

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

September 8, 2008

# The nation and battleground states: post-Denver and Palin choice

**National survey of 1,000 likely voters**

Presidential battleground states survey of 1,000 likely voters



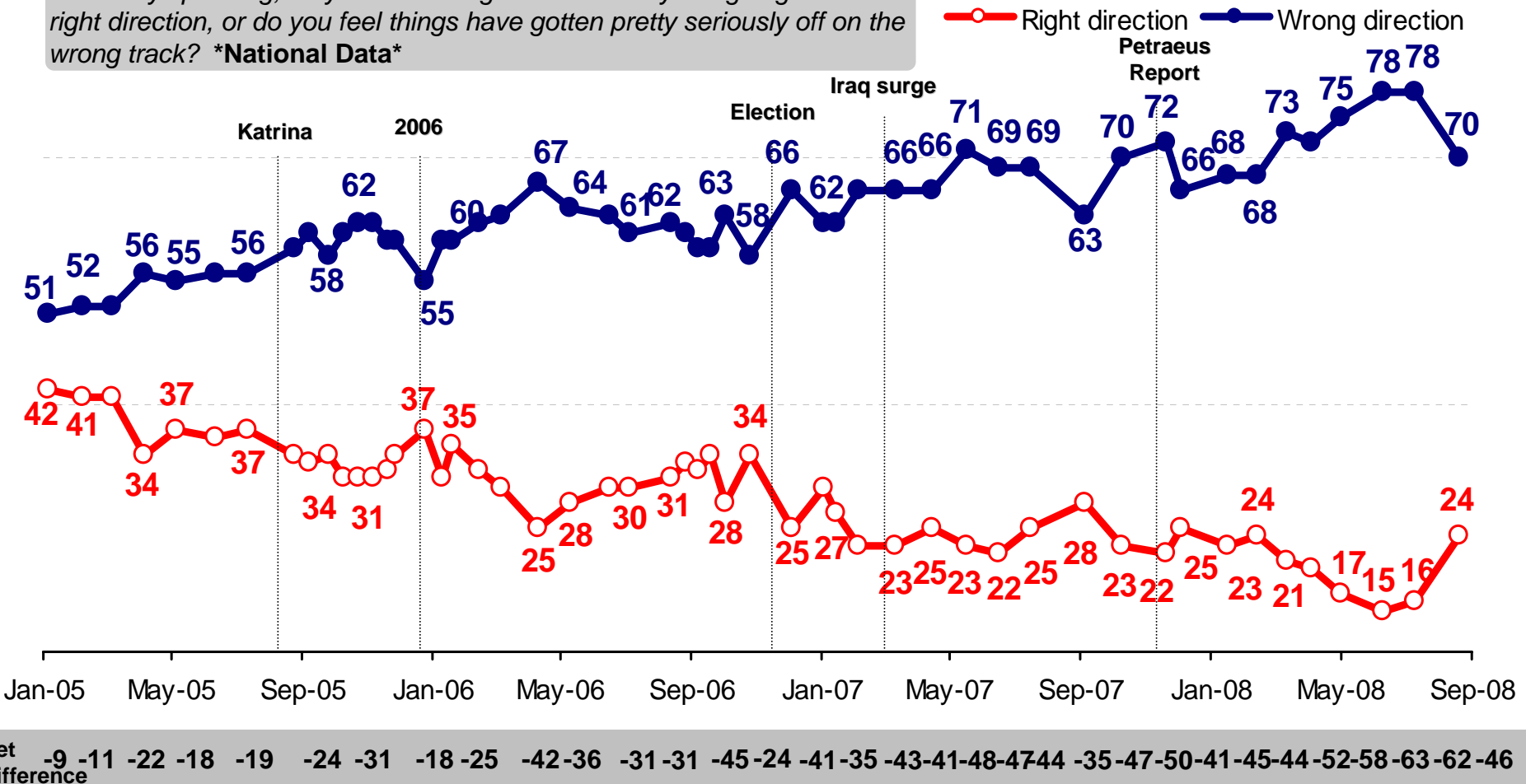
**DEMOCRACY CORPS**  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

# Political Landscape

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# 'Wrong Direction' nationwide

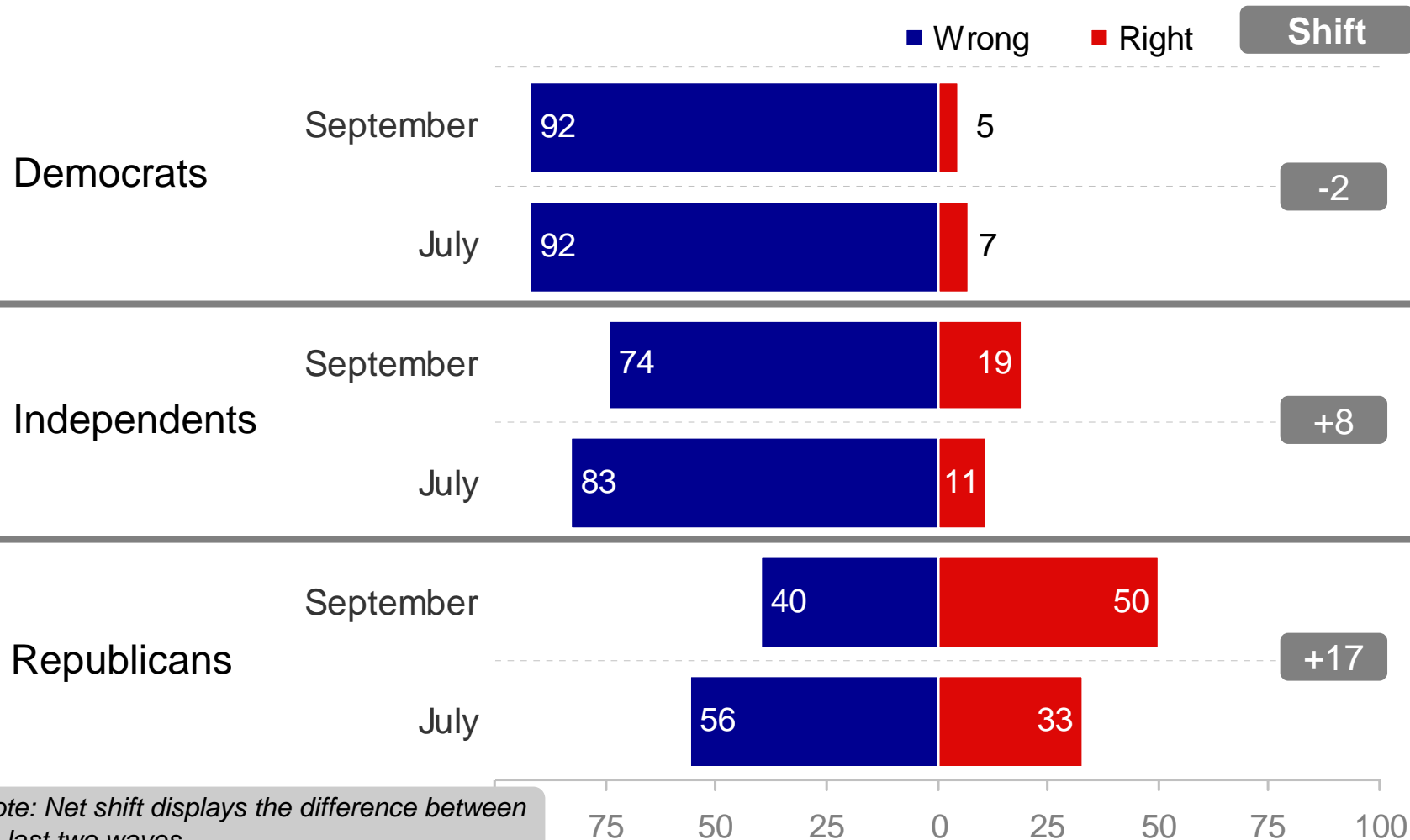
Generally speaking, do you think things in the country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track? **\*National Data\***



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

# Republicans feeling significantly better about direction of 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? \*National Data\*

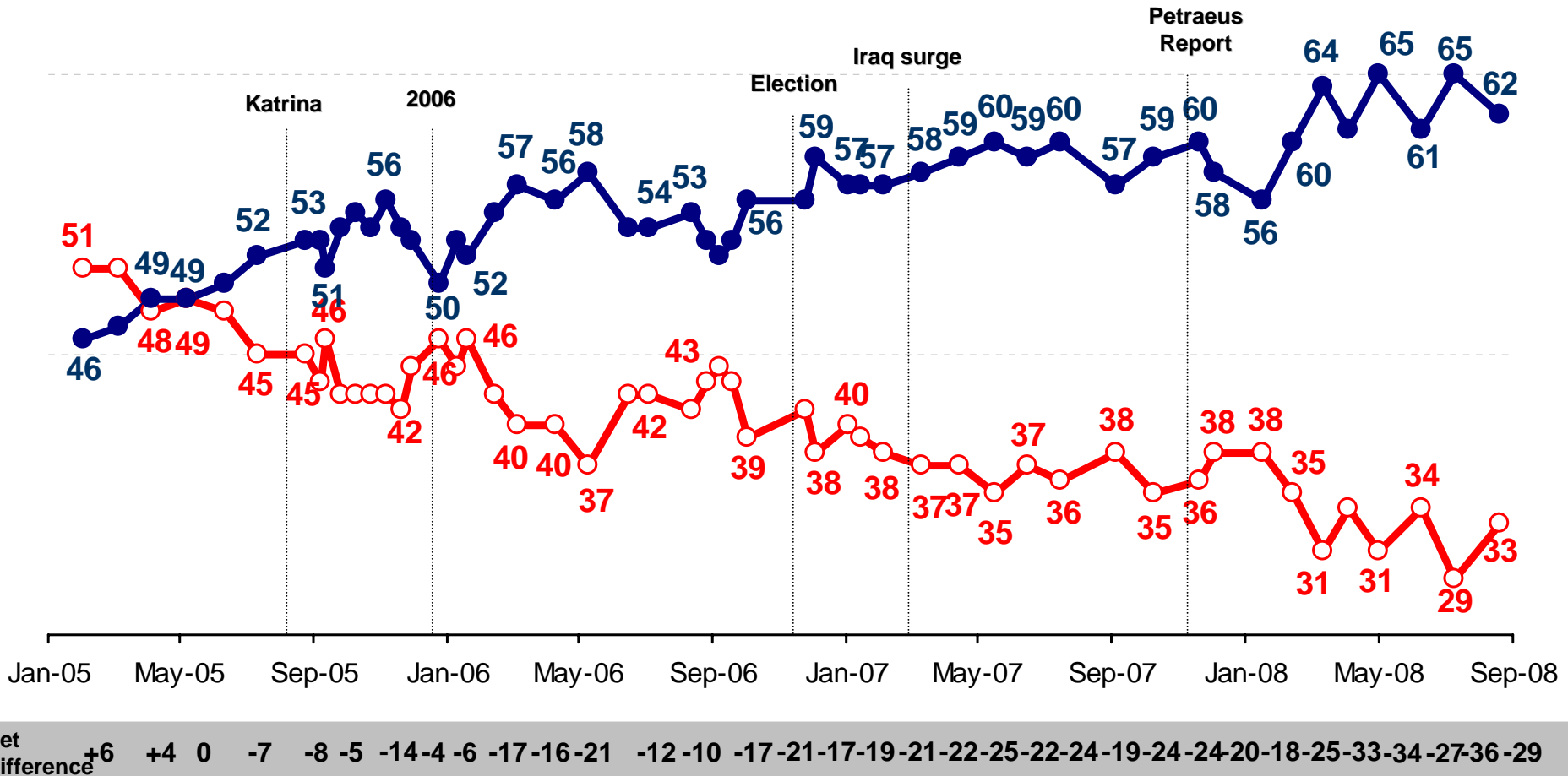


\*Note: Net shift displays the difference between the last two waves

# Bush job approval low nationwide

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president? \*National Data\*

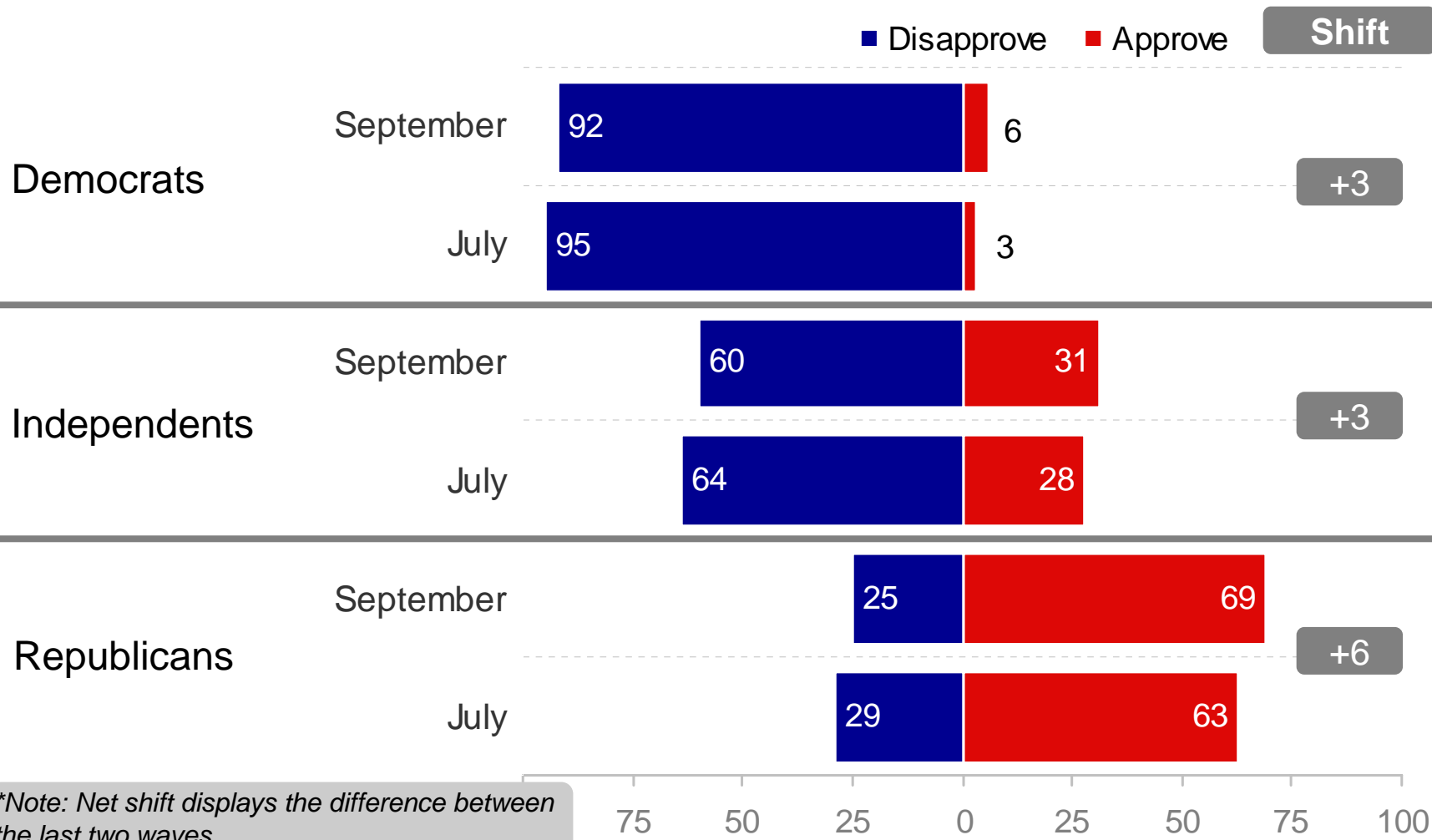
○ Approve ● Disapprove



\*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the past several years.

# Nationally, Bush approval rating increases

Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president? **\*National Data\***



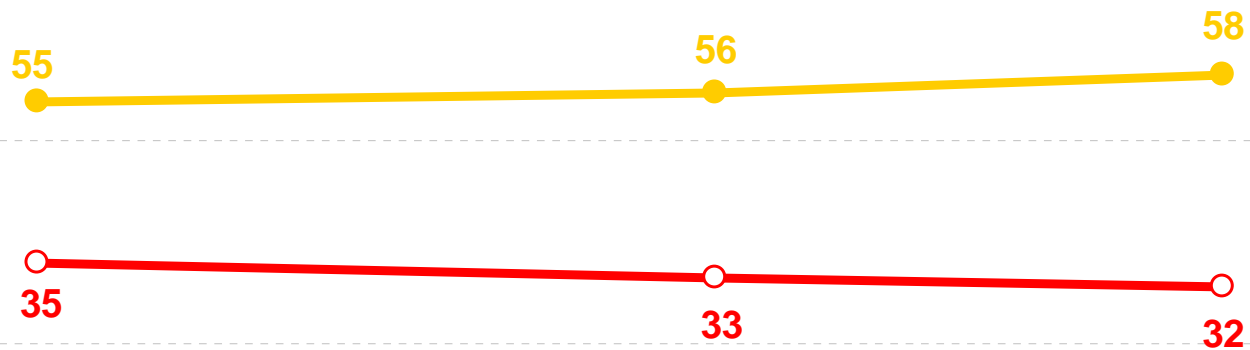
\*Note: Net shift displays the difference between the last two waves

# But Bush favorability rating remains low in battleground

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.

**\*Battleground Data\***

● Cool ○ Warm



Jul-08

Aug-08

Sep-08

Net Difference

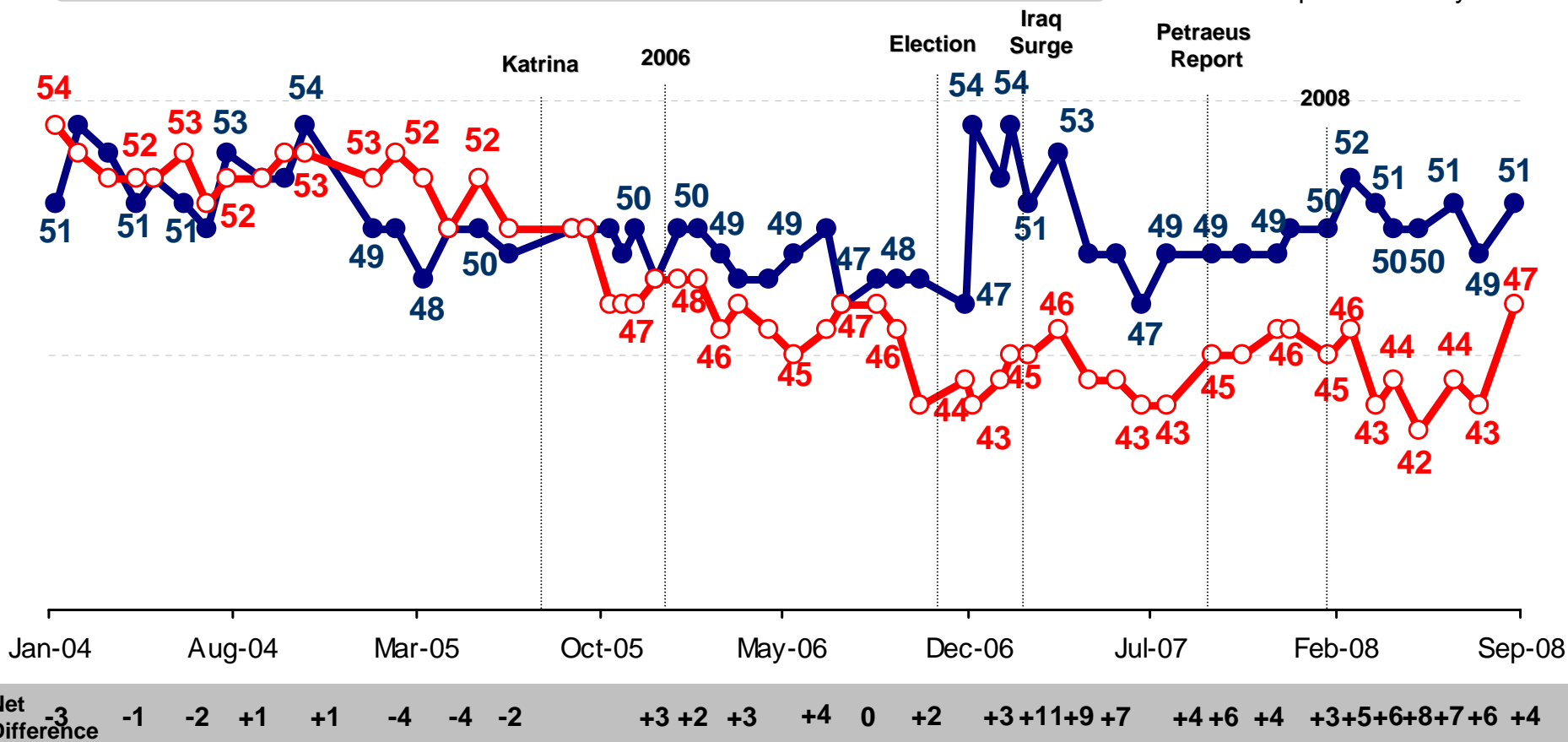
-20

-23

-26

# Democratic thermometer stable but Republicans move up

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. \*National Data\*

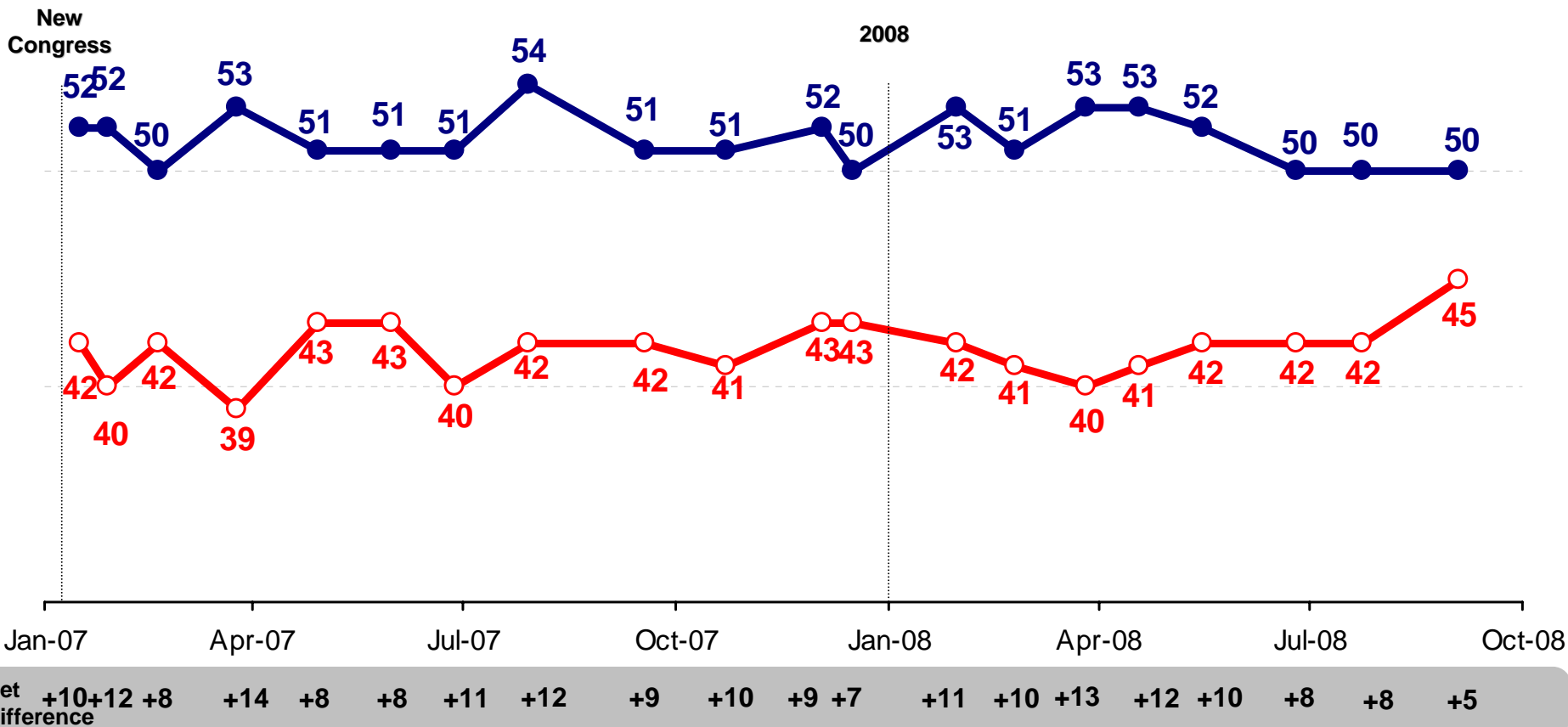


\*Note: Data represents the MEAN ratings from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the past four years.

