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To: Friends of Democracy Corps and Campaign for America's Future

From: Stanley Greenberg, James Carville, and Jesse Contario

The Extraordinary Campaign

Report on the Democracy Corps and CAF post-election survey on campaign activity

Deeply grounded in contemporary social currents and political passions, the Obama campaign took the scope of campaign communication and activity into whole new realms and, in the process, dwarfed McCain's efforts. They dominated more traditional forms of campaign communication as well as with the new, innovative forms of voter contact. Indeed, Obama's election was produced by an extraordinary shift in the way the citizenry gets information and relates to candidates and the Obama campaign's ability to exploit that at every level.

Their vast financial advantage allowed the Obama campaign to reach voters and states with fewer trade-offs – but the Obama campaign did more than that: they developed new, innovative and effective forms of communicating with voters, particularly new voters and those traditionally unengaged in the electoral process.

The post election survey conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner for Democracy Corps and the Campaign for America's Future confirms that the tireless efforts of the Obama team to engage, educate and turn out voters were well rewarded on Election Day.

These observations are based on the 2,000 sample post-election survey that Greenberg Quinlan Rosner conducted for the Campaign for America's Future and Democracy Corps on election night and the night afterward.¹

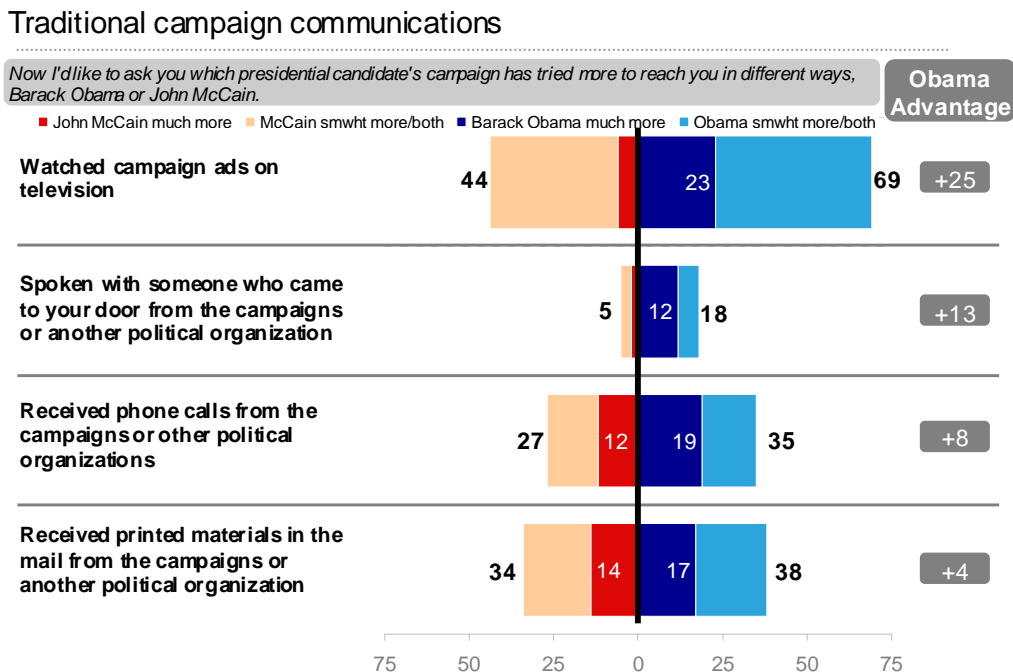
Traditional Forms of Communication

The Obama team led on all traditional forms of communication over the McCain campaign throughout the campaign and on election night. Obama's largest lead came in their dominance in TV advertising. Nearly seven in ten voters (69 percent) said they had seen television ads from the Obama campaign, compared to 44 percent who said they had seen ads

¹ Post election survey conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Research for Democracy Corps and the Campaign for America's Future among 2,000 voters on November 4-5, 2008.



from McCain’s. Among the wavering McCain voters who considered Obama but ultimately supported McCain, Obama’s ads dominated, 73 to 45 percent.



