

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

# Paul Ryan to Seniors: “Drop Dead”

April 15, 2011



DEMOCRACY CORPS  
CARVILLE ♦ GREENBERG

**CAMPAIGN** FOR **AMERICA'S FUTURE**

## Methodology and Overview

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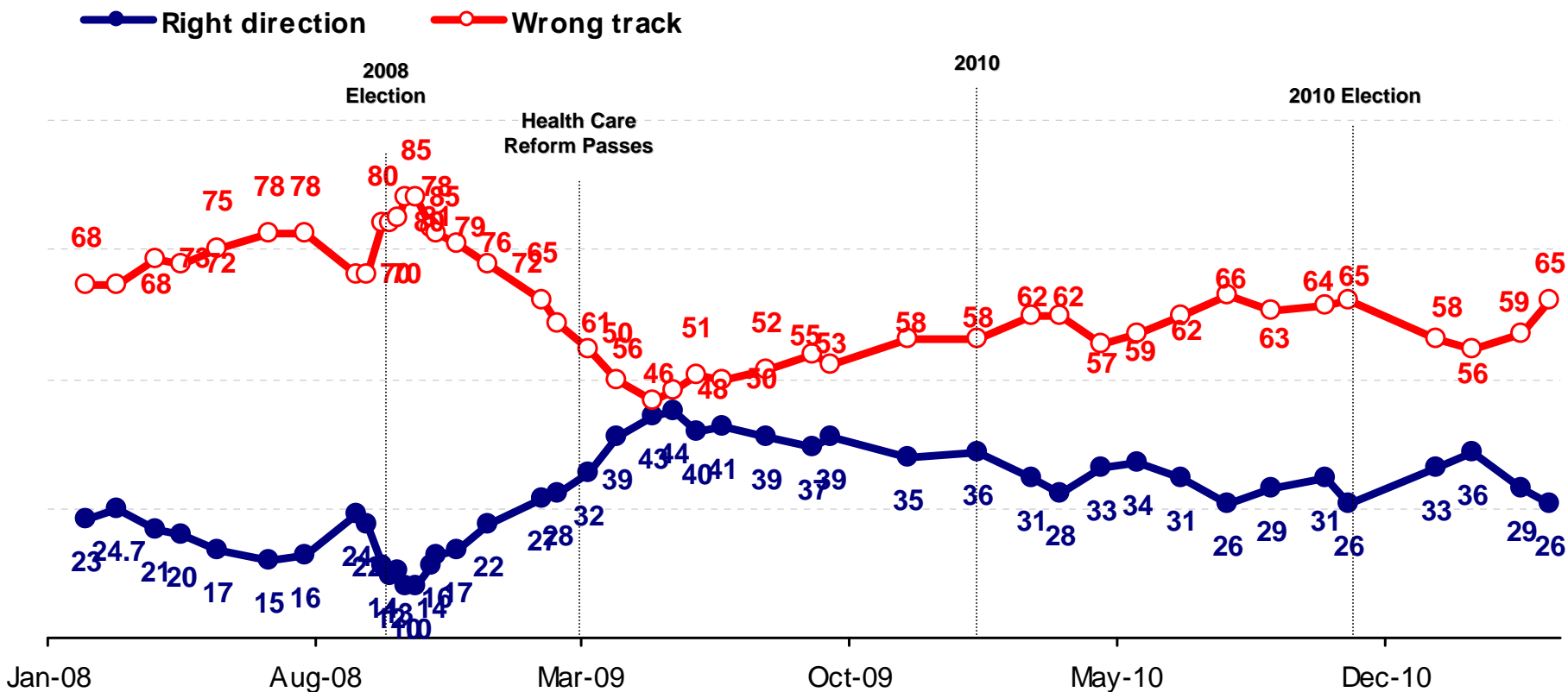
**This presentation is based on a national survey conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Democracy Corps and Campaign for America's Future.**

**Democracy Corps surveyed 1000 likely 2012 voters (1000 weighted) April 10-12, 2011.**

**Unless otherwise noted, margin of error= +/- 3.1 percentage points at 95% confidence.**

# Direction of the country: pessimism returns to 2008 level

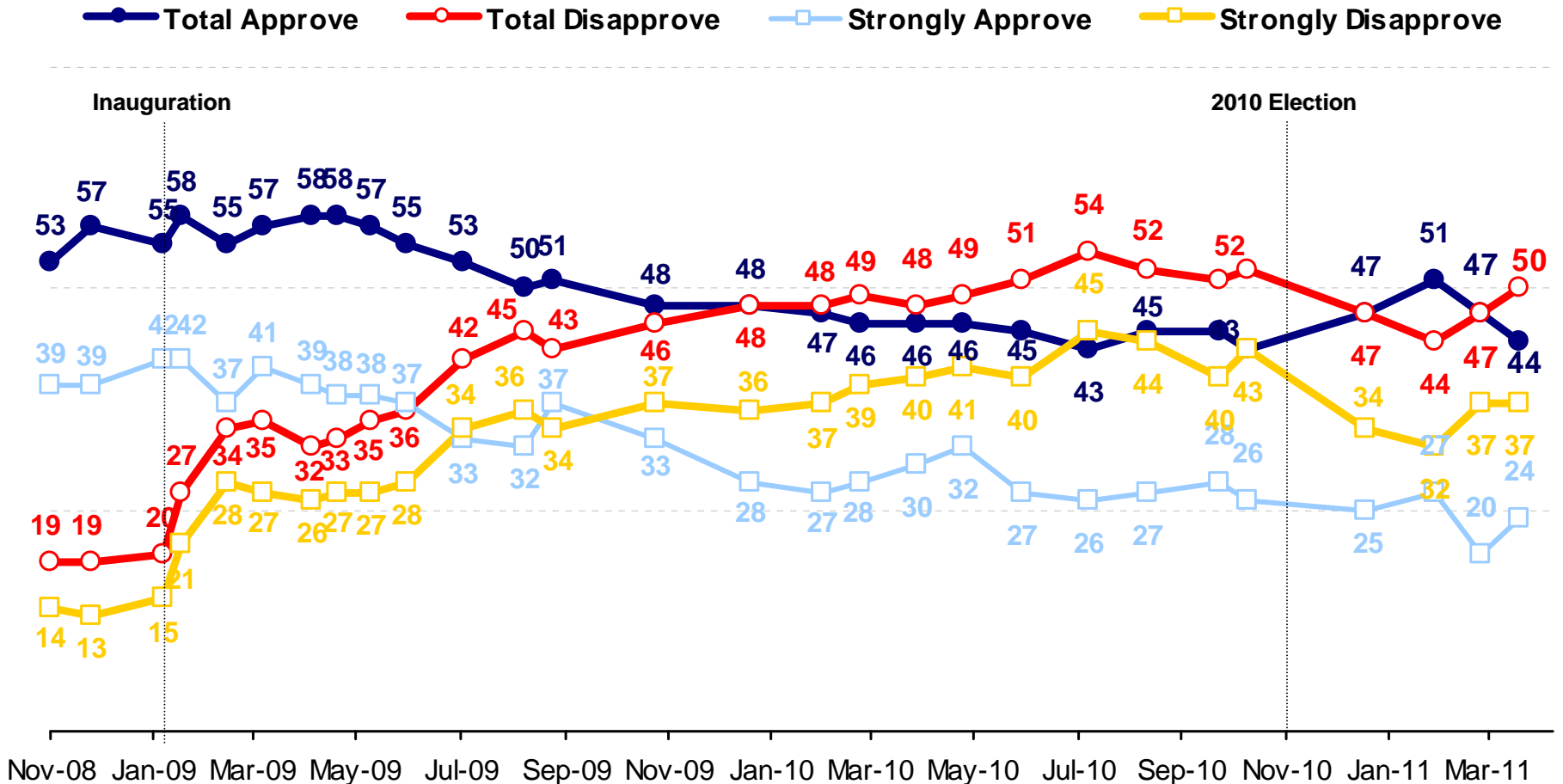
Generally speaking, do you think things in the country are going in the right direction, or do you feel things have gotten pretty seriously off on the wrong track?



\*Note: From full sample of 2008 voters, based on research for Citizen Opinion.

# Obama approval: down from 51 percent earlier in year

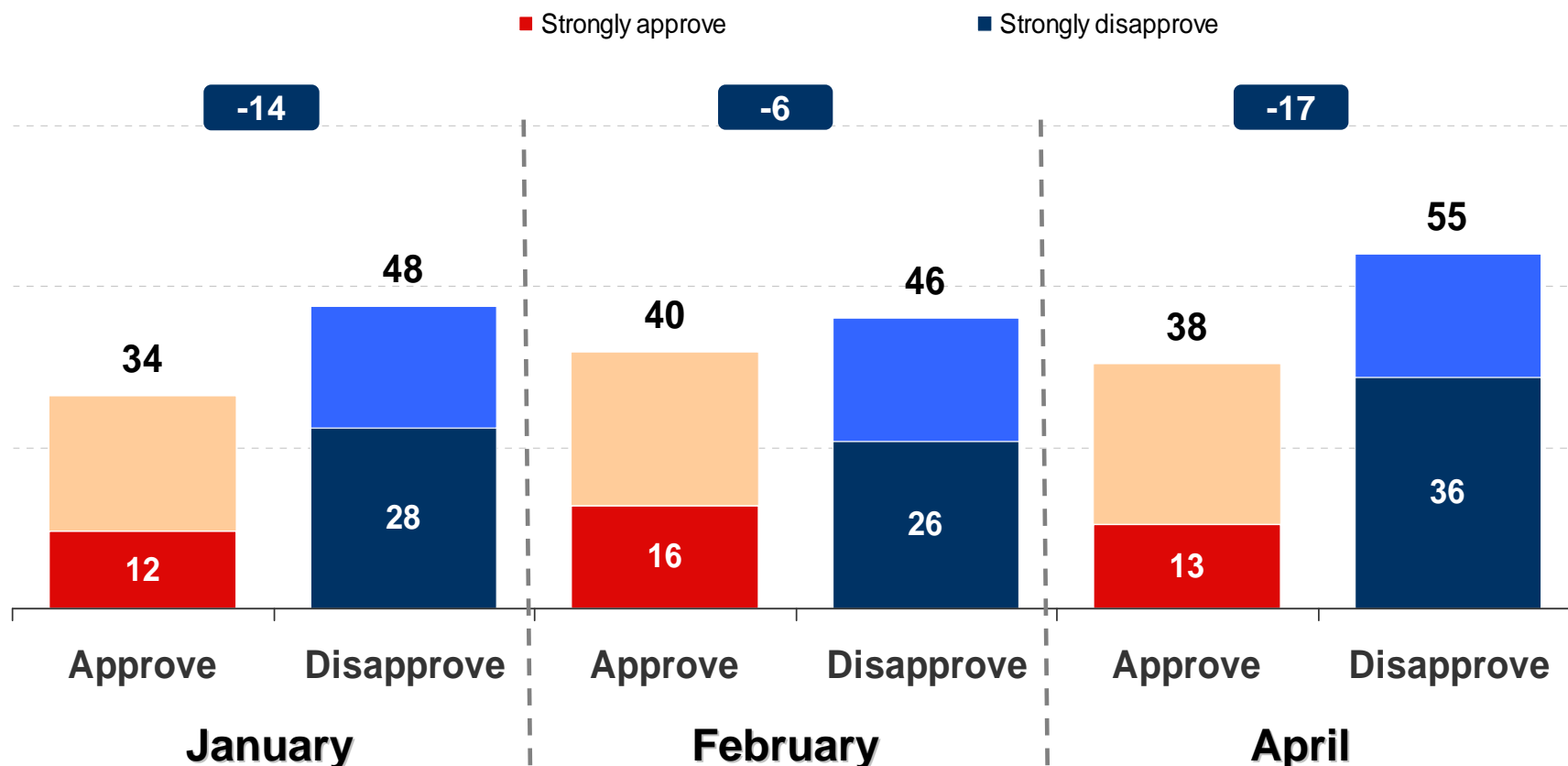
Do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling his job as president?