# Democratic House vote flat at 50 percent, but GOP up

Thinking about the election for Congress in 2008, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate\*? \*National Data\*

● Democratic candidate  
○ Republican candidate



\*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the past year and a half. Candidates names inserted for candidates

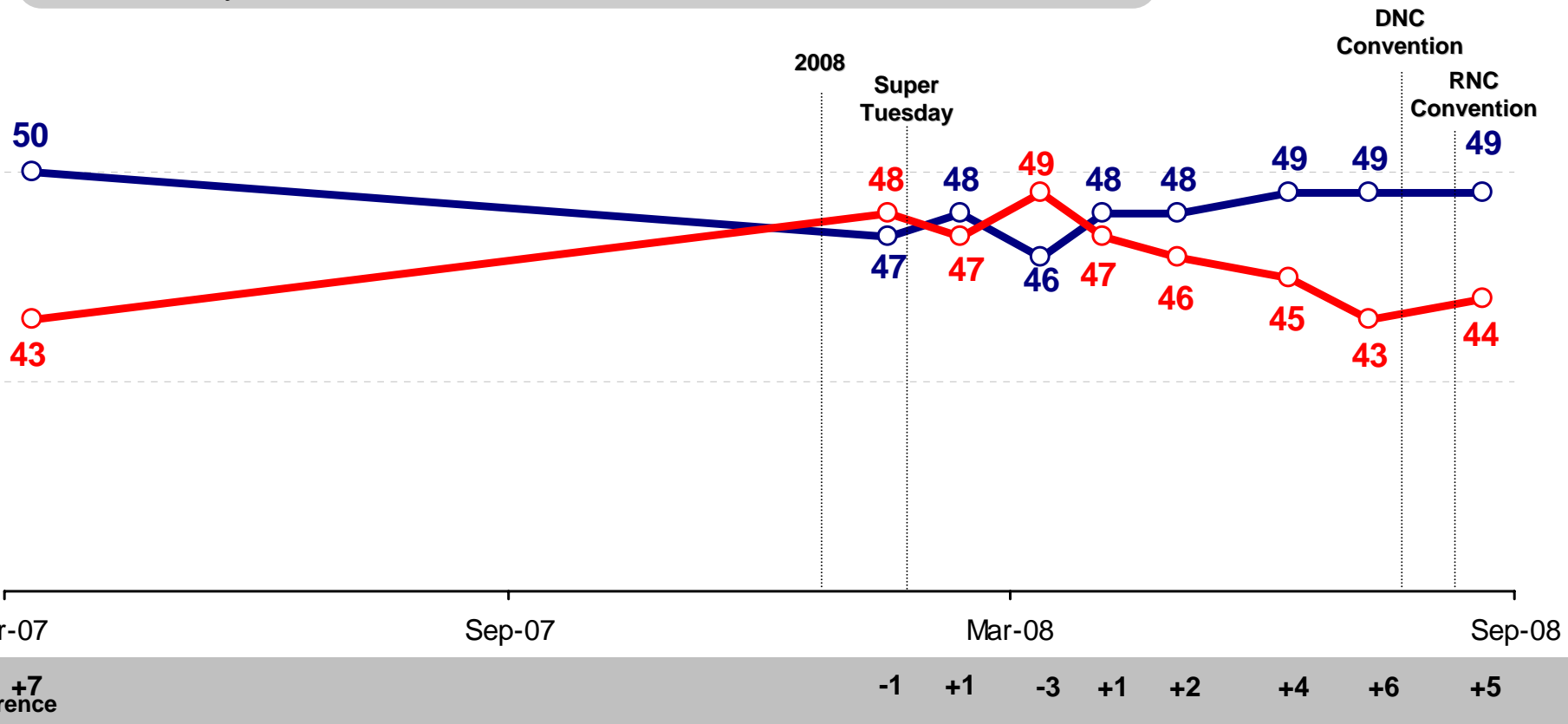
# The Presidential Election

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# Obama emerges with real national lead

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? **\*National Data\***

○ Obama  
○ McCain

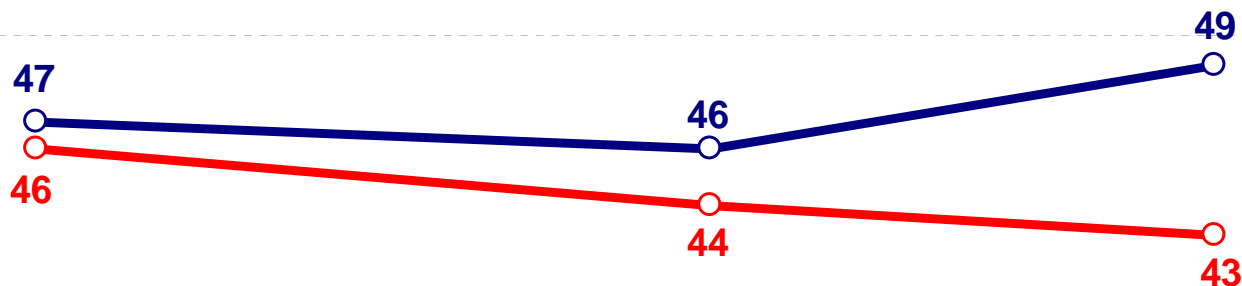


\*Note: Data represents two-way vote from Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last year and a half.

# Rise in support for Obama in battleground states

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? **\*Battleground Data\***

—○— Obama  
—○— McCain



Jul-08

Aug-08

Sep-08

Net Difference

+1

+2

+6

## 2000 to 2004 swing in red states – 3 points to Bush

	2000 – 2004 Swing
<b>Red States Total</b>	<b>-3</b>
Alabama	-11
Tennessee	-10
Louisiana	-7
West Virginia	-7
Arizona	-5
Georgia	-5
Indiana	-5
Utah	-5
Kentucky	-4
Nebraska	-4
Mississippi	-2
Texas	-2
Kansas	-2
South Carolina	-1
Virginia	-1
North Dakota	0
Oklahoma	0
South Dakota	0
Idaho	1
North Carolina	1
Wyoming	1
Colorado	4
Montana	5
Alaska	6

## 2000 to 2004 swing in blue states – 4 points to Bush

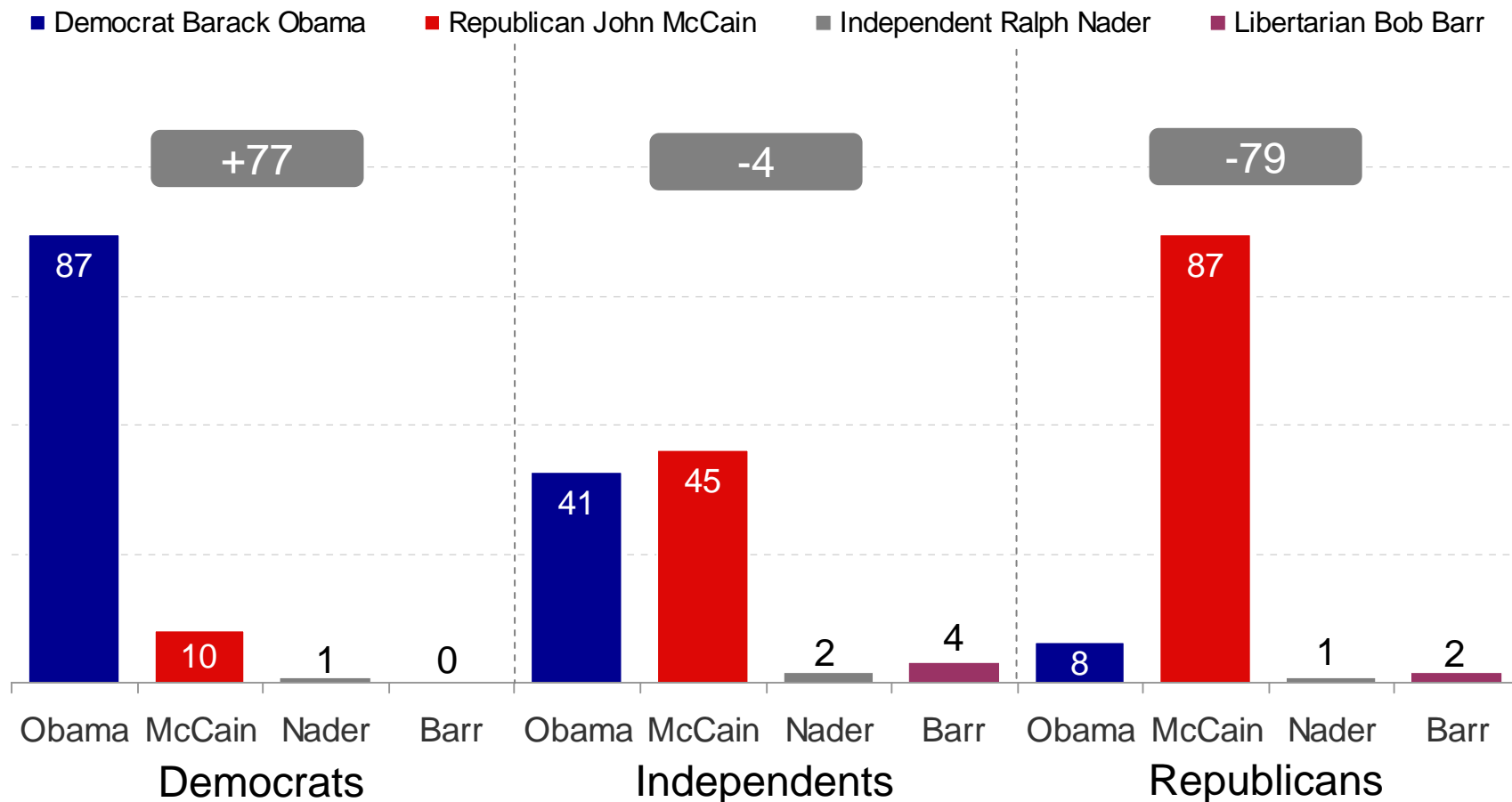
	2000 – 2004 Swing
<b>Blue States Total</b>	<b>-4</b>
Hawaii	-10
New Jersey	-9
Rhode Island	-9
Connecticut	-8
New York	-7
Delaware	-6
Maryland	-4
Massachusetts	-2
California	-1
Illinois	-1
DC	4
Vermont	10

## 2000 to 2004 swing in battleground states: ½ point to Bush

	2000 – 2004 Swing
<b>Swing State Total</b>	<b>-1</b>
Maine	+4
Oregon	+4
Nevada	+2
New Hampshire	+2
Ohio	+2
Washington	+2
Minnesota	+1
Wisconsin	+1
New Mexico	-1
Iowa	-2
Michigan	-2
Pennsylvania	-2
Arkansas	-4
Missouri	-4
Florida	-5

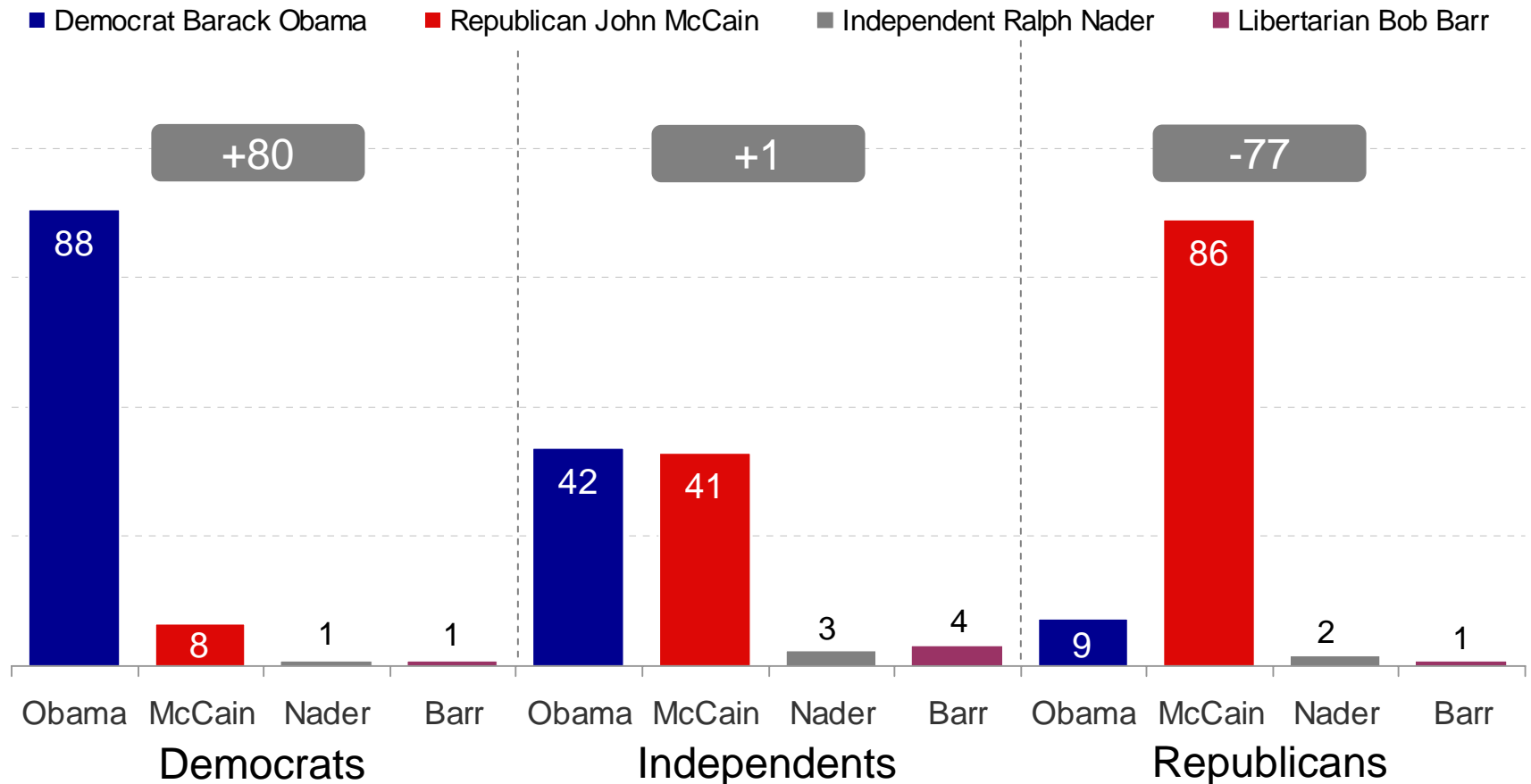
## Party is consolidated, battle for independents nationwide

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? **\*National Data\***



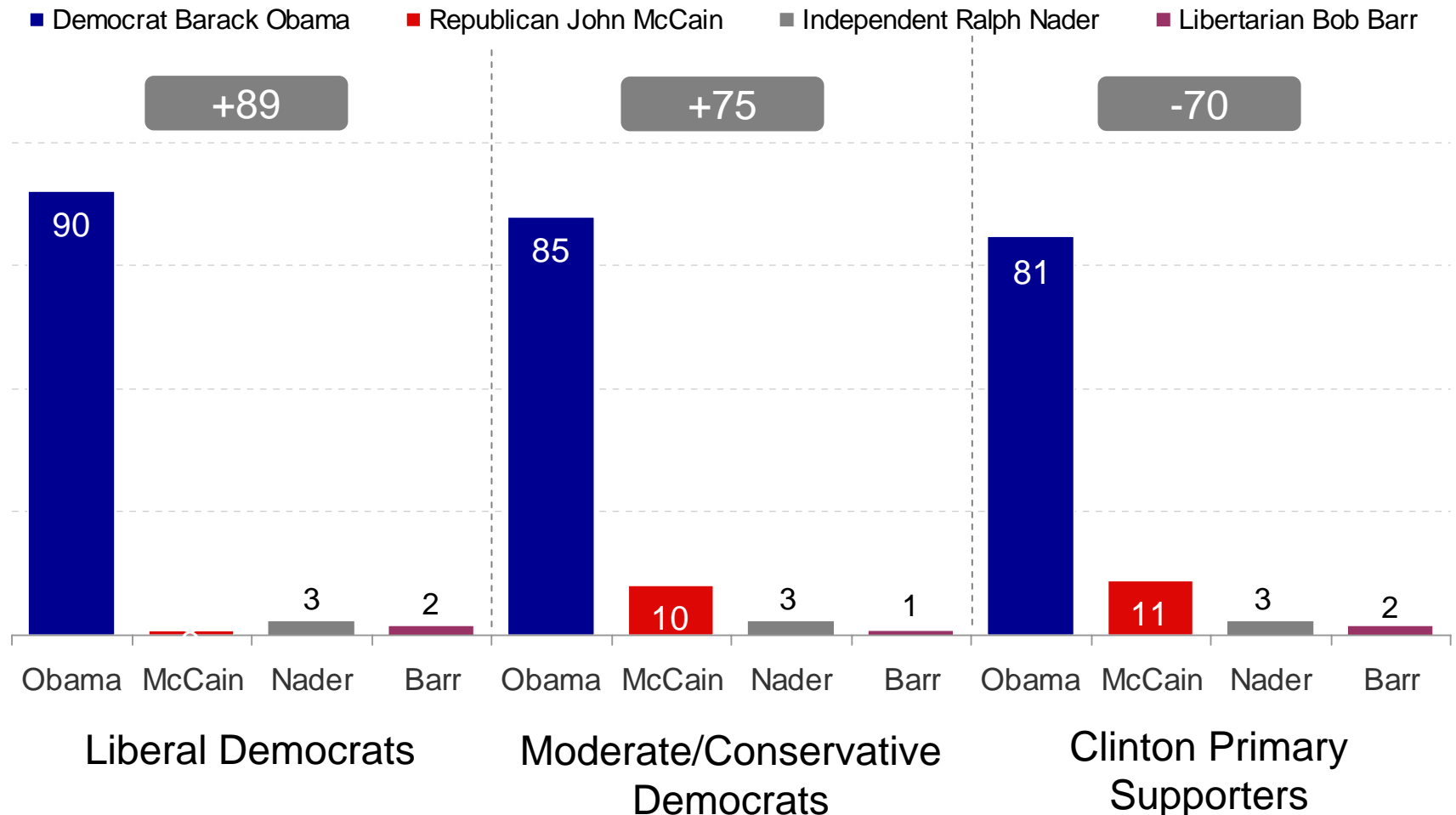
# Party is consolidated, battle for independents in the battleground

