

The Vernon K. Krieble Foundation

November 2006



**Summary of Findings from a Series of
National Surveys, conducted November 2-7, 2006.**

Presented by:



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Research Methodology

On behalf of the Vernon K. Krieble Foundation, Public Opinion Strategies is pleased to present the key findings from the following surveys:

- ✓ A national Internet survey of 600 likely voters, conducted November 2-6, 2006. Margin of error ±4.0%;
- ✓ A national telephone survey of 800 actual voters, conducted November 7, 2006. Margin of error ±3.5%; and,
- ✓ A national telephone survey of 1600 actual voters, conducted November 7, 2006. Margin of error ±2.5%.

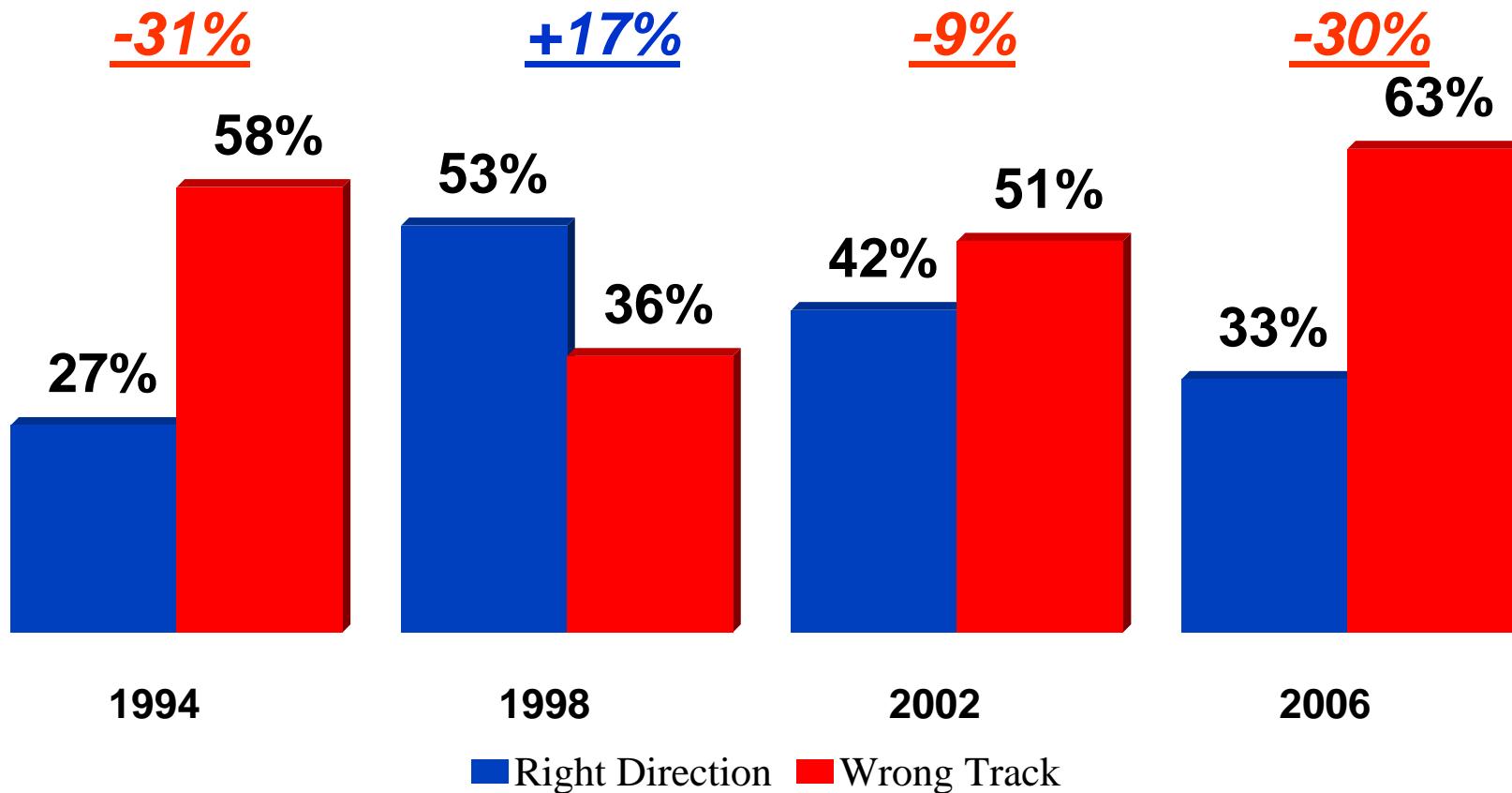
Please note: Additional data sources are referenced throughout this presentation, including exit polls and NBC/WSJ national data.

Understanding the election



Not since the Republicans took control of the House in 1994 has the electorate been in such a sour mood about the direction of the country on election night.

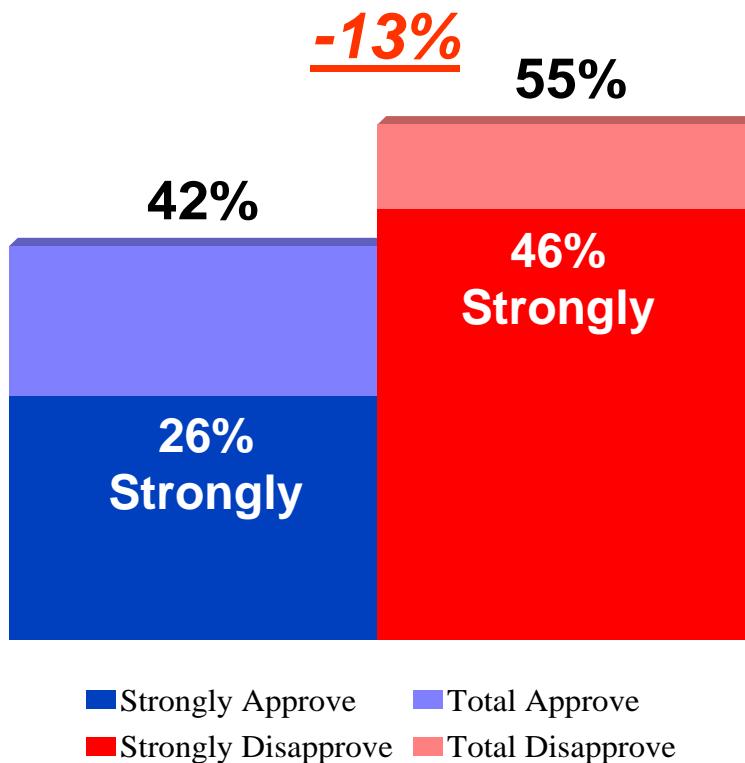
Mood of the Country Trend



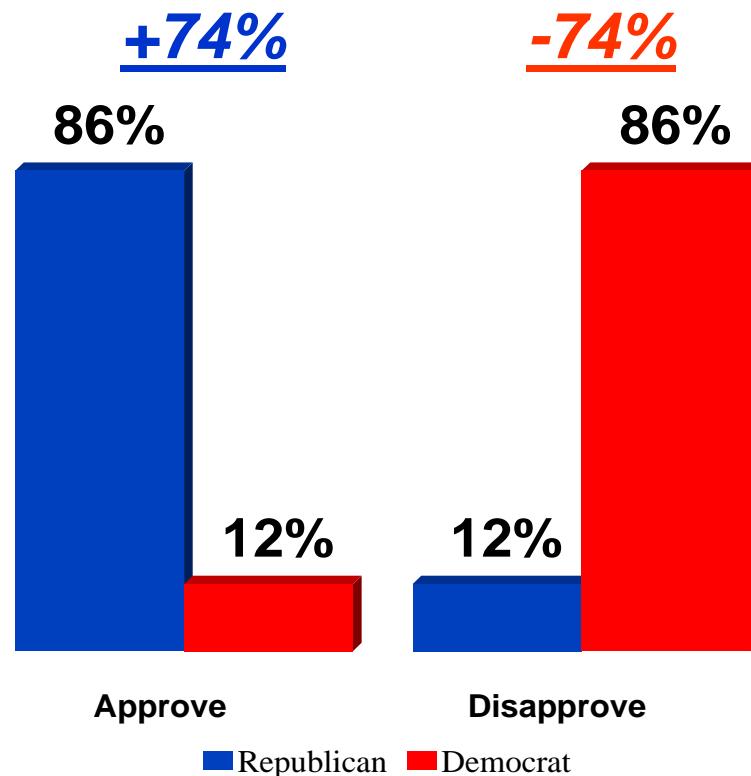
Now, generally speaking, would you say that things in the COUNTRY are going in the right direction, or have they pretty seriously gotten off on the wrong track?

This election was nationalized around attitudes about President Bush. Voters cast their Congressional ballot according to their approval or disapproval of the President.

Bush Approval



**Congressional Ballot
By Bush Approval**

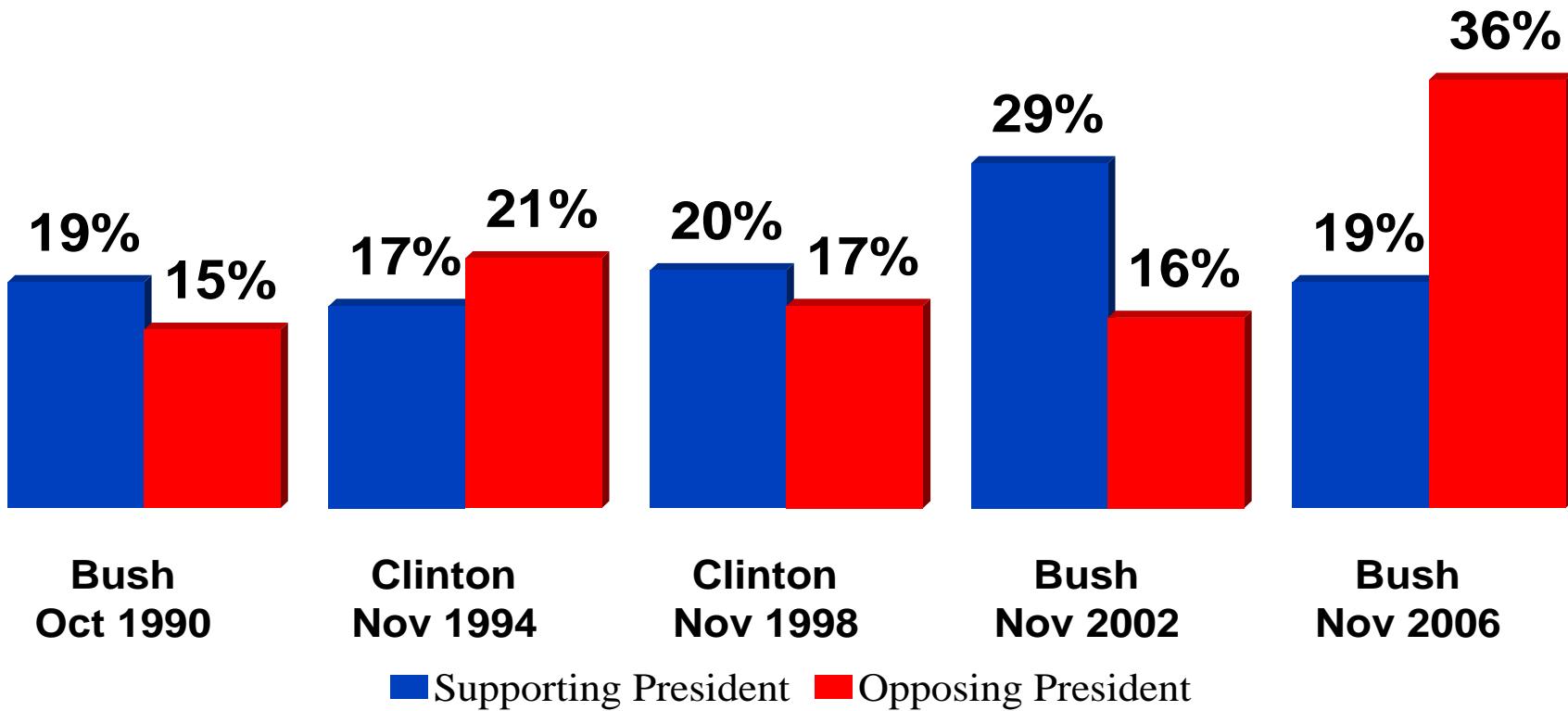


And, do you approve or disapprove of the job George W. Bush is doing as President?

And, for whom did you vote in the election for U.S. Congress in your district... the Republican candidate...or... the Democratic candidate?

A majority of voters say their vote was a message to support or express opposition to President Bush. This is the highest percentage of the vote wrapped around a President we have seen in a mid-term election.