\*Note: From Democracy Corps surveys since the 2008 election. Before inauguration, question read: "Do you approve or disapprove of the job being done by Barack Obama as president-elect?"

## Republicans in Congress: disapproval at an all-time high

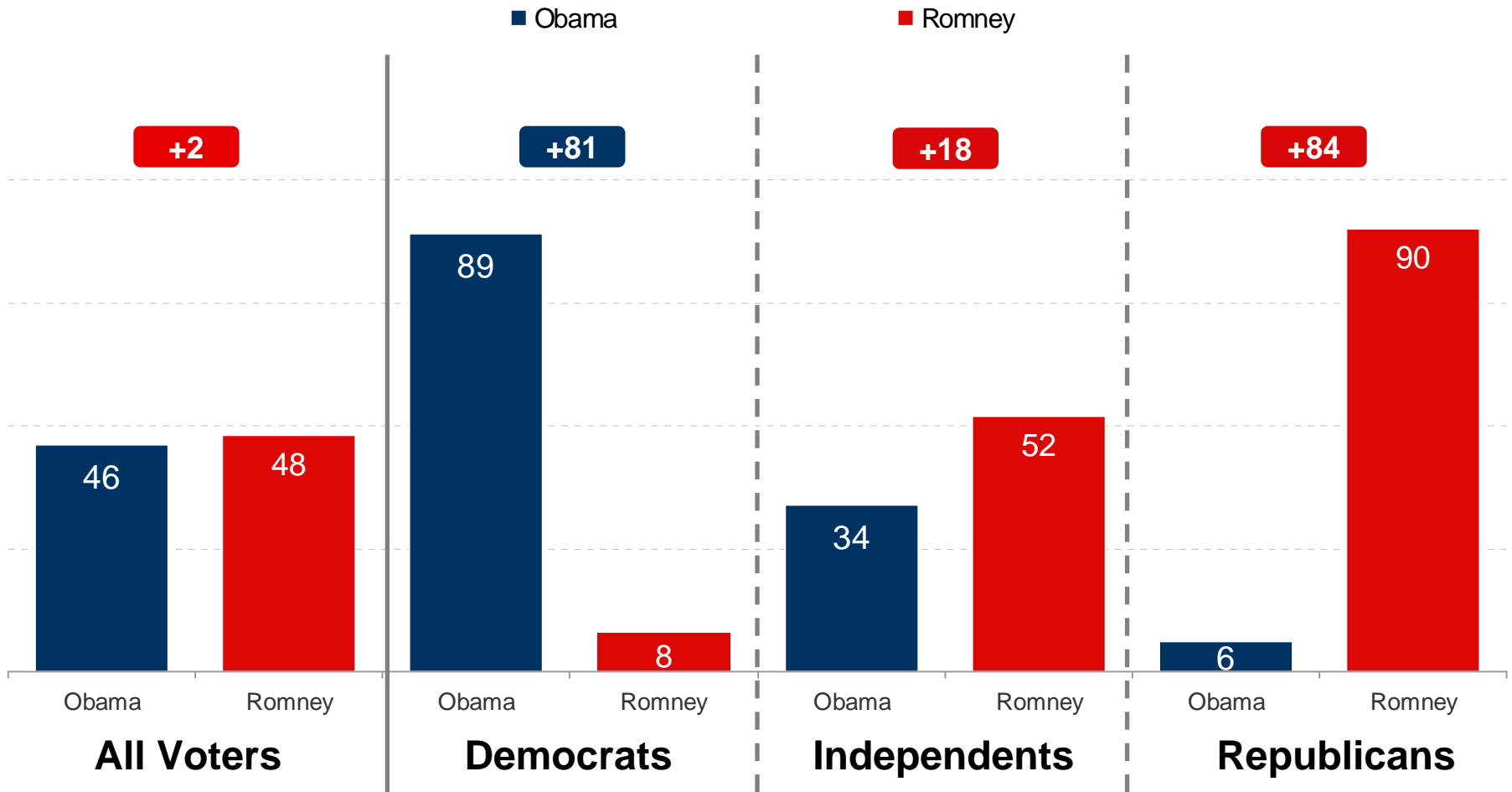
*Do you approve or disapprove of the way Republicans in Congress are handling their job in charge of the House of Representatives?*



\*Note: Question was not asked in March.

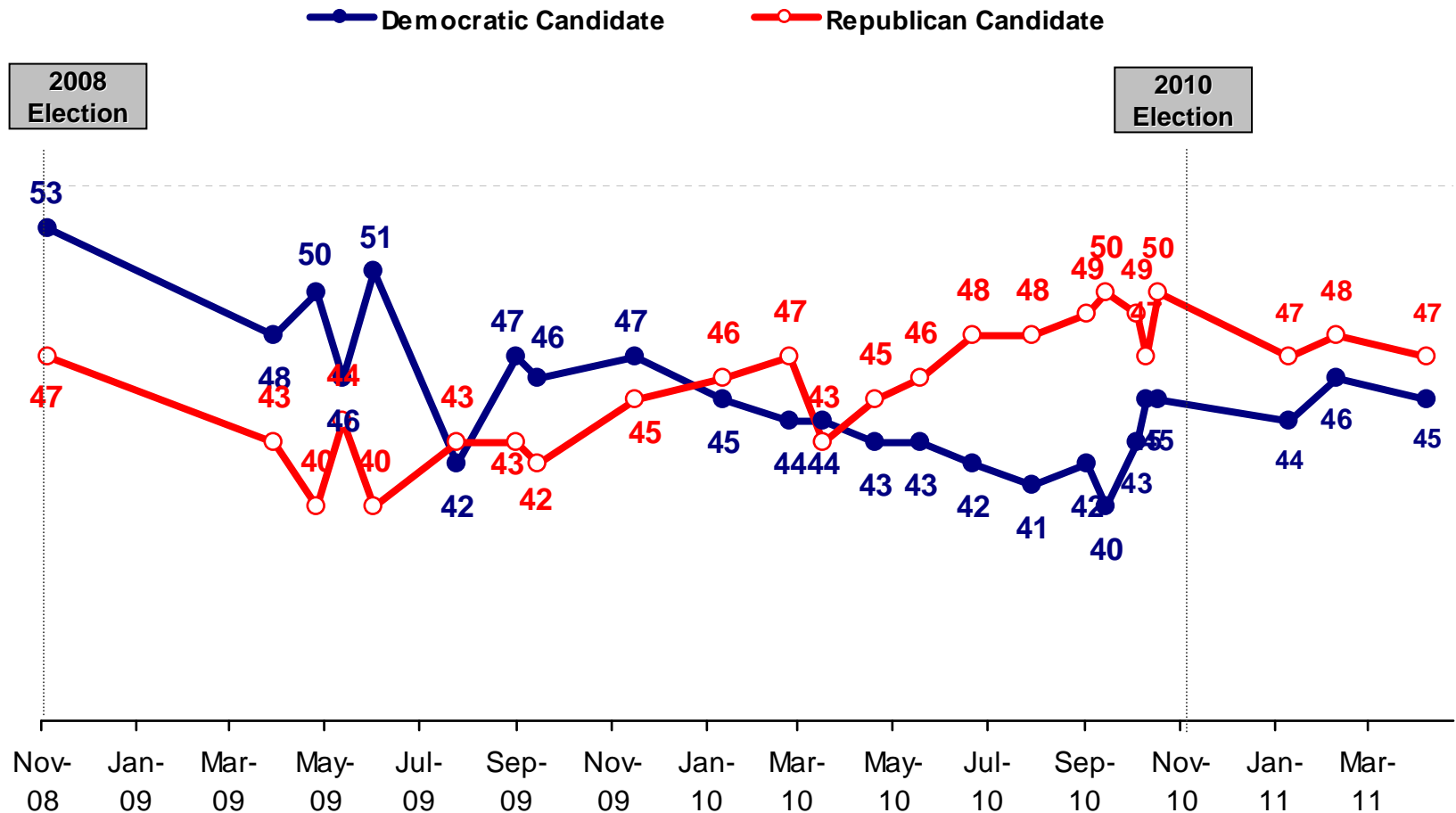
# Obama v. Romney: President losing independent voters

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the presidential election in 2012, if the election for president were held today and the candidates were Democrat Barack Obama and Republican Mitt Romney, for whom would you vote?*



