

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

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June 17, 2006

# Swing Nation

Report from Survey of 613 Swing Voters in Swing Districts and Swing States



## Project Specifications

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- This survey represents the views of 613 swing likely voters taken between May 20-26, 2006; it has a margin of error of +/- percent.
- For the purposes of this survey, swing voters are defined as voters who are self-ascribed Independent, Independent lean-Democratic, Independent lean-Republican voters, or Democrats and Republicans who do not support the Democratic or Republican candidate (respectively) in a named trial heat.
- The survey geography was limited to 66 swing congressional districts and 8 swing Senate states.



## Who are swing voters?

### Demographic Profile

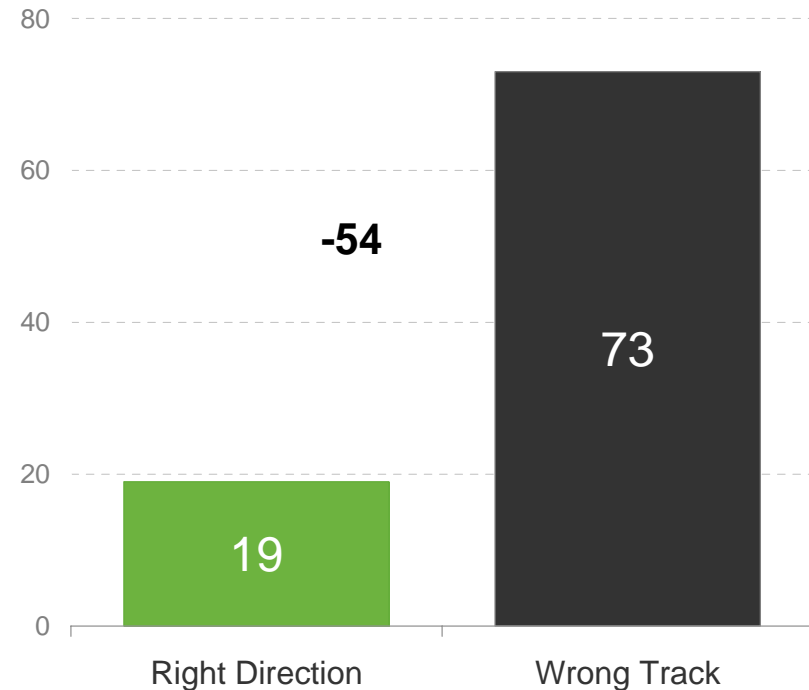
Demographic	Swing Vote	All Voters <sup>1</sup>
Men	53	48
Women	47	52
White	84	80
Black	7	10
Hispanic	5	7
18-29	6	12
30-39	13	17
40-49	20	22
50-64	35	28
Over 64	23	21
H.S or less	26	29
Post H.S.	25	29
College graduate	30	27
Post graduate	18	14
Liberal	16	18
Moderate	50	40
Conservative	31	39

<sup>1</sup> Reflects averages of over 100,000 likely voter interviews from Democracy Corps, taken over the last four years.