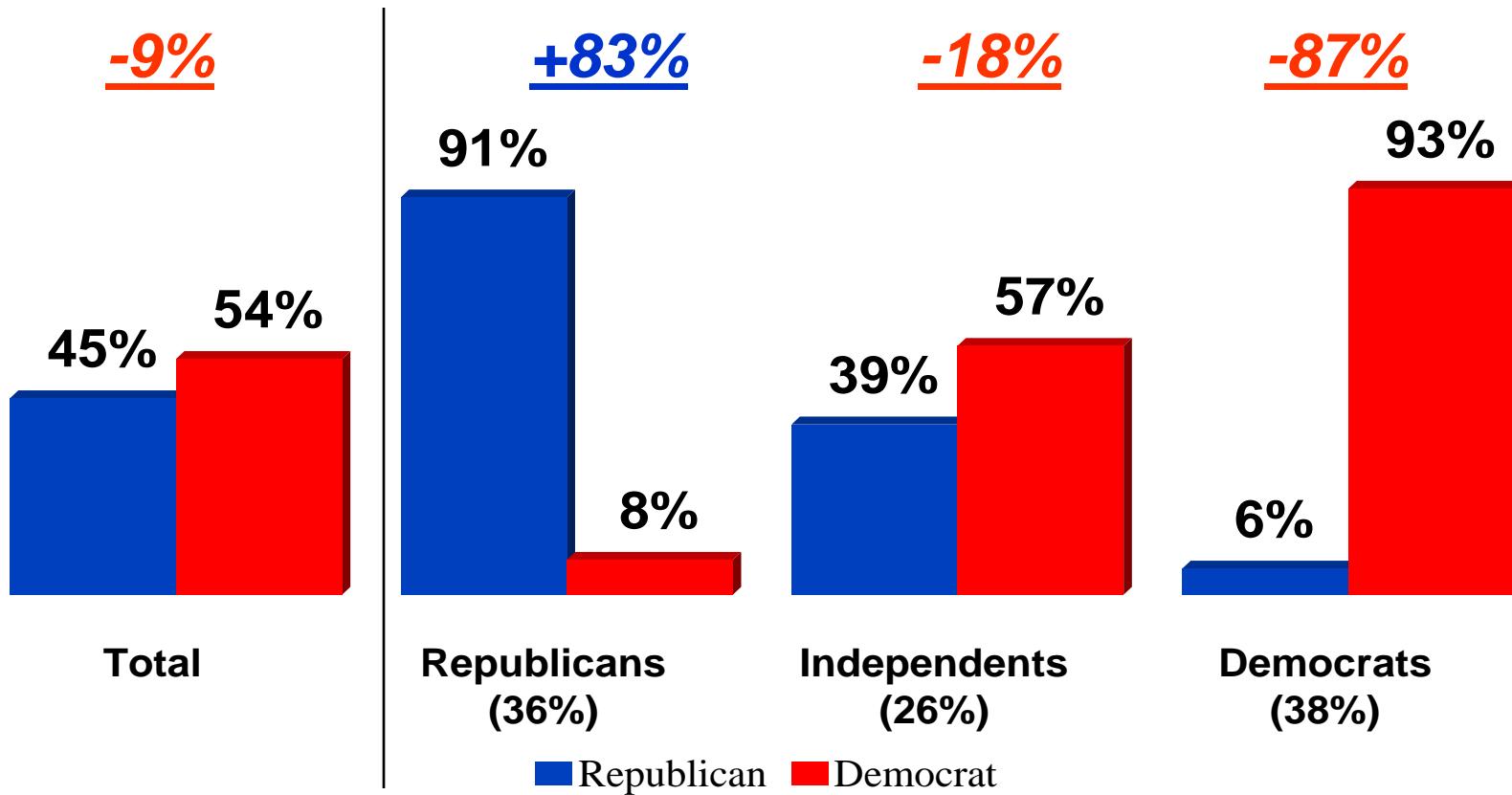
Mid-Term Elections: Sending A Message



Thinking some more about your vote for U.S. Congress, would you say your vote for U.S. Congress in this year's election was a vote to send...a message SUPPORTING President Bush and his policies and programs, a message OPPOSING President Bush and his policies and programs ...or... not a message either way about President Bush or his policies and programs?

Voters registered their discontent at the polls, voting for change and a Democratic House of Representatives. While Republicans and Democrats voted along party lines, the scales were tipped by Independents.

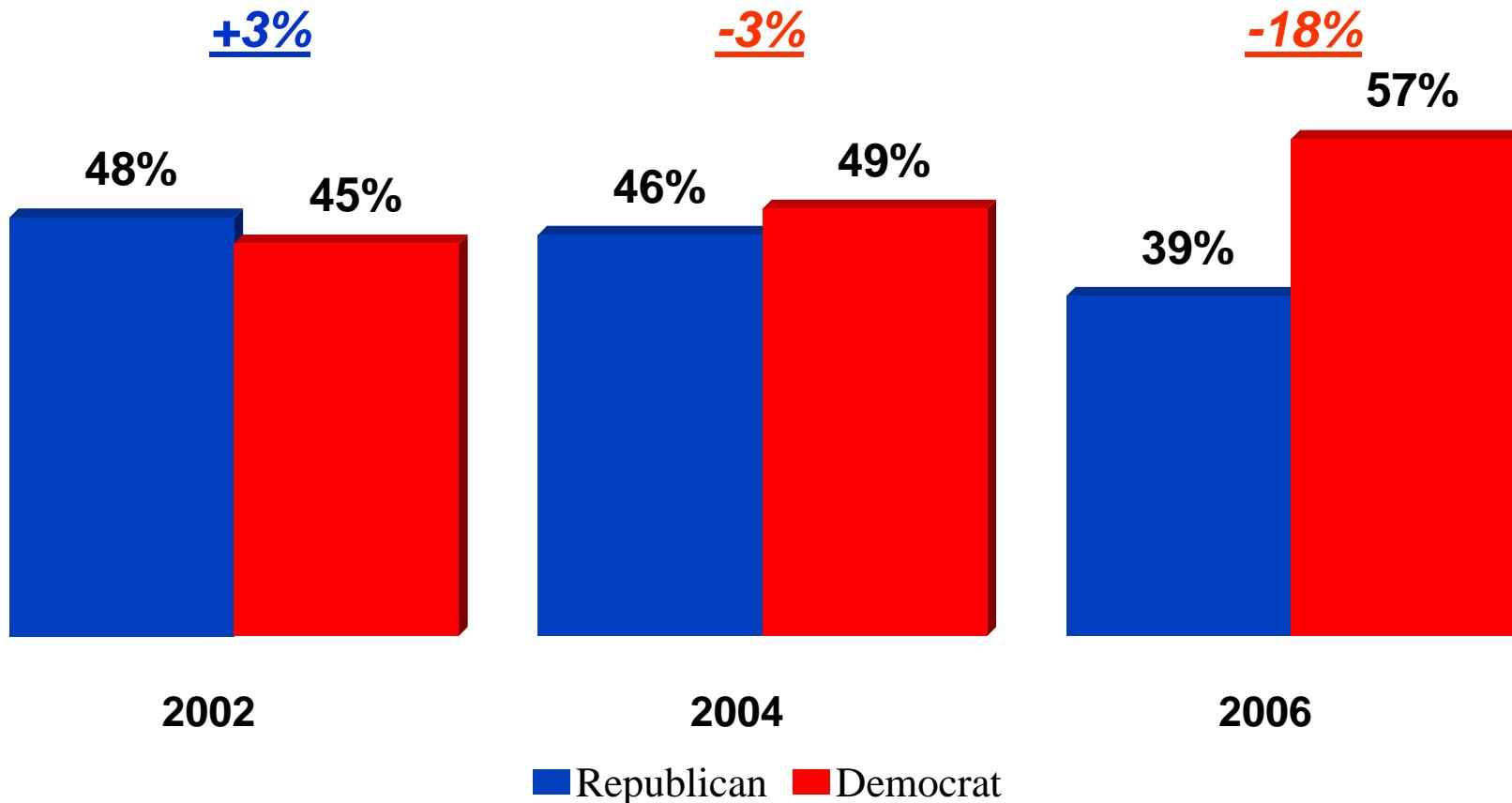
National Exit Poll: Congressional Ballot Overall and By Party



And, for whom did you vote in the election for U.S. Congress in your district... the Republican candidate...or... the Democratic candidate?

In the last mid-term election, Independents leaned towards the Republicans in their Congressional vote. This year the majority opted for the Democrats.

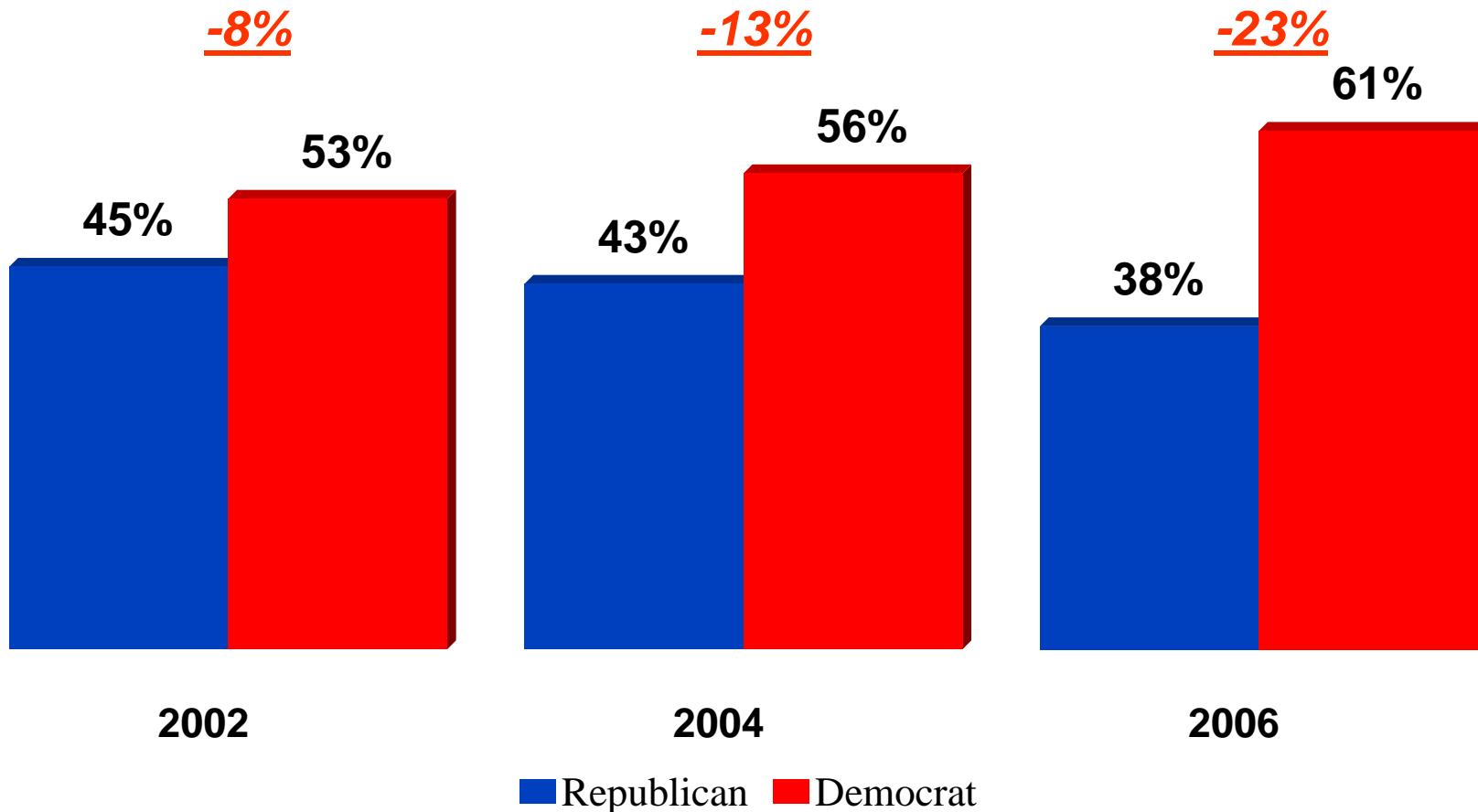
National Exit Polls: Congressional Ballot Trend Among Independents



And, for whom did you vote in the election for U.S. Congress in your district... the Republican candidate...or... the Democratic candidate?

In 2002, moderates slightly favored the Democrats. This year, their vote was decisively Democratic.

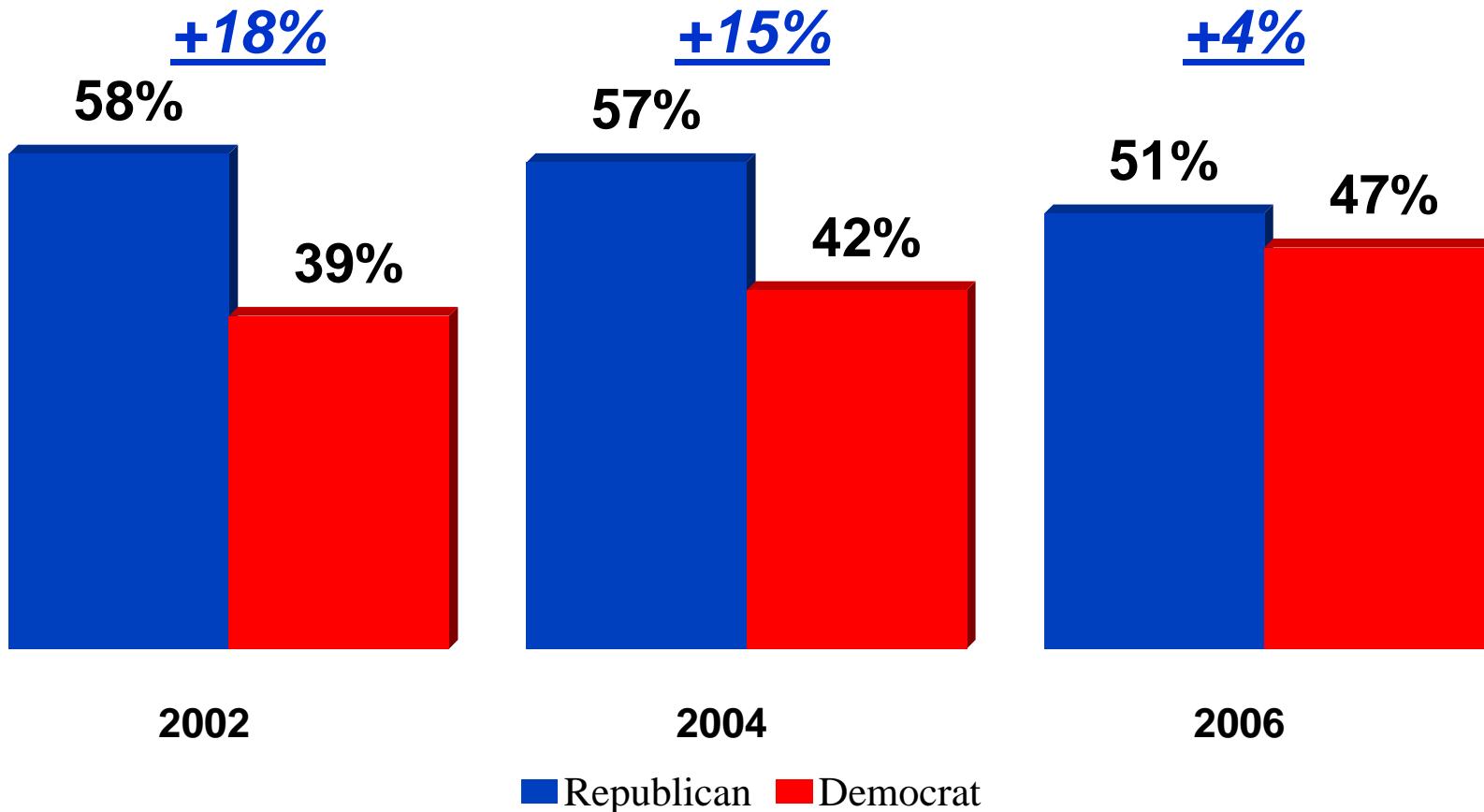
National Exit Polls: Congressional Ballot Trend Among Moderates



And, for whom did you vote in the election for U.S. Congress in your district... the Republican candidate...or... the Democratic candidate?

