

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

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October 6, 2010

# October Surprise?

The special program of weekly message tracking says, 'maybe'



**DEMOCRACY CORPS**  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

## The October Surprise tracking program

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**This presentation is based on the first of four weekly national surveys tracking the attitudes of likely voters prior to the November 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2010 midterm elections.**

**This survey was conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for Democracy Corps. The survey was of 816 likely voters (697 landline, 119 cell phone) conducted October 2-4, 2010.**

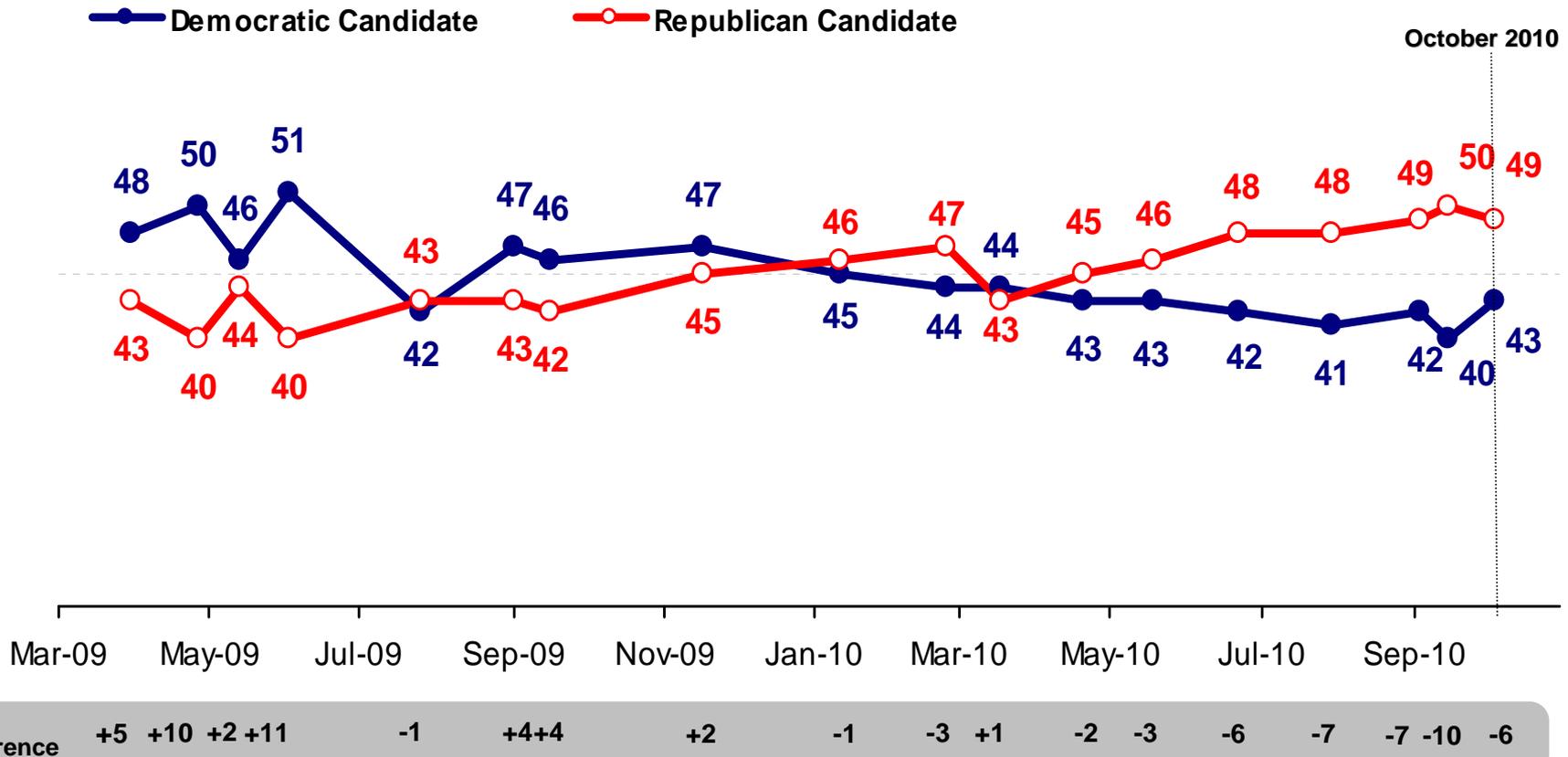
**The margin of error for this survey is +/-3.5 percentage points.**

Movement is real

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# The congressional vote time series

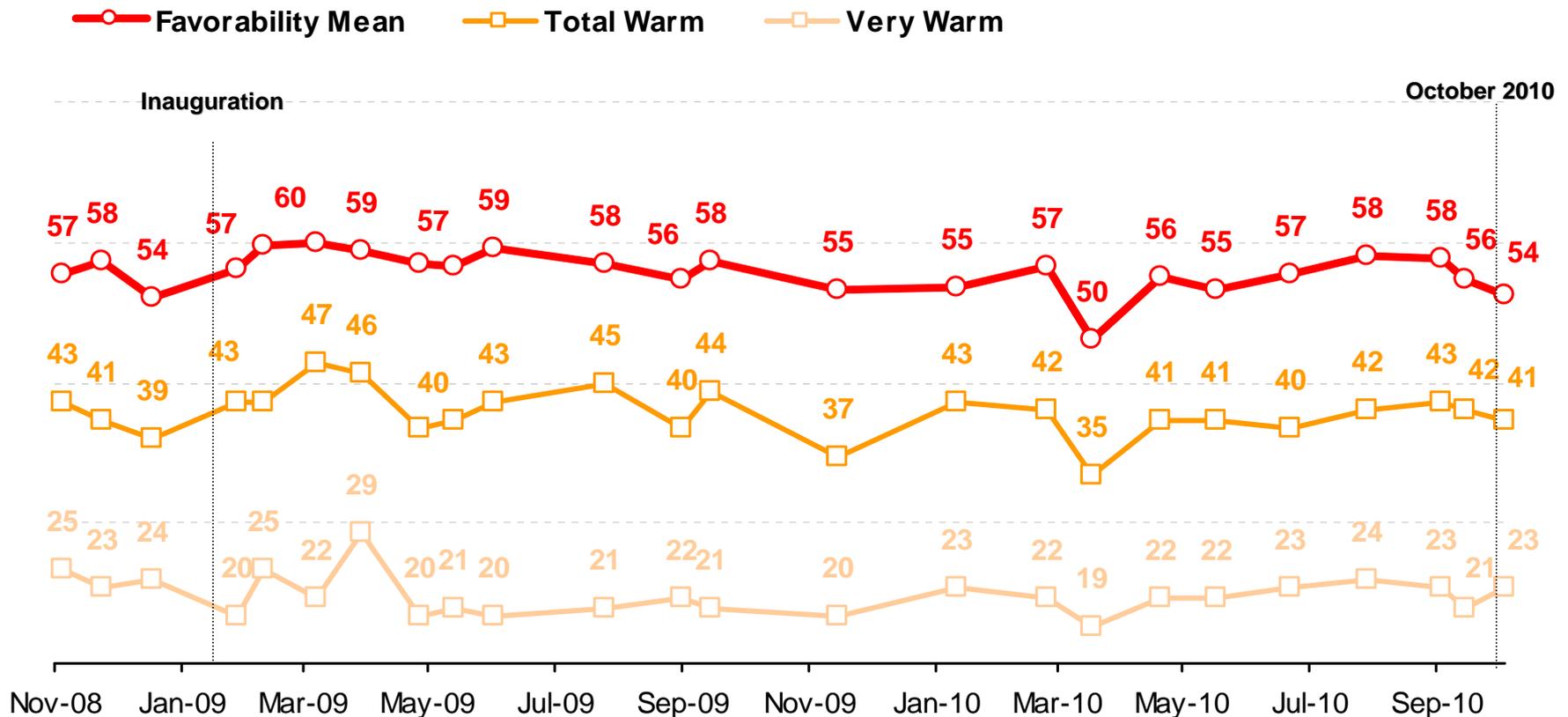
*I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the elections in 2010, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE)?*



*\*Note: In the landline sample, the candidate names were inserted preceded by party identification. In unopposed districts, the generic was used for the opposition. For the cell phone sample, both candidates were given as generic.*

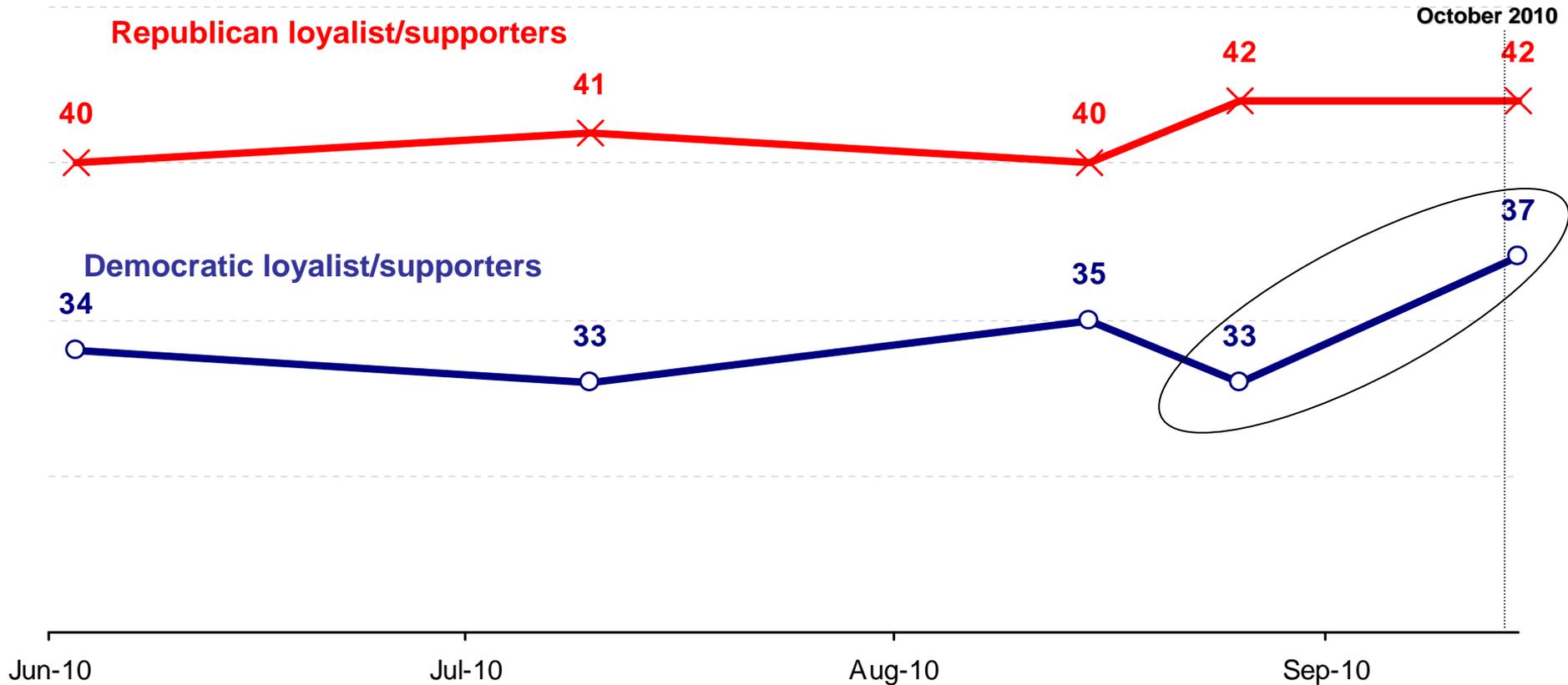
# Thermometer: Republican incumbents slightly down

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.



