

GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER RESEARCH

November 13, 2006

America's New Direction

Democracy Corps and Campaign for America's Future Post-Election Poll

November 7-8, 2006



Democracy Corps

CAMPAIGN FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE

The Election

- Methodology:
 - Telephone survey
 - 2,020 interviews of voters
 - 1,011 voters nationally
 - 1,009 voters in 50 GOP-held competitive districts
 - Random Digit Dialing (RDD)
 - November 7-8, 2006

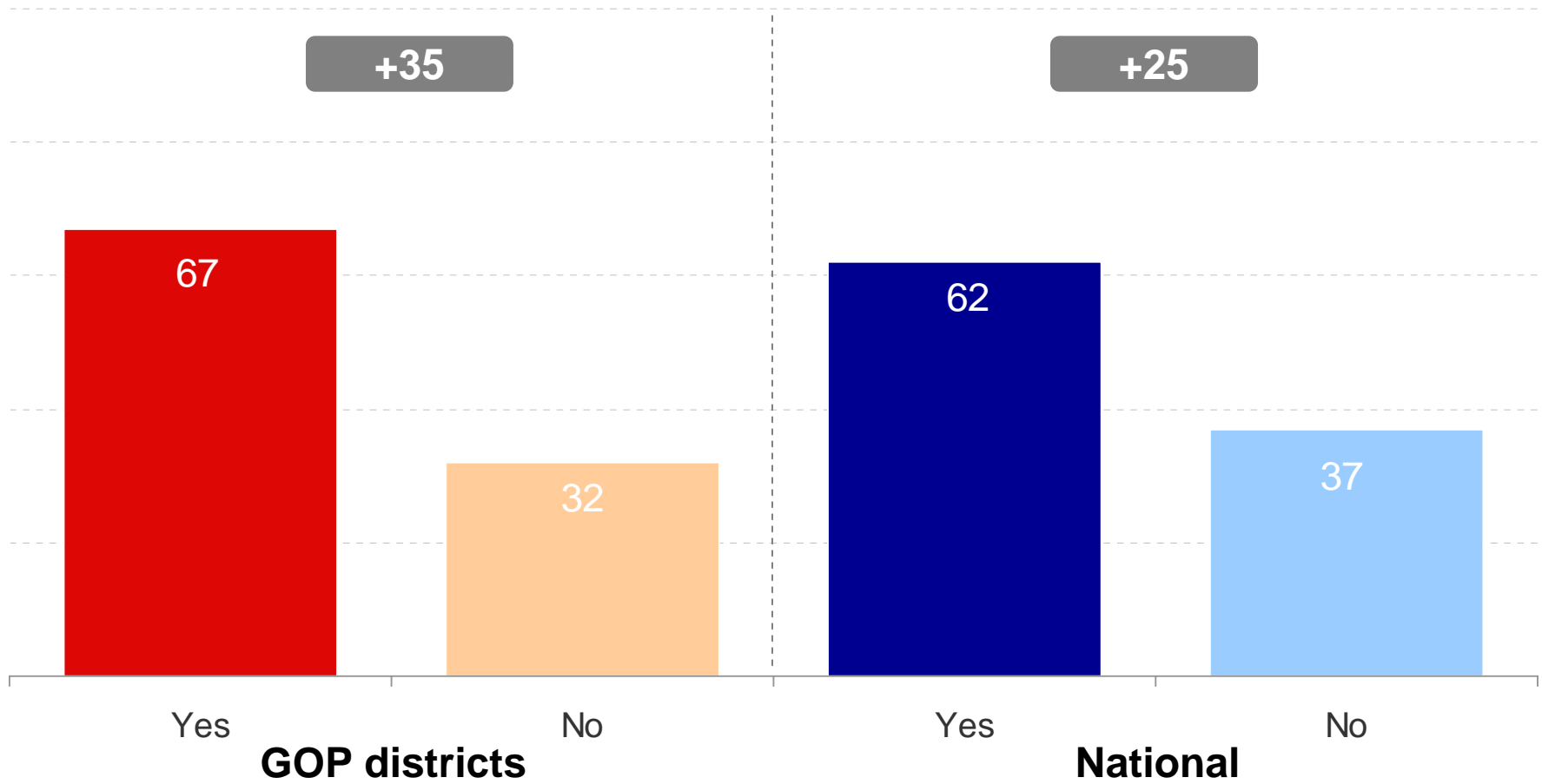
The election

CAF/Democracy Corps Post-Election study

- Nationalized election – party control big factor
- Performance of Bush and Congress factor in vote
- Election structure set nationally since Katrina, with Democrats winning by 8 points
- A large battleground of 50 Republican-held congressional seats competitive from the summer, with the Democrats making gains in summer and a month before the election
- Republicans narrowed the margin by 3 points at end in battleground districts
- But Democrats competitive in top competitive tier but also in bottom tier – a big new battleground for Democrats
- Last polls and actual vote accurate within a point in top two tiers, but Republicans edged ahead at end in bottom tier where they had lop-sided financial advantage
- Independents gave Democrats a massive vote – the story of the election

Nationalized election: party control factor in congressional vote

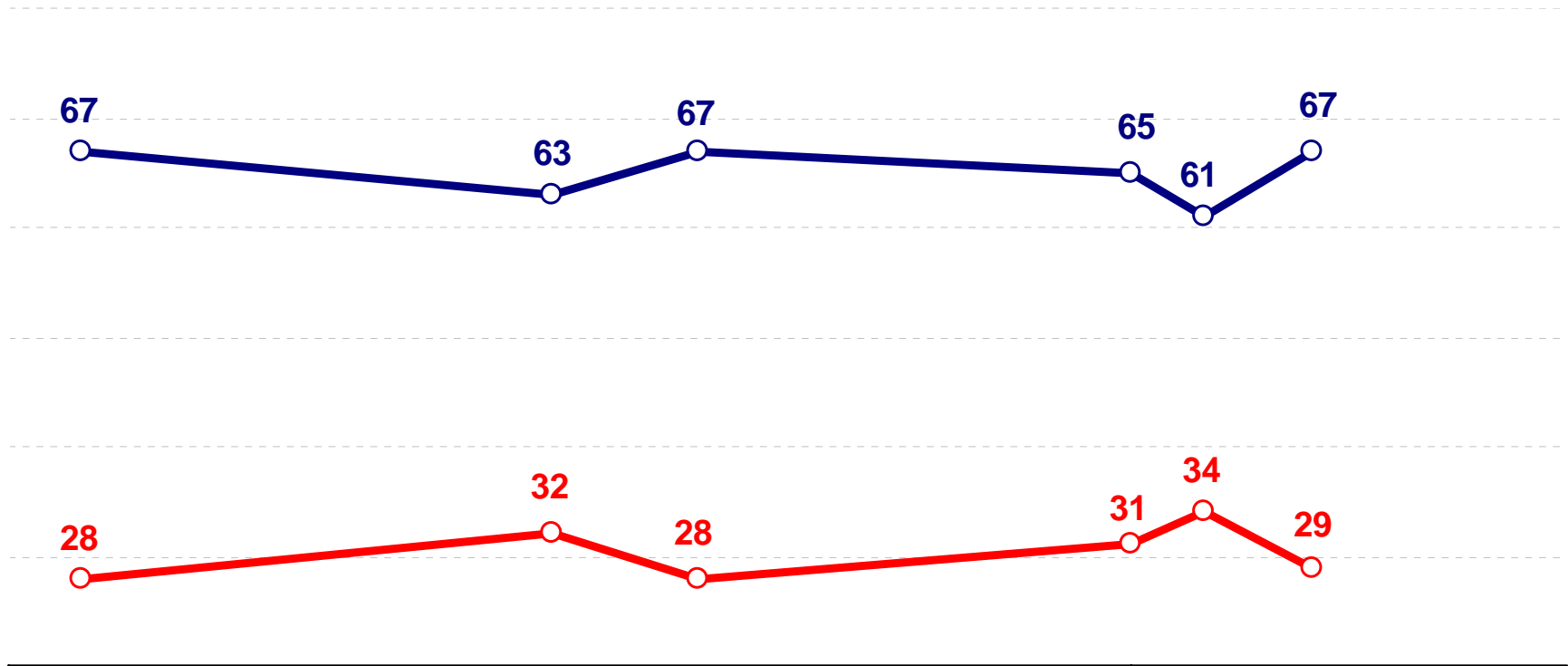
Was the issue of which party controls Congress, the Republicans or the Democrats, a factor for your vote for Congress or not?



Crash in confidence of Congress in battleground GOP districts

Do you approve or disapprove of the job Congress is doing?

Disapprove Approve

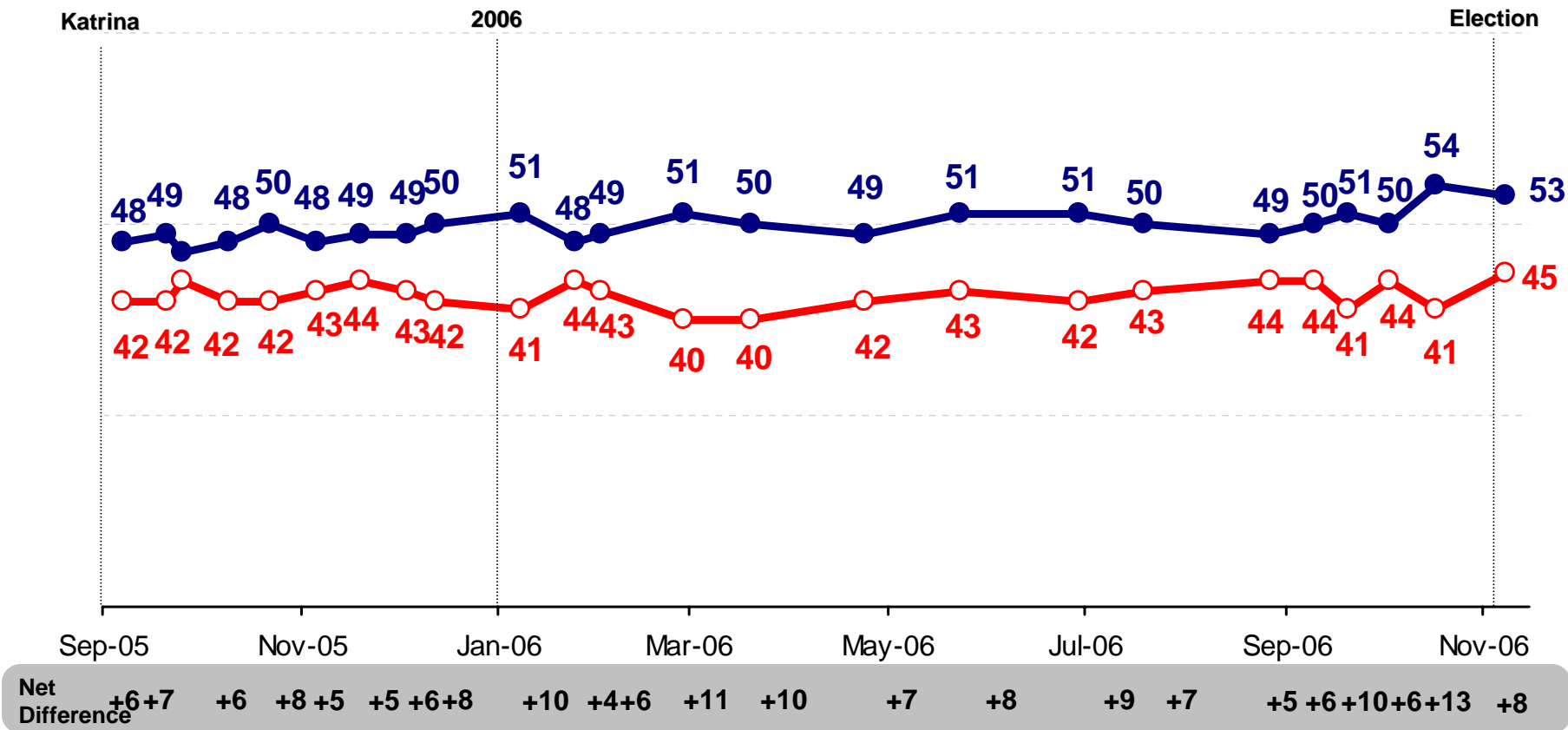


Net Difference	-39	-31	-39	-34	-27	-38
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The post-Katrina election: national vote for Congress

Now thinking about the election for U.S. Congress this November, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for*...

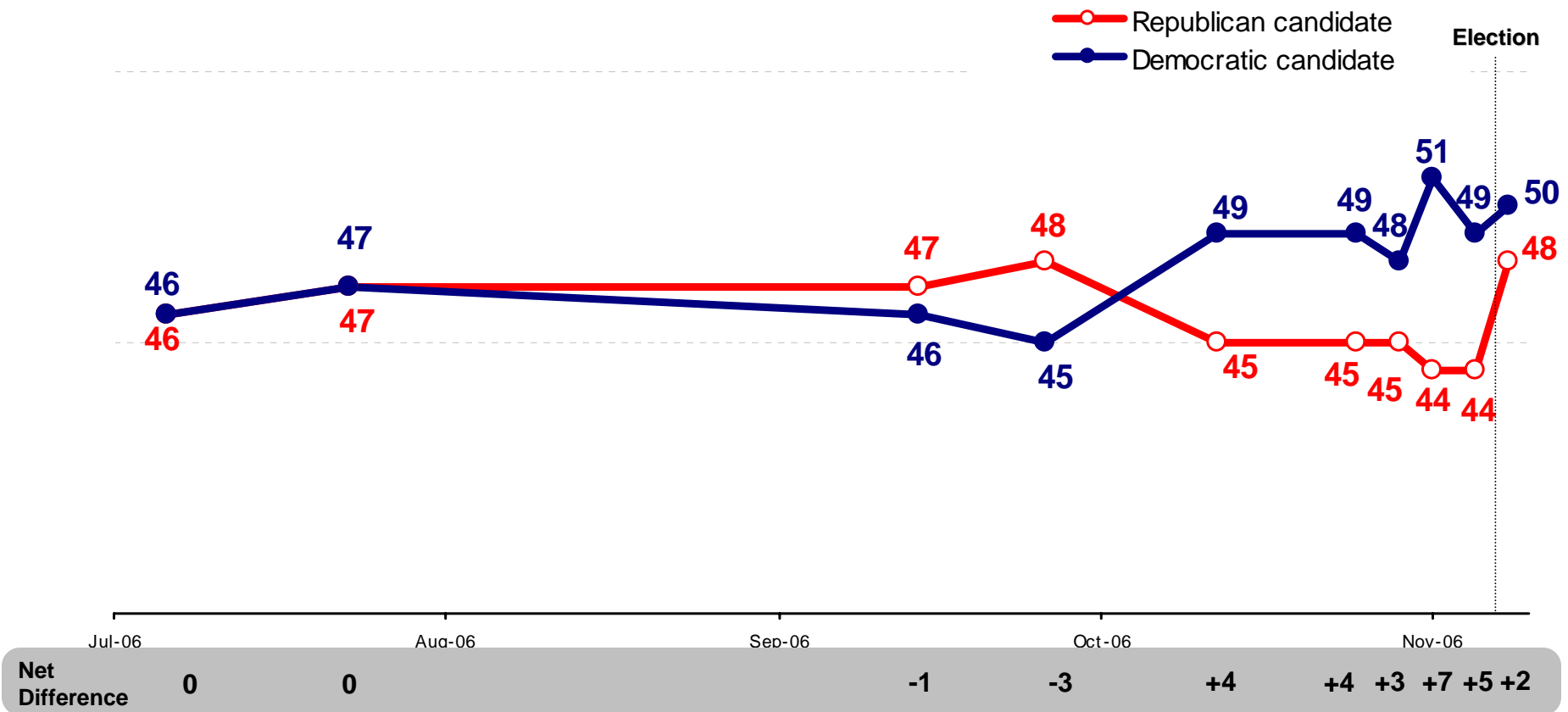
● Democratic Candidate
○ Republican Candidate



Note*: Actual names of candidates and incumbents inserted into question

The 50-Republican seat battleground districts: named ballot

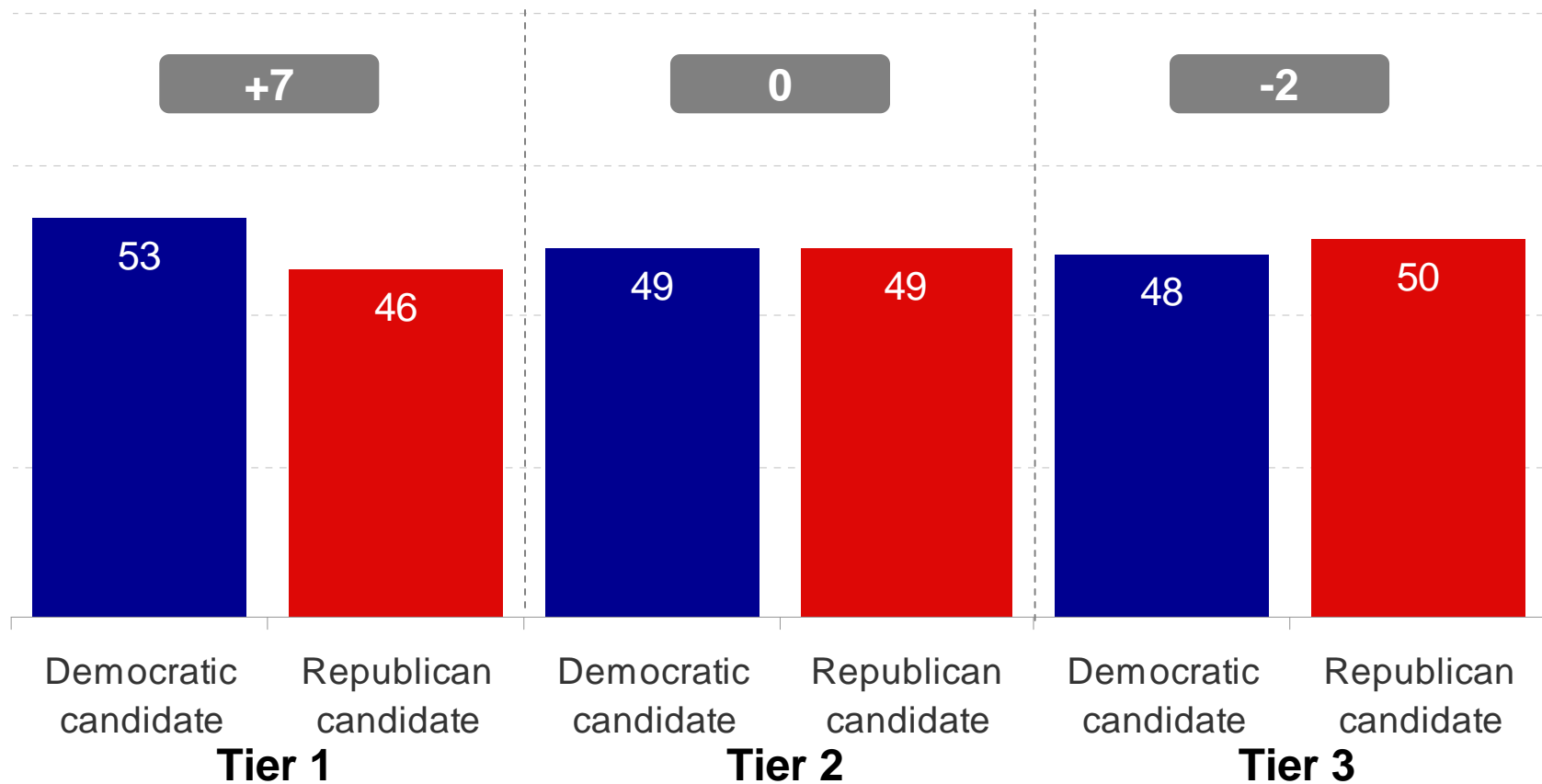
And let me ask you again about the election in November, though with the actual candidates. If the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for...



Note*: Actual names of candidates and incumbents inserted into question

Congressional vote by Tier: all tiers competitive in 2006

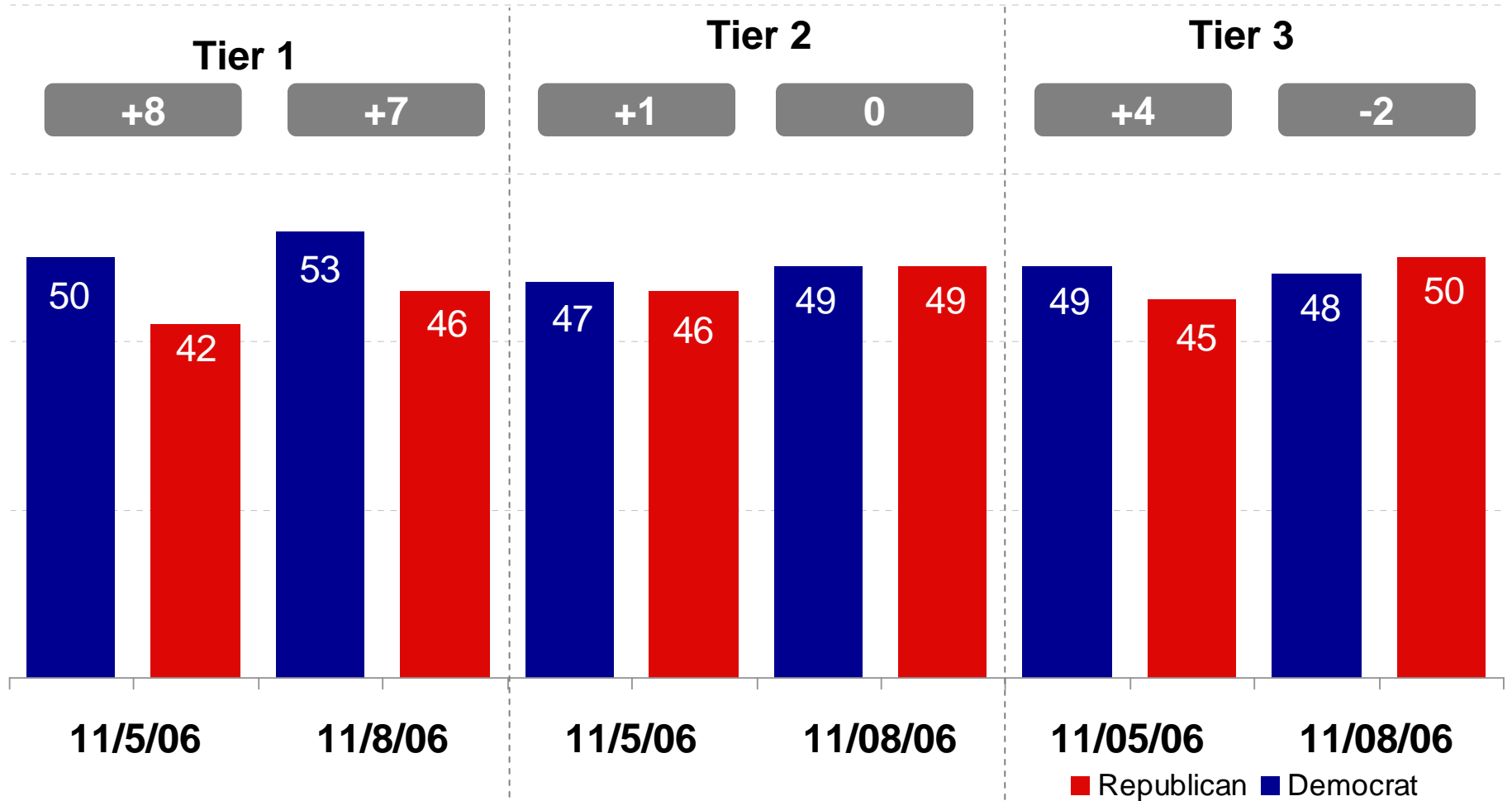
Now let me ask you about the election for Congress held Nov. 7 in the district where you reside. Did you vote for...



Note*: Actual candidate names inserted into question

Final poll and actual vote: Republicans soften impact in tier 3

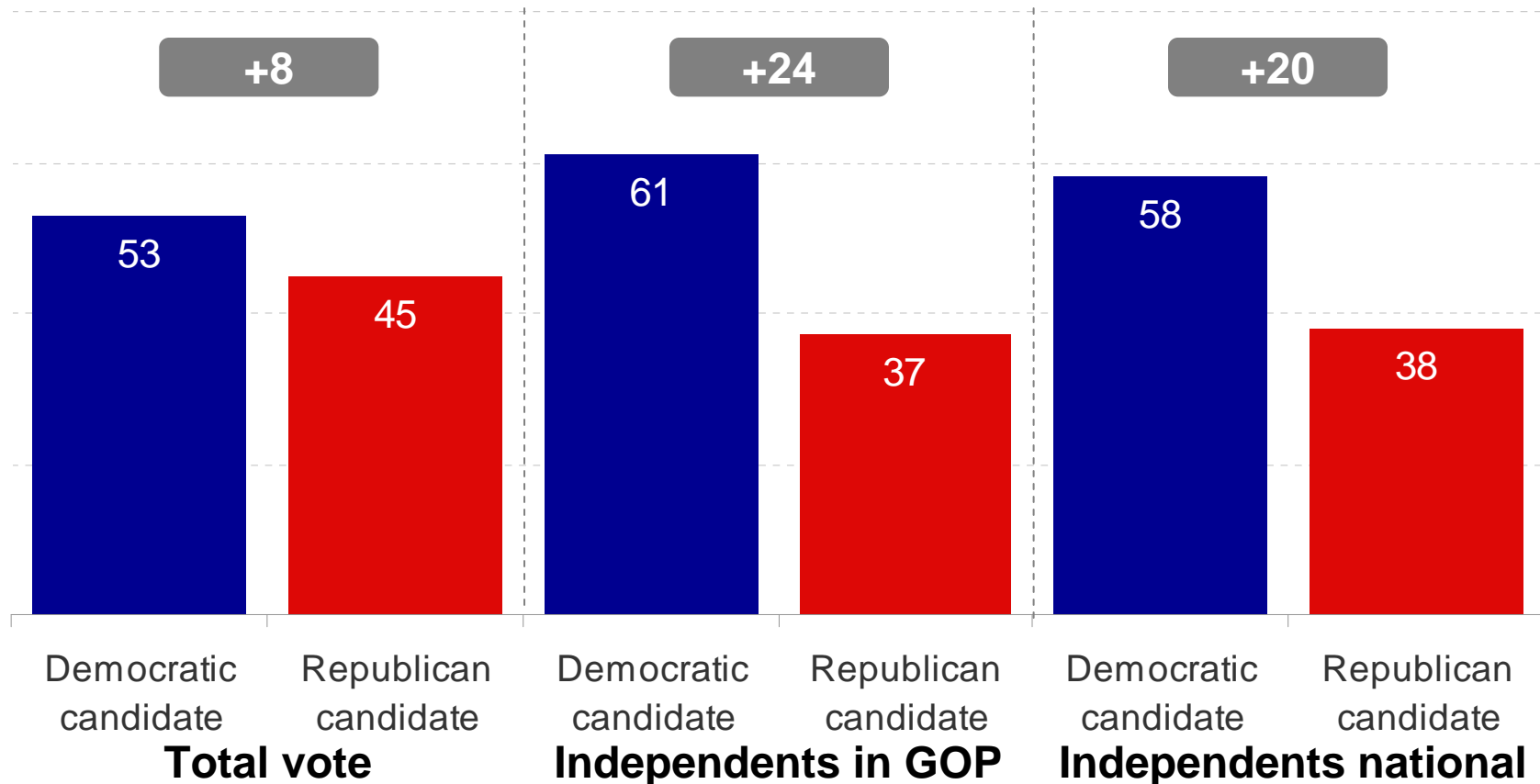
Now let me ask you about the election for Congress held Nov. 7 in the district where you reside. Did you vote for...



