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**Judicial Watch**

FROM: Kellyanne Conway, President & CEO  
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DATE: November 3, 2010

RE: Analysis of Findings – Nationwide Post-Election Omnibus Questions

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### **METHODOLOGY**

**the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend** is pleased to present to Judicial Watch this analysis of findings of 10 questions added to a post-election nationwide telephone survey of 834 actual voters.

All 834 interviews were collected on Election Day, November 2, 2010, at a Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) facility using live callers. The sampling frame was drawn using both listed and unlisted household samples nationwide. The sample was drawn using random digit dialing (RDD), a method by which a computer randomly selects a household for interviewing.

Upon connecting with an adult in the household, the potential respondent was screened to ensure a) registration to vote and b) participation in the November 2, 2010 election, either by casting a vote in-person or absentee/early.

Sampling controls were used to ensure that a proportionate and representative number of interviews of actual voters were interviewed from such demographic groups as age, race and ethnicity, gender, and region according to turnout data available from secretaries of state and election officials across the country. The survey being RDD, respondents provided all demographic information; only state was culled directly from the sample (via telephone area code).

The survey has an overall margin of sampling error of  $\pm 3.5\%$  at the 95% confidence interval, meaning that in 19 out of 20 cases, the data obtained would not differ by more than 3.5 percentage points in either direction if the survey were repeated multiple times employing the same methodology and sampling method.

## ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

### *“Era of Big Government” Resurrected*

Nearly 80% of actual voters who participated in the 2010 elections sensed that government grew larger during the first two years of the Obama administration, a development that a 51%-majority of viewed negatively. Another 28% thought this change was a good thing.

The question included mention of what the Administration and the Democratic Party consider to be major legislative accomplishments. The voting public, on the other hand, deem them part and parcel of the increasing size and scope of the government.

- Men (60%) were 18 points more likely than women (42%) to identify government expansion as a “negative,” while this was the most frequent response given by both men and women.
- All age groups were most likely to have negative associations toward what they viewed as a growing government, with peaks among those 45-54 years old (54%) and those 65 and older (54%).
- While nearly three-in-five (58%) Whites approached the government expansion negatively, only 25% of non-Whites shared this assessment. Instead, 47% of non-whites saw the government’s expanding role as “mostly positive,” a judgment held by only 23% of Whites.
- Majorities in the Midwest, South, and West, as well as a plurality in the North, felt that increased government was a negative.
- **While significant majorities in each party recognized the growth of government, Independents (66% “expanded, mostly negative”) and Republicans (78% “expanded, mostly negative”) shared an unforgiving appraisal of this development, while Democrats (55% “expanded, mostly positive”) embraced the government’s increased profile.** Tea Party supporters were twenty-eight points more likely than all respondents to criticize the government’s expansion (79% of TPer’s selected “expanded, mostly positive” vs. 51% overall).
- Those claiming to have voted for Obama in 2008 were more inclined to view the expanded size and scope of government favorably (52% “expanded, mostly positive”), while McCain supporters were overwhelmingly negative (82% “expanded, mostly negative”).
- At least a plurality of each income bracket saw the government expansion negatively, with the lowest support for this response among those with a pre-tax HHI of less than \$25K (33% “expanded, mostly negative”) and the highest level of support among those with a pre-tax income of \$80K and above (56% “expanded, mostly negative”).

*When you reflect on the major pieces of legislation passed during the last two years, including the new healthcare law, the economic stimulus, and the auto industry and other industry bailouts, would you say that the size and scope of the government has (ROTATED) expanded or shrunk?*

*(PROBE: And is that a mostly POSITIVE or NEGATIVE thing?)*

51%	EXPANDED, MOSTLY NEGATIVE
28%	EXPANDED, MOSTLY POSITIVE
7%	SHRUNK, MOSTLY NEGATIVE
4%	SHRUNK, MOSTLY POSITIVE
8%	DO NOT KNOW (DO NOT READ)
2%	REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

### ***Taxpayers Tout Need for Transparency in Federal Spending***

A whopping 50 points separated those voters who say the average American has *too little* information about how their tax dollars are spent, and those who say such access to such intel is “*about right*” (71%-21%) . Just 4% felt there was “too much access” to the government’s accounting records, a number close to the margin of error for the entire survey. **Citizens urged their government to remove the cloak of opacity and publicly release information detailing how the federal government spends taxpayer money.**

*Generally speaking, do you think that the public and average citizens have (ROTATED) too much access, too little access, or the right amount of access to information detailing how the federal government spends taxpayer money?*

71%	TOO LITTLE ACCESS
21%	THE RIGHT AMOUNT OF ACCESS
4%	TOO MUCH ACCESS
3%	DO NOT KNOW (DO NOT READ)
1%	REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

- Statistically-similar levels of men (72%) and women (71%) felt government provided less-than-ideal information about taxpayer spending.
- Majorities of all age groups were unsatisfactorily informed about government expenditures.
- Whites (74%) were 13 points more likely than non-whites (61%) to claim they had “too little access” to government accounting records, but **majorities of every racial subgroup shared this assessment.**
- At least 68% in every geographic region wanted more transparency with regards to the use of their tax dollars.
- **Majorities of all self-described political affiliations said there is not enough access (80% of Republicans, 79% of Independents and 59% of Democrats said there was “too little access” to these spending figures).** Eighty-five percent of Tea Party supporters sided with this assessment. Notably, **those who were negative toward the Tea Party were more likely than the average to believe levels of government disclosure were currently appropriate** (38% in this subgroup selected “the right amount of access” as opposed to 21% among all respondents).
- The need for greater transparency was felt by majorities of all income brackets.

*Spending Legislation Inhibiting Citizen Oversight*

**By a 2-to-1 ratio, respondents believed that the chief accomplishments of the 111<sup>th</sup> Congress had magnified the difficulty in holding the government accountable for its use of taxpayer contributions.**

Forty-two percent said that it was **DEFINITELY** more challenging to gauge government spending as a result of complex legislative initiatives, a 28-point intensity gap over the 14% believing it was **DEFINITELY** easier to track government finances following these bills. Taxpayers were increasingly uncertain about how the government allocated and tracked funds in light of the multiple bailouts and healthcare reform approved within this Congress by their elected officials.