White voters barely chose the Republican candidate – a significant drop in support since 2002.

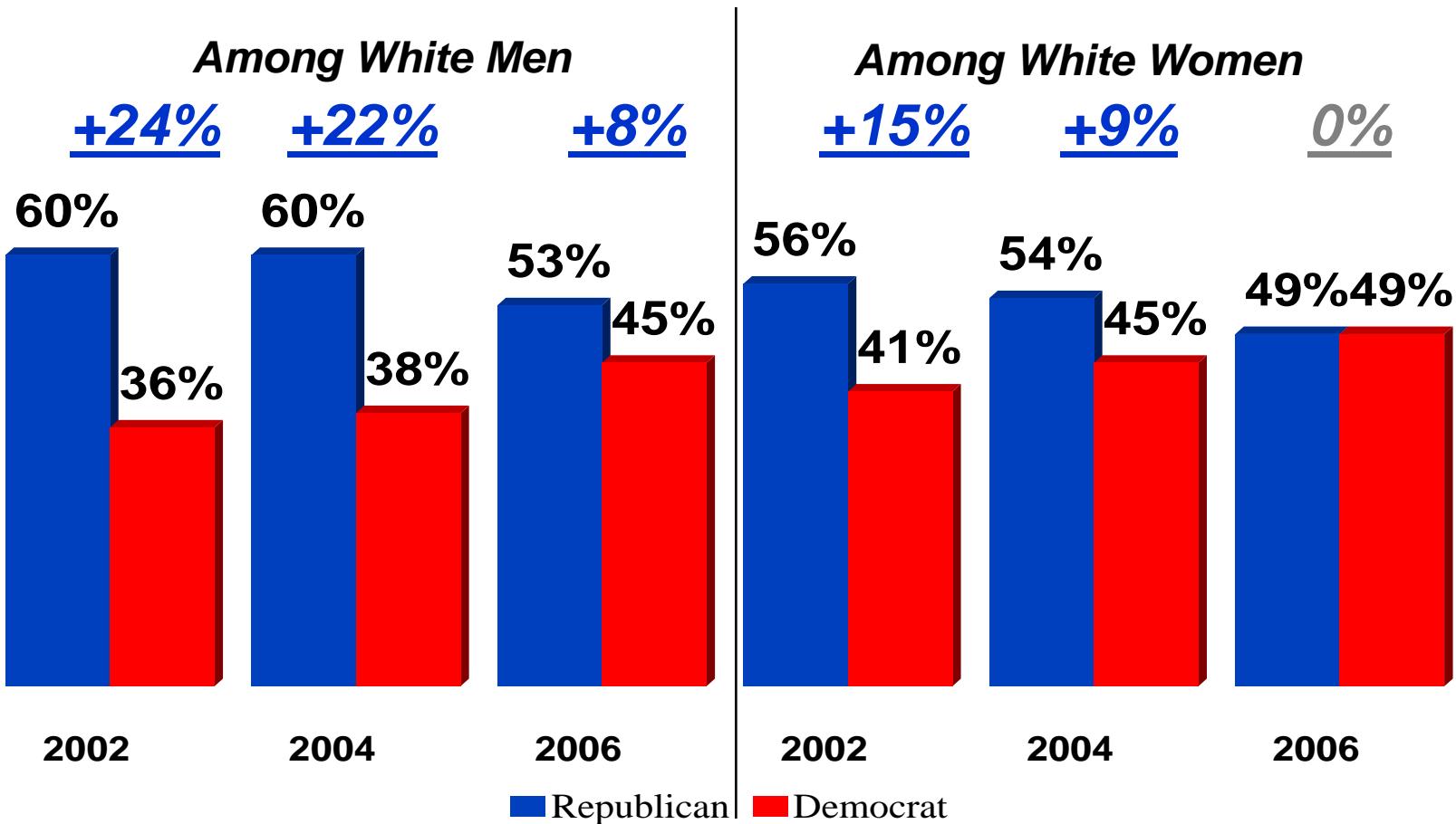
National Exit Polls: Congressional Ballot Trend Among Whites



And, for whom did you vote in the election for U.S. Congress in your district... the Republican candidate...or... the Democratic candidate?

Support for the Republicans dropped among both White men and White women.

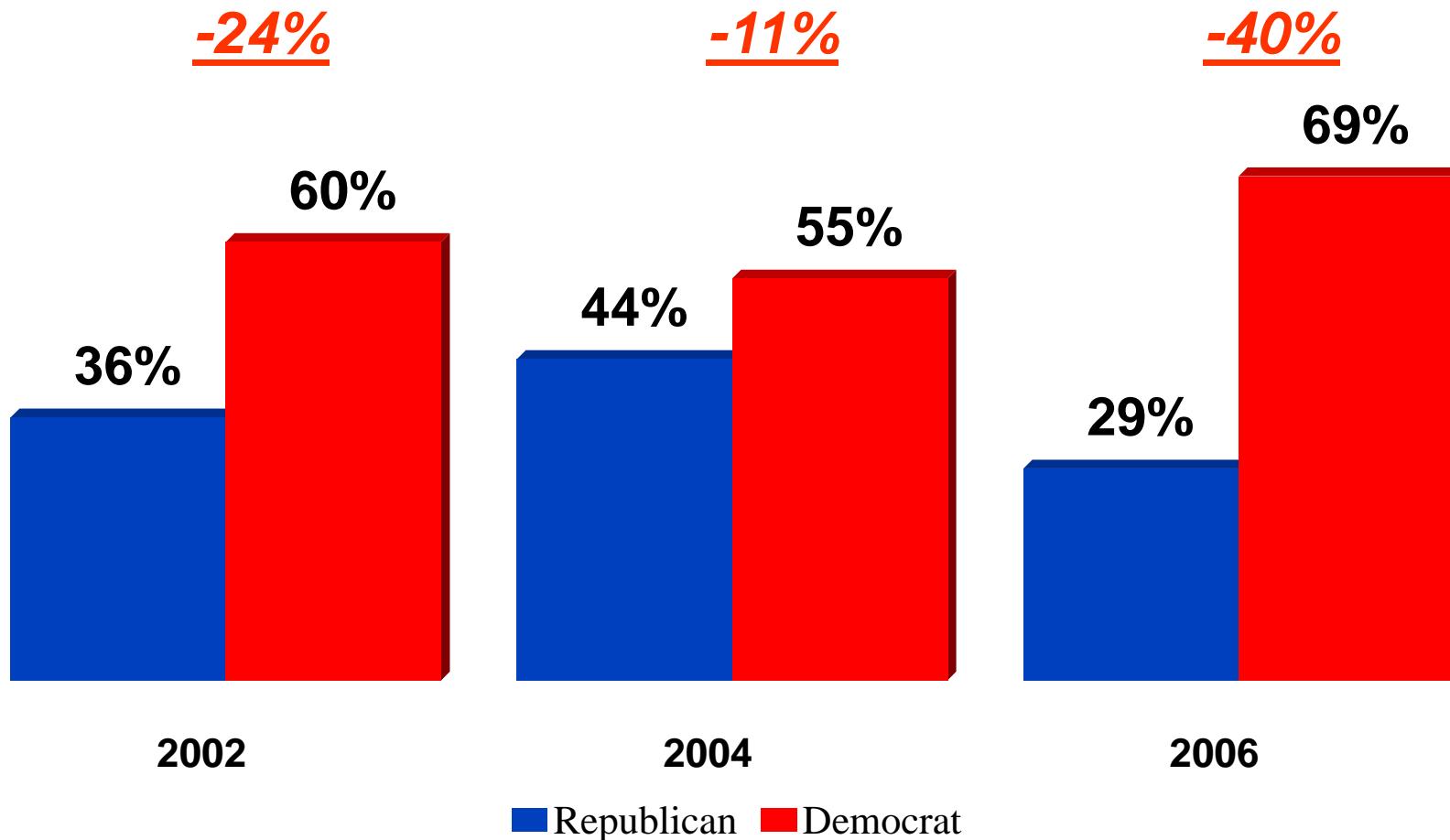
National Exit Polls: Congressional Ballot Trend Among White Men and White Women



And, for whom did you vote in the election for U.S. Congress in your district... the Republican candidate...or... the Democratic candidate?

Hispanics voted Democrat by a margin of more than two-to-one.

National Exit Polls: Congressional Ballot Trend Among Hispanics

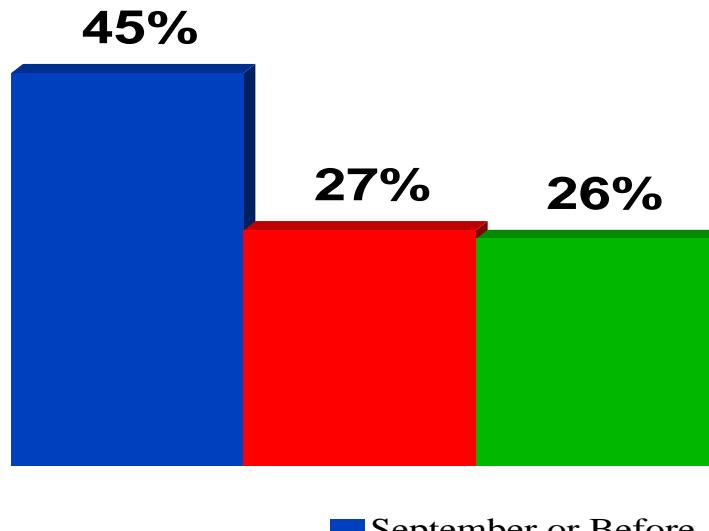


And, for whom did you vote in the election for U.S. Congress in your district... the Republican candidate...or... the Democratic candidate?

More than six-in-ten voters made up their mind up about how they would vote in September or earlier, leaving less decision making at the end. Late decision-makers broke towards the Democrats.