Note*: Actual names of candidates inserted into each question. Last Democracy Swing District survey conducted November 2-5, 2006 of 1,201 likely voters

Independents: the 2006 crash nationally and GOP districts

Now let me ask you about the election for Congress held Nov. 7 in the district where you reside. Did you vote for...



Note*: Actual candidate names inserted into question

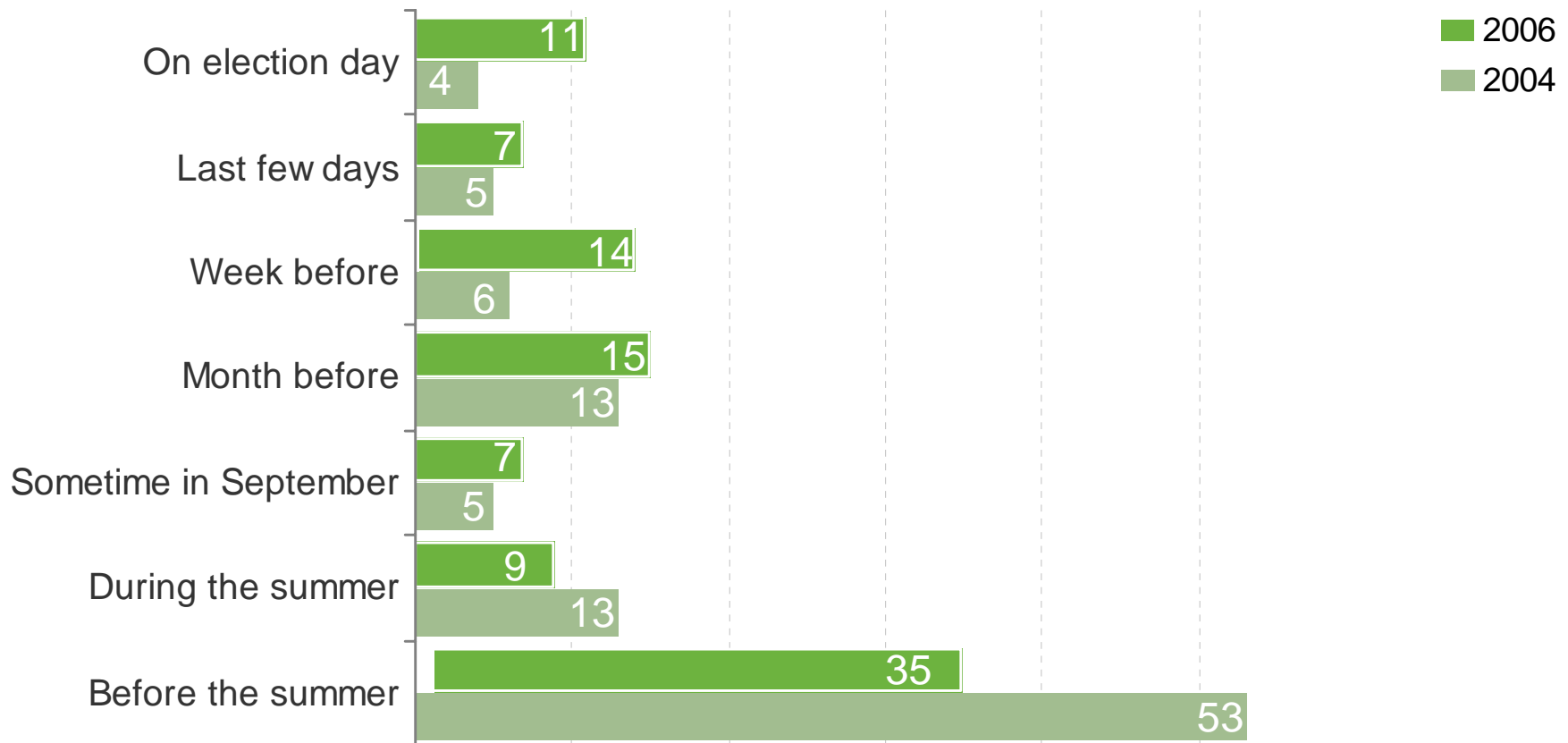
The campaign

The campaign

- The election broke for the Democrats in summer and at the end of September, a month before the election
- The Republicans dominated mail and phone in the 50 Republican districts
- Republicans' biggest dominance was in tier one
- Democrats and Republicans had parity on Internet and face to face
- The intense campaign in the 50 GOP districts led voters to see major differences on the issues, particularly on Iraq and taxes

Voters nationally engaged later in 2006 than in 2004

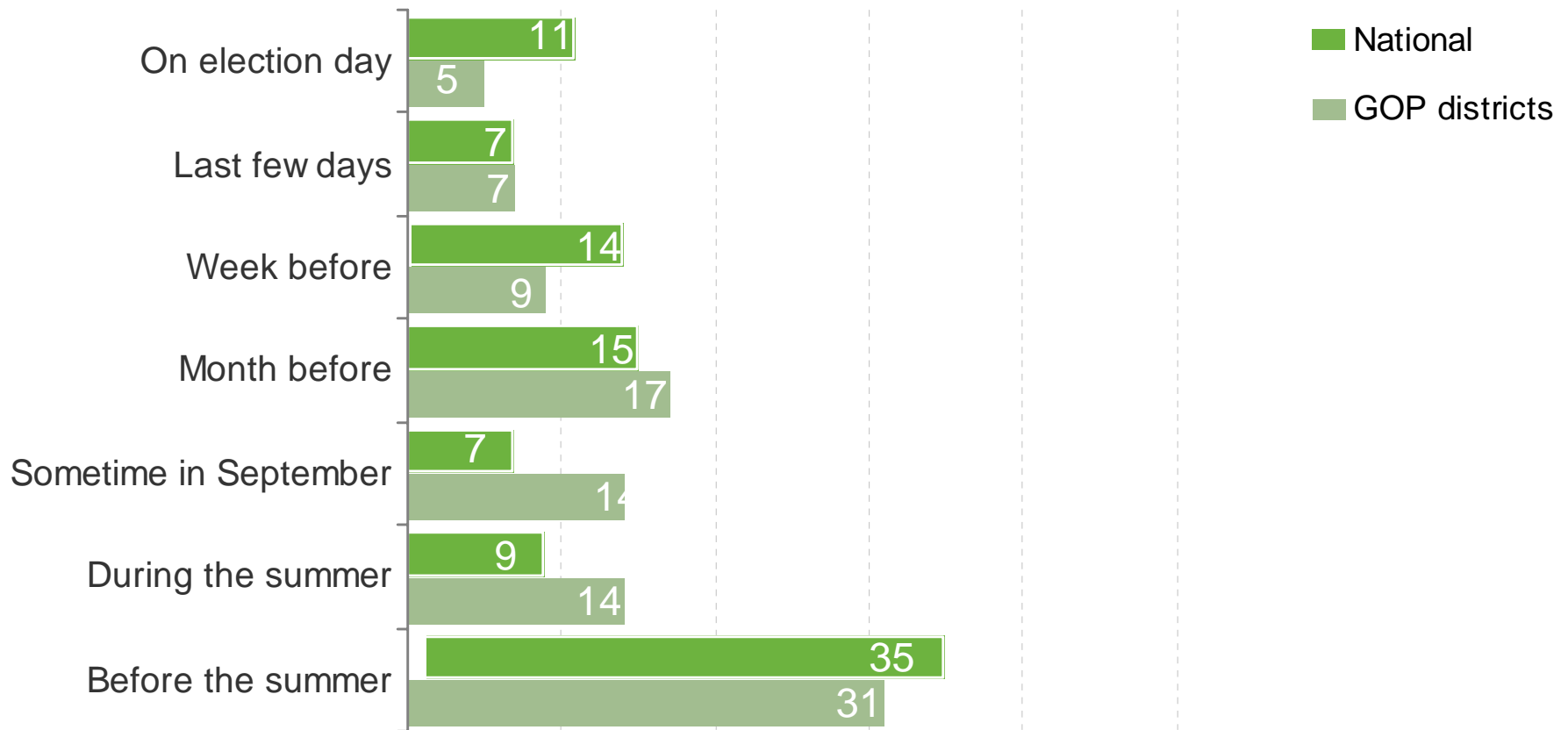
When did you finally decide for (cited candidate): on election day, in the last few days before the election, the week before the election, a month before the election, sometime in September, during the summer, or before that?



Note*: Actual candidate names inserted into question

In GOP districts, broke in summer and month before

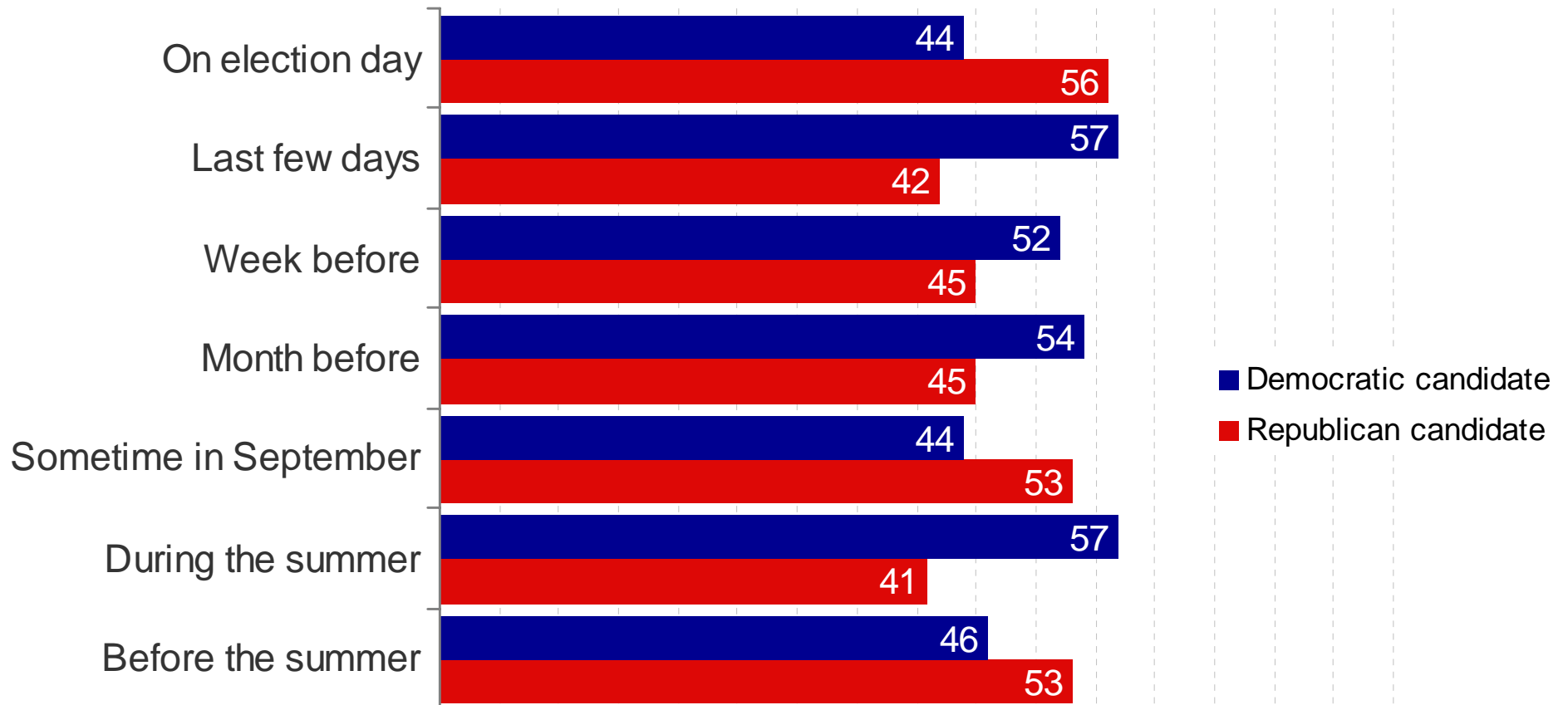
When did you finally decide for (cited candidate): on election day, in the last few days before the election, the week before the election, a month before the election, sometime in September, during the summer, or before that?



Note*: Actual candidate names inserted into question

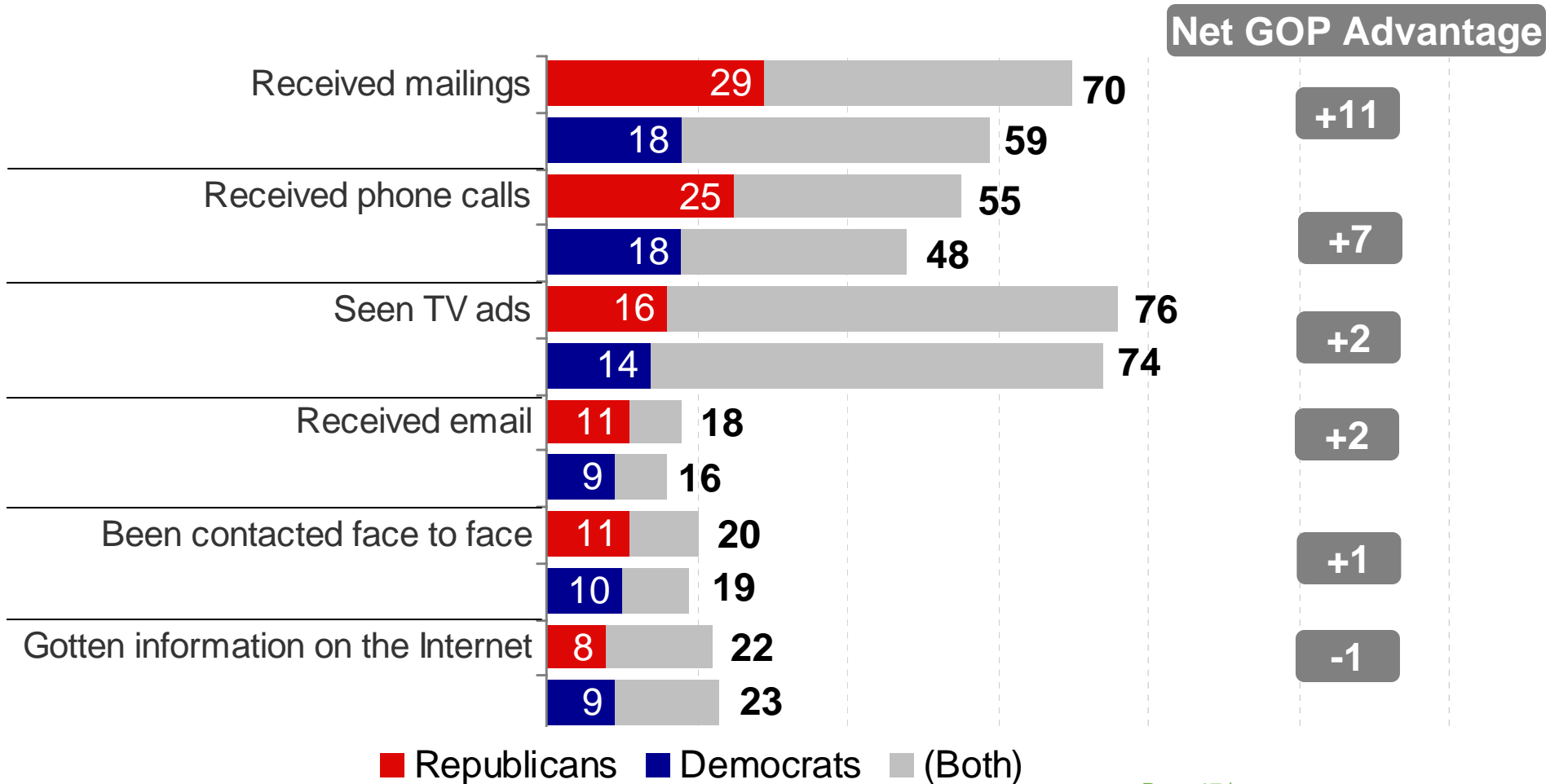
Voters broke for Democrats in summer and month before in GOP districts

When did you finally decide for (cited 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?*



Campaign activity in the GOP districts

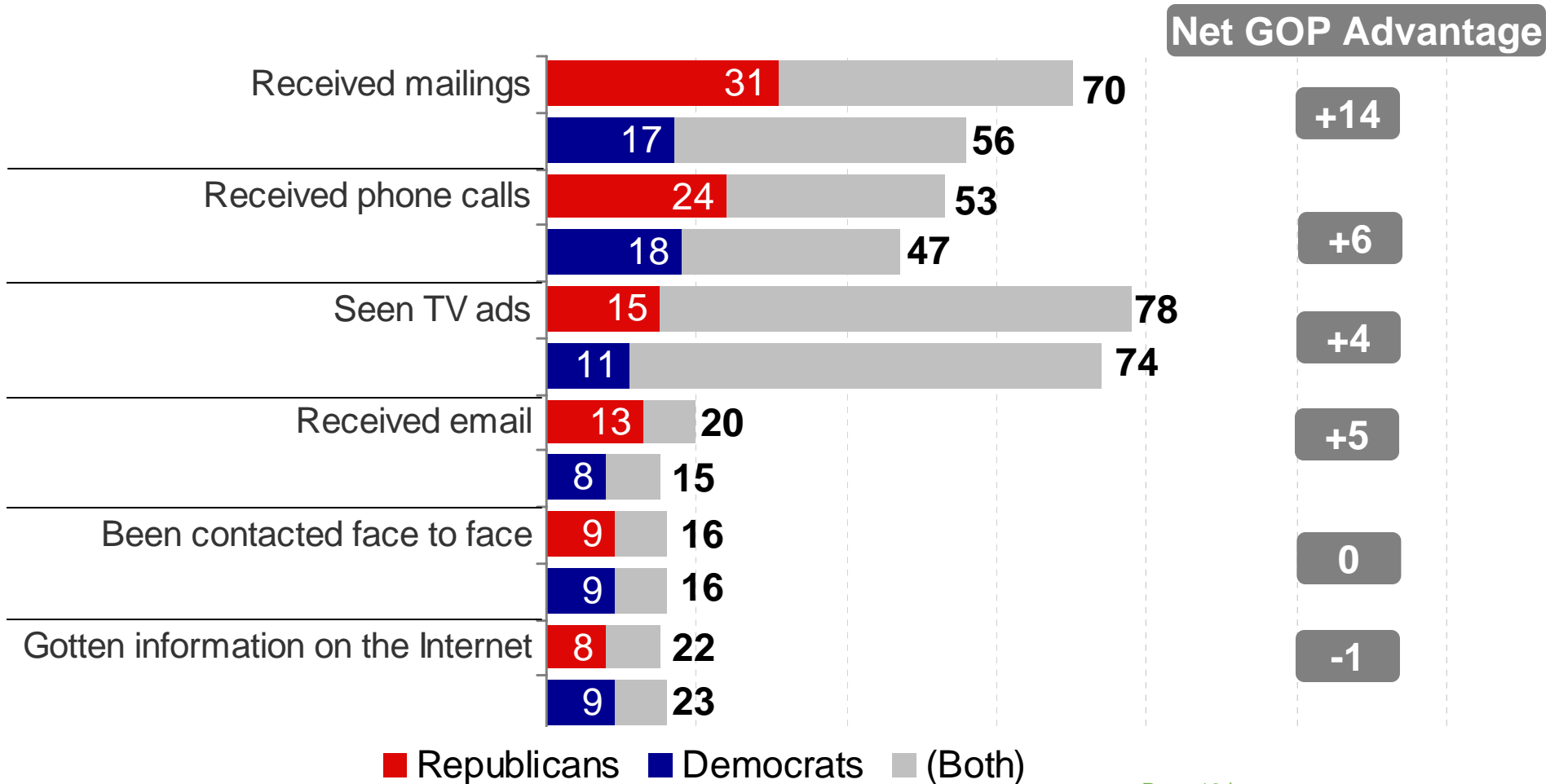
Over the course of the campaign, have you (insert item) more from those who want you to vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate? Would you say you have (insert item) a lot by the candidate's supporters or a little?



Note*: Actual candidate names inserted into question. This question asked only in GOP Swing districts

Campaign activity in the GOP districts – Tier 1 districts

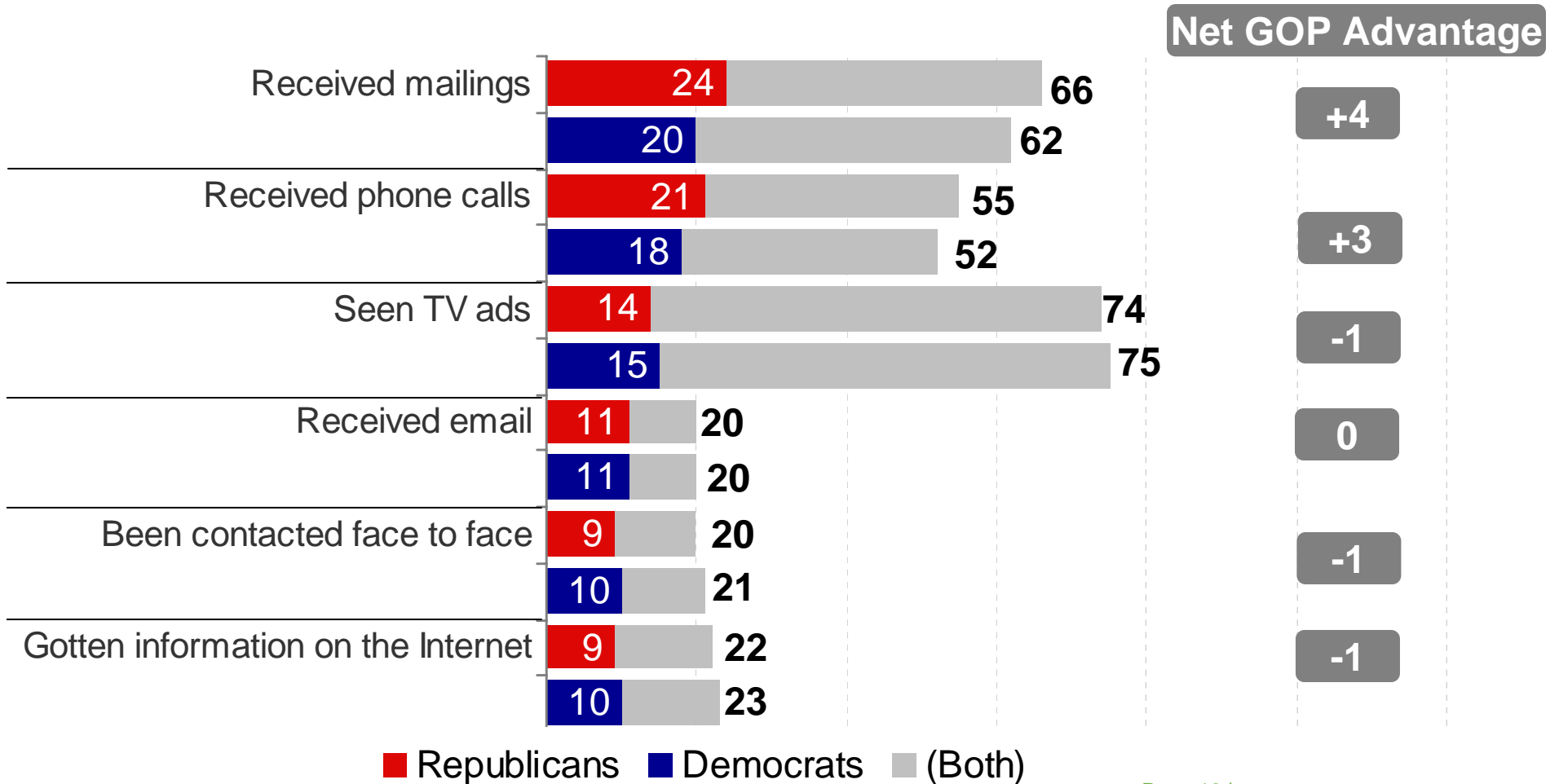
Over the course of the campaign, have you (insert item) more from those who want you to vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate? Would you say you have (insert item) a lot by the candidate's supporters or a little?