*When you reflect on the major pieces of legislation passed during the last two years, including the new healthcare law, the economic stimulus, and the auto industry and other industry bailouts, would you say that elected officials made it (ROTATED) easier or more difficult for citizens to obtain information about how that money was spent and how the government accounted for it?*

*(PROBE: And would that be DEFINITELY or PROBABLY EASIER/MORE DIFFICULT?)*

**28% TOTAL EASIER (NET)**

14% DEFINITELY EASIER

14% PROBABLY EASIER

**62% TOTAL MORE DIFFICULT (NET)**

20% PROBABLY MORE DIFFICULT

42% DEFINITELY MORE DIFFICULT

9% DO NOT KNOW (DO NOT READ)

1% REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

- There was no gender gap on this question: Men (62%) and women (61%) agreed it became more of a challenge to investigate the government’s spending as a result of major legislation passed during the preceding two years.
- At least 59% in each age group found that monitoring government use of taxpayer funds was made more difficult in the aftermath of Congress’ legislative maneuvers.
- Forty-five percent of Whites felt it was **DEFINITELY** more difficult to hold their government accountable considering the lack of transparency associated with pieces of major legislation. This definitive stance was only shared by 28% of non-Whites, however a 53%-majority of non-Whites did acknowledge their the task of matching taxpayer revenues to government expenditures was further complicated in light of recent spending bills.
- *Nationwide, majorities residing in each geographic region found their roles as taxpayer watchdogs more complicated as a result of massively intricate legislation and government-funded bailouts.*
- **Respondents exhibited tri-partisan agreement in that each self-identified political affiliation found that obtaining information about government accounting records was “more difficult” as opposed to “easier.”** Majorities of Republicans (71%) and Independents (72%) said that spending information was less accessible than before, an opinion also held by a 47%-plurality of Democrats.
- Only self-identified liberals felt that these bills made it simpler for citizens to track the progress of taxpayer dollars (62% “easier” vs. 30% “more difficult”), a judgment rejected by self-

described moderates (28% “easier” vs. 58% “more difficult”) and self-described conservatives (10% “easier” vs. 82% “more difficult”).

***Taxpayers Bemoan Bankrolling Bailouts***

**Nearly two-in-three respondents implored Congress “never” to bailout privately-owned businesses.** Taxpayers rejected the idea that they would be “on the hook” for propping up a private company on the brink of insolvency. Given the highly-publicized bailouts in the auto and financial industry in recent years, citizens were skittish to give their Congress authority to “throw good money after bad.” Respondents were twice as likely to reject any further bailouts even when combining the two options permitting their use in certain circumstances, both of which were invoked as reasons for bailouts last year.

<i>In thinking about the new Congress that will govern for the next two years, how often, if ever, should Congress authorize using taxpayer funds to bailout or to buyout privately-owned businesses?</i>	
63%	NEVER
19%	WHEN CONGRESS BELIEVES IT IS NECESSARY TO DO SO, REGARDLESS OF THE ECONOMIC IMPACT
10%	WHEN A COMPANY IS TOO BIG TO FAIL
7%	DO NOT KNOW
1%	REFUSED

- Majorities of men (66%) and women (61%) implored Congress against using funds to sustain failing companies.
- At least 50% in each age cohort felt there were no imaginable circumstances requiring the government to bailout a private corporation.
- Over two-thirds of Whites (67%) gave a blanket refusal to any future bailouts, a sentiment shared by 51% of non-Whites.
- Northerners and Westerners were more likely than those in other regions to allow Congress to use its discretion in allocating bailout funds (26% “when the Congress believes it is necessary to do so, regardless of the economic impact” in those two regions vs. 19% among everyone).
- **Self-identified Republicans (82% “never”) and Independents (72% “never”) shared a fundamental opposition to any proposed bailouts moving forward.** Forty percent of self-identified Democrats charged Congress to avoid this use of taxpayer funds, however another 49% of this political affiliation chose one of the two responses allowing for bailouts under some conditions.
- Sixty-four percent of small business owners found taxpayer-funded bailout of private companies an untenable option for the new Congress, an attitude also reflected in 63% of those non-small business owners.
- **Majorities of non-union (66%) and union households (54%) said that 112<sup>th</sup> Congress should “never” authorize bailouts for private enterprises.**

**Widespread Assent on Treasury Audit Consistent with the urge for greater transparency voiced in earlier questions, these actual voters preferred unveiling U.S. Treasury accounting records over maintaining their secrecy by a ratio of nearly 5:1.**

Two-thirds (67%) said that these records should **DEFINITELY** be made available to the public, illustrative of a greater desire to restore accountability to government and to make democracy literally more “direct.”

Withholding critical financial information from taxpayers is somewhat analogous to holding stock in a company that refuses to publish any of its internal metrics. In this instance, shareholders would be justified in demanding that company open its books. U.S. shareholders (we the people) are nervous about their personal investment in the nation’s coffers. Publicizing Treasury Department internals can help assuage these concerns.

