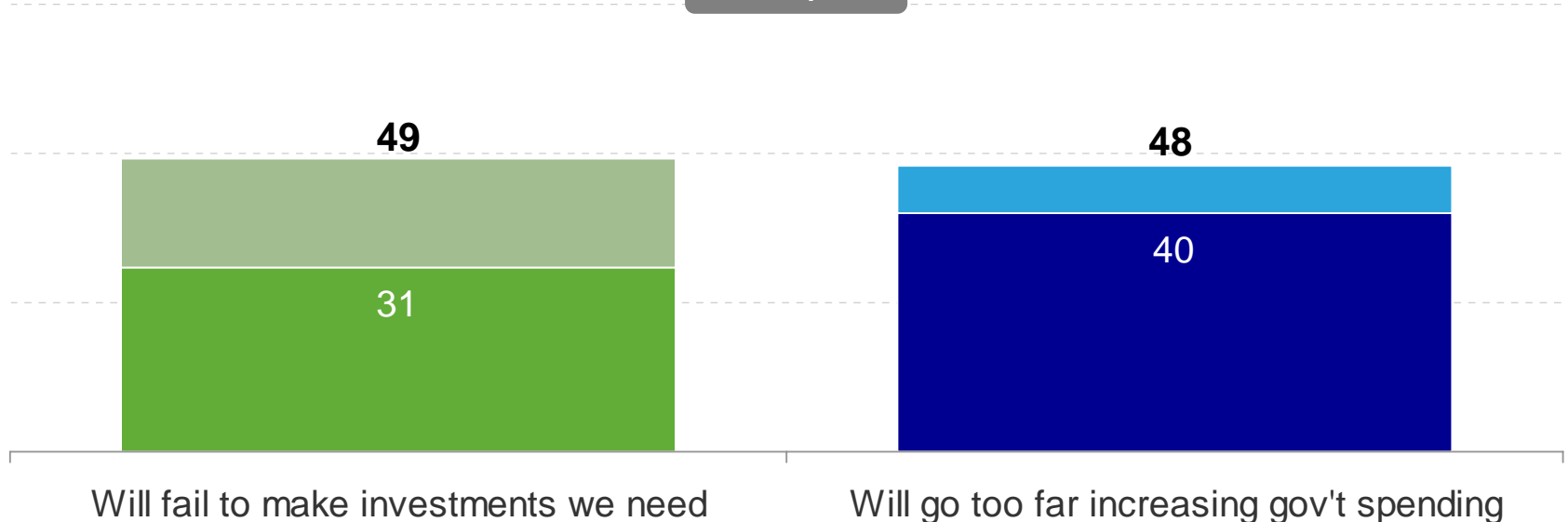
**Statement 1:** I'm more worried that we will fail to make the investments we need to create jobs and strengthen the economy.