Note*: Actual candidate names inserted into question. This question asked only in GOP Swing districts

Campaign activity in the GOP districts – Tier 3 districts

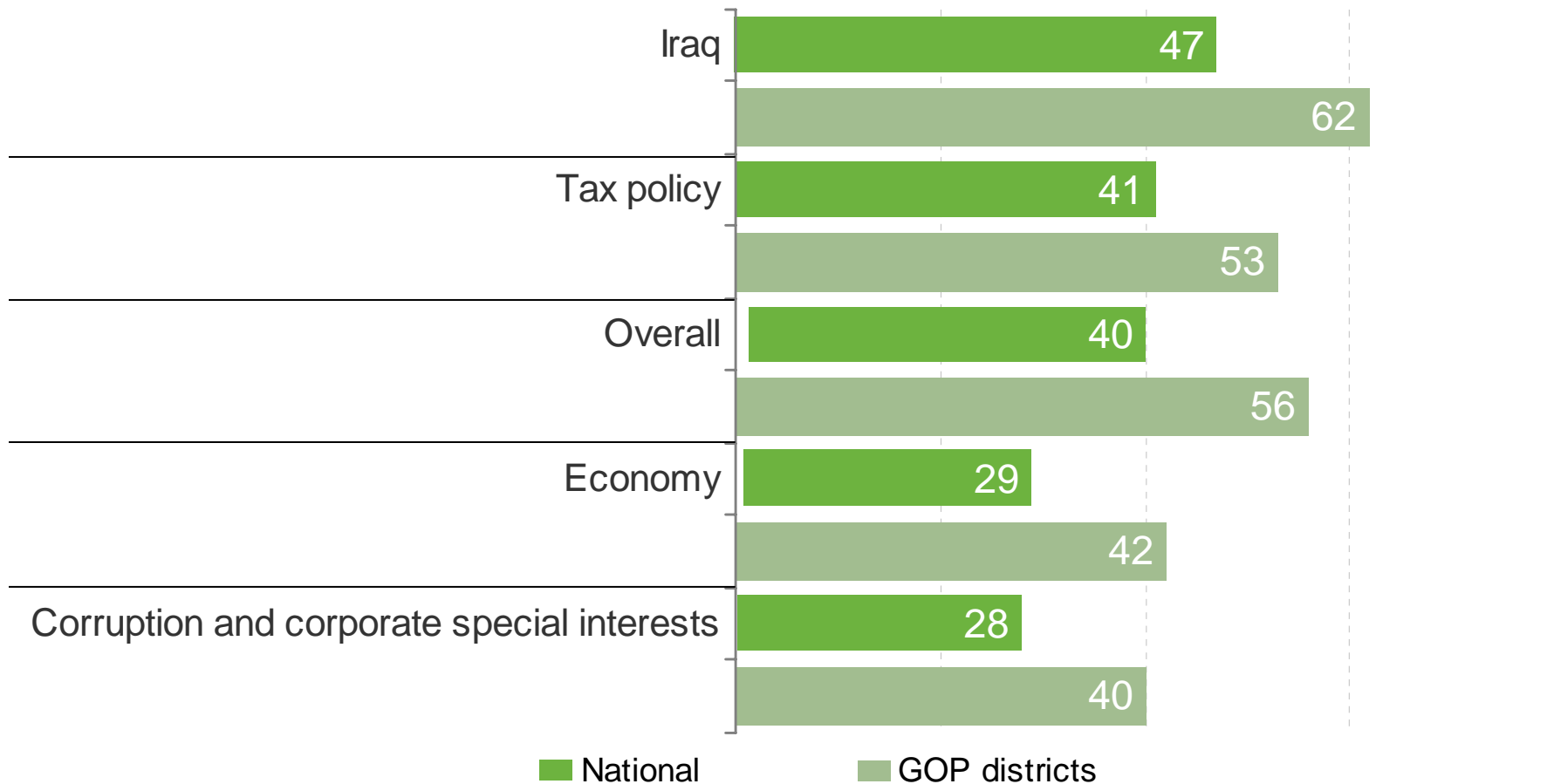
Over the course of the campaign, have you (insert item) more from those who want you to vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate? Would you say you have (insert item) a lot by the candidate's supporters or a little?



Note*: Actual candidate names inserted into question. This question asked only in GOP Swing districts

Voters see big differences on issues in GOP battleground districts

Overall, do you think there were real differences on (cited item) between (Democratic candidate/Republican candidate), or were there no real differences on the issues?



The changing party world

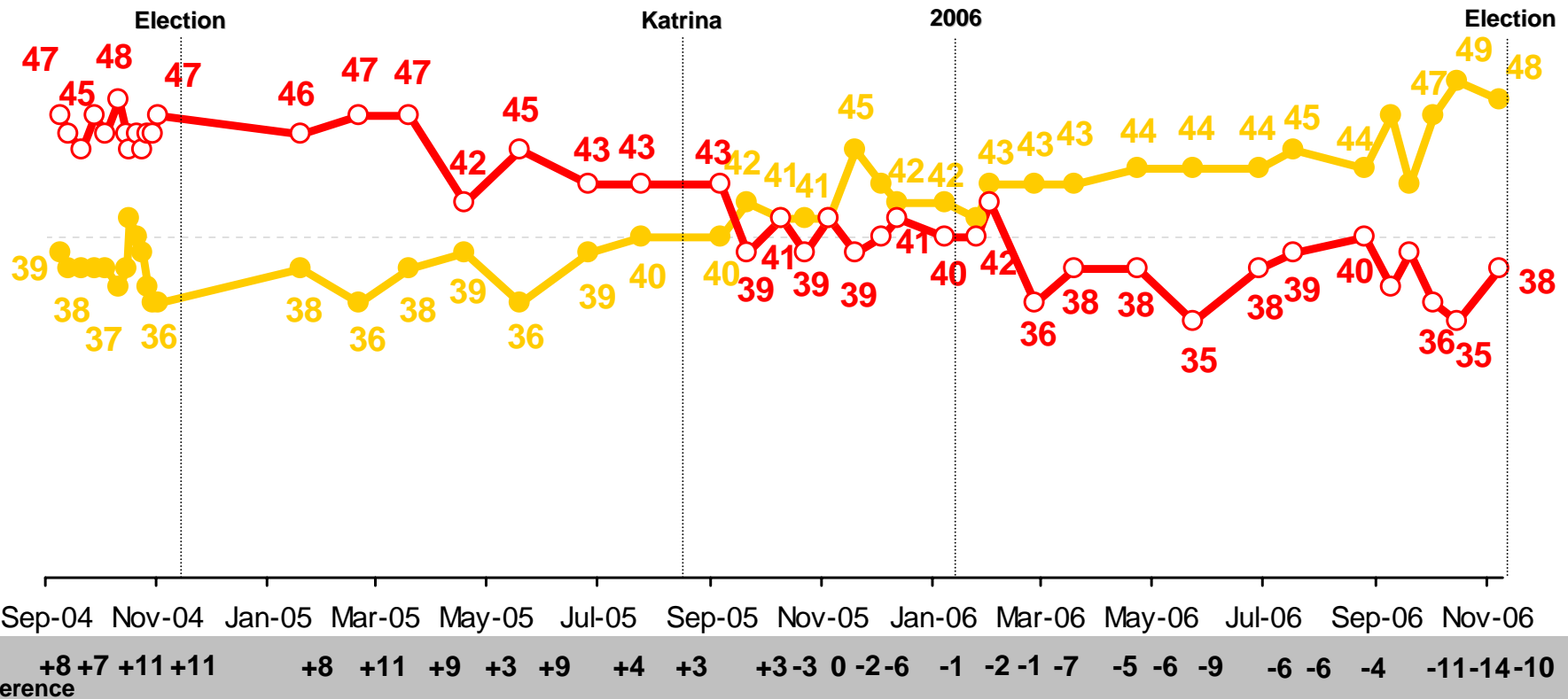
The changing party world

- Republican image lowest in half century
- Slight improvement in last days
- Both parties viewed negatively at close of election
- Nonetheless, Democrats' advantage in image comparable to 1994 Republican advantage at end.
- Compared to the beginning of this cycle, Democrats have gained in comparison to Republicans on key attributes – particularly on “reform and change,” “for the middle class” and “new ideas to address the country’s problems

Republican Party takes a hit – lowest point in memory

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.

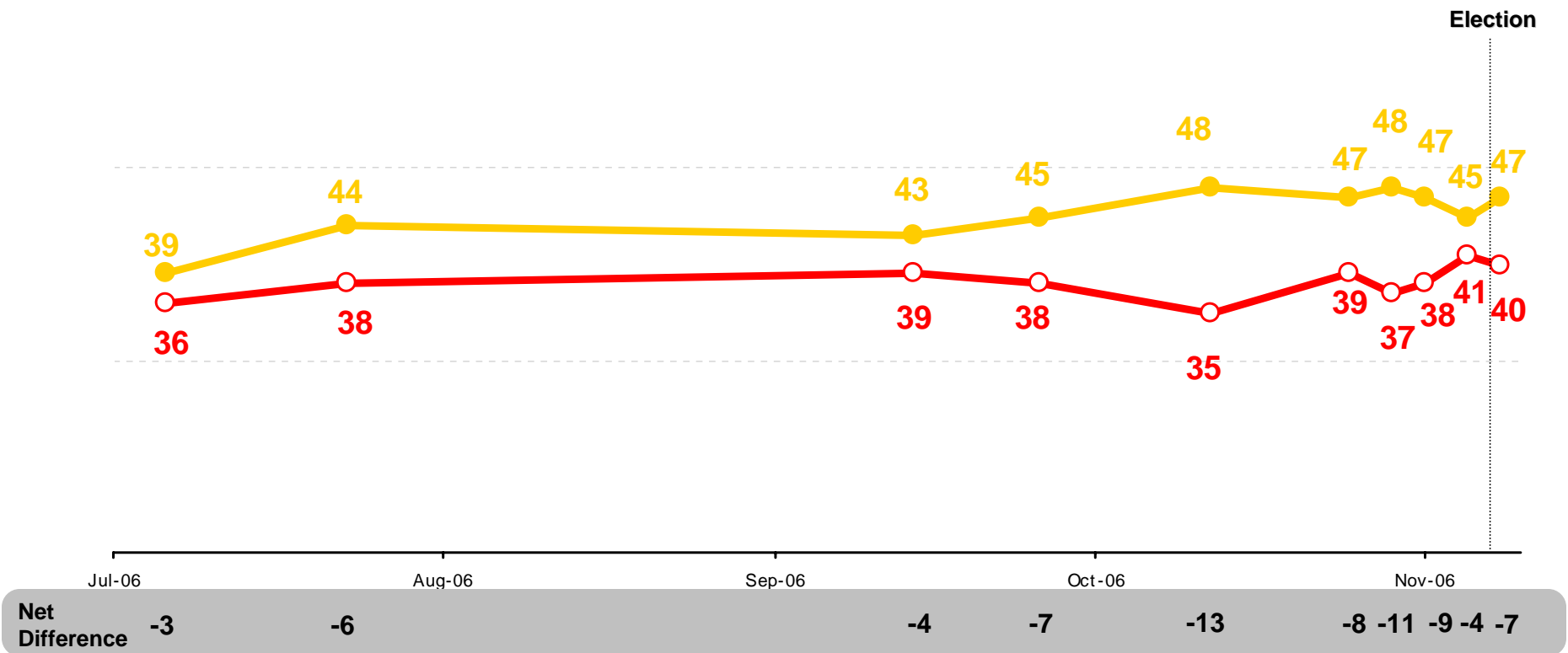
● Cool ● Warm



Republican image still negative at end in GOP districts

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.

○ Warm ● Cold

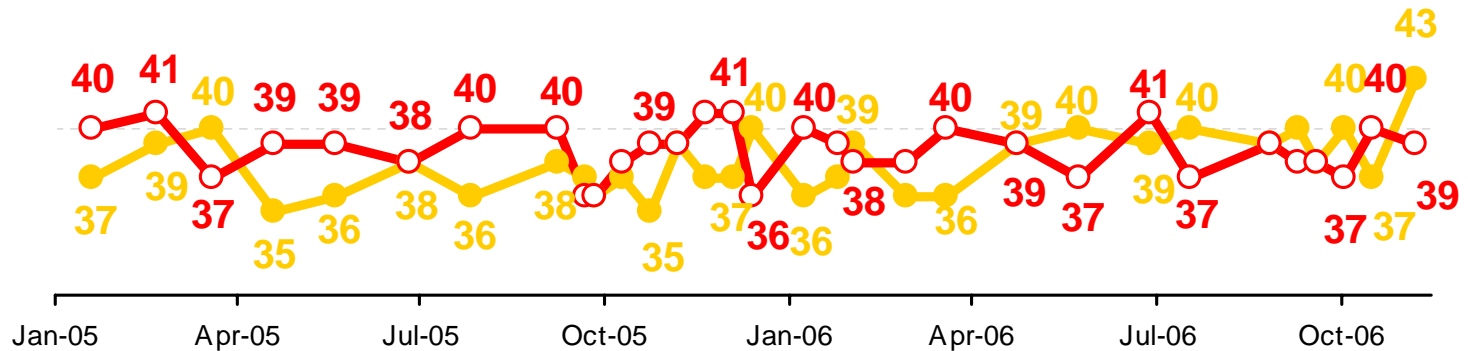


Comparing now and 1994: Party favorability

—●— Cool —○— Warm

The Democrats

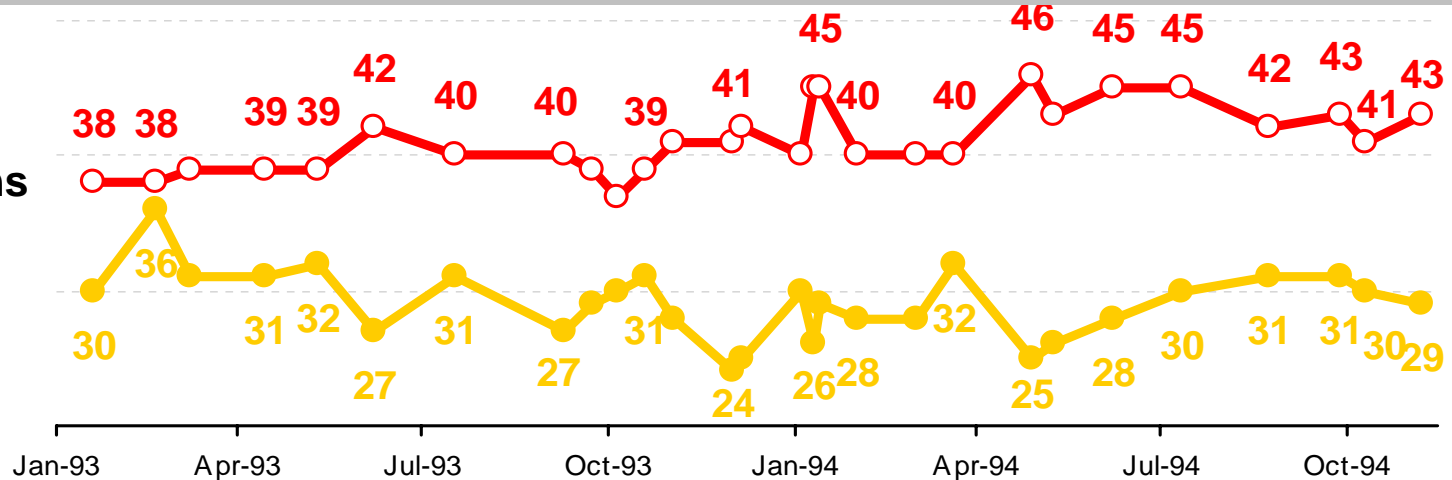
Jan. 2005 –
Nov. 2006



Net Difference	+3	+2	-3	+4	+3	0	+4	+2	+4	+4	-4	+4	0	-3	+2	-3	-3	+3	-4
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The Republicans

Jan. 1993 –
Nov. 1994

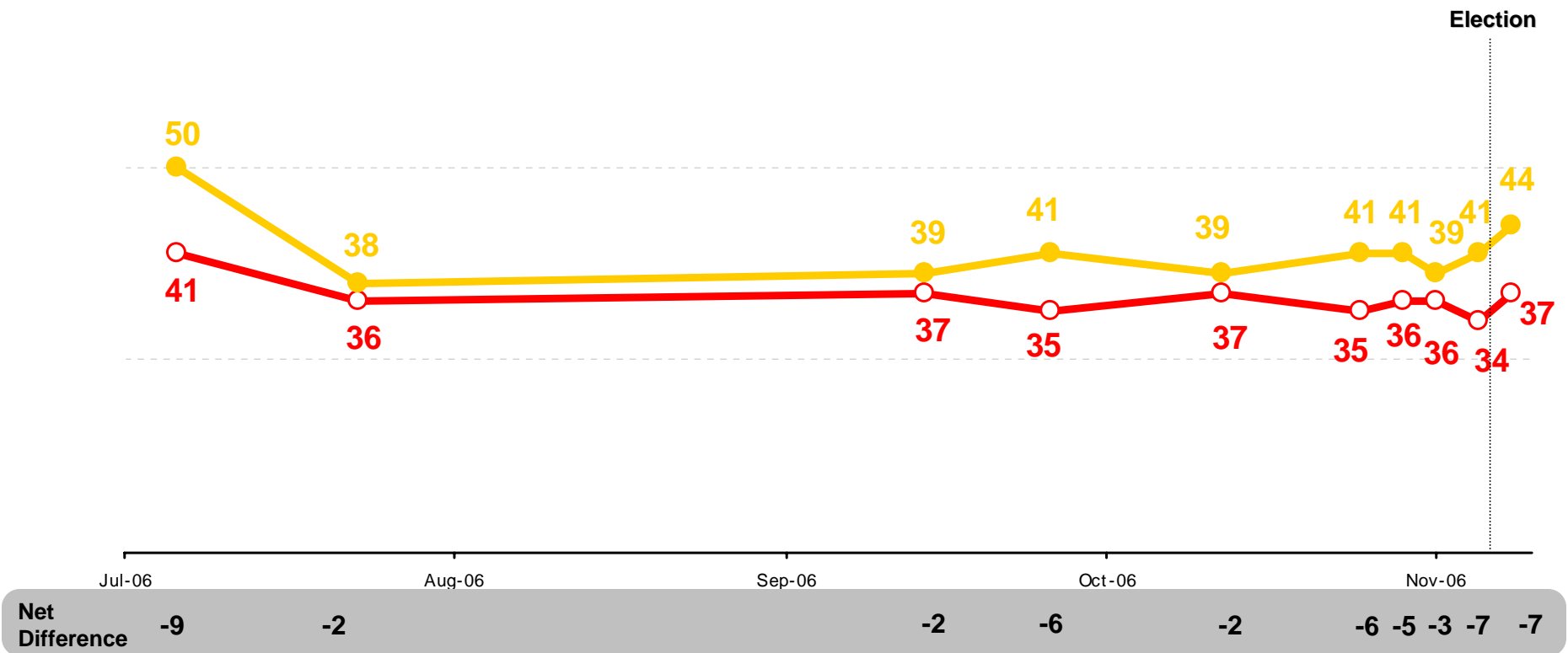


Net Difference	+8	+2	+8	+8	+7	+15	+9	+13	+8	+17	+19	+12	+12	+21	+17	+15	+11	+12	+11	+14
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Democratic image net negative at end in GOP districts

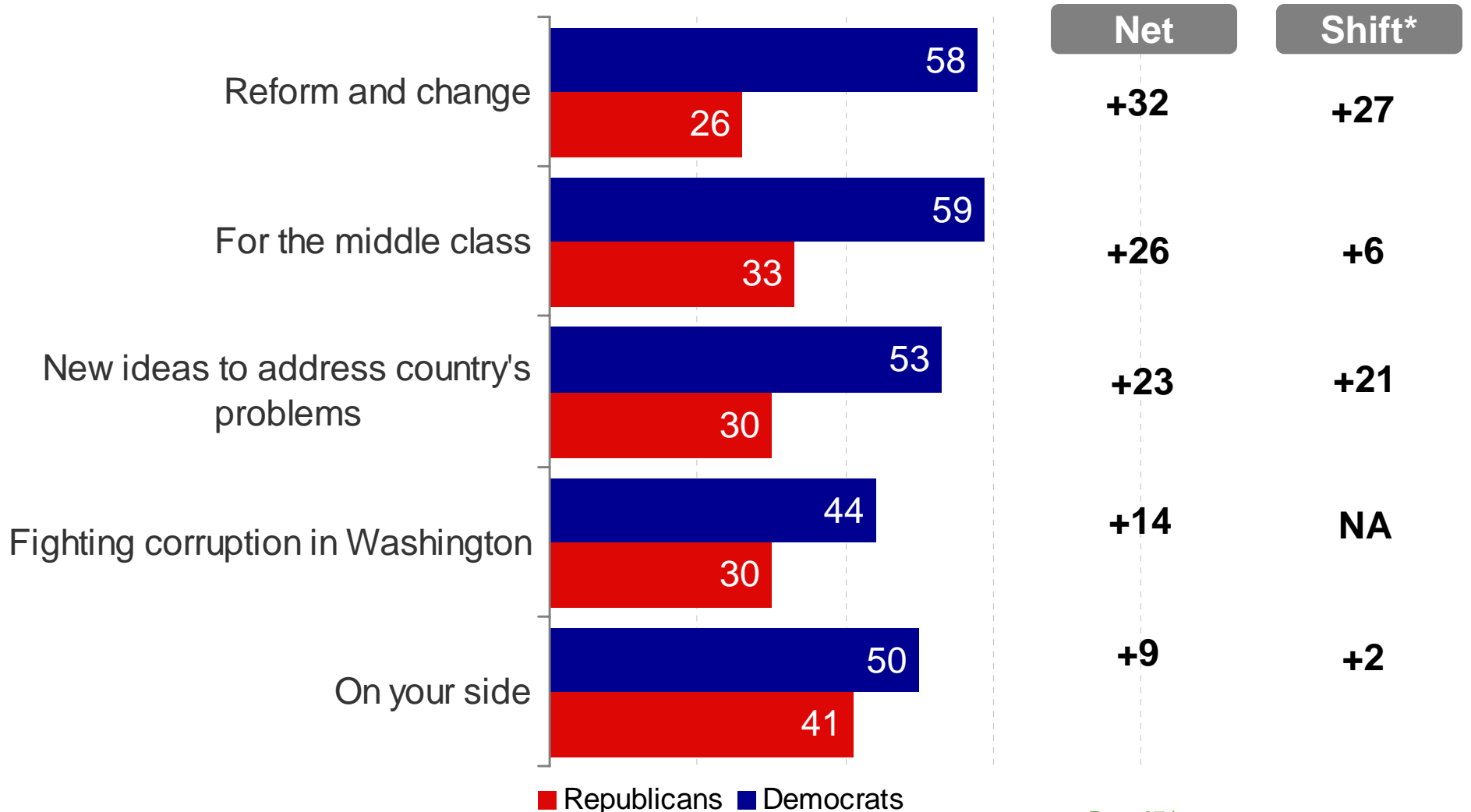
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○ Warm ● Cold



Attributes: significant gains, compared to Republicans

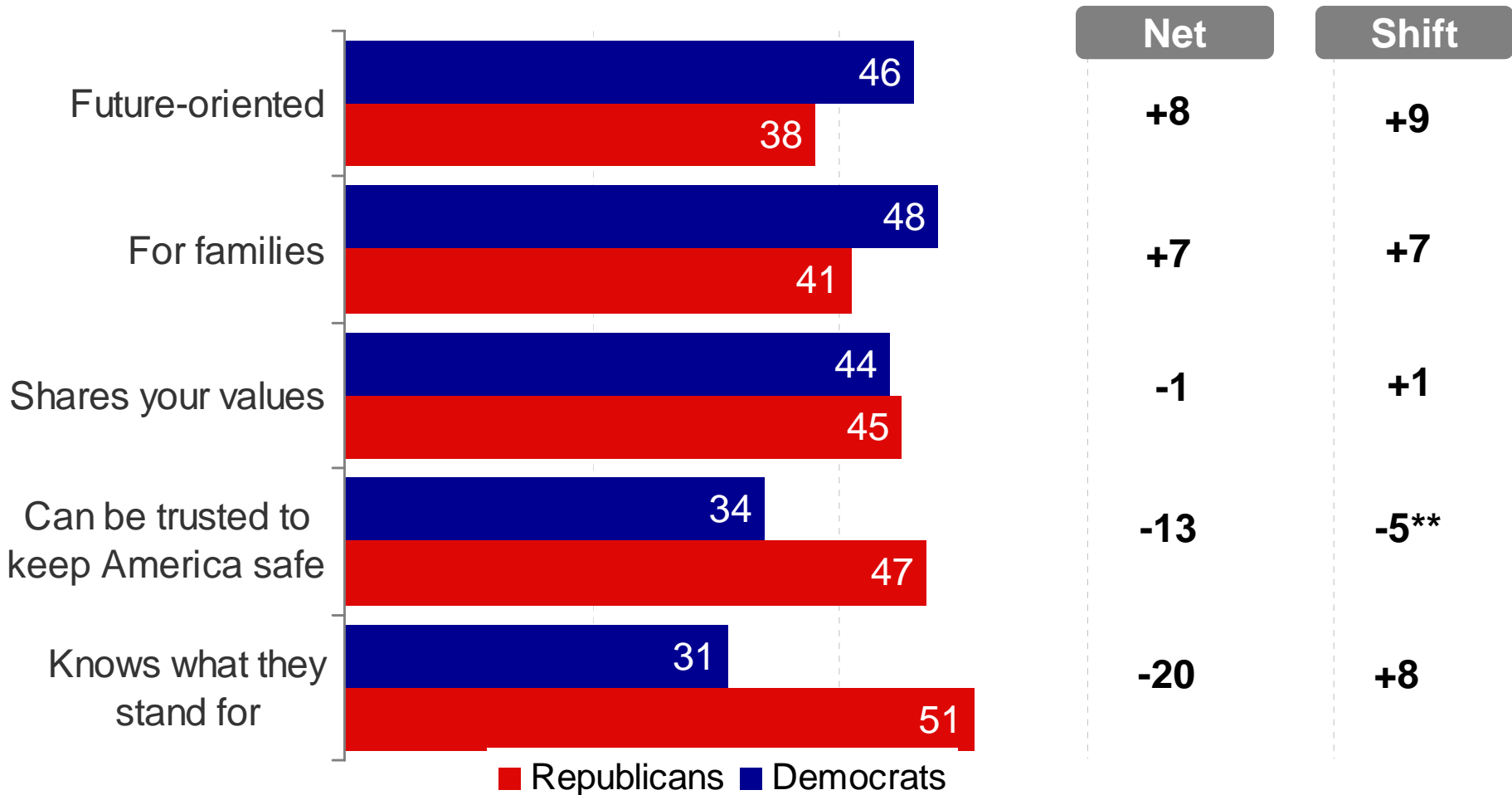
Now I'd like to ask you which party you associate more with these terms, the Democrats or the Republicans.