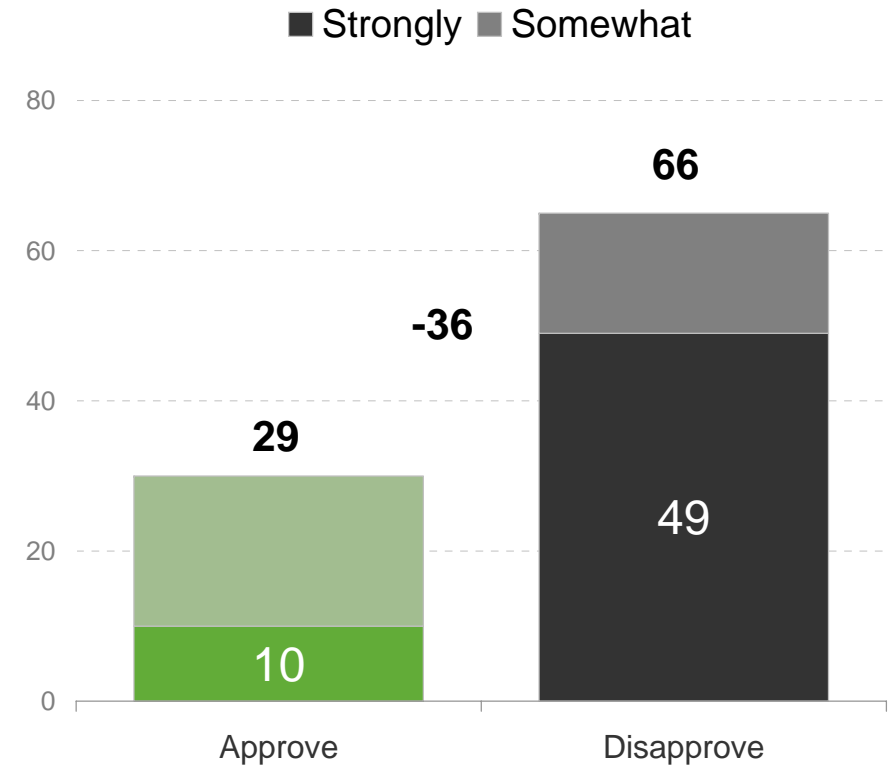


# Looking for Change

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

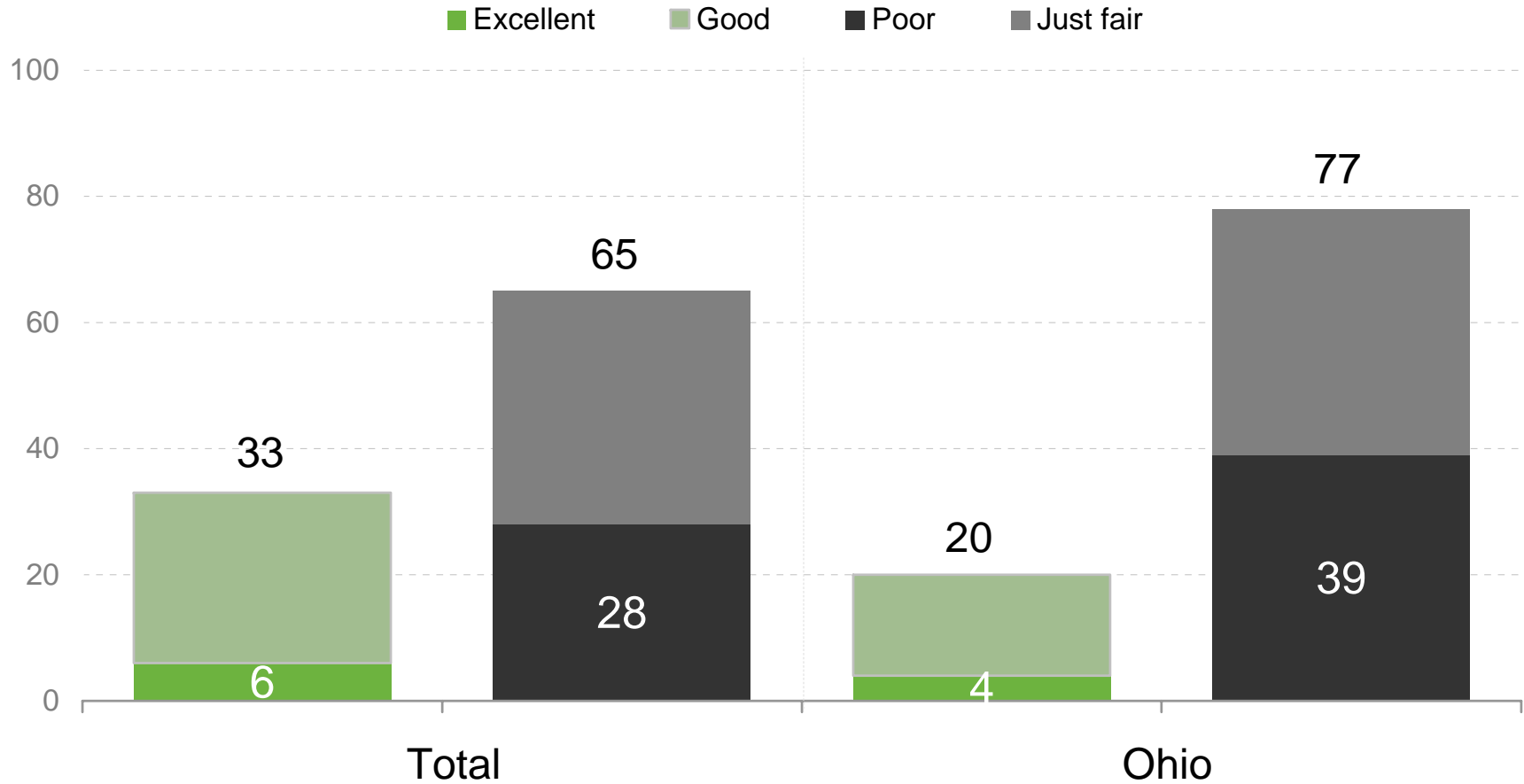


*Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as President?*



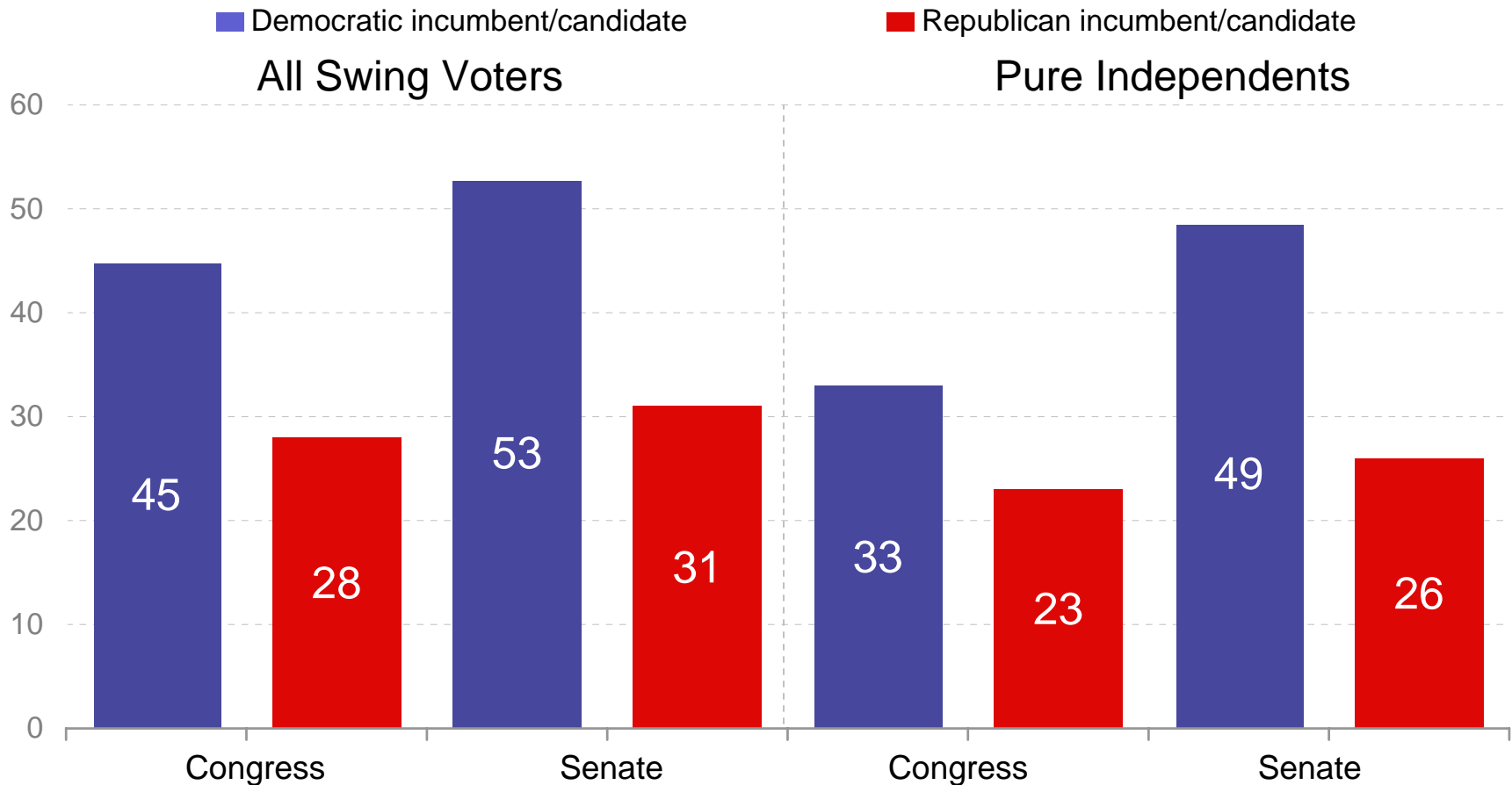
# Looking for Change

How would you rate the overall state of the economy – excellent, good, just fair or poor?