# Congressional race: Parties near parity just 5 months after election

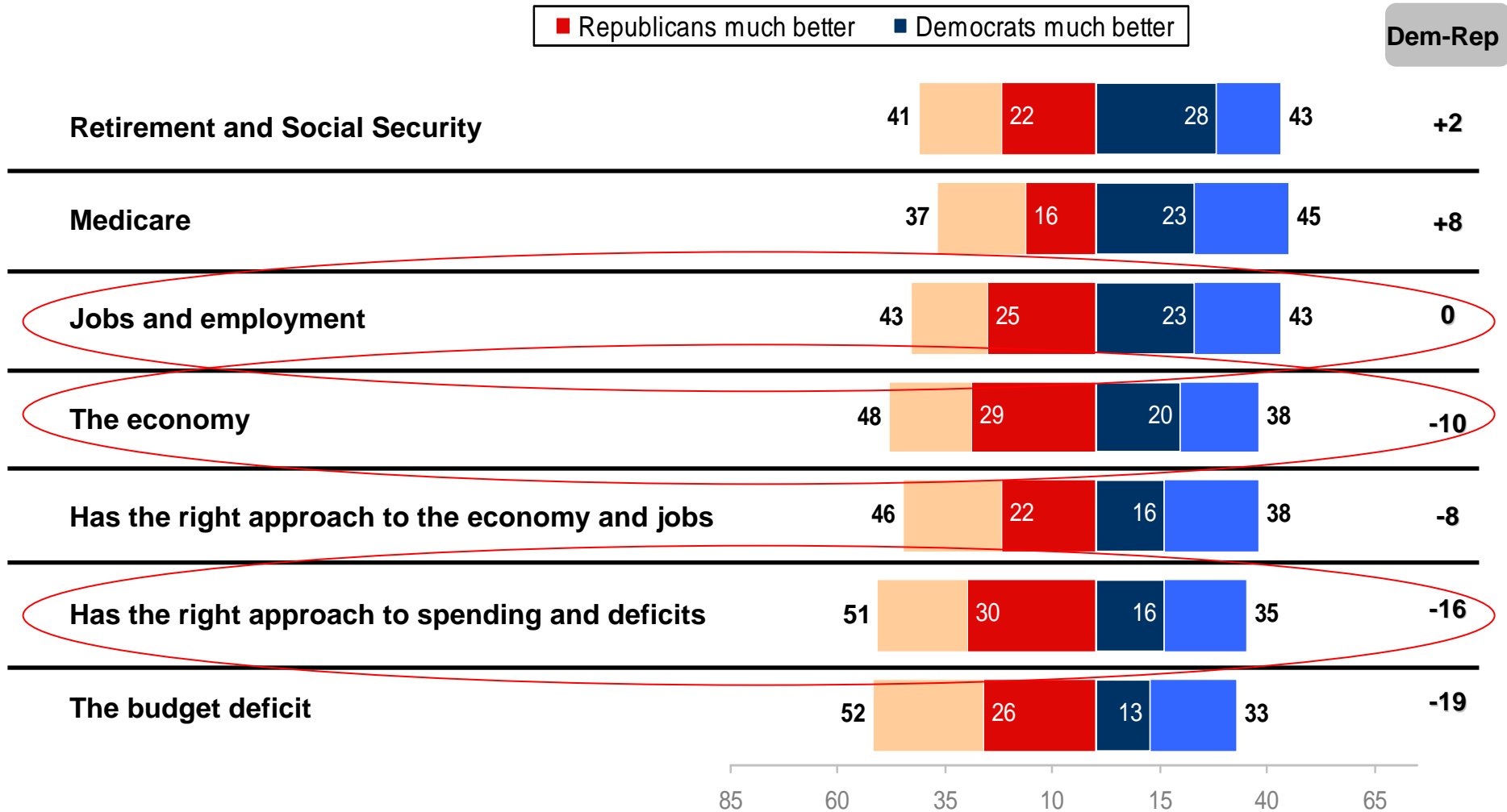
*I know it is a long way off, but thinking about the elections for Congress in 2012, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for (DEMOCRATIC HOUSE CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN HOUSE CANDIDATE)?\**



\* In the landline sample, the incumbent names were inserted preceded by party identification. Generic “the Democratic candidate” or “the Republican candidate” were inserted for the opposition. For the cell phone sample and open seat districts, both candidates were given as generic.

# Democrats not heard on deficits, split on which party can improve employment

Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.



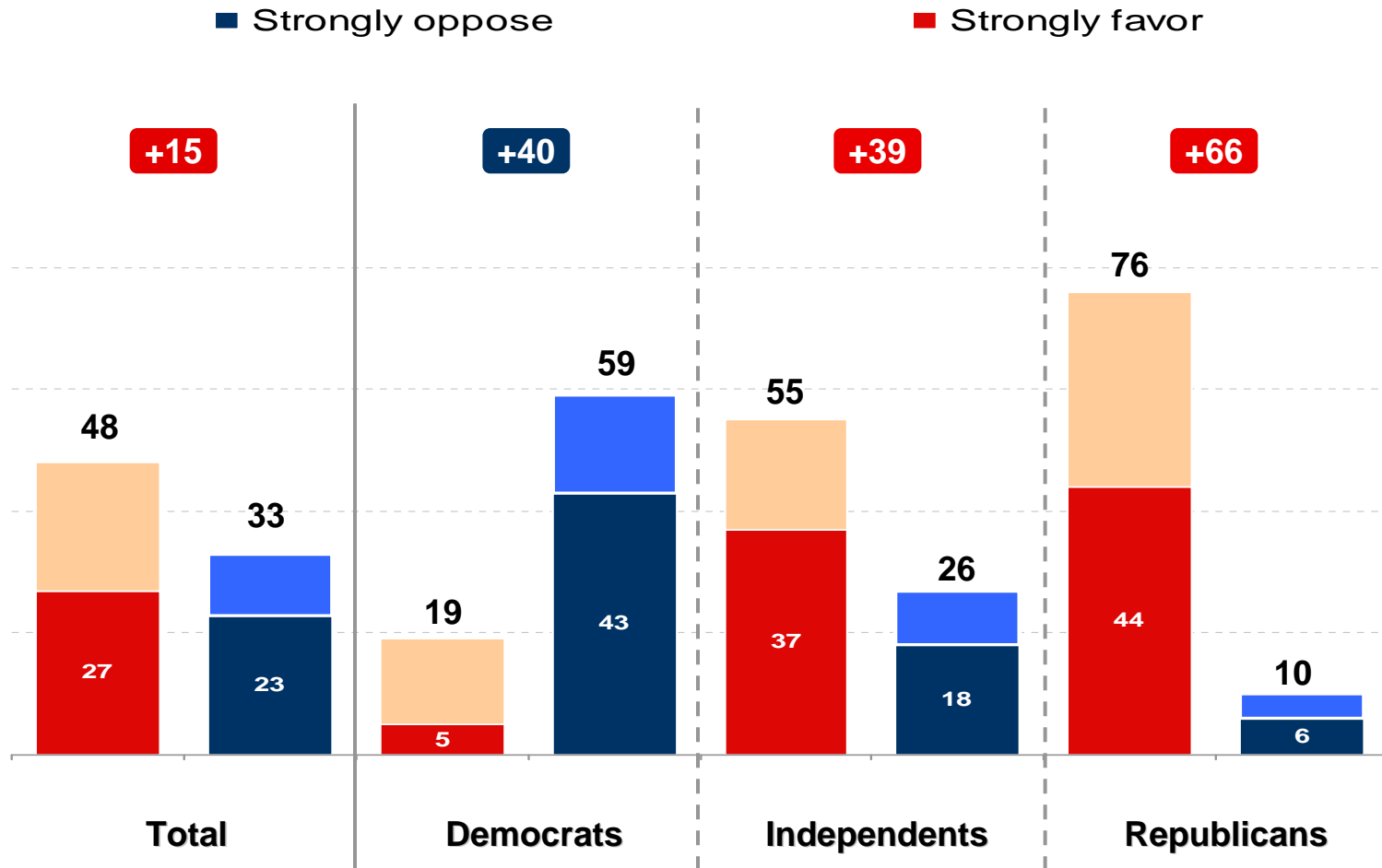


# The Ryan Republican Budget

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# The Ryan Budget: approval starts at just 48 percent

*This week, Republicans in the House of Representatives proposed a budget for the next 10 years that they say will cut 6.2 trillion dollars from the federal budget. From what you know, do you favor or oppose this budget plan?*



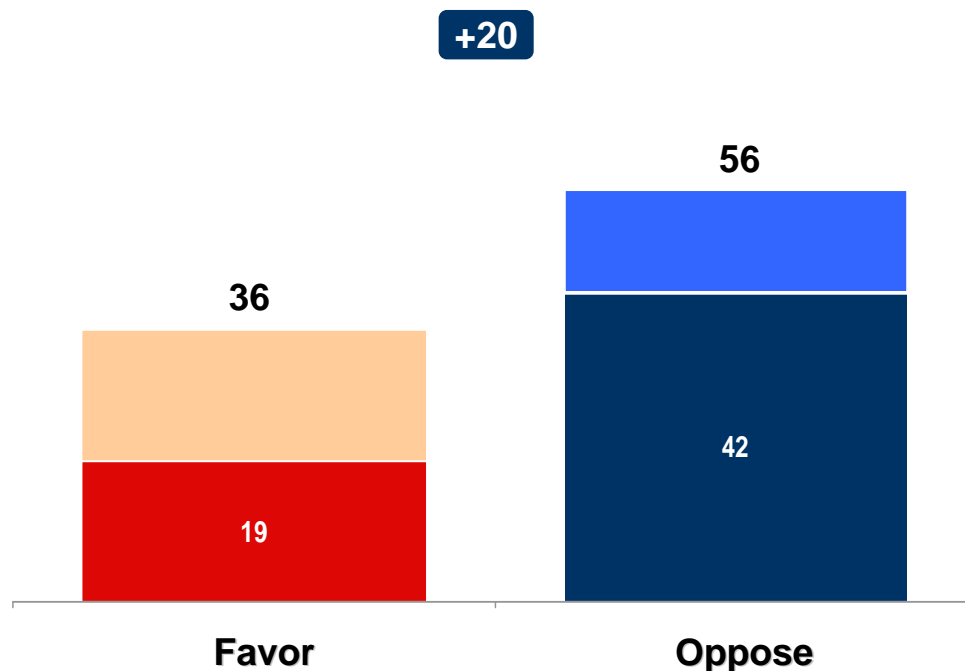
## Budget: flat description and information shifts debate sharply