Note*: Shift from January, 2005 Democracy Corps survey

Attributes: Democrats below 50 percent on important things

Now I'd like to ask you which party you associate more with these terms, the Democrats or the Republicans.



Note*: Shifts from January, 2005 Democracy Corps survey

Note**: Shift from July, 2006 Democracy Corps survey

Party bases and the new middle

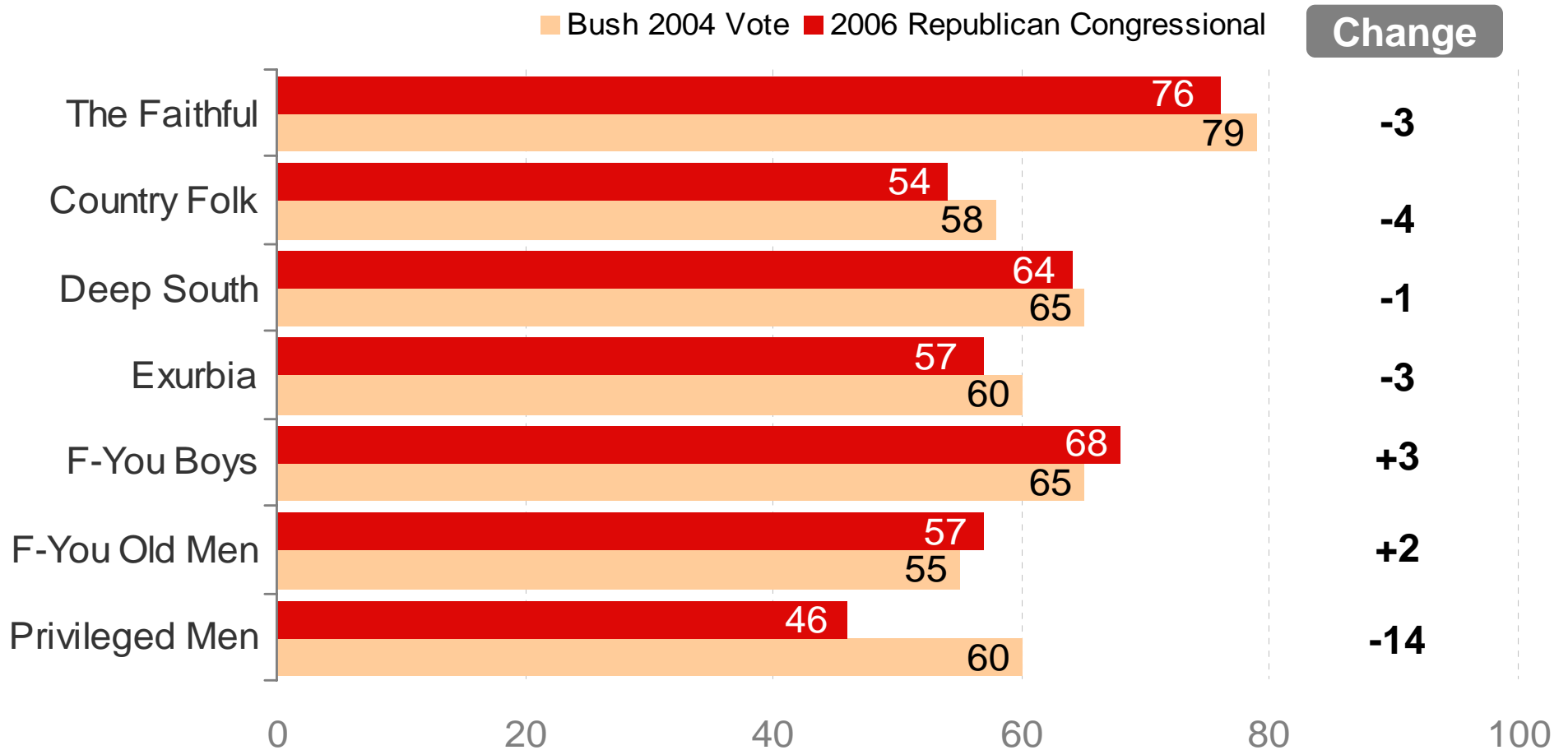
The party bases and the new middle

- Republican base
 - **Mostly consolidate their base support in the final weeks**
 - Fell about 3 or 4 points short of 2004 among white rural and evangelicals
 - College educated and married men defected to the Democrats

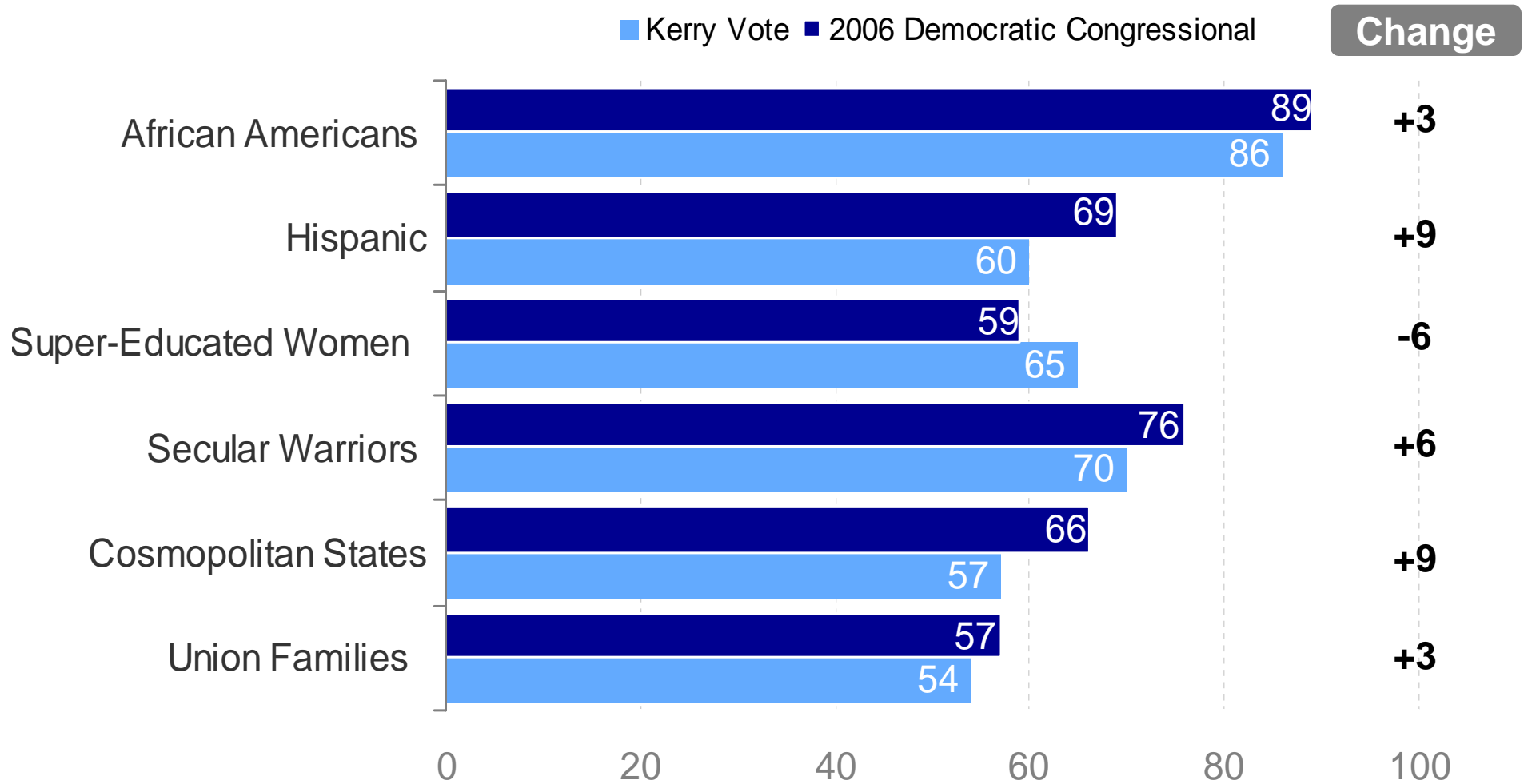
- Democratic base
 - **Democratic gains among base groups**
 - Greatest gains with Hispanics and most secular

- The contested voters
 - **Gains with all voters**
 - Biggest gains with young, college educated and older non-college men

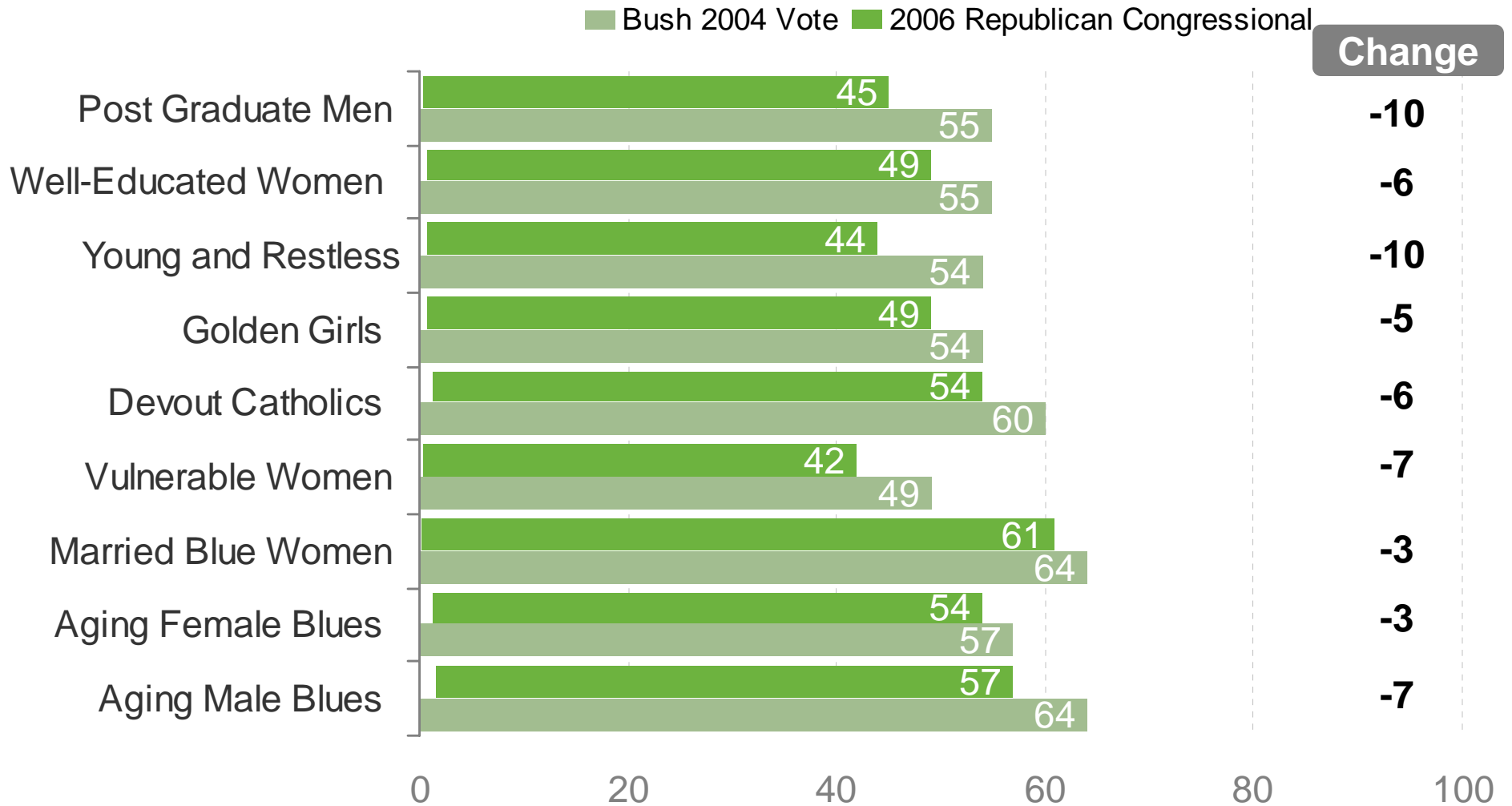
Republican base: mostly consolidated, but fell short in rural and defection of upscale men



Democratic base: across the board gains



New world in the middle



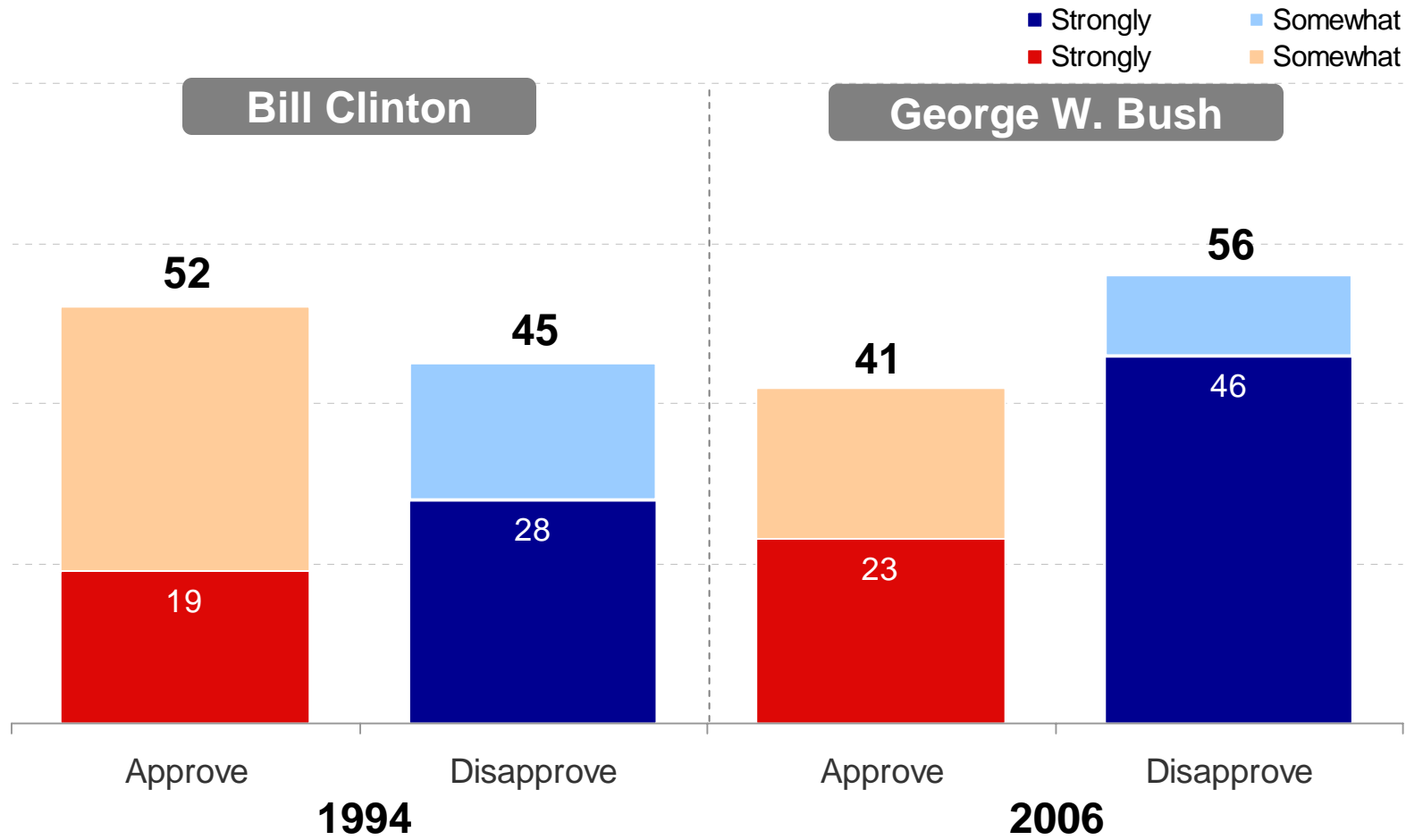
President Bush

President Bush

- Bush deeply unpopular
- Much more unpopular than President Clinton in 1994
- Half of country have given up with Bush, compared to only 30 percent for Clinton in 1994
- No gain for Bush nationally at the end, but slight gain in GOP districts

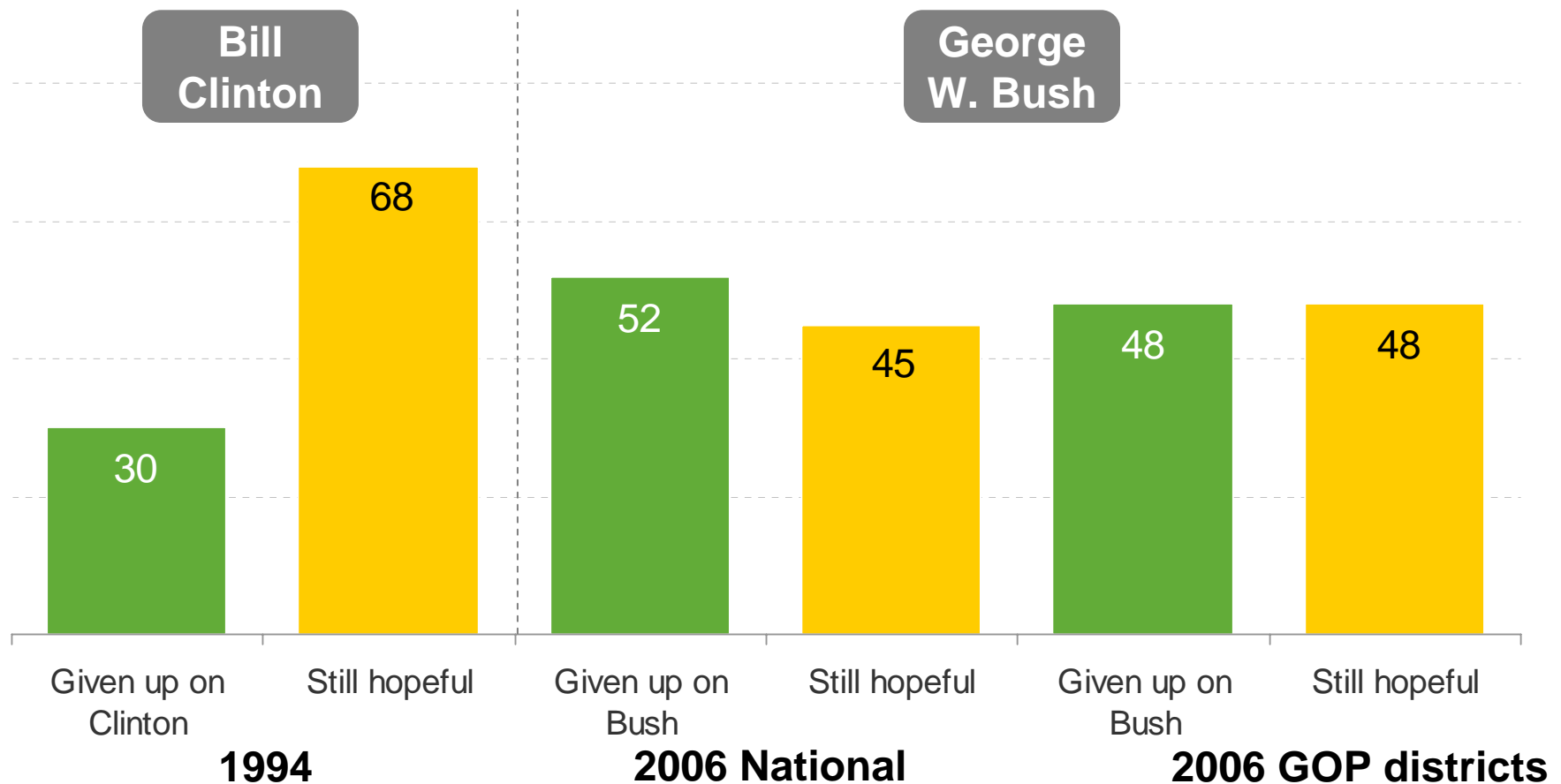
Clinton and Bush approval – 1994 and 2006

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton/George Bush is handling his job as President?



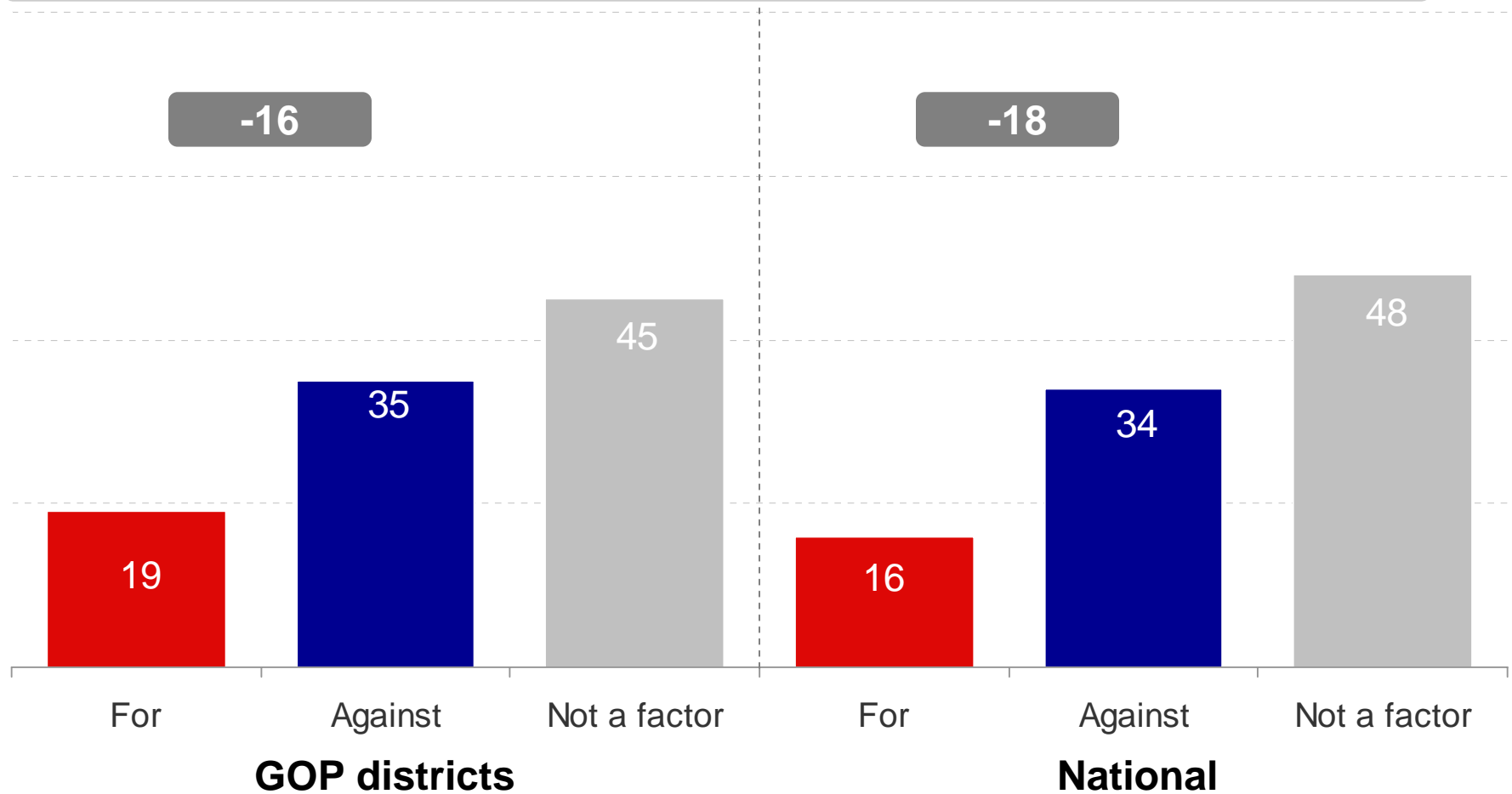
Voters were hopeful for Clinton but half given up on Bush

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



Bush is a factor in the election

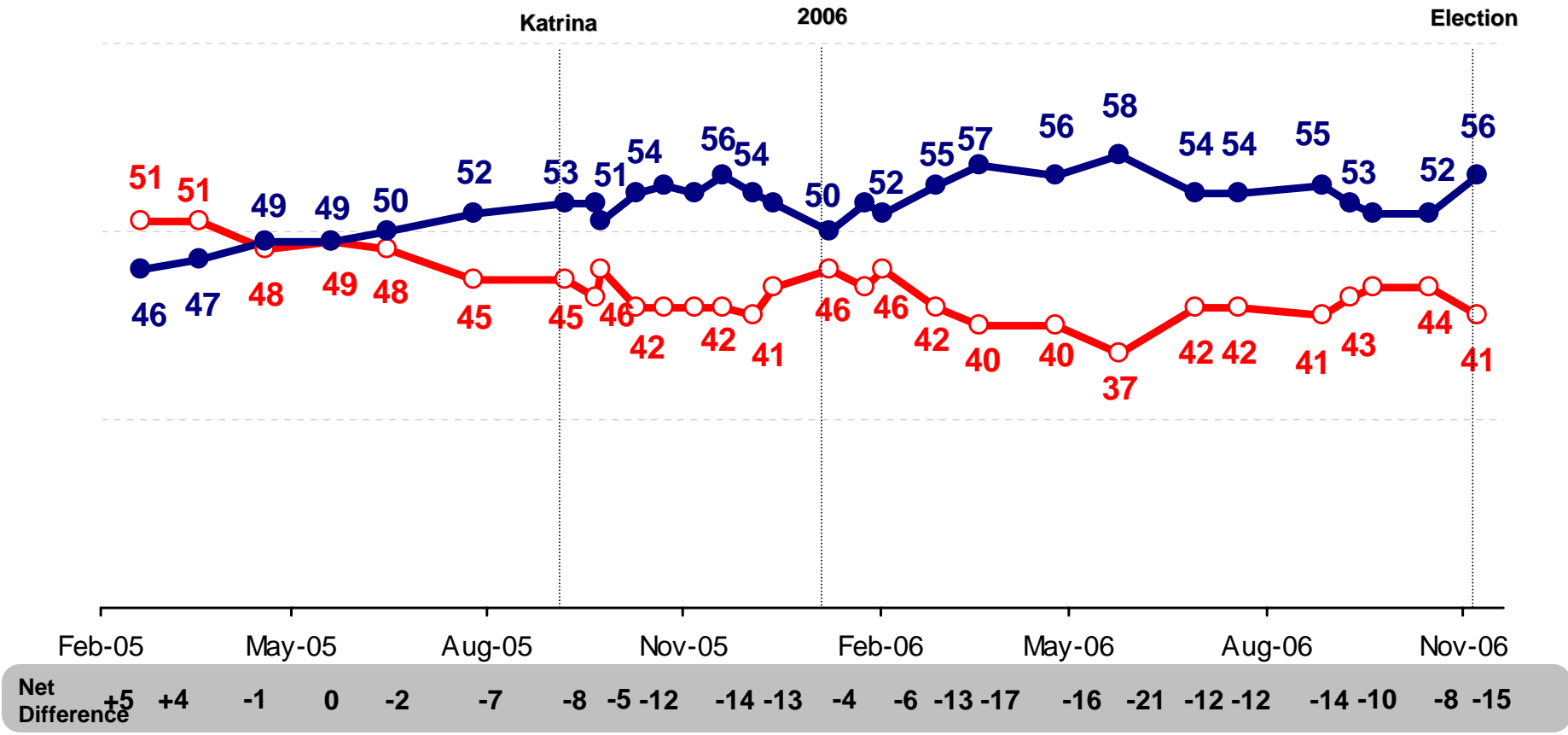
Do you think of your vote for Congress this fall as a vote for George W. Bush, as a vote against George W. Bush or isn't George W. Bush much of a factor in your vote?