# Swinging against Republicans

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



## Public Investment Commitment Is Strong Candidate Theme

As you know, it is campaign season and candidates for public office will talk about a lot of issues. Imagine that a candidate for Congress makes only one commitment. I'd like to read to you several of these commitments and after I read each, I'd like you to rate each statement on a scale of zero to ten. A ten would mean you find the statement a very convincing reason to support this candidate. A zero would mean you find the statement a not at all convincing reason to support this candidate. A five would be a neutral response. You can use any number from zero to ten.

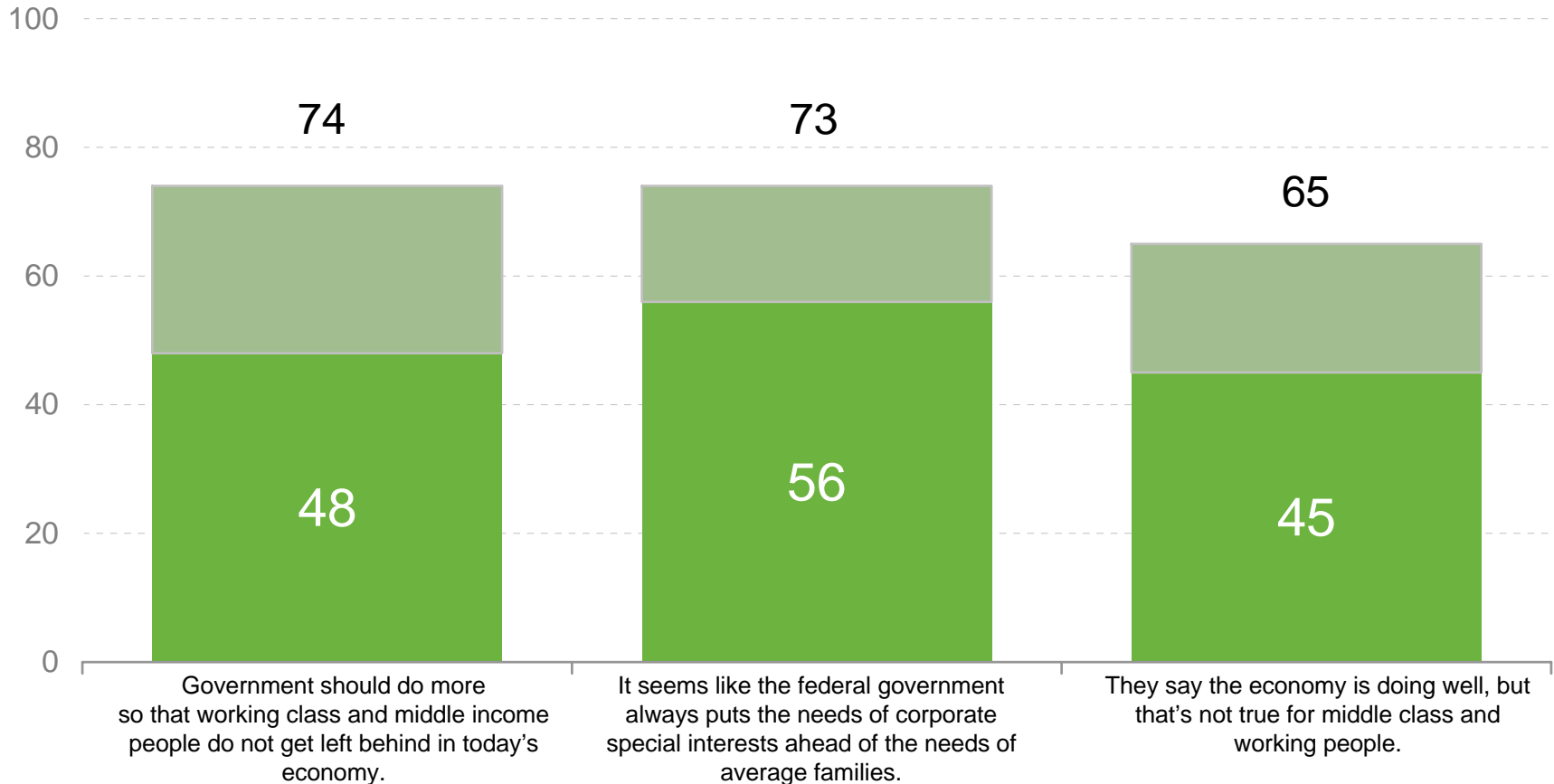
	<b>Percent 8-10</b>
I will fight for a bold plan of new investments that strengthens education, provides guaranteed access to quality affordable health care and that develops technology to achieve energy independence.	<b>57</b>
I will fight the culture of corruption in Washington, the special favors given to powerful special interest and the politically connected.	<b>56</b>
Our national priorities are upside down. Congress has been handing out tax giveaways to millionaires and paying for it by cutting health care for kids and seniors, slashing Head Start programs and school funding. I will fight to turn those priorities around.	<b>55</b>
Instead of tax giveaways Congress has been giving to millionaires, I will fight to use that money for a bold plan of new investments that strengthens education, provides guaranteed access to quality affordable health care and that develops technology to achieve energy independence.	<b>54</b>
Our government is already big enough and I will work to maintain middle class tax cuts, while eliminating waste and restraining the size and cost of government.	<b>48</b>
Our national priorities are upside down. Rather than spending so much money in Iraq, I will fight to invest in the people of this country through improved education, health care and advancements in technology.	<b>48</b>
My first responsibility is to protect America and will work to help prosecute the war on terrorism abroad and protect American security here at home.	<b>47</b>
We have added over 4 million jobs in the last four years and I will continue to fight for lower taxes in order to keep our economy growing.	<b>40</b>