The Obama campaign also took advantage of their extremely motivated and large social network and team of volunteers to canvass and phone bank for their candidate. Almost one in five voters (18 percent) were contacted by someone at their door – more than three times the number who were contacted by McCain in that way. Slightly more than a third (35 percent) were contacted by Obama by phone – 8 points higher than the number contacted by McCain.

The only mode of communication in which the McCain campaign closed the gap on in the last week of the campaign was direct mail. Obama’s margin on that mode shrunk from a 9-point lead on November 2nd to just a 4-point advantage on election night.² This is especially true among independent voters who report receiving virtually the same amount of direct mail from Obama and McCain.

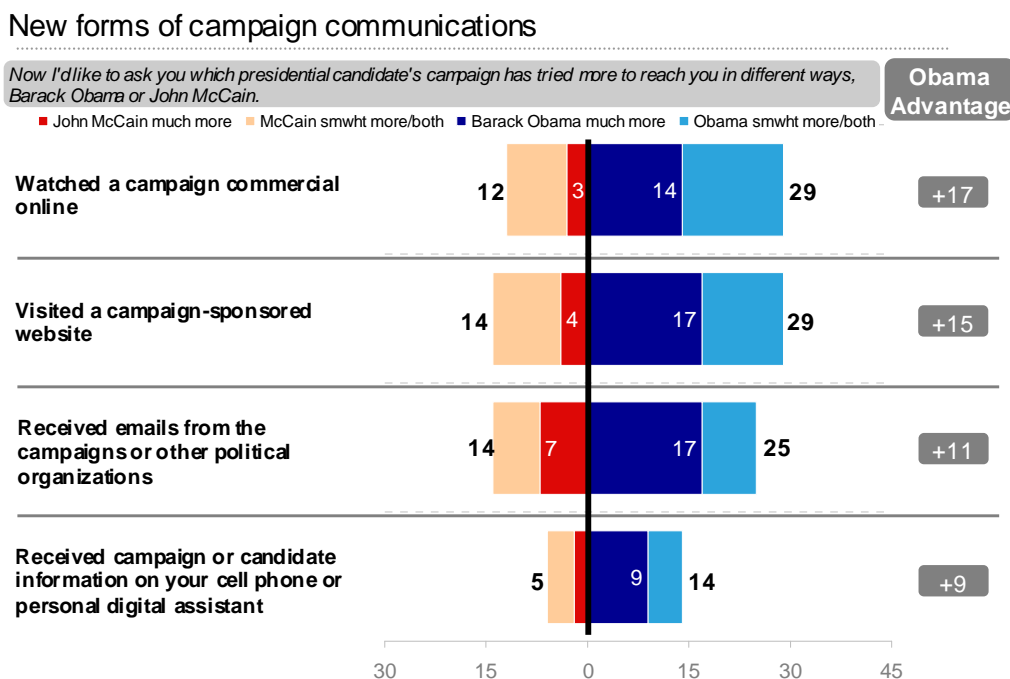
The reach through society with conventional campaign techniques joined with on-line social networking to produce real face-to-face engagement is perhaps the real revolution this year. Obama’s biggest advantage after television came on being “contacted by a friend, neighbor or coworker” on behalf of the candidate. Over a quarter of all voters and 41 percent of those who voted for Obama were engaged in that way – three times the number contacted for McCain within their social network. This gave Obama an 18-point advantage on social networking communication.

² Data cited from November 2nd from Democracy Corps poll conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner among 1,000 likely voters nationwide on October 30th and November 1-2, 2008.