Nationally, Bush approval declines during last few weeks

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

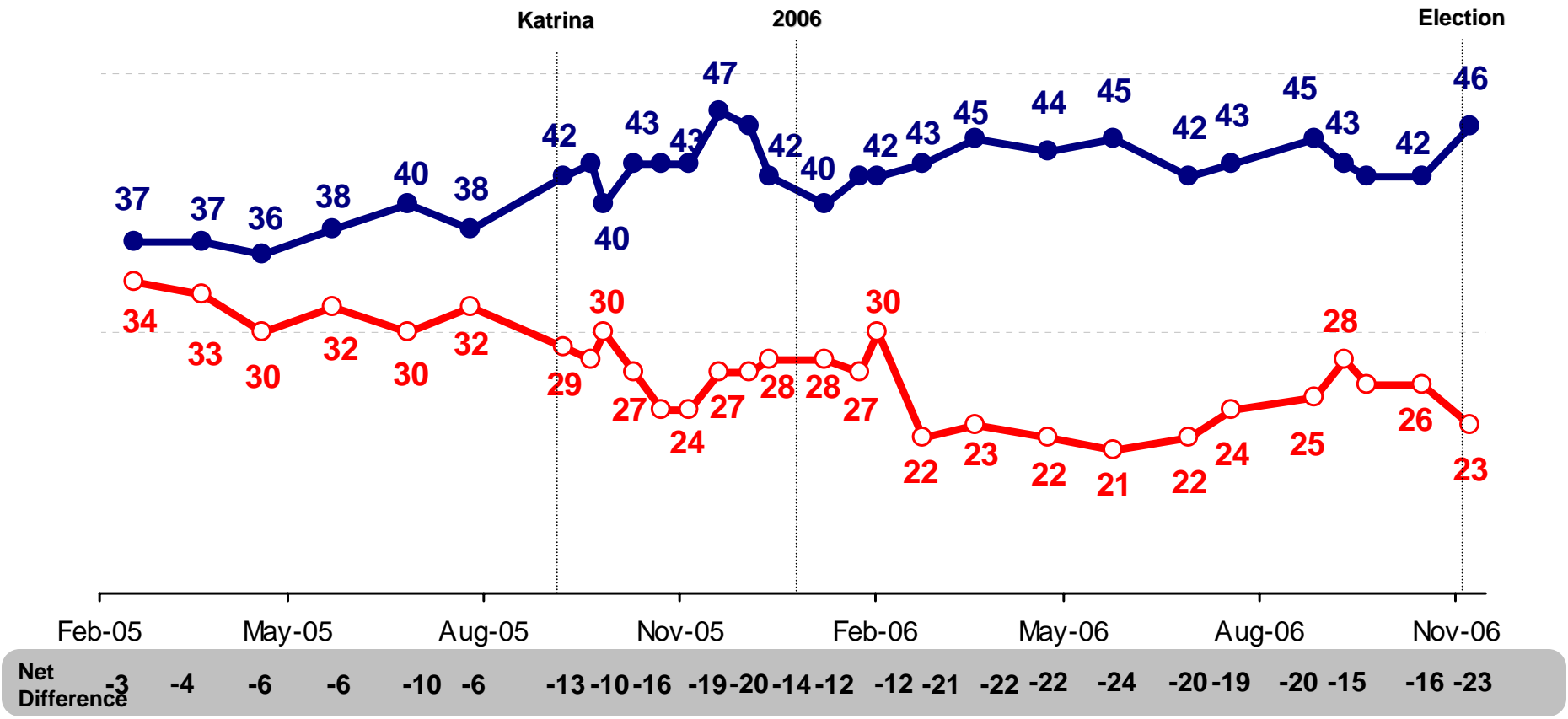
○ Approve
● Disapprove



Intense opposition grows nationally

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?

○ Strongly approve
● Strongly disapprove

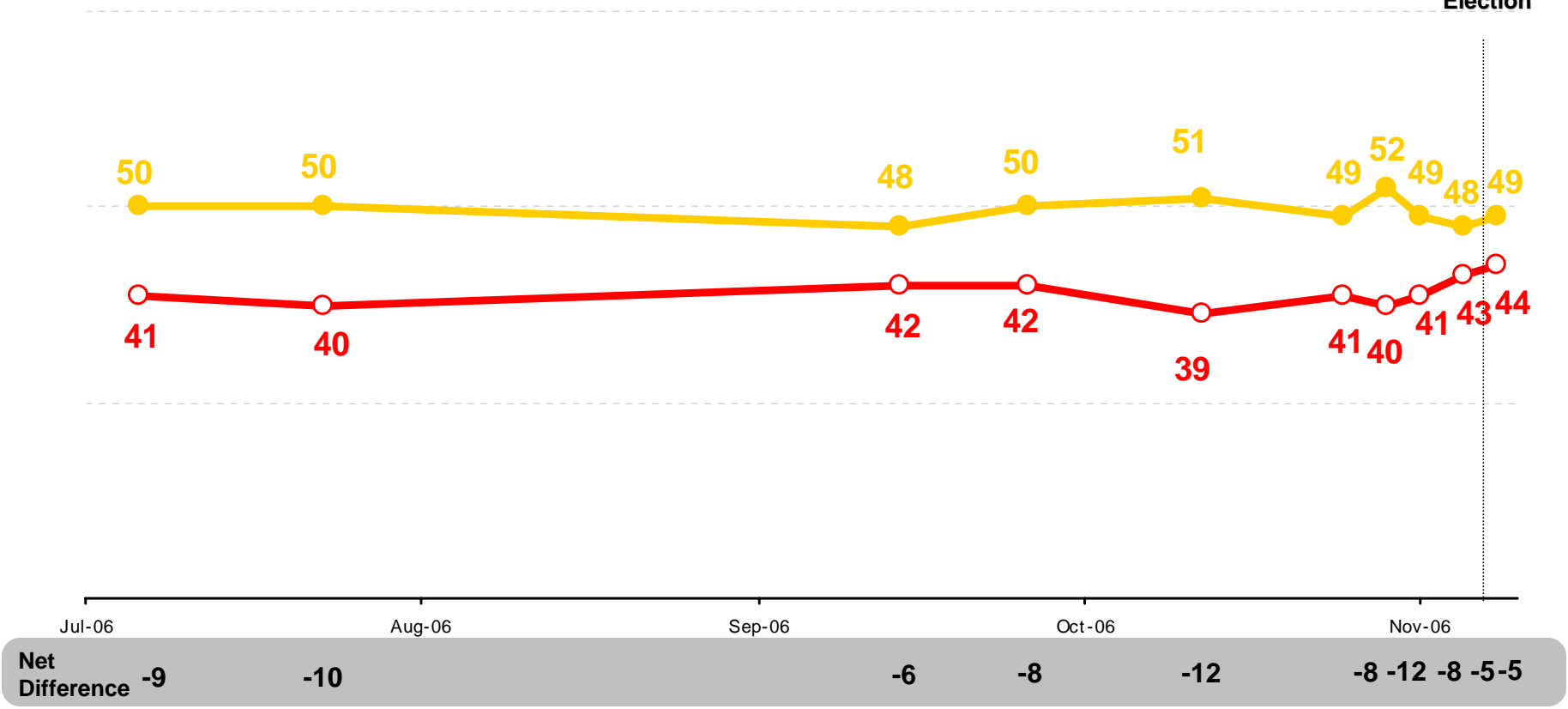


Bush's favorability gains slightly in GOP districts

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.

○ Warm ● Cold

Election



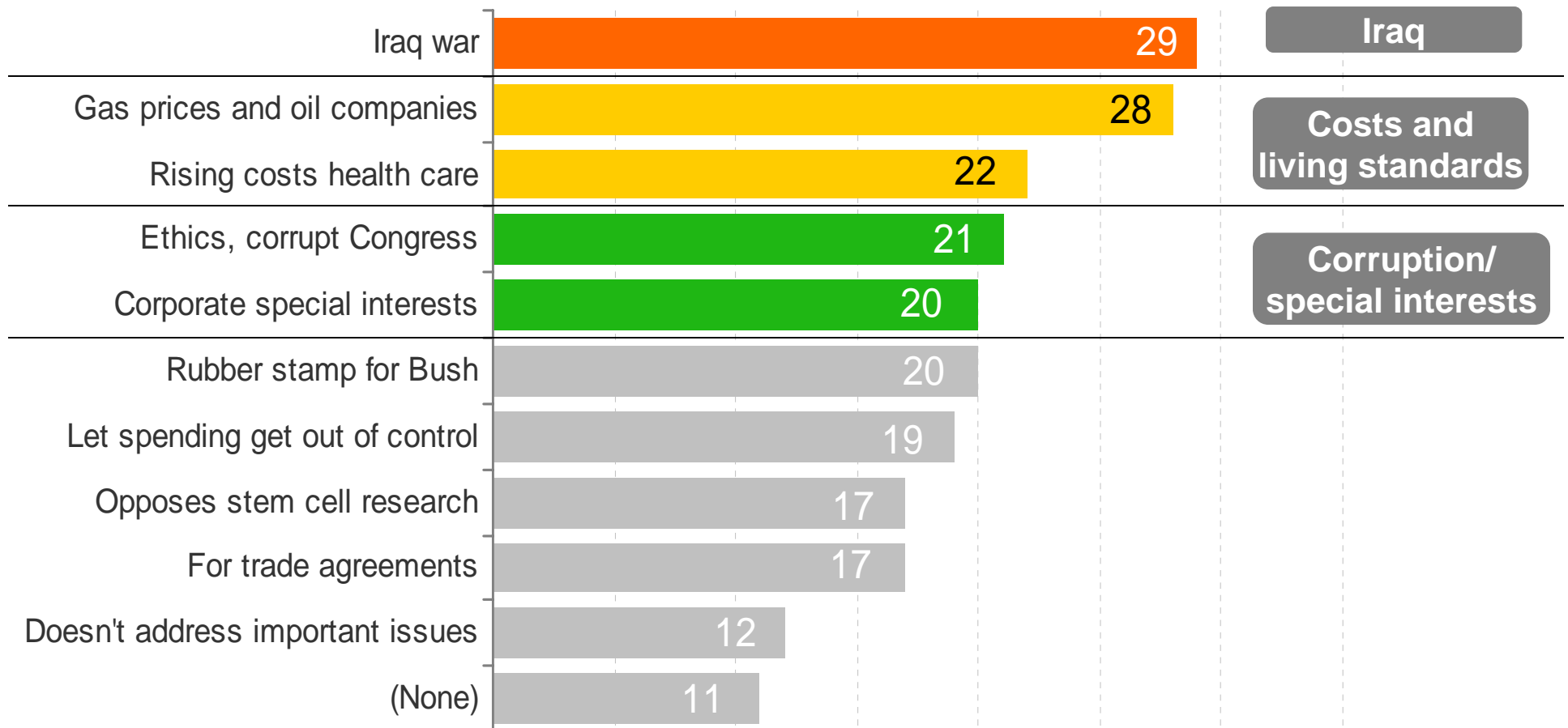
Iraq; also economy and Wash. direction

Issues – Iraq but also economic pressures and Washington direction

- Iraq the dominant issue
- Bush an important factor in election
- But voter also voted against the inaction on costs and financial pressures (gas and health care) and against the corruption and special interests that crowd out the public interest
- Swing voters that voted the Democrat in the end cite Iraq but also economy-jobs and corruption
- Biggest doubts about Republicans among swing voters who voted Democratic in GOP districts start with Iraq, followed closely by ethics and corruption and corporate special interests
- The swing voters who voted Republican worried most about Republican trade agreements, deficits and spending
- Doubts around Democrats fragmented over a number of issues: gay marriage, Iraq withdrawal, taxes and illegal immigration

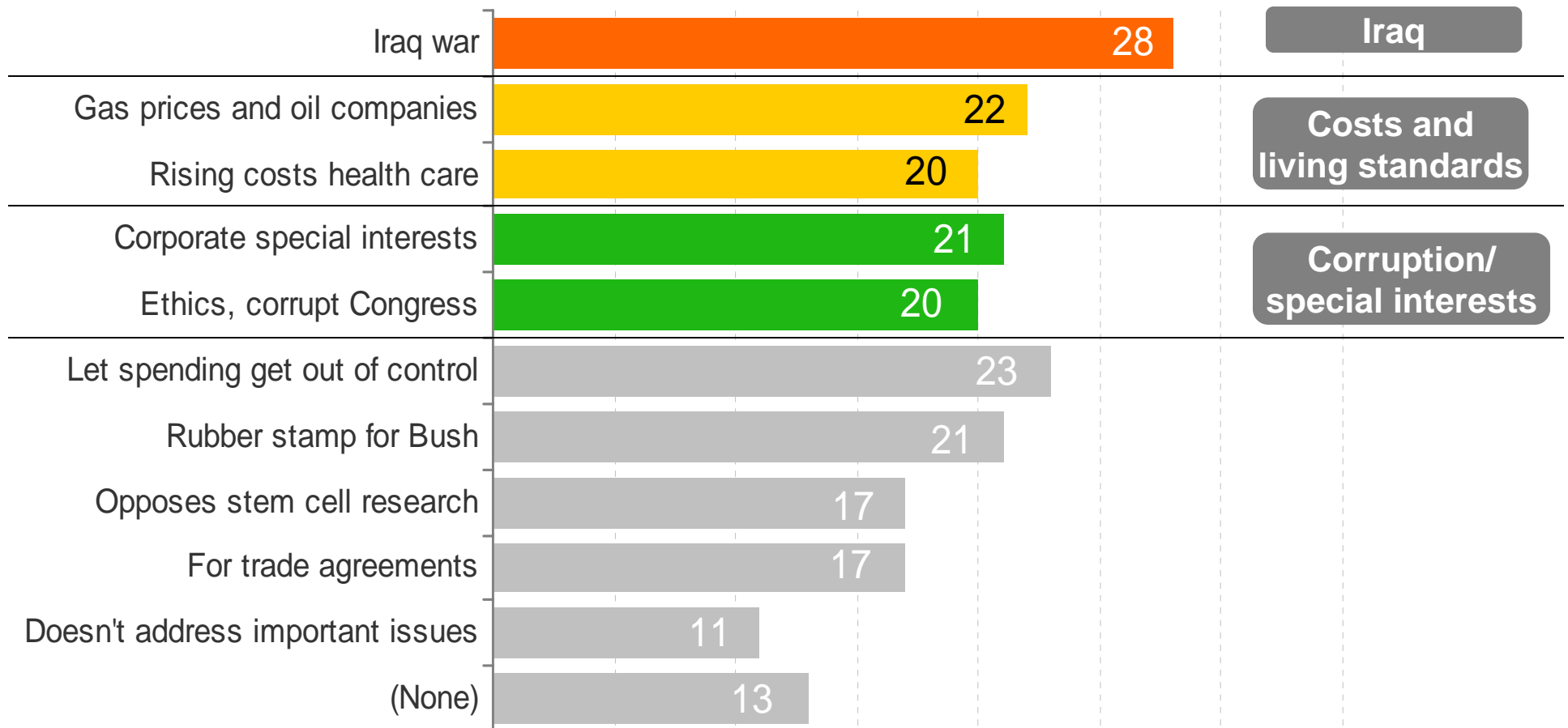
Doubts about Republicans - national

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



Doubts about Republicans – GOP districts

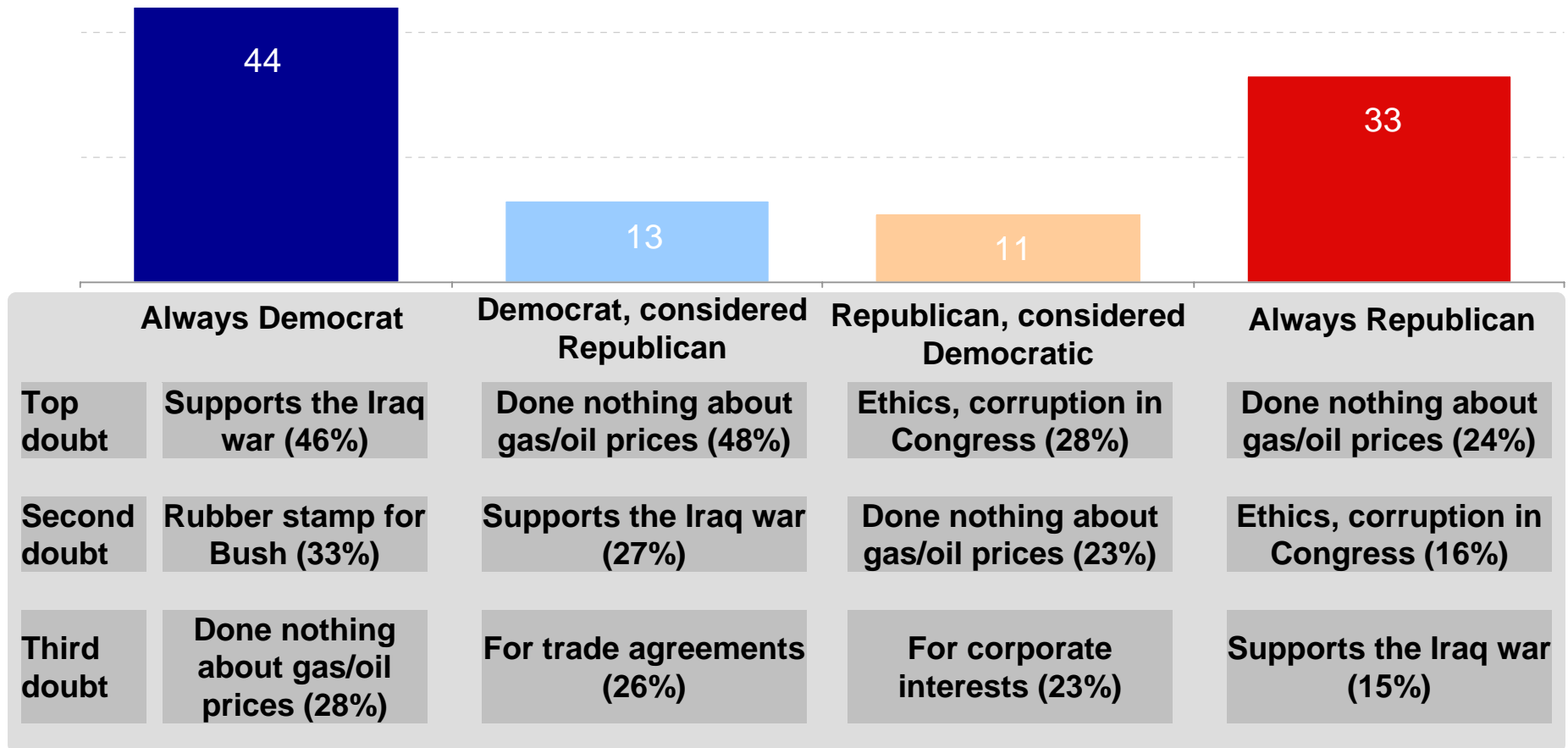
Let me read you a list of doubts about the Republican candidate for Congress. Regardless of how you voted, which **THREE** describe the most important issues and best reasons **NOT** to vote for the Republican candidate for Congress?



Top doubts about Republicans for swing voters - national

Numbers are based on percent of total voters

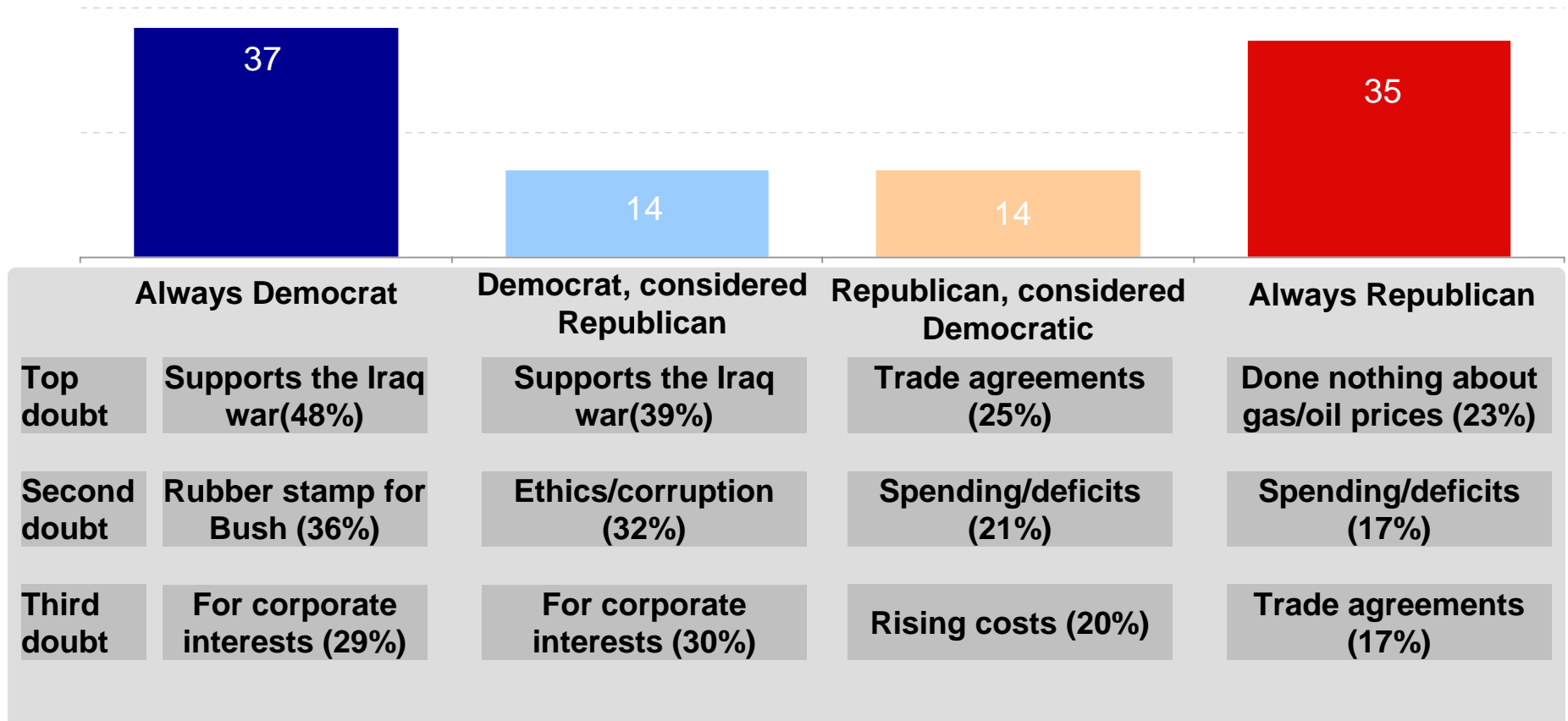
Let me read you a list of doubts about the Republican candidate for Congress. Regardless of how you voted, which THREE describe the most important issues and best reasons NOT to vote for the Republican candidate for Congress?