# Populism runs strong with swing voters

*I am going to read you a series of statements about several issues. After each one I read, please tell me if you agree, disagree or if you neither agree, nor disagree.*

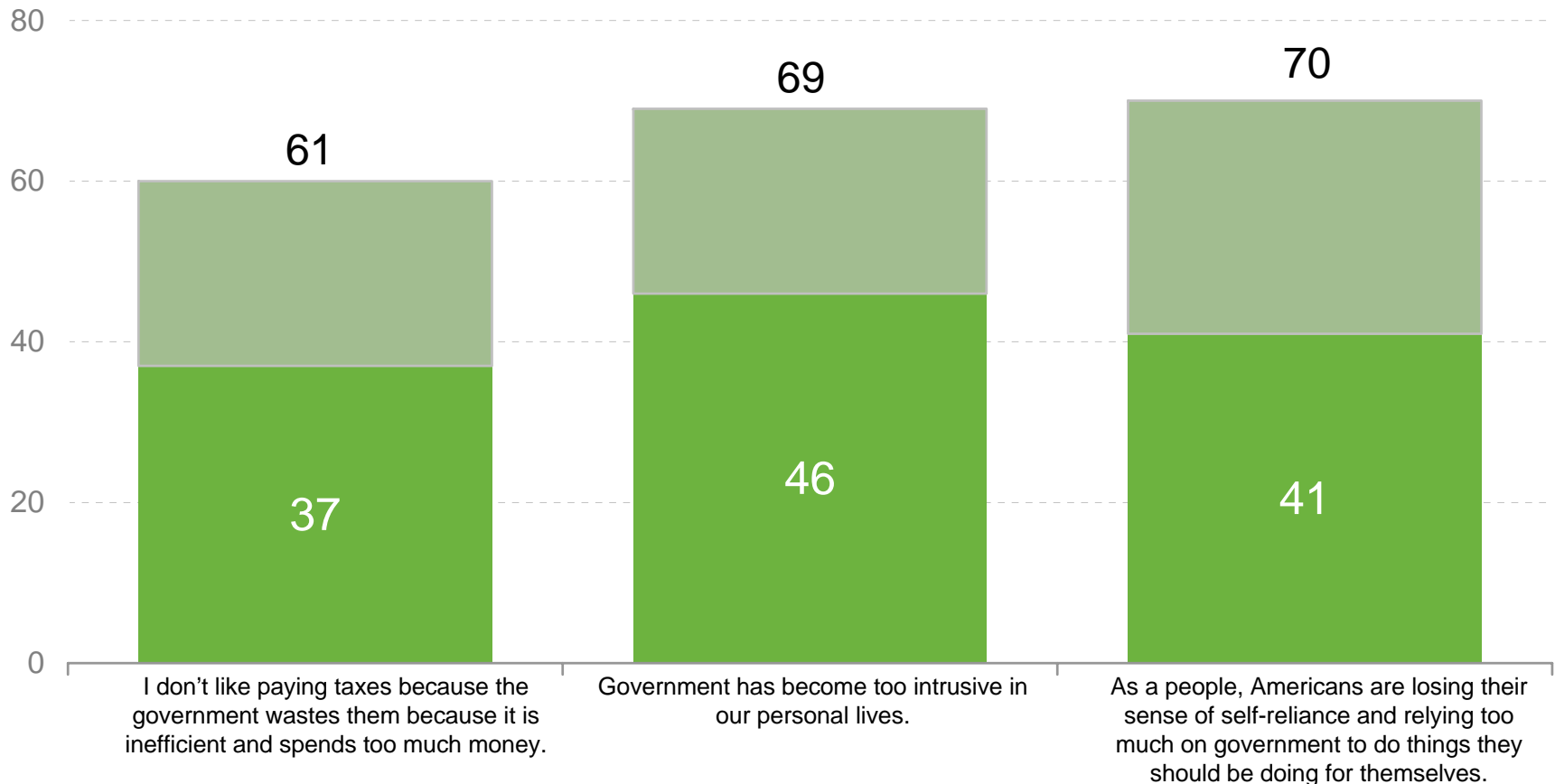
■ Somewhat agree  
■ Completely agree



# Swing voters also hold some concerns about government

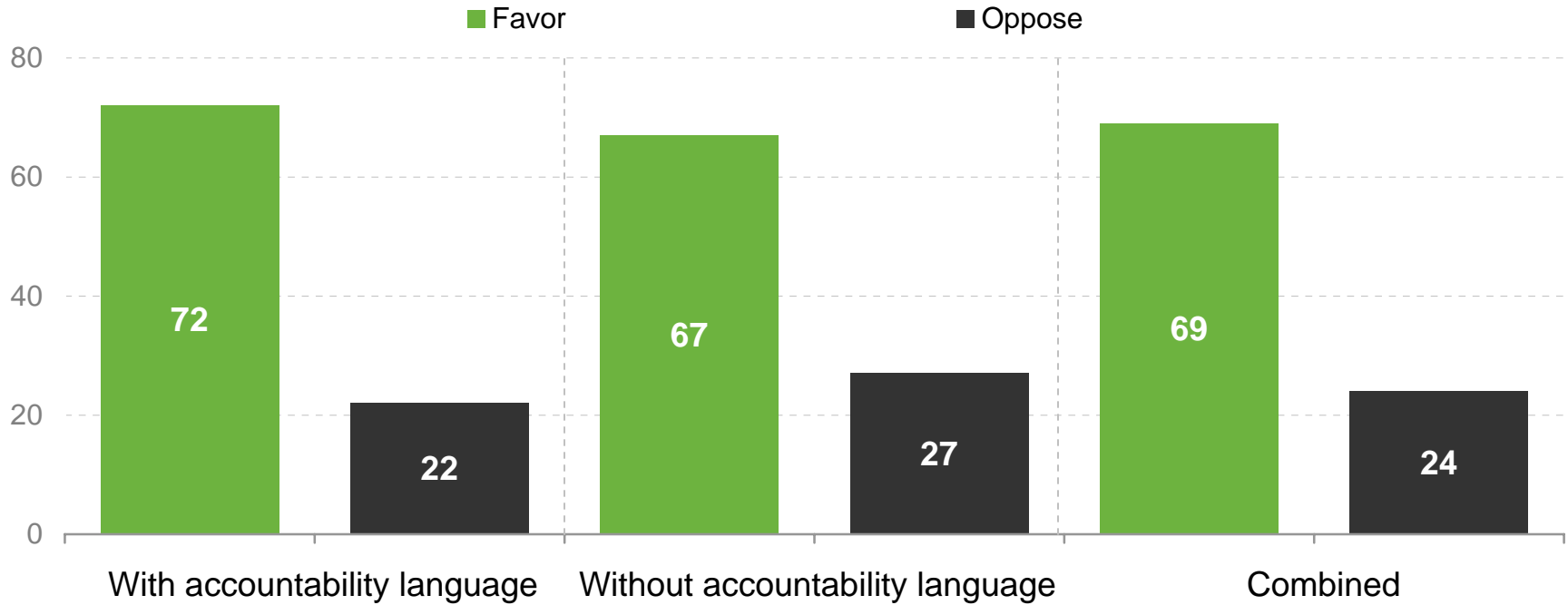
*I am going to read you a series of statements about several issues. After each one I read, please tell me if you agree, disagree or if you neither agree, nor disagree.*

