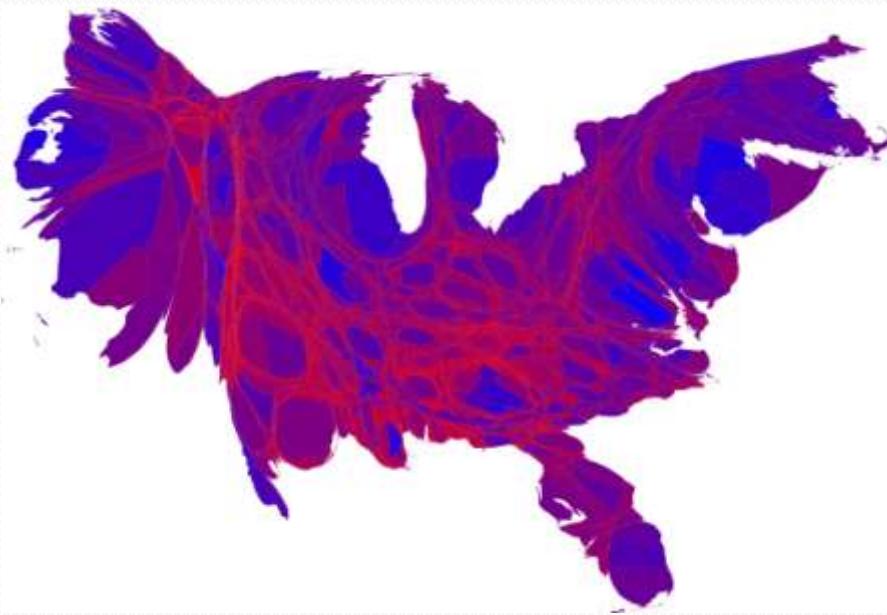


The 2010 election - and the outlook for 2012

National Conference
American Association for Public Opinion Research
May 12, 2011

Gary Langer
Langer Research Associates
glander@langerresearch.com

Mapping our preferences



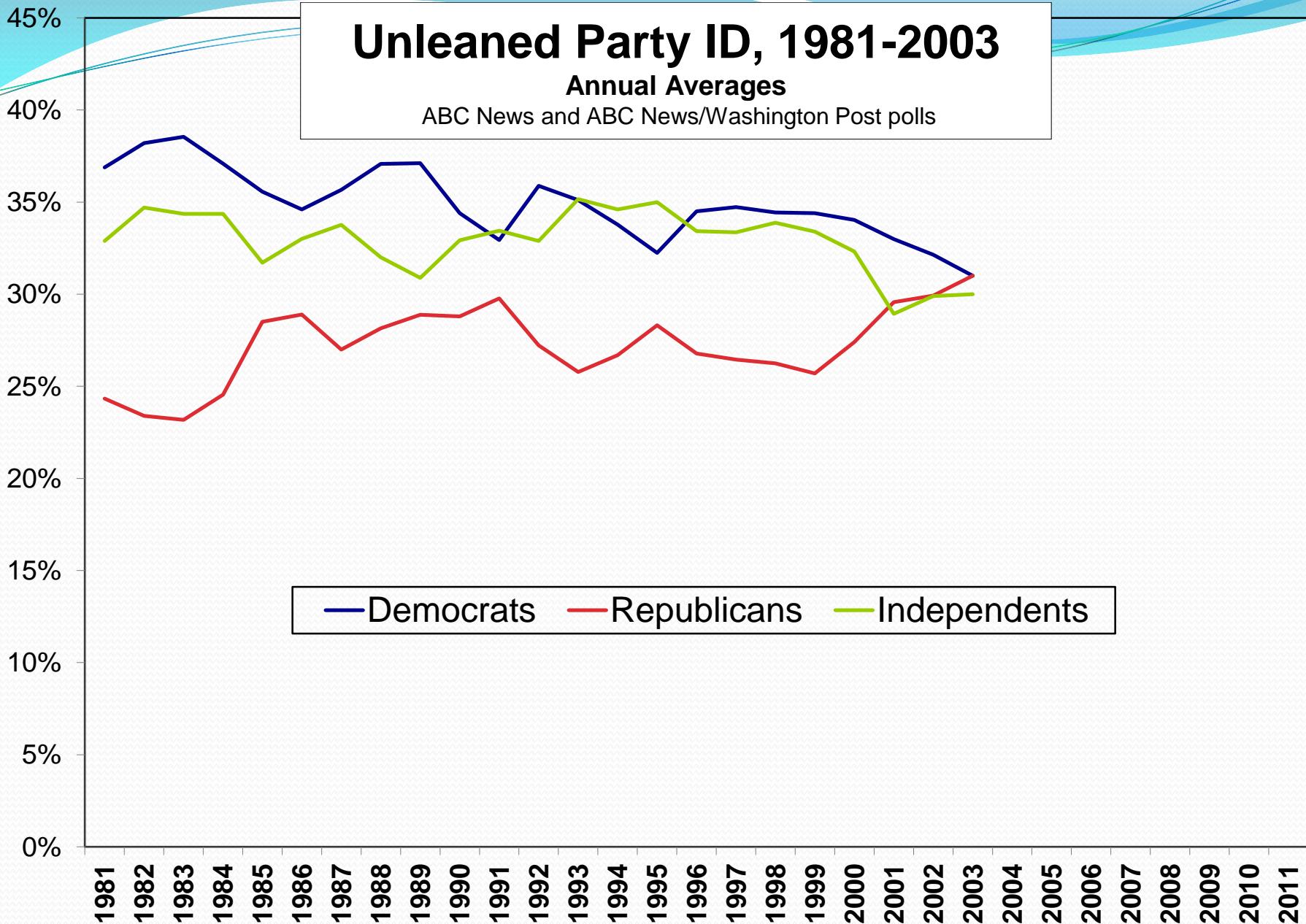
M. Newman, Department of Physics and Center for the Study of Complex Systems, University of Michigan