**Statement 2:** 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

- First statement somewhat
- Second statement somewhat

+1

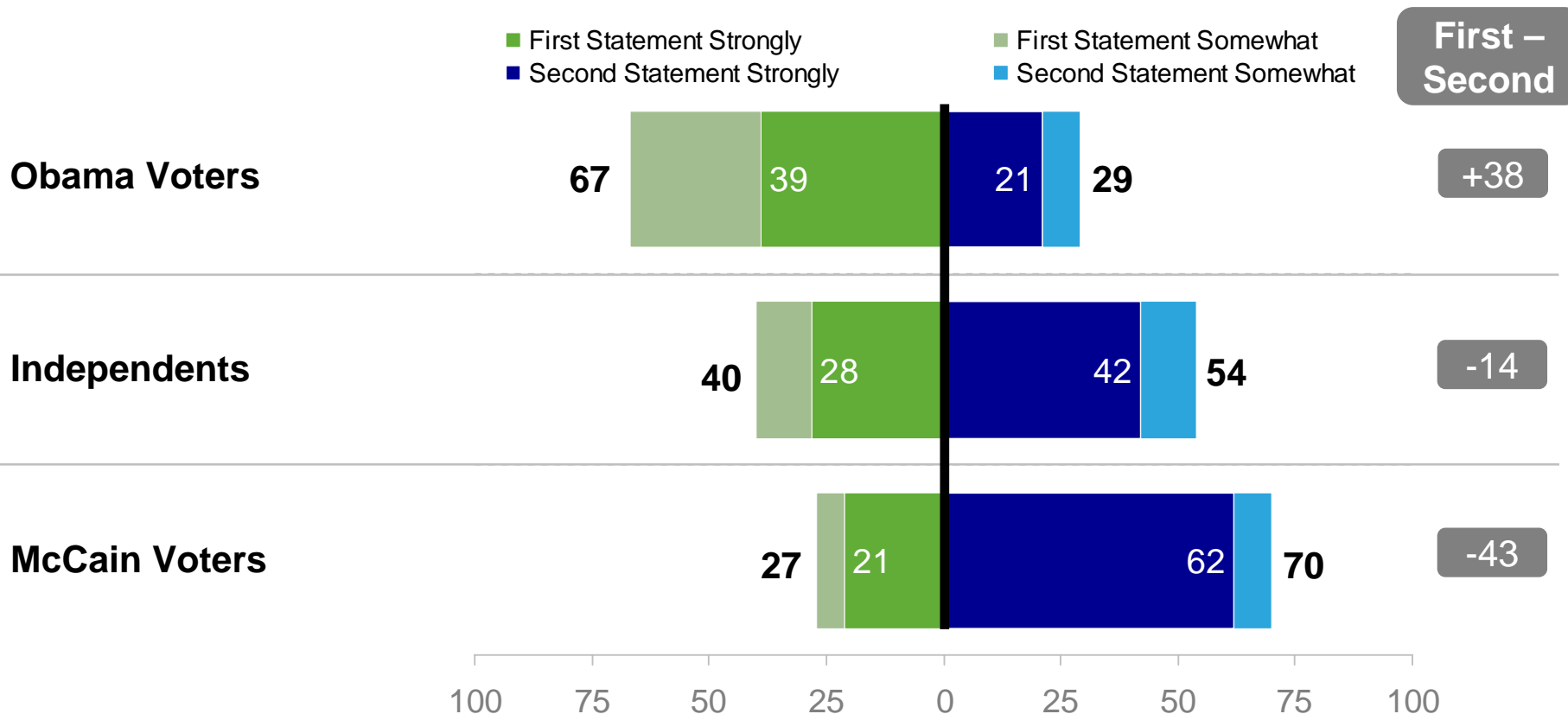


# Independents fearful government will go too far in increasing spending

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.

**Statement 1:** I'm more worried that we will fail to make the investments we need to create jobs and strengthen the economy.

**Statement 2:** I'm more worried that we will go too far in increasing government spending and will end up raising taxes to pay for it.



# Voters slightly more worried we will go too far with regulation

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.

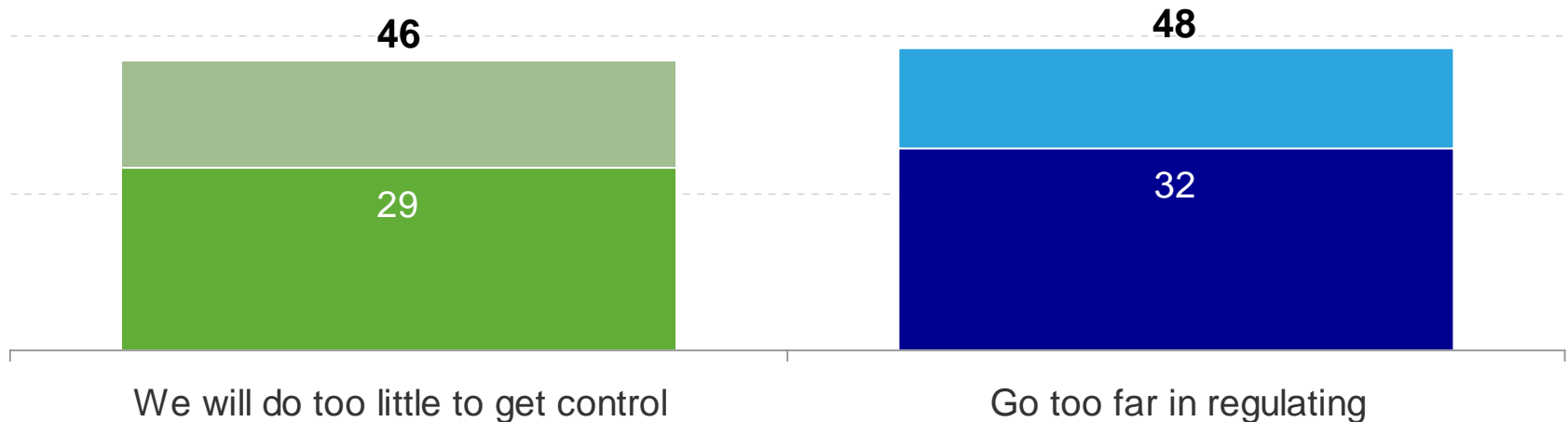
**Statement 1:** I'm more worried that we will do too little to get the financial community under control and allow for another era of speculative booms and busts.

**Statement 2:** I'm more worried that we will go too far in regulating the financial community which will ultimately harm our economy.

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly

-2

- First statement somewhat
- Second statement somewhat



# By slight margin voters prefer step-by-step action on health care

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.

**Statement 1:** On health care, we need to act boldly to address the problems.

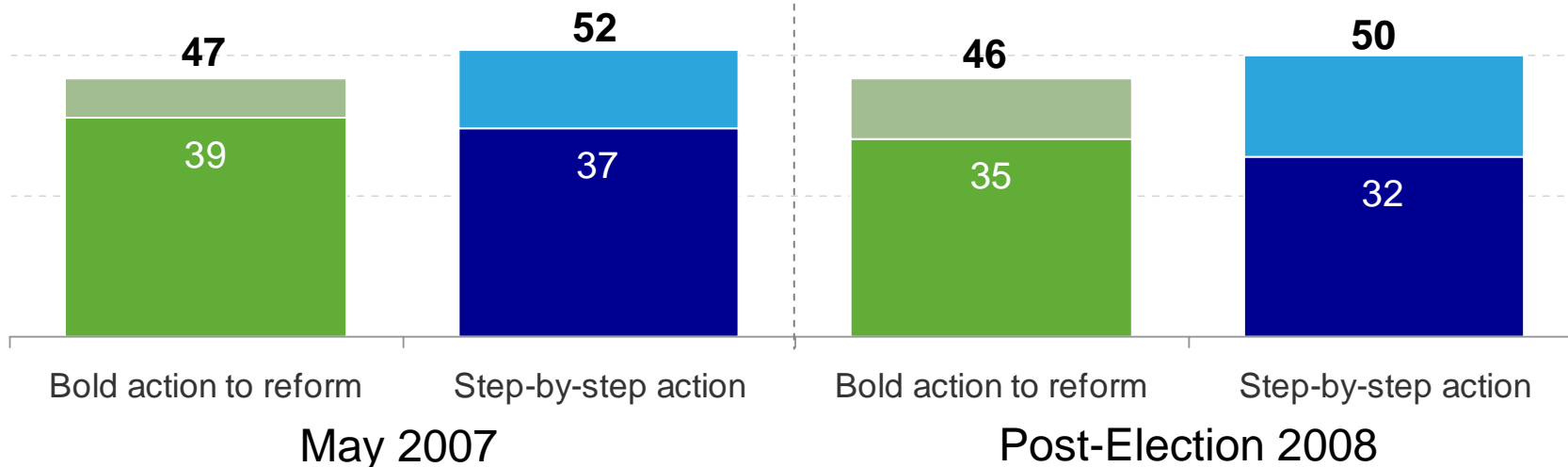
**Statement 2:** On health care, we need to act step-by-step to address the problems