■ Somewhat agree  
■ Completely agree



# The Investment Agenda

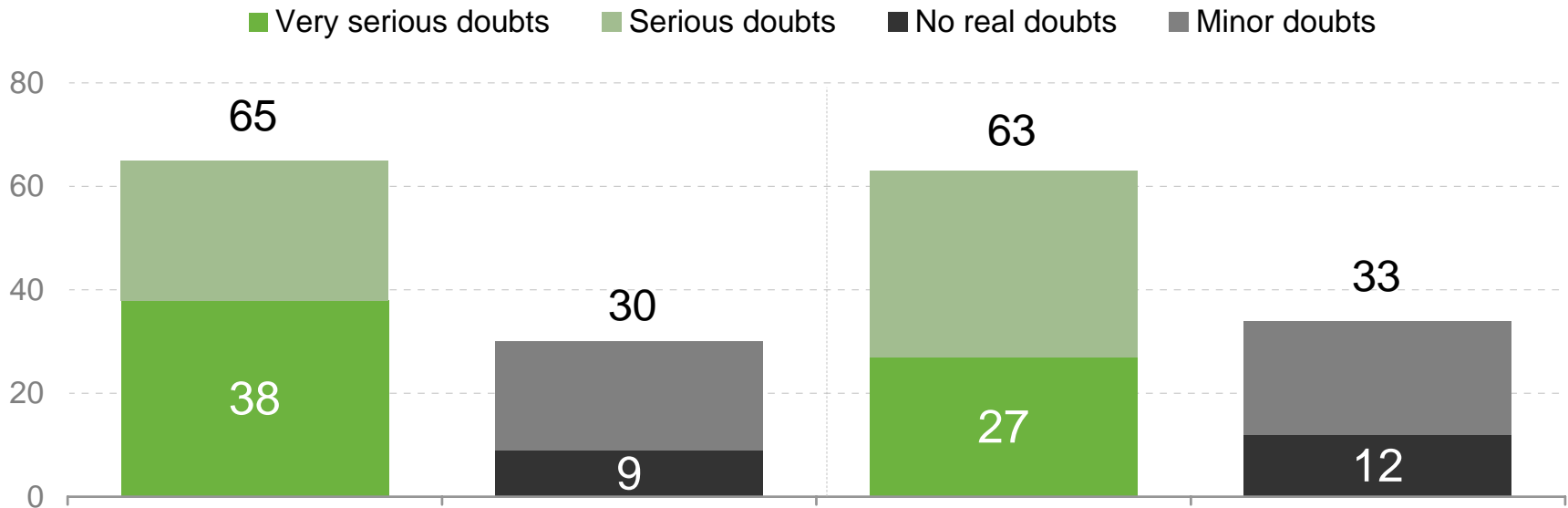
Support for issue agenda is impressive



Let me tell you about something called the [plan]. Under this plan, government will invest more money to expand access to quality child development and preschool programs that help kids start school ready to succeed, will strengthen public schools, expand college aid will provide access to high quality, affordable health care for all. This plan will also provide all Americans access to free high speed Internet and promote safe, clean energy to help end our dependence on oil. In order to pay for the plan, it would eliminate recently passed tax cuts for corporations and those earning over \$200,000 per year *[and include new measures to hold government accountable and reduce corruption and waste]*. Having heard this, do you favor or oppose [plan]?

## Candidate Record of Favoring Tax Cuts Over Investment is Serious Vulnerability

*Let me read you an argument against a candidate for Congress. After I read this argument, please tell me if it raises very serious doubts in your mind about supporting this candidate, serious doubts about supporting this candidate, minor doubts about supporting this candidate or no real doubts.*



Rather than supporting investments in health care, education and technology that could help all of us, he voted to cut taxes for millionaires by \$40,000, while only giving middle income people \$20 in tax cuts.

He voted to cut taxes for millionaires by \$40,000, while only giving middle income people \$20 in tax cuts.

## Framing the Investment Agenda

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And what do you think is the best reason to support this agenda, is it

	<b>Total</b>
Education and health care are smart investments in America's future	<b>22</b>
It will make life better for all Americans, not just special interests and the wealthy	<b>20</b>
It will help make sure working class and middle income people do not get left behind in the new economy	<b>13</b>
It will help America compete in the global economy	<b>10</b>
It will make corporations and the wealthy pay their fair share of taxes	<b>10</b>
It will help bring America together as a community and advance the common good	<b>7</b>
None	<b>7</b>