*This week, Republicans in the House of Representatives proposed its budget for the next 10 years that will cut 6.2 trillion dollars from the federal budget. From what you now know, do you favor or oppose this plan?*

■ Strongly oppose

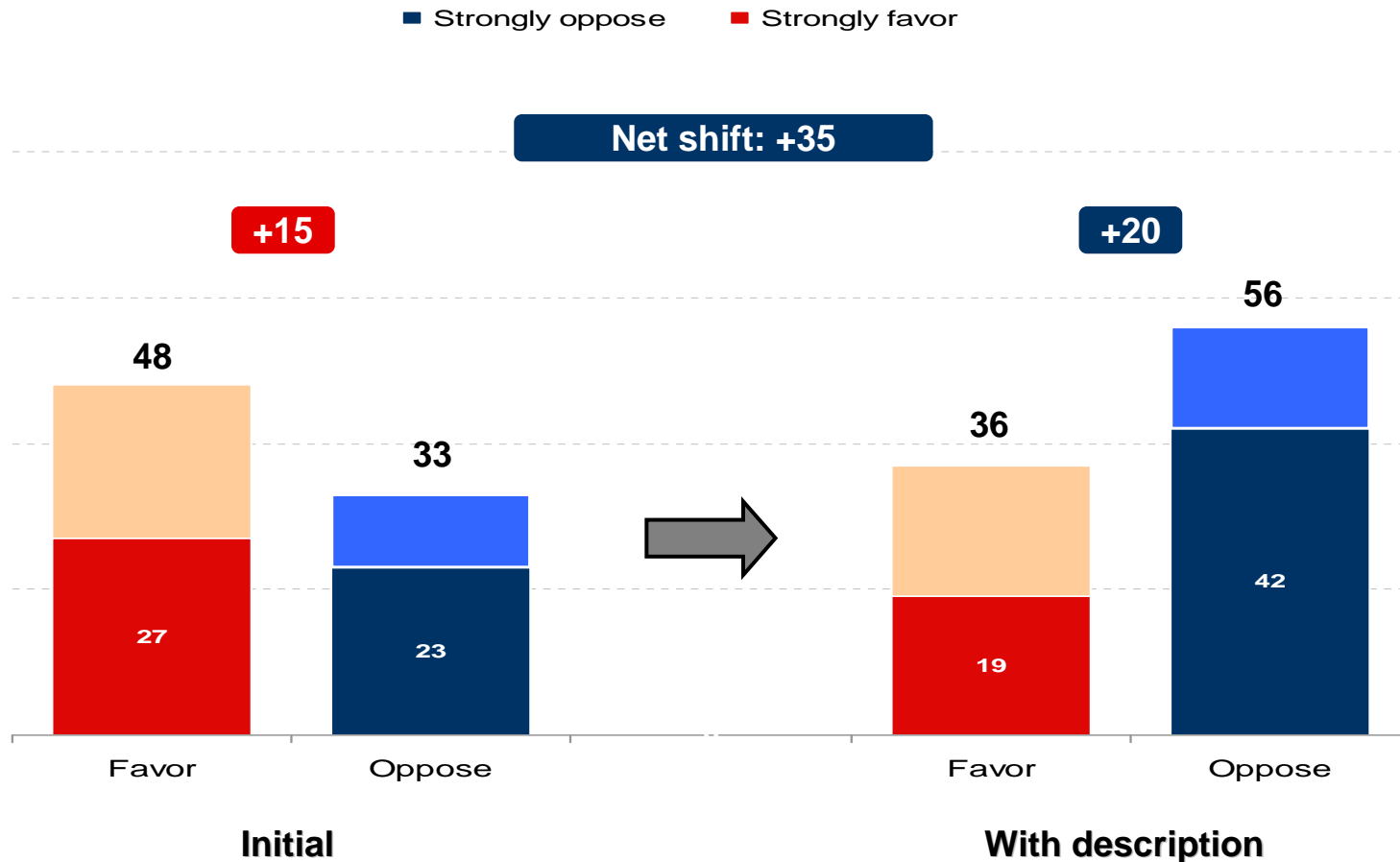
■ Strongly favor

The plan cuts 6.2 trillion dollars below the president's budget and reduces the debt as a percentage of the economy. It makes small cuts in defense spending. It cuts spending for domestic programs in the coming year by 72 billion dollars, almost 20 percent, and freezes it for five years. It repeals the new health care bill and the new Wall Street reform law, makes major cuts of almost 800 billion dollars to Medicaid and Medicare for seniors over the next ten years. Starting in 2022, new retirees will no longer get health coverage through Medicare, but instead will get a voucher that will partially pay for insurance they purchase from private health insurance companies. The proposal cuts taxes for corporations and people making over 370 thousand dollars a year.



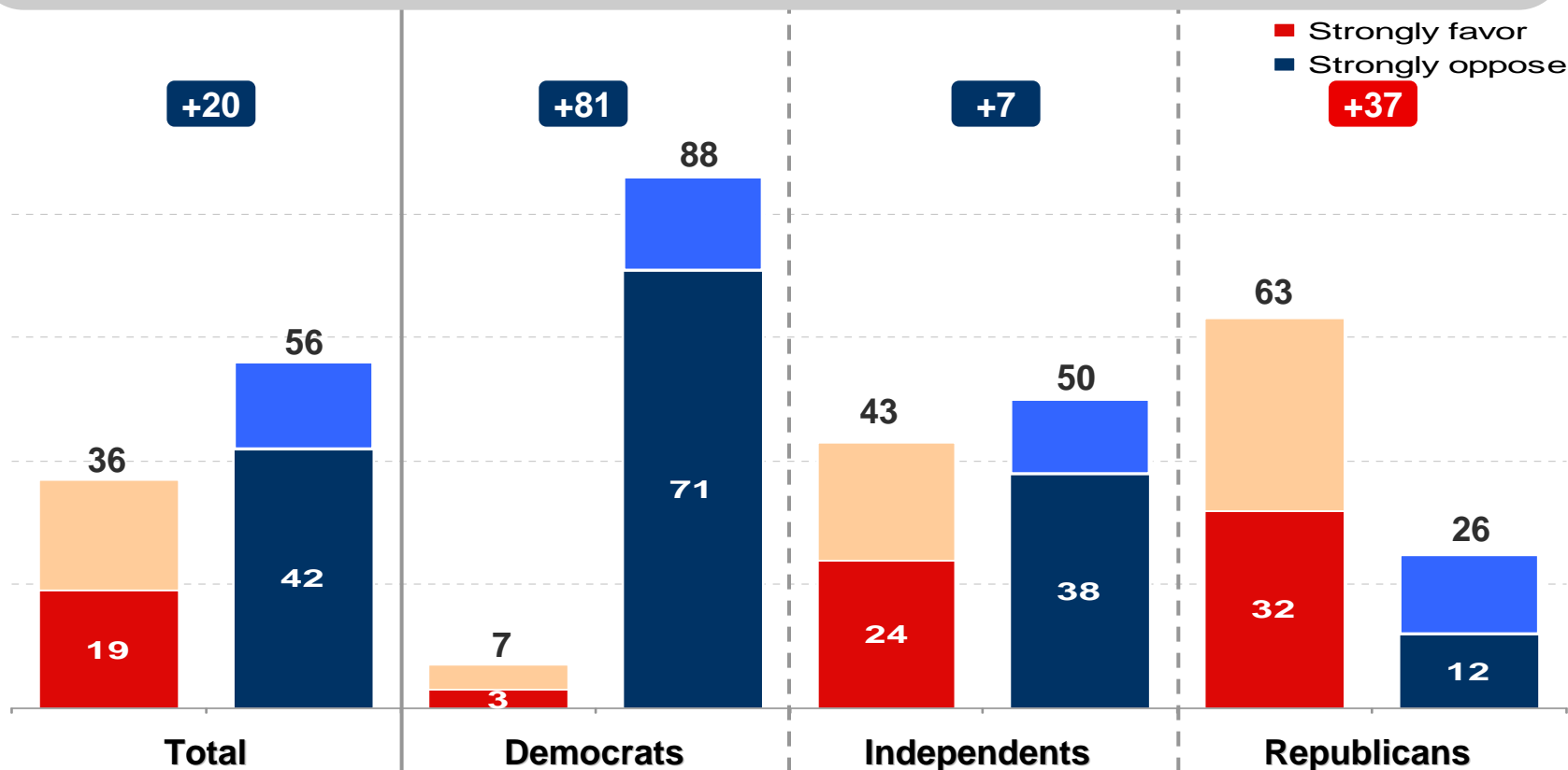
# Ryan Budget: description, information dramatically shifts debate

Now that you've heard more information, do you favor or oppose this plan?



## Budget with description: independent shift and GOP doubts

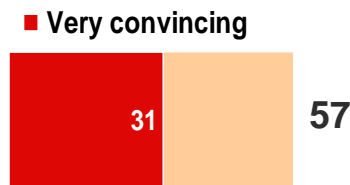
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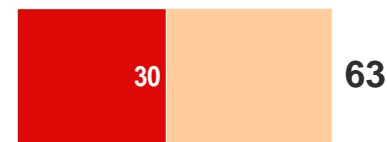
## Republican Messages: modest approval for major GOP themes

*I am going to read you some of the things Republicans are saying about their plan to cut 6.2 trillion dollars over 10 years. After I read each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support the Republican plan -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support the budget plan?*

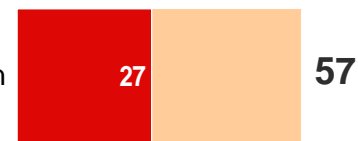
**(FOREIGN DEBT)** Both Democrats and Republicans have run up deficits, but now they are out of control under President Obama and threatening our economy. This plan changes the reckless path of over-spending and borrowing that leaves America at the mercy of China that lends us trillions of dollars and leaves our children burdened by debt.



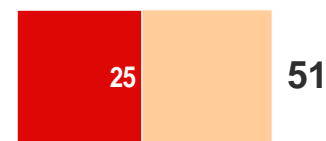
**(DEREGULATION)** Over-regulation and high taxes punish companies for success. We need to help businesses create jobs. This plan cuts taxes for small businesses and uses incentives to help entrepreneurs start businesses. It relieves the burden of regulation put on businesses and will help to create nearly 1 million private-sector jobs next year and 2.5 million private-sector jobs by 2020.