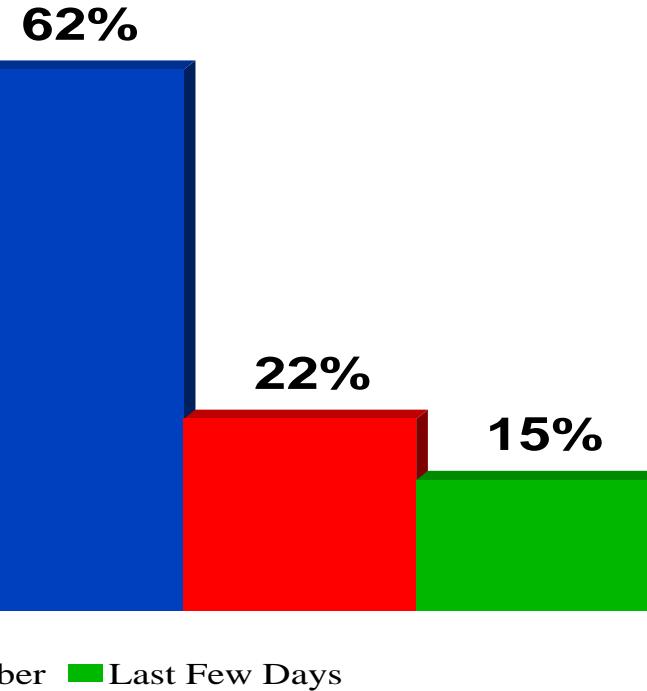
2002

Ballot Among Late Deciders:
51% Republican
49% Democrat



2006

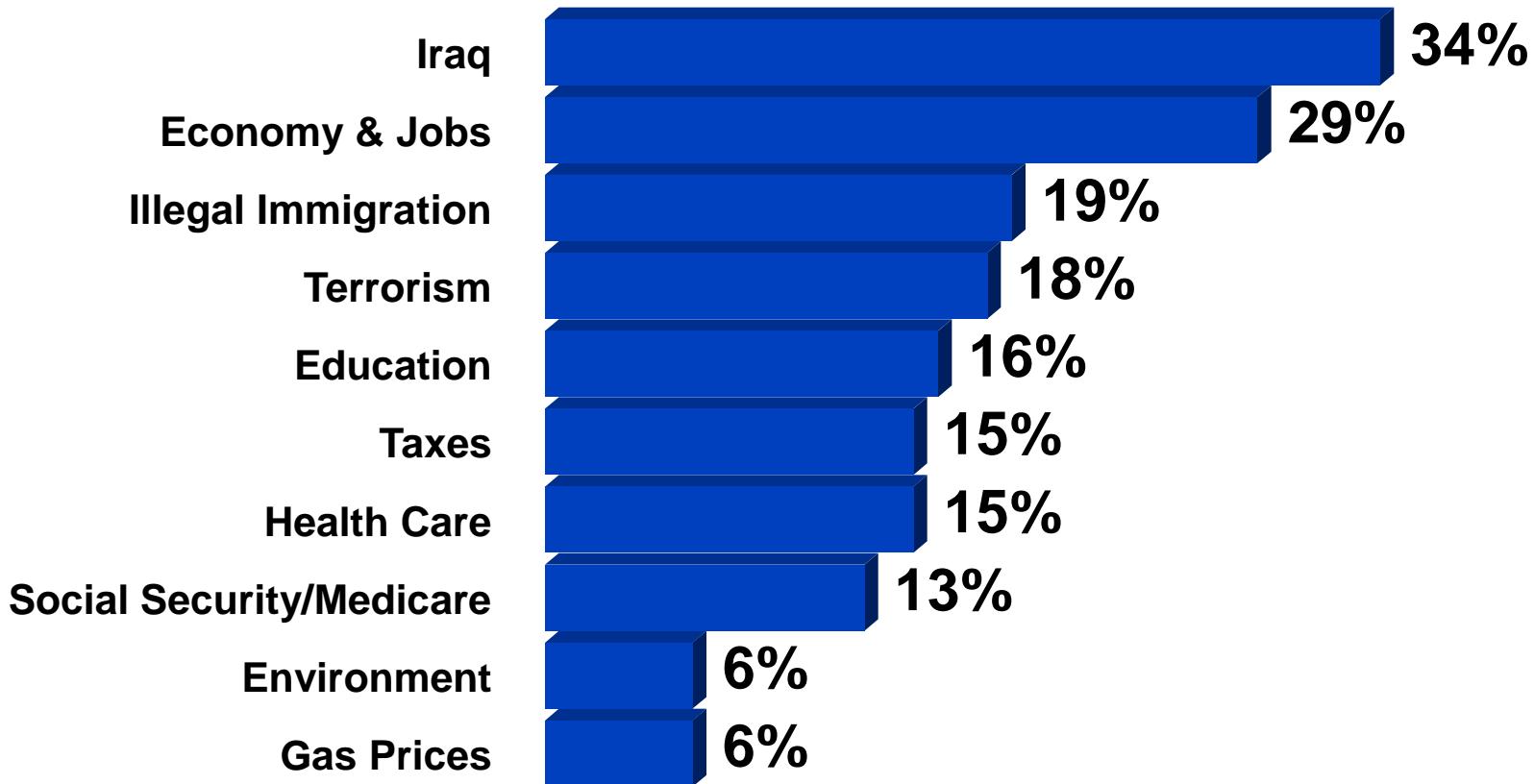
Ballot Among Late Deciders:
39% Republican
57% Democrat



And, when would you say you made your FINAL decision on which candidate you were going to vote for in the election for U. S. CONGRESS?

Iraq and the economy were the most important issues in deciding how to vote this year. Illegal immigration and terrorism were the next most important issues.

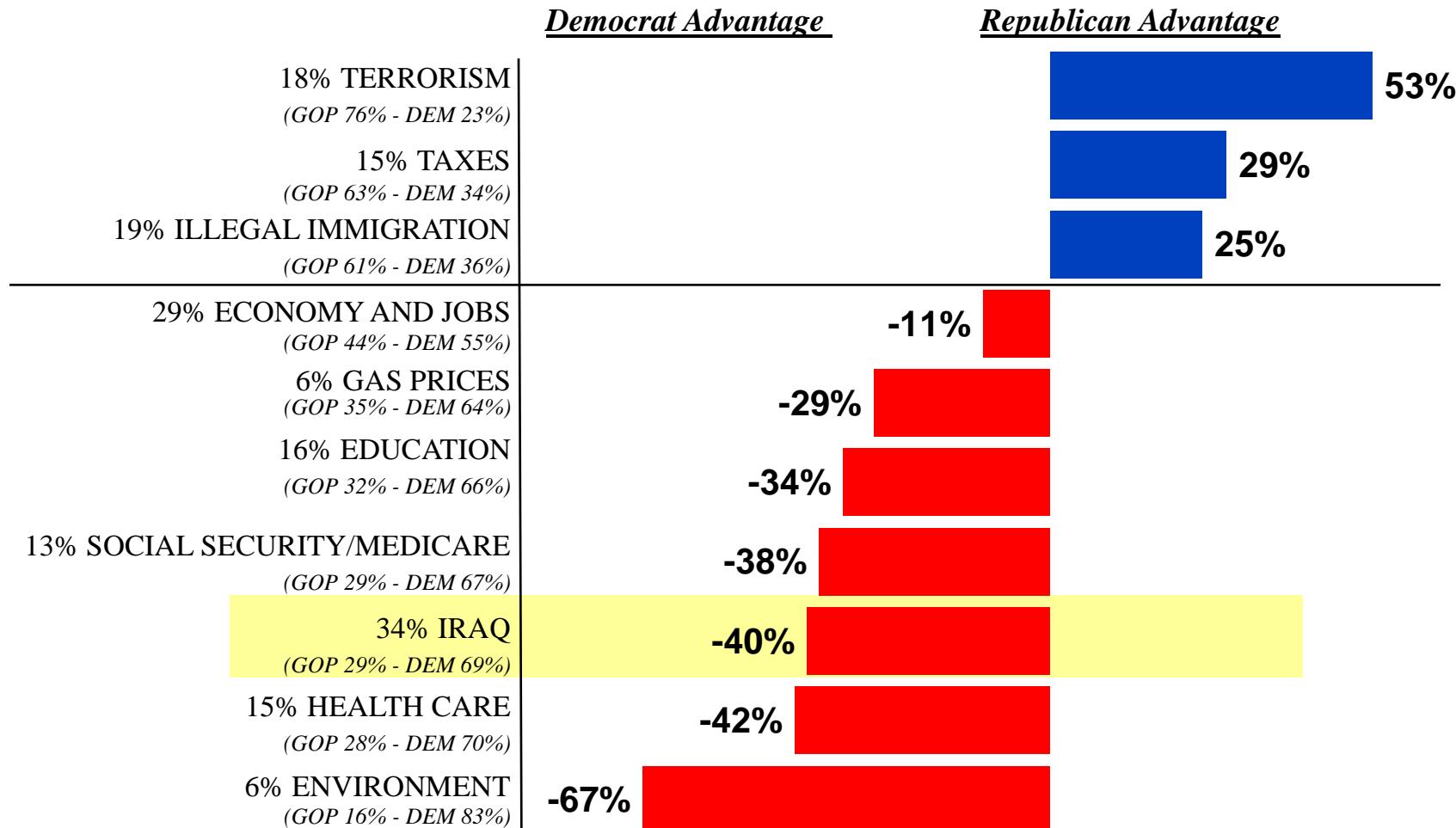
Combined Choice Most Important Issue



And, which ONE of the following issue areas was MOST important to you in deciding how to vote for a candidate for U.S. Congress? Was it....

Voters most concerned about illegal immigration, terrorism and taxes voted Republican, while Democrats picked up voters who said Iraq and the economy were most important to them.

Congressional Ballot By Respondent's Top TWO Most Important Vote Issues

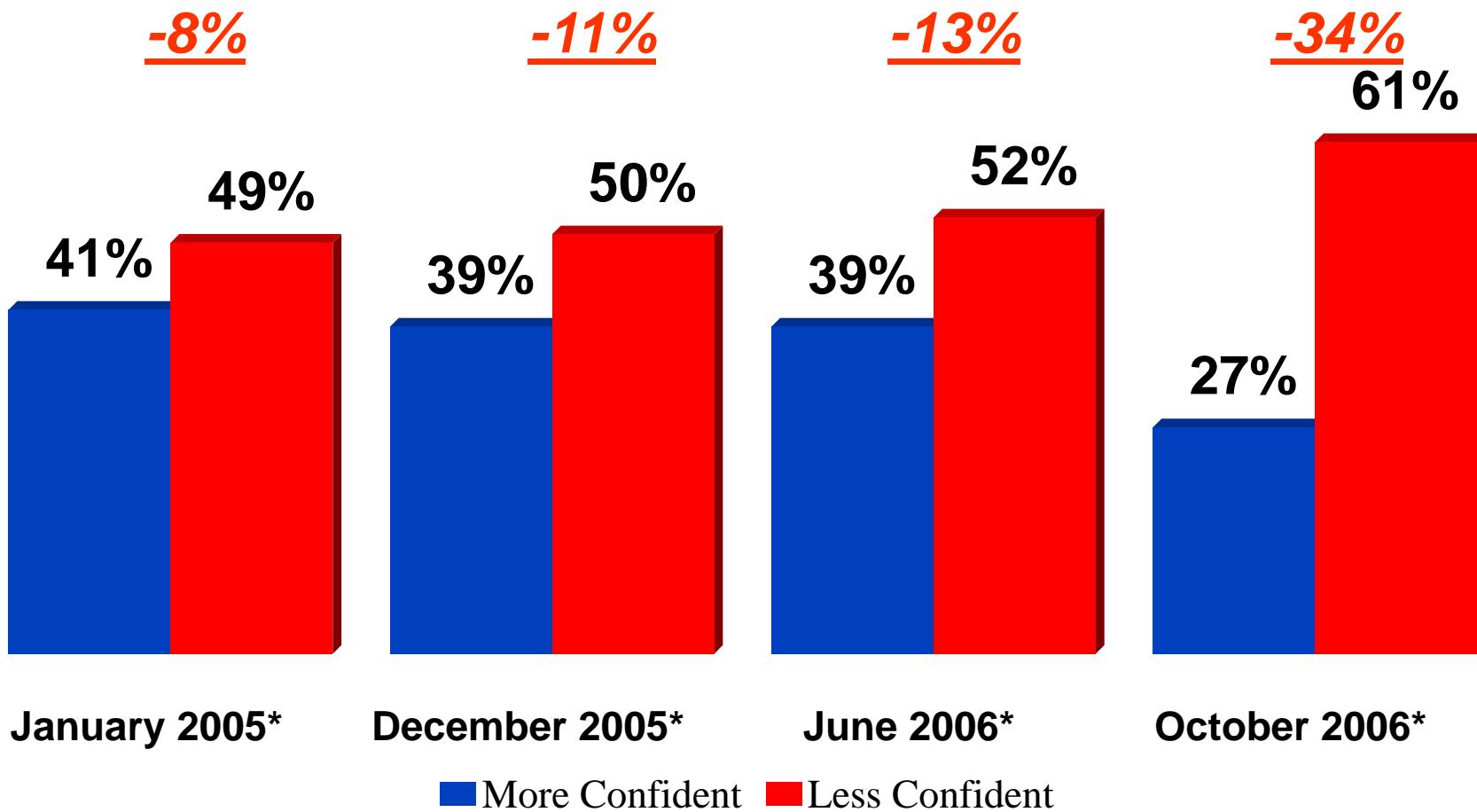


The impact of Iraq on the election



In a survey conducted in late October, six -in-ten voters felt less confident of a successful conclusion in Iraq.

Confidence in Successful Conclusion to War in Iraq Trend

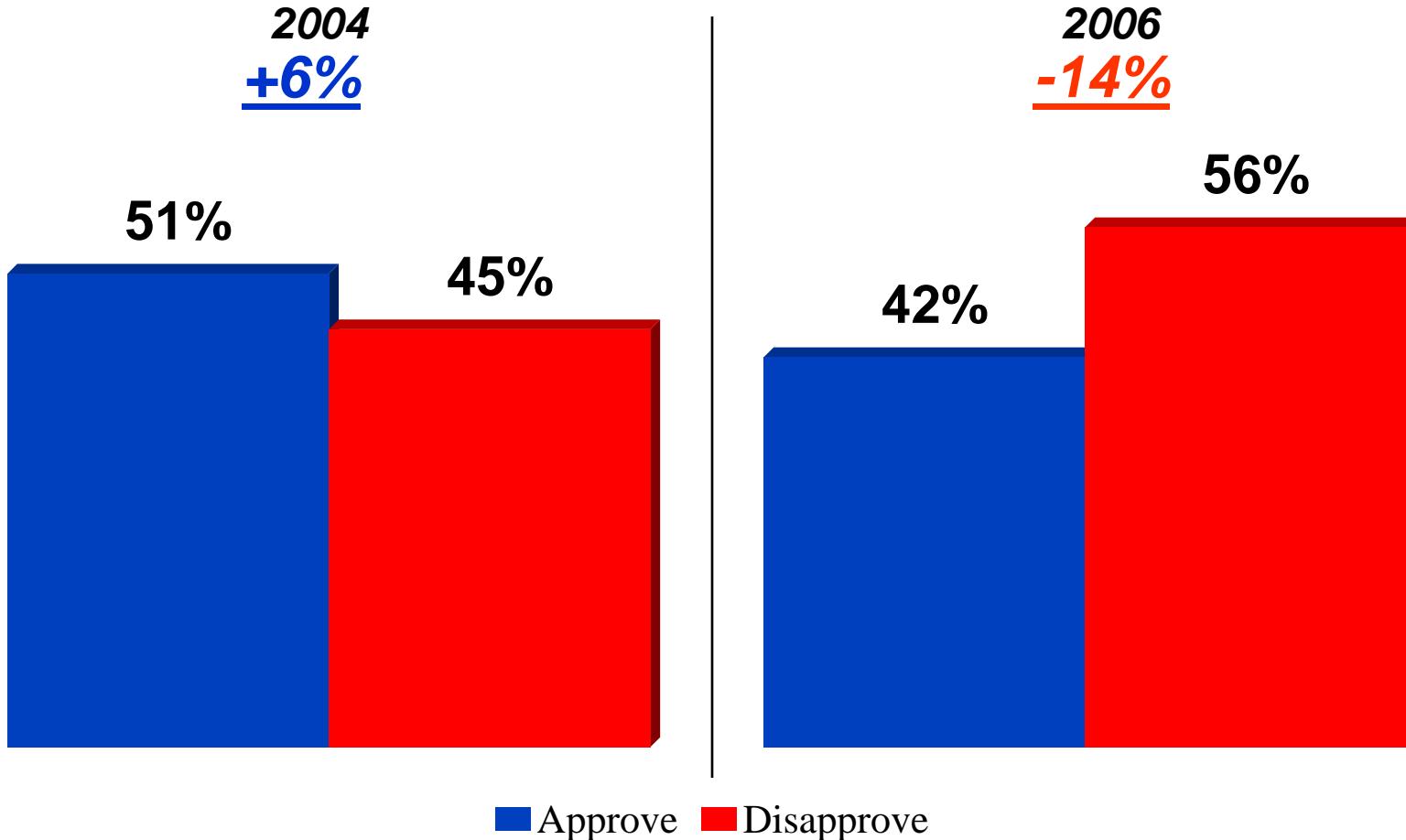


* Data from NBC/WSJ polls among registered voters

And do you feel more confident or less confident that the war in Iraq will come to a successful conclusion?