*The United States Treasury Department is responsible for overseeing and administering bailout money authorized by Congress for banks and other financial institutions. In your opinion, should the records of how the money is being used by the Treasury Department (ROTATED) be kept secret in order to prevent disclosure of potentially sensitive government and business information, or be made available to the public in order to show taxpayers how their money is being spent?*

*(PROBE: And would that be DEFINITELY or PROBABLY BE KEPT SECRET/MADE PUBLIC)*

**17% TOTAL KEPT SECRET (NET)**

13% DEFINITELY BE KEPT SECRET  
4% PROBABLY BE KEPT SECRET

**81% TOTAL MADE AVAILABLE (NET)**

14% PROBABLY BE MADE AVAILABLE  
67% DEFINITELY BE MADE AVAILABLE

2% IT DEPENDS/DO NOT KNOW (DO NOT READ)  
1% REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

- No battle of the sexes here: 80% of men and 81% of women agreed with opening the Treasury’s books.
- Support for greater transparency from the Treasury Department extended across all geographic regions, as between 78% and 83% endorsed the concept in the North, Midwest, South, and West.
- Majorities of each self-described party affiliation **DEFINITELY** felt that Treasury records should be made public (65% of Democrats, 74% of Independents, and 66% of Republicans). This tri-partisan agreement underscored the salience of the issue, as taxpayers offered a unified call to restore transparency to government by showing how the bailout money is collected and spent. The fact that majorities of 64% of self-described liberals, 82% of moderates, and 90% of conservatives also thought the Treasury should reveal its financials reinforces this desire.
- Tea party supporters were very supportive of revealing the Treasury’s financial records (net 82% believed they should be made available), however even 63% of those negative toward the Tea Party agreed with this approach.

**Public Favors Police Partnering With Feds in Shoring Up Immigration Laws**

**A majority of respondents agreed that local authorities should take a larger role in immigration given the federal government’s daunting enforcement responsibilities.** This “public-public” partnership is designed to allow those closer to the issue of immigration to assume some of the rights and responsibilities for its solution. In fact, more than 75% of respondents urged local officers to either maintain or increase their level of involvement in combating illegal immigration.

<i>Do you think that local law enforcement officers should be (ROTATED) more involved, less involved, or as involved as they are now in enforcing federal immigration laws?</i>	
53%	MORE INVOLVED
26%	AS INVOLVED
15%	LESS INVOLVED
5%	DO NOT KNOW (DO NOT READ)
1%	REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

Federal authorities are overwhelmed by the deluge of illegal immigrants, leading some states to develop their own enforcement mechanisms. Arizona’s famous example (and controversial immigration law) found majority support in a number of nationwide polls, and respondents’ desire for increased local involvement as it is framed here is further indicative of a greater desire to supplement federal resources.

- Men (59% “more involved”) and women (48% “more involved”) evidenced a slight gender gap on the concept of local law enforcement better “policing” the situation, although only 15% of either gender urged local authorities to actually back off immigration enforcement altogether.
- All age ranges favored more local involvement over less.

	New England	Mid-Atlantic	East North Central	West North Central	South Atlantic	East South Central	West South Central	Mountain	Pacific
<b><u>More Involved</u></b>	46%	46%	62%	45%	62%	45%	59%	38%	44%
<b><u>Less Involved</u></b>	21%	19%	9%	17%	10%	12%	9%	17%	23%
<b><u>Stay the Same</u></b>	25%	26%	25%	31%	22%	23%	24%	39%	27%

- **The Southern regions were most likely to welcome greater involvement from local officers on immigration enforcement (61% “more involved” in the Southern region vs. 46% in the Northeast, 56% in the Midwest, and 42% in the West),** an unsurprising characteristic given that region’s proximity to the Mexican border.
- Majorities of self-described Independents (57%) and Republicans (70%) came down on the same side of this issue and preferred that local authorities take a more active role in immigration enforcement. Democrats took a separate tact as 36% endorsed the status quo, followed by another 31% who said that local officers should have an increased role. The desire for increased involvement also extended to ideology as pluralities of self-described liberals (39%) and moderates (46%), along with a majority of conservatives (67%), favored this approach.

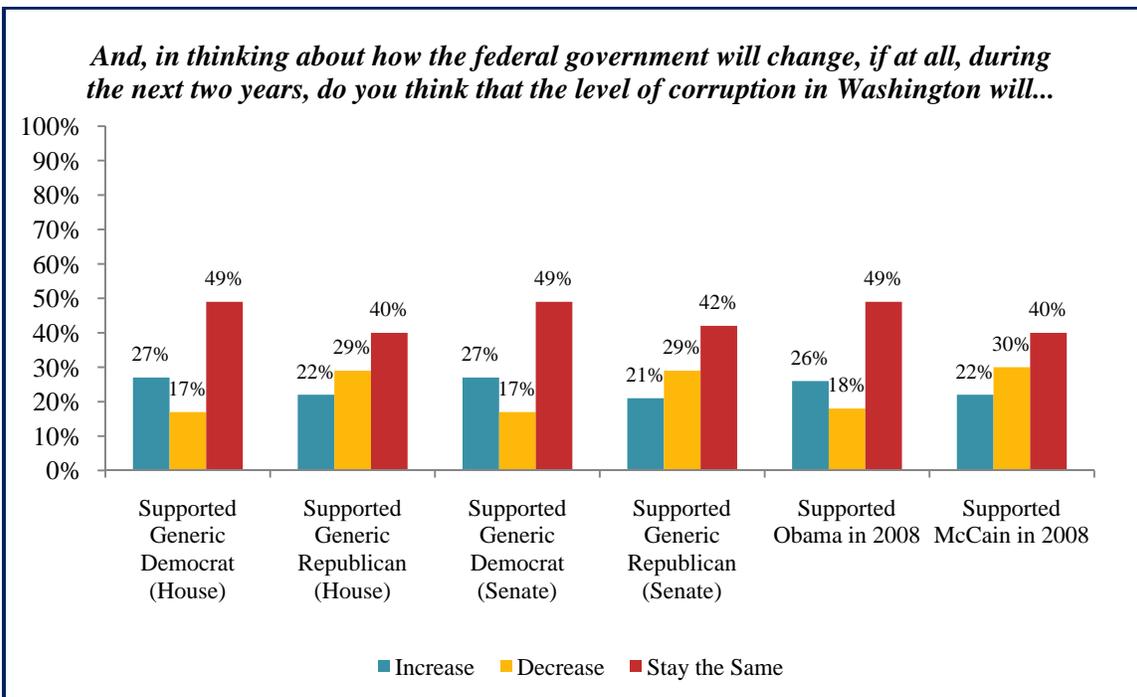
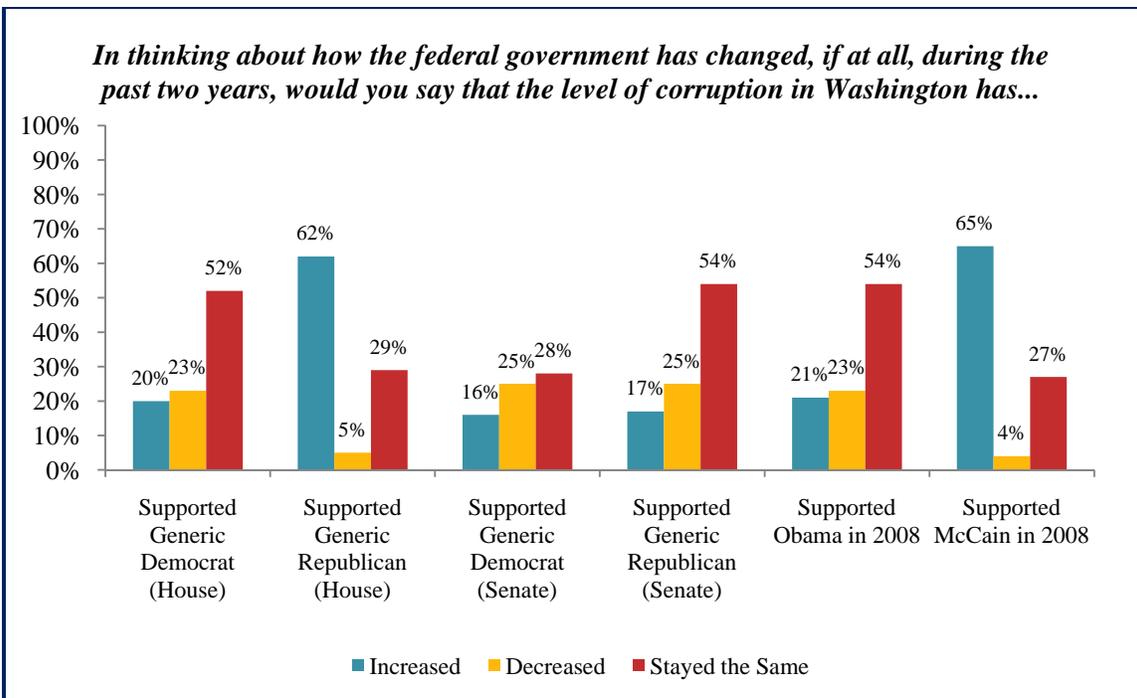
***Congressional Corruption in the Crosshairs***