Charting our partisanship

Unleaned Party ID, 1981-2003

Annual Averages

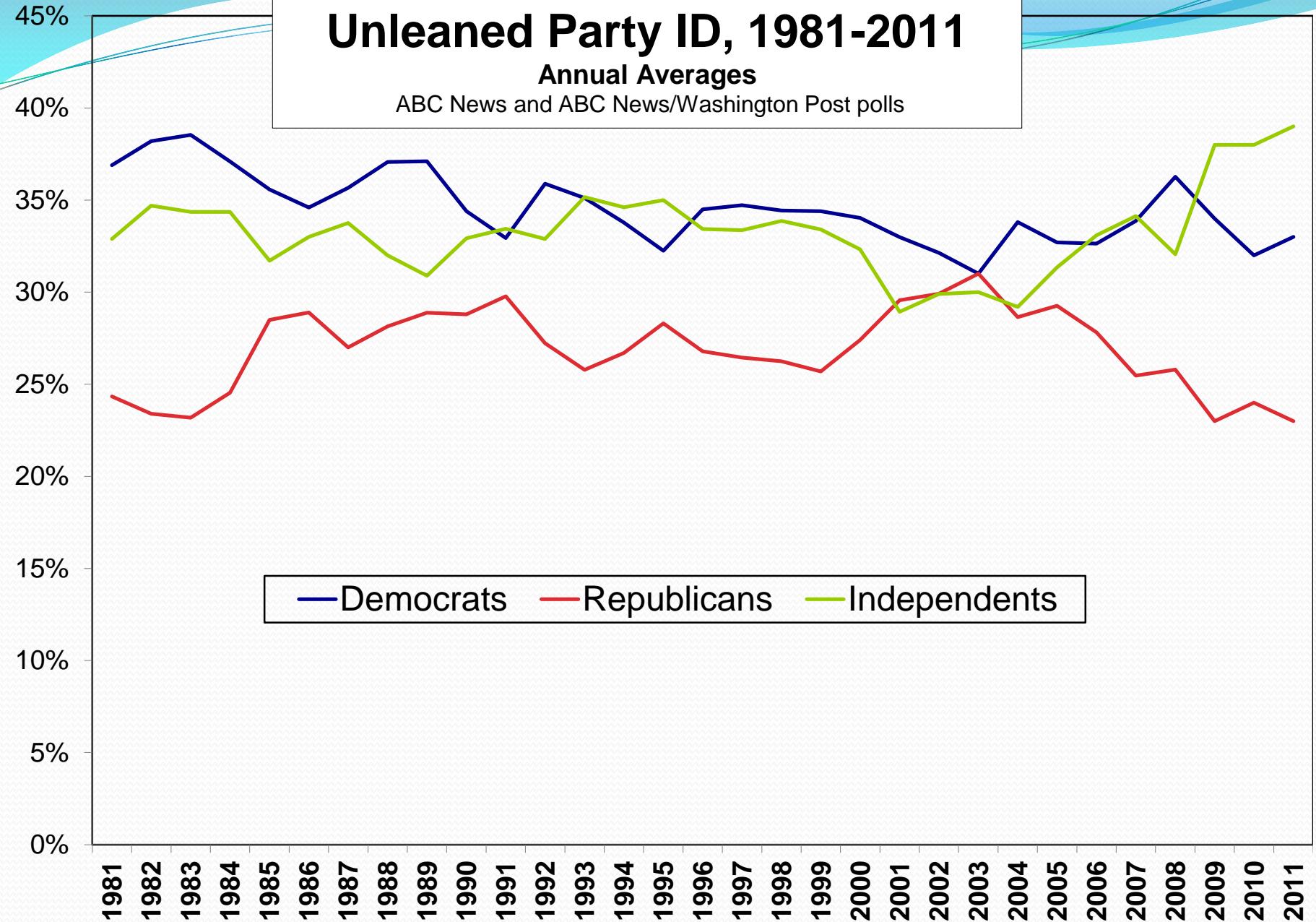
ABC News and ABC News/Washington Post polls