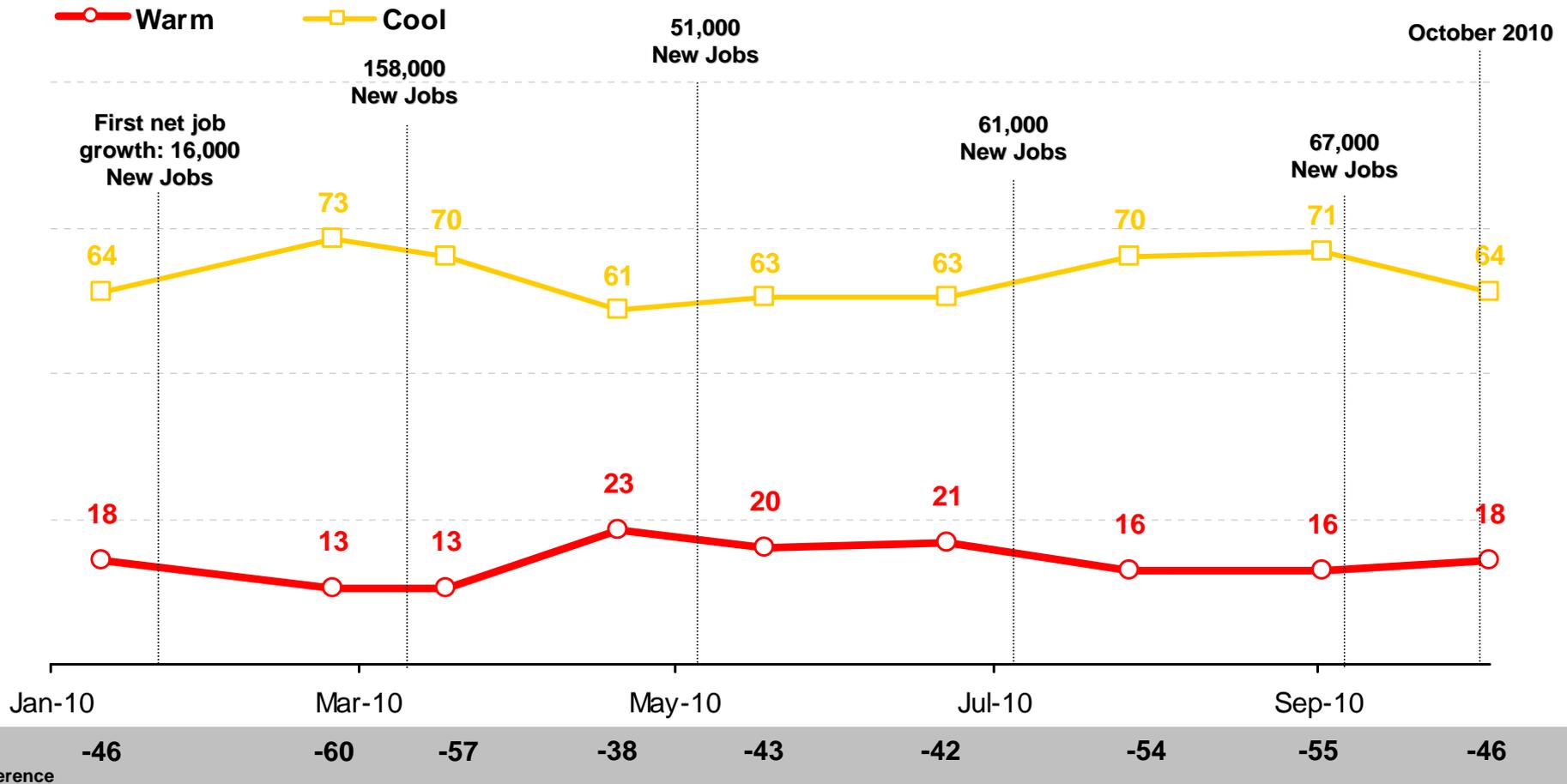
\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted since the 2008 election. The applicable incumbent name was inserted without party identification.

# Voter choice scales: rise in Democratic strong supporters



# Thermometer: State of the economy

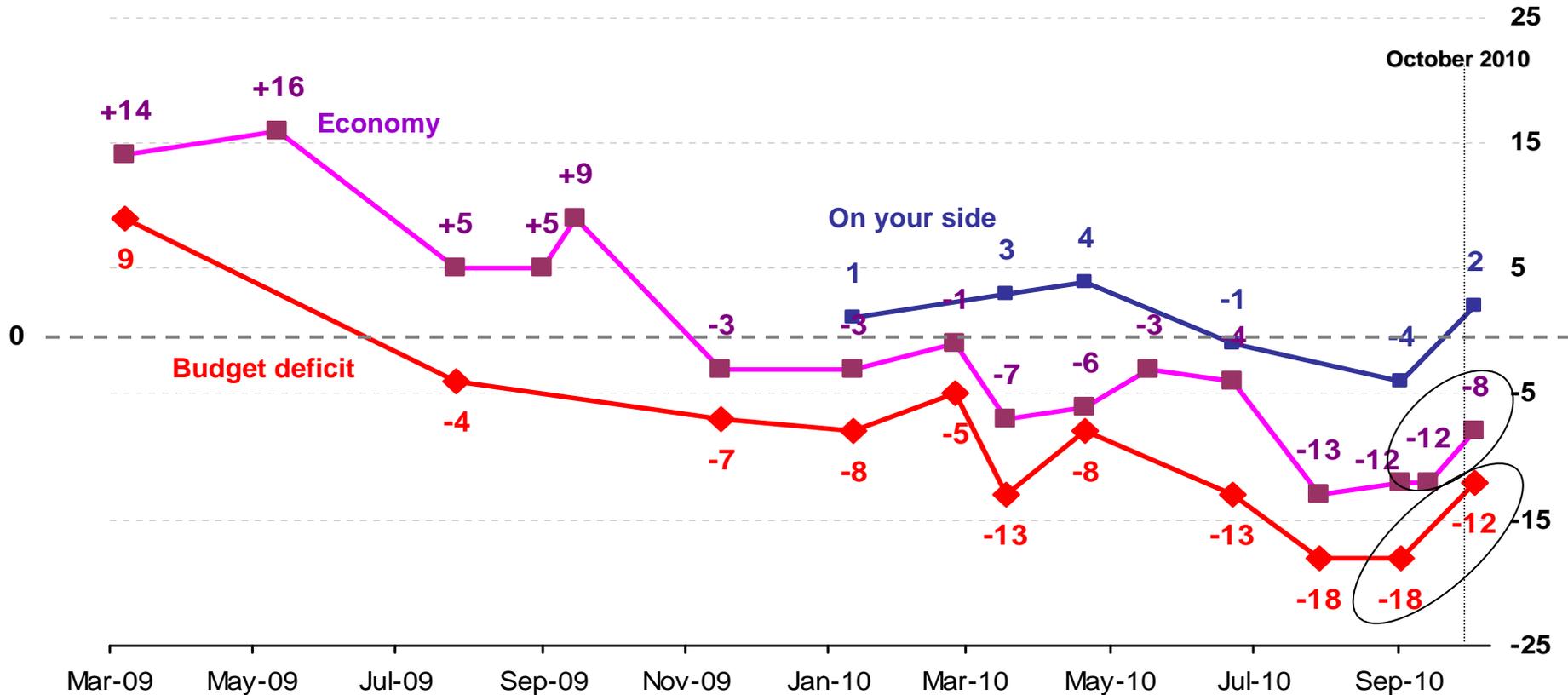
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold. **The state of the economy...**



\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps research from 2010 onwards.

# Which better on issues: economy, on your side and deficits

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 the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.



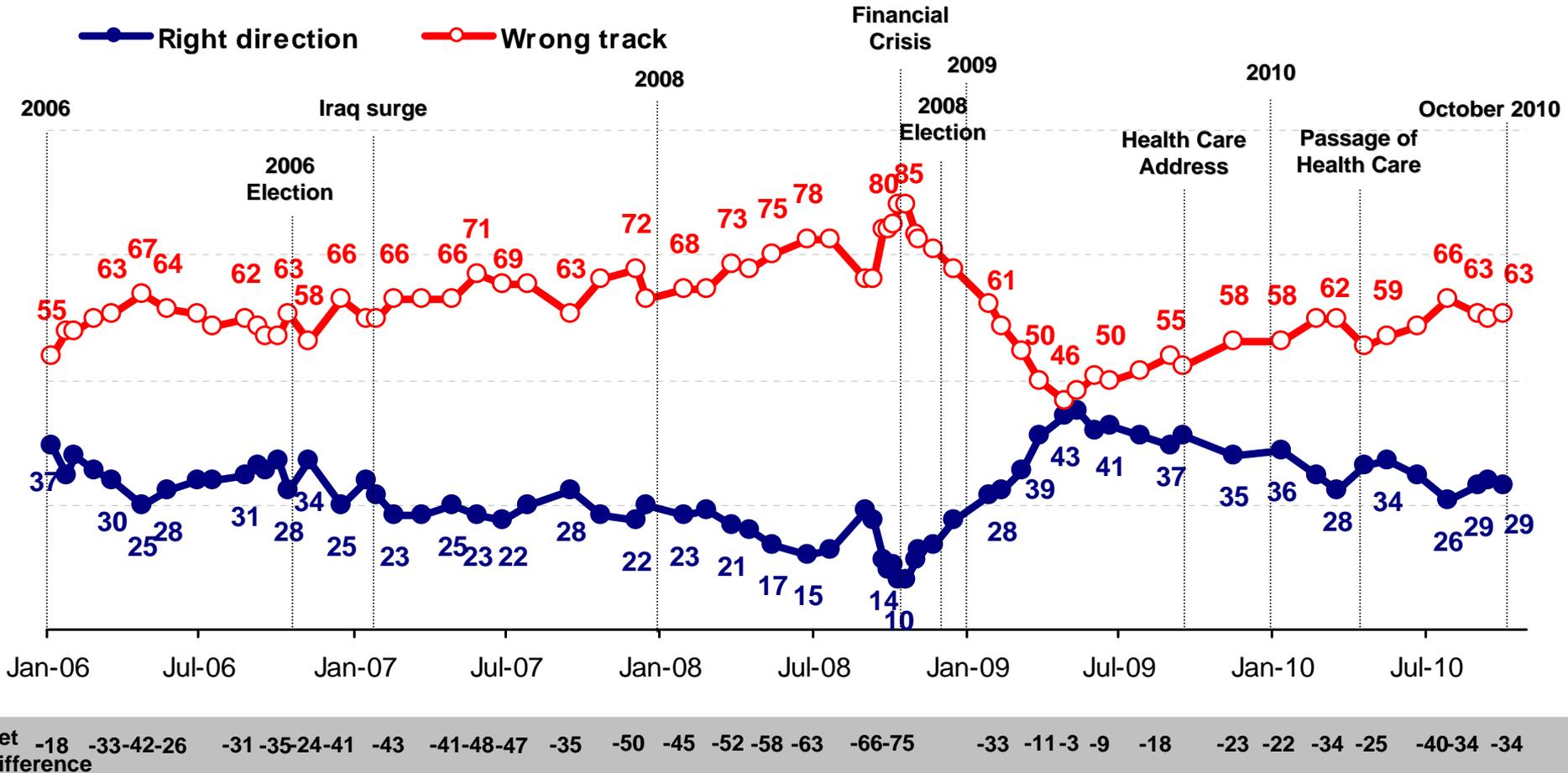
\*Note: Data from Democracy Corps surveys conducted since March 2009. Shows “Democrats – Republicans” net.

Still ugly

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# Mood of country still bleak

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?

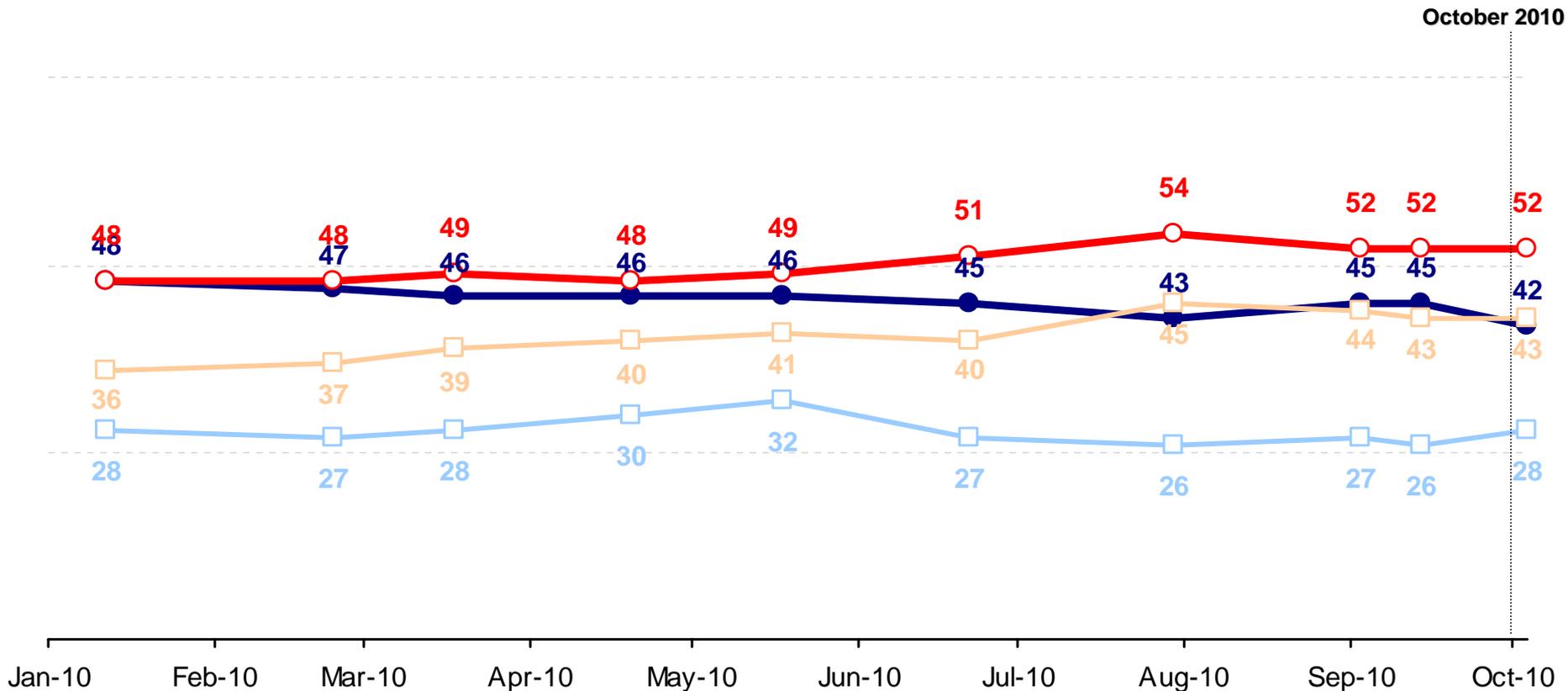


\*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last several years. Data reflects likely voters.