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly

- First statement somewhat
- Second statement somewhat

-5

-4



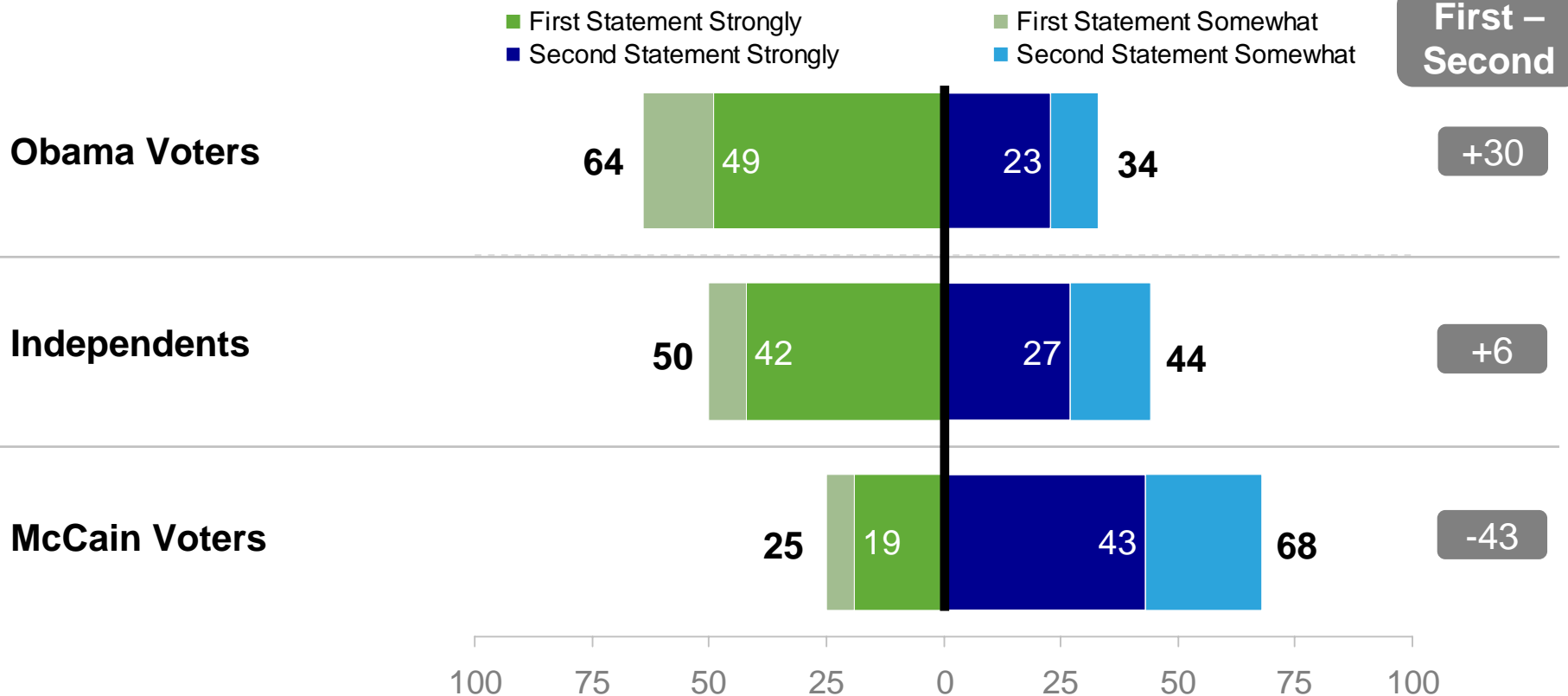
\*Note: March data from Democracy Corps poll conducted May 29-31, 2007, of 1,000 likely voters nationwide.

# Independents lean toward bold action on health care

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.

**Statement 1:** On health care, we need to act boldly to address the problems.

**Statement 2:** On health care, we need to act step-by-step to address the problems



# Future of Republican Party

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# Voters blame Republicans loss on them being too conservative

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.