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? **\*Battleground Data\***



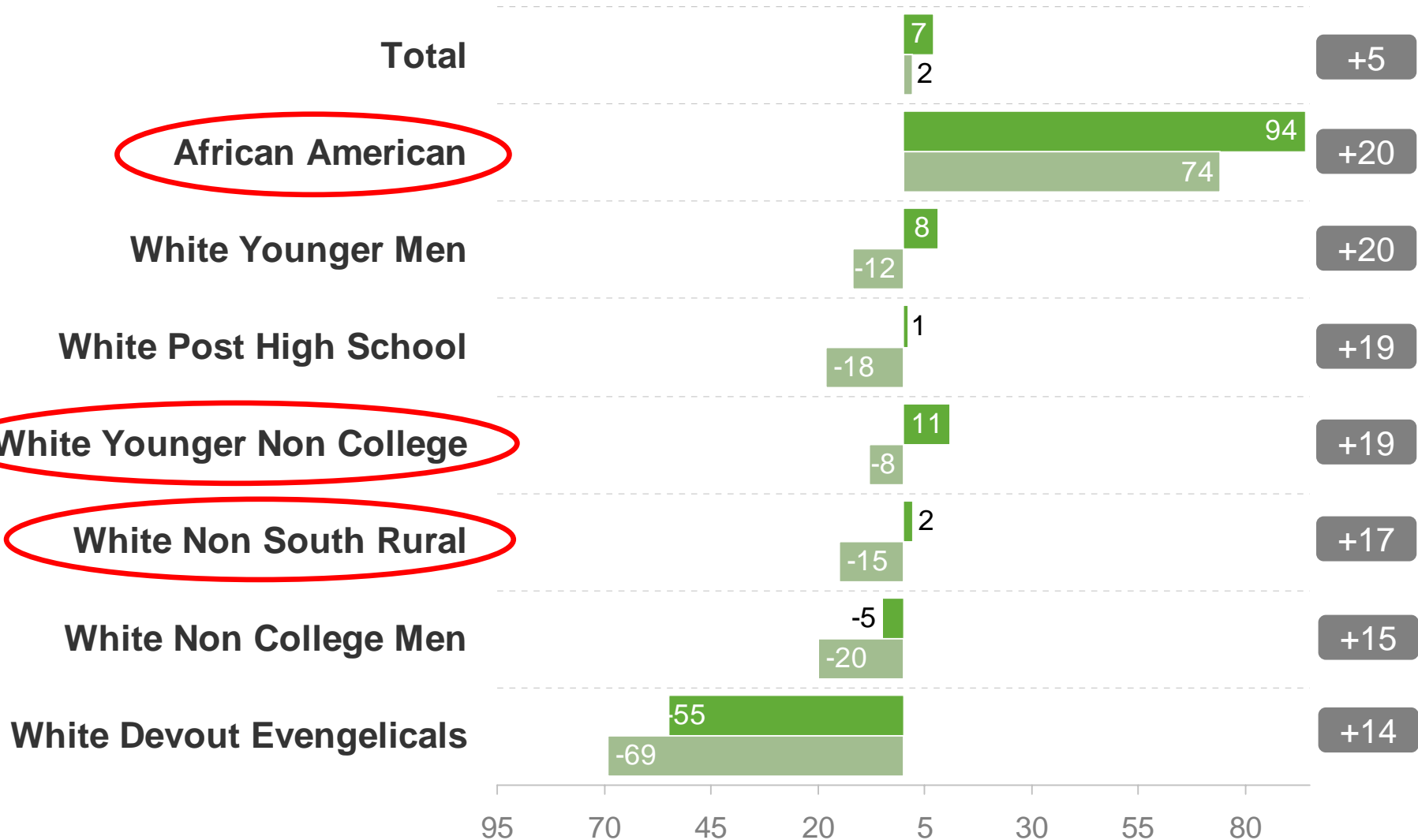
# Battleground: Democrats consolidating after lengthy primary battle

Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote? **\*Battleground Data\***

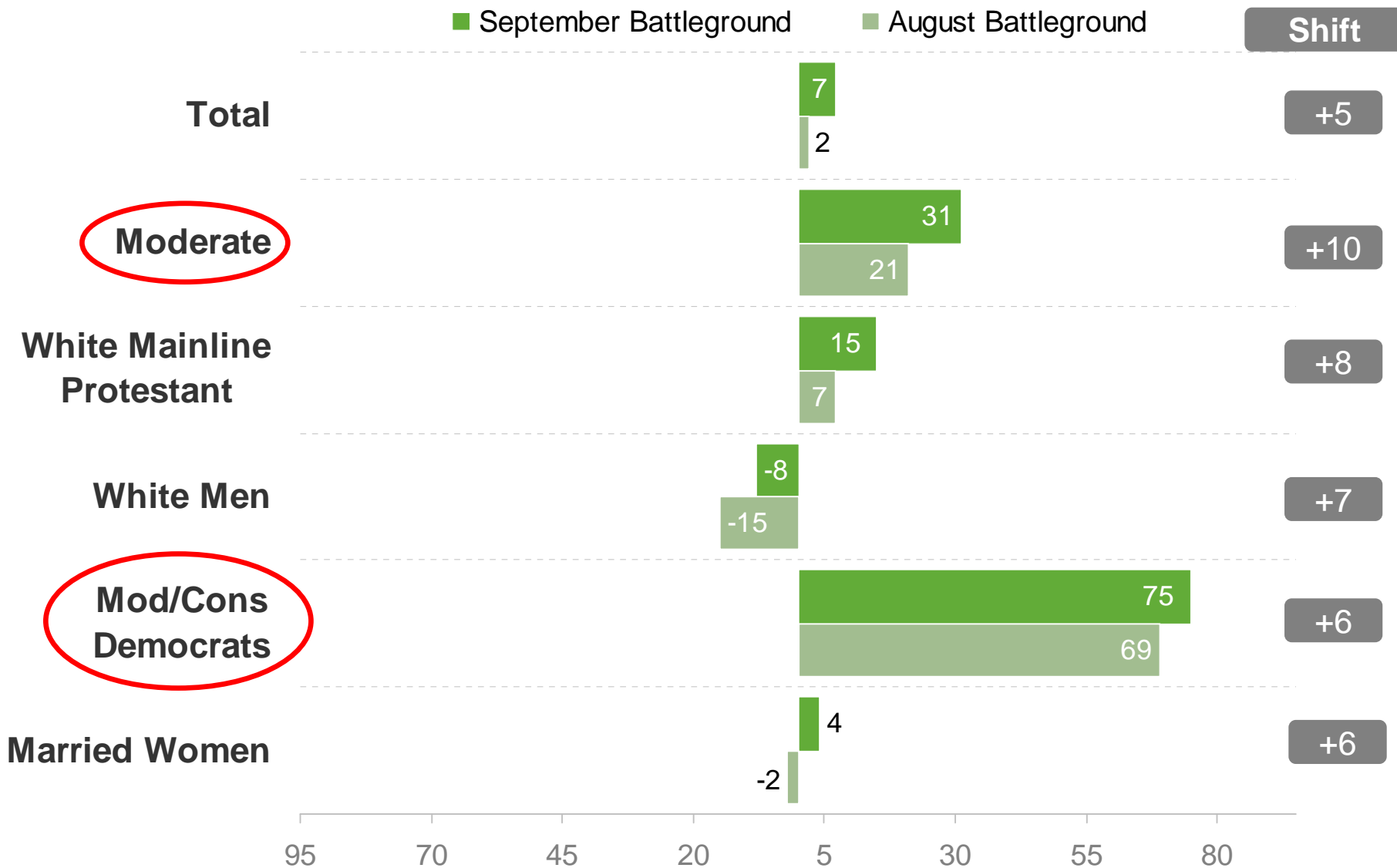


# Rise in Obama's margin within battleground groups

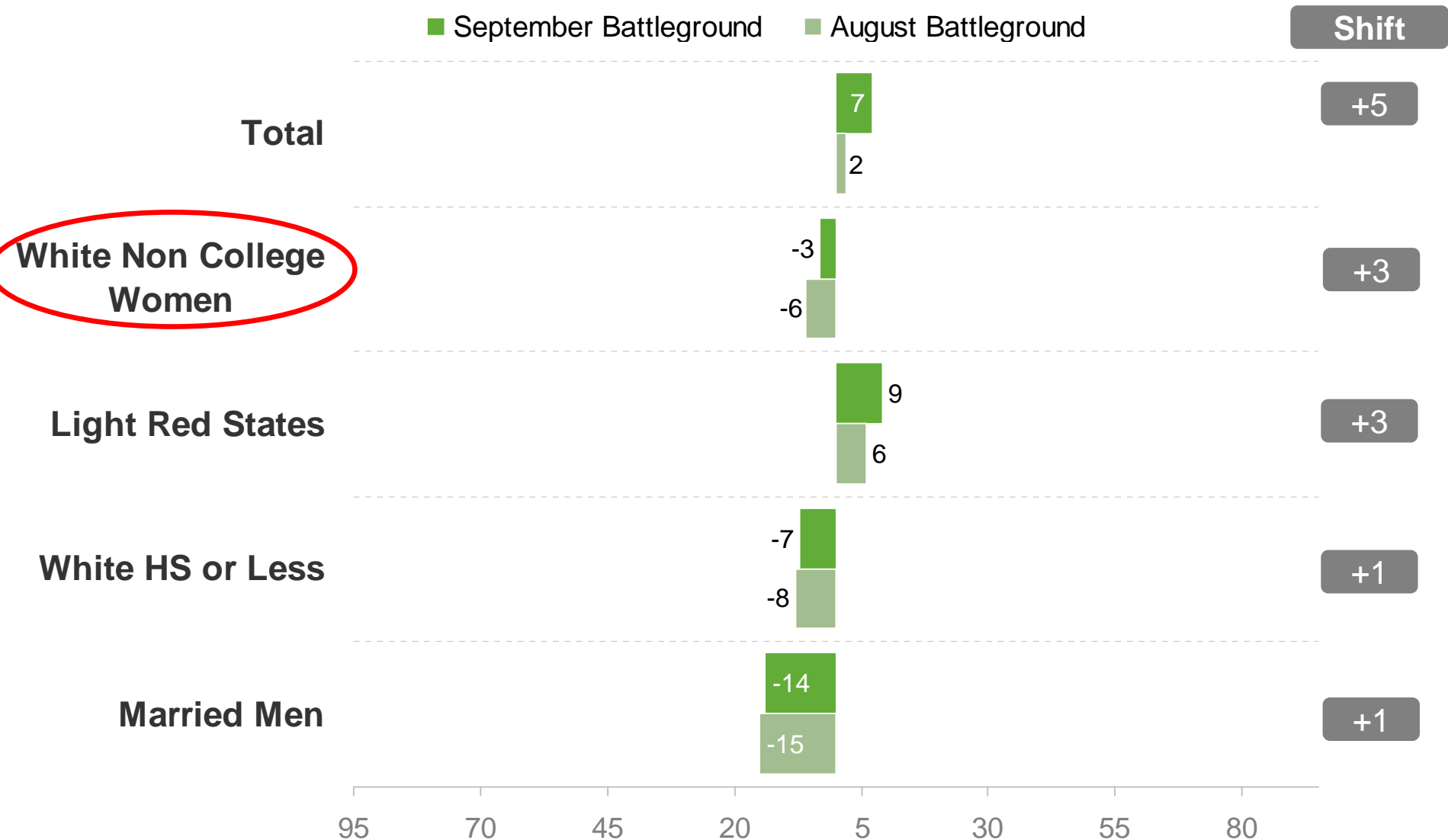
■ September Battleground    ■ August Battleground    **Shift**



# Groups with smaller convention bounce



# Battleground groups with NO convention bounce



# Groups with NO convention bounce

■ September Battleground ■ August Battleground

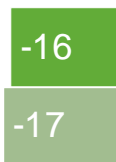
**Shift**

**Total**



+5

**White Older Non College**



+1

**Independents**



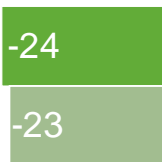
+0

**White 18-29**



+0

**White Deep South**



-1

95 70 45 20 5 30 55 80

# Obama's margin falters with some battleground groups

■ September Battleground ■ August Battleground

**Shift**

**Total**

+5

**White Catholic**

-14

**White Unmarried Women**

-12

**Independent Women**

-9

**White College Women**

-8

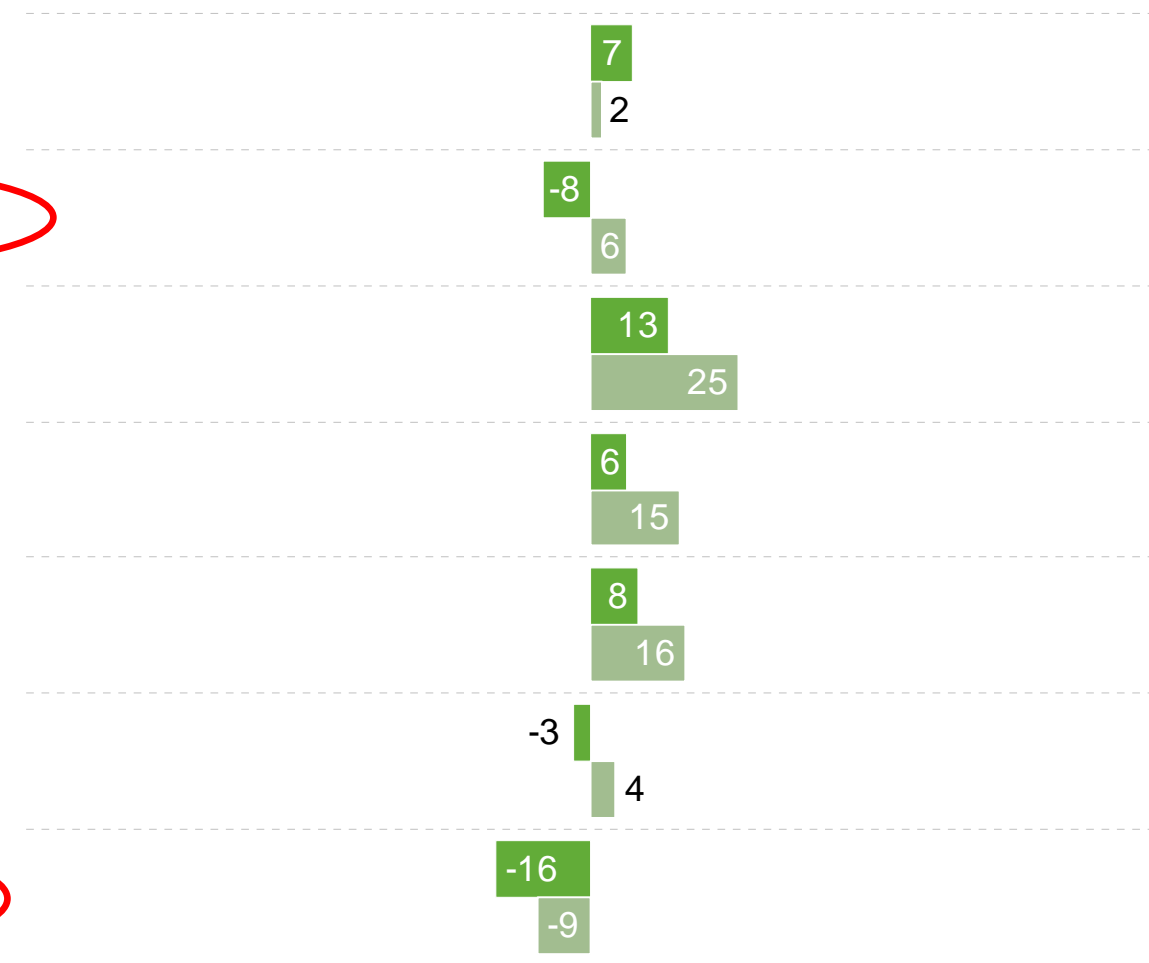
**White College Grad**

-7

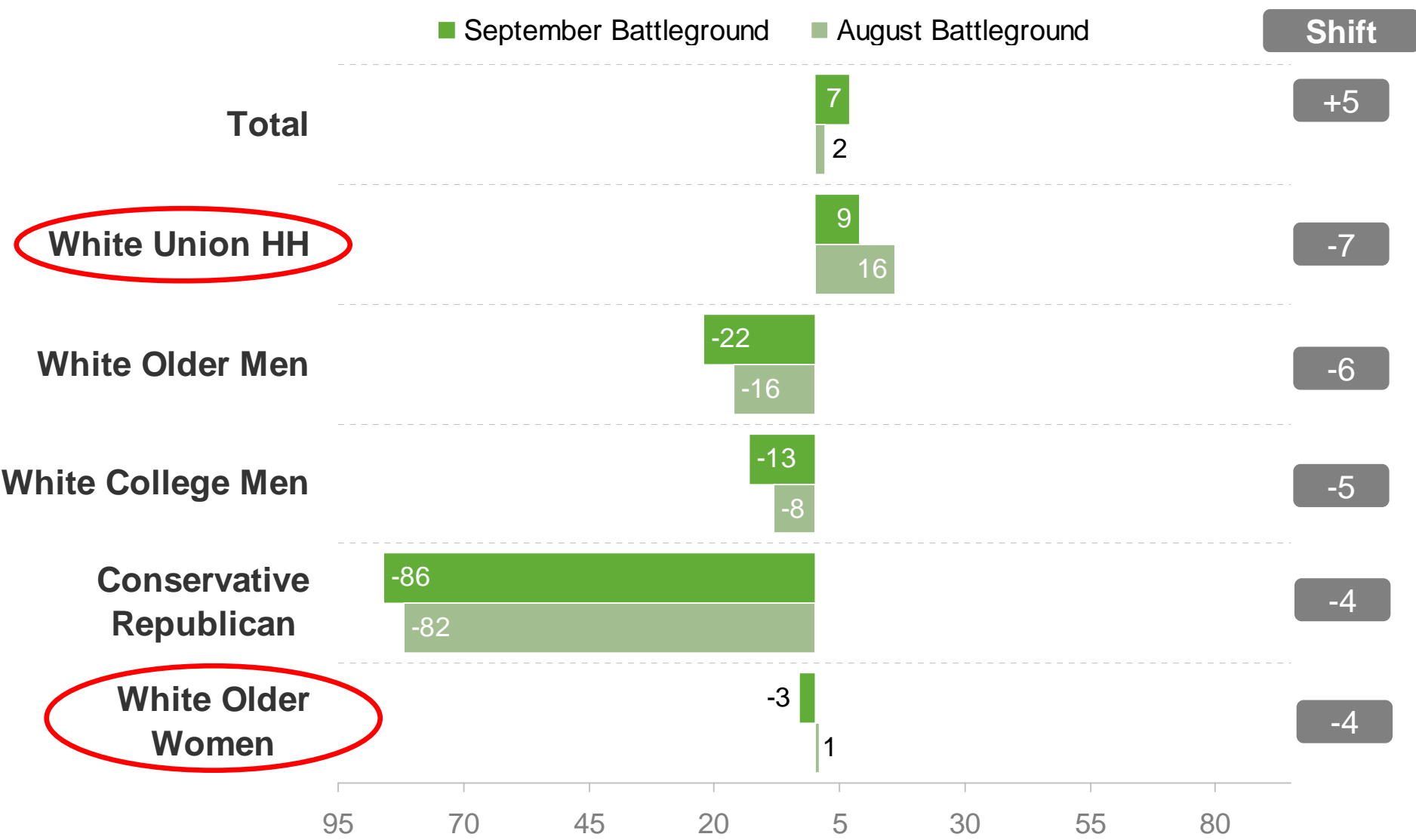
**White Seniors**

-7

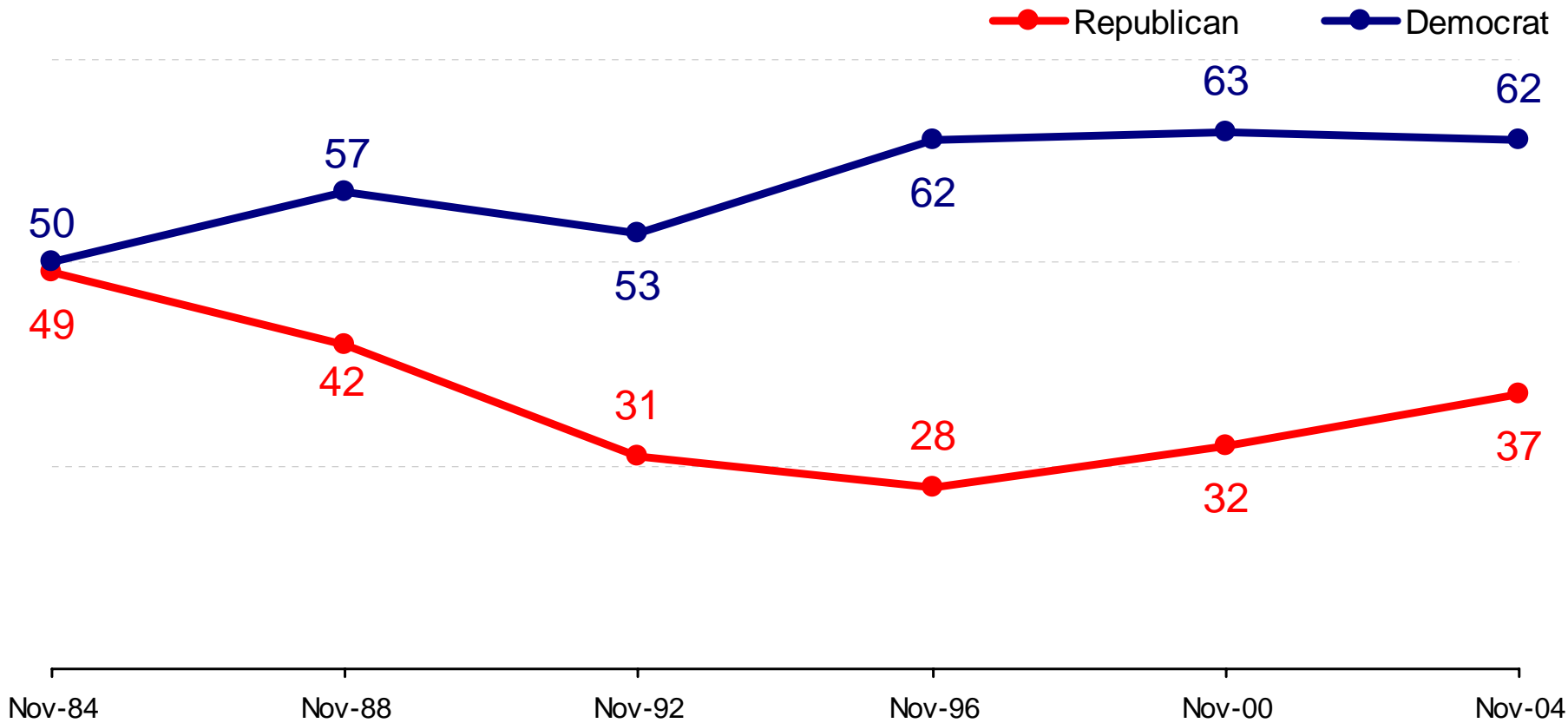
95 70 45 20 5 30 55 80



# Obama's margin falters with some battleground groups (cont.)



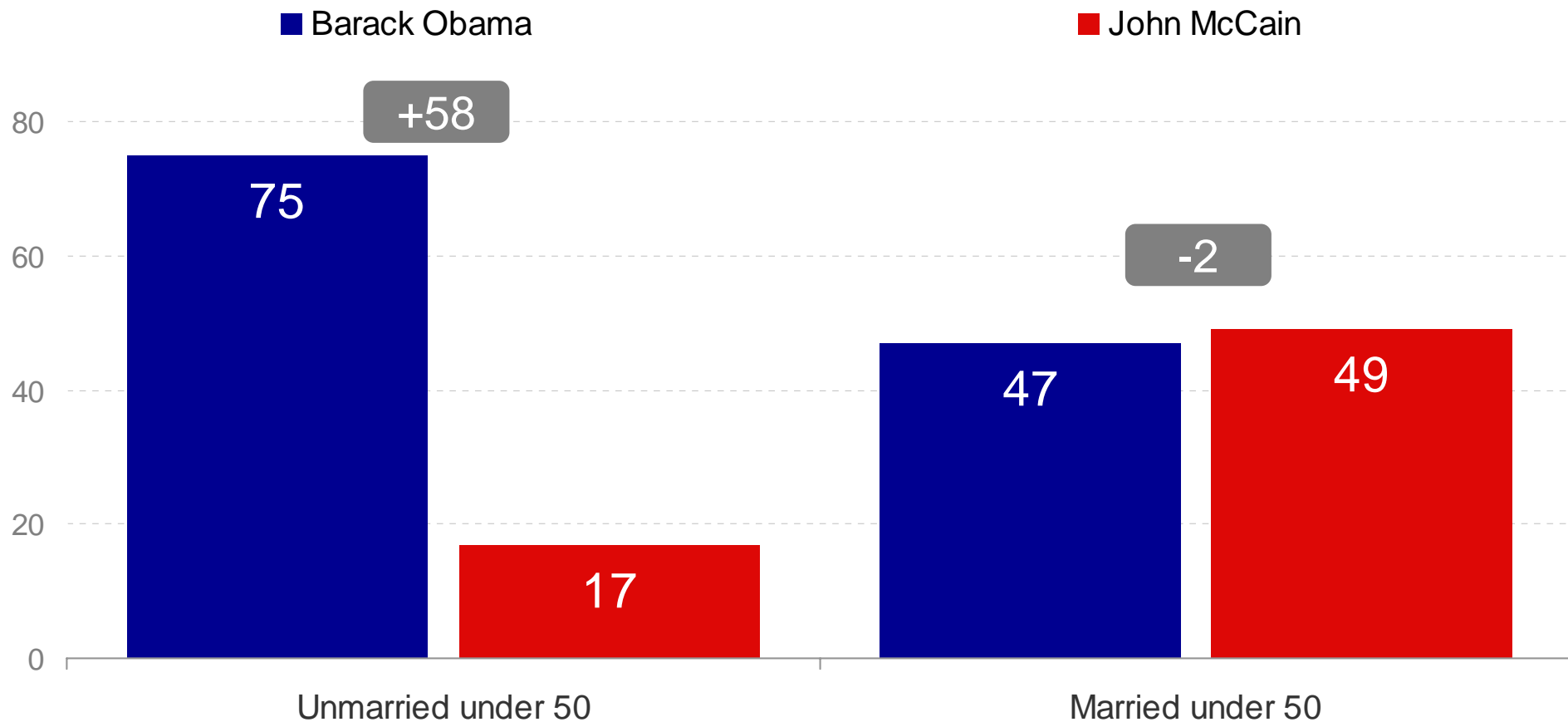
# The Unmarried Women Vote Over Time



\*Note: From exit poll data.