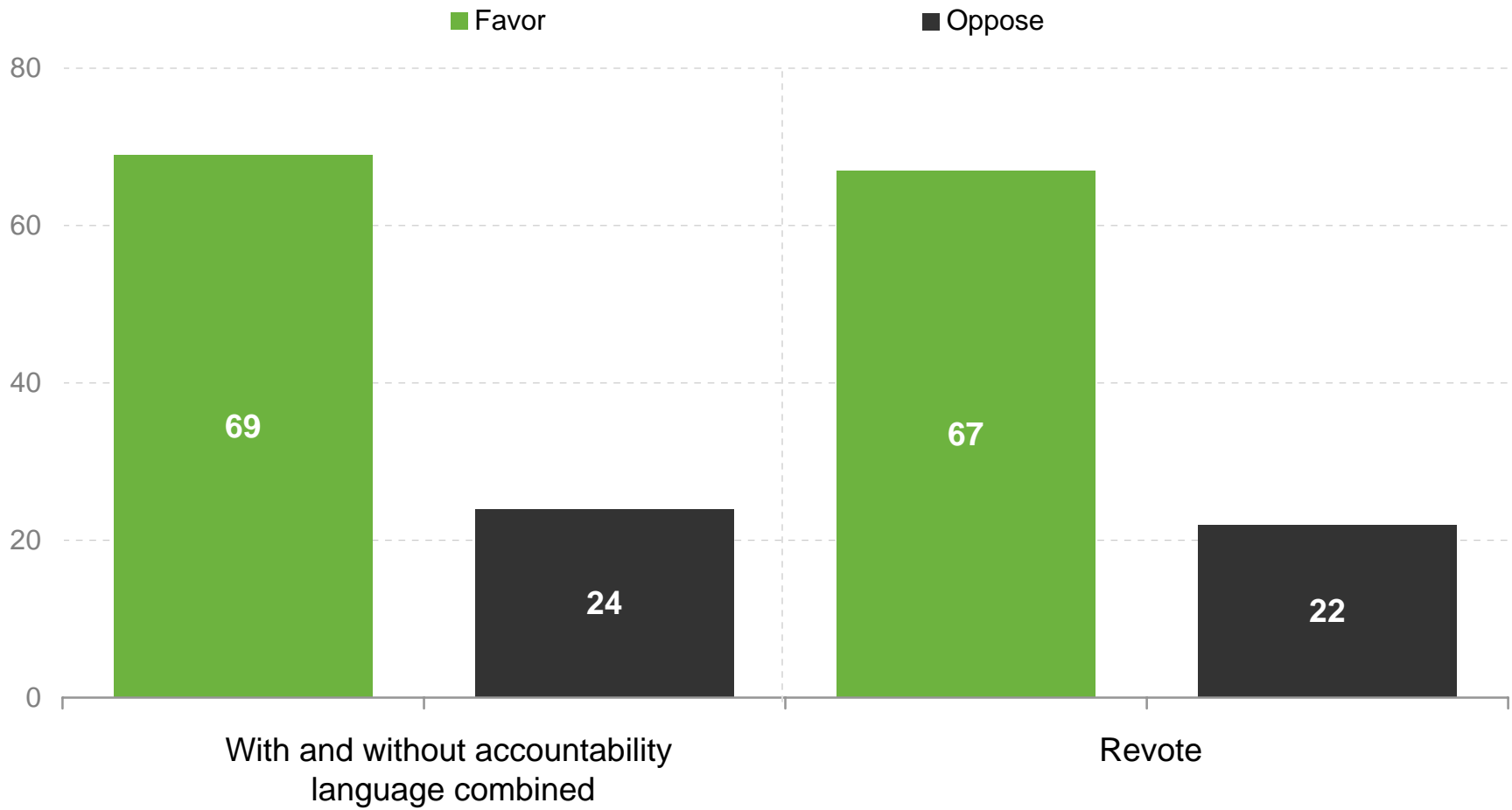
## Issue agenda holds up even under attack

Now let me read you some/other statements about the [plan]. After I read these statements, please tell me how convincing you find each statement as a reason to OPPOSE the plan. A ten would mean you find the statement very convincing. A zero would mean you find the statement not at all convincing. You can use any number from zero to ten.

	Percent 8-10
Right now we are running a deficit of nearly \$500 billion dollars a year; we simply can not afford a dramatic increase in government spending.	51
As Americans, we need to learn again how to do more for ourselves and not rely on big government programs to help us improve our own lives.	47
This program sounds nice, but the fact is government cannot be trusted to spend this money wisely; the U.S. Senate recently passed a bill spending money that was supposed to go for hurricane relief in New Orleans, but instead it went to a highway project in Hawaii.	42
Right now the burden on American taxpayers has never been heavier and the federal government is setting records on spending; if the answer to our problem was more taxes and more spending, we would not have the problems we have right now.	28
The fact is they might say this agenda will help all Americans, but it will be mostly spent on government bureaucrats, welfare and the poor, and immigrants who just arrived in this country.	28



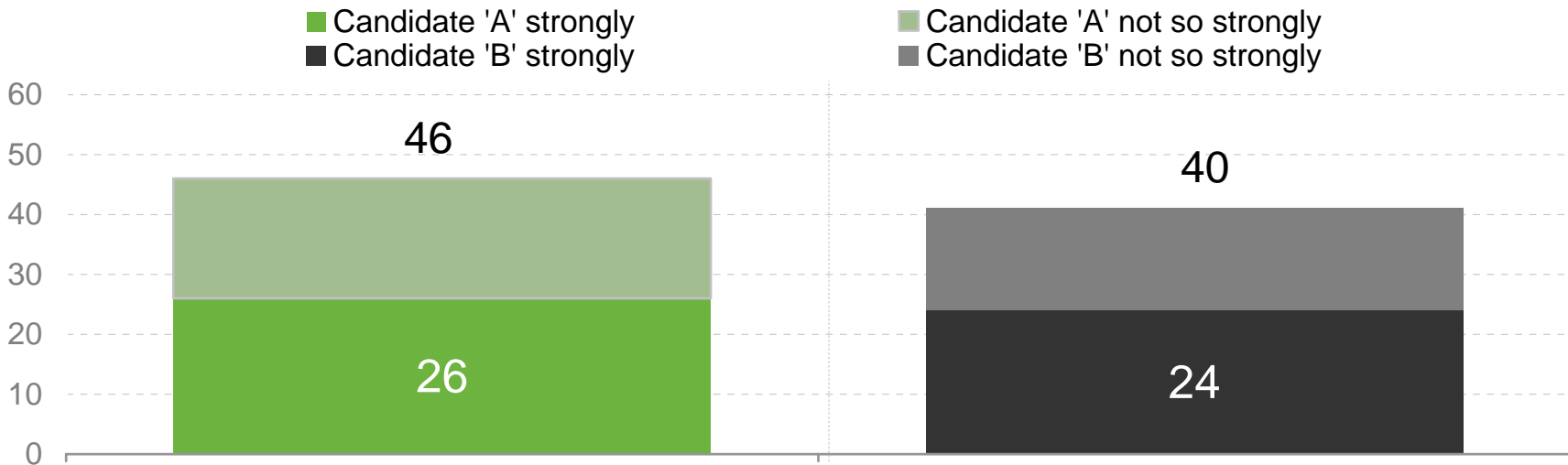
# Issue agenda holds up even under attack



# Non-Partisan Electoral Tests

An investment message with language on the deficit is competitive electorally.