**Statement 1:** The Republicans lost in 2006 and in 2008 because they are too conservative.

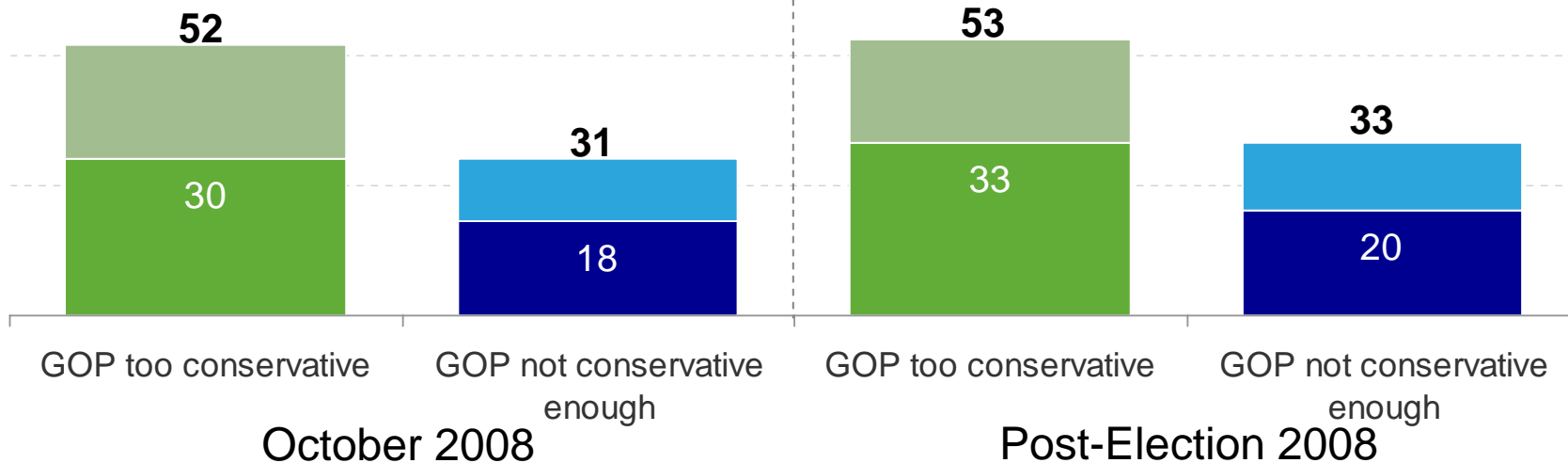
**Statement 2:** The Republicans lost in 2006 and in 2008 because they are not conservative enough.

- First statement strongly
- Second statement strongly

- First statement somewhat
- Second statement somewhat

+21

+20



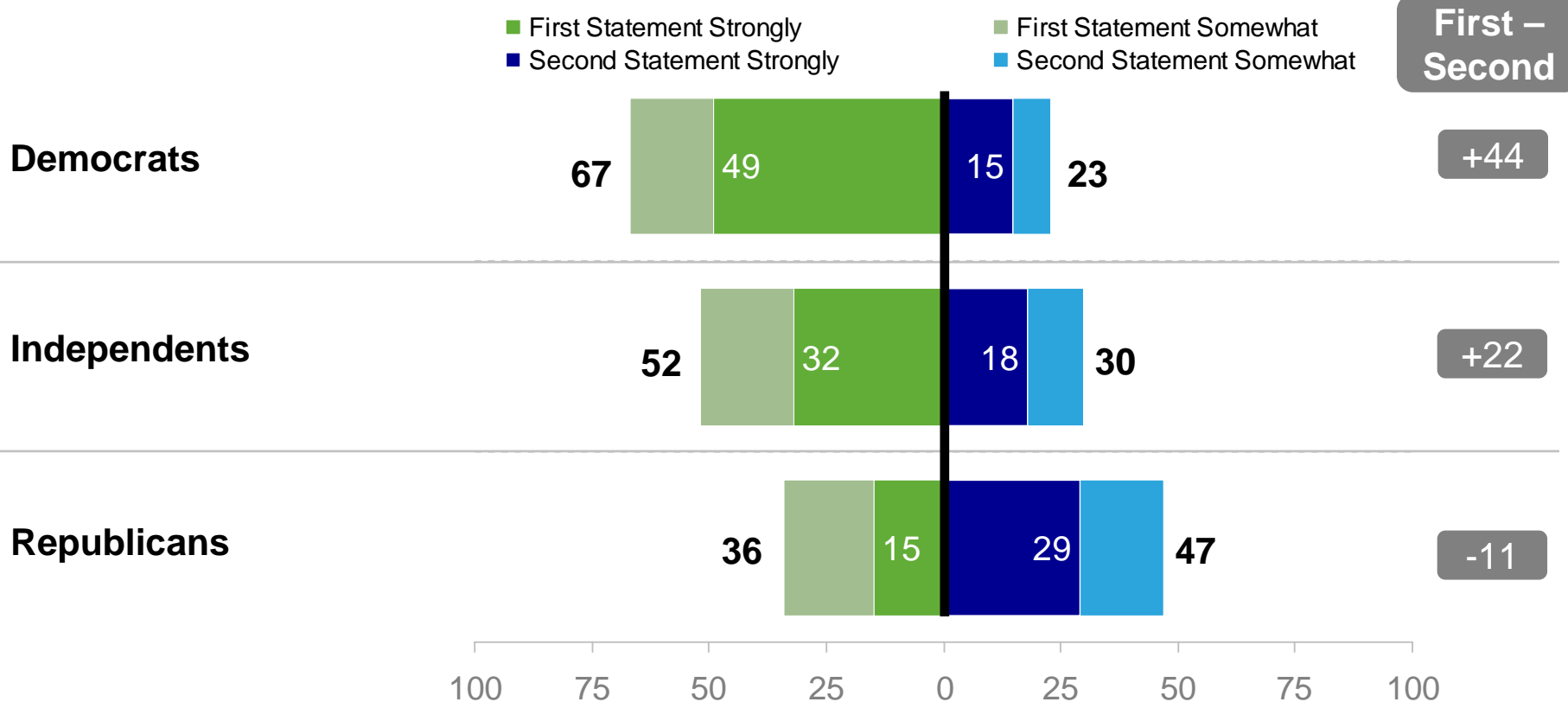
\*Note: October data from Democracy Corps poll conducted October 15-19, 2008 of 1,000 likely voters nationwide.