**(CORPORATE)** The United States has the highest corporate tax rates in the industrialized world, making it harder for companies to grow and create jobs here. They punish successful businesses and discourage entrepreneurs who create jobs. This plan helps American businesses that are currently struggling to compete in the international marketplace and encourages companies to reinvest their profits and capital in the United States.



**(BOLD)** Republicans are making the bold and necessary choices to reverse this cycle of spending and debt. President Obama and the Democrats have tried to spend our way out of the recession, a failed strategy that has just made our problems worse. This Congress will not put off making the hard decisions for the country.



**(WASTE)** This budget forces government to cut out waste and duplication. By cutting domestic spending and freezing it for five years, it forces hard choices. By turning Medicaid over to the states, it saves money while allowing them to spend it according to their own needs. We have to preserve the safety net, but we can't allow it to be a hammock that fosters irresponsibility.



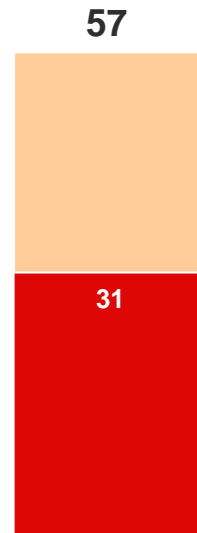
# Top Republican messages reach under two thirds of voters

*I am going to read you some of the things Republicans are saying about their plan to cut 6.2 trillion dollars over 10 years. After I read each statement, please tell me how convincing a reason it is to support the Republican plan -- is it a very convincing reason, a somewhat convincing reason, a little convincing, or not at all a convincing reason to support the budget plan?*

## Foreign Debt

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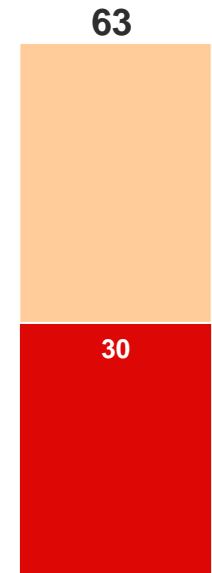
■ Very Convincing



## Deregulation

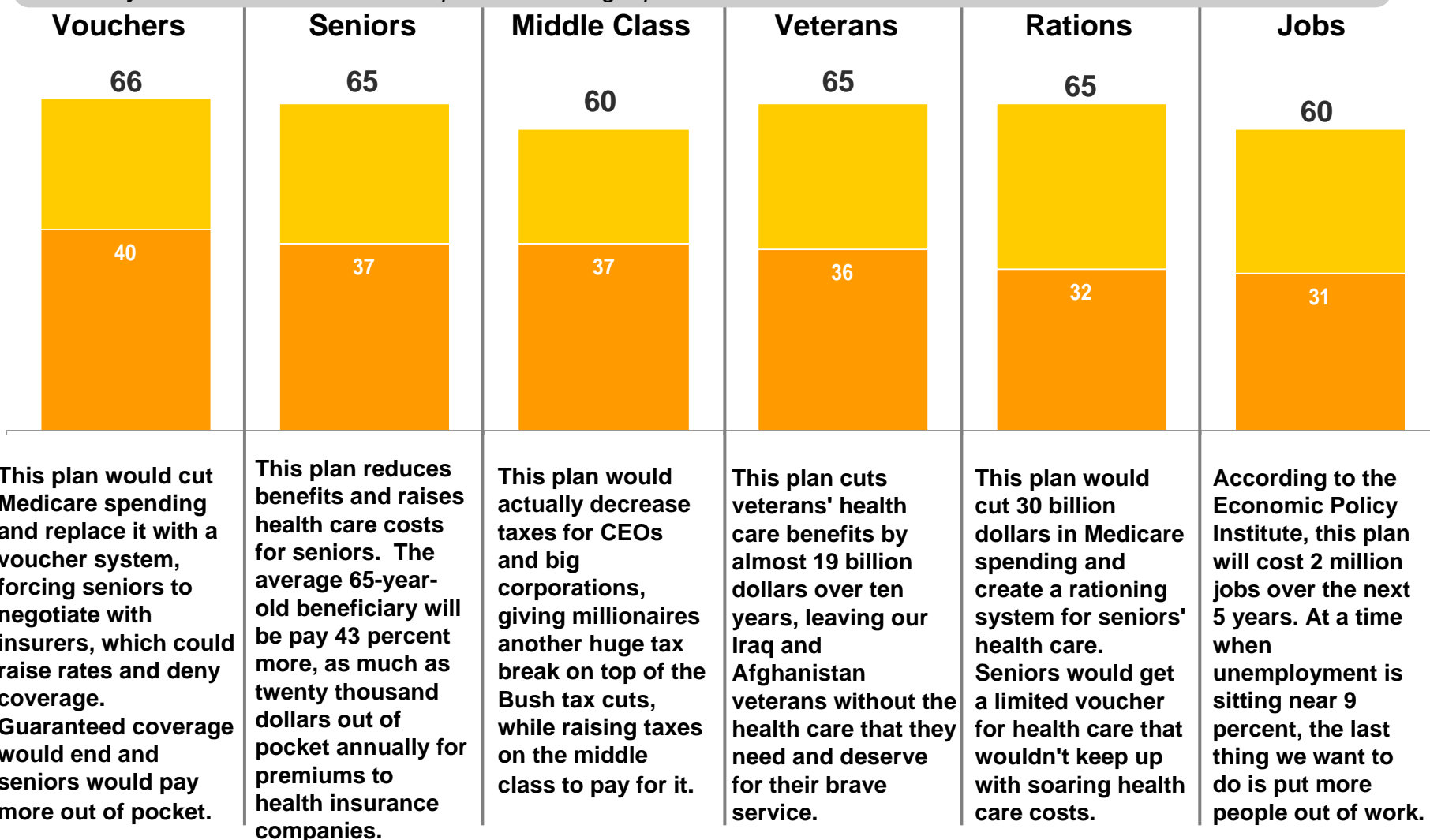
Over-regulation and high taxes punish companies for success. We need to help businesses create jobs. This plan cuts taxes for small businesses and uses incentives to help entrepreneurs start businesses. It relieves the burden of regulation put on businesses and will help to create nearly 1 million new private-sector jobs next year and 2.5 million additional private-sector jobs by 2020.

■ Very Convincing



# Cutting Medicare, vouchers, and shifted costs raise biggest doubts

*I am going to read you some of the things Democrats are saying about the Republican budget plan for the next 10 years. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about the Republicans' budget plan.*



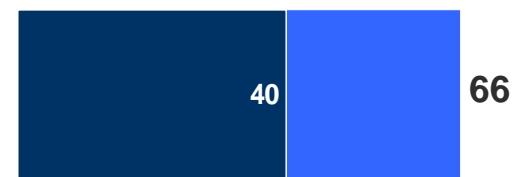


## Broken contract with seniors raise biggest doubts

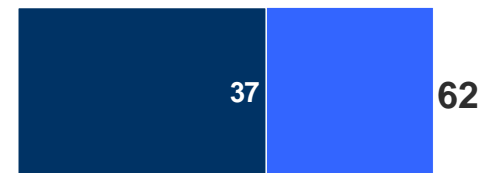
*I am going to read you some of the things Democrats are saying about the Republican budget plan for the next 10 years. After I read each one, please tell me whether this raises very serious doubts, serious doubts, minor doubts, or no real doubts in your own mind about the Republicans' budget plan.*

**(BROKEN CONTRACT)** This budget shreds the contract that this country has with seniors after a life time of work. We promised seniors that the cost of health care and long-term care would not bankrupt them and their families in their retirement. By ending Medicare, this plan will force seniors to pay more out of pocket and negotiate with private drug and insurance companies. By slashing Medicaid it takes away the last protection for seniors late in life.

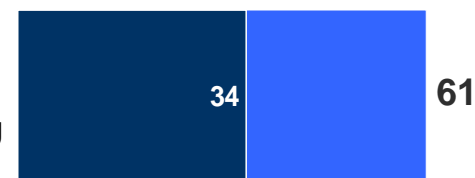
### Very serious doubts



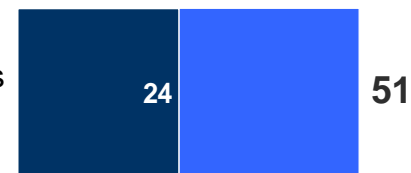
**(MIDDLE CLASS)** The middle class and working people are under siege, with rising prices and jobs paying less. This budget slashes programs critical to the middle class, such as retirement security and health care, education and investments in good paying jobs, while cutting taxes for the rich by nearly one third.



**(FOR THE TOP)** This plan has the wrong priorities. It is focused on helping corporate special interests and Wall Street, not reducing the deficit or helping the country. It raises taxes for the middle class, while cutting them for the wealthiest. It repeals the Wall Street reforms and it abolishes Medicare, cuts funding for education, health care, alternative energy, and job training programs and uses the money not for reducing the deficit, but to help the most privileged.



**(ECONOMY AND JOBS)** A plan to reduce the deficit will not work if it undermines economic growth. With this economy struggling to rebound, this plan cuts jobs in the short term and cuts programs critical to our economic future, such as education and training, infrastructure projects, new technologies, and clean energy.