## Significantly Less Support Among Younger Married Women

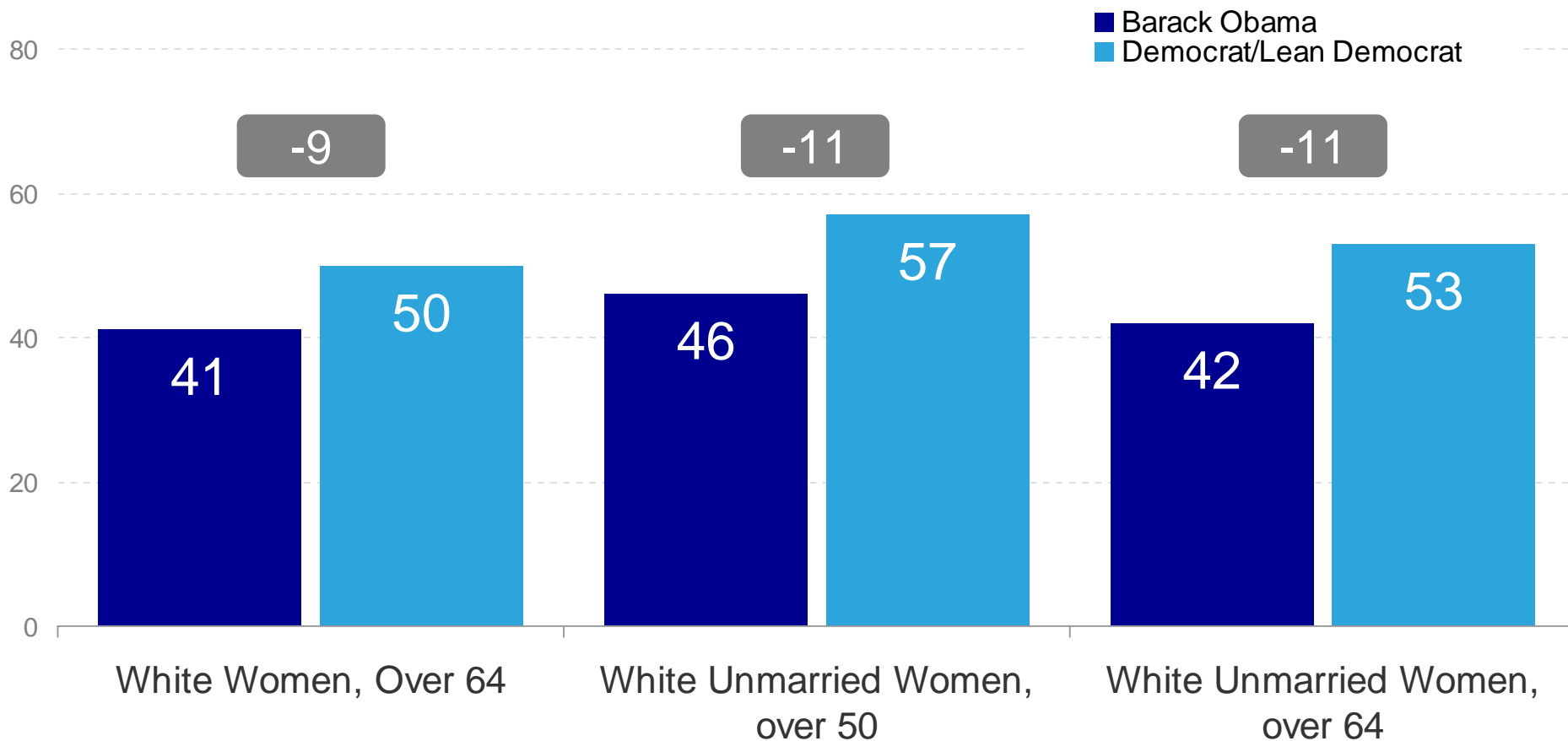
*Now thinking about the presidential election in November. If the election for president were held today and the candidates were: Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr and Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote?*



*\*Note: From September '08 WVWVAF Women's Survey*

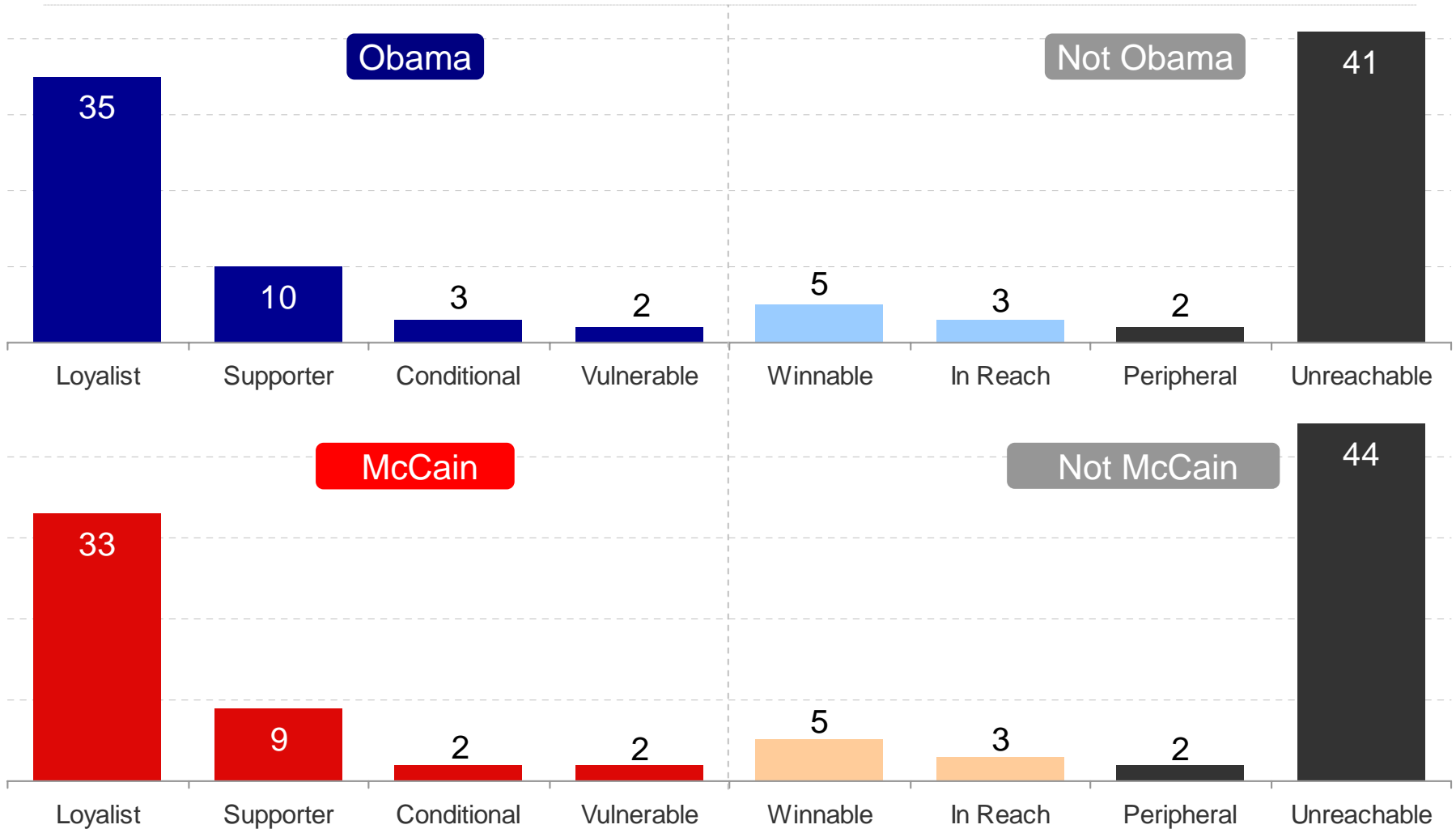
## Problem Among White Seniors and Older Unmarried Women

*Now thinking about the presidential election in November. If the election for president were held today and the candidates were: Democrat Barack Obama, Republican John McCain, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr and Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote?*

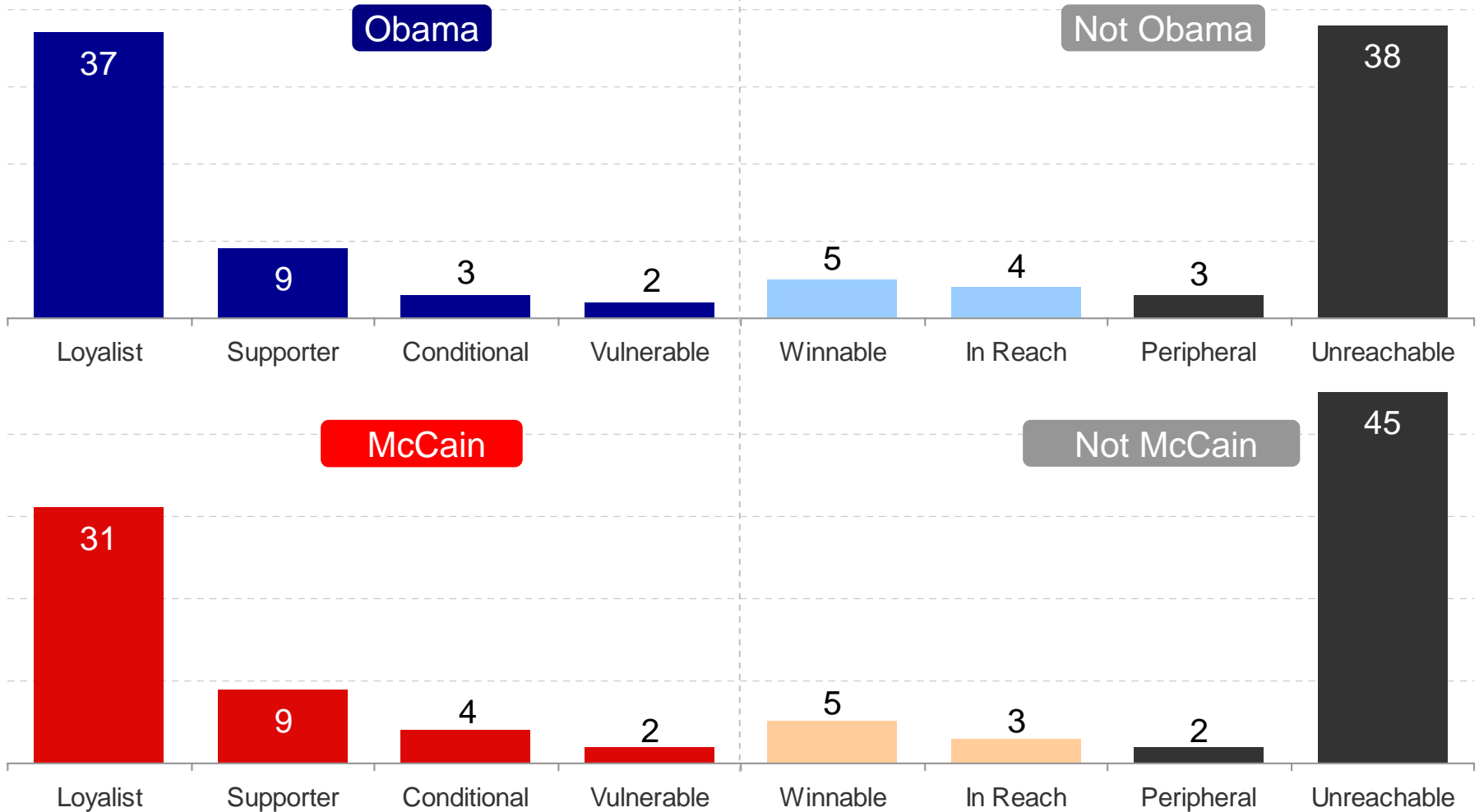


\*Note: From September '08 WVVAF Women's Survey

# Nationally: Voter Choice Scales: parallel worlds



# In Battleground: Voter Choice Scales: McCain has more out of reach

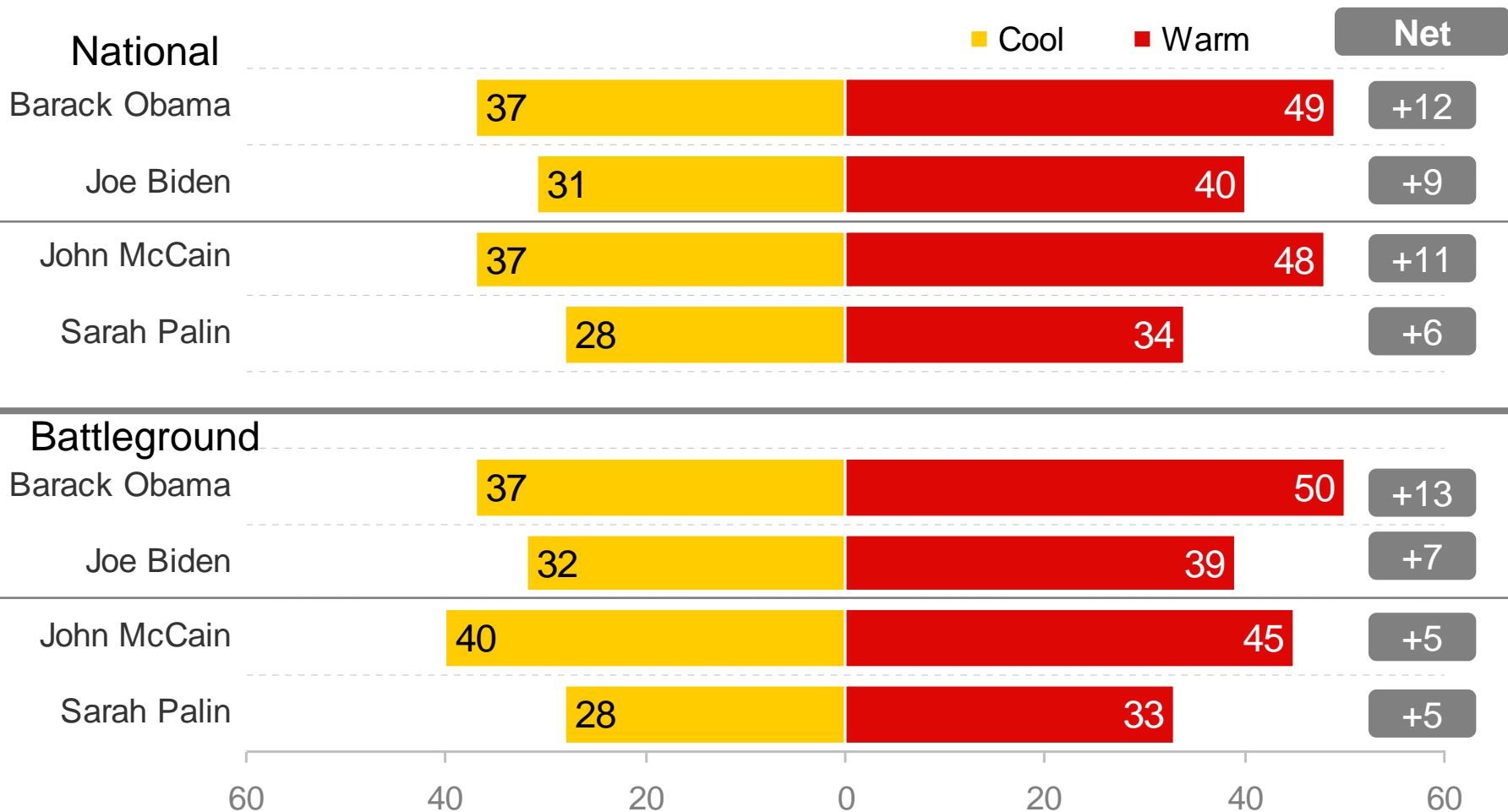


# The Candidates

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# Candidate thermometers

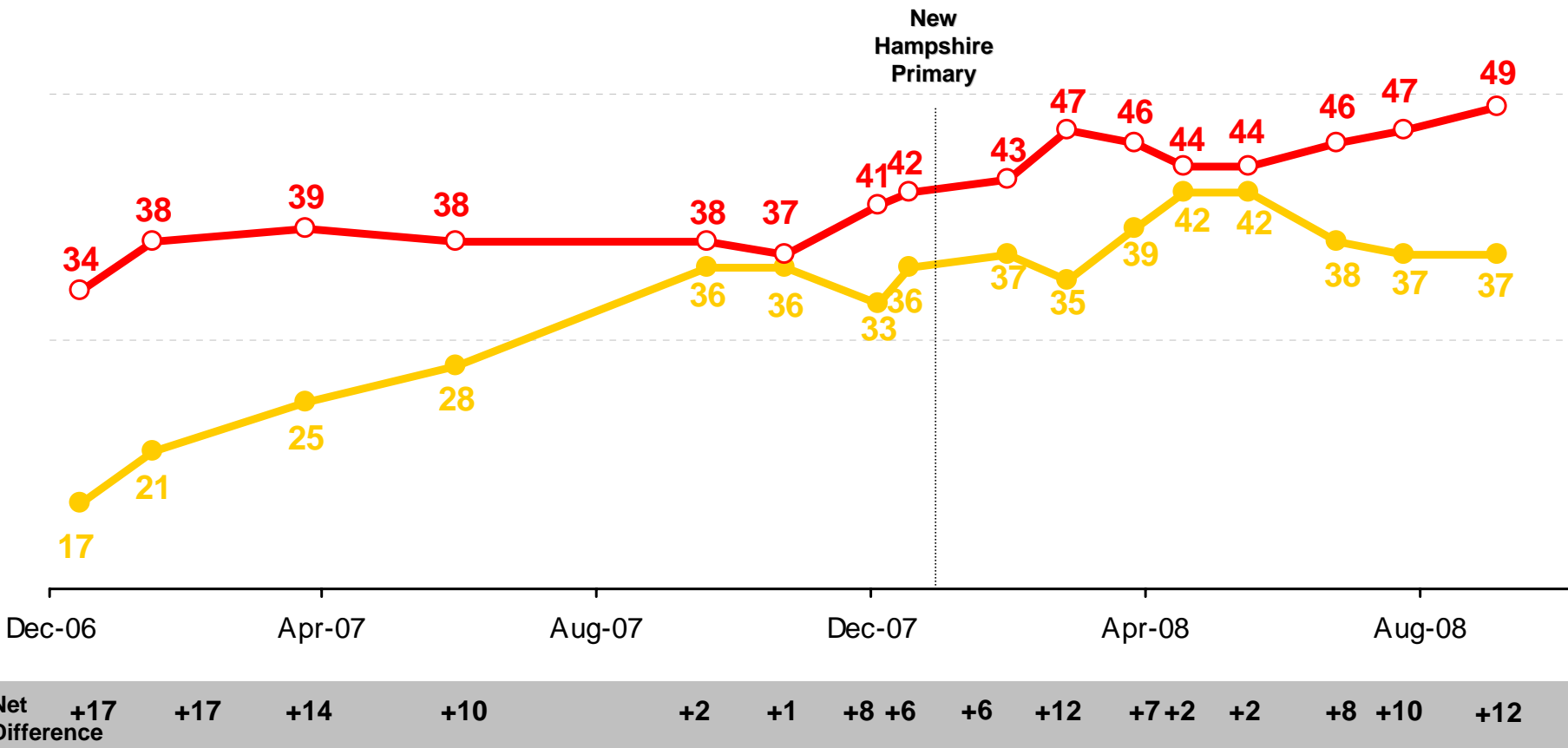
Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



# Obama favorability steadily improving nationally

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. \*National Data\*

● Cool ○ Warm

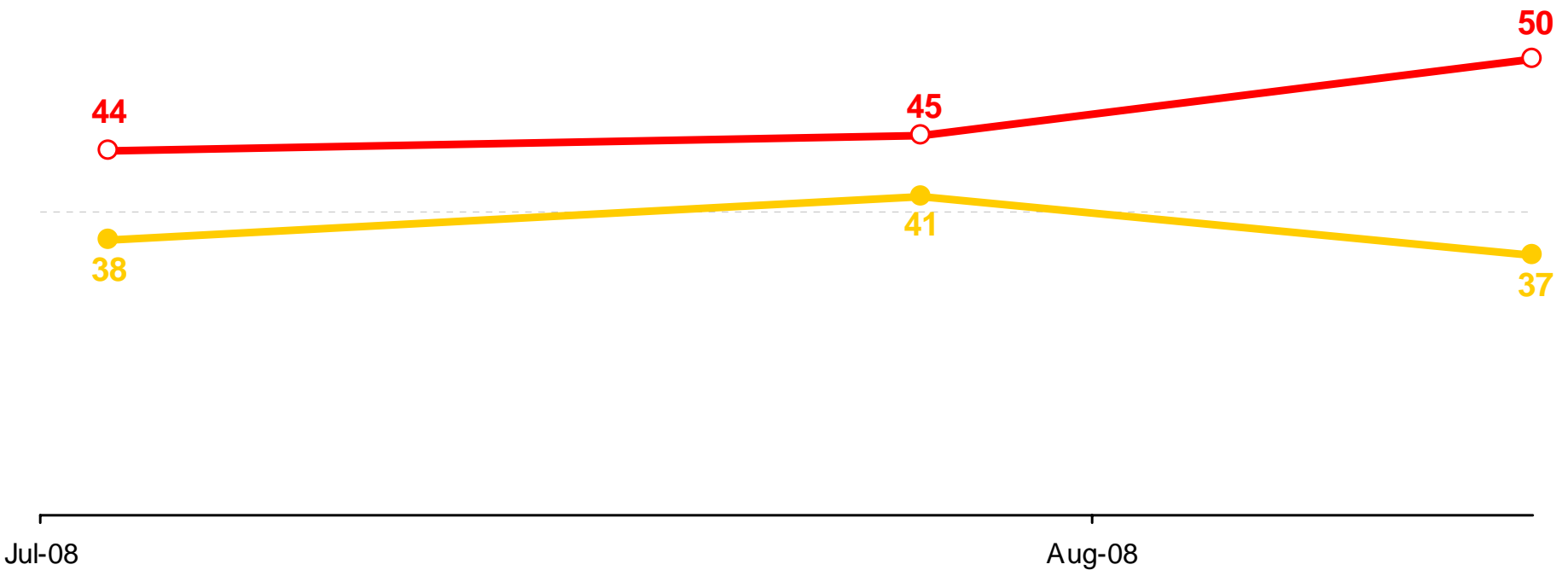


\*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last year and a half.