Approval for the war in Iraq has significantly eroded.

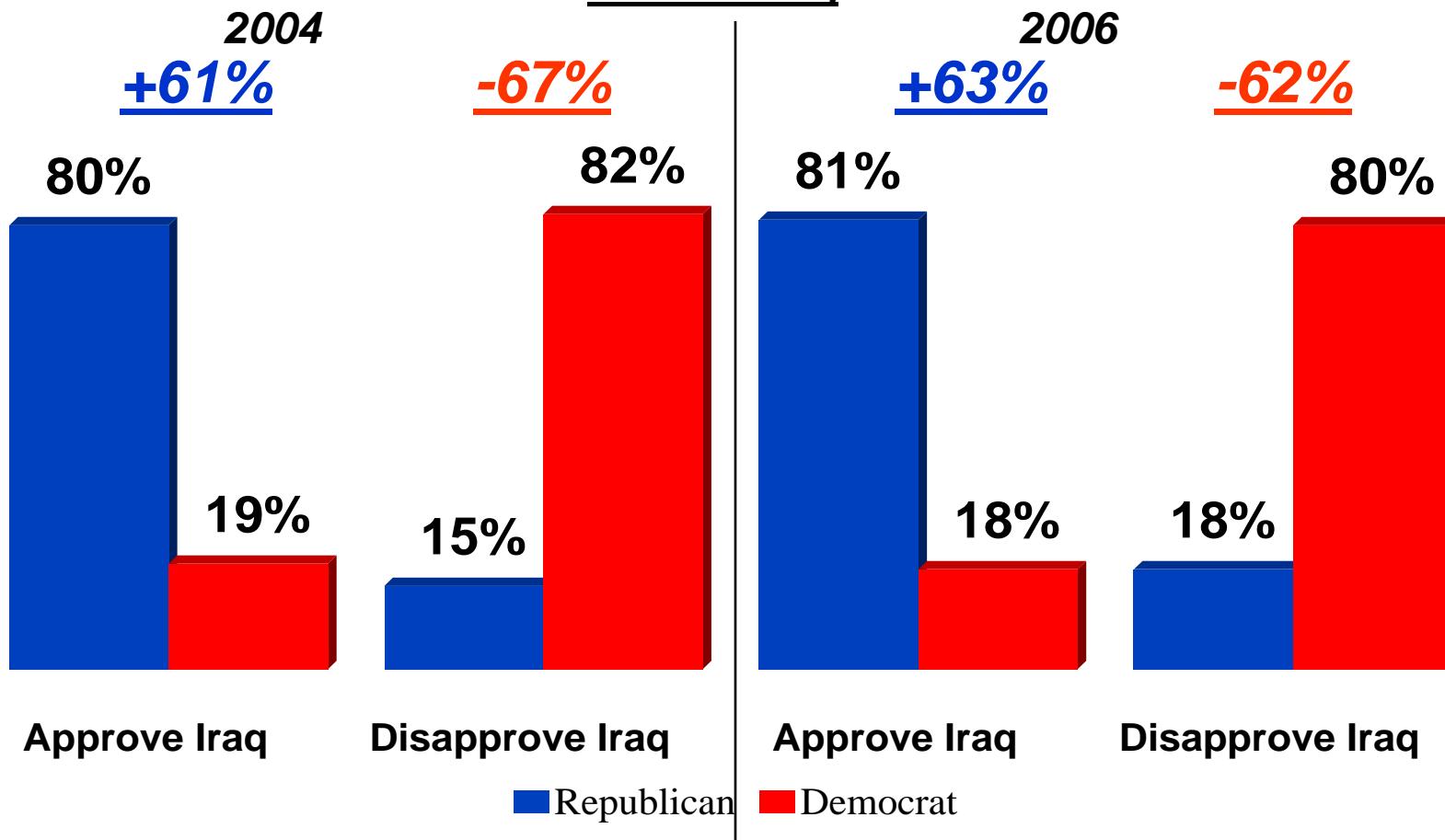
National Exit Polls: Approve of War in Iraq



How do you feel about U.S. war in Iraq?

As we saw in 2004, attitudes towards Iraq had a huge impact on voters' choice on Congressional candidate.

National Exit Polls: Congressional Ballot Trend by Approve
of War in Iraq



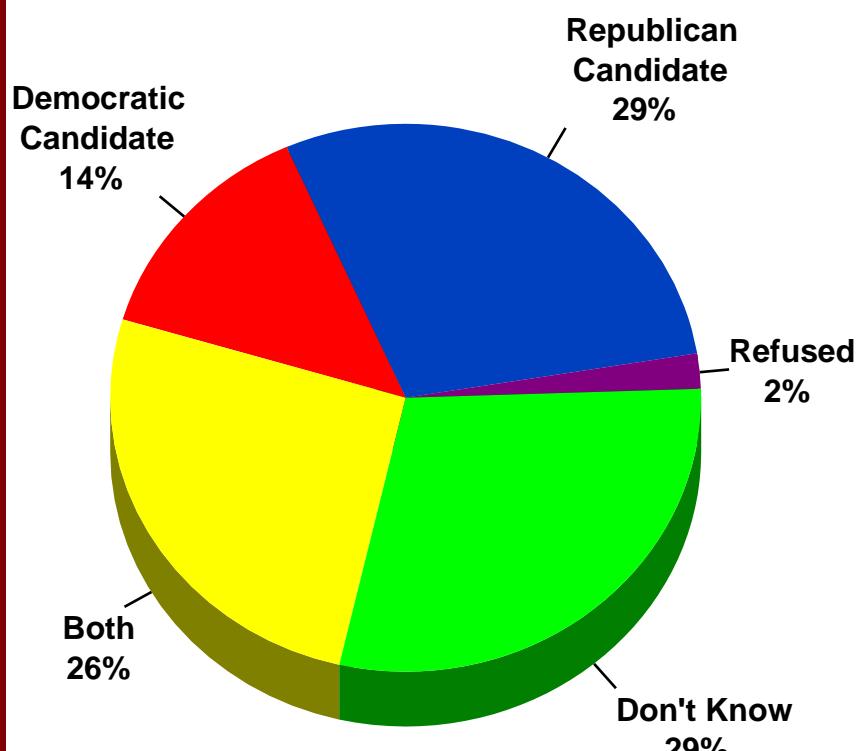
And, for whom did you vote in the election for U.S. Congress in your district... the Republican candidate...or... the Democratic candidate

Illegal Immigration



A majority of voters say they saw, read or heard the candidates for U.S. Congress in their district talking about the issue of illegal immigration.

Seen/Read/Heard About The Issue Of Illegal Immigration Overall

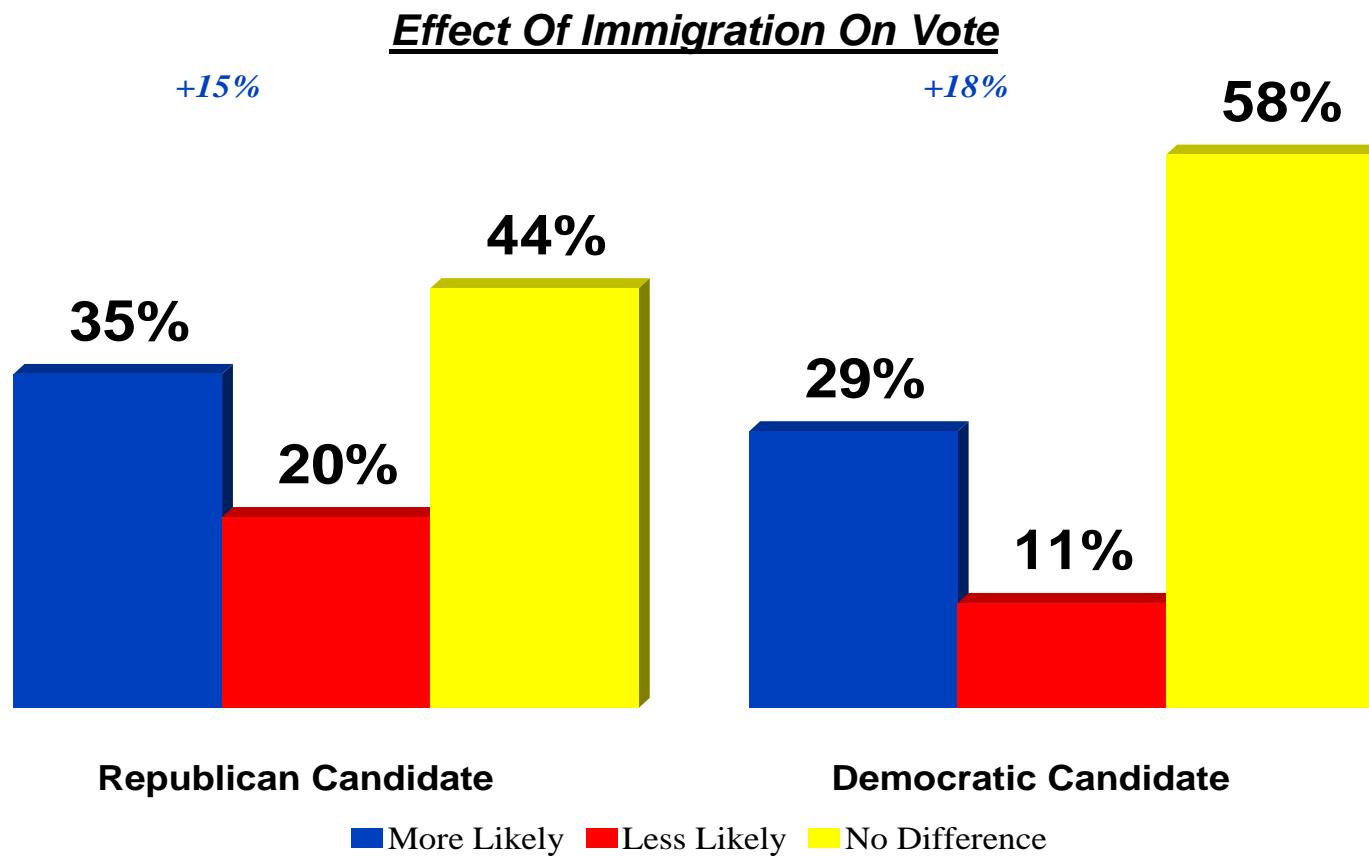


**Total Heard From
Republican Candidate: 55%**

**Total Heard From
Democratic Candidate: 40%**

Which of the candidates in your district have you seen, read or heard talking about the issue of Illegal Immigration... The Republican candidate or the Democratic candidate?

A majority of voters who heard from a Democratic candidate and a plurality who heard from a Republican candidate about the issue of illegal immigration said it made no difference to their vote.



And did what the Republican/Democratic candidate for Congress say about the issue of Illegal Immigration make you more likely to vote for the Republican/Democratic candidate, less likely to vote for the Republican/Democratic candidate, or did it make no difference to your vote one way or another?

Looking closely at the sub-groups who say they would be more likely to vote for a Republican or Democratic candidate it is clear illegal immigration is not a “cross-over” issue. Voters inherently side with their party’s candidate:

Voters who were more likely to vote for the Republican:

- ✓ White men
- ✓ White voters in the West
- ✓ Seniors (age 65+)
- ✓ Male workers paid hourly
- ✓ Republicans (especially strong partisans)
- ✓ Conservatives
- ✓ Bush 2004 voters
- ✓ Religious conservatives
- ✓ Voters w/some coll education

Voters who were more likely to vote for the Democrat:

- ✓ Women age 65+
- ✓ Voters in the Northeast
- ✓ White voters in the Midwest
- ✓ Democrats (especially strong partisans)
- ✓ Liberals
- ✓ Kerry 2004 voters
- ✓ Households w/less than \$20K income
- ✓ Voters w/high school or less education

And did what the Republican/Democratic candidate for Congress say about the issue of Illegal Immigration make you more likely to vote for the Republican/Democratic candidate, less likely to vote for the Republican/Democratic candidate, or did it make no difference to your vote one way or another?