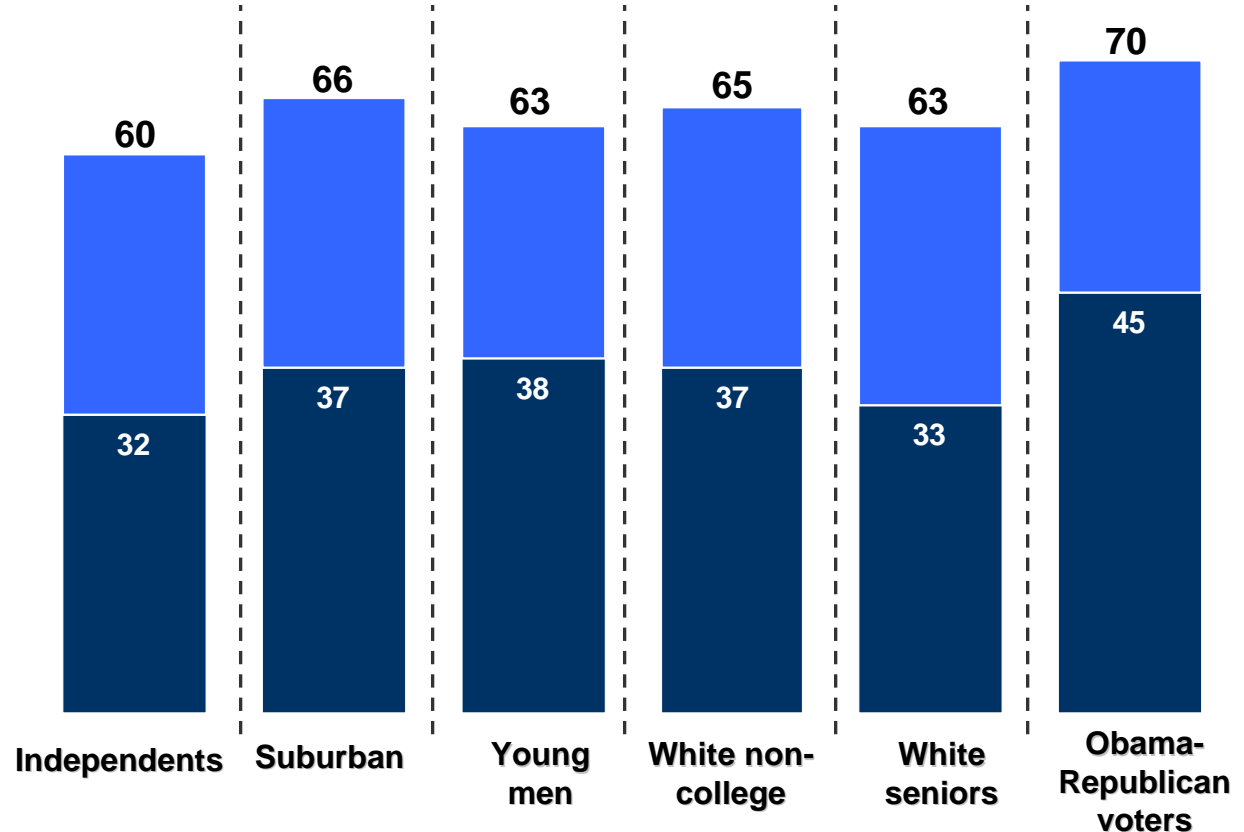
# Broken Contract: causes serious concern among 2010 defectors

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■ Very serious doubts

## Broken Contract

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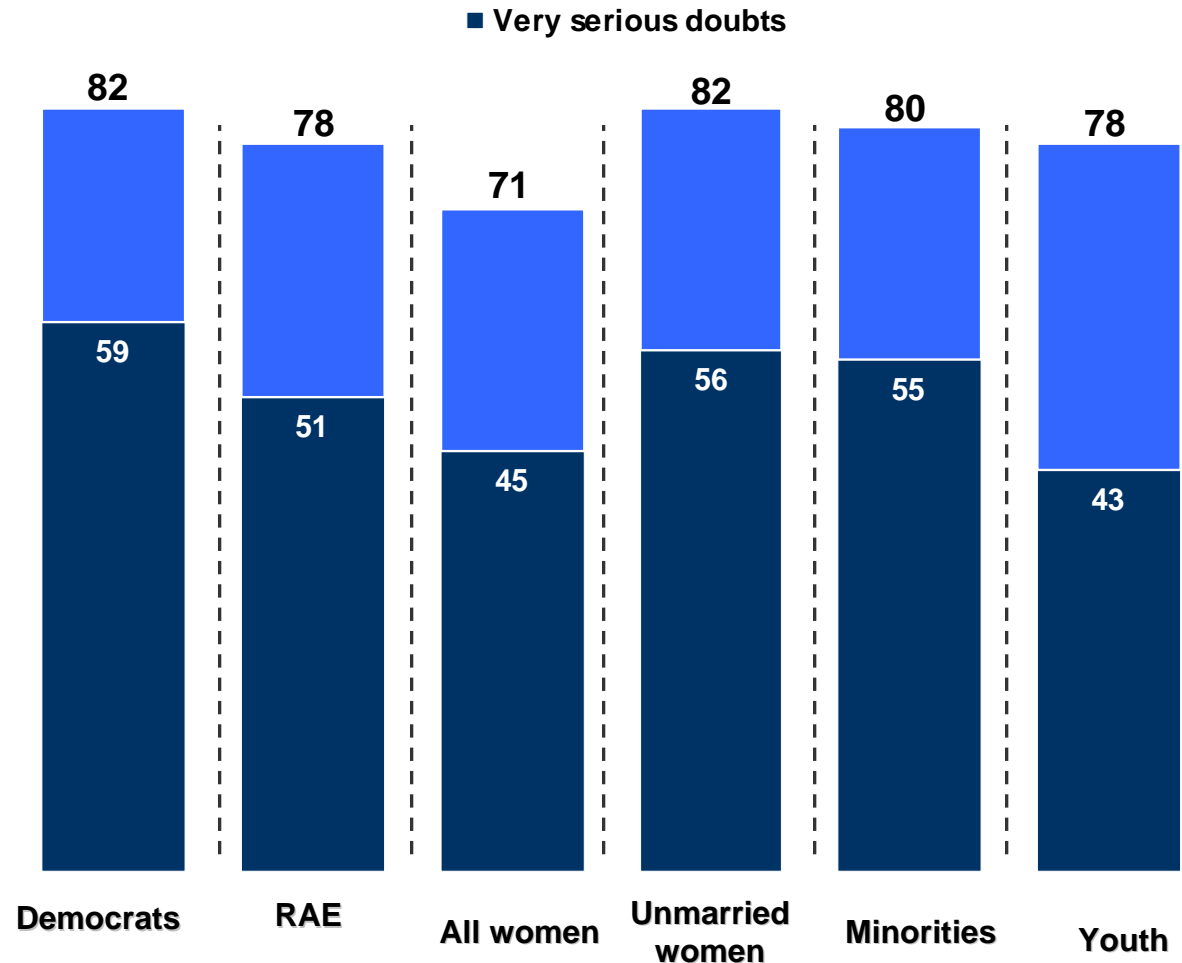


## Broken Contract: strong intensity among Democratic base

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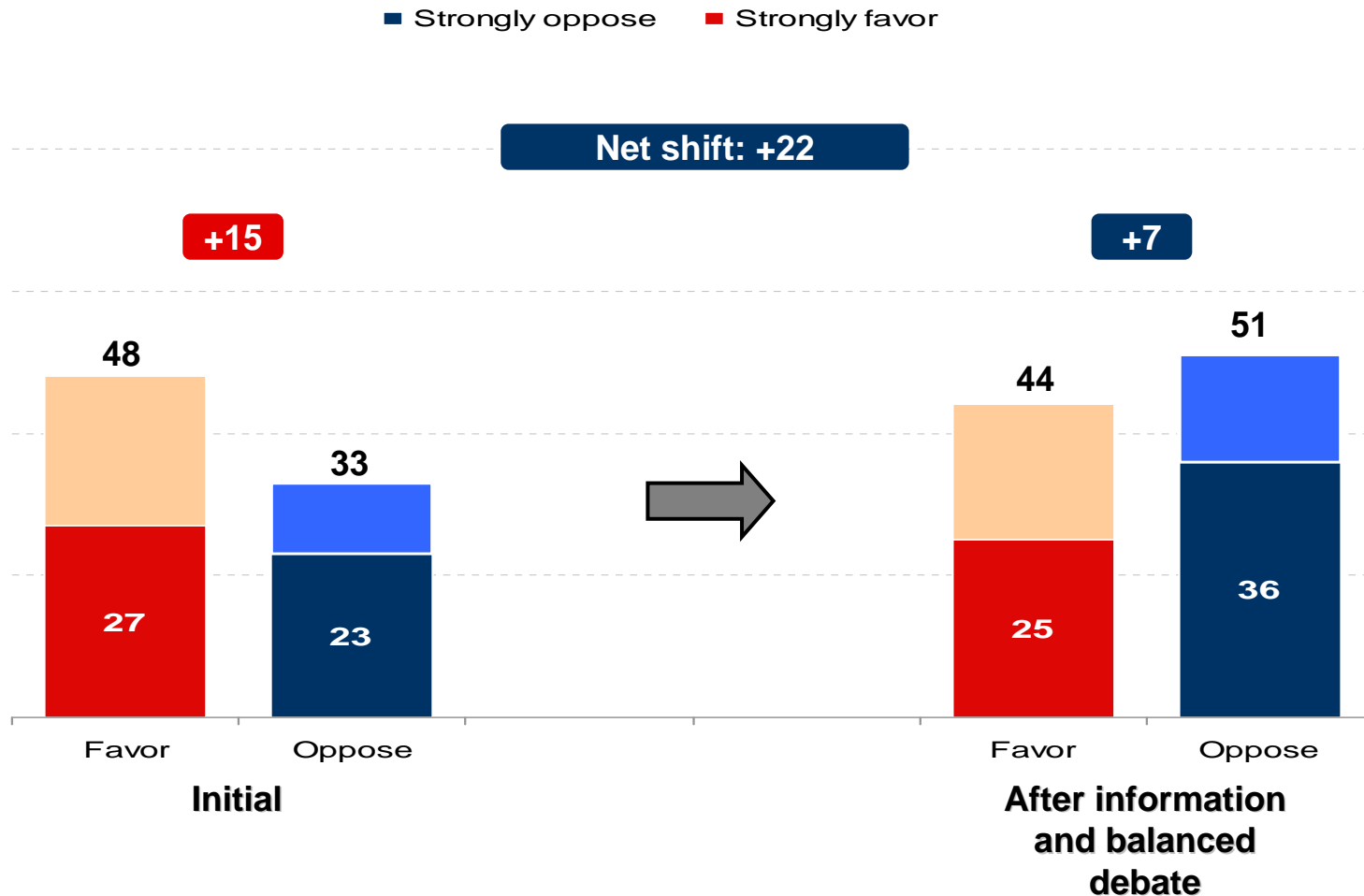