Top doubts about Republicans for swing voters – GOP districts

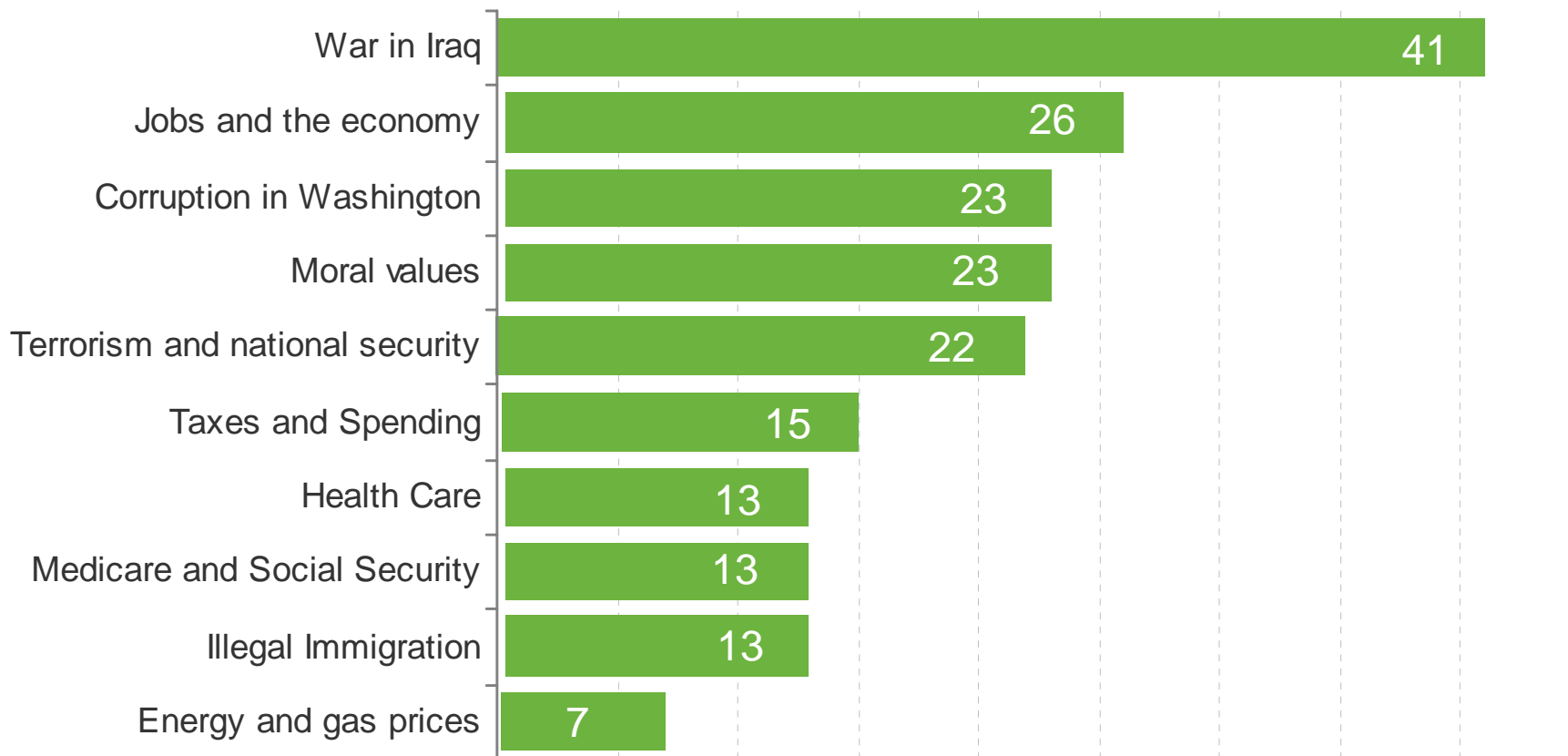
Numbers are based on percent of total voters

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



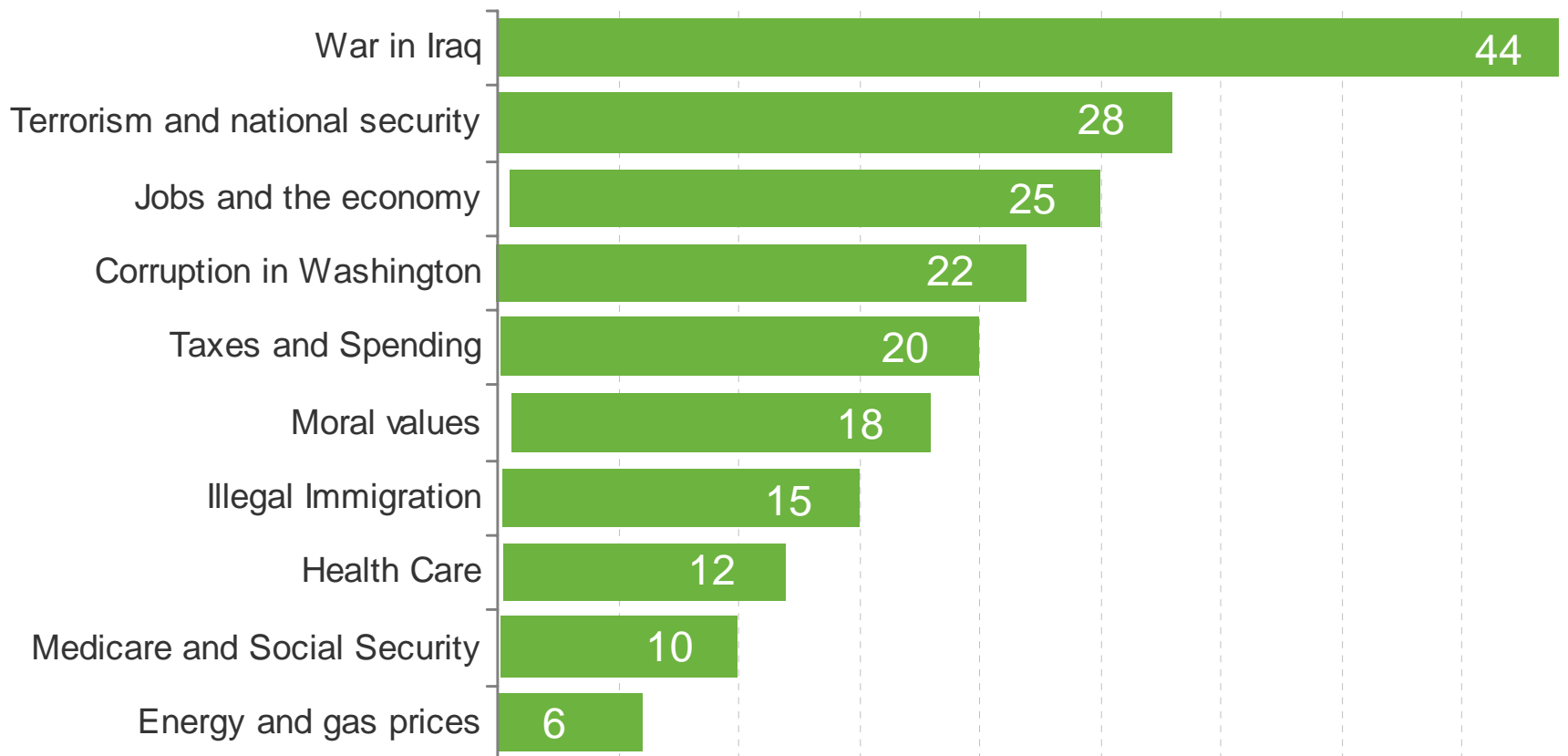
Iraq war grows as voting issue, far above national security - national

Which ONE of the following issues areas was the MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? And from that list, which one was the NEXT most important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? (COMBINED)



Iraq war grows as voting issue, far above national security – GOP districts

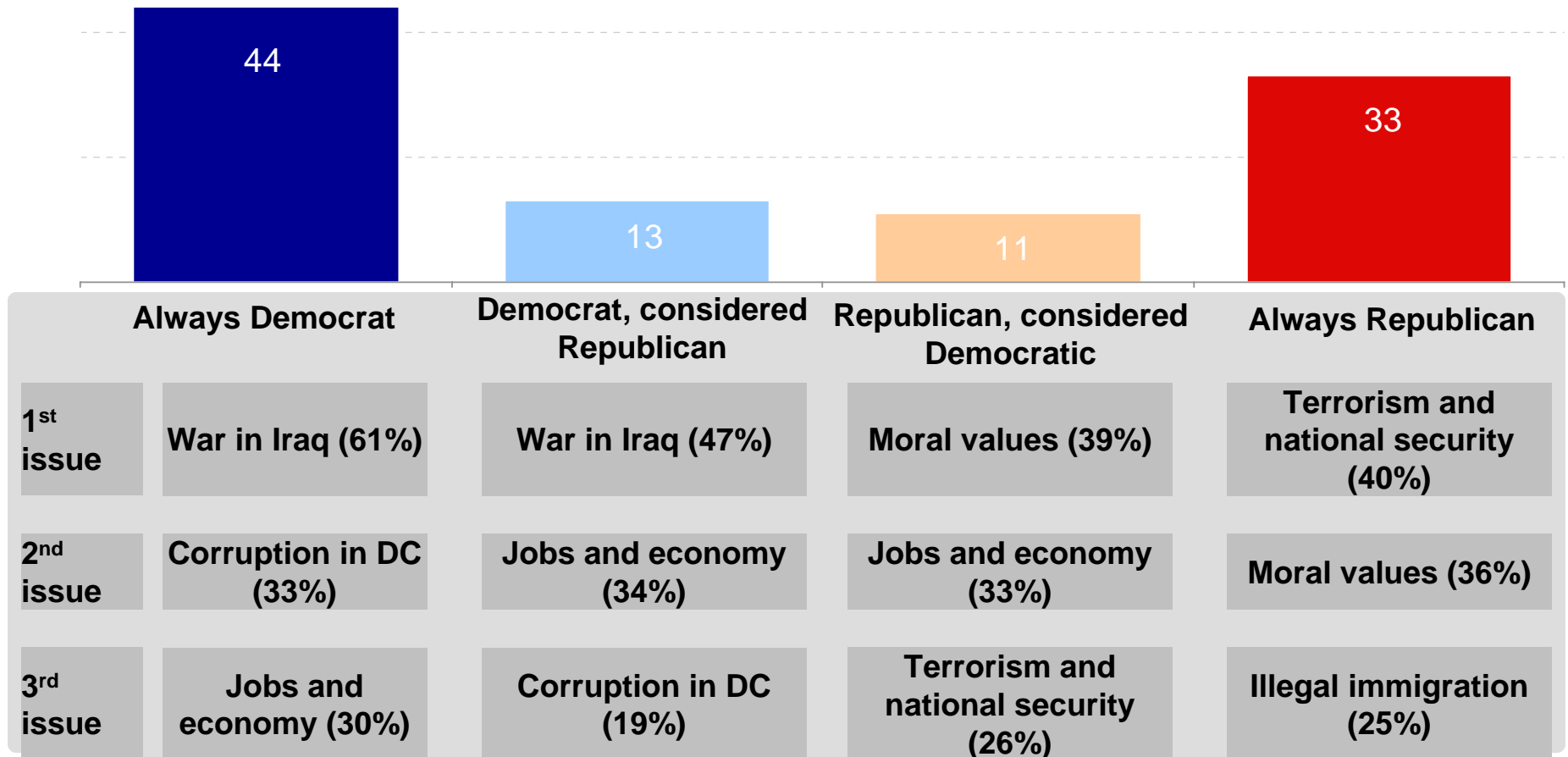
Which ONE of the following issues areas was the MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? And from that list, which one was the NEXT most important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? (COMBINED)



Top issues for voters who decided election - national

Numbers are based on percent of total voters

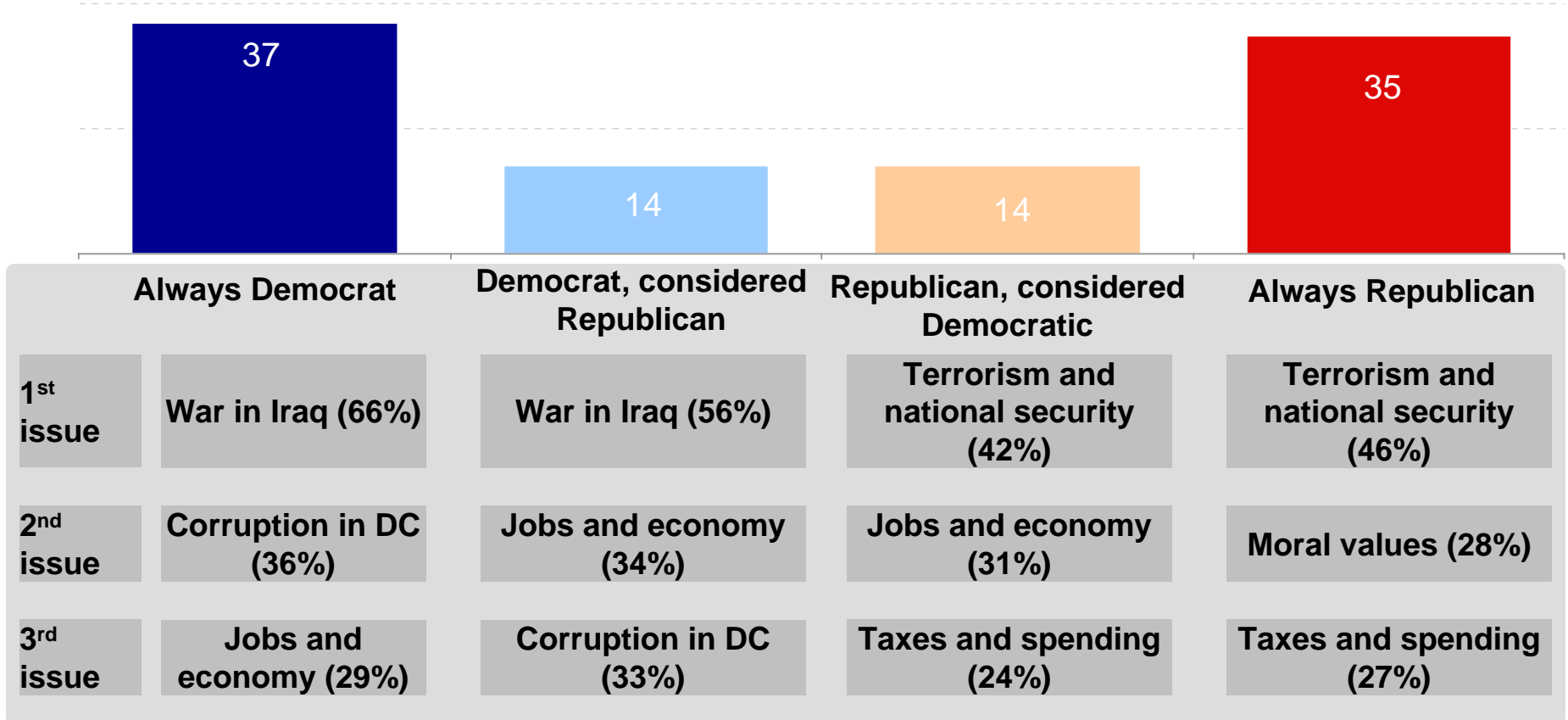
Which ONE of the following issues areas was the MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? And from that list, which one was the NEXT most important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? (COMBINED)



Top issues for voters who decided election – GOP districts

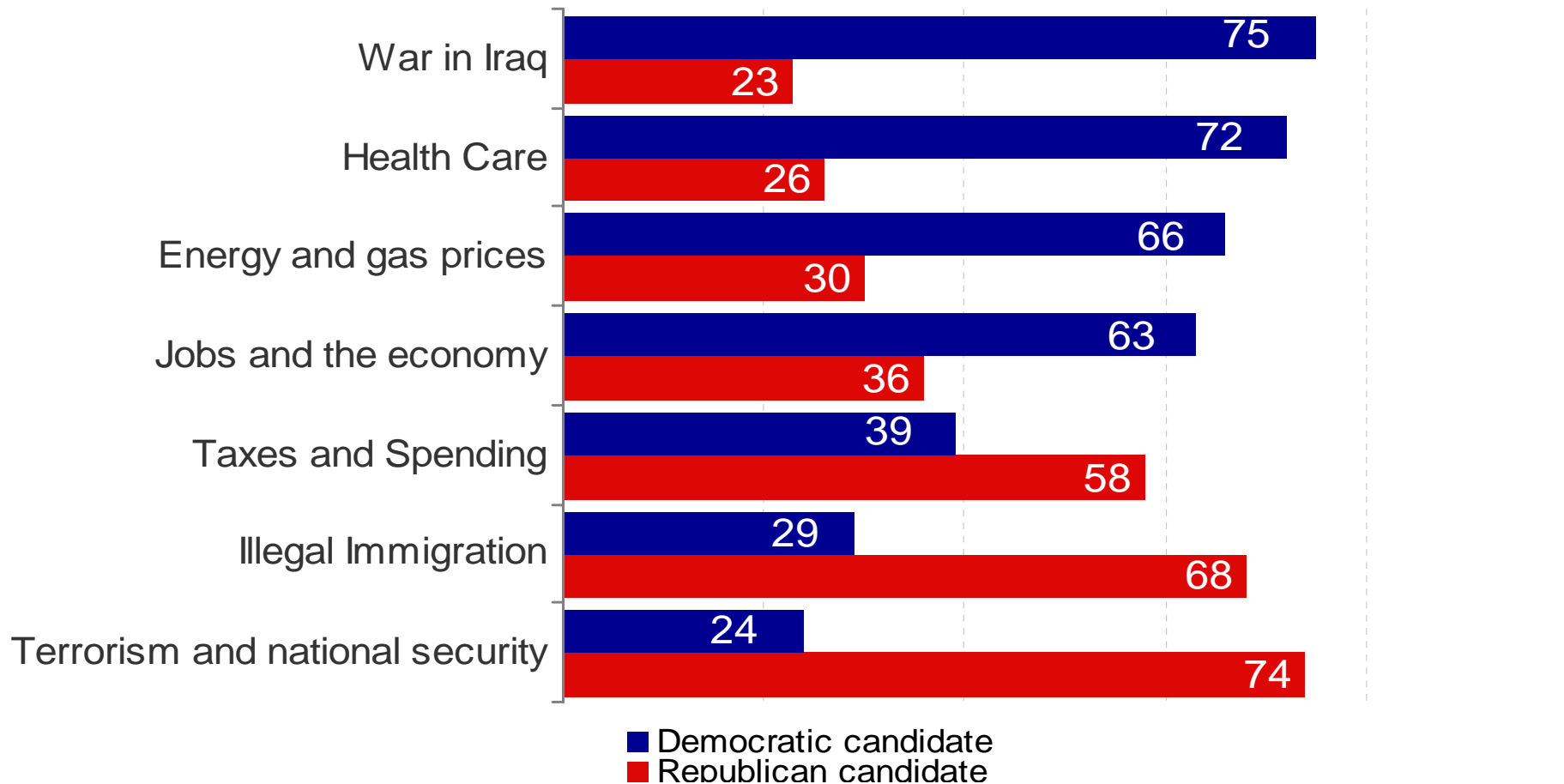
Numbers are based on percent of total voters

Which ONE of the following issues areas was the MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? And from that list, which one was the NEXT most important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? (COMBINED)



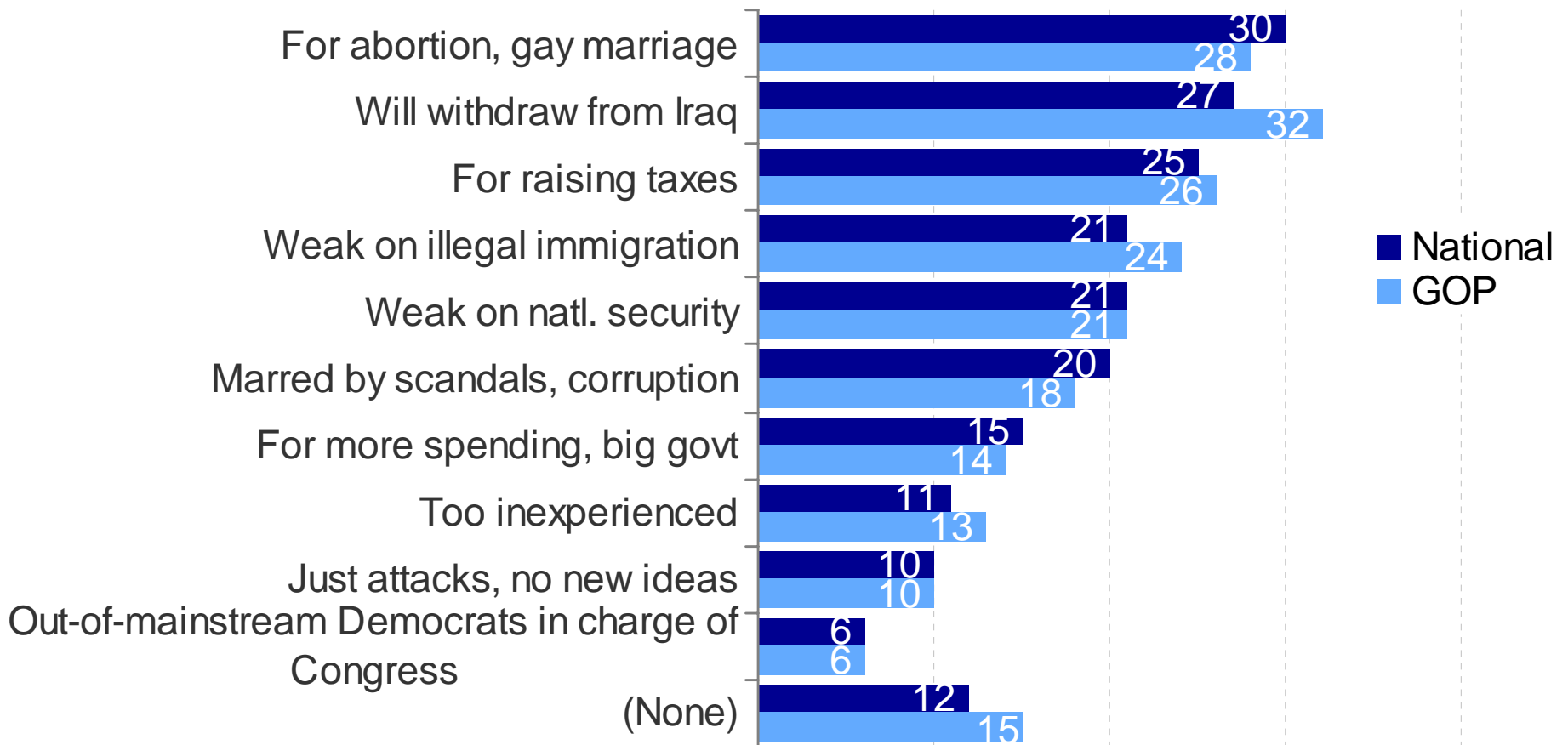
Most important issue by vote

Which ONE of the following issues areas was the MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? And from that list, which one was the NEXT most important to you in deciding how to vote for Congress? (COMBINED)



Doubts about Democrats: nationally and GOP districts

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



The 2006 narrative for voters

2006 narrative for voters

- New direction in Iraq strongest narrative around vote with greatest intensity, but also other narratives at work
- Getting politicians to work for public good important to 2006 vote – broadest relevance
- Also important: getting Congress to challenge Bush, be competent with big problems and helping middle class families prosper
- Among swing voters who voted for the Democrat, the dominant narratives were Iraq, middle class prosperity and a competent government

Top themes in Democratic vote

I want to read you some reasons why you may have voted for the Democratic candidate for Congress, or considered voting for that candidate. Please tell me whether, for each one, if it is the SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT reason, one of the TOP FEW, NEAR THE TOP, in the MIDDLE, or NOT an important reason why you voted or considered voting for the Democrat for Congress.

	Total important		
	Single most	Top two	Top three
Getting us out of the mess in Iraq	26	51	75
Getting politicians to work for the public good, instead of the special interests	21	50	79
Getting a Congress that will challenge President Bush and his policies	22	48	68
Getting a government that's competent on dealing with our big problems	20	45	76
Changing our economic policies so middle class families can prosper again	19	45	75

Top themes for Democratic vote – tier 2

I want to read you some reasons why you may have voted for the Democratic candidate for Congress, or considered voting for that candidate. Please tell me whether, for each one, if it is the SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT reason, one of the TOP FEW, NEAR THE TOP, in the MIDDLE, or NOT an important reason why you voted or considered voting for the Democrat for Congress.

	Total important		
	Single most	Top two	Top three
Getting people in Congress who will protect the Constitution, the right to privacy and separation of church and state	17	43	67
Changing our economic policies to prioritize getting jobs here again	16	43	70
Cleaning up the culture of corruption that dominates Washington	17	41	68
Changing the Congress, which is too ideological and extreme	14	34	56

Top Republican themes in vote for Congress

I want to read you some reasons why you may have voted for the Republican candidate for Congress, or considered voting for that candidate. Please tell me whether, for each one, if it is the SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT reason, one of the TOP FEW, NEAR THE TOP, in the MIDDLE, or NOT an important reason why you voted or considered voting for the Republican for Congress.