Unleaned Party ID, 1981-2011

Annual Averages

ABC News and ABC News/Washington Post polls



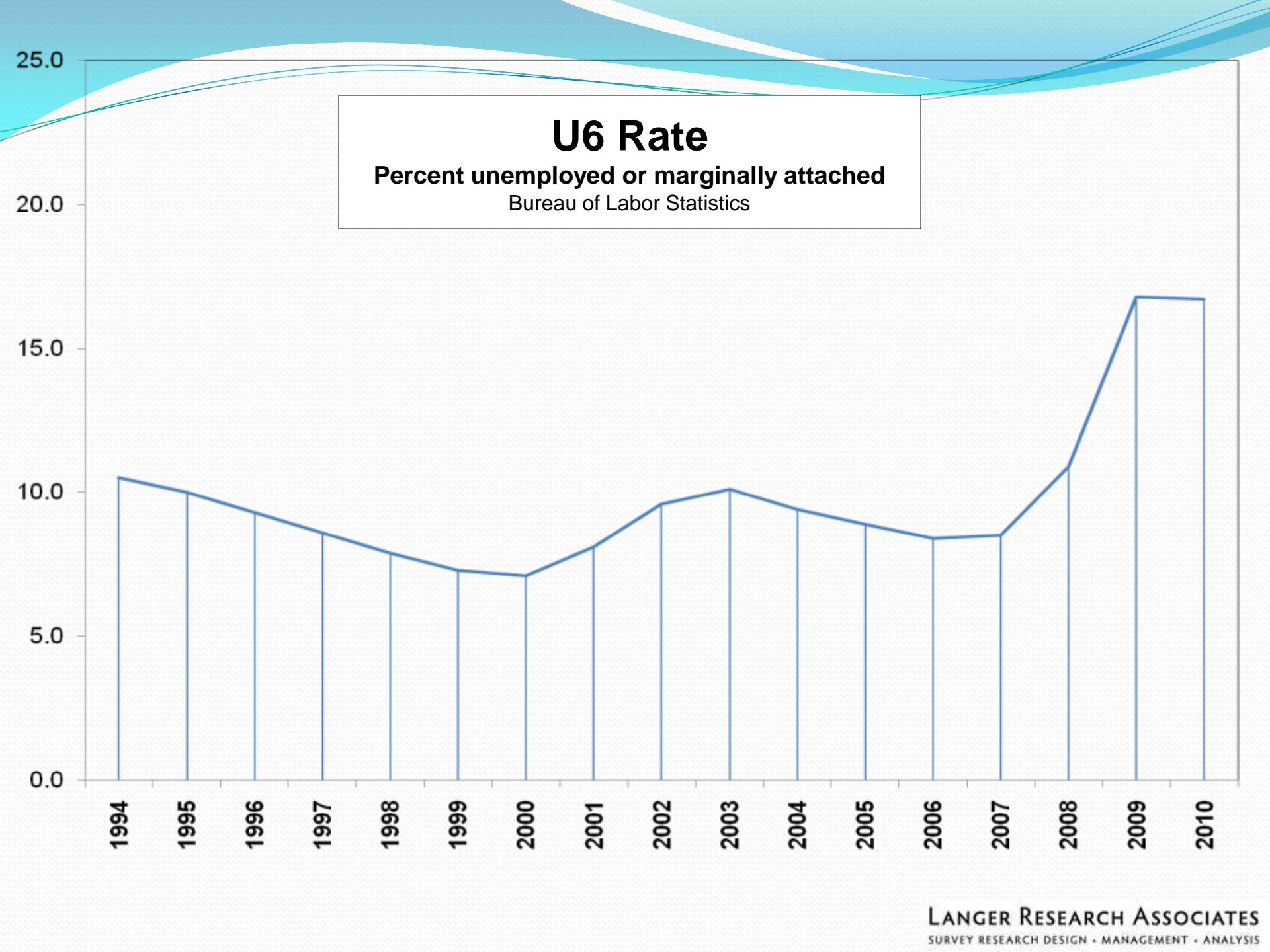


The driving force

The economy



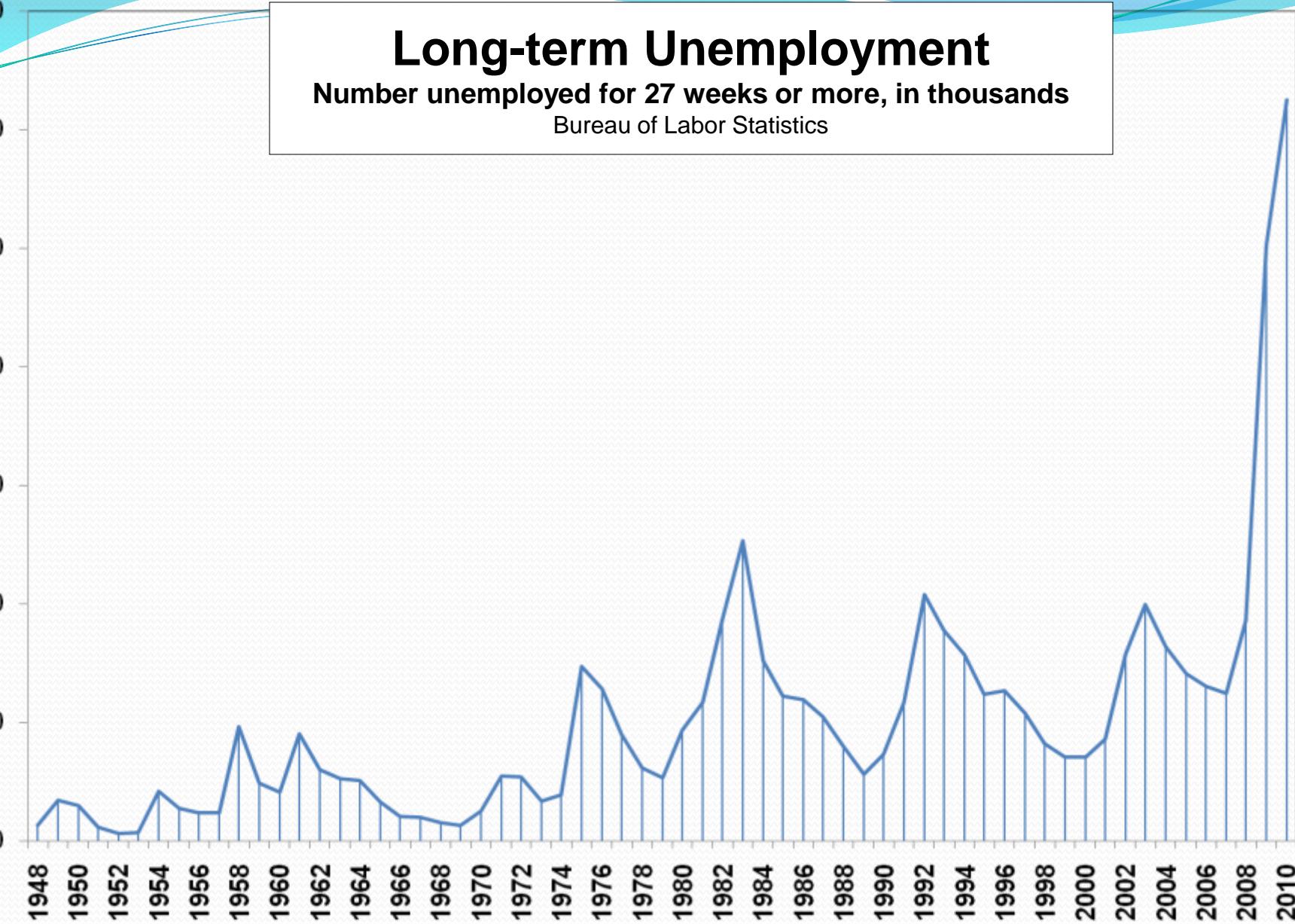