# Obama favorability rising in battleground

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. **\*Battleground Data\***

—●— Cool —○— Warm

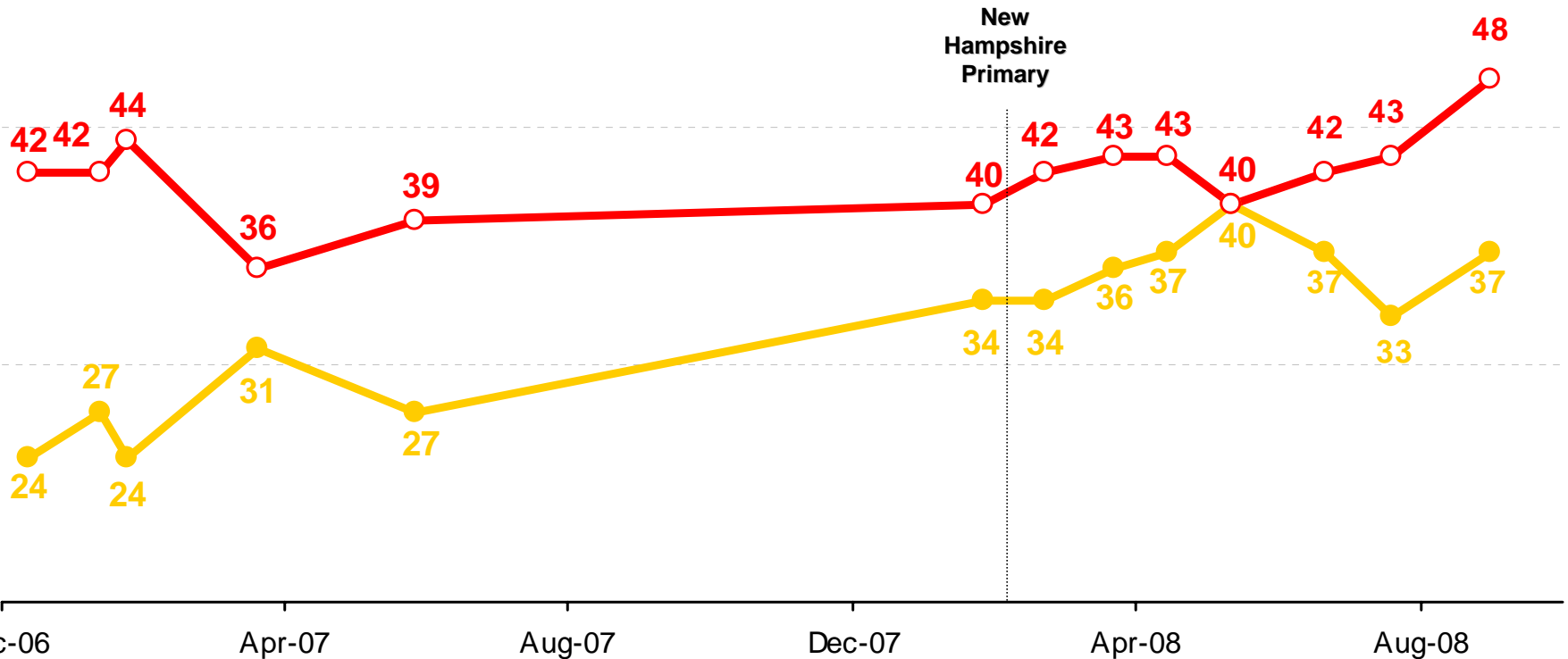


Net Difference: Jul-08 (+6), Aug-08 (+4), Sept-08 (+13)

# John McCain: rise in both warm and cool feelings

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. \*National Data\*

● Cool ○ Warm



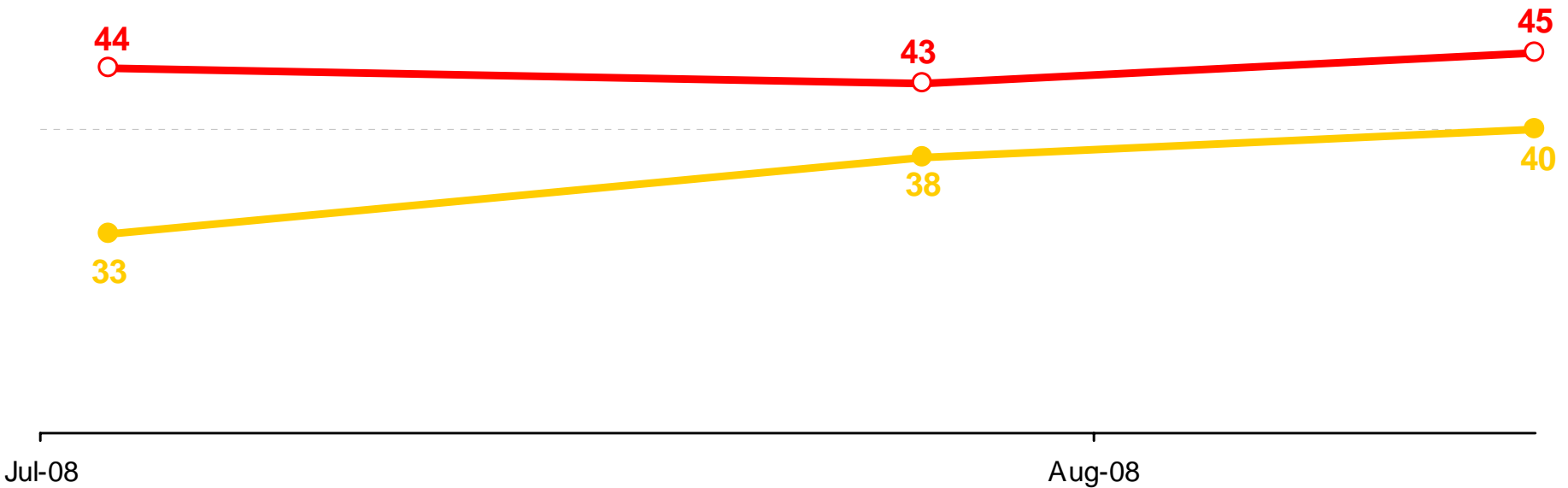
Net Difference	+18	+15	+20	+5	+12	+6	+8	+7	+6	0	+5	+10	+11
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\*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys conducted over the last year and a half.

# McCain favorability in battleground unchanged

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. **\*Battleground Data\***

● Cool ○ Warm



Net Difference: Jul-08 (+11), Aug-08 (+5), Sep-08 (+5)

## Thermometer Regressions: All About Obama

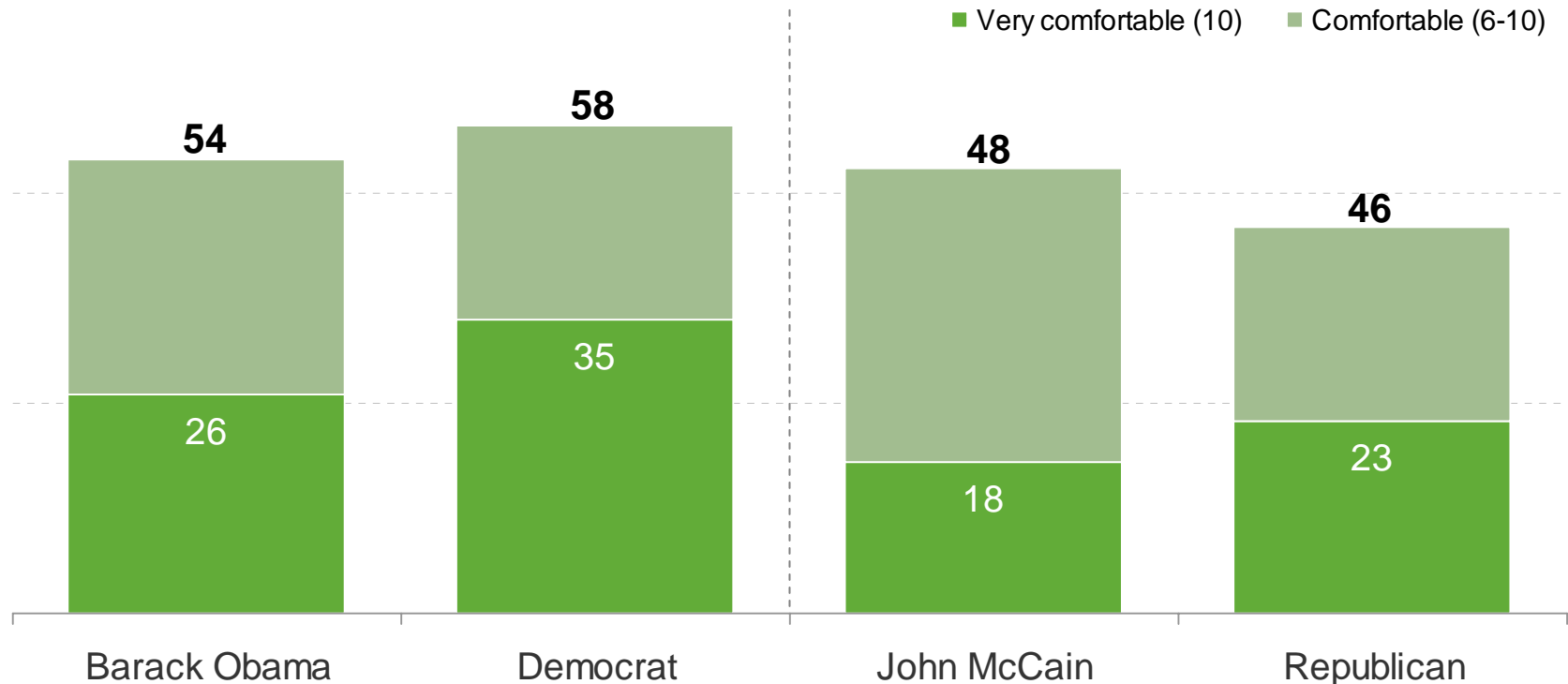
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Thermometers That Drive the Vote:	Standardized Odds Ratio
• <i>Obama Thermometer</i>	7.46
• <i>McCain Thermometer</i>	4.61
• <i>Party ID</i>	3.79
• <i>Palin Thermometer</i>	1.91

## More comfortable with Obama as President in battleground

On a scale of zero to ten, how comfortable would you feel with **Barack Obama/a Democrat** as your president? A ten would mean you feel very comfortable. A zero would mean you feel not at all comfortable. **\*Battleground Data\***

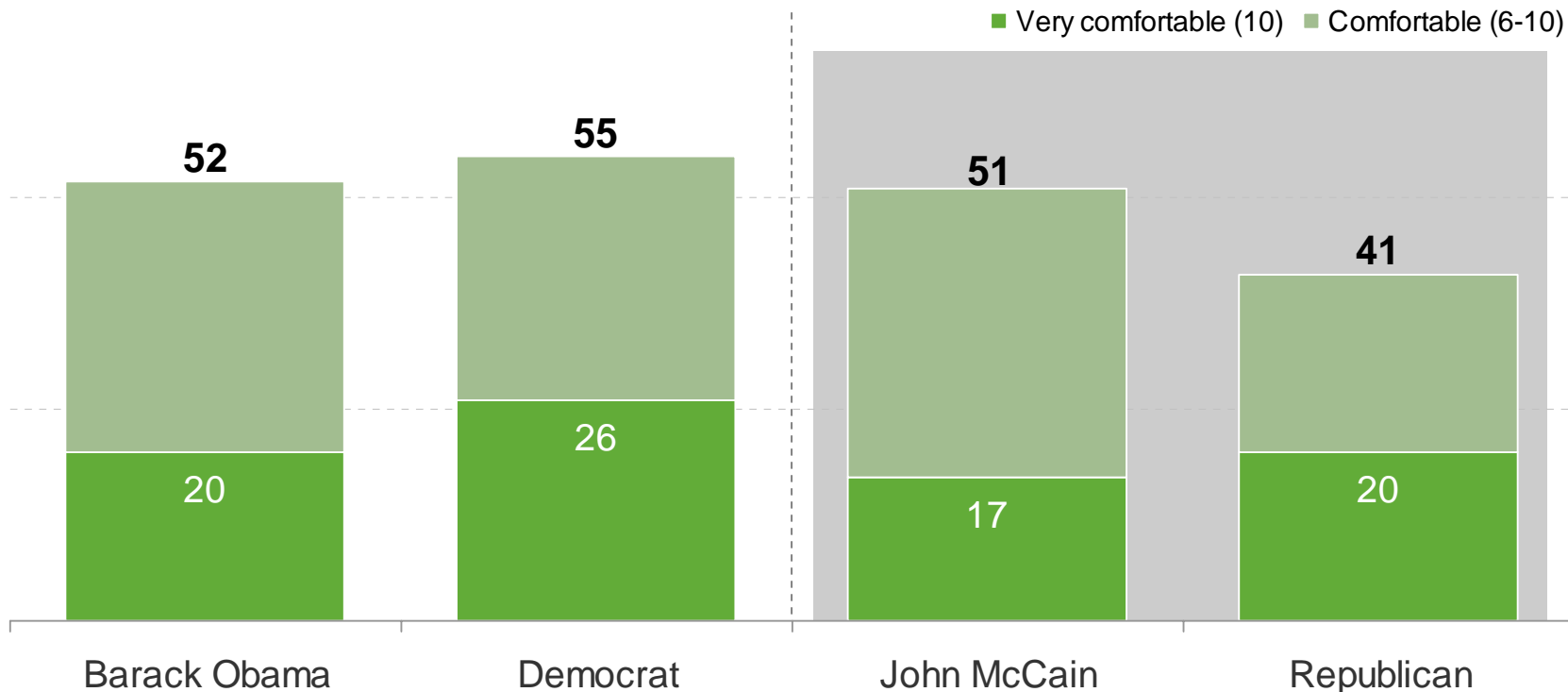
On a scale of zero to ten, how comfortable would you feel with **John McCain/a Republican** as your president? A ten would mean you feel very comfortable. A zero would mean you feel not at all comfortable. **\*Battleground Data\***



## Independents far more comfortable with McCain than Republican

On a scale of zero to ten, how comfortable would you feel with **Barack Obama/a Democrat** as your president? A ten would mean you feel very comfortable. A zero would mean you feel not at all comfortable. **\*Battleground Data\***

On a scale of zero to ten, how comfortable would you feel with **John McCain/a Republican** as your president? A ten would mean you feel very comfortable. A zero would mean you feel not at all comfortable. **\*Battleground Data\***



# Barack Obama

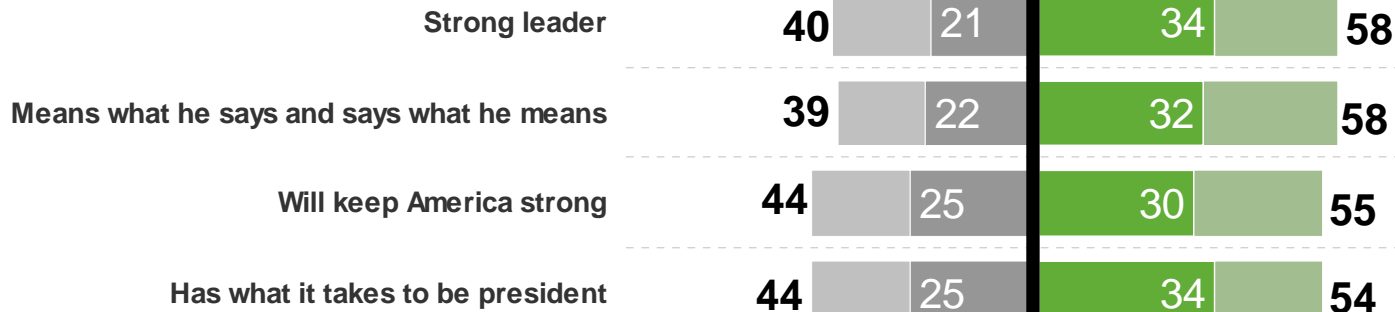
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# Obama attributes nationally

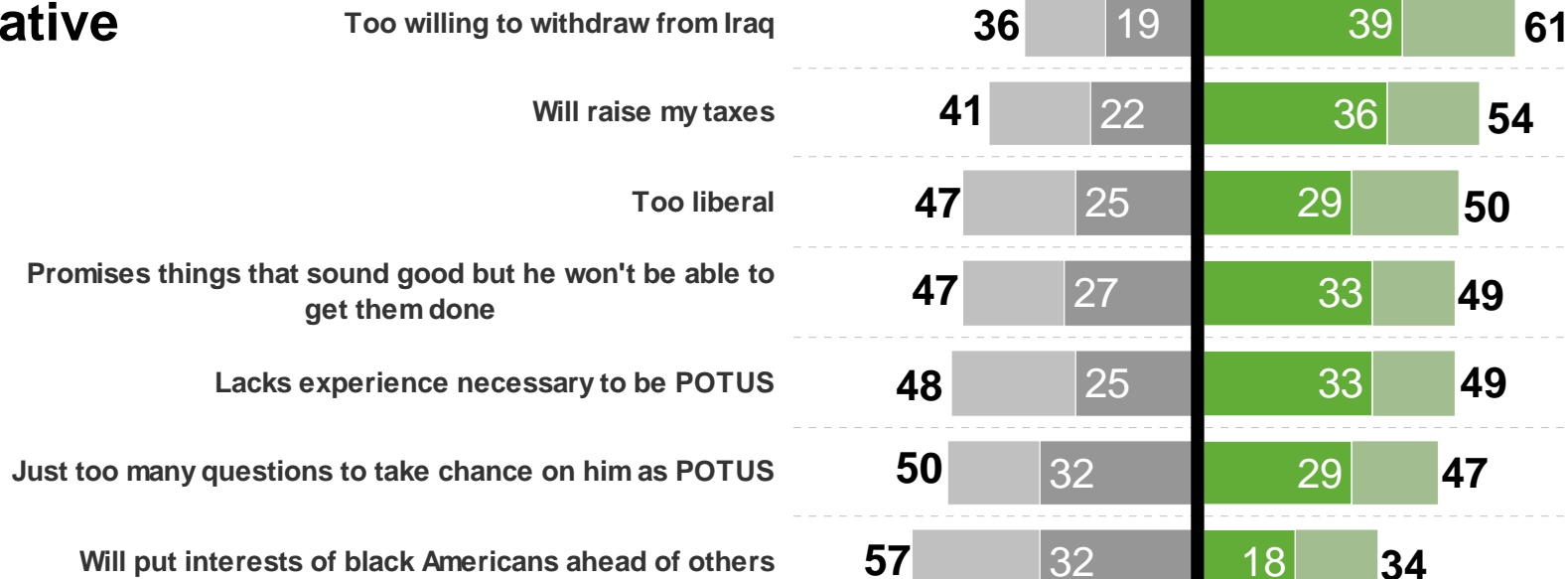
Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes Barack Obama very well, well, not too well, or not well at all. **\*National Data\***