Even given the lofty rhetoric associated with President Obama’s rise to national office (or perhaps due to), and the few bad apples in the 2006 GOP (e.g., Congressmen Mark Foley, Duke Cunningham, Bob Ney), respondents hardly noticed the change in Washington the President promised on the campaign trail. Over 80% of respondents believed that corruption had either increased (43%) or remained unchanged (39%) during the first two years of his term. Only 13% saw positive movement.

Respondents were split about future prospects when it comes to “corruption in Washington,” with roughly the same numbers of voters predicting it would increase and decrease. A 44% plurality believed the level of corruption would stay the same in the immediate future. **Those candidates riding the anti-establishment wave to victory this November have not yet inspired corresponding levels of confidence that they will actually decrease the corruption in Washington.**

<i>In thinking about how the federal government has changed, if at all, during the past two years, would you say that the level of corruption in Washington has (ROTATED) increased, decreased, or stayed the same?</i>		<i>And, in thinking about how the federal government will change, if at all, during the next two years, do you think that the level of corruption in Washington will (ROTATED) increase, decrease, or stay the same?</i>	
<i>Increased</i>	43%	24%	<i>Increase</i>
<i>Decreased</i>	13%	23%	<i>Decrease</i>
<i>Stayed the Same</i>	39%	44%	<i>Stay the Same</i>

- Men were more likely than women (48% vs. 39%) to recognize increased federal corruption over the past two years. However, each gender arrived at the same conclusion once gazing into their crystal ball, with 44% of both men and women believing that Washington will remain corrupt as ever.
- Among the three party self-identifications, Republicans were most likely to see that corruption had increased over the past two years (62% vs. 47% of Independents and 21% of Dems). The voter enthusiasm that translated into Election Day victories did not encourage similar levels of optimism for Republicans thinking about the upcoming Congress, as only 26% of self-identified Republicans said corruption would decrease (an attitude shared by 20% of Independents and 18% of Democrats).



- Republican voters were hesitant to offer a full vote of confidence to their party's resurgence in Washington. While those who voted for the Republican candidate this Election Day or for John McCain in 2008 sensed corruption was rampant this past term, neither of those groups were more inclined to say that corruption would decrease with GOP at the helm of the House of Representatives. This reveals an underlying skepticism that newly-minted representatives must work to overcome.

### ***Corruption Coincides With Fattened Fed***

As the federal government has usurped responsibilities traditionally vested in states or individuals, the oversight mechanisms have shifted from local institutions to megalithic entities in Washington. This reeks of insider politics and is viewed with appropriate skepticism by the voting public.

Furthermore, the centralization of power confers awesome authority in a select few individuals, rather than dispersing power amongst the masses and thus minimizing the harm done by a single corrupt individual. **Nearly two-out-of-every-three respondents (60%) believed that the federal government's power grab led to a corresponding rise in the propensity for corruption. Less than half as many (27%) were inclined to believe consolidating power in the federal government would limit the opportunities for corruption.**

- Majorities of men (64%) and women (57%) both saw a nexus between the federal government's increased power and a chance for corruption.
- **Respondents of all political stripes believed that the federal government's increased scope would increase rather than limit the opportunities for corruption.** Democrats offered the most tepid support for this idea as 43% believed that it would increase the likelihood of corruption (compared to 37% who said federal power would reduce corruption), while it found support among a majority of Independents (54%) and Republicans (76%).
- Notably, even those who voted for a Democratic representative to Congress were more likely to equate between greater federal power and increased opportunity for corruption (42% vs. 37% taking the opposite approach). This should encourage Democrats to work with Republicans to reign in the federal government and fight the stigma of corruption that voters associate with legislators in Washington of either political party.