# Republicans think they lost because not conservative enough

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.

**Statement 1:** The Republicans lost in 2006 and in 2008 because they are too conservative.

**Statement 2:** The Republicans lost in 2006 and in 2008 because they are not conservative enough.



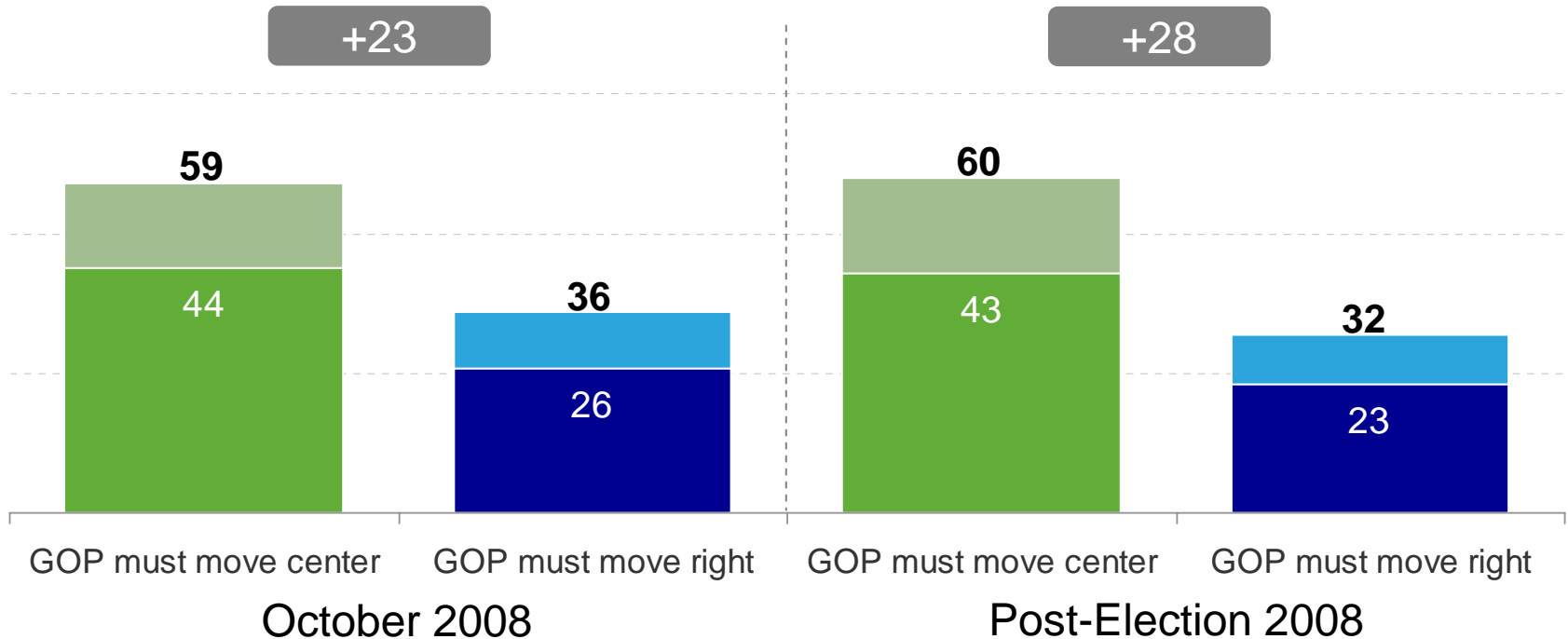
# Most voters think GOP needs to move to the center in order to win

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.

**Statement 1:** In order to win in the future the Republican Party must move more to the center in order to win over moderate and independent voters.

**Statement 2:** In order to win in the future the Republican Party needs to move more to the right and back to its conservative principles.

■ First statement strongly ■ First statement somewhat ■ Second statement strongly ■ Second statement somewhat