In the 2010 run-up



Long-term Unemployment

Number unemployed for 27 weeks or more, in thousands

Bureau of Labor Statistics



Real median weekly earnings

1979-2009

Bureau of Labor Statistics

No college degree



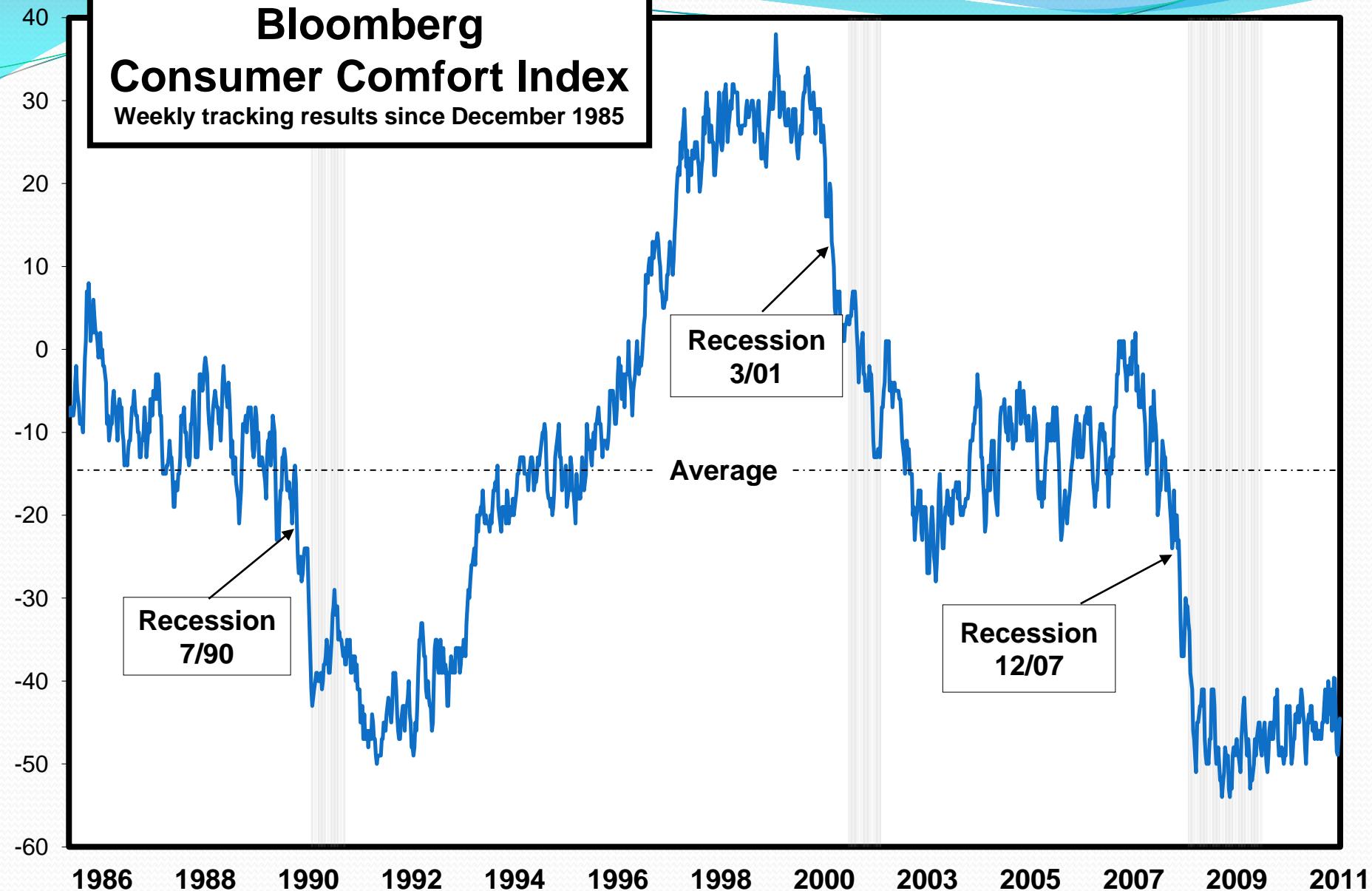
74% of the U.S.
Population

Bachelor's degree and higher

-15% -10% -5% 0% 5% 10% 15% 20% 25%

Bloomberg Consumer Comfort Index