# Obama approval rating: disapproval still over 50 percent

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

● Total Approve    
 ○ Total Disapprove    
 □ Strongly Approve    
 □ Strongly Disapprove

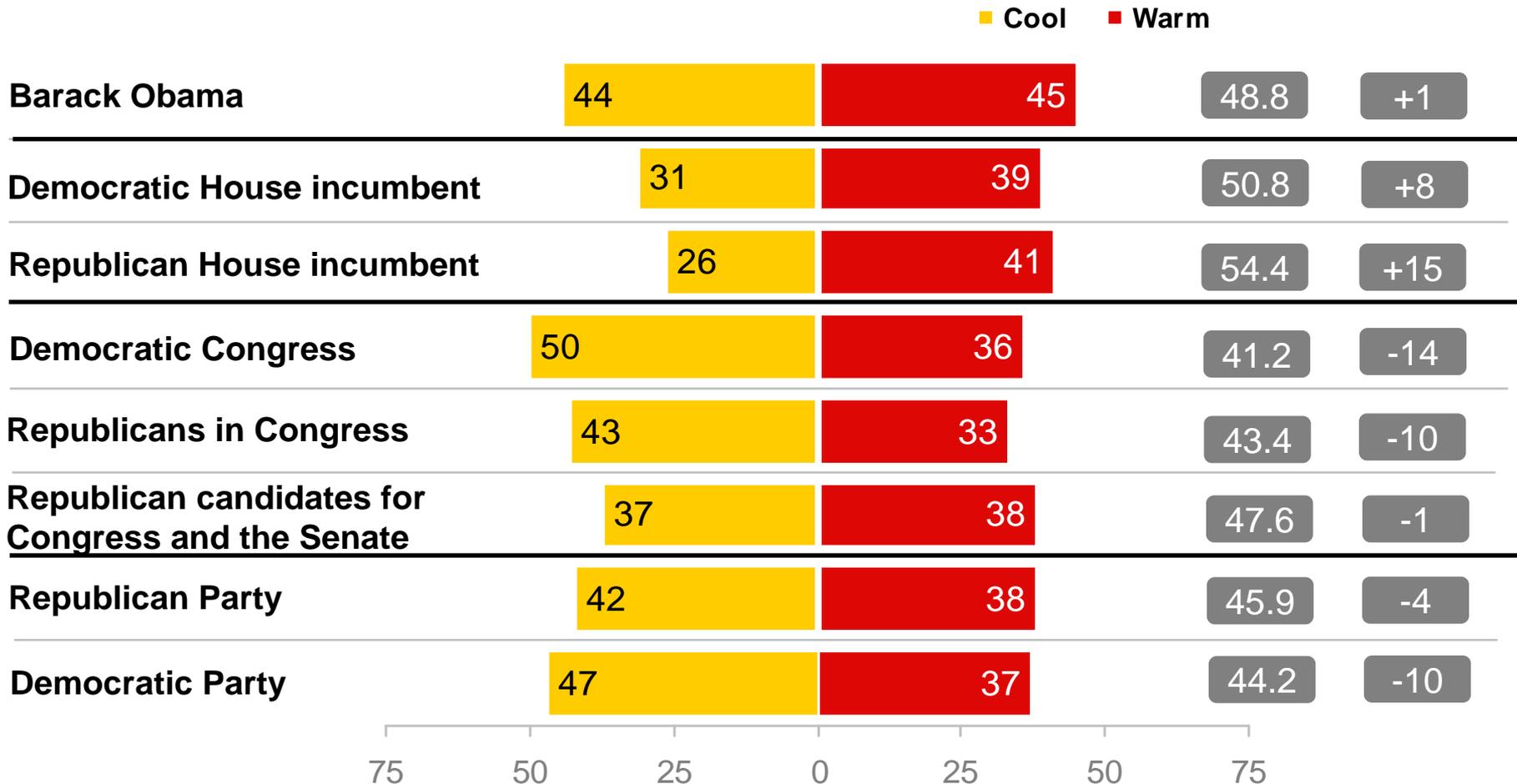


\*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys since the 2008 election. Before inauguration, question read: "Do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by Barack Obama as president-elect?" Data represents likely 2010 voters.

# Thermometers: Republicans still better image – but close to parity

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.

**Therm. Mean** **Warm - Cool**

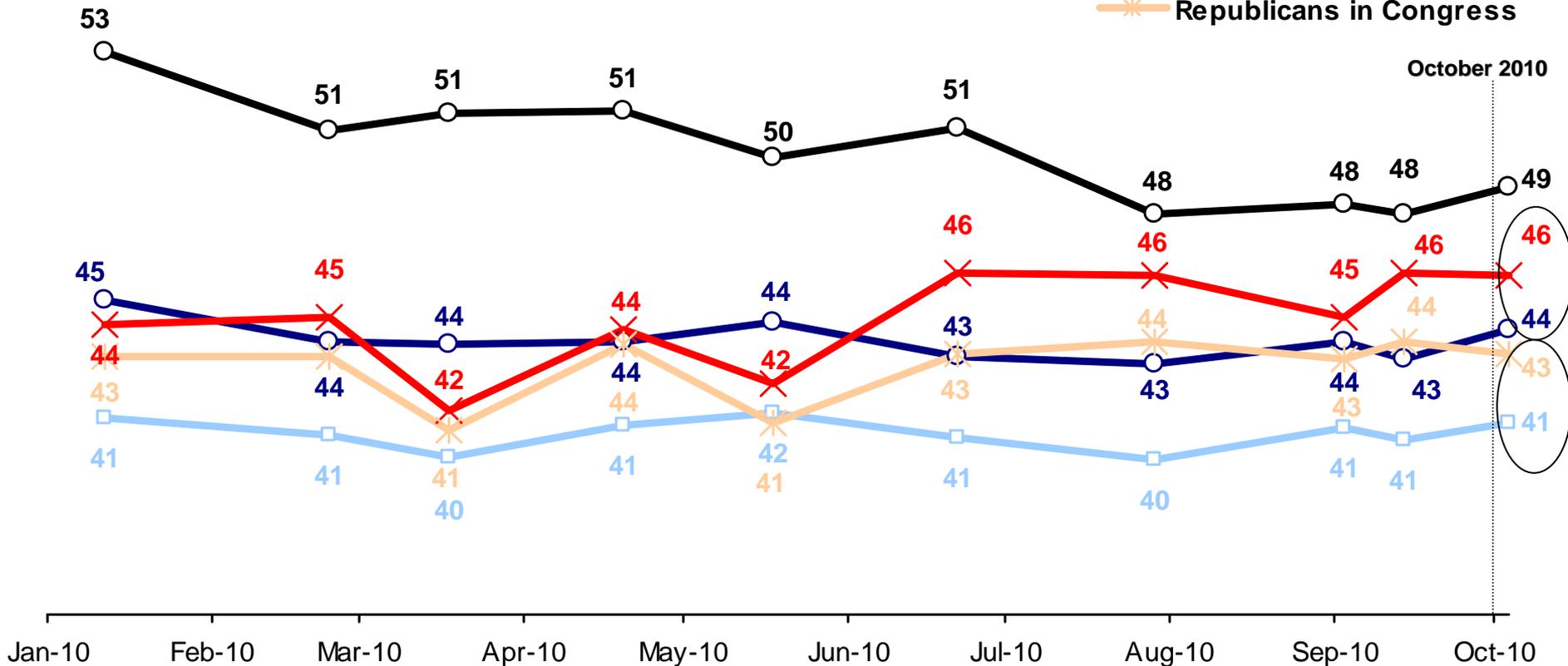


\*Note: Incumbent names were inserted for landline sample. Generic identifier was used for cell sample.

# Thermometers: Obama, parties and congressional parties since Jan.

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.

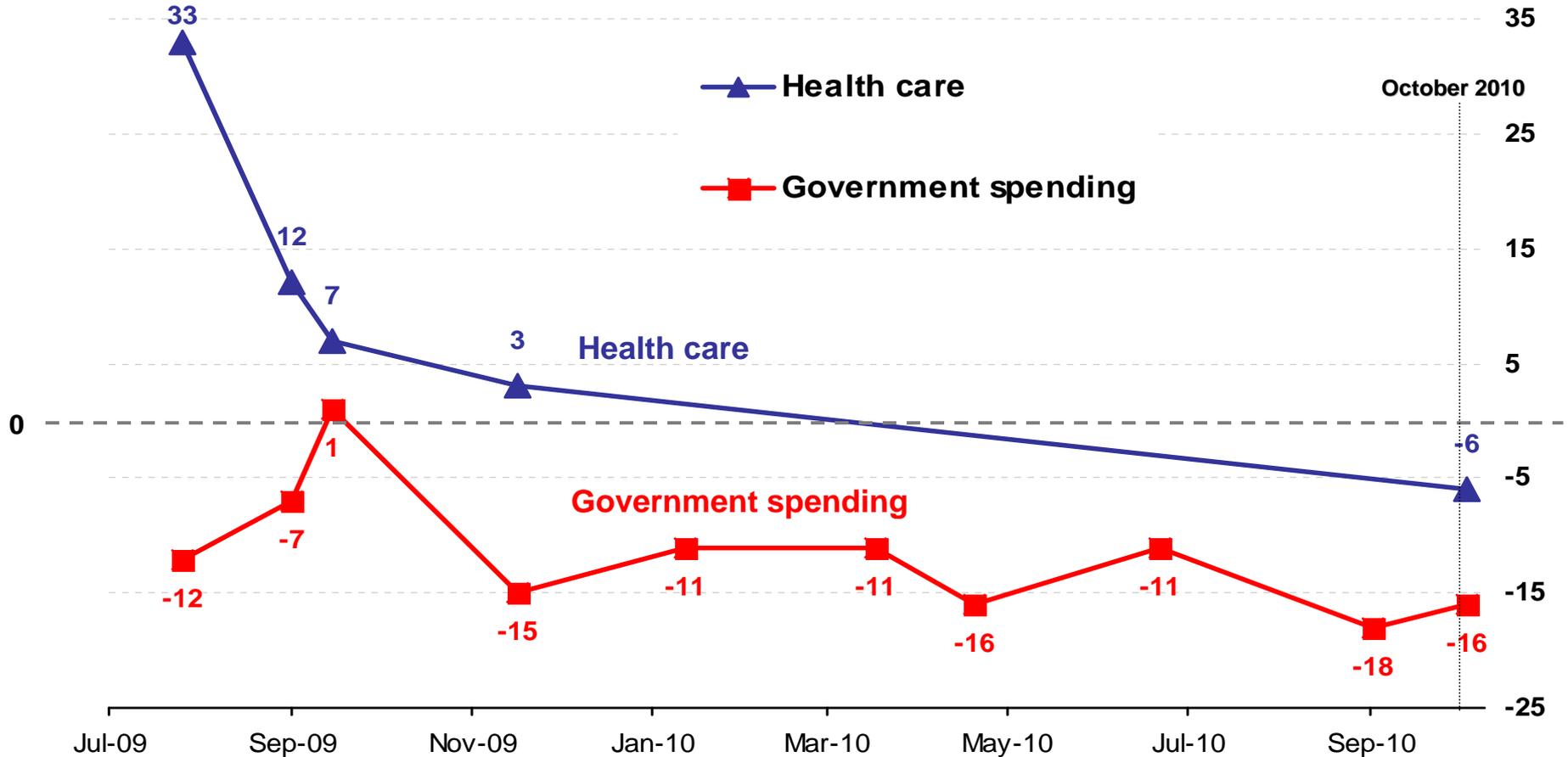
- Barack Obama
- Democratic Party
- Democratic Congress
- × Republican Party
- ✱ Republicans in Congress



\*Note: Data represents MEAN ratings, likely 2010 voters.

# Which party better on the issues

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 the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.