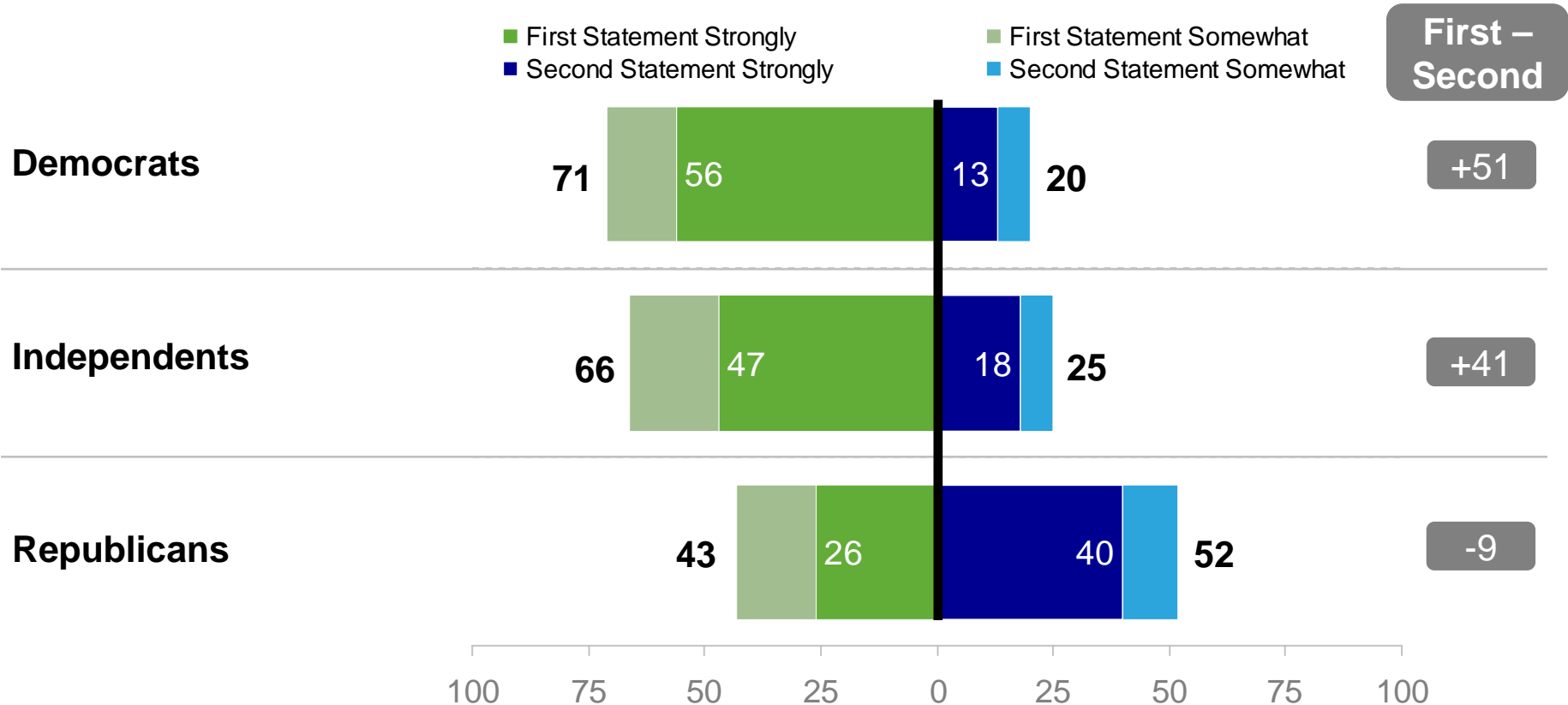
\*Note: October data from Democracy Corps poll conducted October 15-19, 2008 of 1,000 likely voters nationwide.

# Republicans thinks GOP should move to the right in order to win

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.

**Statement 1:** In order to win in the future the Republican Party must move more to the center in order to win over moderate and independent voters.

**Statement 2:** In order to win in the future the Republican Party needs to move more to the right and back to its conservative principles.



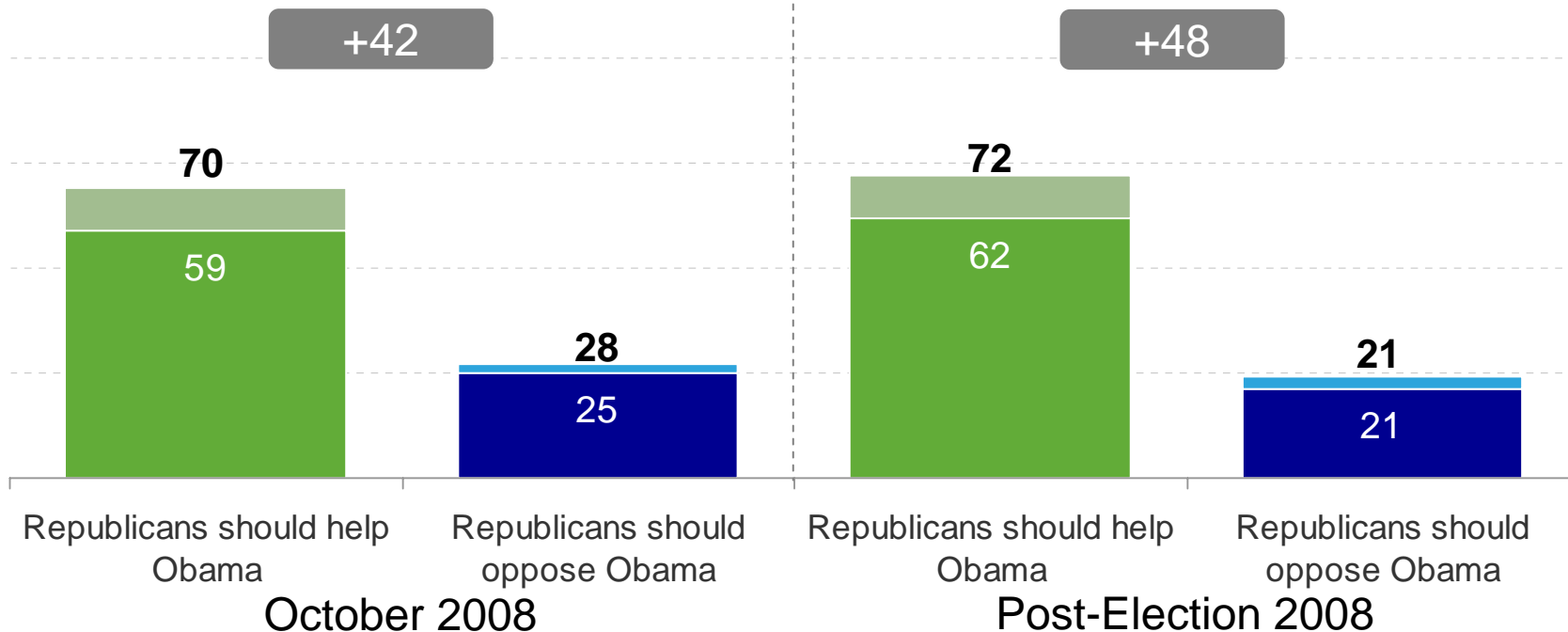
# Voters overwhelmingly want Republicans to give Obama benefit of doubt

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.