Weekly tracking results since December 1985



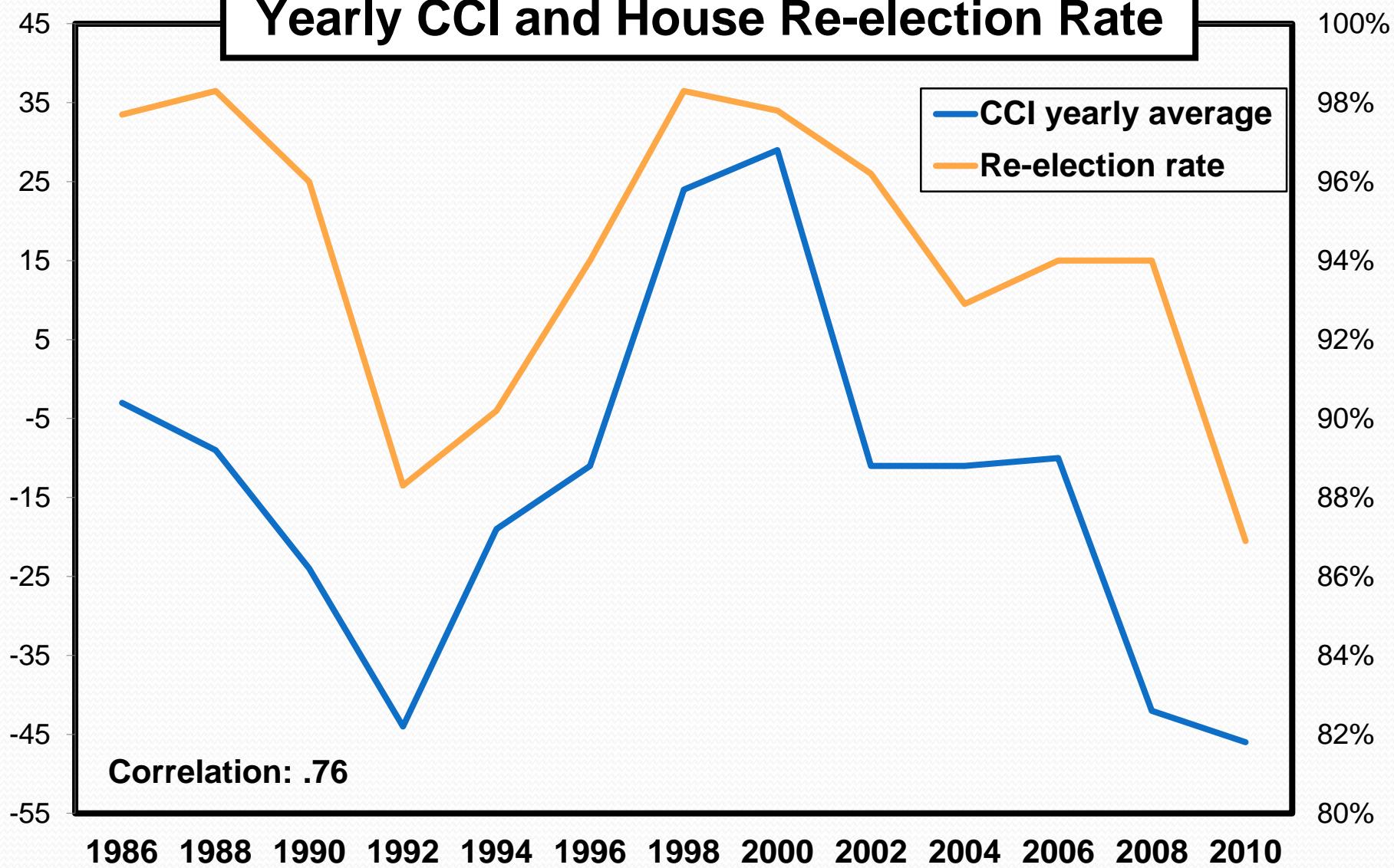
America's promise

- Security, liberty, then
- The opportunity for prosperity

When it's Not Delivered...