***Does a federal government with more powers and authorities over citizens and states (ROTATED) create more or reduce opportunities for corruption?***

*(PROBE: And would that be DEFINITELY or PROBABLY CREATE MORE/REDUCE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CORRUPTION)*

**60% TOTAL CREATE MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CORRUPTION (NET)**

37% DEFINITELY CREATE MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CORRUPTION

23% PROBABLY CREATE MORE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CORRUPTION

**27% TOTAL REDUCE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CORRUPTION (NET)**

15% PROBABLY REDUCE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CORRUPTION

12% DEFINITELY REDUCE OPPORTUNITIES FOR CORRUPTION

11% DO NOT KNOW (DO NOT READ)

2% REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

**Corruption A Major Catalyst for Financial Crisis**

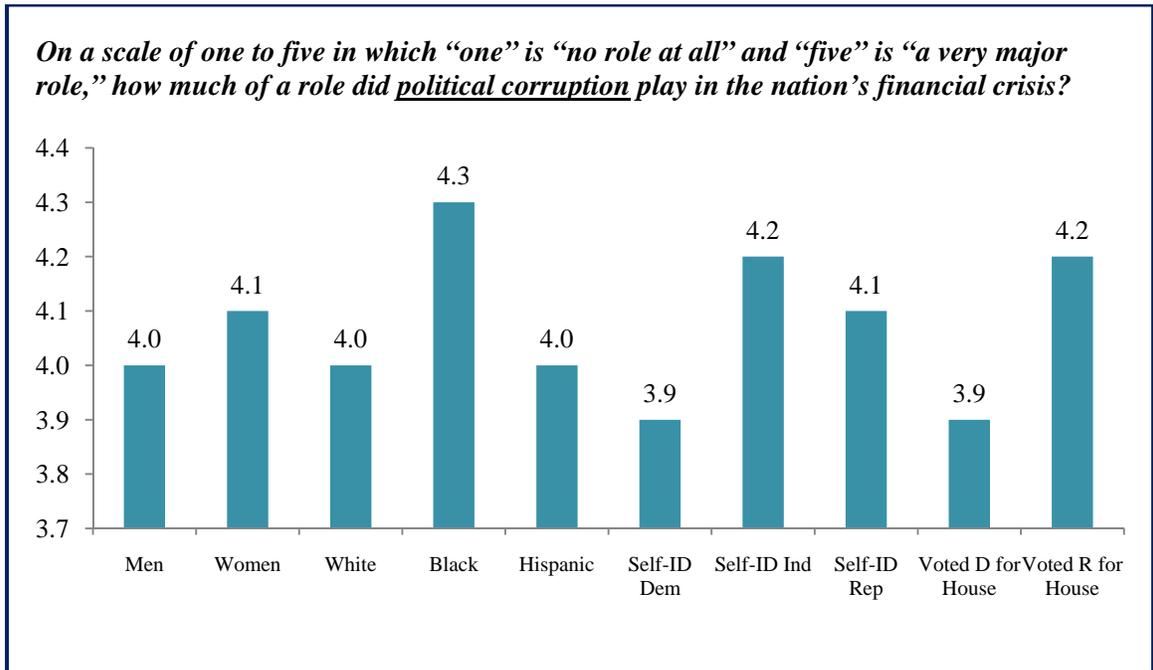
**Respondents' scores clustered toward the higher end of the spectrum when asked to gauge the extent to which political corruption spurred America's financial crisis.** Citizens reduced the complex web connecting Wall Street to Washington to a simple point: free-wheeling, backroom dealing suffocated leading financial organs to the brink of collapse. The aftershocks of the housing and mortgage scandals continue to resonate in the economy, and the country remains mired in a recession. **Highlighting those officials whose corruption made the financial crises possible will prove a compelling argument to voters, many of whom are struggling to make ends meet and hope to identify the guilty parties.**

- Pluralities of all major subgroups believed that political corruption played “a very major role” in the U.S. financial crisis.
- Those who claimed to have voted for Barack Obama in 2008 were slightly LESS likely to view political corruption (mean score 3.9) as an instigator for the financial crises than those who had voted for McCain (mean score 4.2)

*On a scale of one to five in which “one” is “no role at all” and “five” is “a very major role,” how much of a role did political corruption play in the nation’s financial crisis?*

3%	1 – “NO ROLE AT ALL”
7%	2
19%	3
21%	4
47%	5 – “A VERY MAJOR ROLE”
3%	DO NOT KNOW (DO NOT READ)
1%	REFUSED (DO NOT READ)

**4.0 MEAN SCORE**



**Voters Have Money on the Mind – The Economy, Jobs, Government Spending Dominate Most Important Issues List**

The economy and jobs have occupied the top spot in nearly all “most important issue” inquiries asked in thousands of polls conducted over the past two years. When asked what was on their minds as they headed into the voting booths this week, the same trend held true. When presented with a list of 12 possible “issues” that could have dominated their voting matrices, 36% said the economy and jobs mattered most. **This issue reigned supreme for at least 34% of men, women, and voters of all ages, races, and the four major geographic regions. It was also the leading issue among pluralities of self-identified Democrats (40%), Independents (40%), and Republicans (32%).**

- **Government spending placed second among the 12 concerns at 14%. Cohorts more likely than most to cite this as their prime issue included '08 McCain voters (25%), self-identified Republicans (23%), tea party supporters (22%)<sup>1</sup>, married men (21%), and conservatives (19%).**
- Government programs like Social Security, Medicare, and Medicaid ranked third at 11%. It was a greater concern among voters with incomes of \$25,000 or less (20%) or between \$25,000 and \$49,999 (16%), seniors (18%), voters with a high school degree or less (18%), self-identified Democrats (17%), and '08 Obama supporters (15%).
- Healthcare was a greater concern for 35-44 year olds (15%) and for voters with post-graduate degrees (14%) than to the average respondent.
- Women were twice as likely as men to name education (9% vs. 4%). Hispanics (20%), Moms (18%), Blacks (15%), voters aged 25-34 (14%), self-identified Democrats (10%), and '08 Obama voters (10%) also stood out as more likely than most to say education mattered to them.
- Abortion was of greater importance to Evangelical Protestants than to the average respondent (8% vs. 5%). No other subgroups stood out as statistically more likely to cite abortion as the top issue among the 12 asked.