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# Spending/deficits still bigger than big corporations and middle class

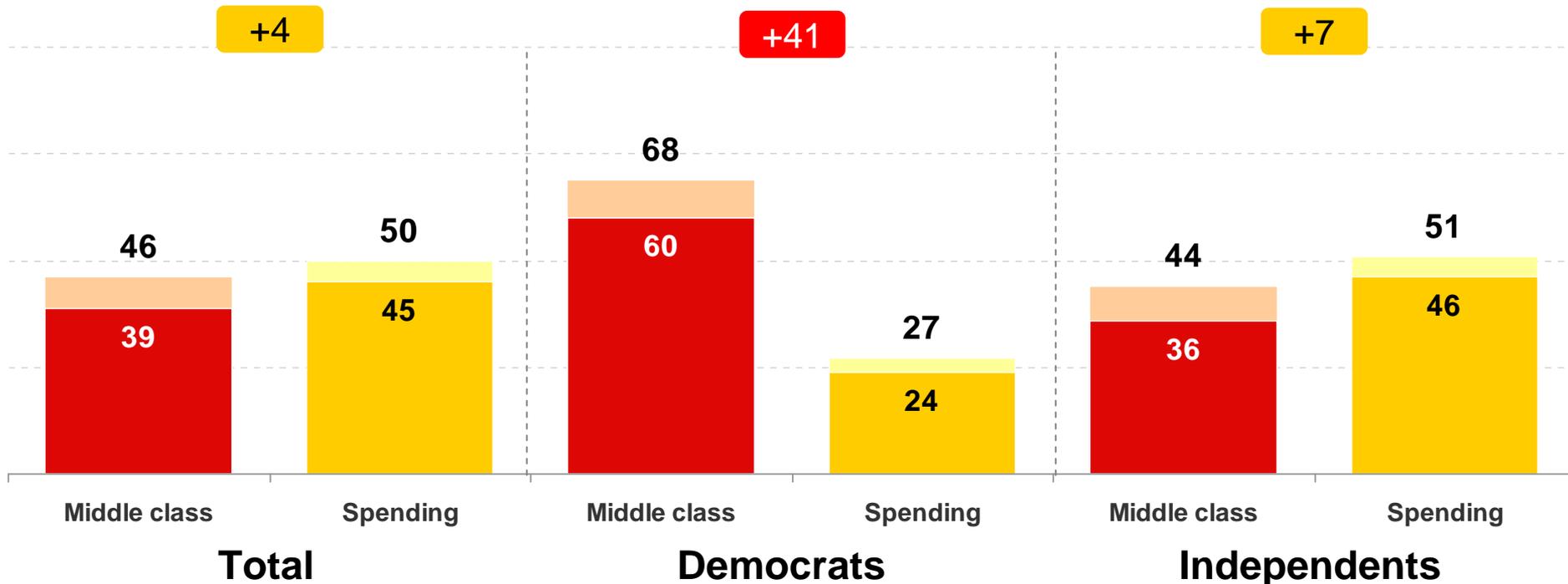
Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SEOCND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**First statement:** I want somebody in Washington who will fight big corporate special deals and work for the middle class.

**First statement:** I want somebody in Washington who will rein in government spending and deficits and stop higher taxes.

■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly



# Extremism and Partisanship: Obama more than Palin

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

**First statement:** I'm more worried that the Republican candidates are supporting Sarah Palin's partisan and extreme agenda.

**Second statement:** I'm more worried that the Democratic candidates are supporting President Barack Obama's partisan and extreme agenda.

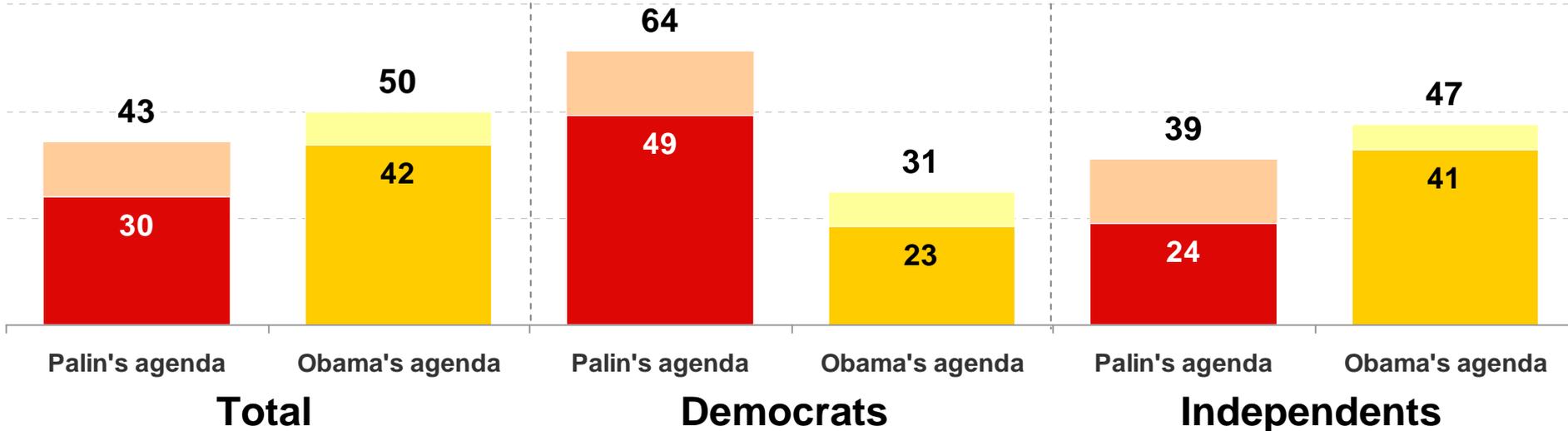
■ First statement strongly

■ Second statement strongly

+7

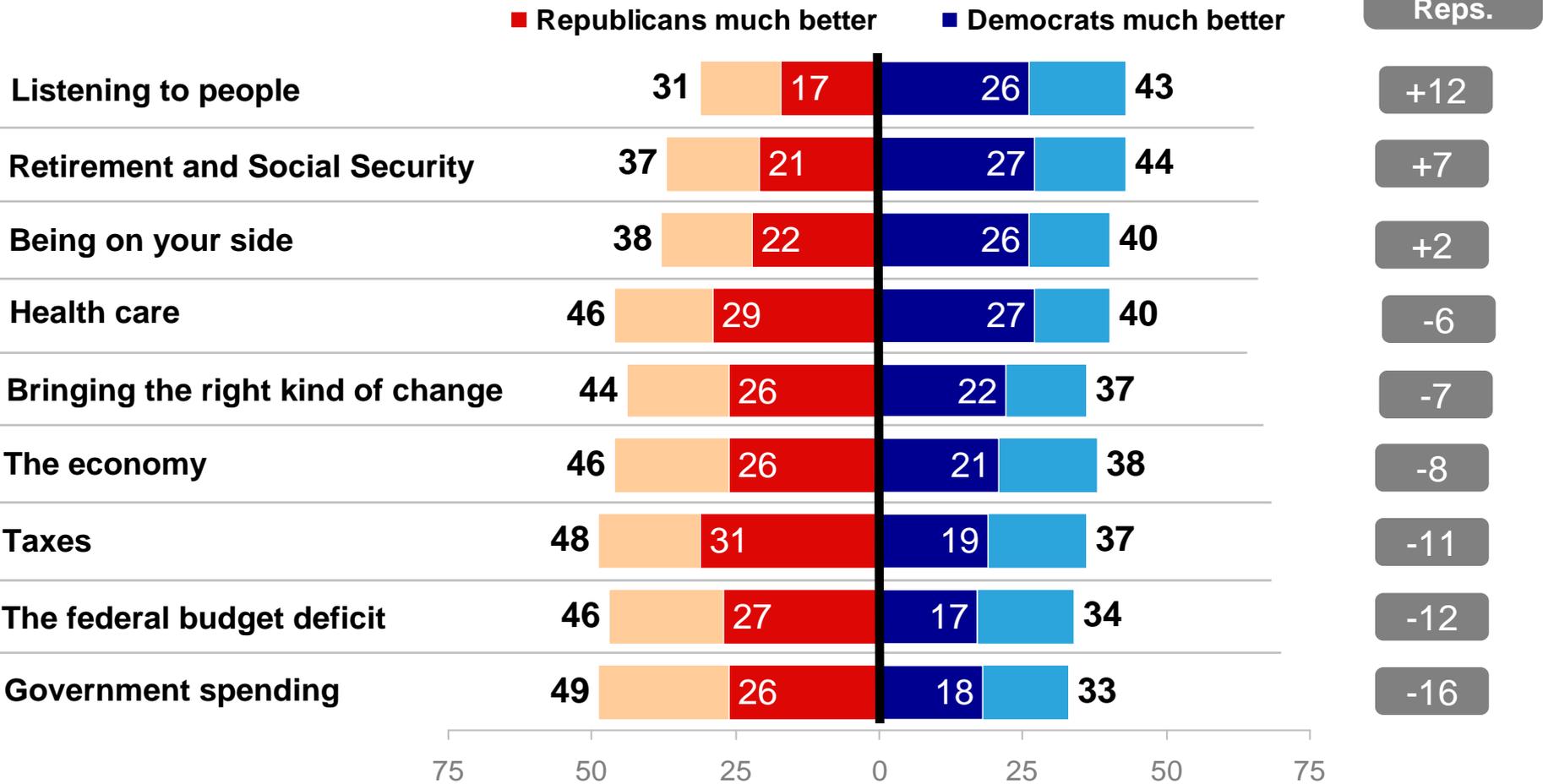
+33

+8



# Better job on the issues: Republicans still dominant

*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 the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.*



# Message framing can shift the vote

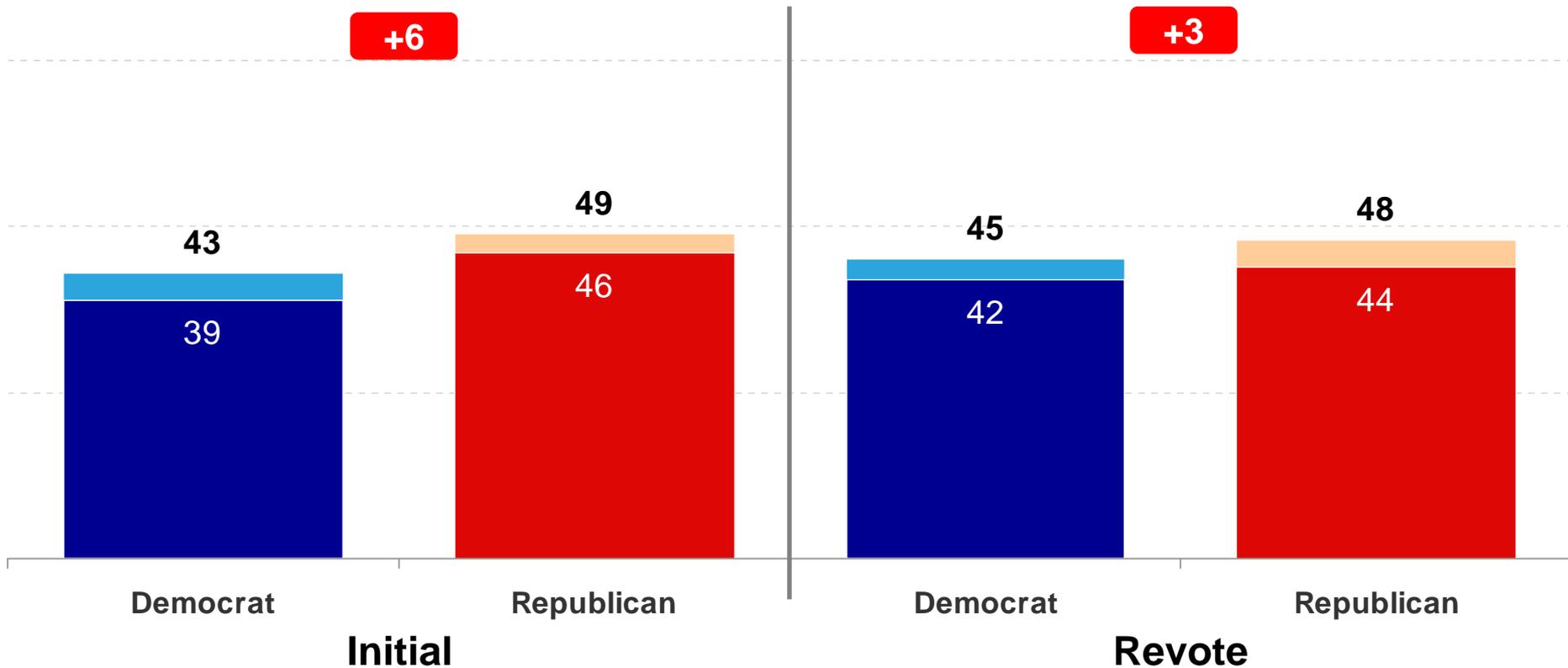
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# Three-point shift toward Democrats after messaging

*Thinking about the elections this November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE)?*

■ Democratic candidate

■ Republican candidate



## Shifts: Messages move independents and key swing targets

Now let me ask you again, thinking about the elections this November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE)?

Demographic Group	% Likely Voters	Initial Net Vote	Net Revote	Net Shift
Younger Women	21	-1	+8	<b>+9</b>
Unmarried Women	23	+20	+28	<b>+8</b>
White Unmarried Women	15	-1	+7	<b>+8</b>
West	21	-12	-4	<b>+8</b>
Large Metro	26	+24	+31	<b>+7</b>
Moderates	33	+15	+22	<b>+7</b>
Independents	31	-21	-14	<b>+7</b>
Rising American Electorate	42	+24	+30	<b>+6</b>
Northeast	19	+2	+8	<b>+6</b>
White Seniors	19	-11	-5	<b>+6</b>
White Older Women	25	-7	-1	<b>+6</b>
Women	52	+4	+9	<b>+5</b>

*\*Note: In the landline sample, the candidate names were inserted preceded by party identification. In unopposed districts, the generic was used for the opposition. For the cell phone sample, both candidates were given as generic. The "Rising American Electorate" consists of unmarried women, Latinos, and/or youth from the overall sample.*

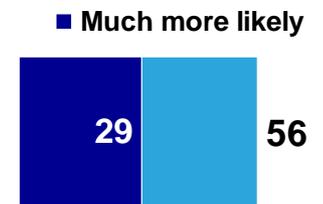
# Messages that extend vote

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## Democratic messages among broad progressive base (RAE)

*Now let me read you some statements that the Democratic candidate might make this fall about the election. After I read each statement, please tell me whether each statement would make you MUCH MORE LIKELY to support the Democratic candidate this November, SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY, JUST A LITTLE MORE LIKELY, NO MORE LIKELY, or LESS LIKELY to support the Democratic candidate this November.*

**(Change/corporate/middle class)** We have to change Washington. That means eliminating the special deals and tax breaks won by corporate lobbyists for the oil companies and Wall Street. (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) has pledged to protect the tax cuts for the top two percent and the big tax breaks for companies who export American jobs. I'll take a different approach with new middle class tax cuts to help small businesses and new American industries create jobs. Let's make our country work for the middle class.