■ Not well at all   ■ Not too well   ■ Very well   ■ Well

## Positive



## Negative



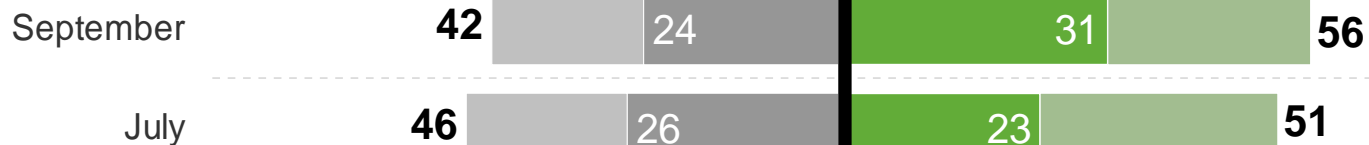
# Positive Obama attributes – battleground

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases 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. **\*Battleground Data\***

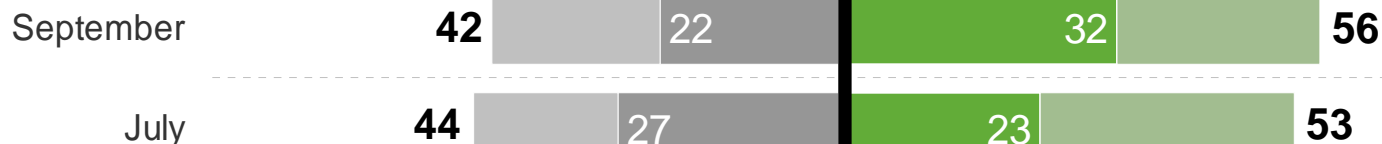
■ Not well at all ■ Not too well ■ Very well ■ Well

## Has what it takes to be President

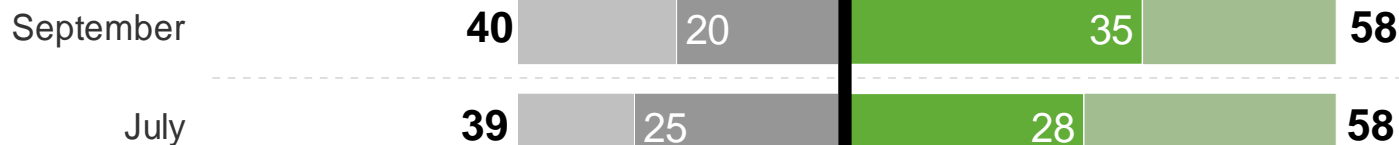
Shift



## Will keep America strong



## Strong Leader



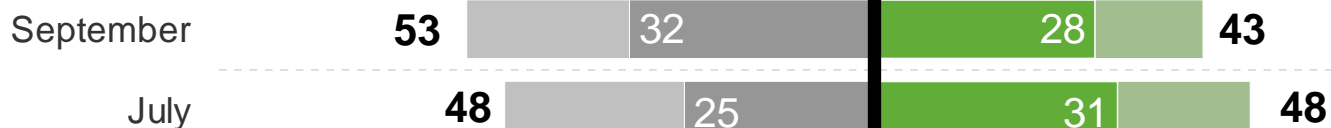
# Negative Obama attributes – battleground

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases 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. **\*Battleground Data\***

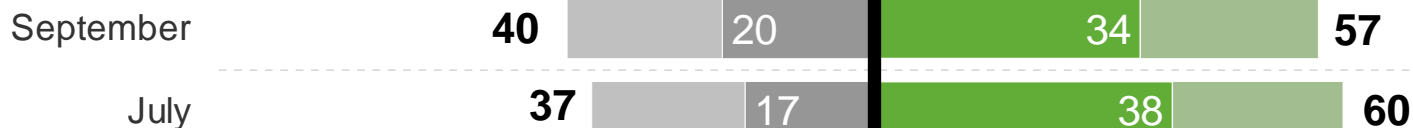
■ Not well at all ■ Not too well ■ Very well ■ Well

## Too many questions to take a chance

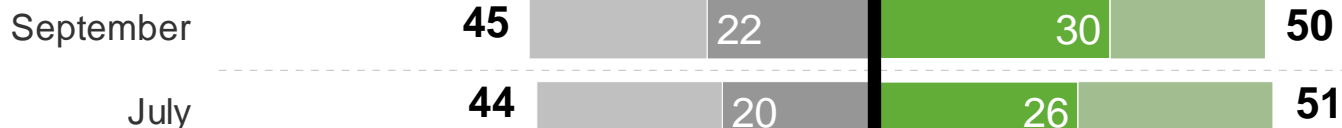
Shift



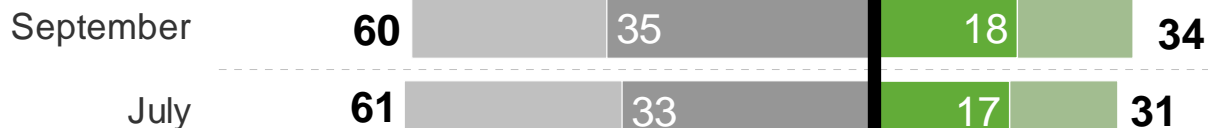
## Too willing to withdraw from Iraq



## Too Liberal

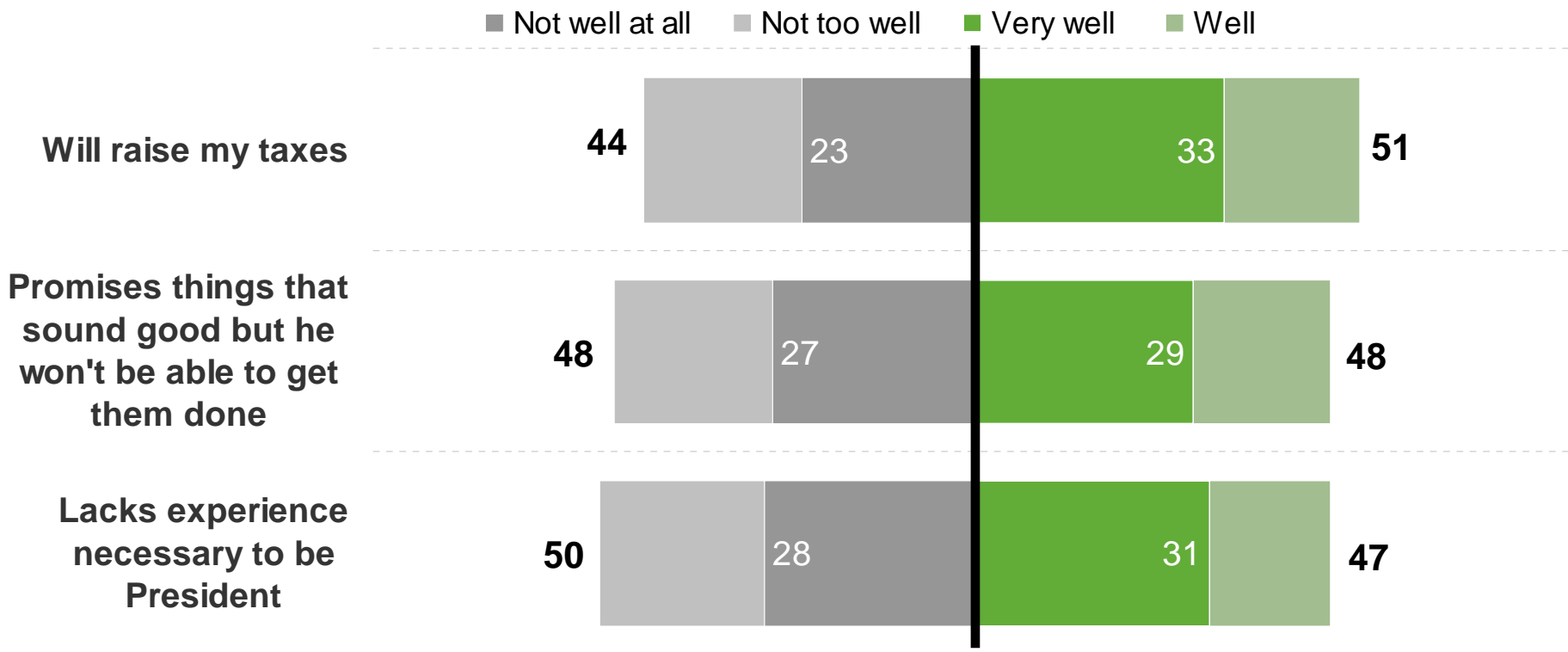


## Will put interests of blacks ahead of others



# Fear that Obama will raise taxes

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases 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. **\*Battleground Data\***



# Comparing leadership qualities

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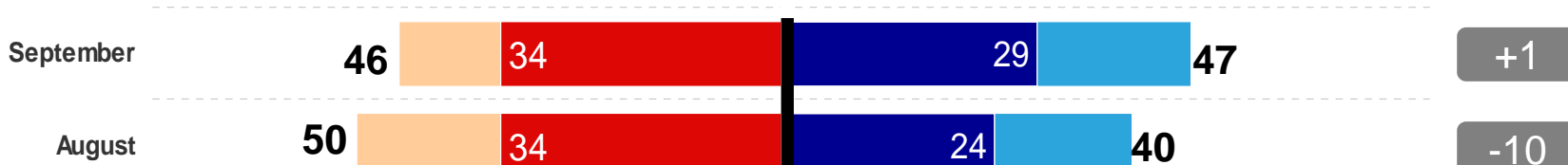
# Obama seen more as strong leader, restoring respect for America

Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. Would that be much more or somewhat more? **\*Battleground Data\***

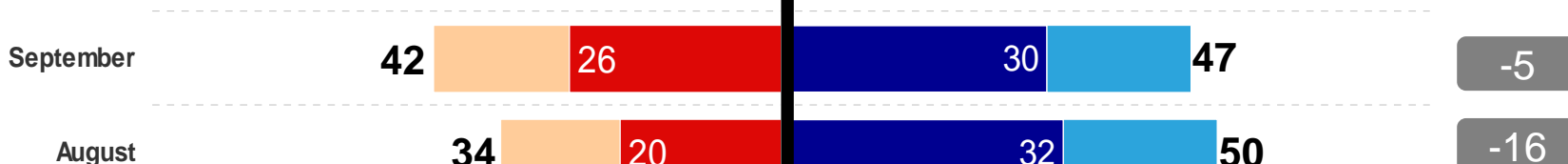
■ McCain much better ■ McCain somewhat better ■ Obama much better ■ Obama somewhat better

## Strong Leader

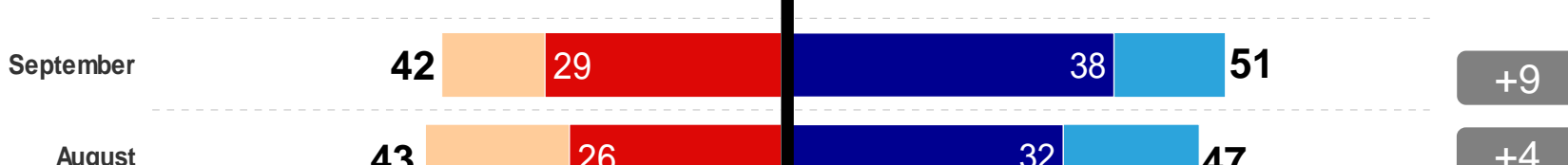
Advantage



## Saying what people want to hear



## Restoring respect for America



75 50 25 0 25 50 75

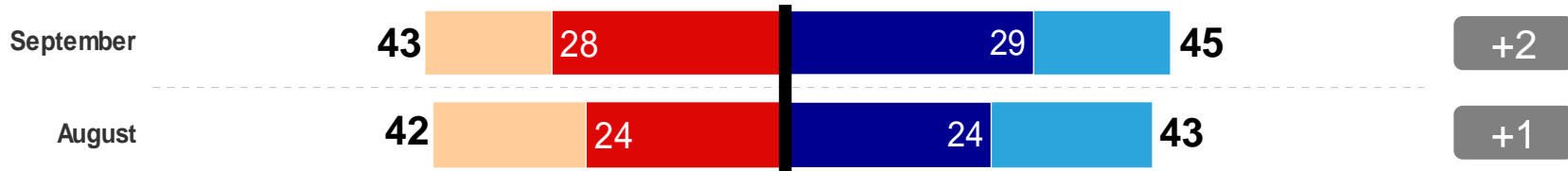
# Little movement on ability to work across party lines, bring change

Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. Would that be much more or somewhat more? **\*Battleground Data\***

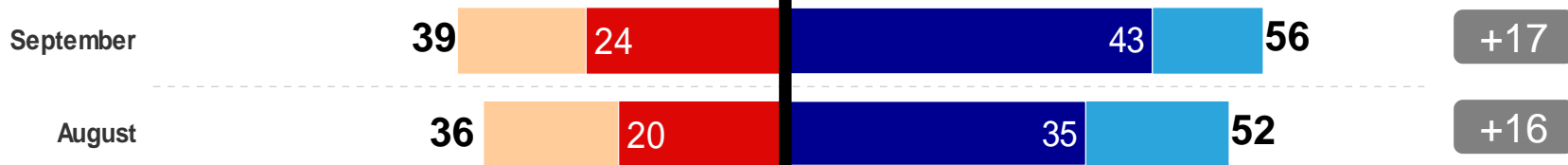
■ McCain much better ■ McCain somewhat better ■ Obama much better ■ Obama somewhat better

## Will work across party lines

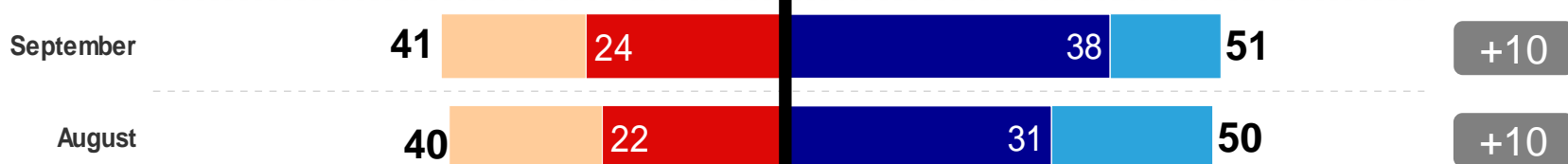
Advantage



## Bringing the right kind of change



## Being on your side

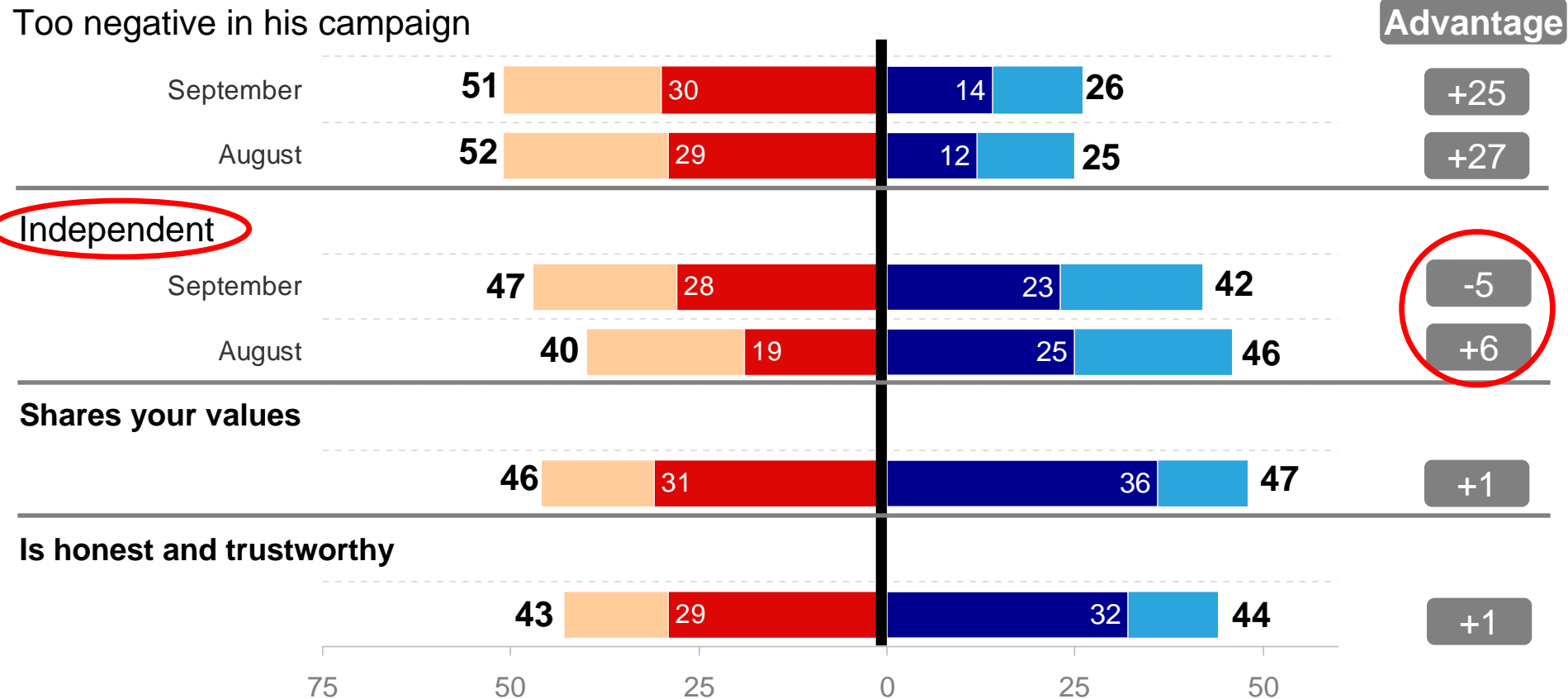


75 50 25 0 25 50 75

# McCain now seen as more independent than Obama

Now I would like to ask you which presidential candidate you associate more with these terms, Barack Obama or John McCain. Would that be much more or somewhat more? **\*Battleground Data\***

■ McCain much better ■ McCain somewhat better ■ Obama much better ■ Obama somewhat better

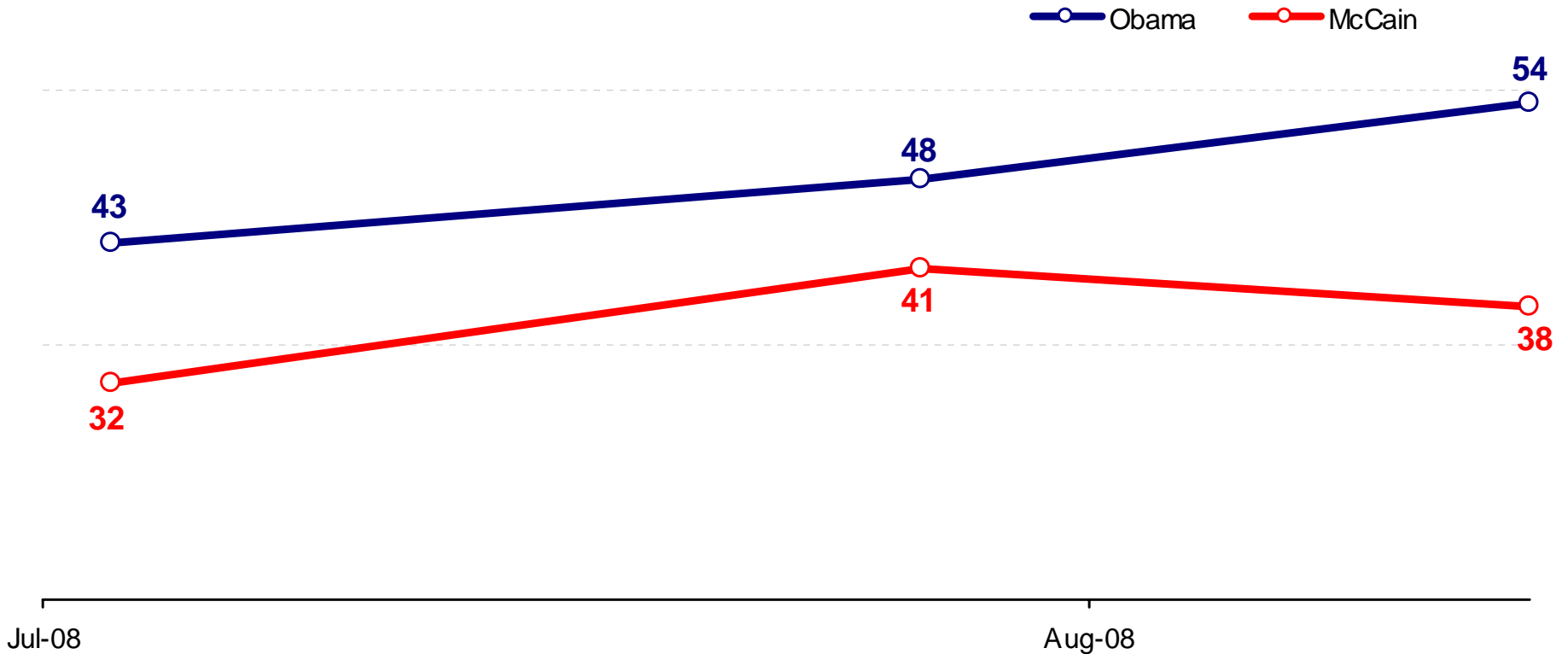


# Comparing the candidates on the issues

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# Better Job on the economy – battleground