**Statement 1:** Republicans should give Barack Obama the benefit of the doubt and help him achieve his plans.

**Statement 2:** Barack Obama will lead the country down the wrong path and Republicans should oppose his plans.

■ First statement strongly ■ First statement somewhat ■ Second statement strongly ■ Second statement somewhat



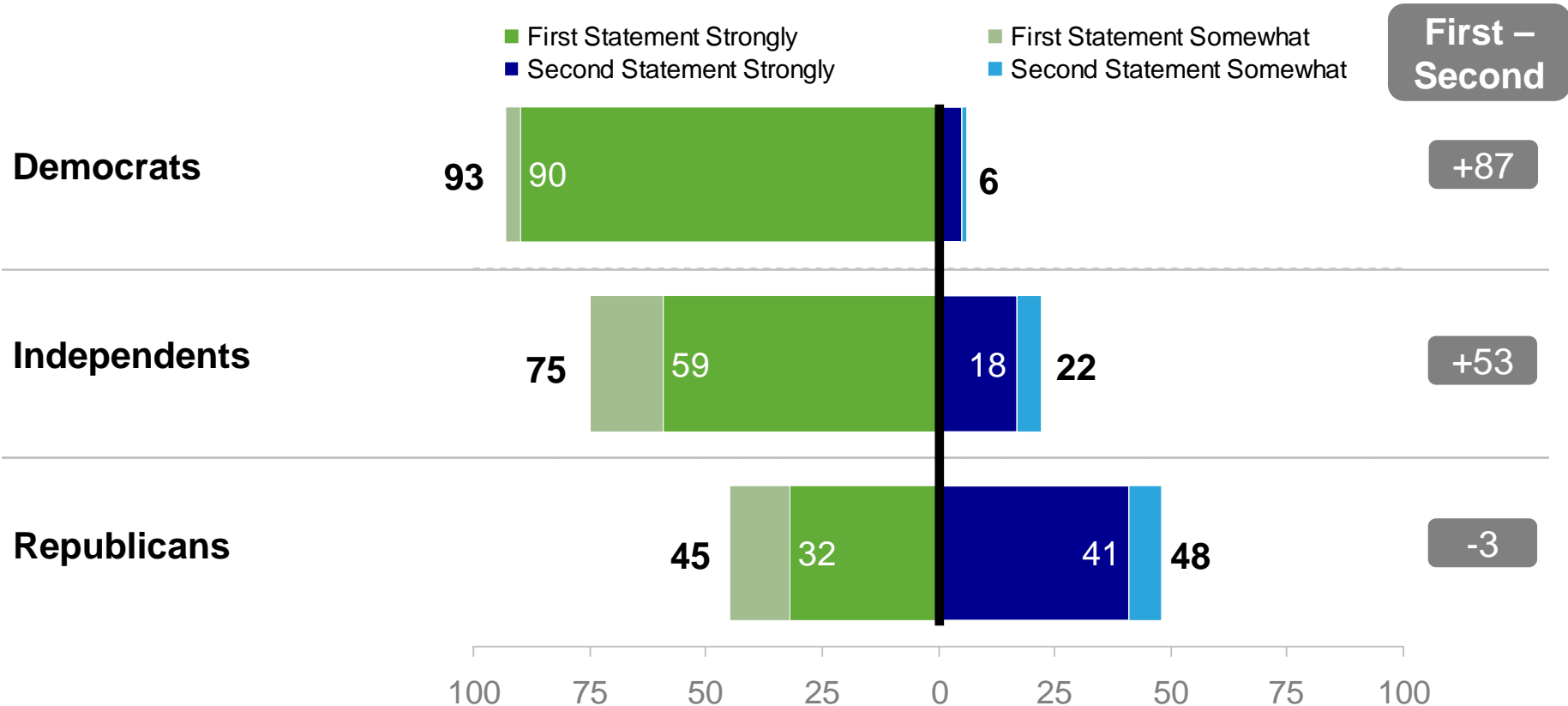
\*Note: October data from Democracy Corps poll conducted October 15-19, 2008 of 1,000 likely voters nationwide.

# Republicans split on if they want their party to work with Obama

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.