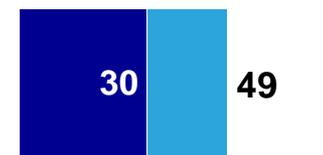
**(America/trade deals/American jobs)** My passion is "made in America," working to support small businesses, American companies and new American industries. (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) has pledged to support the free trade agreements with Colombia, Panama, and South Korea and protect the loophole for companies outsourcing American jobs. I have a different approach to give tax breaks for small businesses that hire workers and give tax subsidies for companies that create jobs right here in America.



**(Not back to Bush/middle class/lost jobs)** My priority is to cut middle class taxes, extend unemployment and health insurance for the unemployed, support new industries that create jobs and end tax breaks for exporting jobs. The economy shows signs of improving. But (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) wants to go back to the Bush policies that crushed the middle class. They want to give tax breaks to the wealthy and big corporations. We must rebuild the middle class, not go back to the same old policies for Wall Street that cost us 8 million jobs.



**(Corporate/middle class)** In these tough times, I'm fighting for the middle class. (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) has promised to protect the tax breaks for companies exporting American jobs and the richest two percent while giving five billion dollars in tax cuts to AIG and Goldman Sachs. I'll take a different approach with new middle class tax cuts to help small businesses and new American industries create jobs. Let's make our country work for the middle class.



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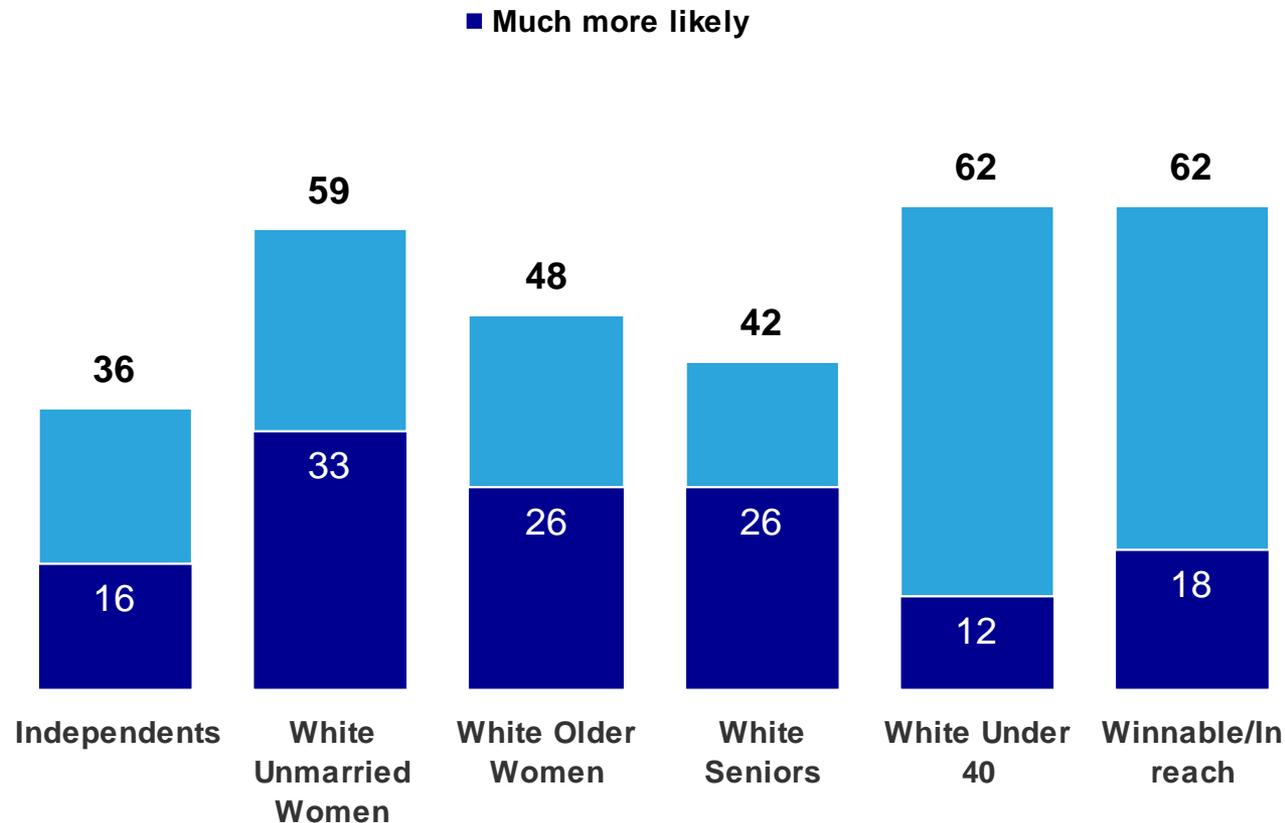


# Messages for keys: change Washington for middle class, not corporations

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## Change/corporate/ middle class

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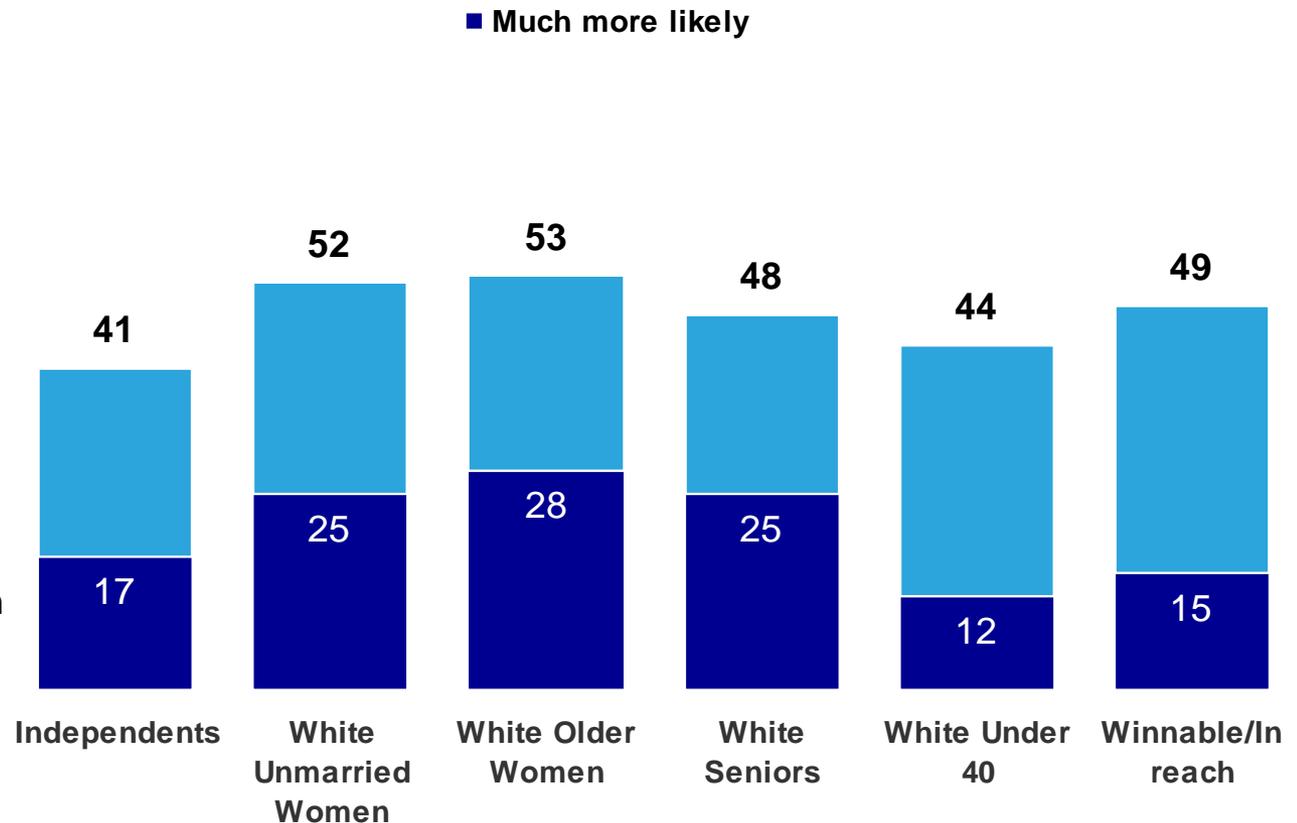


# Messages for keys: support made in America, not trade/export jobs

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## America/trade deals/ American jobs

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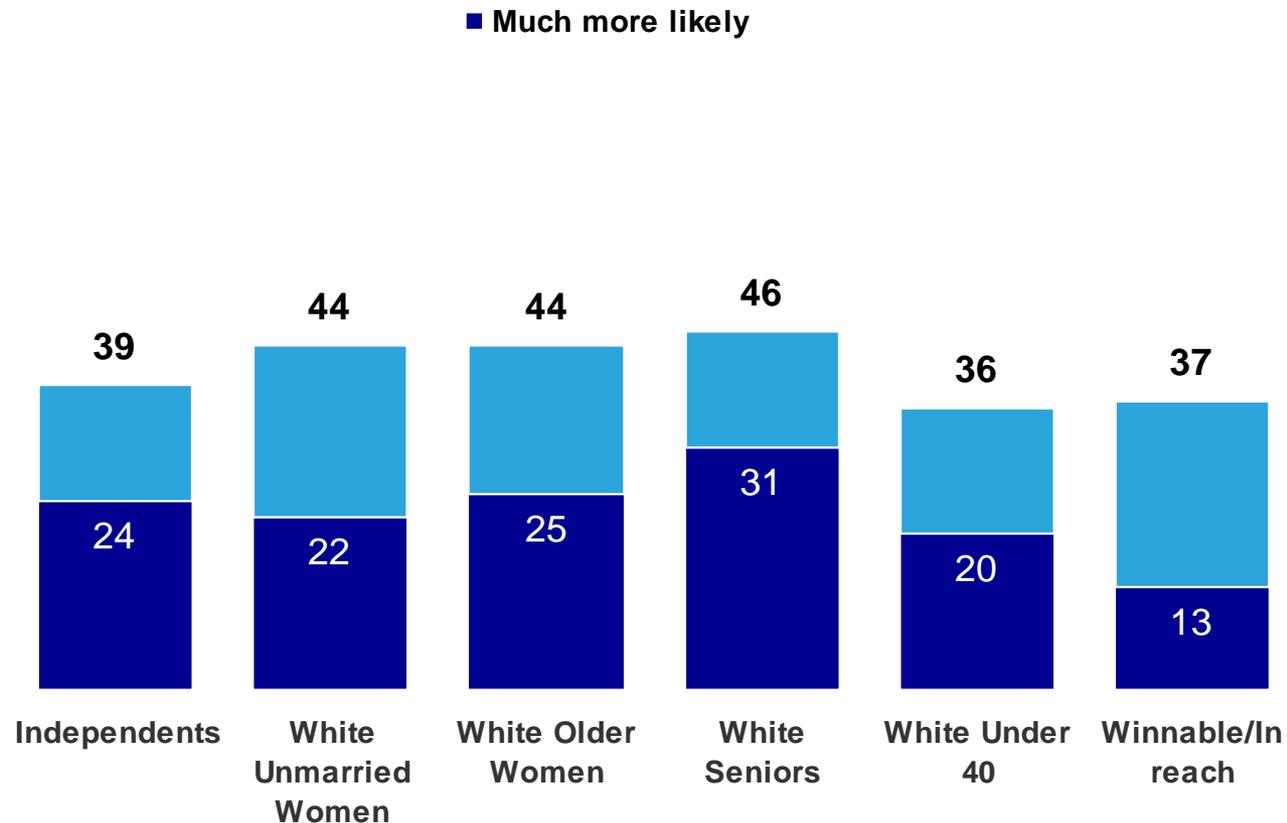


# Messages for key groups: not back to Bush, lost jobs

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## Not back to Bush/ middle class/lost jobs

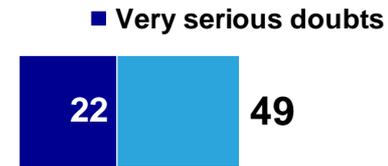
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# Democratic attacks on Republicans

*Now let me read you some statements that the Democratic candidate may make about the Republican candidate. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about the Republican candidate.*

**(Social Security/Medicare Cuts)** (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) has pledged to make sweeping cuts, including cuts to off-limit programs for the middle class, like Social Security and Medicare. The Republicans plan to privatize Social Security by shifting those savings to the stock market, and ending guaranteed benefit levels. Medicare as we know it will end, as seniors will have to purchase private insurance using a voucher that will cover some of the costs.