<i>When deciding which candidate to support for United States House of Representatives, which of the following issues was most important to you:</i>	
36%	THE ECONOMY AND JOBS
14%	GOVERNMENT SPENDING
11%	GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS LIKE SOCIAL SECURITY, MEDICARE, AND MEDICAID
10%	HEALTH CARE
7%	EDUCATION
5%	ABORTION
3%	TAXES
3%	ETHICS/REFORM
2%	THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN
2%	THE ENVIRONMENT
2%	IMMIGRATION
1%	NATIONAL SECURITY/TERRORISM
3%	OTHER (VOL.)
1%	NONE OF THE ABOVE (VOL.)
2%	DO NOT KNOW (VOL.)

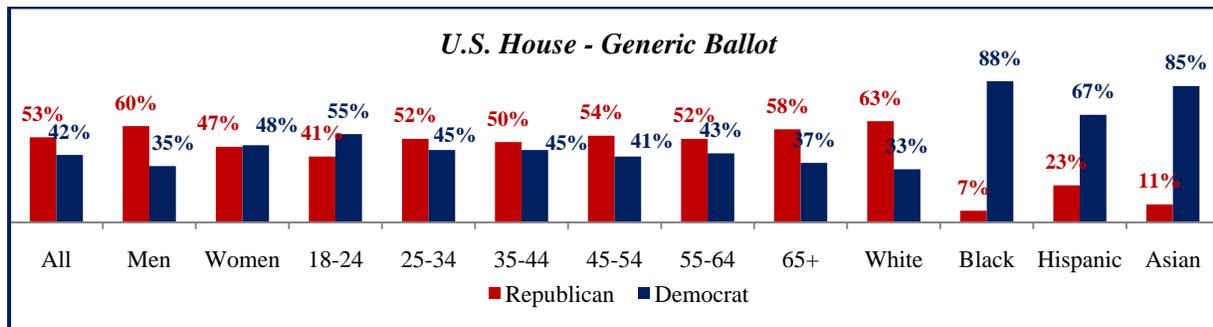
<sup>1</sup> Defined as those who are active members of the tea party movement or who are familiar with the movement and positive toward it.

## Republican Victory Among Independents Ushers House Takeover

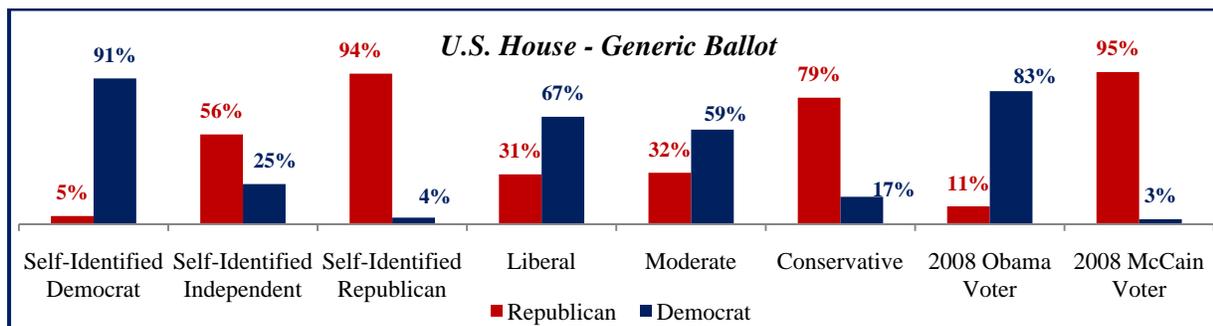
Pre-election polling showed Republicans with a considerable advantage in the generic ballot question. In the week prior to the election, polls ranged from R+4 in the Washington Post/ABC News poll (10/25-28) to R+15 in the Gallup poll (10/28-31). Among the 834 actual voters who took part in this poll, the Republican congressional candidate ended with an R+11 advantage, taking 53% of votes overall while the Democratic candidate carried 42%.

**SNAPSHOT - BY THE NUMBERS:**  
 111<sup>th</sup> Congress U.S. House Line-Up:  
**255 Democrats**  
**178 Republicans**  
**2 Vacancies**

- **Gender:** There was a sizeable gender gap, as men favored Republicans for the U.S. House of Representatives by a margin of 60%-35% while women backed Democrats by a single point, 48%-47%.
- **Race:** While 63% of Whites supported Republicans, majorities of Blacks (88%), Asians (85%), and Hispanics (67%) voted for Democrats.
- **Geography:** Republicans enjoyed the support of majorities of voters in the Midwest (57%), South (58%), and West (56%) while Democrats benefitted from the support of 58% of those in the Northeast.



Anticipated partisan preferences emerged, as majorities self-identified Democrats backed Democrats and majorities of Republicans favored Republicans. **Self-identified Independents broke for Republicans by more than 2-to-1 (56%-25%); 18% of self-identified Independents said they voted for third-party candidates.** Notably, self-identified Independent men favored Republicans by 4-to-1 (64%-16%) while **Independent women supported Republicans by an 8-point margin (45%-37%).**