**Statement 1:** Republicans should give Barack Obama the benefit of the doubt and help him achieve his plans.

**Statement 2:** Barack Obama will lead the country down the wrong path and Republicans should oppose his plans.



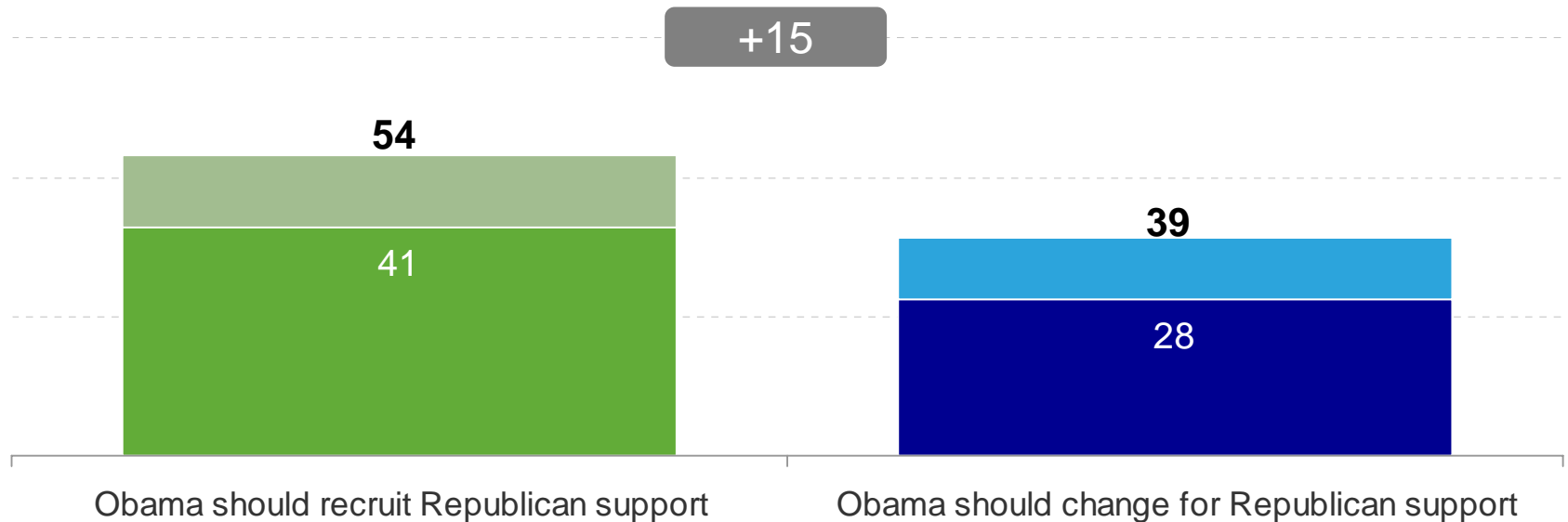
# Voters want Obama to enlist Republicans, not change his plans

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.

**Statement 1:** Obama should work to enlist Republicans to support his reform plans.

**Statement 2:** Obama should change his reform plans to enlist Republican support.

■ First statement strongly ■ First statement somewhat ■ Second statement strongly ■ Second statement somewhat

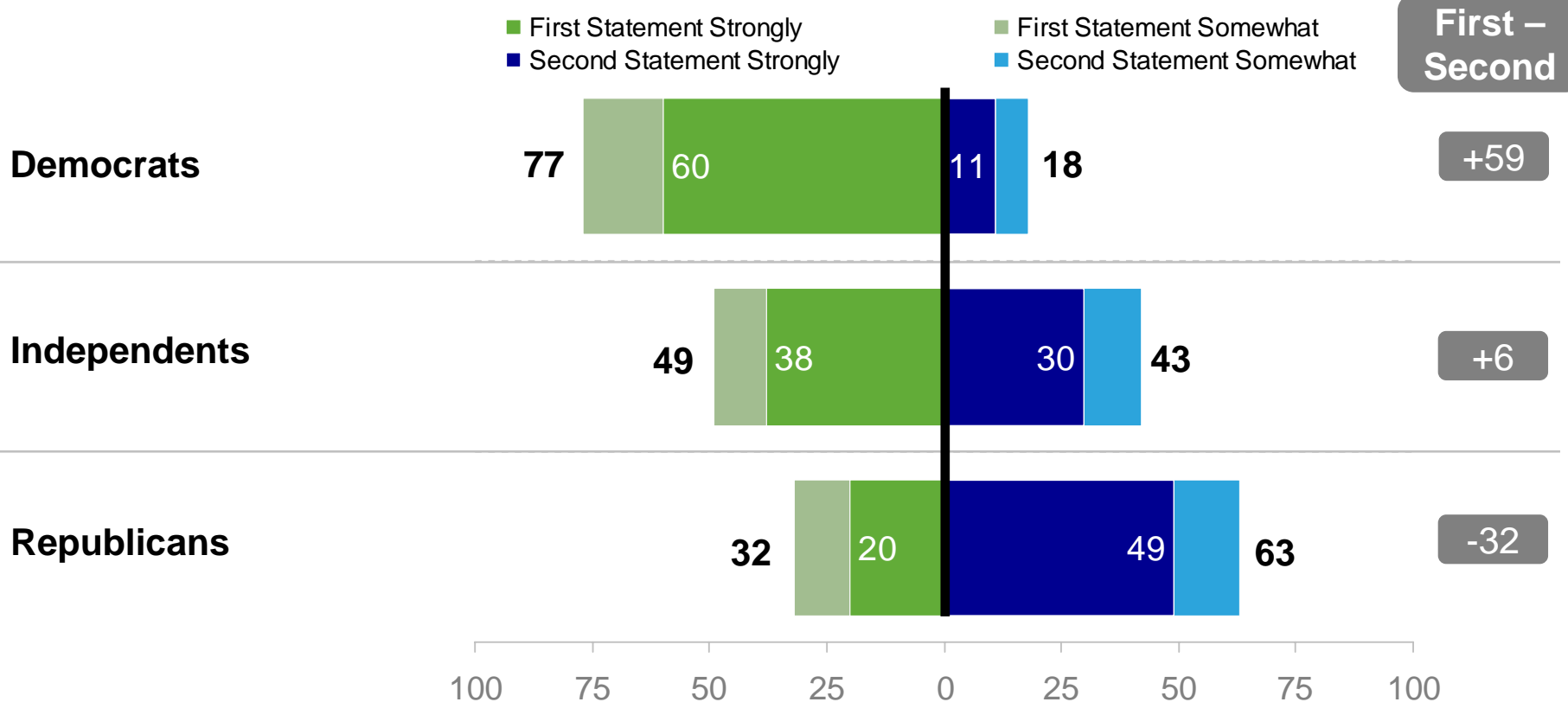


## But independents split on enlisting or changing

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.

**Statement 1:** Obama should work to enlist Republicans to support his reform plans.

**Statement 2:** Obama should change his reform plans to enlist Republican support.



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