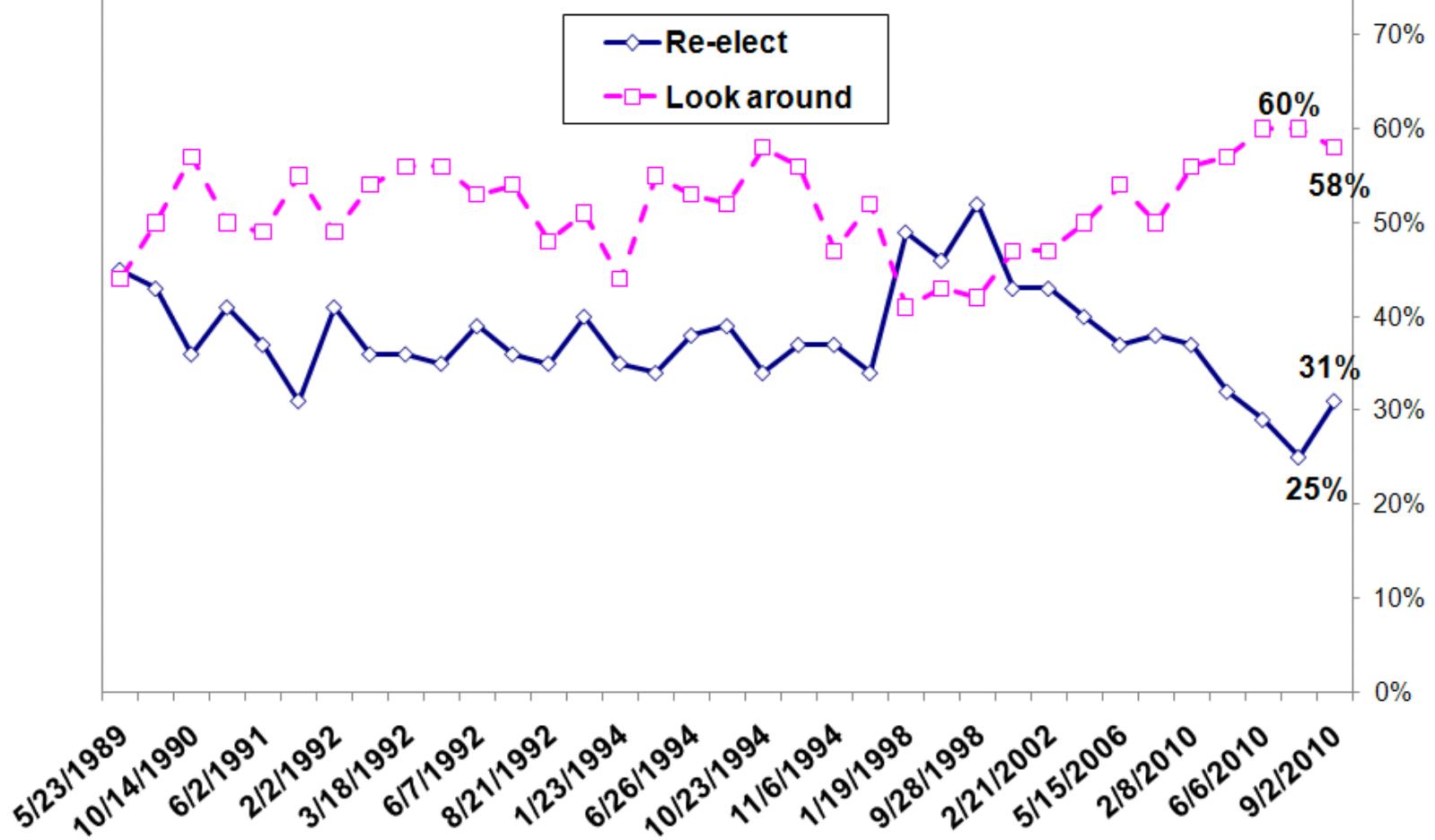
- *People get annoyed*
- *They blame incumbents (president/party/status quo)*
- *They look for alternatives in leadership*
- *Social/values divisions gain salience*