Online Ad Test Survey

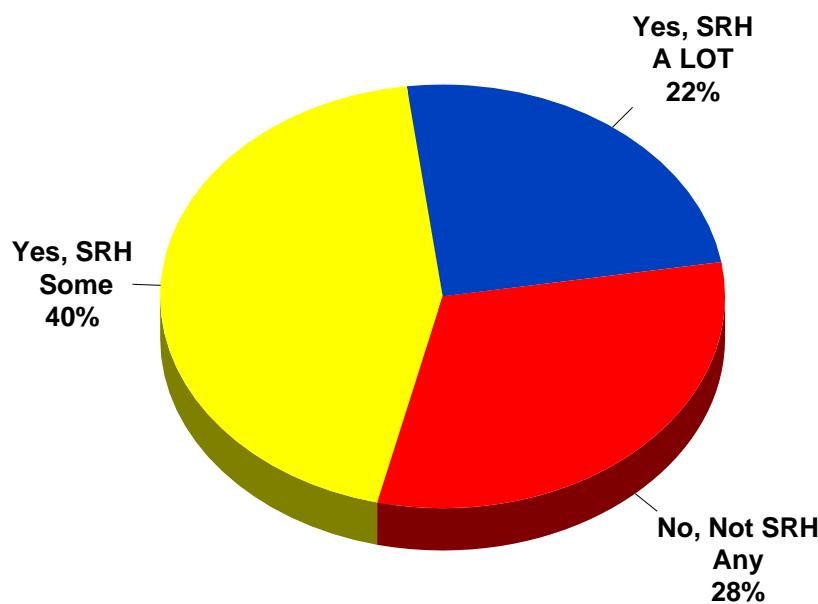
In the last few days before the election, Public Opinion Strategies conducted a national Internet survey of 600 likely voters.

Voters viewed television commercials being run on the issue of illegal immigration by Congressional and Gubernatorial candidates around the country.

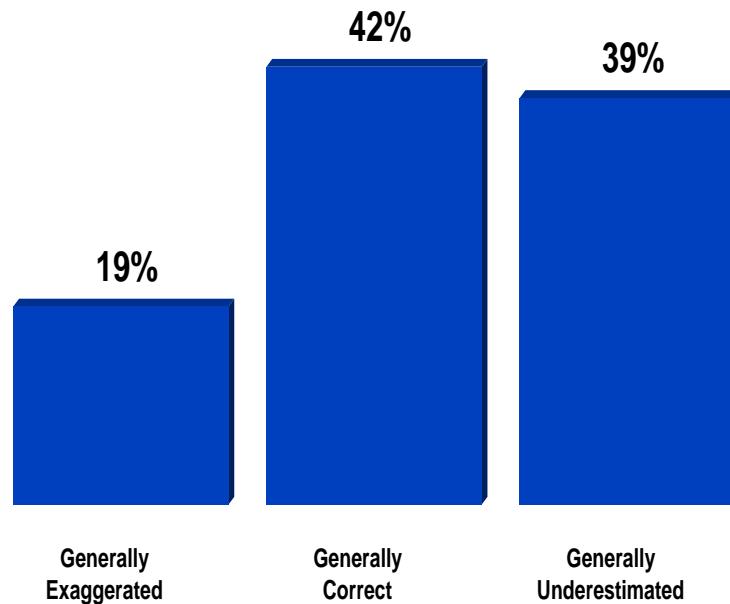
A total of six commercials were tested. They were selected to provide a range of candidate positions with respect to the issue of illegal immigration so we could measure voter reaction to each.

More than six-in-ten voters say they have seen, read or heard paid advertising on the issue of illegal immigration. Four out of five voters say that what they see in the news about illegal immigration is either correct or underestimated.

Seen, Read Or Heard Paid Advertising



Seriousness Of Illegal Immigration

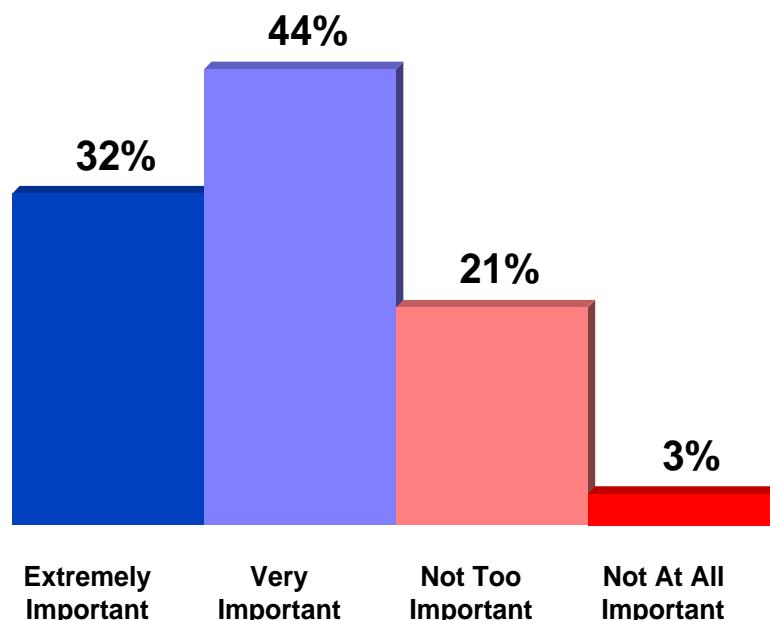


Now, NOT thinking about what you have seen, read or heard in the NEWS, but instead thinking ONLY about PAID advertising by a candidate for U.S. Congress... in the last two or three weeks, do you remember seeing, reading or hearing any PAID TV, print or radio commercials on the topic of illegal immigration?

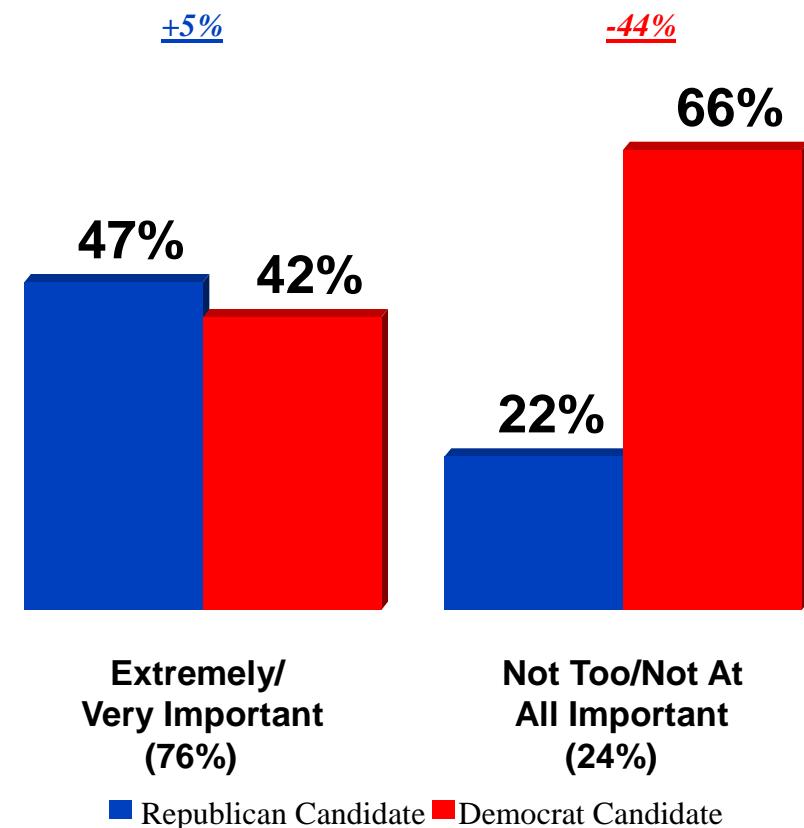
Thinking about what is said in the news, in your view is the seriousness of illegal immigration generally exaggerated, generally correct or generally underestimated?

Three-quarters of voters said a candidate's position on illegal immigration is extremely or very important to how they might vote. Among this segment of the electorate, voters prefer the Republican candidate to the Democrat candidate.

Importance Of Immigration



By Generic Ballot

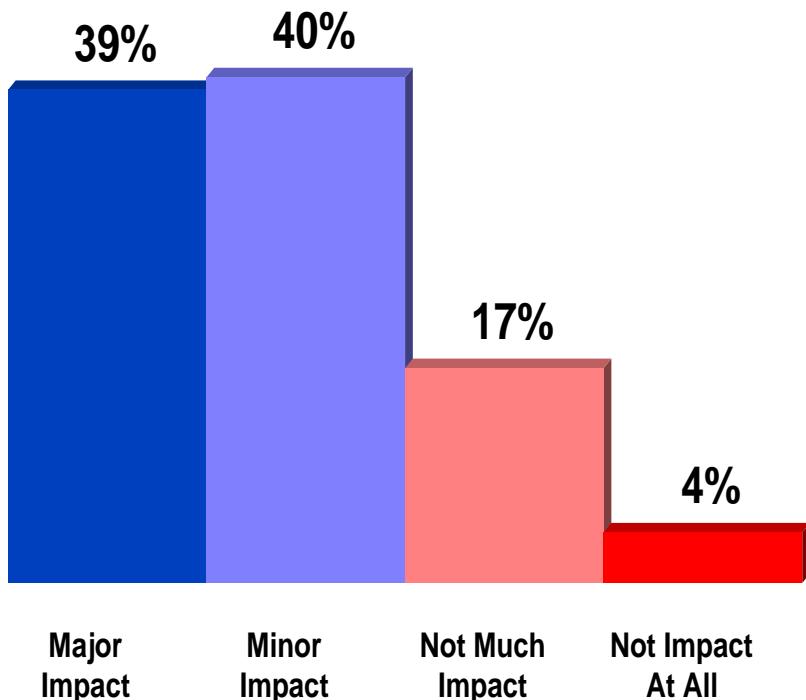


How important to you is a candidate's position on the issue of illegal immigration in deciding how you might vote for Congress?

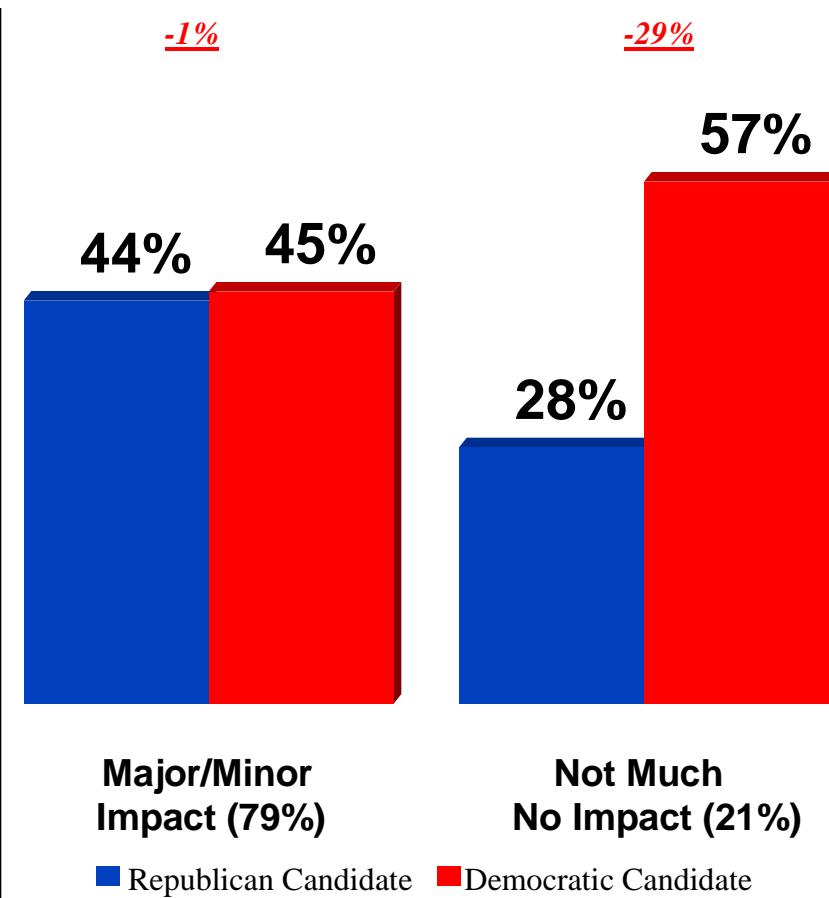
If the elections for U.S. Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote?

Eight-in-ten voters say illegal immigration is having an impact in the area where they live.