# Shifts

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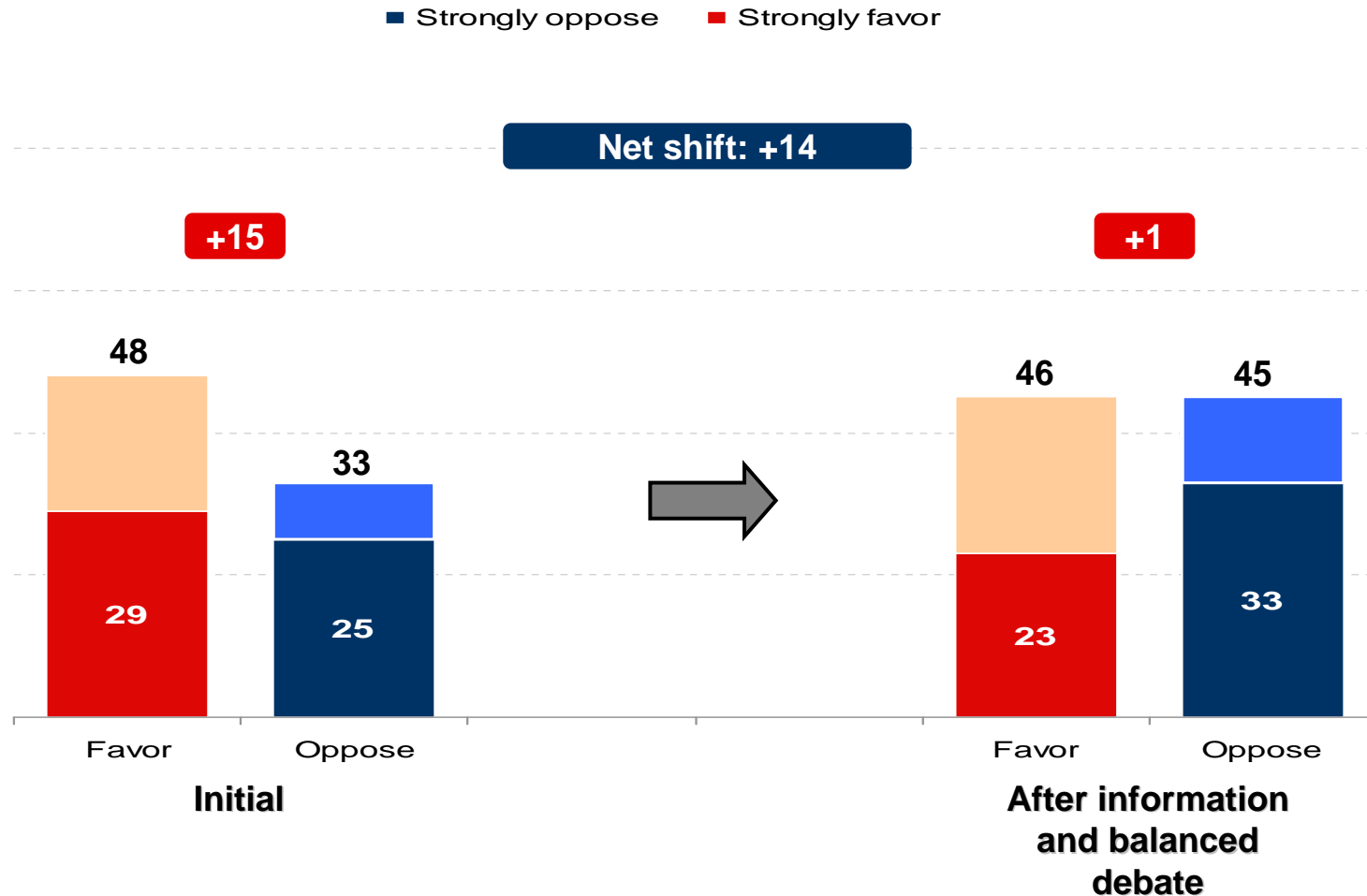
# Informed debate shifts voters; increased intensity for opposition

Now that you've heard more information, do you favor or oppose this plan?



# Opposition increases among seniors after balanced debate

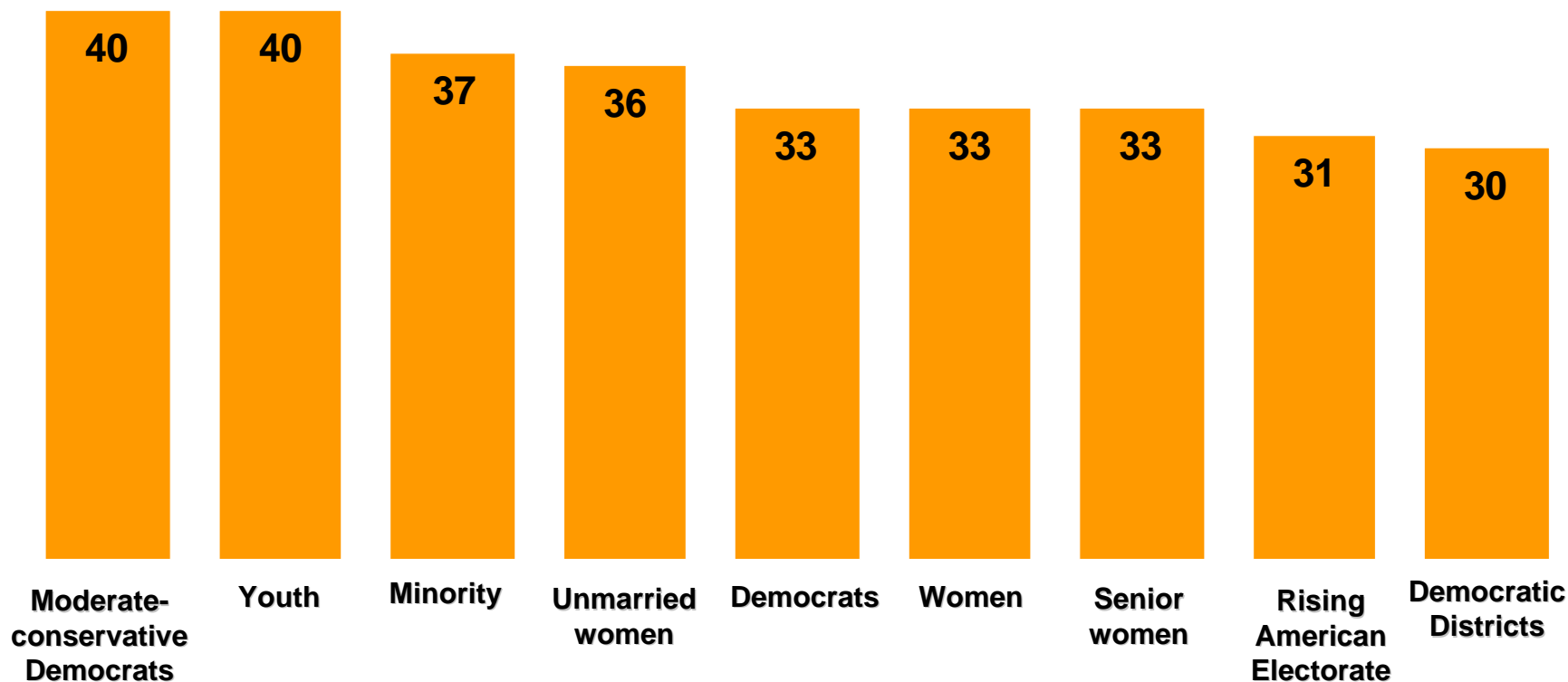
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## Target groups that shift against budget after hearing it described

*The plan cuts 6.2 trillion dollars below the president's budget and reduces the debt as a percentage of the economy. It makes small cuts in defense spending. It cuts spending for domestic programs in the coming year by 72 billion dollars, almost 20 percent, and freezes it for five years. It repeals the new health care bill and the new Wall Street reform law, makes major cuts of almost 800 billion dollars to Medicaid and Medicare for seniors over the next ten years. Starting in 2022, new retirees will no longer get health coverage through Medicare, but instead will get a voucher that will partially pay for insurance they purchase from private health insurance companies. The proposal cuts taxes for corporations and people making over 370 thousand dollars a year*

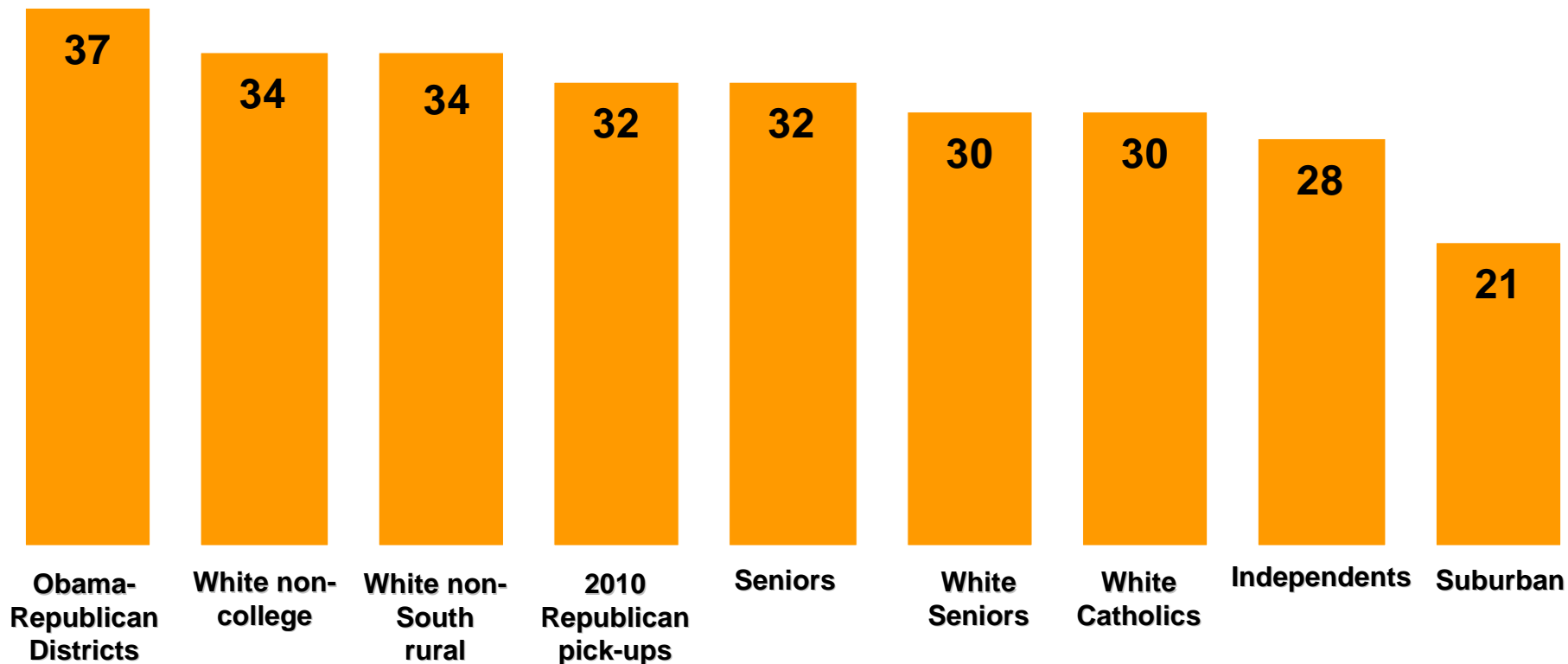
### ■ Shift against budget plan



## Swing groups that shift against budget after hearing it described

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### ■ Shift against budget plan