	Total important		
	Single most	Top two	Top three
The strong economy and the need to keep it growing			
Supporting the president in the war against terror	18	50	80
Finishing the job in Iraq	21	49	74
Supporting the president in the war against terror	23	47	70
Getting control of the borders and barring benefits for illegal immigrants	17	41	68
Getting people in Washington who will protect family values on issues such as gay marriage, stem cell research and abortion	18	39	57

Top Republican themes in vote – tier 2

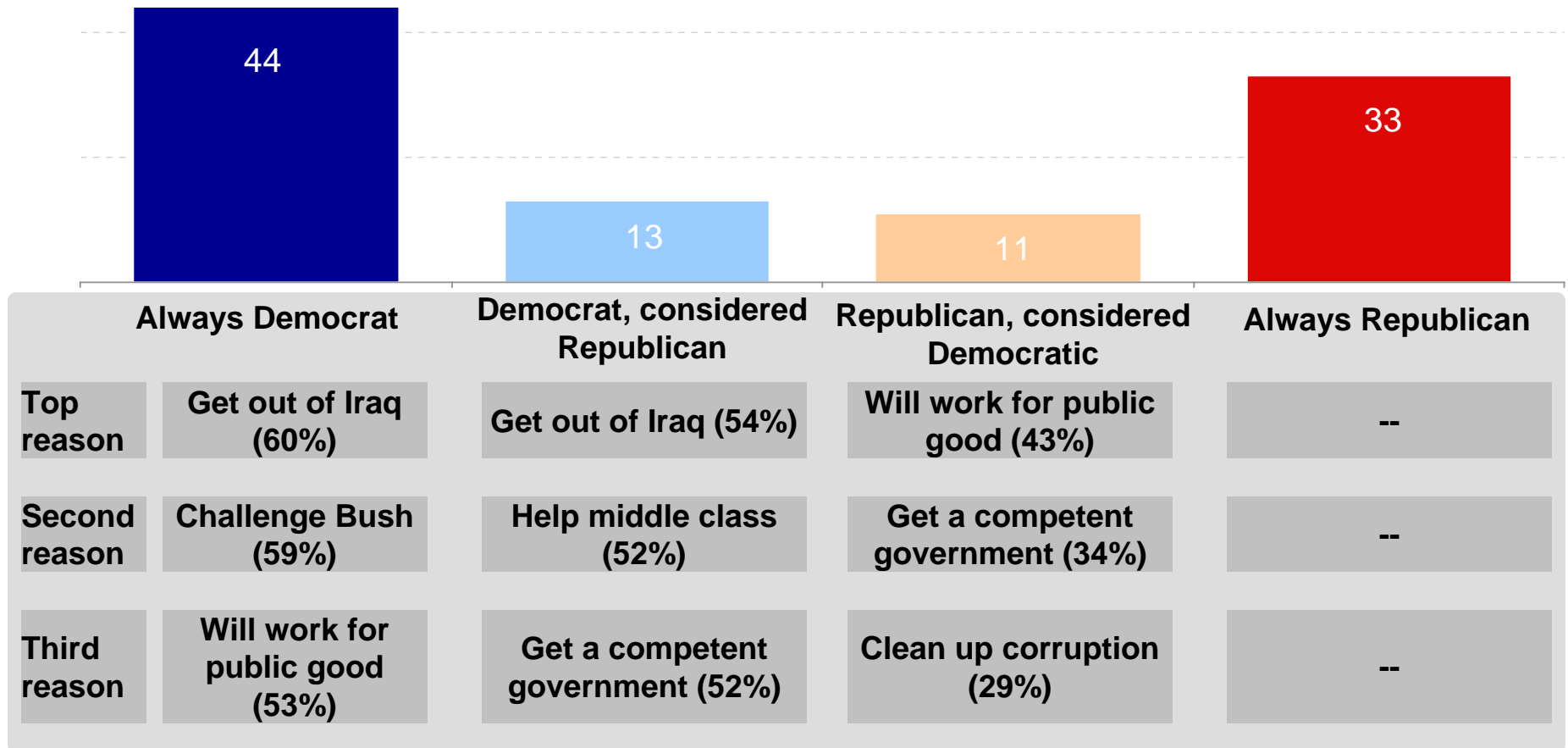
I want to read you some reasons why you may have voted for the Republican candidate for Congress, or considered voting for that candidate. Please tell me whether, for each one, if it is the SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT reason, one of the TOP FEW, NEAR THE TOP, in the MIDDLE, or NOT an important reason why you voted or considered voting for the Republican for Congress.

	Total important		
	Single most	Top two	Top three
Need someone independent-minded who will stand up for our area	15	42	66
Need to cut taxes for everyone and can't risk sending people to Washington who raise your taxes and damage the economy	15	40	67
To cut wasteful spending with a line item veto and blocking pork-barrel spending	13	34	61
Block efforts to limit rights of gun owners	7	17	29

Top themes in groups deciding the election - national

Numbers are based on percent of total voters

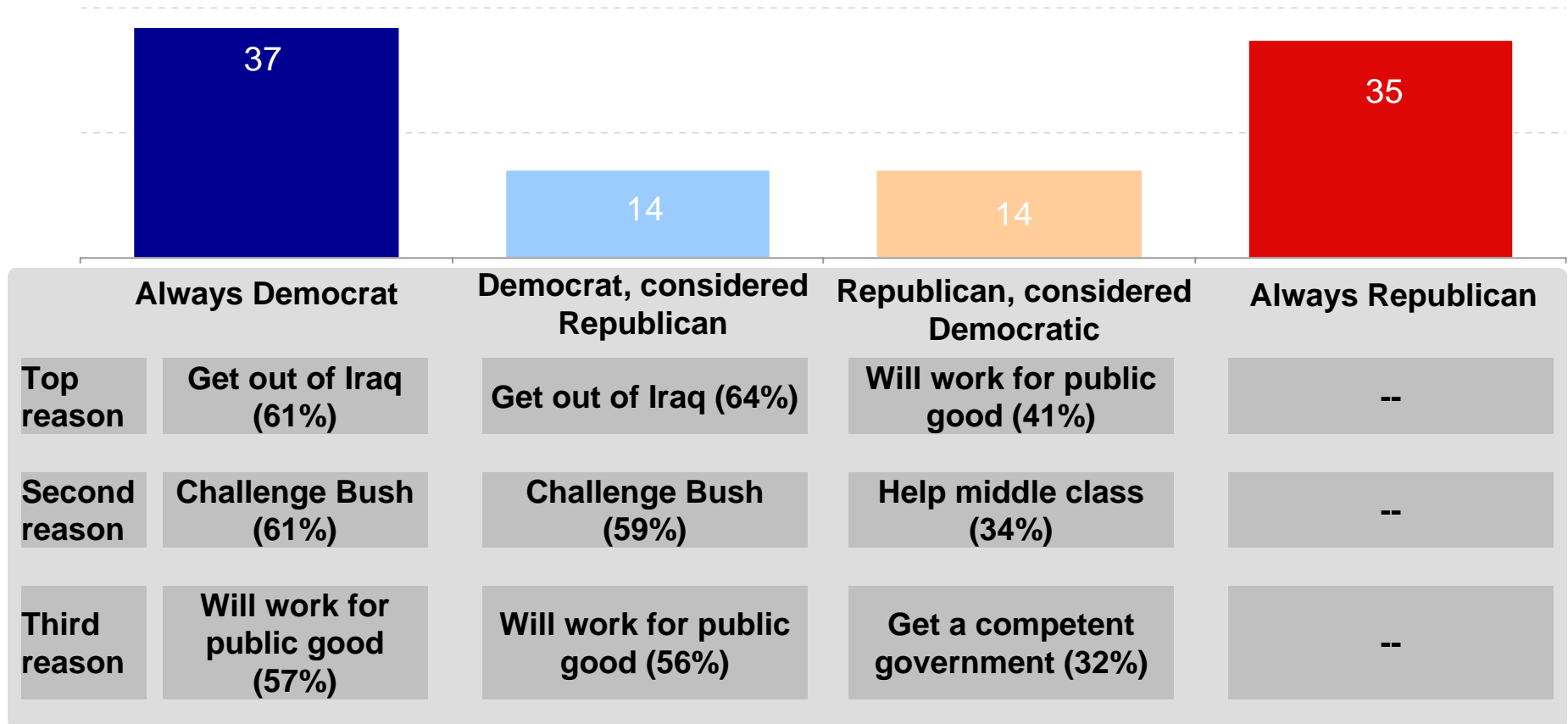
I want to read you some reasons why you may have voted for the Democratic candidate for Congress, or considered voting for that candidate. Please tell me whether, for each one, if it is the SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT reason, one of the TOP FEW, NEAR THE TOP, in the MIDDLE, or NOT an important reason why you voted or considered voting for the Democrat for Congress.



Top themes in groups deciding the election - GOP

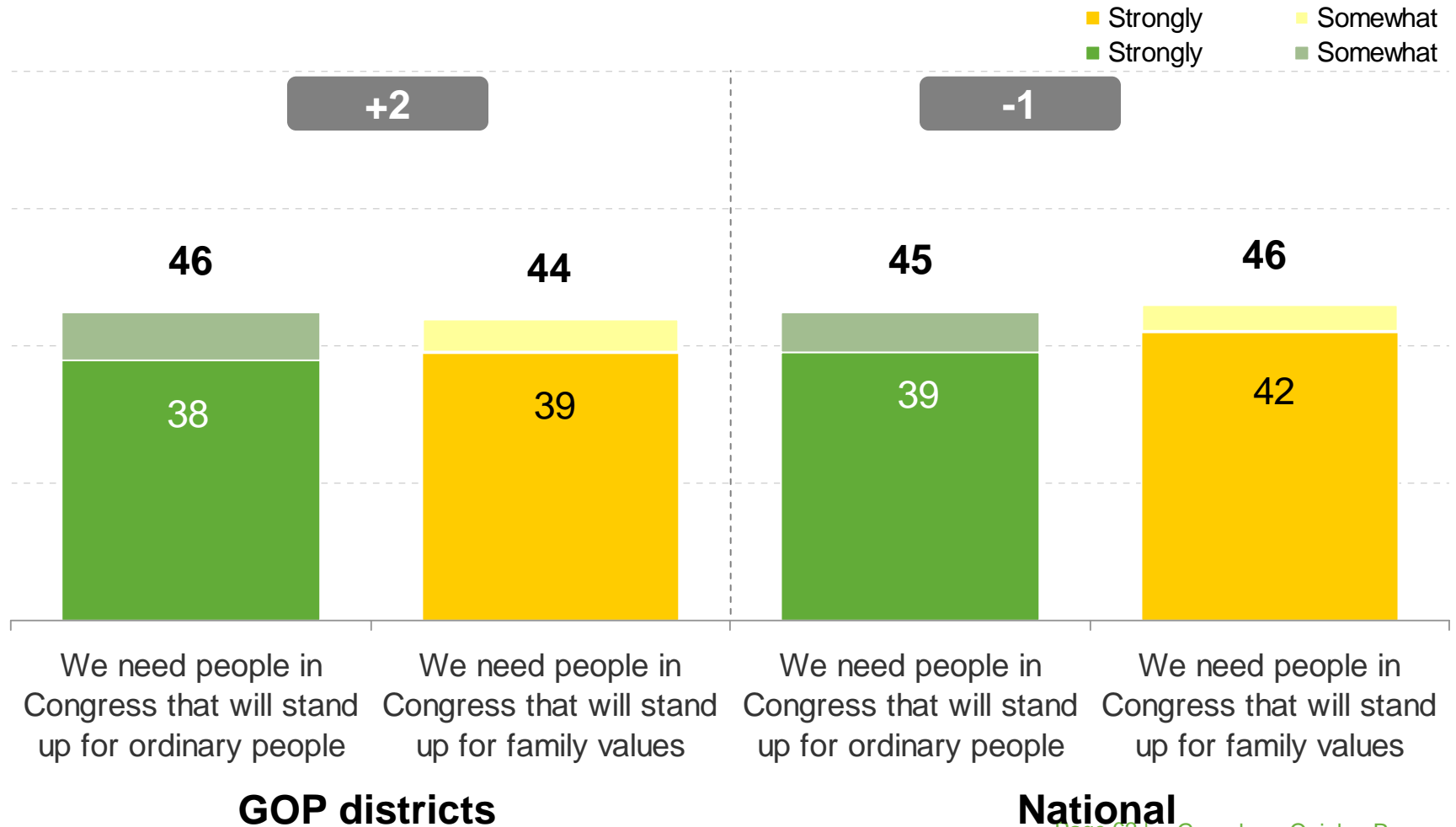
Numbers are based on percent of total voters

I want to read you some reasons why you may have voted for the Democratic candidate for Congress, or considered voting for that candidate. Please tell me whether, for each one, if it is the SINGLE MOST IMPORTANT reason, one of the TOP FEW, NEAR THE TOP, in the MIDDLE, or NOT an important reason why you voted or considered voting for the Democrat for Congress.



Country still divided on advocacy for people vs family values

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



Troubled conservatism

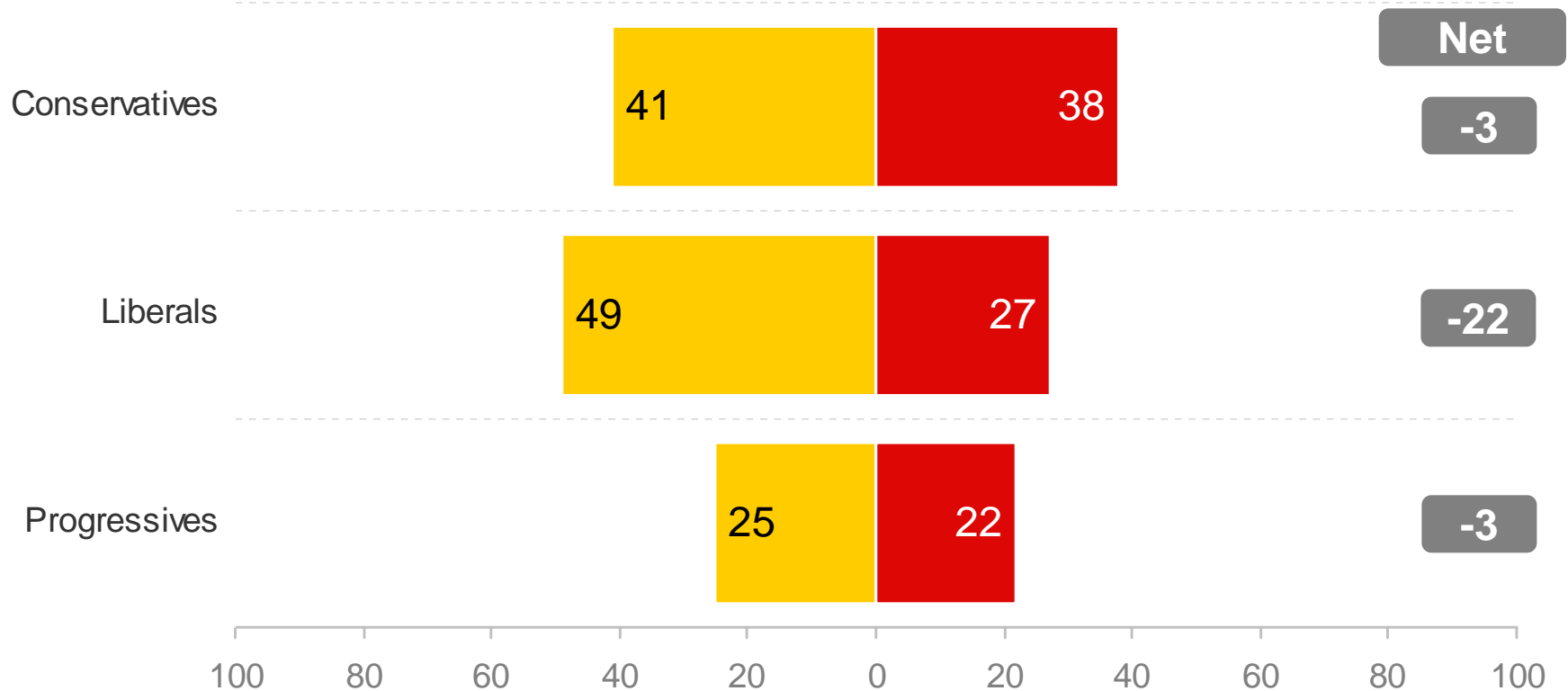
Troubled conservatism

- Conservatism crashed image, compared to 1994
- Public aligns with progressive values on –
 - Alliances versus unilateralism
 - Tolerance
 - Role of religion
 - Community and responsibility
 - Government creating opportunity
- But cautious about “government creating conditions” and taxes
- Want strong national response on
 - Protecting jobs and ensuring trade fair
 - Lead on alternative energy

Conservatism: 1994 and 2006

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.

■ Cool ■ Warm

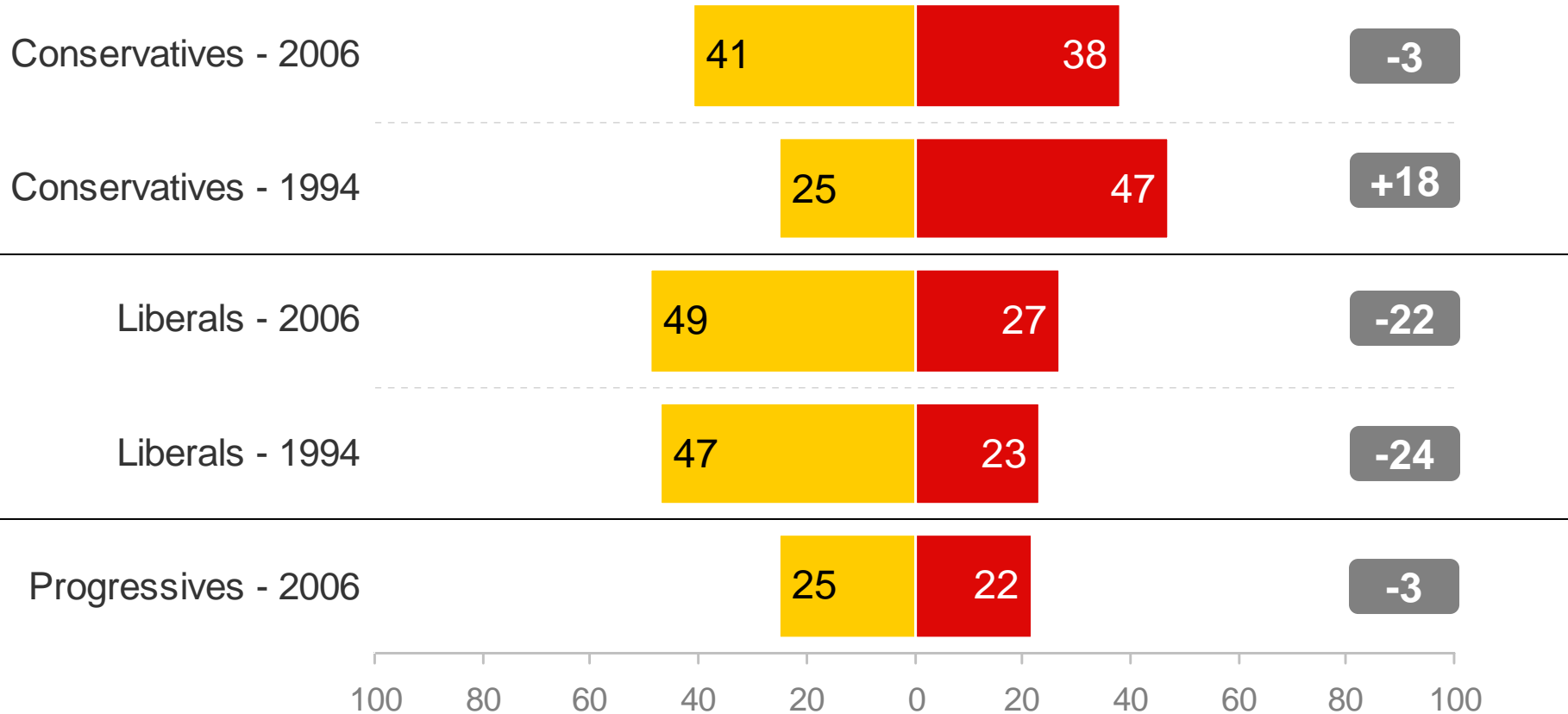


Conservatism: 1994 and 2006

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.

■ Cool ■ Warm

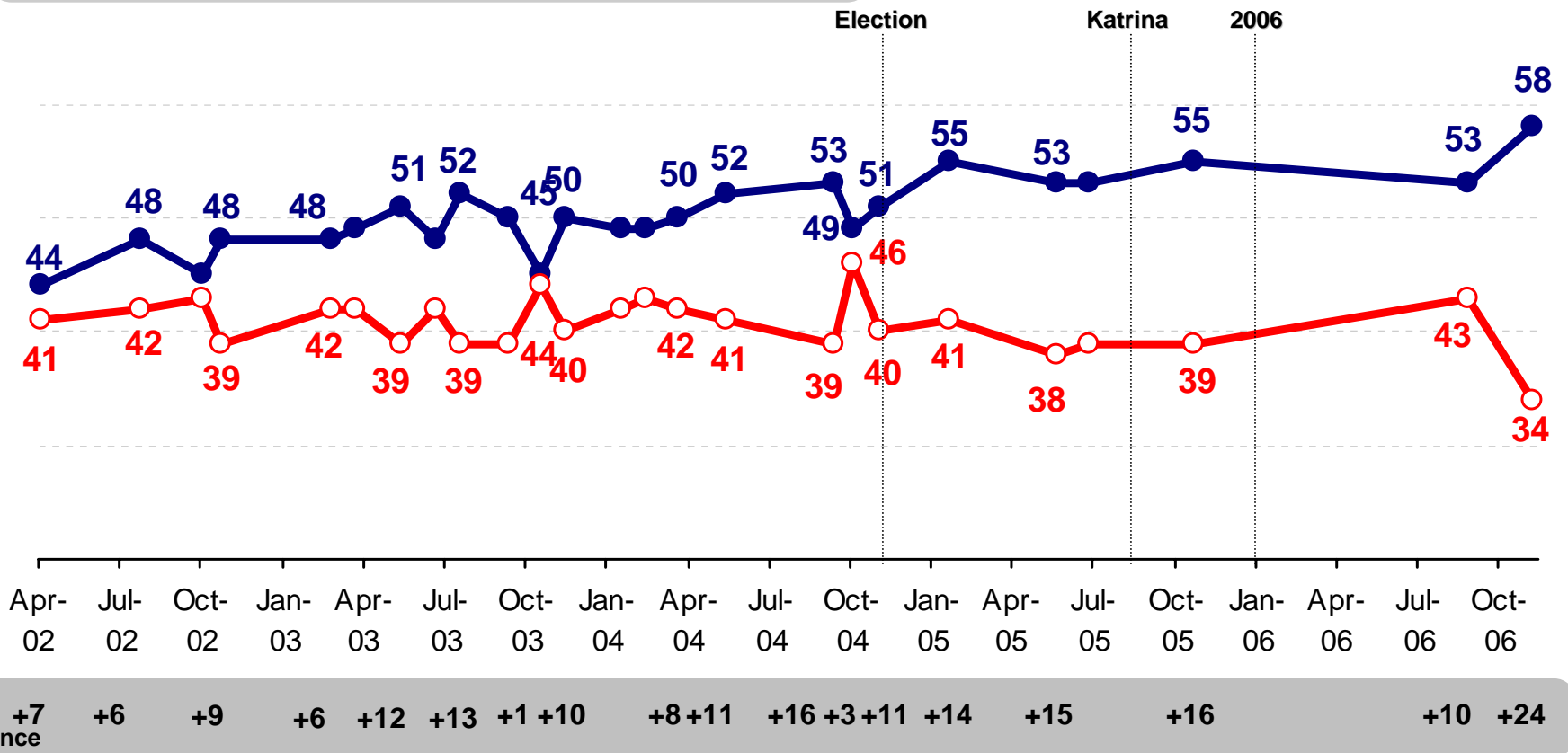
Net



Country turns dramatically away from unilateralism

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

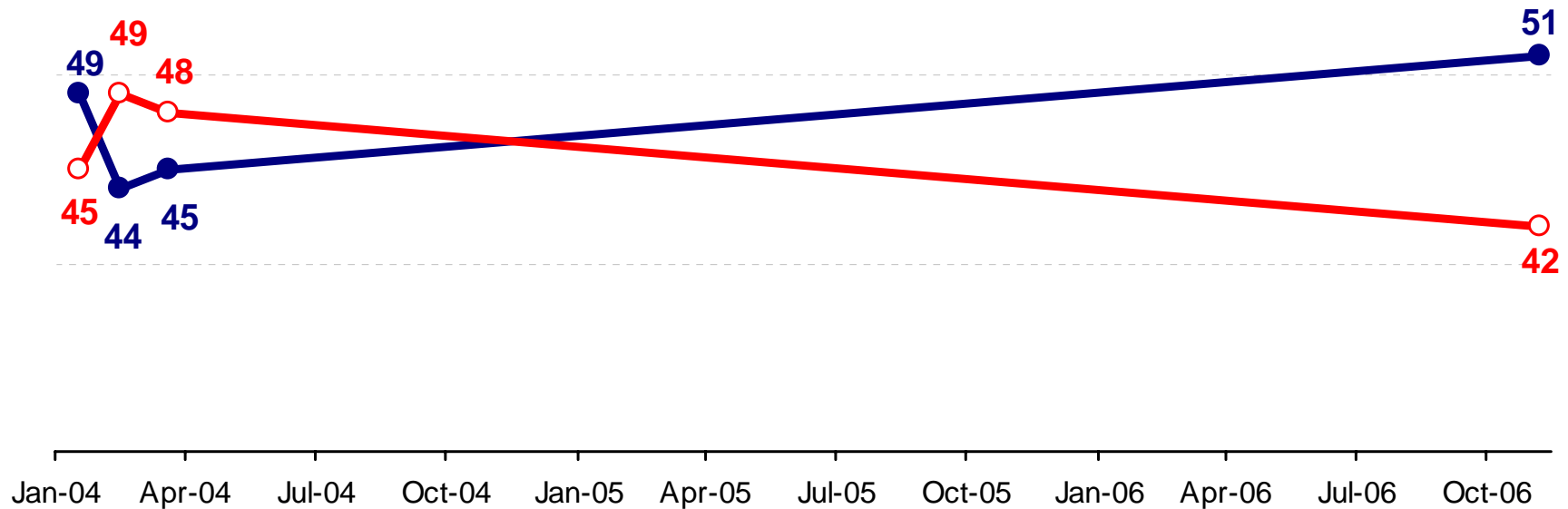
- America's security depends on building strong ties with other nations
- Bottom line, America's security depends on its own military strength