Impact Of Illegal Immigration



Generic Ballot By Impact Of Illegal Immigration

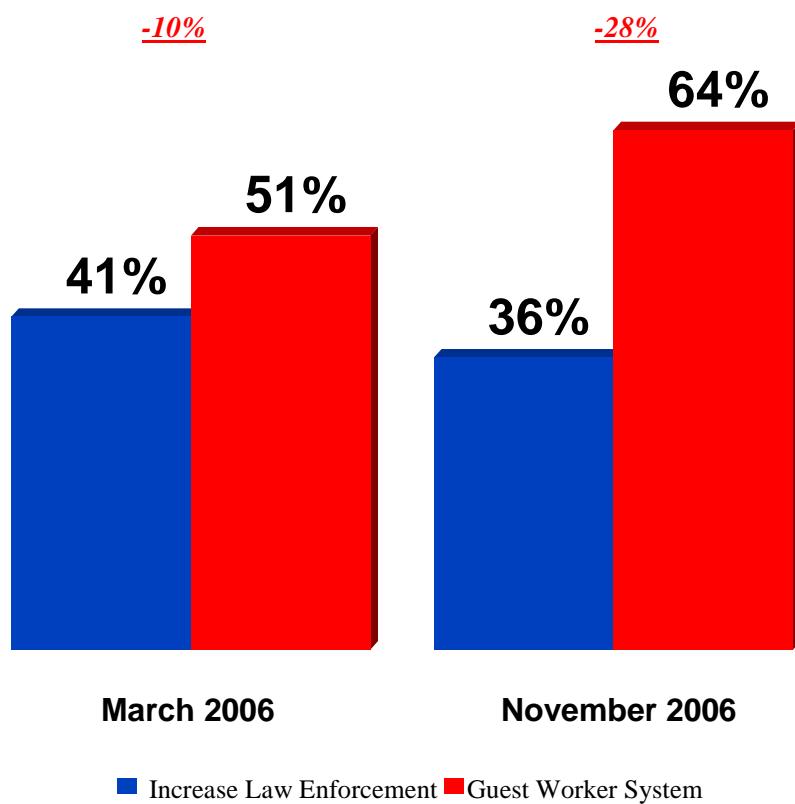


Thinking now just about the area in which you live... is illegal immigration having a major impact, a minor impact, not much impact or no impact at all – in the area in which you live?

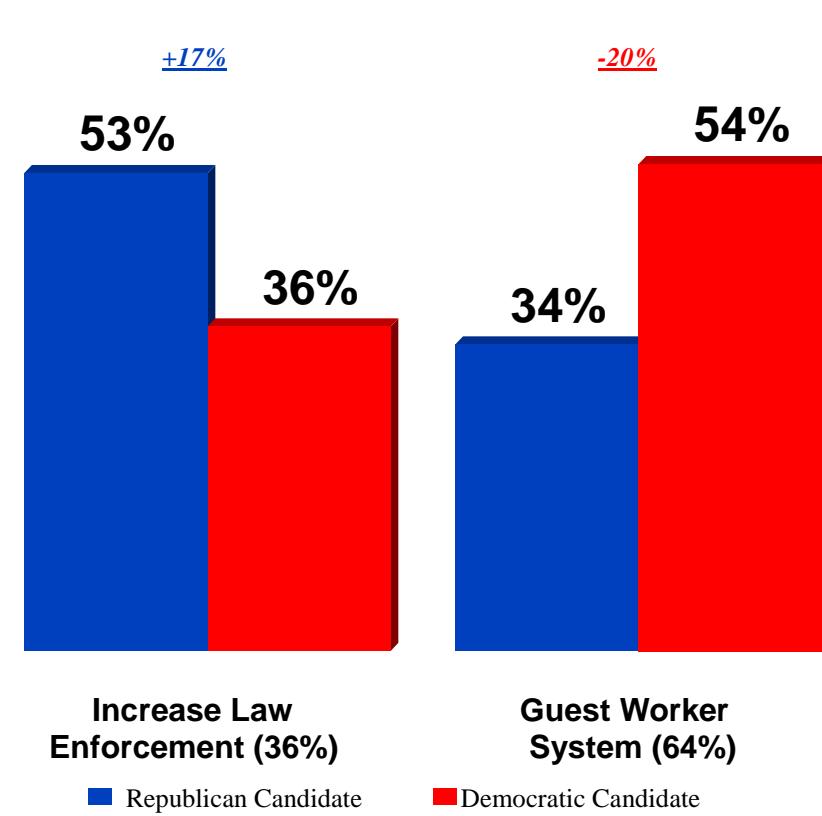
If the elections for United States Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote...

By almost a two-to-one margin, voters say creating a more efficient guest worker system would strengthen our border - an increase since March this year. These voters are more likely to vote for a Democrat Congressional candidate.

Solution To Strengthening Border



Generic Ballot By Solution



Which one of the following do you think will do more to strengthen our border... increasing the presence of law enforcement officials or creating a more efficient system for handling guest workers?

Viewing and rating the illegal immigration ads



Ad Testing

Respondents were split into two identical sets of N=300 voters. Each set of 300 voters saw three advertisements, as follows. Please click on the black background on the right hand side to view the candidate ads:

Sample A, N=300

| | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------|
| Kentucky CD-4 | “Congressman Geoff Davis on border security” |
| Pennsylvania CD-6 | “Congressman Gerlach on immigration reform and border security” |
| California Lt. Governor Race | “Tom McClintock on immigration” |



Ad Testing

Sample B, N=300

| | | |
|------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Colorado CD-7 | <p>“Rick O’Donnell on Congressman Ed Perlmutter’s amnesty”</p> |  |
| Texas CD-17 | <p>“Van Taylor on Congressman Chet Edwards being too liberal on illegal immigration”</p> |  |
| Georgia Governor Race | <p>“Governor Sonny Perdue on immigration”</p> |  |

Ad Testing

After viewing each ad, voters were asked to rate what they had seen on five separate ratings as follows:

The first three were on a one to ten scale rating the following attributes:

- ✓ Lousy/great;
- ✓ Credible; and,
- ✓ Memorable.

The next two were attitudinal measures:

- ✓ How well the ad represents their point of view about illegal immigration; and
- ✓ If the ad would make them more or less likely to vote for the candidate.

The ads fall into three clear categories based on the attribute and attitudinal ratings.

% 8-10, Ranked By “Lousy/Great”

| | Ad Rating Questions | | | | |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------|---------------------|--------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| | Lousy/Great % 8-10 | Credible % 8-10 | Memorable % 8-10 | Represents Point of View % Very Well | Vote Impact % More/Less Likely |
| GA Gov. Perdue | 52 | 48 | 49 | 42 | 61/12 |
| PA-6 Congressman Gerlach | 48 | 45 | 42 | 41 | 55/23 |
| CA Lt. Gov. Candidate McClintock | 43 | 42 | 36 | 30 | 53/22 |
| CO-7 Candidate O'Donnell | 40 | 38 | 44 | 36 | 28/47 |
| KY-4 Congressman Davis | 37 | 34 | 31 | 31 | 47/28 |
| TX-17 Candidate Taylor | 28 | 30 | 35 | 26 | 16/55 |

Ad Testing

We asked respondents to “*take a moment to write a sentence or two about how you feel when you look at this ad.*”

- ✓ Based on the responses to this question, it is clear GA Governor Perdue and PA-6 Congressman Gerlach’s ads ranked in the top tier because both of these candidates outlined a positive, clear, strong position on the issue of illegal immigration as well as a plan for what they would do.
- ✓ Despite the proven effectiveness of running negative ads, survey respondents often tell us they dislike negative ads and would prefer to see some positive information from candidates. This attitude was frequently expressed by voters after viewing CO-7 candidate O’Donnell’s and TX-17 candidate Taylor’s ads, and may have resulted in them giving lower marks for these ads.

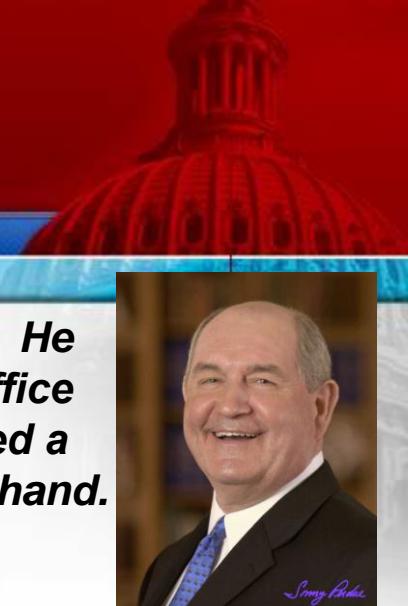
Ad Testing

We asked respondents to “*take a moment to write a sentence or two about how you feel when you look at this ad.*”

- ✓ Many voters liked what CA Lt. Governor candidate McClintock had to say about immigration, but he did not explain his position and proposed plan, nor did he come across strong enough for many voters.

- ✓ On balance, broadening the issue of illegal immigration to drug trafficking and terrorists did not work in KY-4 Congressman Davis' ad as many voters felt it was exaggerating the problem or simply felt that better illegal immigration laws would not stop drugs or terrorism in this country.

Verbatim Responses - GA Governor Perdue



Someone had to do something about illegal immigration. And Sonny did. He said the first step crossing the Georgia border shouldn't be the welfare office and passed the nation's toughest illegal immigration law. But, he extended a hand to those who wanted to come legally and pay taxes. Big heart, firm hand. That's Sonny.

Comments from voters who like the ad included:

- ✓ Voters like that Governor Perdue has a balanced approach: He is tough on **illegal** immigrants but fair and helpful to **legal** immigrants;
- ✓ Several voters said this dual approach was in line with what they believed and they agreed with everything Governor Perdue said - particularly that immigrants should pay taxes; and,
- ✓ Many voters liked that the ad was positive and stated the accomplishments of the candidate.

Comments from voters who did not like the ad included:

- ✓ Voters do not believe the candidate passed the toughest immigration law, or find it strange that Georgia should be worried about their borders (since they do not share a border with Mexico);
- ✓ Some voters pointed out that Governor Perdue does not say how he will deal with illegal immigrants already here, how he will prevent more illegals from entering the country and/or they wonder exactly how he would help legal immigrants; and,
- ✓ Others simply expressed a lack of tolerance for all immigrants whether legal or illegal.

Verbatim Responses - PA-6 Congressman Gerlach



When I believe President Bush is right I'm behind him. When I think he's wrong I let him know that too. The President wants a guest worker program that may lead to amnesty for illegal immigrants. That's sending the wrong message at the wrong time. I'm fighting for more border patrol agents, more electronic surveillance, security fencing and tougher penalties for those who break our laws. And, I'll keep fighting until we can pass the right law for America. Just like the people of Berks County, I'm not afraid to speak my mind.

Comments from voters who like the ad included:

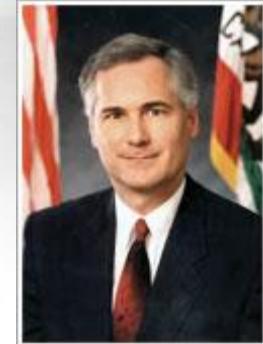
- ✓ Voters like Congressman Gerlach's tough plan to secure the borders and tougher penalties for those who break the law;
- ✓ Several voters said his plan was right in line with what they believe - that there should be no amnesty for illegal immigrants;
- ✓ Many voters liked that he stood on his own two feet / stood up against President Bush; and,
- ✓ Most voters appreciated the candidate being positive, talking about his plan and not resorting to bashing his opponent.

Comments from voters who did not like the ad included:

- ✓ Voters wonder where the money is going to come from to pay for his plan and how much it is going to cost - some worry their taxes will go up to pay for it;
- ✓ Some voters found his plan too reactionary and lacking preventive measures - others also expressed their dislike of building a fence, likening it to the Berlin Wall; and,
- ✓ Others pointed out that tackling illegal immigration will take more than just dealing with Mexico. There are other countries we need to worry about, and part of the solution should be working with these countries to create better jobs so their citizens will stay there and not come to the United States.

Verbatim Responses - CA Lt. Governor Candidate McClintock

Immigration is what built this country. We're all either immigrants ourselves, or we're the sons and daughters of immigrants. Our immigration laws weren't written to keep people out, they were written to assure that when people come to America they come to be Americans. And, the six million legal immigrants who are standing in line are wasting their time if we simply allow twelve million people to cut in line in front of them. We're at a crossroads now and the choice that we make is going to determine the course of California for the next generation.



Comments from voters who like the ad included:

- ✓ Voters liked candidate McClintock's calm, thoughtful comments on immigration;
- ✓ They say they agree with his statement that illegal immigrants should not be able to cut in front of those who came to the country legally;
- ✓ Some expressed the opinion that we should be accepting more legal immigrants and helping them come into the country as long as they're following all the rules/laws; and,
- ✓ Some voters pointed out that even though they liked what he said, he did not outline a solution to the problem.

Comments from voters who did not like the ad included:

- ✓ Voters are confused by the candidate's position - yes, he made some statements about immigration, but what exactly is his plan, what does he stand for and what will he do if elected?; and,
- ✓ Related to the point above, some respondents simply felt this candidate was not strong enough.

Verbatim Responses - CO-7 Candidate O'Donnell



Millions streaming over our broken borders, something needs to be done. But Ed Perlmutter supports Ted Kennedy's plan to give illegal aliens amnesty. It costs over \$50 billion. Perlmutter would give illegals welfare, Social Security and even in-state tuition rates at our colleges. Ted and Ed's plan, illegal immigrants get handouts and amnesty, we get the bill. Rick O'Donnell says no to handouts, no to amnesty, secure the border.

Comments from voters who like the ad included:

- ✓ Voters agree with candidate O'Donnell that illegal immigrants should not get benefits that are intended for U.S. citizens - especially when Americans have a tough time getting these benefits themselves; and,
- ✓ Several voters liked that the ad used both negative and positive tactics - although O'Donnell went negative on his opponent, he also said what he would do and made a positive appeal to voters at the end.

Comments from voters who did not like the ad included:

- ✓ Many voters have a hard time believing the facts/statistics in this ad because of the negative tone - some also think the issue of illegal immigration is exaggerated;
- ✓ Some voters - mostly Democrats - resent the use of Ted Kennedy in the ad. They said Ted Kennedy is a politician in the Northeast region of the country and has nothing to do with a Congressional race in Colorado; and,
- ✓ Others simply expressed their dislike of negative advertising.