### Other notable findings:

- **Small-business owners broke for Republicans** at the U.S. House level by a larger margin than their non-SBO counterparts (59%-36% and 51%-44%, respectively).
- **Tea Party:** While 88% of voters favorable toward the tea party movement supported Republicans, 88% negative toward the tea party movement favored Democrats.
- **Income:** With the exception of the under-\$25,000 income bracket, majorities of voters across the income spectrum – middle- and upper-class alike – voted for Republicans on the congressional level.
- The gender gap was more pronounced when **marital status** was taken into account, a typical division politically: married women favored Republicans 54%-40% while single women backed Democrats 60%-38%. While married men opted for Republicans, too, and by a sizeable 66%-30% margin, unmarried men favored Democrats by only two points (47%-45%).
- **Union households and non-union households** mirrored each other. Voters in union households favored Democrats 57%-37% while those not in union households supported Republicans 57%-38%.
- **Gun-owning households** favored Republicans 63%-33%.
- After much attention to **Evangelical Protestant** attrition from the GOP, born-again Christians in this survey said they supported Republicans over Democrats by nearly 3-to-1 (71%-25%).
- **Religious attendance was a stronger indicator of voting behavior than religious affiliation:** Catholics who attend Mass at least once per week supported Republicans by a 59%-34% margin while those who attend less often favored Democrats 53%-45%. Similarly, church-going Protestants broke for Republicans by a 68%-27% margin. However, unlike their Catholic counterparts, Protestants who attend religious services infrequently indicated that they too supported Republicans, albeit by smaller margins (51%-44%).
- Voters with high levels **cable news and talk radio consumption** favored Republicans. Those who take in at least three hours per week of one of the five major “political news” cable stations (Fox, CNN, C-SPAN, CNBC, or MSNBC) favored Republicans 54%-41%. Those who listen to at least six hours of talk radio per week backed Republicans by more than 2-to-1 (66%-32%).

In follow-up questions, supporters were asked why they backed Republicans and Democrats. As the table below outlines, pluralities of those who supported Democrats or Republicans said their primary concern was endorsing the agenda of the party represented by the candidate they supported. Still, the combined percentages of Republican voters AGAINST either the President or Democratic agenda outweighed the percentage in support of the Republican agenda.

Was your vote for the Republican candidate...? (N=445)		Was your vote for the Democratic candidate...? (N=349)	
42%	MOSTLY IN SUPPORT OF THE REPUBLICAN AGENDA	40%	MOSTLY IN SUPPORT OF THE DEMOCRATIC AGENDA
27%	MOSTLY AGAINST THE DEMOCRATIC AGENDA	33%	MOSTLY IN SUPPORT OF PRESIDENT OBAMA
22%	MOSTLY AGAINST PRESIDENT OBAMA	17%	MOSTLY AGAINST THE REPUBLICAN AGENDA
5%	DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)	7%	DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
4%	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)	3%	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

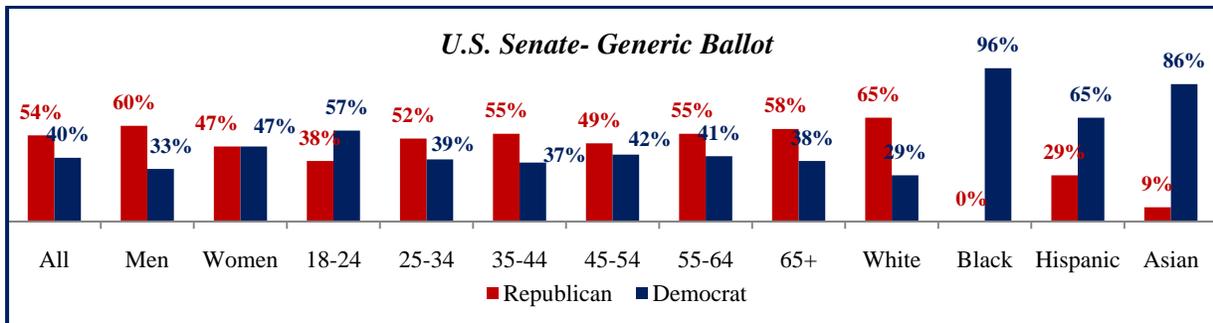
**Senate Ballot: Republicans’ Gains Reflected in Republican Advantage in Post-Election Survey**

Among the 74% of respondents residing in a state with a U.S. Senate contest, 54% voted for the Republican and 40% voted for the Democrat.

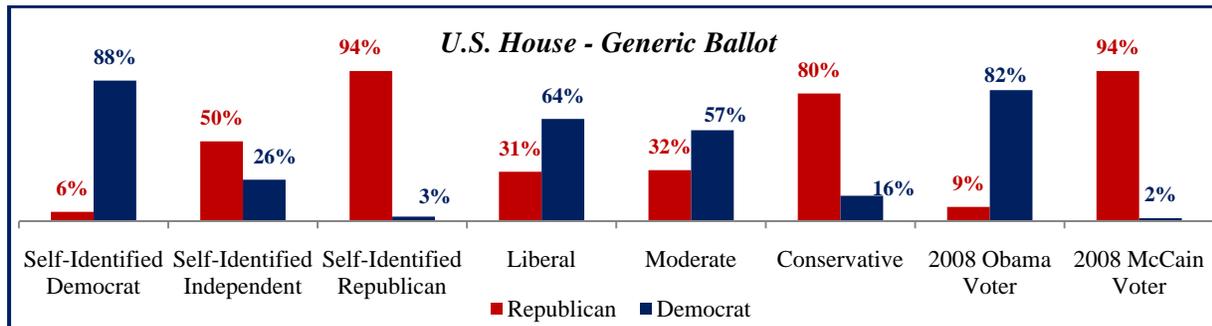
**SNAPSHOT - BY THE NUMBERS:  
111<sup>th</sup> Congress U.S. Senate Line-Up:**  
 57 Democrats  
 41 Republicans  
 2 Independents

**On the Ballot in 2010:**  
 19 Democratic-Held Seats  
 18 Republican-Held Seats

- As was the case with the U.S. House ballot, men overwhelmingly supported Republicans in Senate races. Women who voted in these races split: 47% Republican and 47% Democrat. Similarly, the marriage gap was more pronounced than the gender gap. While married women favored Republicans 59%-33%, single women preferred Democrats by exactly 2-to-1 (64%-32%). Married men were joined by unmarried men in preferring Republicans (66%-30% and 46%-41%, respectively).
- Again, too, a majority of Whites backed Republicans while majorities of African-Americans (96%), Asian-American (86%), and Latinos (65%) supported Democrats.