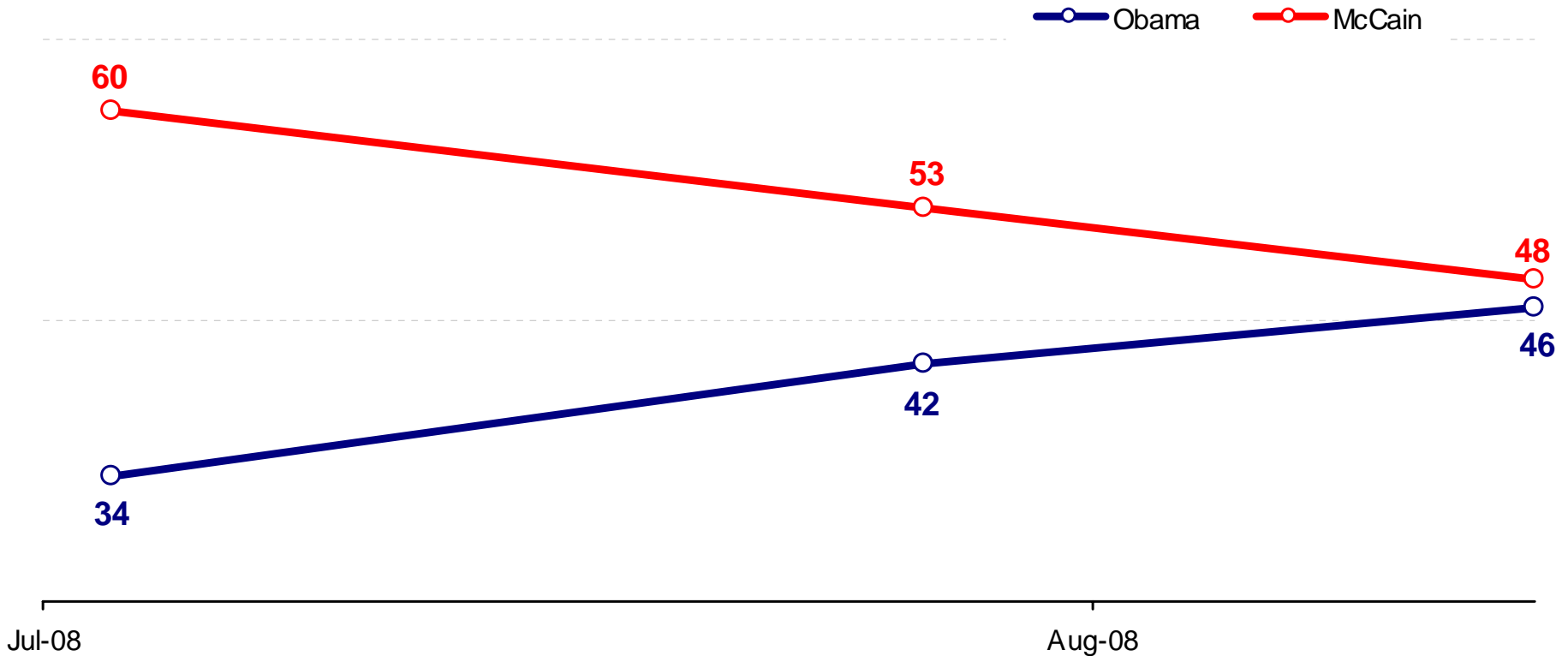
Now I am going to read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue. **\*Battleground Data\***



Net Difference +11 +7 +16

# Better Job on Iraq – battleground

Now I am going to read you 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. **\*Battleground Data\***



Net Difference -26

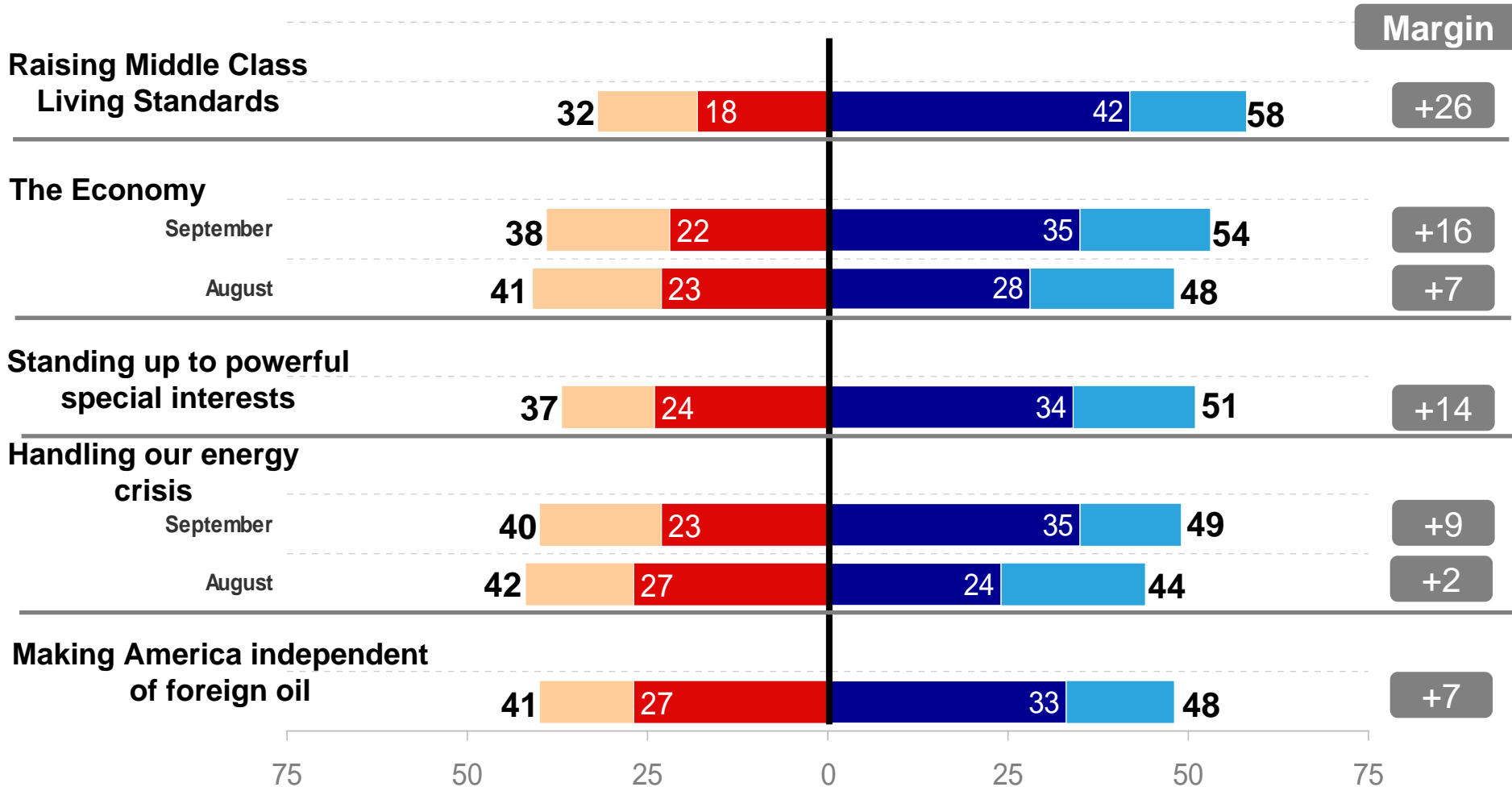
-11

-2

# Obama and Democrats better on domestic issues - battleground

Now I am going to read you 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. **\*Battleground Data\***

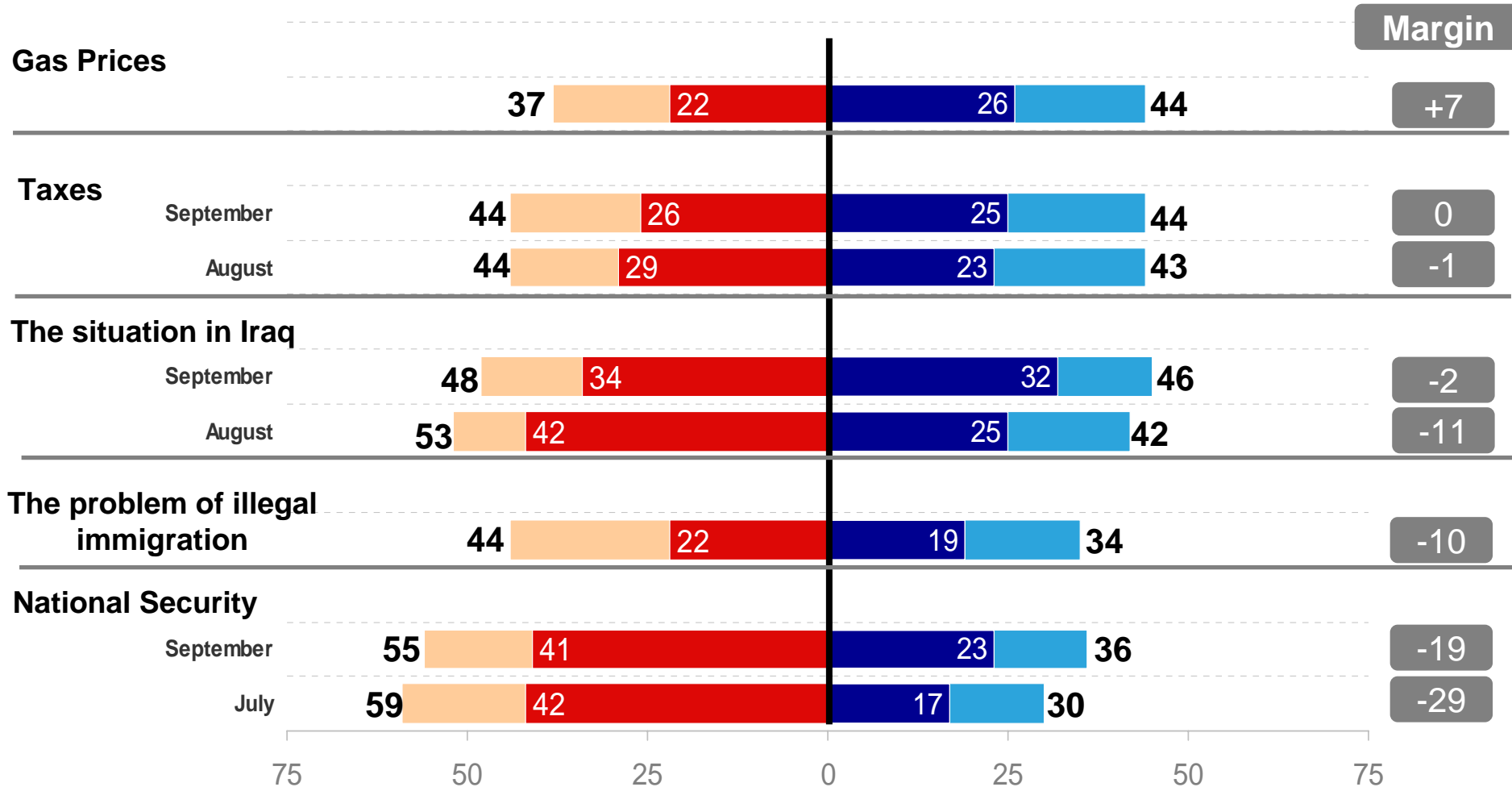
■ McCain much better ■ McCain somewhat better ■ Obama much better ■ Obama somewhat better



# Obama down on taxes, immigration, national security in the battleground

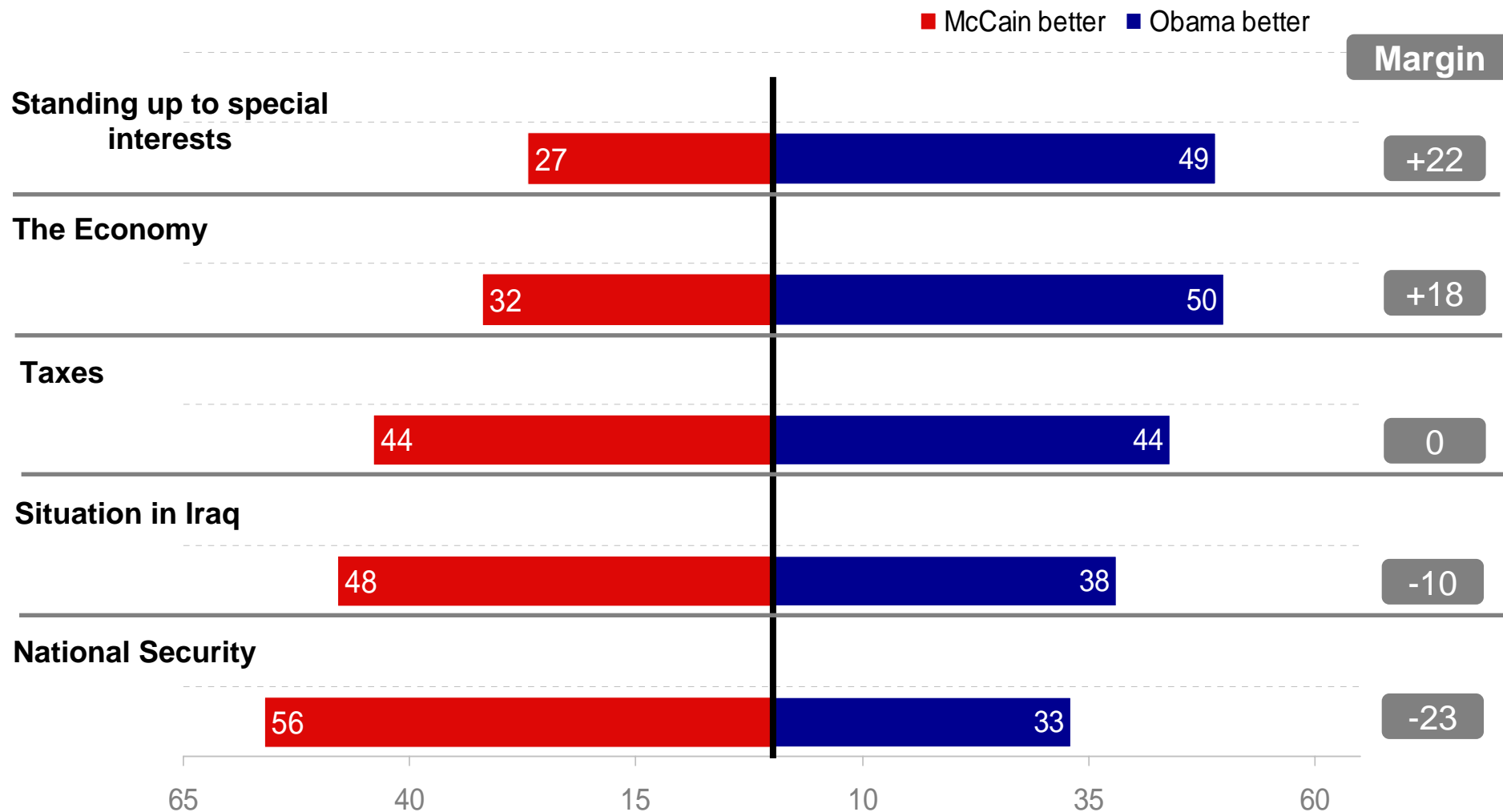
Now I am going to read you a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think Barack Obama or John McCain would do a better job with this issue. **\*Battleground Data\***

■ McCain much better ■ McCain somewhat better ■ Obama much better ■ Obama somewhat better



# Independents OK on interests and economy but national security serious

Now I am going to read you 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. **\*Battleground Data\***



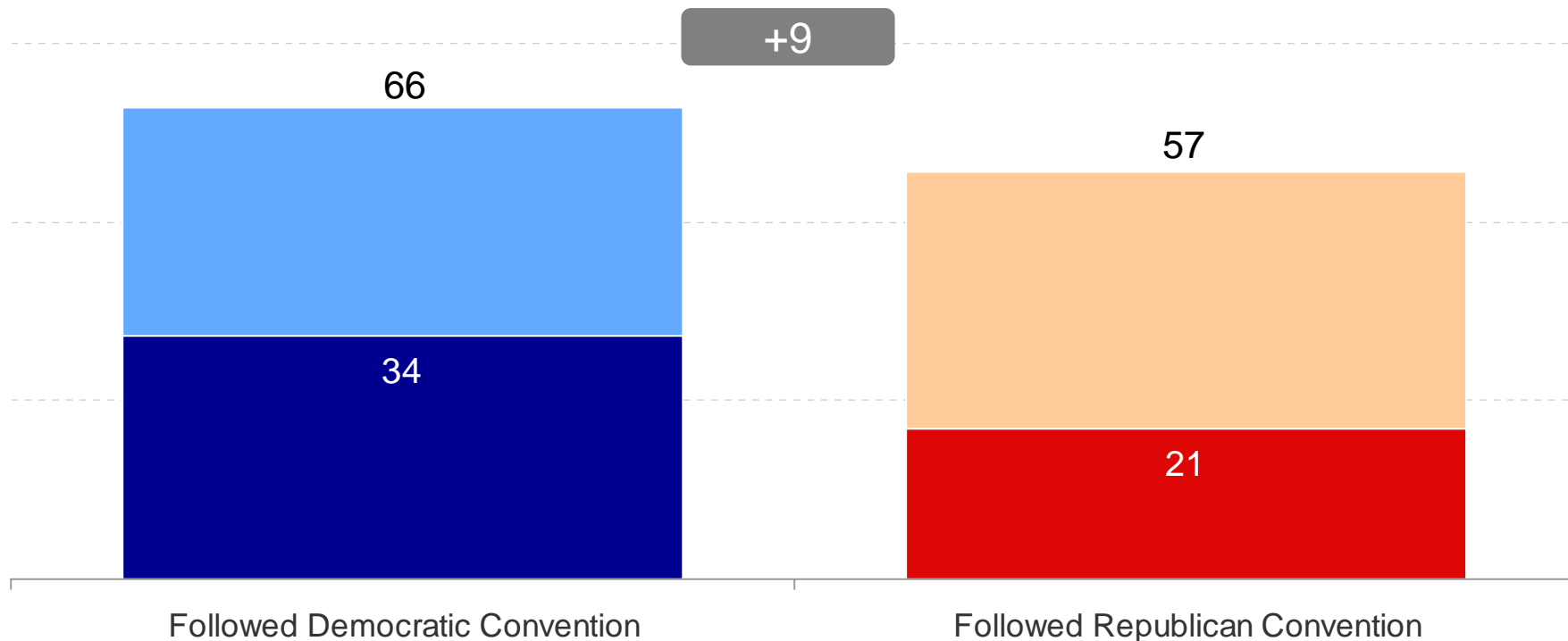
# The Convention

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## More following Democratic convention nationally after one night

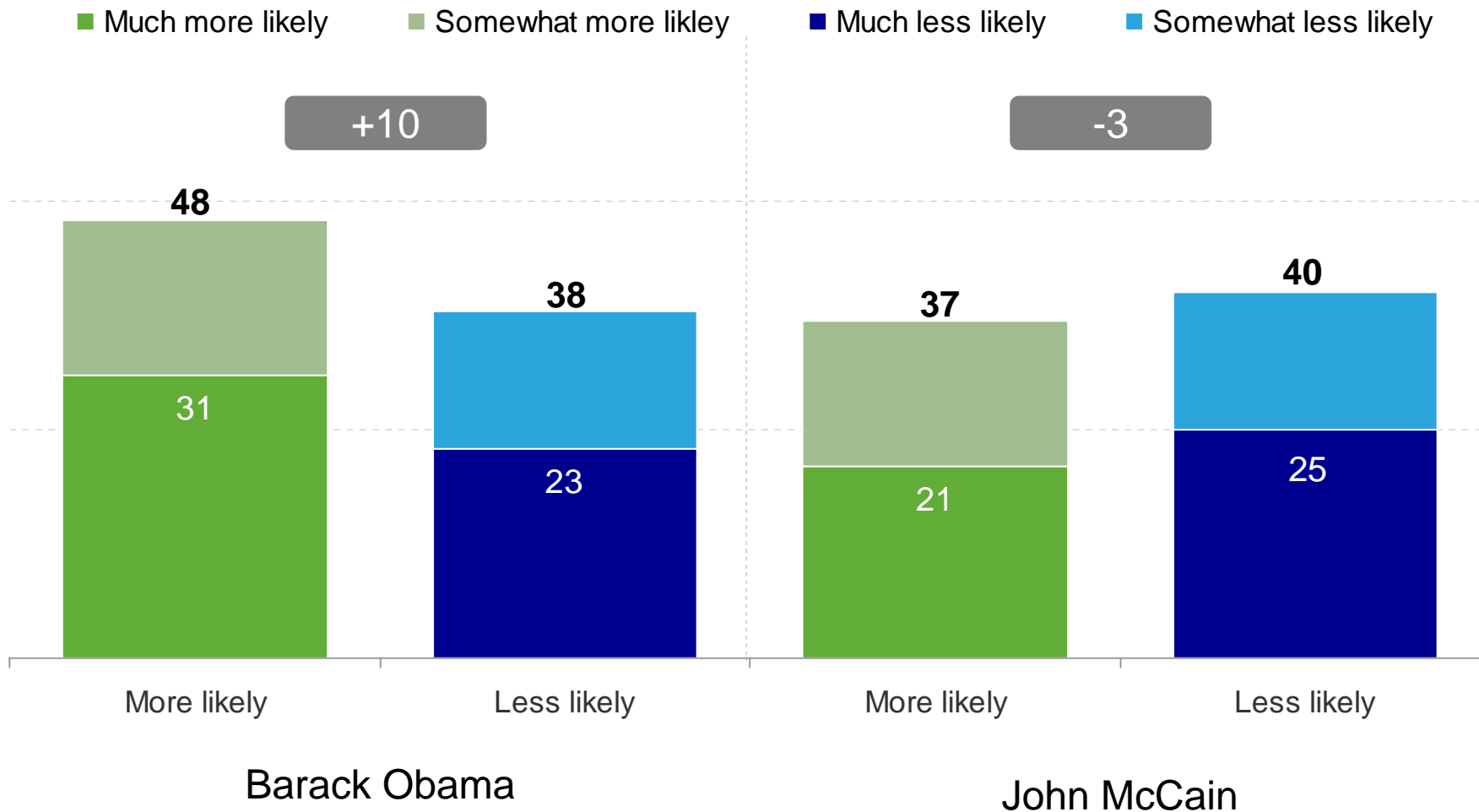
As you may know, the Democrat Party/Republican Party held its convention in Denver last week/Minneapolis this week. How closely did you follow the Democratic/Republican convention? Would you say you followed it very closely, somewhat closely, a little closely, or not at all? **\*National Data\***

- Followed Democrats very closely
- Followed Democrats somewhat closely
- Followed Republicans very closely
- Followed Republicans somewhat closely



# Impact of conventions

And has what you saw or heard about the Democratic/Republican convention made you more or less likely to support Barack Obama/John McCain for president? **\*National Data\***



# Over two thirds of electorate watched Obama's speech

And did you watch Barack Obama's speech at the Democratic convention? \*National Data\*