New Forms of Communication

By nearly two to one voters were contacted by the Obama campaign more than the McCain campaign through new forms of communication. Nearly three in ten voters (29 percent) reported that they had watched a campaign commercial online or visited a campaign-sponsored website from the Obama campaign while only one in ten did for McCain. A quarter of voters said they had received emails from the Obama campaign while just 14 percent said the same about the McCain campaign. Similarly, 14 percent of voters reported that they had received campaign or candidate information through their cell phone or PDA from the Obama campaign while just 5 percent said the same from the McCain campaign.



Among voters under 30 years, the Obama advantage on all forms of new communication was even greater. A striking 36 percent visited the Obama website, compared to just 14 percent who went to McCain's – a 22-point advantage in contact. This is particularly important as our regression modeling shows that going to the site is one of the strongest predictors of the vote. A similar gap emerged for watching a campaign commercial online, with 42 percent watching such ads for Obama and only 15 percent for McCain.

The new media was particularly important for the new voters. They were much more likely to have watched a campaign commercial from Obama online or visited Obama's campaign website than McCain's. Indeed, nearly half of all new voters (47 percent) reported that they had watched an advertisement online from Obama and 36 percent reported that they had visited the Obama campaign website (while just 10 percent said the same about the McCain website).

What is more troubling for Republicans is that the pattern for voters under 30 years was largely maintained for voters 30 to 39 years – where the level of contact through new media and the Obama advantage was nearly as great.



The 72-hour program

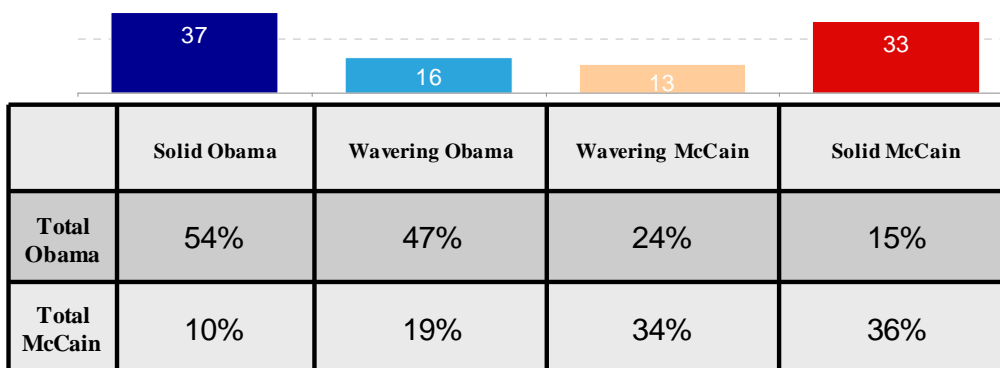
While Karl Rove and the Republicans employed a superior 72-hour program to push President Bush ahead of Democratic hopeful John Kerry in 2004, the Obama campaign clearly had the better 72-hour program in this year’s election. By a 12-point margin voters were contacted more in the final days before the election by the Obama campaign than the McCain campaign (35 percent Obama to 23 percent McCain).

As impressive as how many more people the Obama campaign contacted in the final days is who they contacted. Amazingly, over half of new voters (51 percent) were contacted by the Obama campaign at the end, compared with only 11 percent contacted by McCain’s campaign. The same pattern was true for African Americans (58 percent contacted by Obama, 3 percent by McCain), Hispanics (40 to 15 percent), voters under 30 years old (48 to 15 percent) and unmarried women (45 to 18 percent). The Obama campaign executed an extraordinary 72-hour program for its new base voters.

In fact, the Obama campaign contacted in the final 72 hours a majority of people who voted for them – including 47 percent of Obama voters who considered voting for McCain at some point; the McCain campaign contacted only about a third of its voters, including the waverers.

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.

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The pervasive, targeted and innovative communications efforts of the Obama campaign helped get out the vote and engage both traditionally passive groups of the electorate and Obama’s strongest supporters leading to Election Day. The Obama campaign has created new



best practices and perhaps new institutions and networks that give structure to the Democrats' potential new majority.