*Now let me read you brief descriptions of two candidates running for Congress. After I read these descriptions, please tell me which one you would support.*



Candidate A will fight for a plan for new investments to strengthen education, guarantee access to high quality, affordable health care for all, and make investments in technology to make America energy independent and provide access to high speed Internet to all Americans. In order to pay for this, he will fight to roll back recently passed tax hand-outs for corporations and those earning over \$200,000 a year, which would still leave enough money to reduce the federal deficit.

Candidate B will fight to maintain tax cuts for middle class Americans and businesses to keep the economy moving and stop the reckless tax and spend policies of the past. He will work to improve schools with more accountability, help small businesses pay health care costs and expand prescription drug coverage for seniors. He opposes increasing government spending because that would increase the deficit.

The candidates' platforms were also presented without language on reducing the federal deficit. Without the deficit language, 32 percent supported candidate 'A' (18 percent strongly) and 54 percent supported candidate 'B' (33 percent strongly).

## Main Findings

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- Swing voters want change, badly. They aspire to achieve the American dream and secure a better future for their children.
- Politically, swing voters now swing against Republicans as Democrats in named Congressional and Senate trial heats post significant leads. Among pure Independents, however, the parties are evenly matched.
- Swing voters embrace an agenda of investment and change by wide margins; this framework is as strong as other traditional progressive frameworks, and in fact, stronger among target swing voters.
- Swing voters support these investments financed by rolling back tax cuts on those making over \$200,000 per year.
- An investment agenda is strengthened when it taps into swing voters' anger with the current government's fiscal mismanagement and misplaced priorities. Swing voters want an accountable government that brings down the deficit while also making needed investments at home.

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## Candidate Commitment to Investment Has Special Appeal to Younger Voters

As you know, it is campaign season and candidates for public office will talk about a lot of issues. Imagine that a candidate for Congress makes only one commitment. I'd like to read to you several of these commitments and after I read each, I'd like you to rate each statement on a scale of zero to ten. Results shown are % giving rating of 8 to 10.

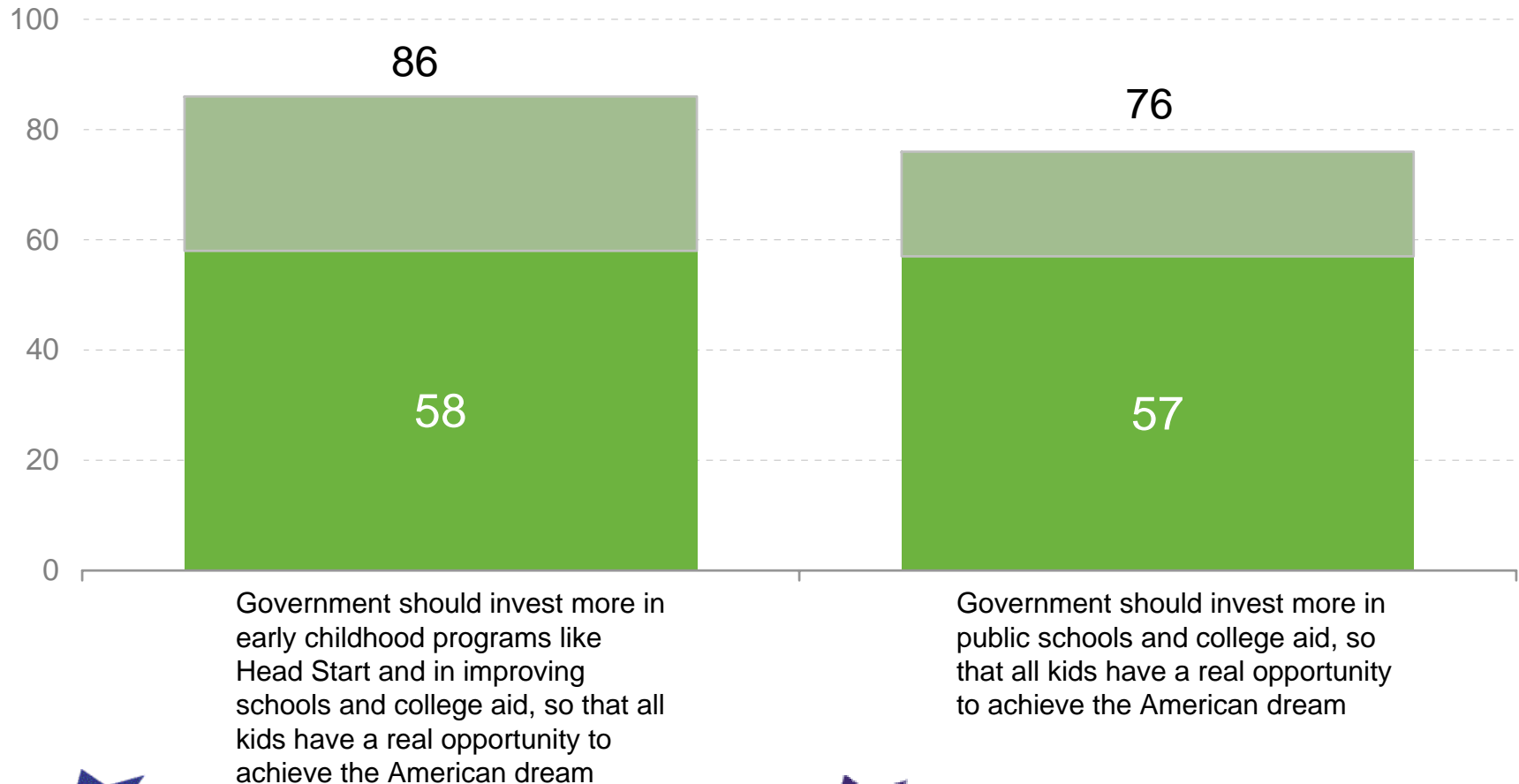
	Under 50	50+
I will fight for a bold plan of new investments that strengthens education, provides guaranteed access to quality affordable health care and that develops technology to achieve energy independence.	56	58
Our national priorities are upside down. Congress has been handing out tax giveaways to millionaires and paying for it by cutting health care for kids and seniors, slashing Head Start programs and school funding. I will fight to turn those priorities around.	55	57
Instead of tax giveaways Congress has been giving to millionaires, I will fight to use that money for a bold plan of new investments that strengthens education, provides guaranteed access to quality affordable health care and that develops technology to achieve energy independence.	49	57
I will fight the culture of corruption in Washington, the special favors given to powerful special interest and the politically connected.	44	63
Our national priorities are upside down. Rather than spending so much money in Iraq, I will fight to invest in the people of this country through improved education, health care and advancements in technology.	47	48