Verbatim Responses - KY-4 Congressman Davis

Every day thousands of illegal aliens enter America. Drug traffickers are all too successful at smuggling drugs into this country. And we all know that the threat of terrorism is real. As a former army officer who served in the Middle East I know that national security begins at our borders. I'm Geoff Davis and I'll make border security a top priority. We owe it to our nation and we owe it to our children. Announcer: Strong on borders, bold leadership. Geoff Davis for Congress.



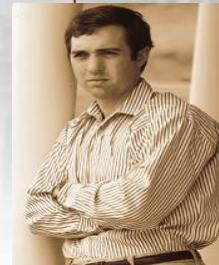
Comments from voters who like the ad included:

- ✓ Voters like that Congressman Davis wants to make border security a top priority - they agree with his position that this is a pressing problem;
- ✓ Several voters like that he mentioned drugs and terrorism as part of the illegal immigration problem; and,
- ✓ Many voters liked the candidate's calm and confident demeanor.

Comments from voters who did not like the ad included:

- ✓ Voters do not believe a Congressional candidate should be making illegal immigration his top priority - they think the issue of illegal immigration is overblown and there are other more pressing issues he should focus on;
- ✓ Some voters resent him tying drugs and terrorism to the issue of illegal immigration. They do not believe that illegal immigration laws are going to solve the problem of drug trafficking and they do not believe terrorists are coming from Mexico; and,
- ✓ Many pointed out that he does not say what he will do about the problem - they want to know his proposed plan and how he would implement it.

Verbatim Responses - TX-17 Candidate Taylor



Over 300,000 illegal aliens are wanted for committing crimes in America. But Chet Edwards is so liberal on illegal immigration he voted five times against enforcing our immigration laws. Protecting illegal aliens from being served with federal warrants, protecting them from deportation, allowing them to get out on bail. Putting our safety at risk. On immigration, Chet Edwards is just too liberal.

Comments from voters who like the ad included:

- ✓ Voters found this ad informative - many said they were unaware of how many illegal immigrants were criminals, and unaware of how Congressman Edwards had voted;
- ✓ Several voters said learning these facts made them angry and it helped highlight another social problem caused by illegal immigration; and,
- ✓ While voters said they liked the ad, they did mention they did not learn what candidate Taylor's position was or what he would plan to do.

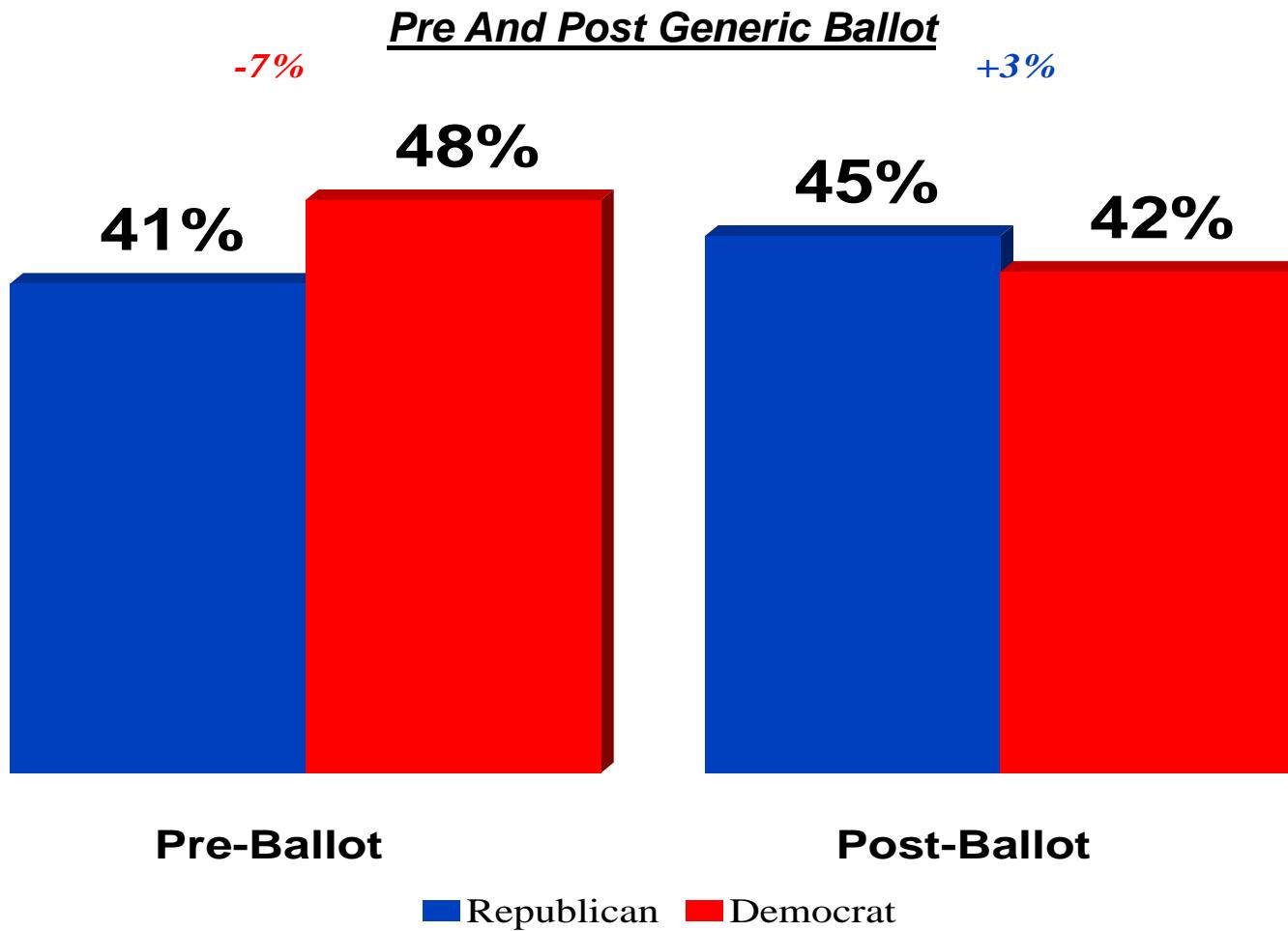
Comments from voters who did not like the ad included:

- ✓ Most voters say they do not like how negative this ad was AND that candidate Taylor did not offer up his position or what he would do to solve the problem; and,
- ✓ Others questioned how truthful the facts/statistics were because the ad was so harsh.

Effect of the illegal immigration ads

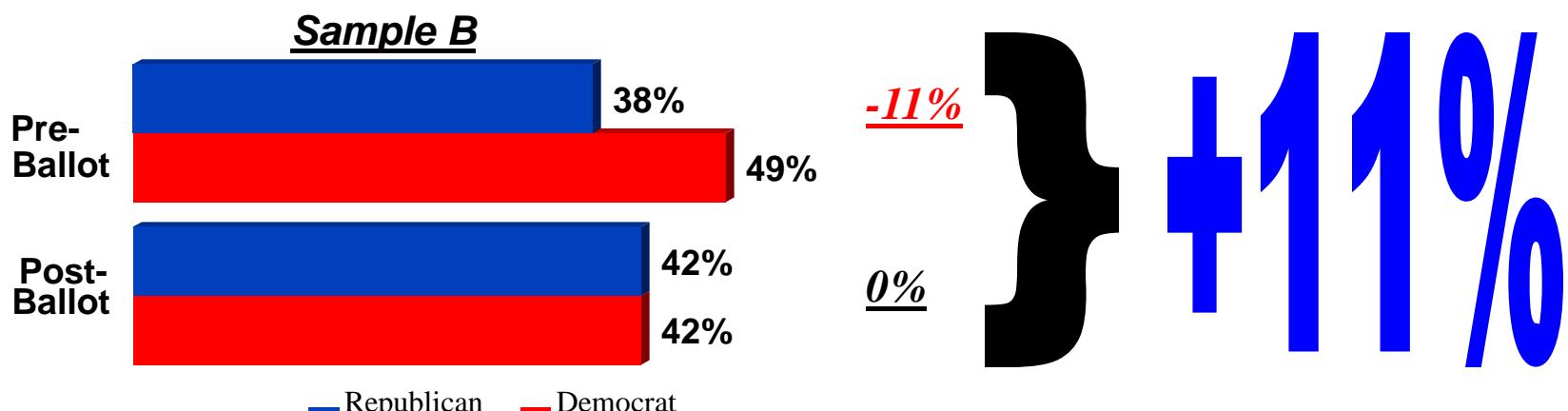
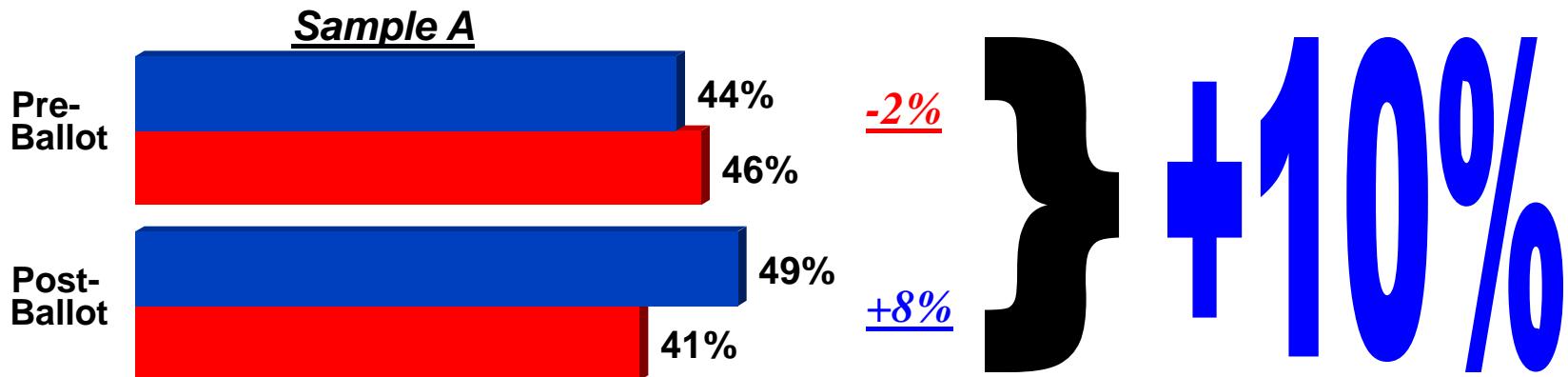


Before viewing the ads, voters favored the Democratic candidate for congress. After seeing the commercials, voters slightly favored the Republicans.



If the elections for United States Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote...

Sample A respondents saw three positive commercials and sample B saw two negative commercials and one positive ad. Although the pre- and post-ballot results are different for the two half samples, the increase in points towards the Republican candidate is virtually the same for both samples.



If the elections for United States Congress were being held today, for whom would you vote...

Despite only ranking third overall, California Lt. Governor candidate McClintock's ad appeared to have the best bi-partisan appeal.

% 8-10 Lousy/Great By Party

| | GOP | IND | DEM | D/S |
|------------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| GA Governor Perdue | 73% | 46% | 36% | +37% |
| CO-7 Candidate O'Donnell | 67% | 31% | 22% | +45% |
| PA-6 Congressman Gerlach | 61% | 39% | 40% | +21% |
| KY-4 Congressman Davis | 55% | 31% | 22% | +33% |
| CA Lt. Gov Candidate McClintock | 46% | 31% | 46% | 0% |
| TX-17 Candidate Taylor | 45% | 26% | 13% | +32% |

It also crossed the partisan spectrum on the measure of credibility.

% 8-10 Credible

| | GOP | IND | DEM | D/S |
|---------------------------------|------------|------------|------------|-------------|
| GA Governor Perdue | 68% | 48% | 30% | +38% |
| CO-7 Candidate O'Donnell | 63% | 36% | 16% | +47% |
| PA-6 Congressman Gerlach | 59% | 40% | 34% | +25% |
| KY-4 Congressman Davis | 56% | 22% | 18% | +38% |
| TX-17 Candidate Taylor | 51% | 22% | 15% | +36% |
| CA Lt. Gov Candidate McClintock | 44% | 35% | 43% | +1% |

The messages from California Lt. Governor candidate McClintock and Congressman Gerlach best describe voters' point of view of illegal immigration for both sides of the aisle.

% Represents Point Of View Very Well

| | GOP | IND | DEM | D/S |
|---------------------------------|-----|-----|-----|------|
| GA Governor Perdue | 66% | 43% | 21% | +45% |
| CO-7 Candidate O'Donnell | 63% | 29% | 15% | +48% |
| PA-6 Congressman Gerlach | 52% | 36% | 33% | +19% |
| KY-4 Congressman Davis | 51% | 25% | 15% | +36% |
| TX-17 Candidate Taylor | 45% | 20% | 11% | +34% |
| CA Lt. Gov Candidate McClintock | 38% | 22% | 26% | +12% |

Summary Observations



In Summary...

- ✓ Three-quarters of voters say the issue of illegal immigration was extremely or very important to them in deciding how to vote;
- ✓ *However, this election was nationalized around attitudes about President Bush; and*
- ✓ Iraq and the economy eclipsed every other voting issue in this year's election cycle.

In Summary...

Looking forward...

- ✓ Voters do recognize illegal immigration is a serious problem that needs to be addressed;
- ✓ Voters want tighter border control and they want to stop illegal immigrants from entering the country;
- ✓ Yet, they also *clearly* understand the difference between legal and illegal immigration;
- ✓ It is important to recognize the issue of illegal immigration resonates much more strongly among Republican voters than Independent or Democrat voters.

In Summary...

Messaging that will appeal across the partisan spectrum needs to:

- Acknowledge this fundamental difference between legal and illegal immigrants;
- AND
- Outline a plan for how to deal with illegal immigrants who are already here and how to stop more from entering the country.



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