**(Trickle Down Economics)** (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) believes in trickle-down economics and is increasing the deficit by 700 billion dollars with borrowed money from the Chinese in order to keep his pledge to cut taxes for the richest two percent; five billion dollars in breaks for Goldman Sachs and AIG and for companies exporting American jobs. That's wrong. The middle class is the heart of our economy.



**(Trade/Outsourcing)** (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) has pledged to pass as soon as possible free trade agreements with Colombia, Panama and South Korea as key to the official Republican economic plan. This protects the tax breaks for exporting American jobs, and that is not good news for Americans who believe American jobs are the key to the future.



**(Anti-Middle Class/Stimulus)** (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) is not on the side of the middle class. Republicans have voted against extending unemployment benefits for struggling middle-class families, middle-class tax relief, to allow insurance companies to drop people from their health care coverage, and pledge to cancel the remaining stimulus that would kill construction jobs and projects.



**(Back to Bush/Wealthy Tax Cuts)** (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) will force us to go back to the same policies of George W. Bush that drove our economy into the ditch. (He/She) will work to preserve tax breaks for companies that send jobs overseas rather than give tax breaks to companies to create jobs here in America for renewable energy and manufacturing.



**(Palin Agenda/Obstruct Obama)** (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) is a strong supporter of Sarah Palin's agenda for Washington, and with the support of President Bush's top operatives, (He/She) is doing everything possible to obstruct President Obama's efforts and tie Congress up in knots. We need a Congressman who listens to people here, not Glenn Beck, and tries to get our economy moving.

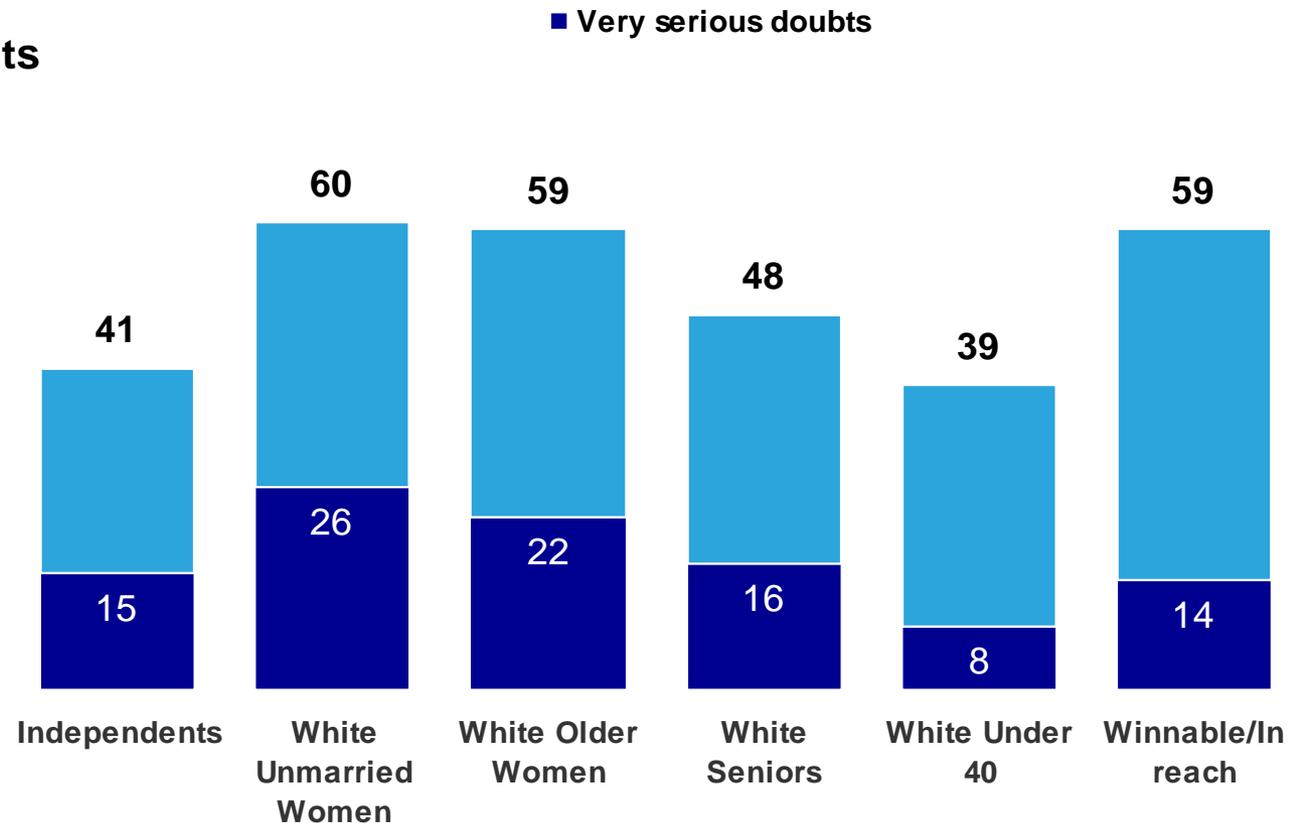


# Strongest attacks on Republicans: Social Security/Medicare

*Now let me read you some statements that the Democratic candidate may make about the Republican candidate. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about the Republican candidate.*

## Social Security/Medicare Cuts

(REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) has pledged to make sweeping cuts, including cuts to off-limit programs for the middle class, like Social Security and Medicare. The Republicans plan to privatize Social Security by shifting those savings to the stock market, and ending guaranteed benefit levels. Medicare as we know it will end, as seniors will have to purchase private insurance using a voucher that will cover some of the costs.

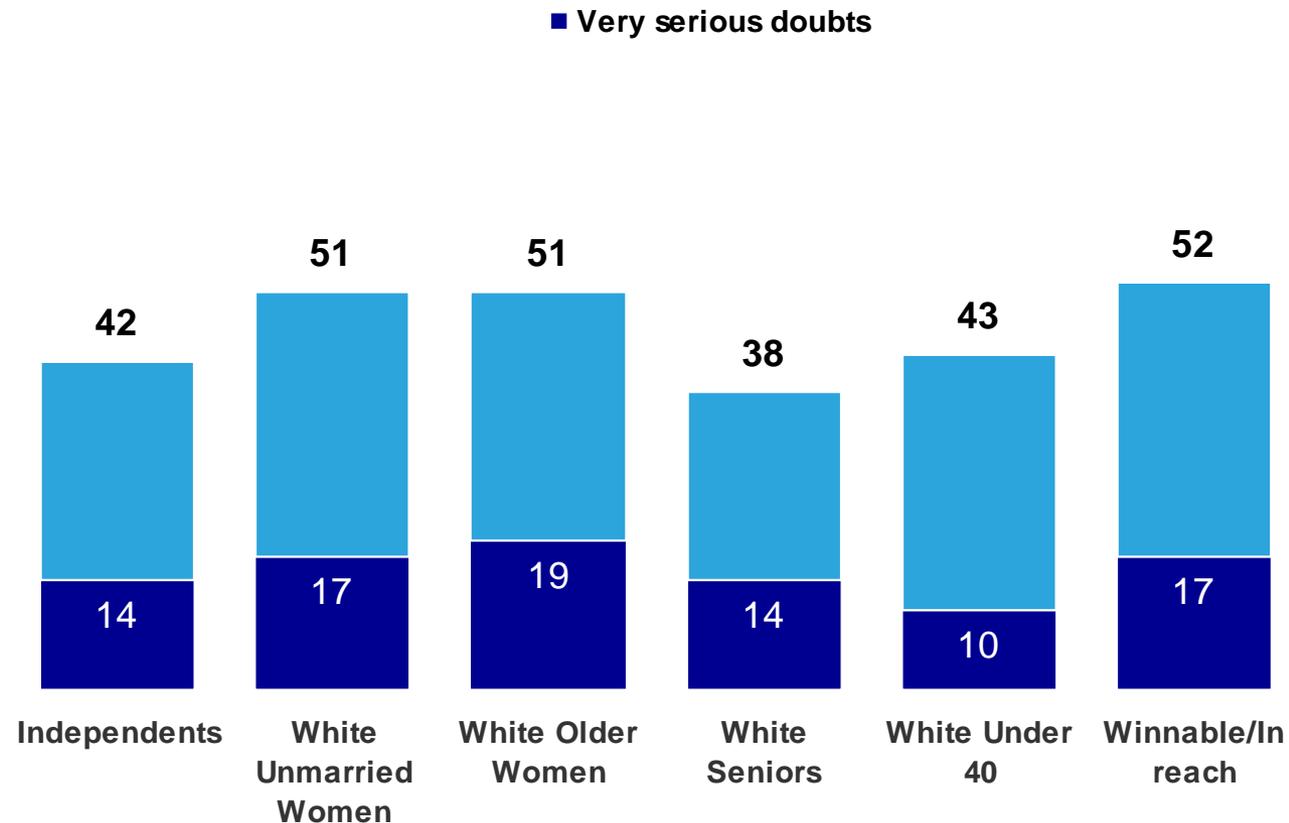


# Strongest Democratic Doubt Attacks: trickle down, debt from Chinese

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## Trickle Down Economics

(REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) believes in trickle-down economics and is increasing the deficit by 700 billion dollars with borrowed money from the Chinese in order to keep his pledge to cut taxes for the richest two percent; five billion dollars in breaks for Goldman Sachs and AIG and for companies exporting American jobs. That's wrong. The middle class is the heart of our economy.

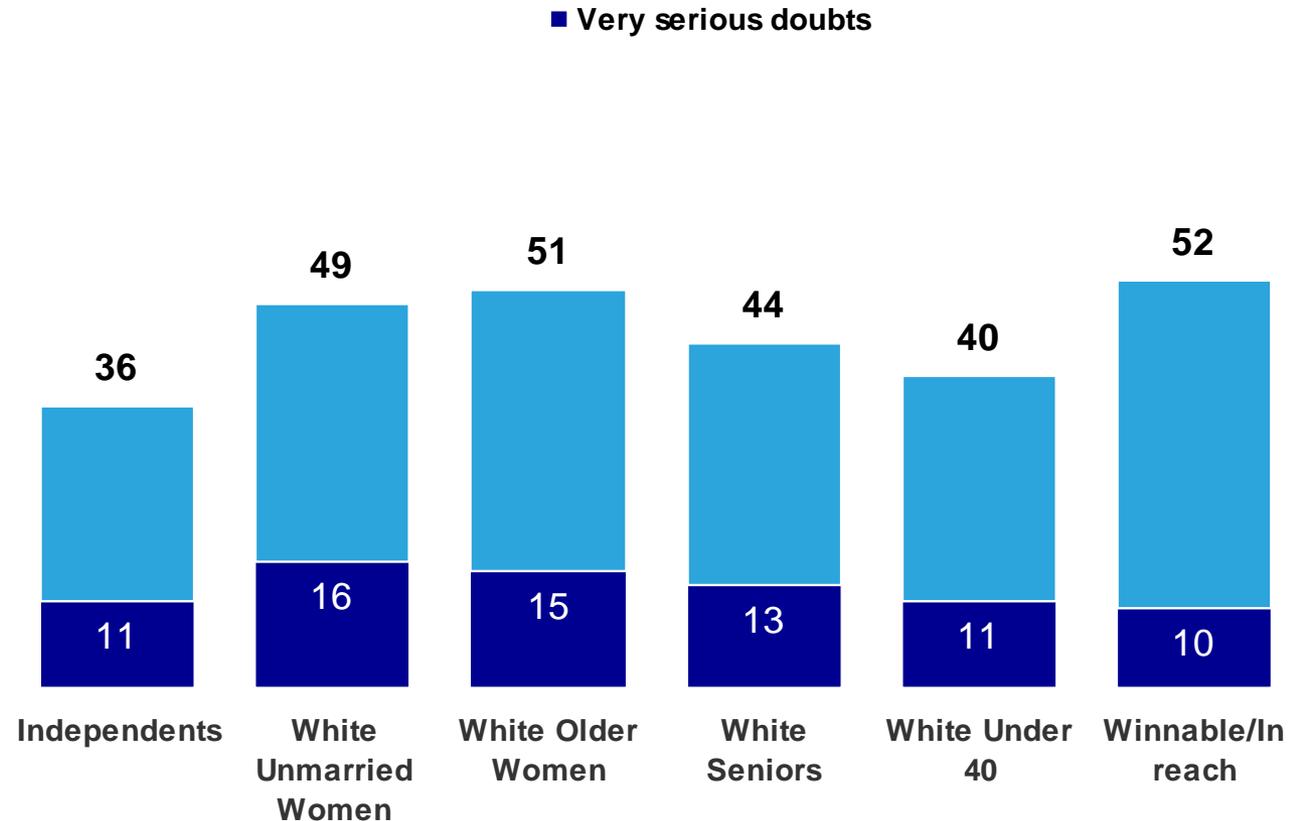


# Strongest Democratic Doubt Attacks: Trade

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## Trade/Outsourcing

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# Messages that energize core voters

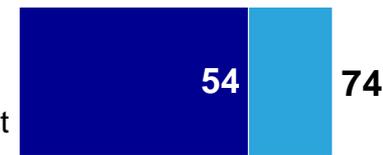
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## Summary of Democratic messages for identified Democrats

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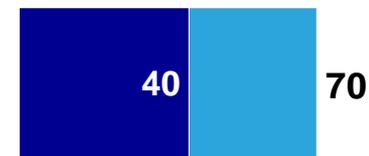
■ Much more likely