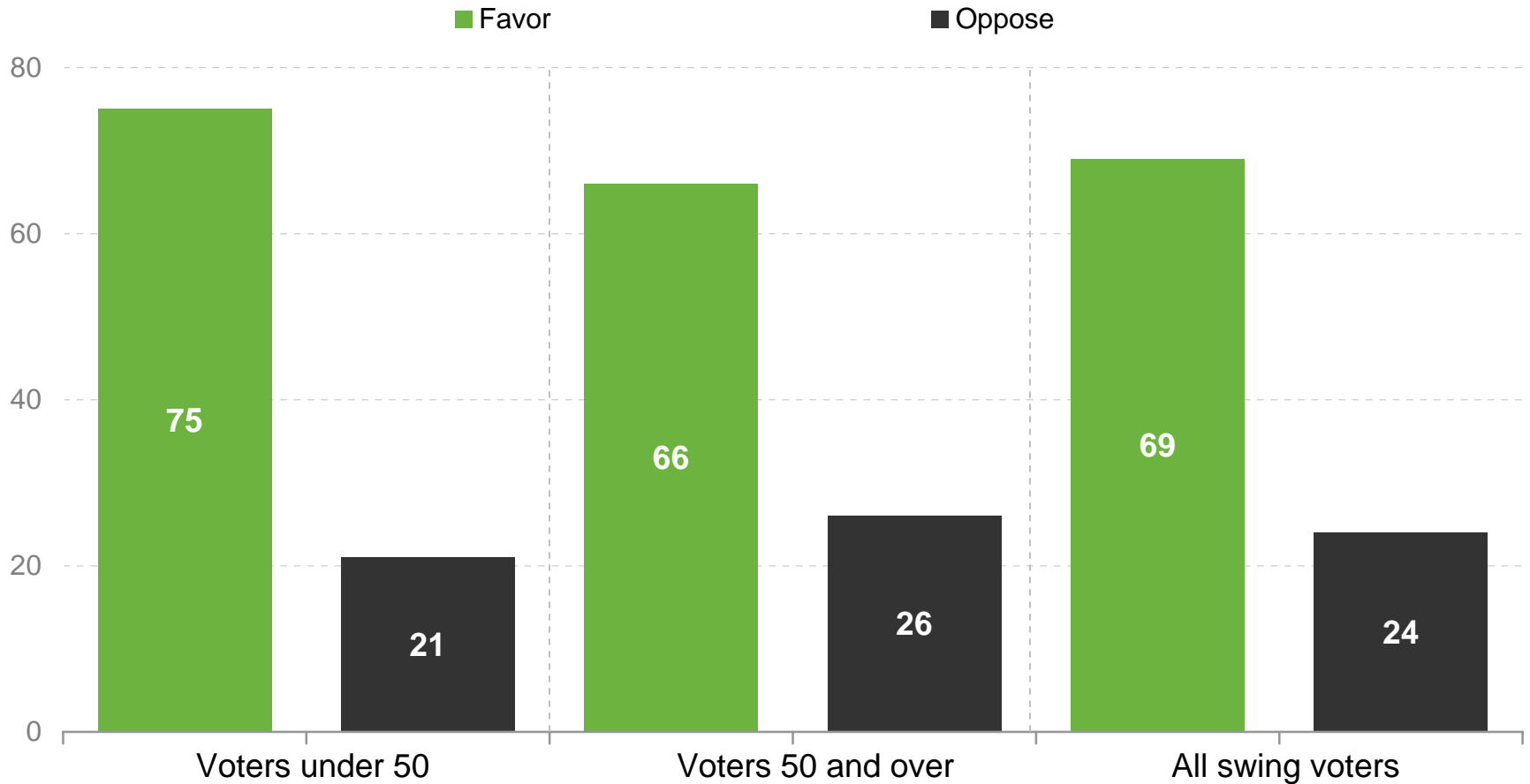
## Younger Swing Voters Focused on Children and Education

*I am going to read you a series of statements about several issues. After each one I read, please tell me if you agree, disagree or if you neither agree, nor disagree.*

■ Somewhat agree  
■ Completely agree



## Enthusiasm for Investment Agenda Among Younger Voters



## Younger Voters Resist Attacks on Investment Agenda

Please tell me how convincing you find each statement as a reason to OPPOSE the plan. A ten would mean you find the statement very convincing. A zero would mean you find the statement not at all convincing. You can use any number from zero to ten. Results shown are % giving rating of 8 to 10.

	Under 50	50+
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This program sounds nice, but the fact is government cannot be trusted to spend this money wisely; the U.S. Senate recently passed a bill spending money that was supposed to go for hurricane relief in New Orleans, but instead it went to a highway project in Hawaii.	39	44
Right now the burden on American taxpayers has never been heavier and the federal government is setting records on spending; if the answer to our problem was more taxes and more spending, we would not have the problems we have right now.	25	29
The fact is they might say this agenda will help all Americans, but it will be mostly spent on government bureaucrats, welfare and the poor, and immigrants who just arrived in this country.	26	28



## Issue agenda holds up even under attack