Naturally, Republicans supported Republicans and Democrats supported Democrats. However, the very critical **“Independent” bloc favored GOP candidates for U.S. Senate over Democratic candidates by almost 2-to-1 (50%-26%)**. Almost one-quarter (24%) of Independents said they pulled the levers for a third-party candidate. **Moderates, on the other hand, favored Democrats for U.S. Senate handily, by 25 points (57% Democrat vs. 32% Republican)**. Though majorities of Obama and McCain supporters offered their support to Democrats and Republicans, respectively, there was a 12-point gap in support for partisans, as shown in the adjacent graph:



**Other notable findings on the U.S. Senate ballot:**

- Majorities in the Midwest (56%), South (60%), and West (55%) favored Republicans while the majority of those in the Northeast (56%) supported Democrats.
- **Nine-in-ten voters positive toward the tea party movement voted for Republicans.** Nearly the same percentage of those negative toward the grassroots effort – 87% – supported Democrats.
- **Small business owners favored Republican candidates for Senate by a 58%-33% margin.**
- Three-in-five voters in union households (61%) backed Democrats while 59% of those not in union households supported Republicans.
- Whereas there were major divisions of opinion between frequent and infrequent church attendees in the House ballot, majorities of frequent Catholics (57%), infrequent Catholics (51%), frequent Protestants (71%), and infrequent Protestants (52%) supported Republicans.
- Sixty-six percent of voters who said they were atheist, agnostic, or unaffiliated, as well as three-in-five (60%) who never attend religious services said they supported Democrats. There is naturally overlap between these two audiences.

## Independent Inroads Help Republicans to Secure Governors' Mansions

Among the 74% of respondents residing in a state with Governors' races, 50% said they voted for the Republican and 41% voted for the Democrat.

- **Men voted for Republicans by nearly 20 points (54%-36%) while women split: 47% Democrat vs. 46% Republican.**
- The same racial/ethnic disparities emerged as with other offices: a majority of Whites favored Republicans while majorities of African-Americans (88%), Asians (71%), and Hispanics (66%) supported Democrats.

### SNAPSHOT - BY THE NUMBERS:

#### GOVERNORS:

#### Pre-Election Line-Up:

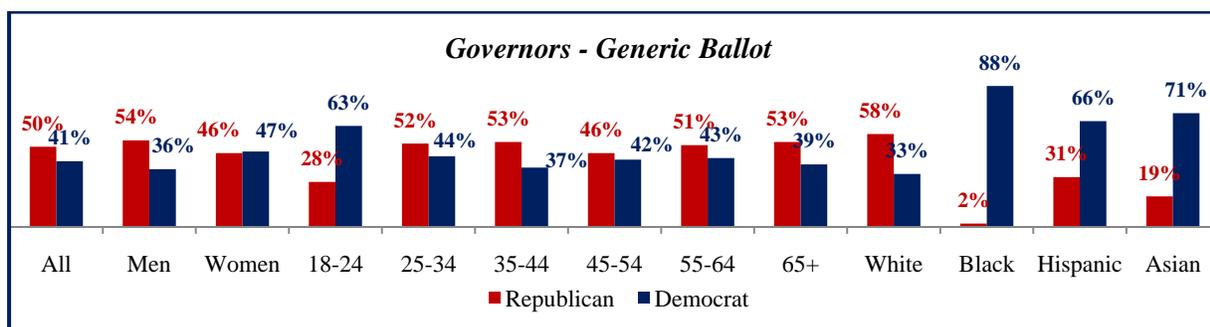
26 Democrats

24 Republicans

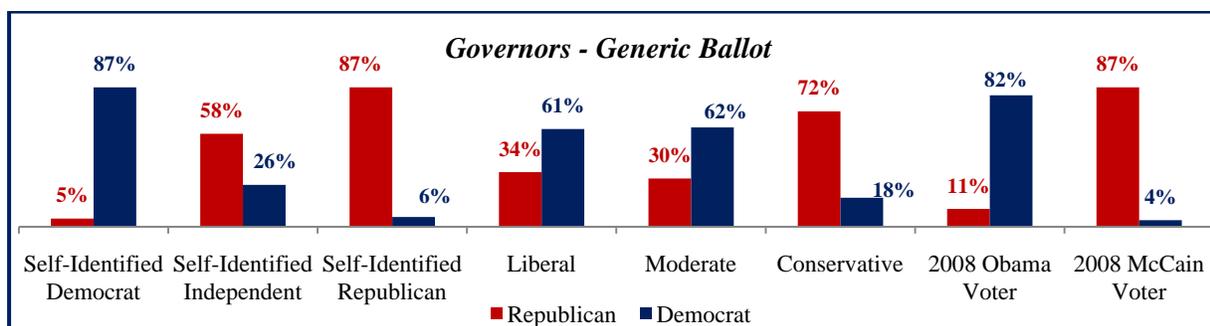
#### On the Ballot in 2010:

19 Democratic-Held Seats

18 Republican-Held Seats



Eighty-seven percent of Democrats backed Democratic gubernatorial candidates while 87% of Republicans favored Republicans. Independents overwhelmingly favored Republicans (58%-26%). While conservatives joined with Republicans and liberals with Democrats, the ideological so-called “middle” behaved more like Democrats and liberals than like Independents, as they supported Democrats for Governor by more than 2-to-1 (62%-30%).



### Other notable findings on governors' races:

- **Small-business owners backed Republican gubernatorial candidates 58%-35%.**
- Among **government employees, 53% pulled levers for Democrats, 36% pulled them for Republicans for governor.**
- **Union households favored Democrats as governors 58%-31%.**

- **Gun-owning households** favored Republicans over Democrats 57%-34%.
- **Heavy listeners of talk radio – those who listen six or more hours per week – supported the Republican by almost 2-to-1 (57%-30%). However, cable news watchers (3+ hours per week) reflected the average, supporting Republicans over Democrats 51%-40%.**