■ Yes, watched it

■ No, did not watch it

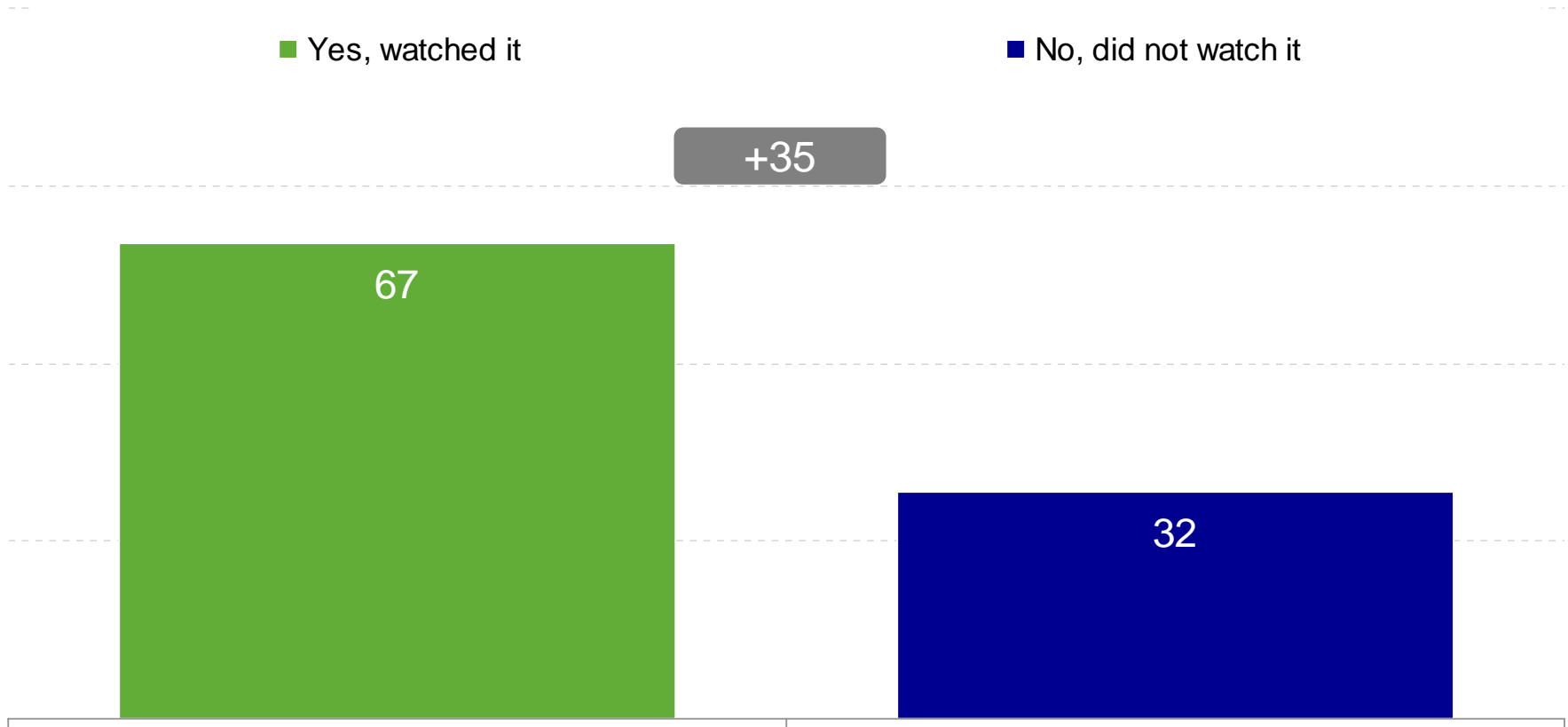
+35

67

32

Yes

No



# Vice presidential selection

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## Named presidential with vice president across nation

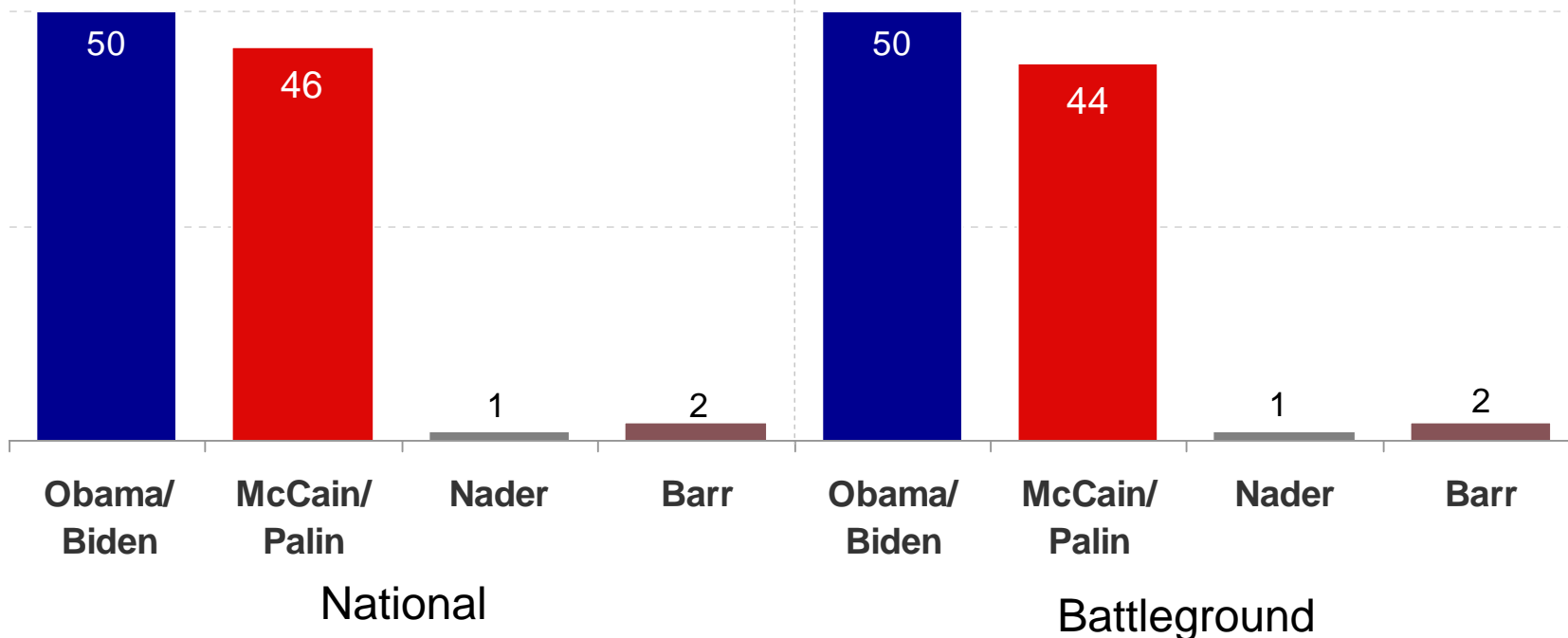
Now let me ask you again about your vote for president, but with candidate names. If the election were held today and the candidates were Democrats Barack Obama and Joe Biden, Republicans John McCain and Sarah Palin, Libertarian Party candidate Bob Barr, or Independent candidate Ralph Nader, for whom would you vote?

■ Barack Obama and Joe Biden (total)  
■ Ralph Nader (total)

■ John McCain and Sarah Palin (total)  
■ Bob Barr (total)

+4

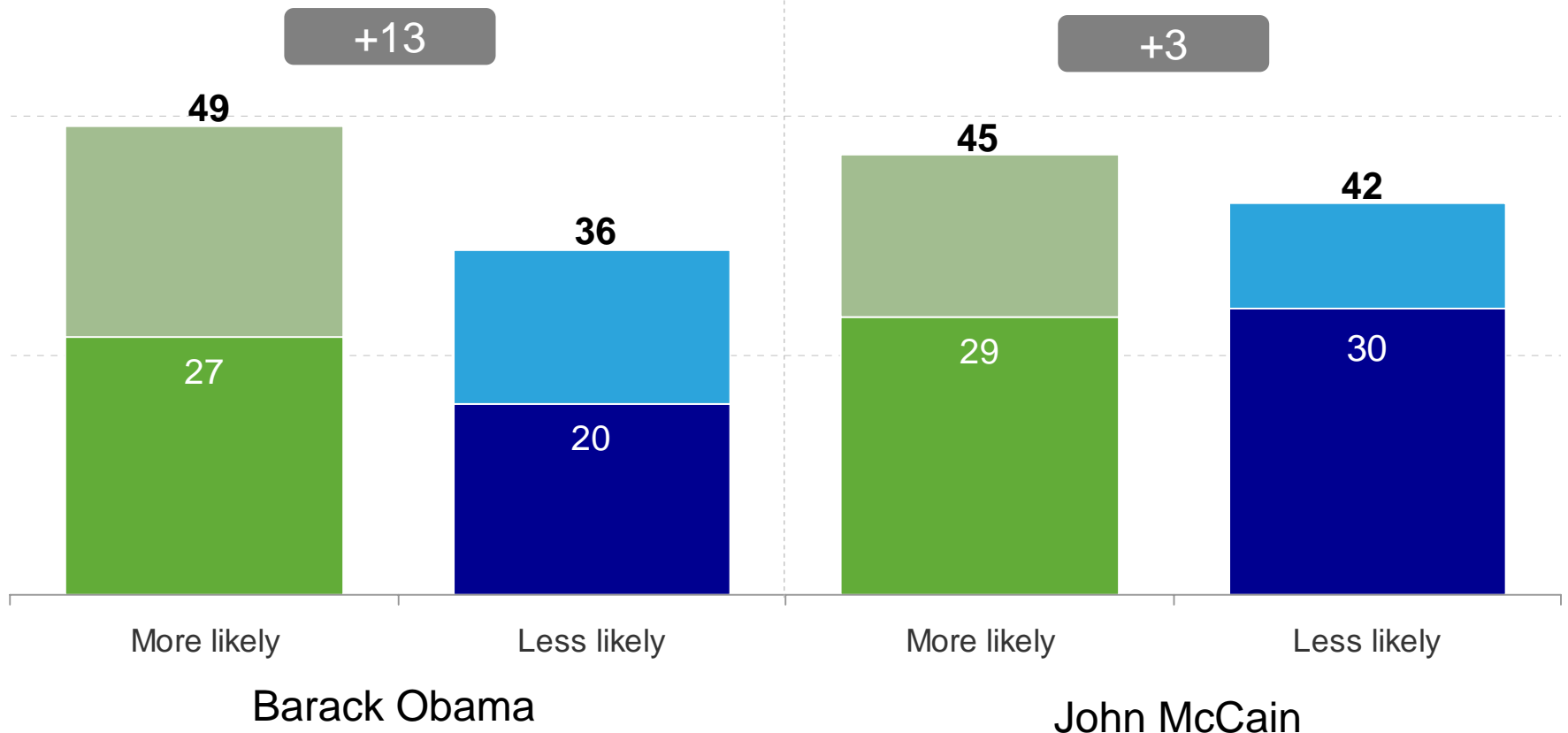
+6



## Support for Obama and McCain with respective VP picks made

As you may know, Senator Barack Obama/John McCain selected Delaware Senator Joe Biden/Alaska Governor Sarah Palin to be his vice presidential running mate. Does this make you more or less likely to support Barack Obama/John McCain for president? **\*National Data\***

■ Much more likely    ■ Somewhat more likely    ■ Much less likely    ■ Somewhat less likely



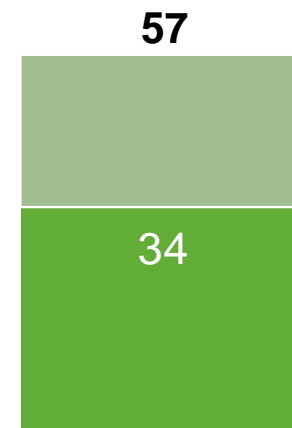
## Senator Biden's biography

Now let me read you a statement about Delaware Senator Joe Biden. Does Barack Obama's selection of Joe Biden to be his vice presidential running mate make you more or less likely to support him for president? **\*National Data\***

### Senator Biden Biography

Joe Biden has over 30 years of experience in the Senate. The chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Biden is one of the Senate's leading experts on foreign policy. He has worked to bring our troops home without leaving chaos behind in Iraq and to ensure our veterans have top-notch medical treatment. Raised in a strong Catholic family in Scranton, Pennsylvania, Biden has never forgotten his middle class roots. When his wife was killed in a car accident just after he was elected, Biden vowed to take the train home to Delaware every night to be with his sons, a practice he continues to this day.

- Somewhat more likely
- Much more likely



Total more likely

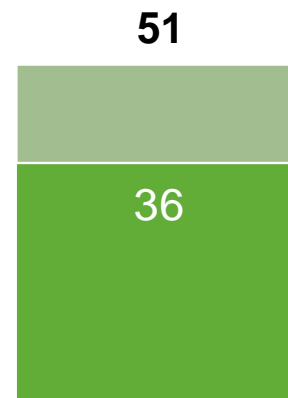
## Governor Palin's biography

Now let me read you a statement about Delaware Senator Joe Biden. Does Barack Obama's selection of Joe Biden to be his vice presidential running mate make you more or less likely to support him for president? **\*National Data\***

### Governor Palin Biography

Just 44 years old, Palin is the first woman to be nominated by the Republican party for vice president. She has been married to Todd - a union worker, for 20 years and they have 5 children together. She was just a 'hockey mom' in Alaska and two years ago she became the first ever woman governor of the state by taking on and defeating a corrupt incumbent from her own party. Palin has taken on pork barrel spending, passed sweeping new ethics legislation and worked to increase our domestic production of energy to break our dependence on foreign oil. Sarah Palin is pro-life and a lifetime member of the NRA.

- Somewhat more likely
- Much more likely

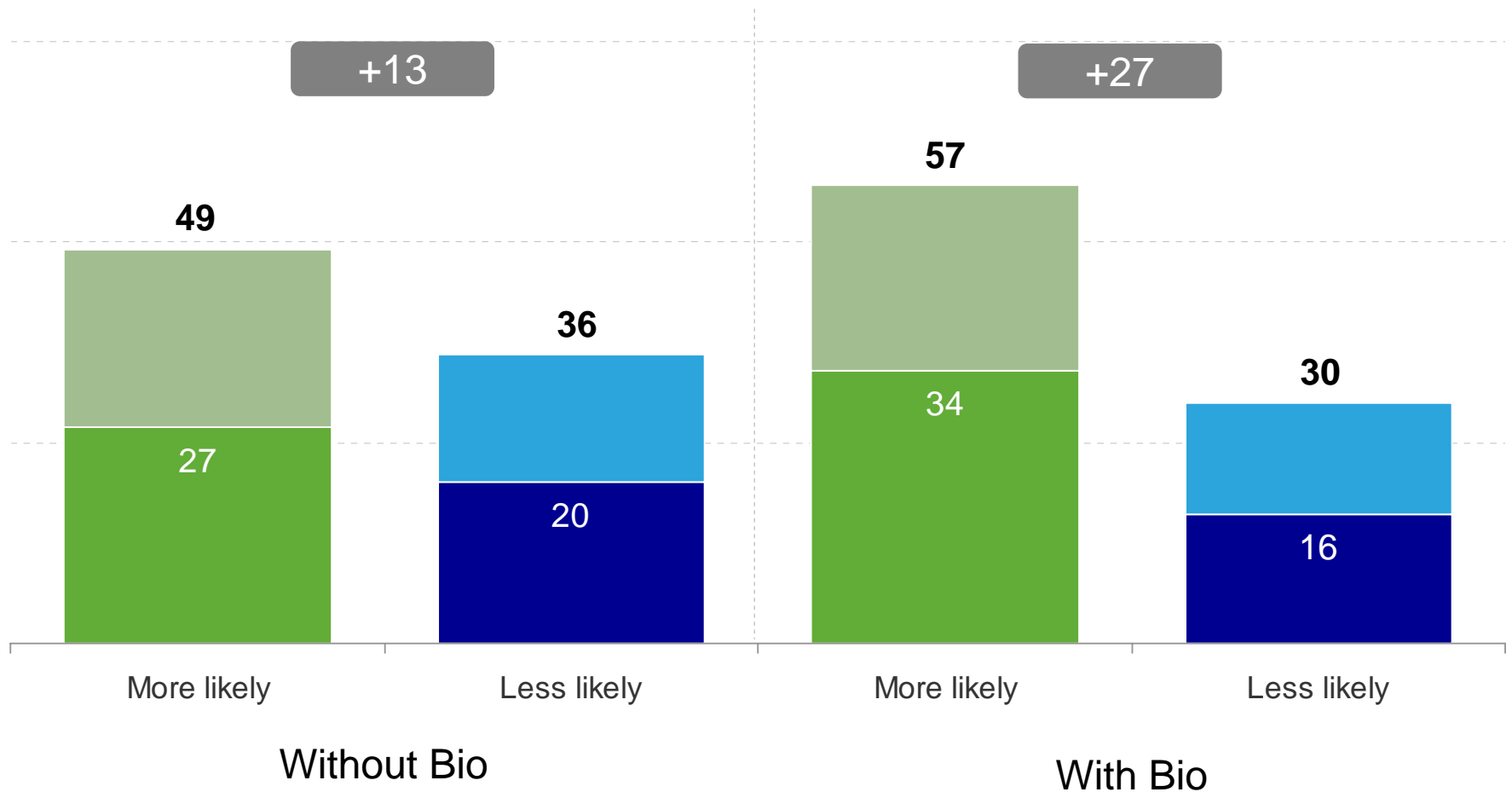


Total more likely

## Greater Biden advantage after biography

As you may know, Senator Barack Obama selected Delaware Senator Joe Biden to be his vice presidential running mate. Does this make you more or less likely to support Barack Obama for president? **\*Battleground Data\***

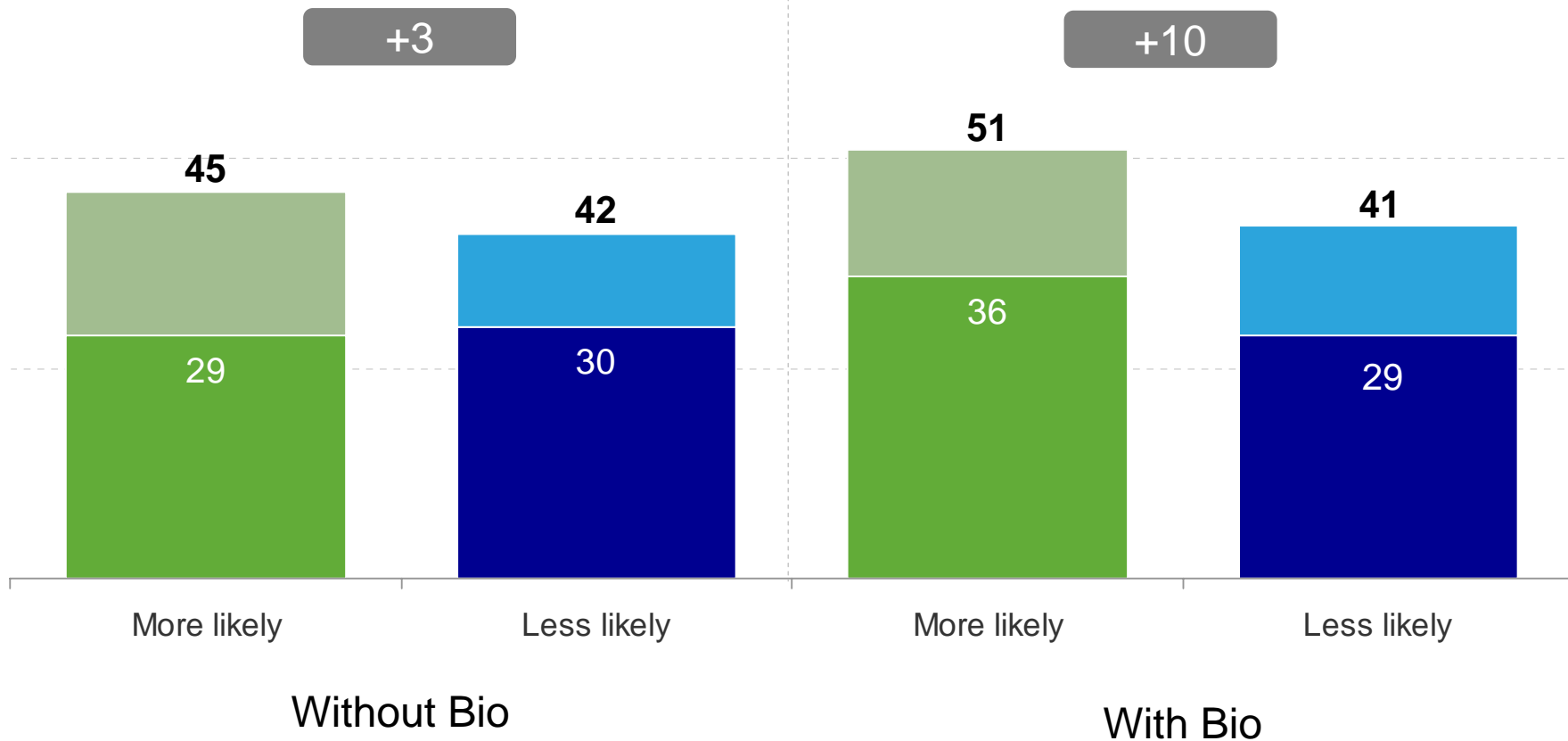
■ Much more likely   ■ Somewhat more likley   ■ Much less likely   ■ Somewhat less likely



# Little-known Palin improves after biography

As you may know, Senator John McCain selected Alaska Governor Sarah Palin to be his vice presidential running mate. Does this make you more or less likely to support John McCain for president? **\*Battleground Data\***

■ Much more likely    
 ■ Somewhat more likley    
 ■ Much less likely    
 ■ Somewhat less likely



## Top doubts among independents on Palin

Now I'm going to read you a list of doubts that some say they have about John McCain's vice presidential running mate – Sarah Palin. Does that statement, if accurate, raise very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts or no real doubts in your own mind about John McCain's vice presidential running mate – Sarah Palin. **\*Battleground Data\***

### Picked to appeal to women

With America facing the threat of terrorism, McCain said he would pick somebody ready to be president. But Palin has no foreign policy experience and McCain met her only once before picking her. He only chose her to appeal to women voters.

- Serious doubts
- Very serious doubts



Total serious doubts

### No National Experience

Before becoming governor a year and a half ago, Palin was part time mayor of a town of only six thousand people. She has no experience on the national scene or with foreign policy.

- Serious doubts
- Very serious doubts



Total serious doubts

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