## Better job on issues: after messaging, Dems see better results

*Now I am going to ask you something different. I am going to read a list of issues and I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.*

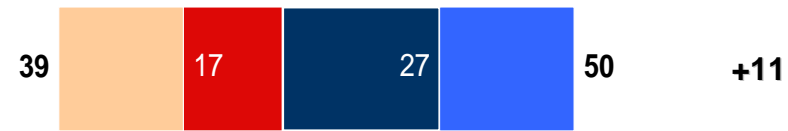
■ Republicans much better ■ Democrats much better

Dem-Rep

**Retirement and Social Security**



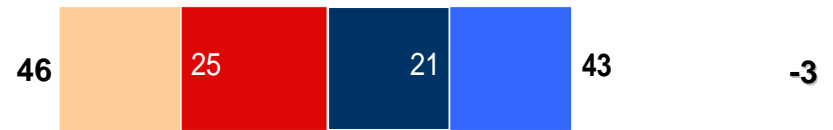
**Medicare**



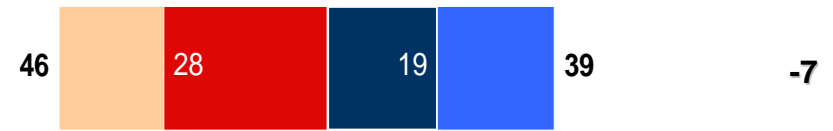
**The economy**



**Has the right approach to the economy and jobs**

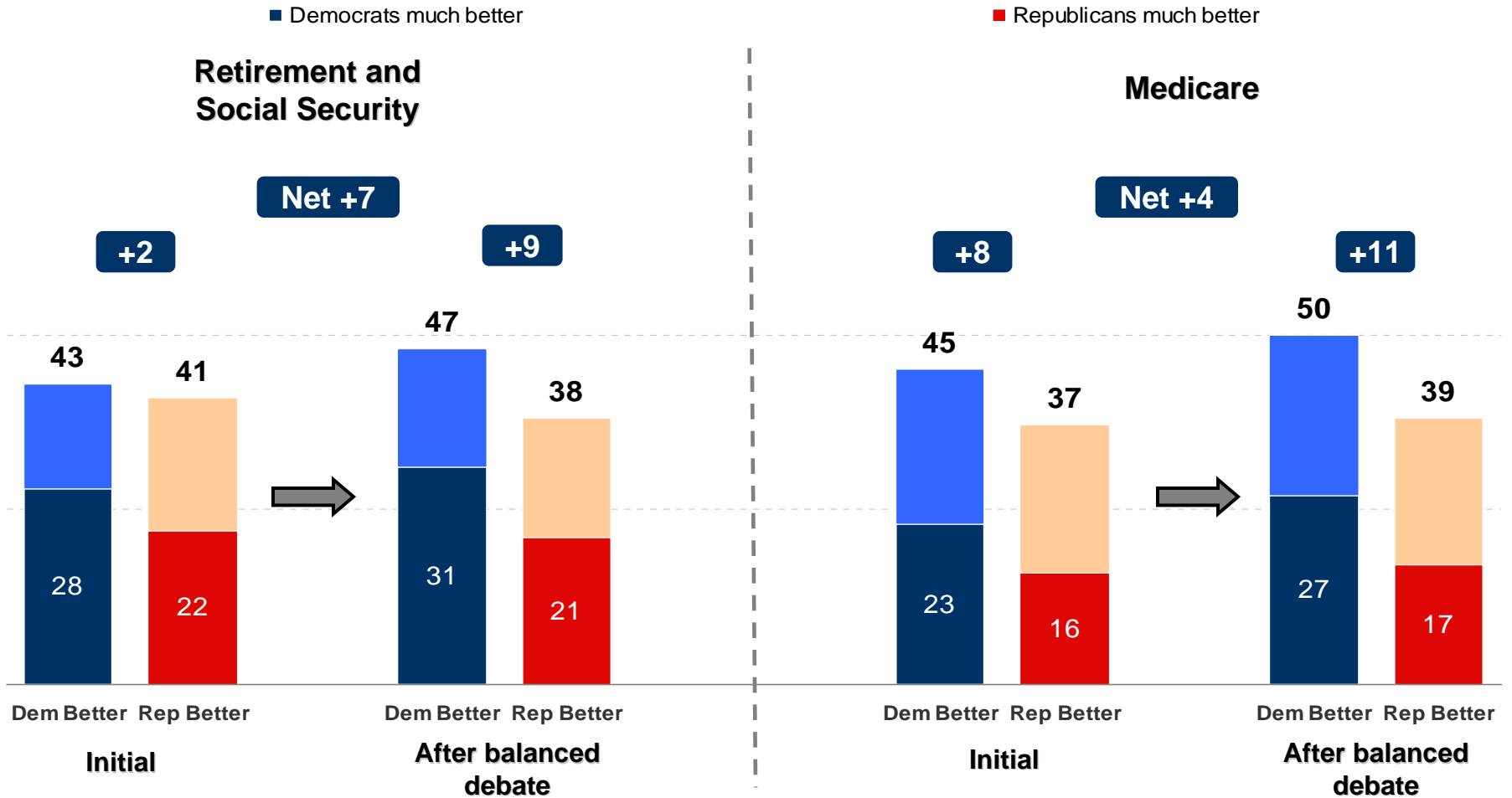


**Has the right approach to spending and deficits**



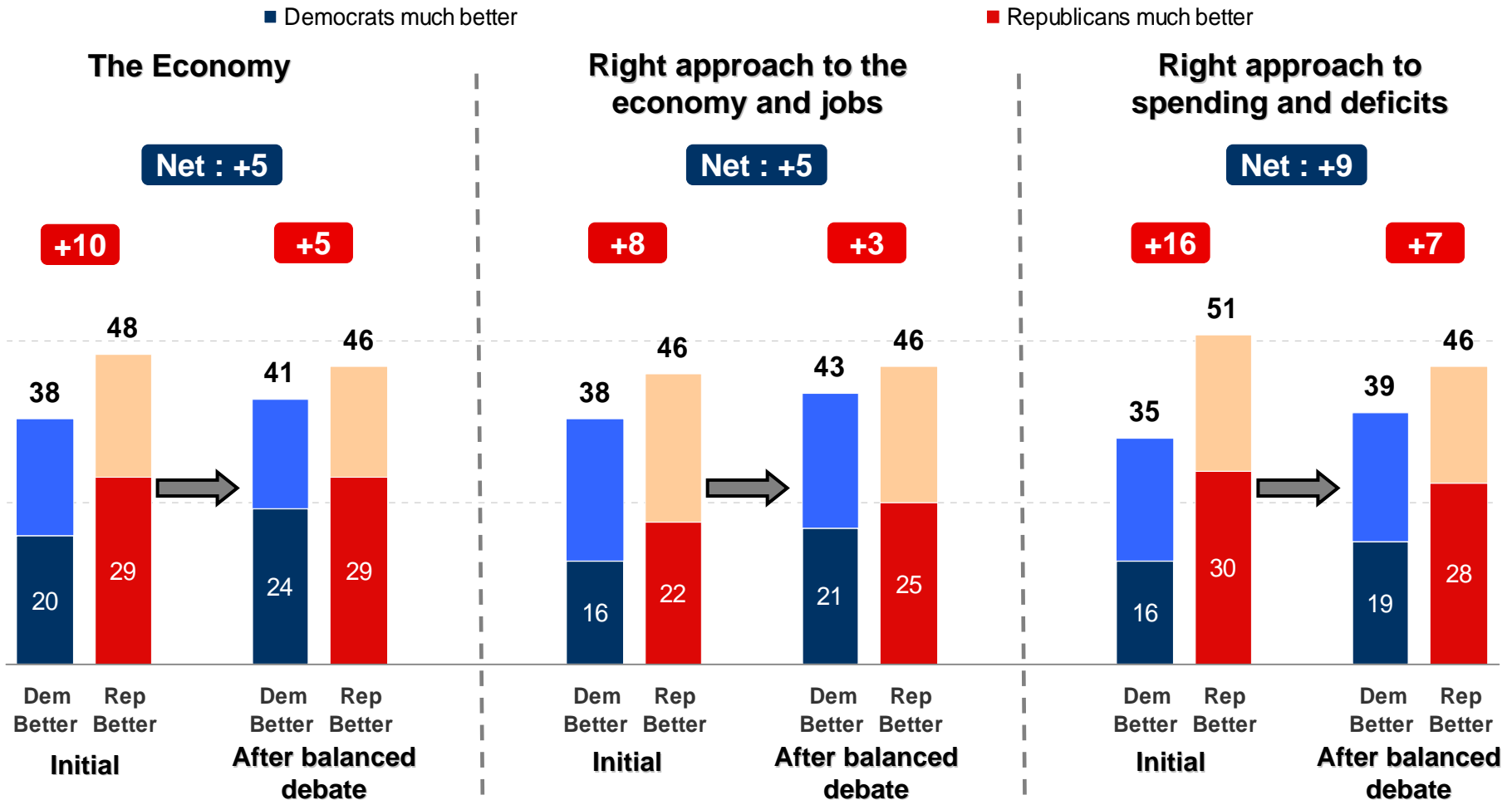
# Democrats gain trust on Medicare, Retirement and Social Security

*I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.*



# Budget battle erodes trust in Republicans on key economic issues

*I want you to tell me whether, overall, you think the Democrats or the Republicans would do a better job with this issue. If you do not know, just tell me and we will move on to the next item.*



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