Greater tolerance on homosexuality

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

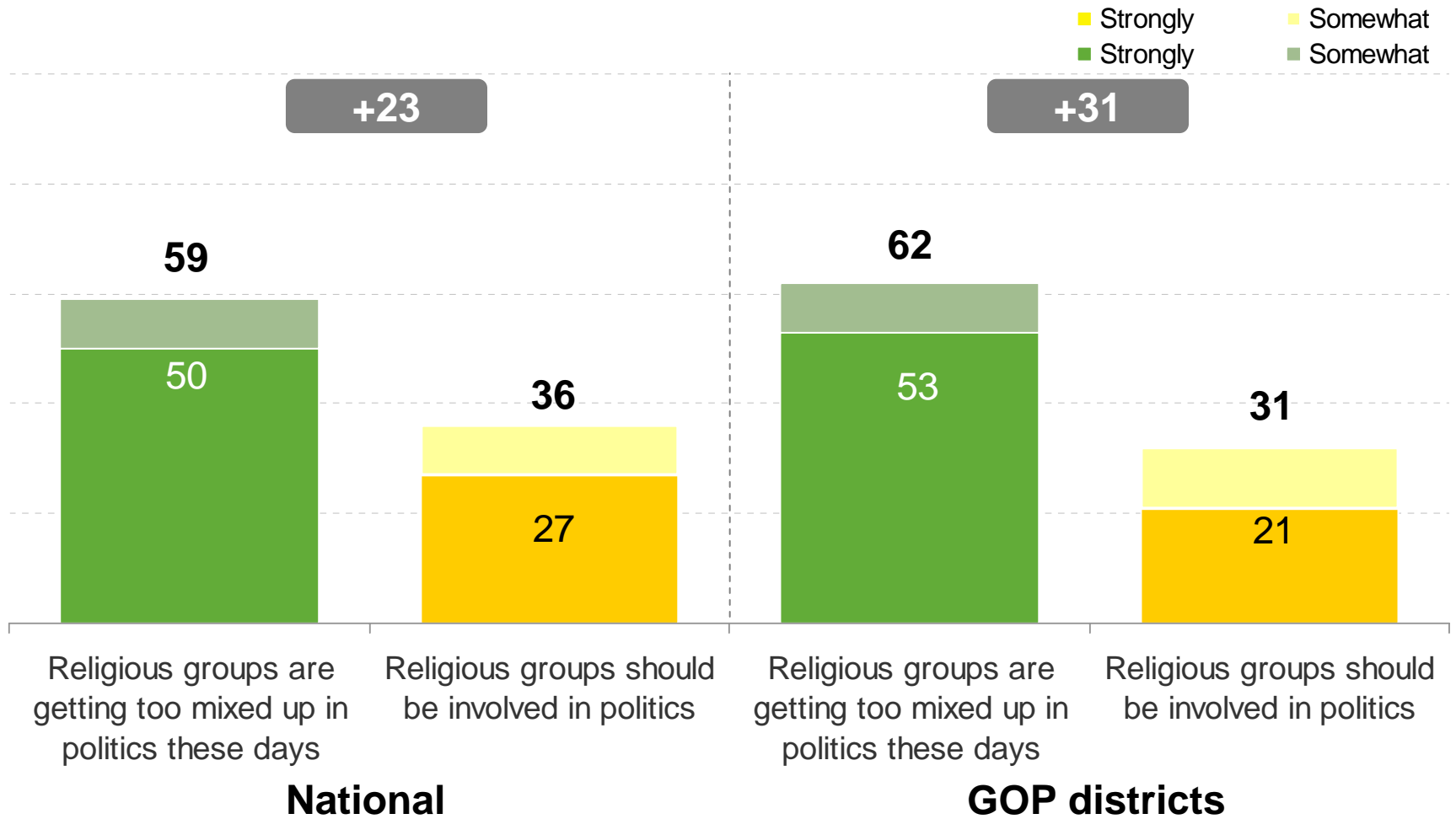
- Homosexuality is a way of life that should be accepted by society
- Homosexuality is a way of life that should be discouraged by society



Net Difference +4 -5 +11

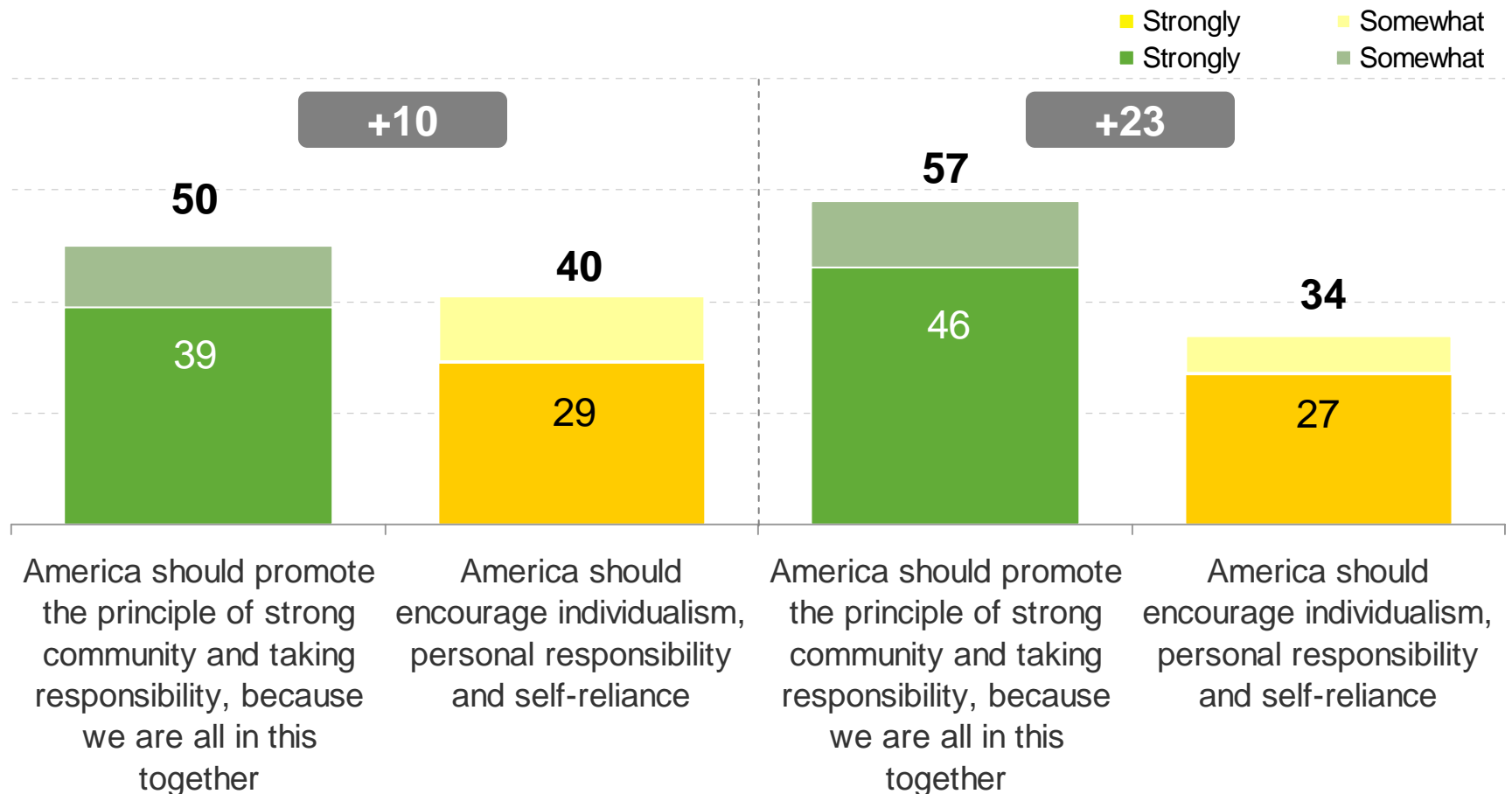
Large majority thinks religion too mixed up in government

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



Community and responsibility over self-reliance/personal responsibility

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

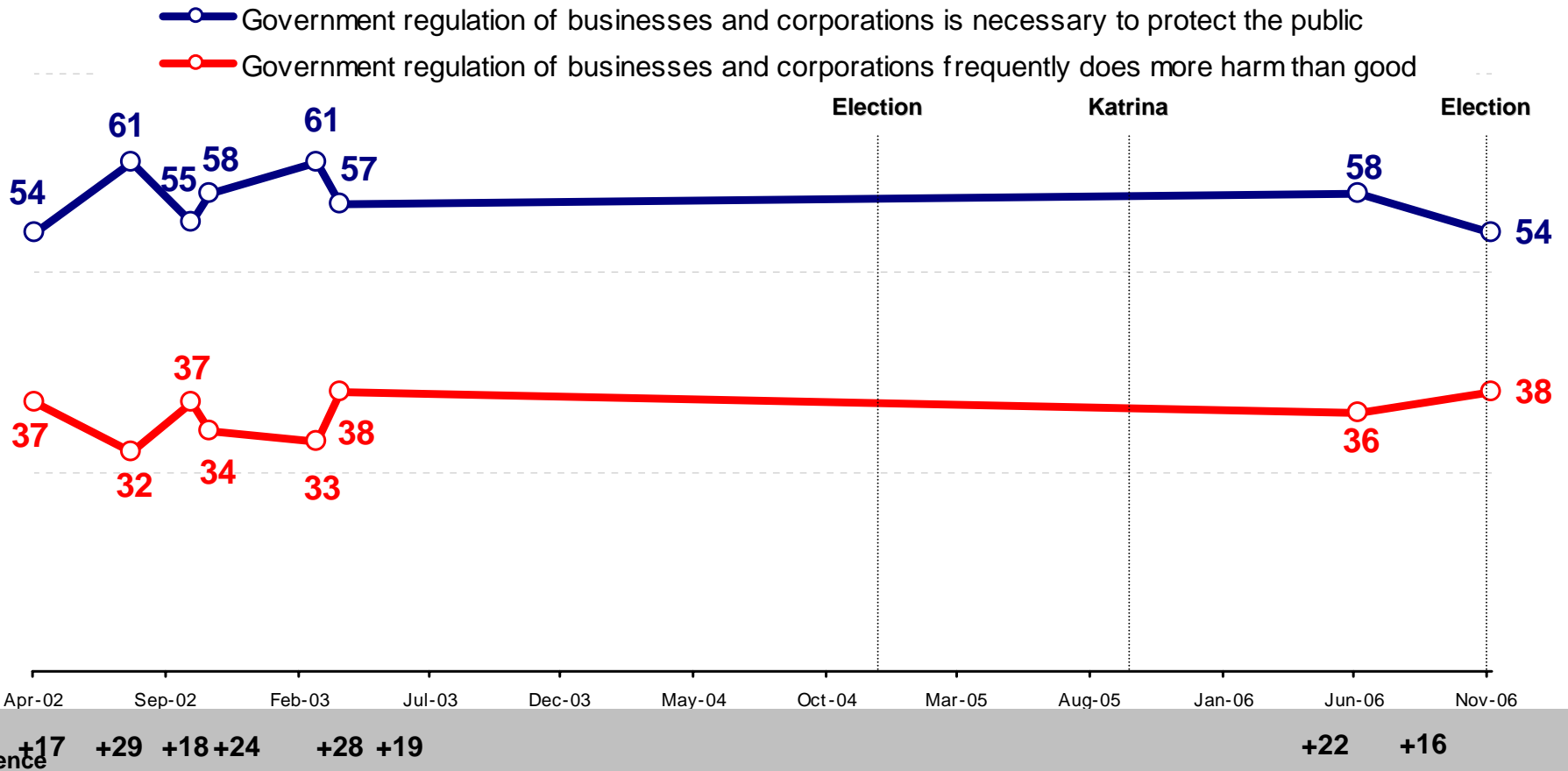


National

GOP districts

Regulation of business seen as necessary to protect the public

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views?

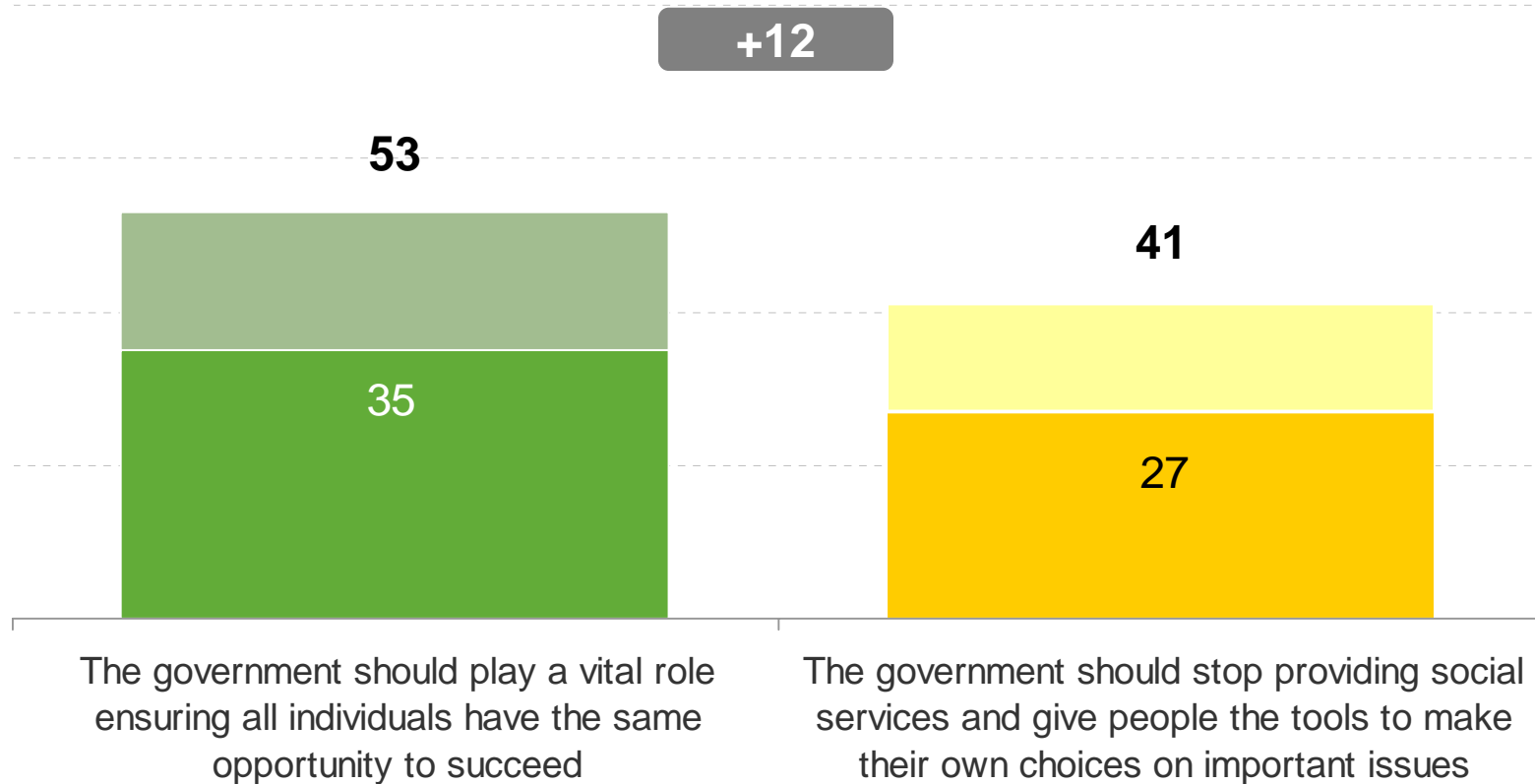


Note*: All likely voters

Government should play role in ensuring opportunities vital for success

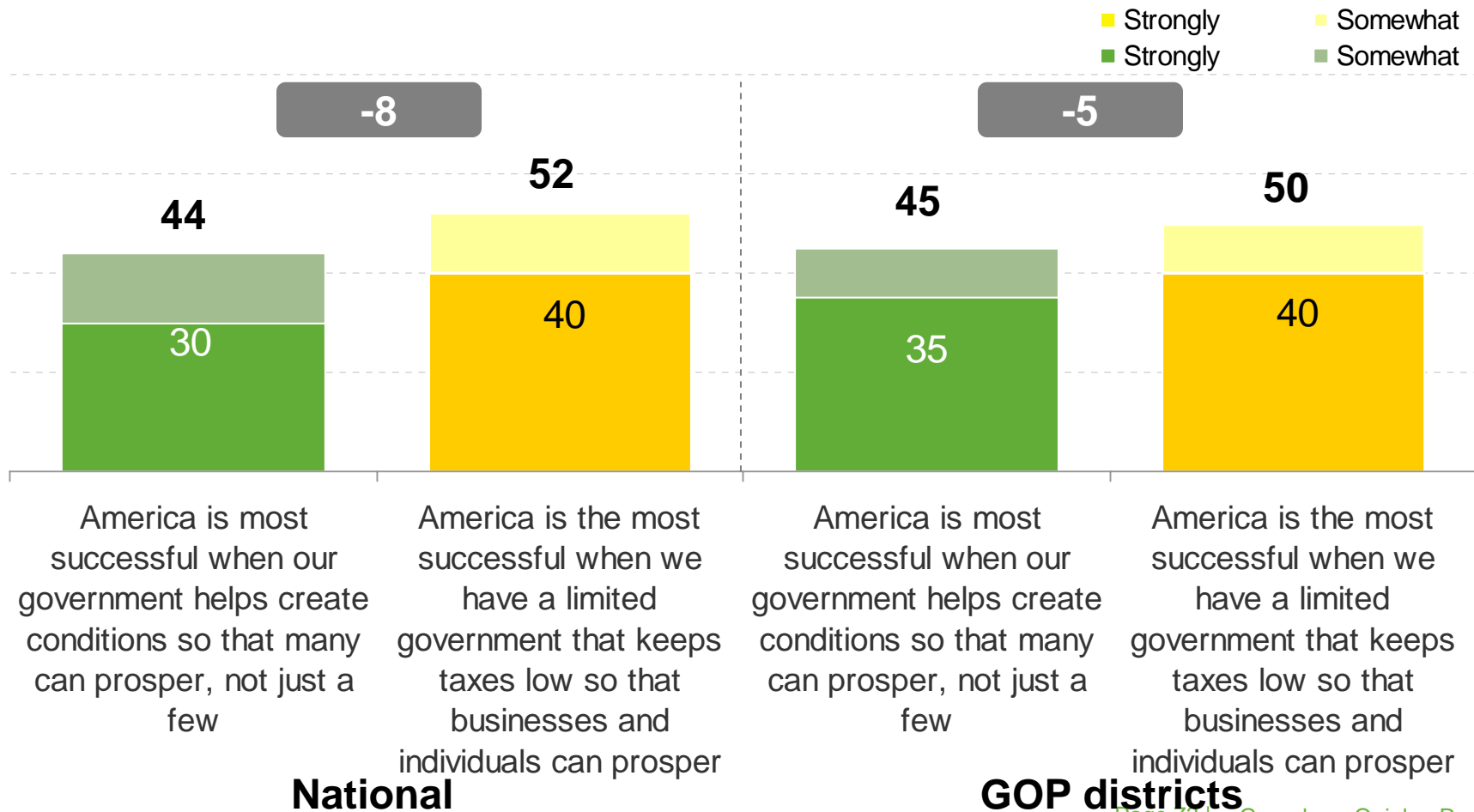
Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:

- Strongly
- Strongly
- Somewhat
- Somewhat



Important cautions on government role

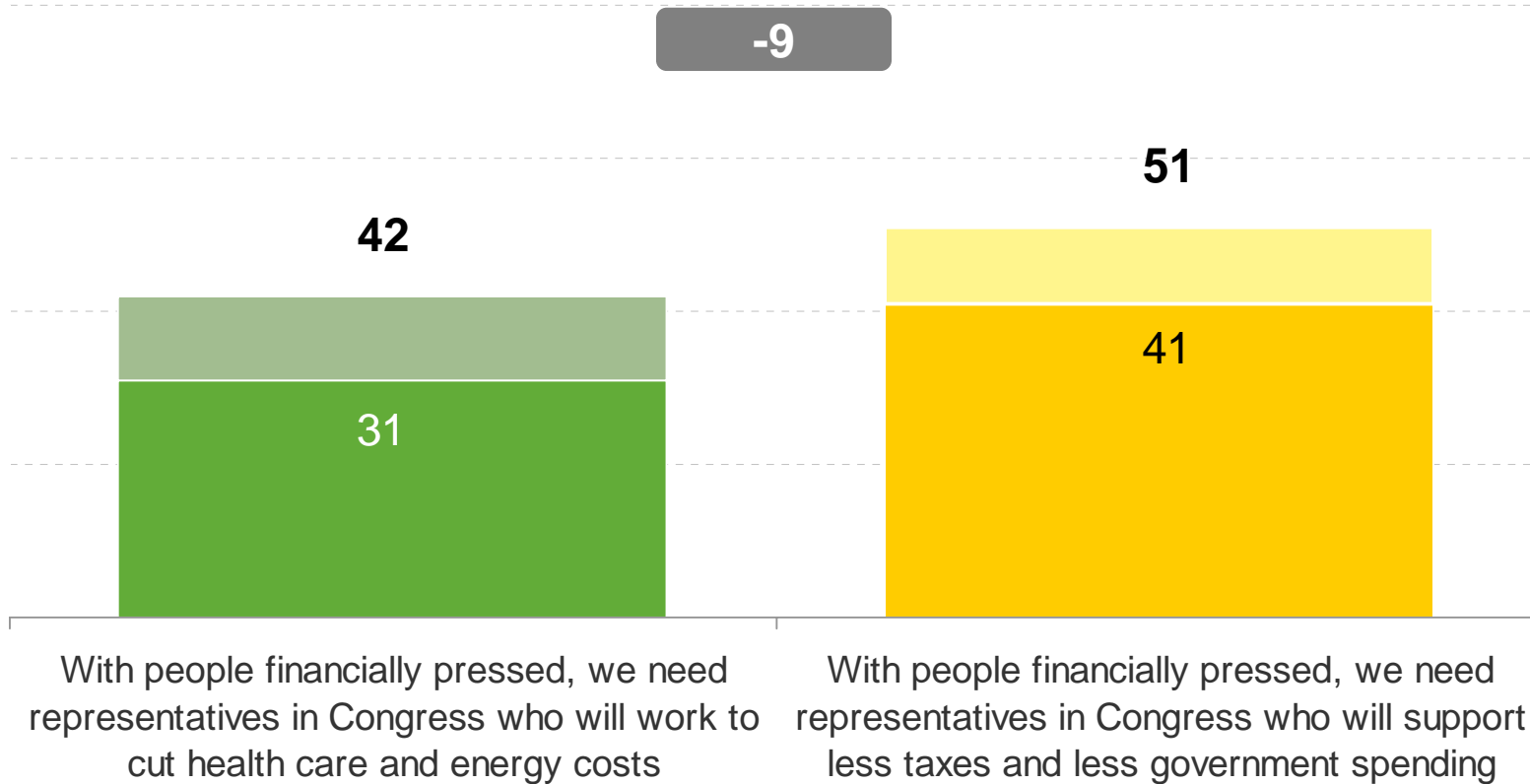
Now I'm going to read you a pair of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own views, even if neither is exactly right:



Majority prefers less taxes, less spending over cutting costs

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

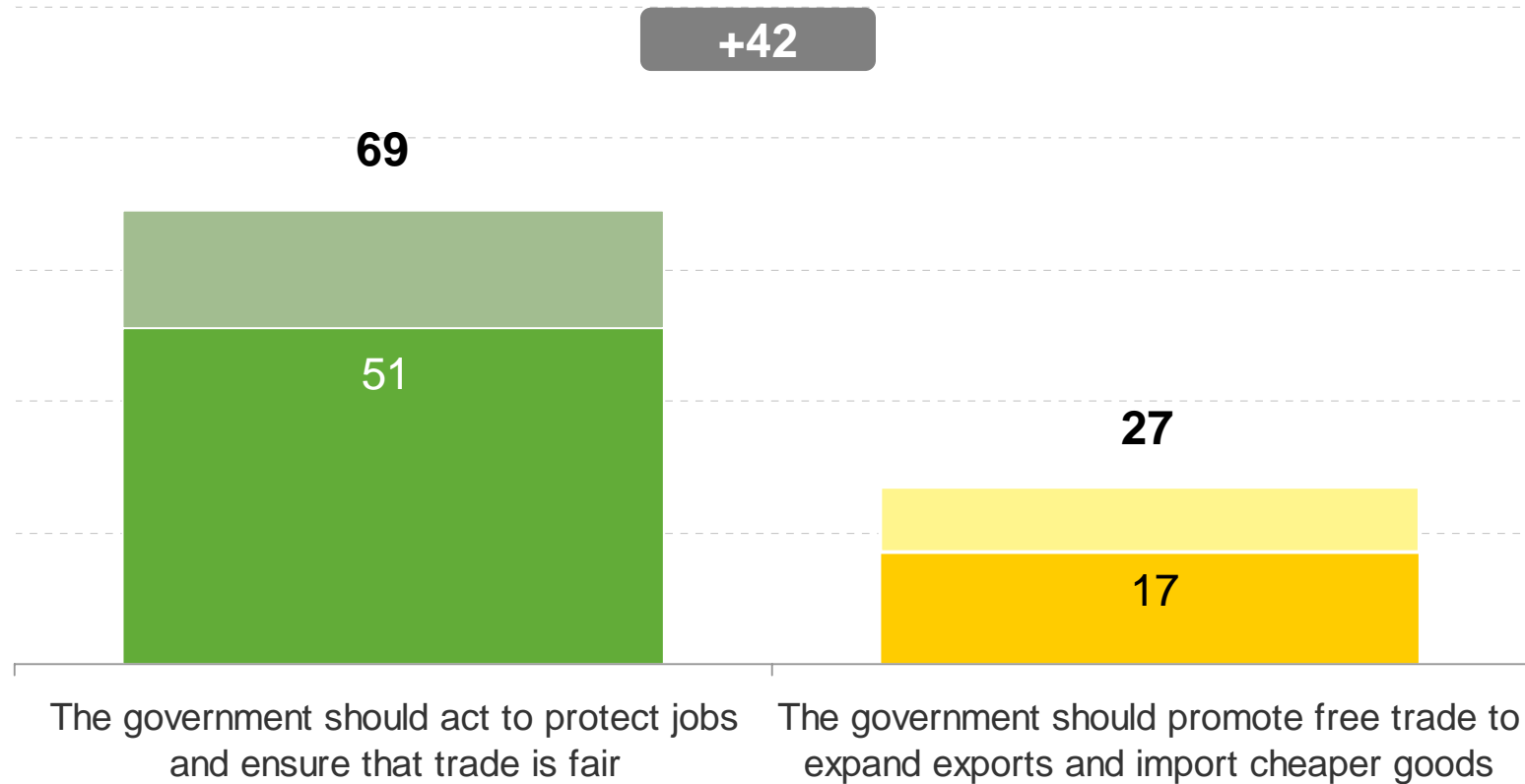
- Strongly
- Strongly
- Somewhat
- Somewhat



Large majority prefers protecting jobs to cheaper domestic goods

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

- Strongly
- Strongly
- Somewhat
- Somewhat



By wide margin, Americans want to invest in alt. energy sources

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

- Strongly
- Somewhat
- Strongly
- Somewhat