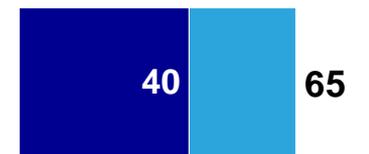
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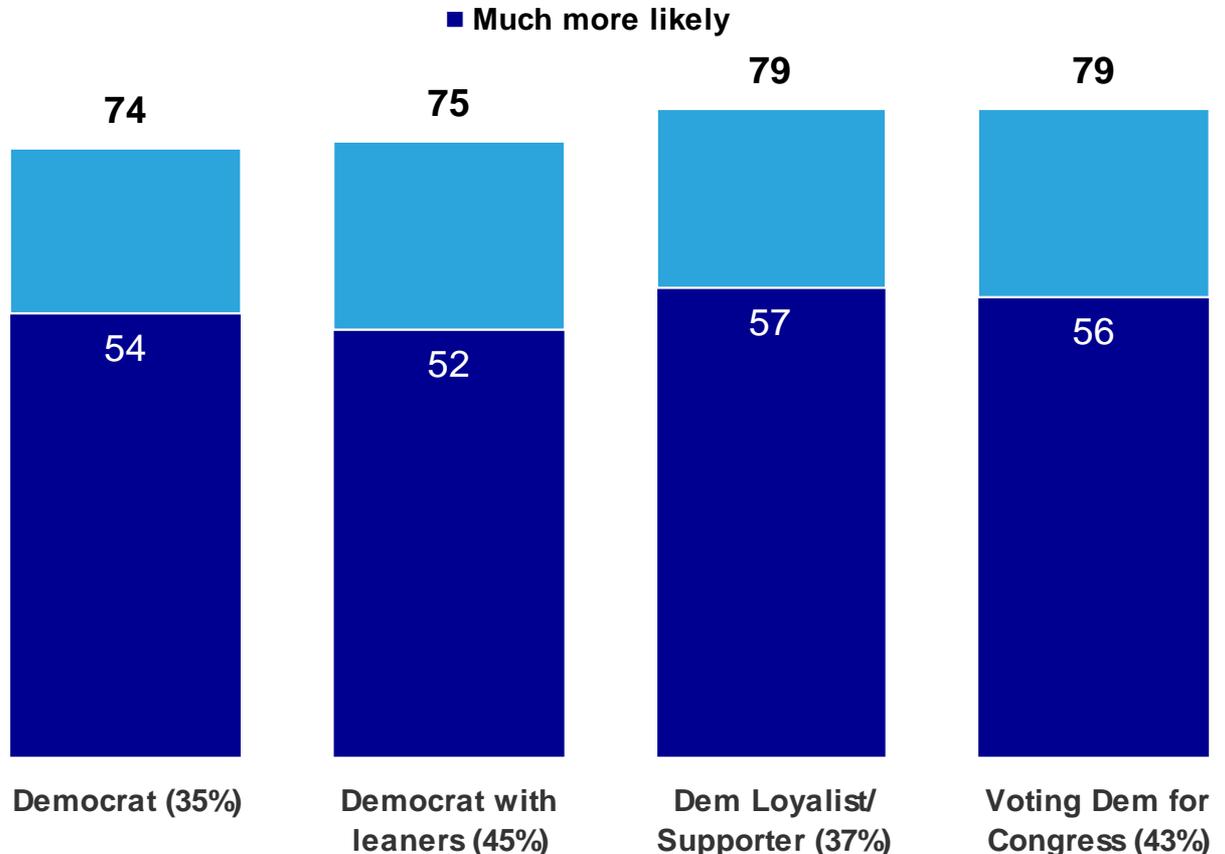


# Strongest Democratic messages among key groups: Forward/Back

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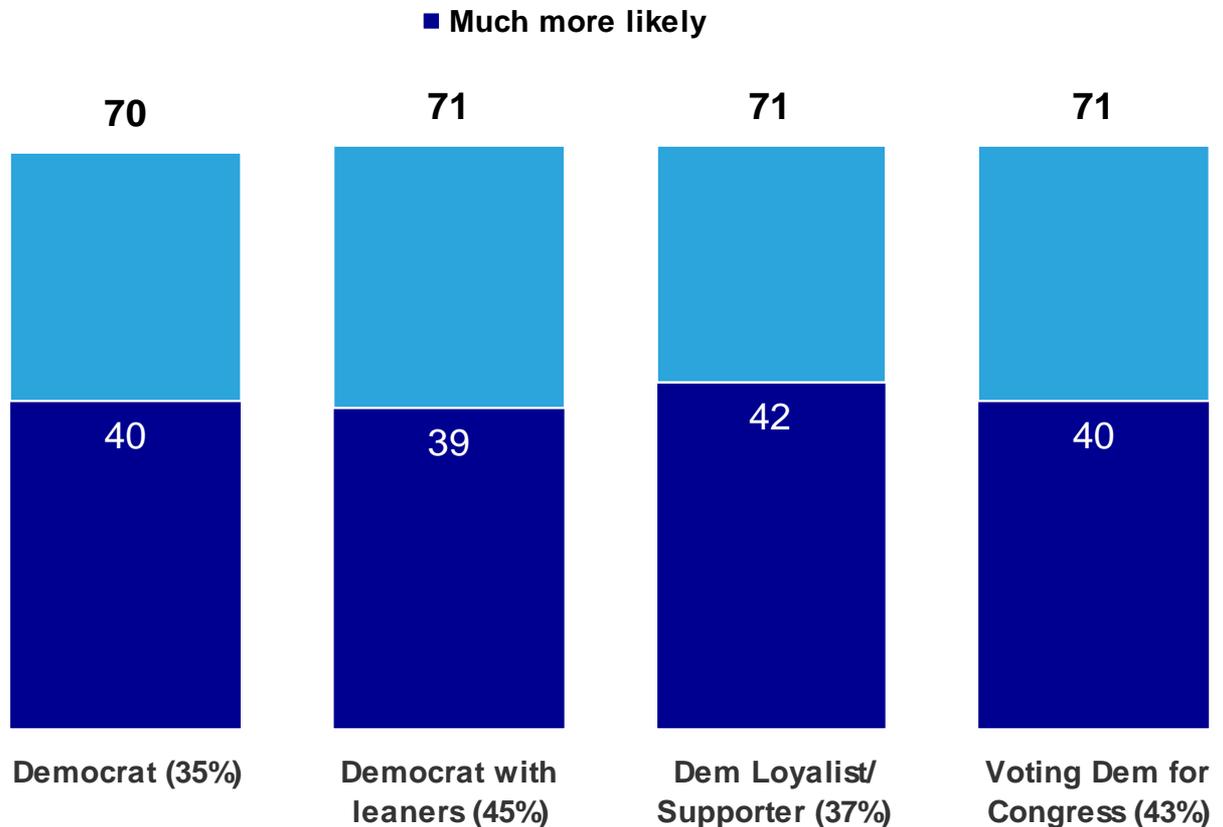


## Messages for key: Corporate/middle class

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### Corporate/ middle class

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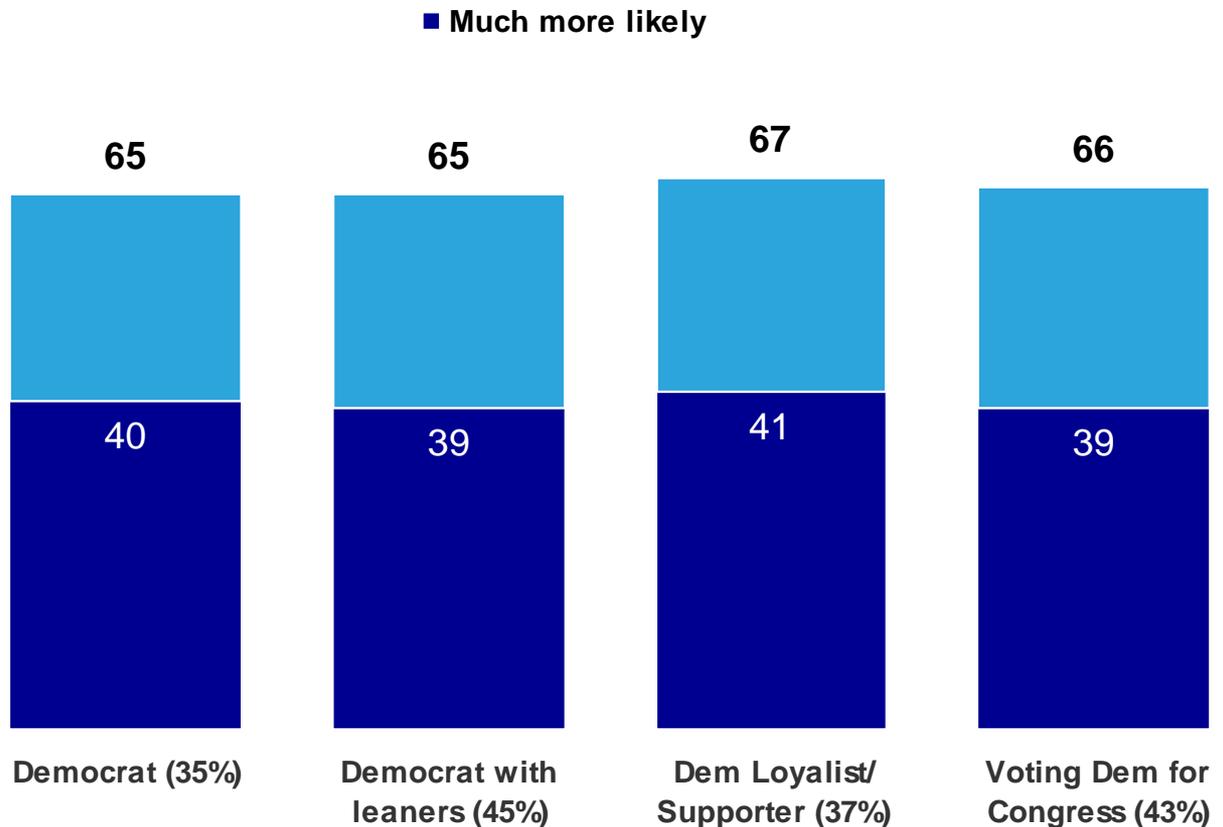


# Democratic messages for keys: America/trade deals/American jobs

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## America/trade deals/American jobs

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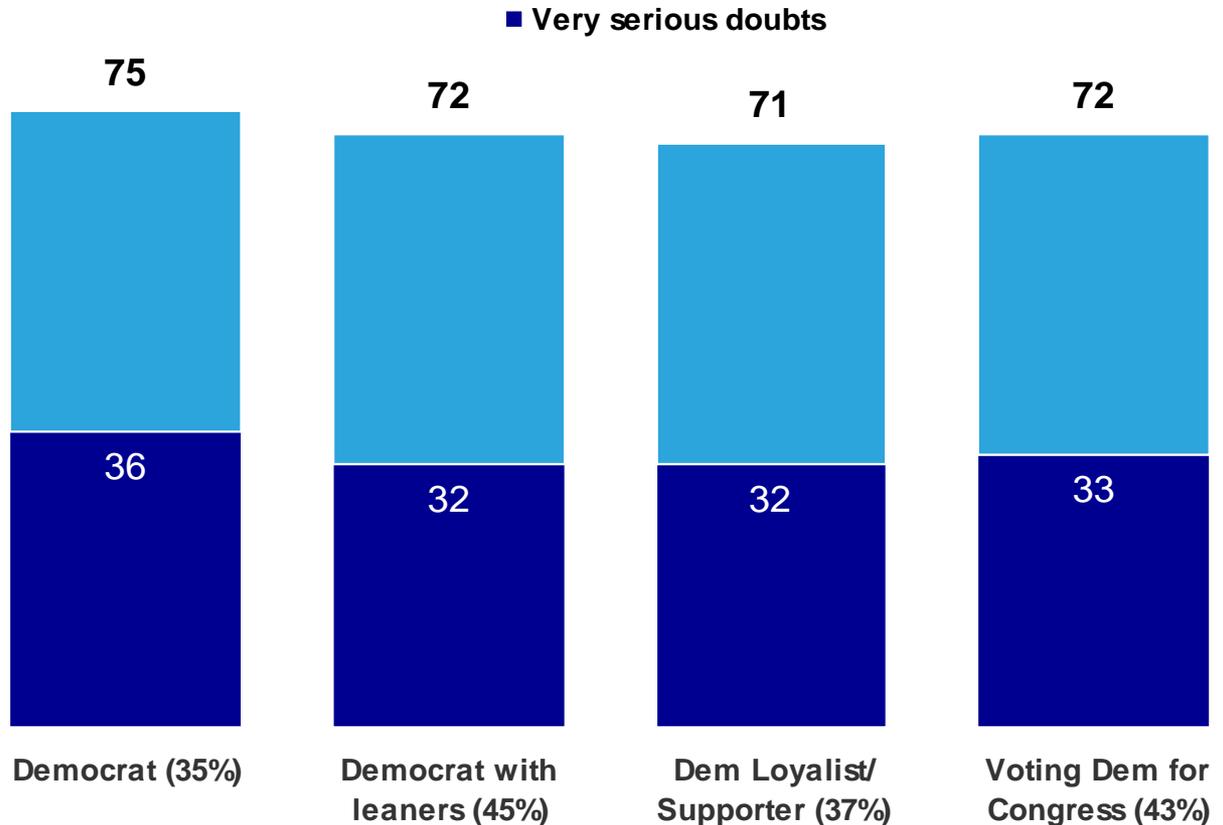


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## Social Security/ Medicare Cuts

(REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) has pledged to make sweeping cuts, including cuts to off-limit programs for the middle class, like Social Security and Medicare. The Republicans plan to privatize Social Security by shifting those savings to the stock market, and ending guaranteed benefit levels. Medicare as we know it will end, as seniors will have to purchase private insurance using a voucher that will cover some of the costs.

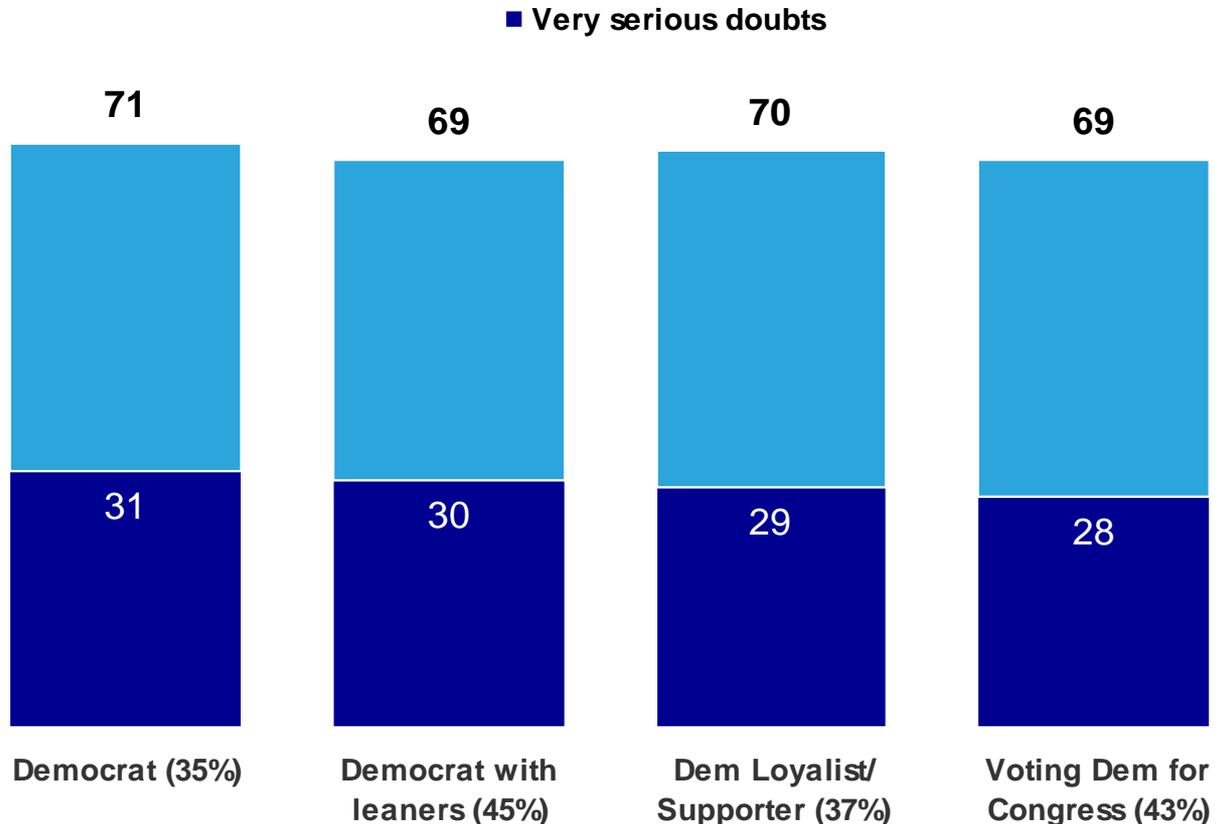


# Strongest Democratic Doubt Attacks: Trickle Down Economics

*Now let me read you some statements that the Democratic candidate may make about the Republican candidate. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about the Republican candidate.*

## Trickle Down Economics

(REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) believes in trickle-down economics and is increasing the deficit by 700 billion dollars with borrowed money from the Chinese in order to keep his pledge to cut taxes for the richest two percent; five billion dollars in breaks for Goldman Sachs and AIG and for companies exporting American jobs. That's wrong. The middle class is the heart of our economy.

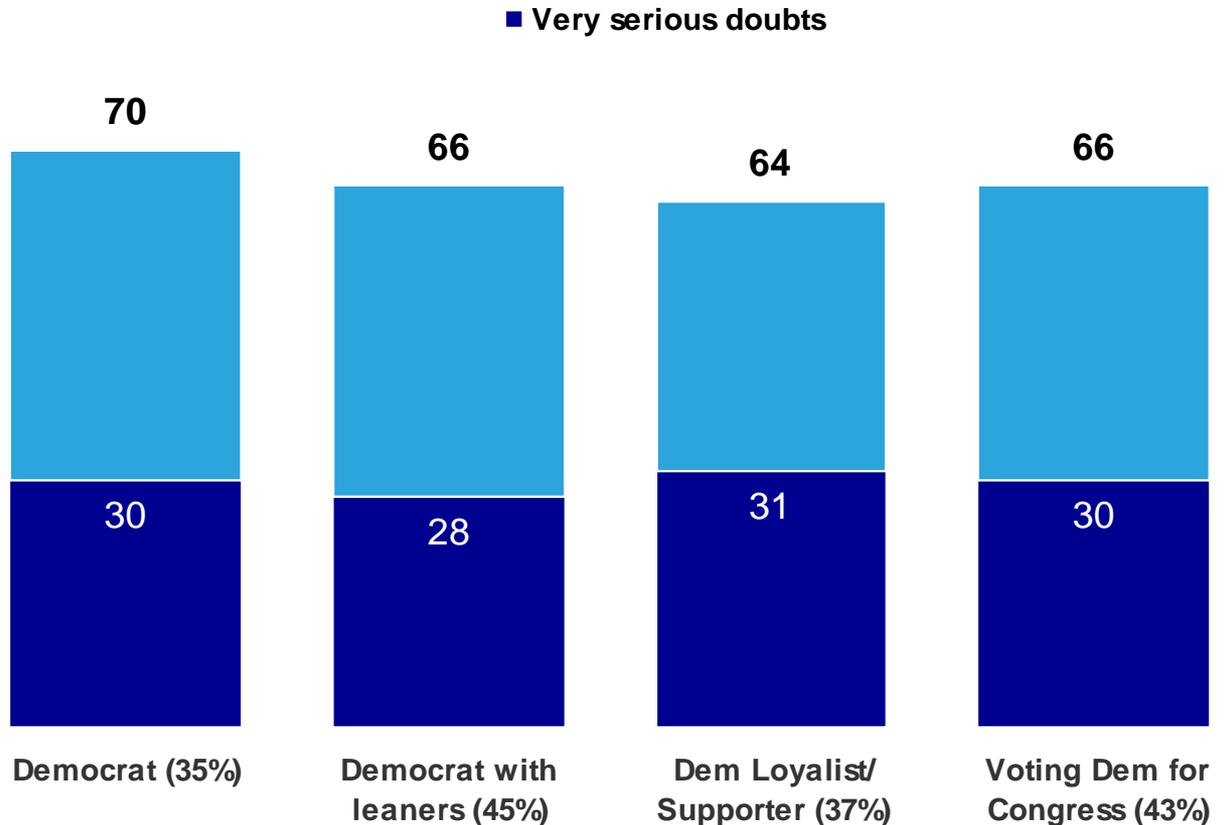


# Strongest Democratic Doubt Attacks: Trade/Outsourcing

*Now let me read you some statements that the Democratic candidate may make about the Republican candidate. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about the Republican candidate.*

## Trade/Outsourcing

(REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE) has pledged to pass as soon as possible free trade agreements with Colombia, Panama and South Korea as key to the official Republican economic plan. This protects the tax breaks for exporting American jobs, and that is not good news for Americans who believe American jobs are the key to the future.



# Republican framing – tested in poll

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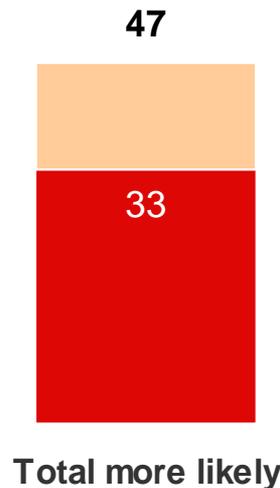
# Republican messages

Now let me read you some statements that the Republican candidate might make this fall about the election. After I read each statement, please tell me whether each statement would make you MUCH MORE LIKELY to support the Democratic candidate this November, SOMEWHAT MORE LIKELY, JUST A LITTLE MORE LIKELY, NO MORE LIKELY, or LESS LIKELY to support the Republican candidate this November.

## Health care

President Obama and (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) promised lower health care costs, but did not deliver. Their plan will explode our deficit by one trillion dollars, raise taxes when people are struggling, and take away the health care choices we should be able to make. I will fight to repeal and replace these policies with common sense solutions like expanding health savings accounts and having the ability to purchase health insurance across state lines, which will lower costs for working families.

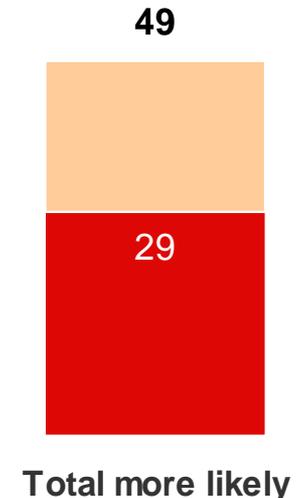
■ Much more likely



## Big government

(DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) has backed Nancy Pelosi's out-of-control spending ways. They've spent trillions on a failed economic recovery, resulting in government takeovers of banks, car companies, and health care. Thousands of small businesses will face crippling tax hikes. I'll work in Congress to return to common sense policies like decreasing costly government regulation, cutting taxes for small businesses and the middle class, and provide incentives to encourage businesses to create jobs in America to get our economy going again.

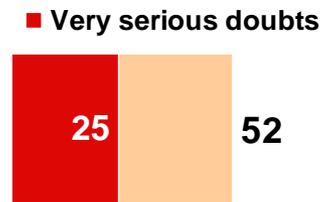
■ Much more likely



# Summary of Republican attack messages on Democrats

*Now let me read you some statements that the Republican candidate may make about the Democratic candidate. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about the Democratic candidate.*

**(HEALTH CARE)** (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) and the Democratic Congress passed a health care law that will result in a government takeover of our health care system and hurt small businesses with burdensome mandates,. Their plan will explode our deficit by one trillion dollars, raise taxes when people are struggling, and take away the health care choices we should be able to make.



**(CHECK ON OBAMA)** (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) will be a rubber stamp for President Obama's agenda of a failed stimulus, unnecessary bailouts, and a health care law that takes away our choices. These failed programs are exploding our deficit, haven't improved our economy and are taking away our freedoms. We must end the Democrats' two-year experiment in expanding government.



**(PELOSI)** (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) will be a rubber stamp for Nancy Pelosi in Washington, who passed a failed stimulus, unnecessary bailouts, and a health care law that takes away our choices. These failed programs are exploding our deficit, haven't improved our economy and are taking away our freedoms. We must end the Democrats' two-year experiment in expanding government.



**(SPENDING)** (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) is addicted to spending our tax dollars and supports running up the deficit to record levels with failed economic policies. We can't continue to put our government into more debt to countries like China. This Democratic spending spree will raise taxes on working burden our small businesses.



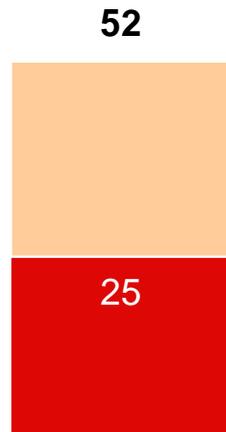
# Strongest Republican attack messages against Democrats

*Now let me read you some statements that the Republican candidate may make about the Democratic candidate. For each statement, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubt in your own mind about the Democratic candidate.*

## Health care

President Obama and (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) promised lower health care costs, but did not deliver. Their plan will explode our deficit by one trillion dollars, raise taxes when people are struggling, and take away the health care choices we should be able to make. I will fight to repeal and replace these policies with common sense solutions like expanding health savings accounts and having the ability to purchase health insurance across state lines, which will lower costs for working families.

■ Very serious doubts

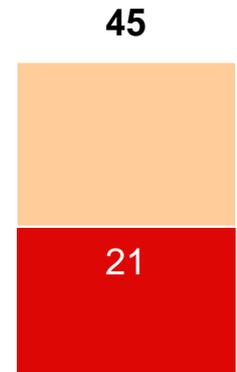


Total serious doubts

## Pelosi

(DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) will be a rubber stamp for Nancy Pelosi in Washington, who passed a failed stimulus, unnecessary bailouts, and a health care law that takes away our choices. These failed programs are exploding our deficit, haven't improved our economy and are taking away our freedoms. We must end the Democrats' two-year experiment in expanding government.

■ Very serious doubts



Total serious doubts

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