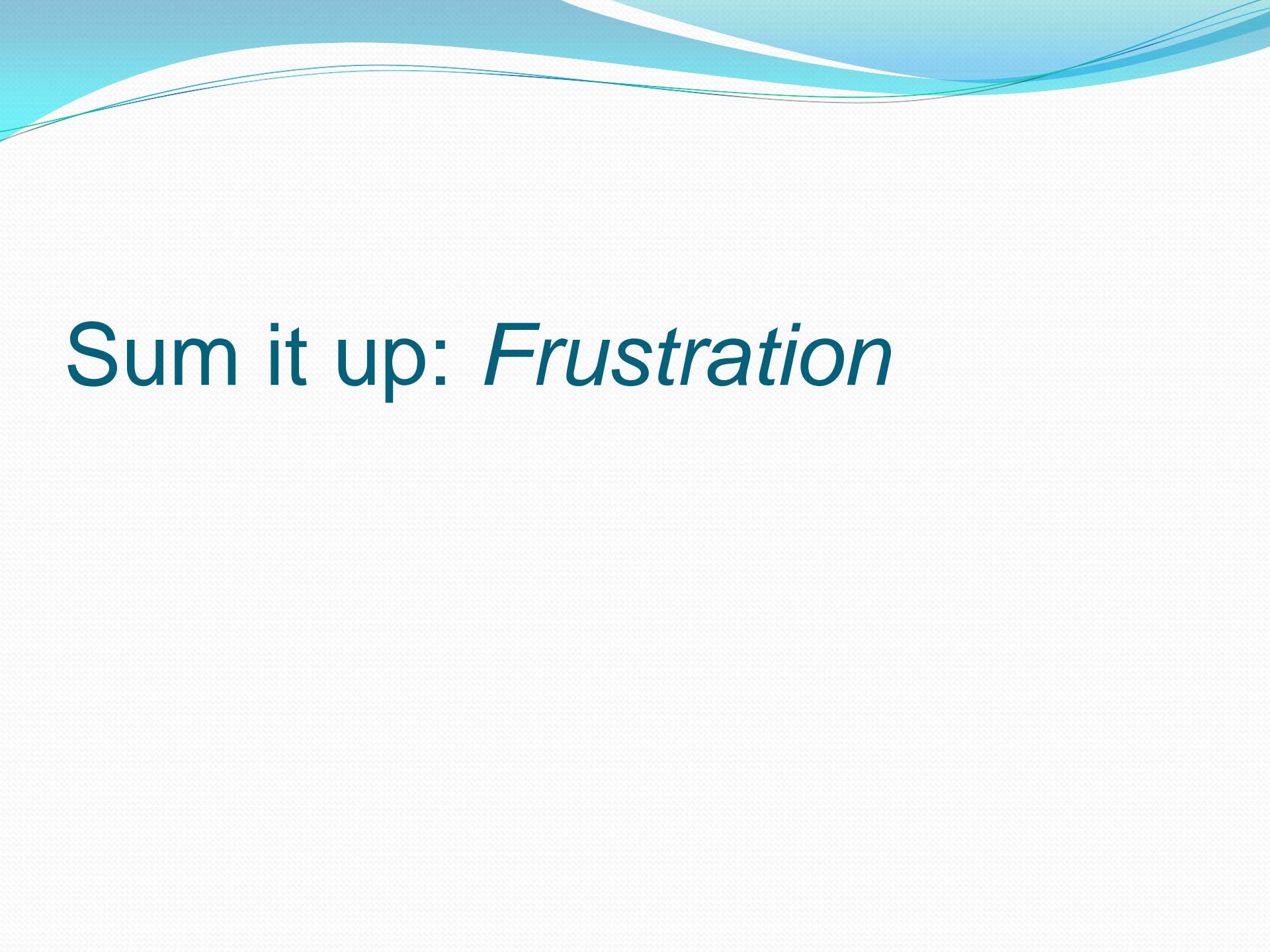
Yearly CCI and House Re-election Rate



Congressional Preference: Re-elect or Look Around?

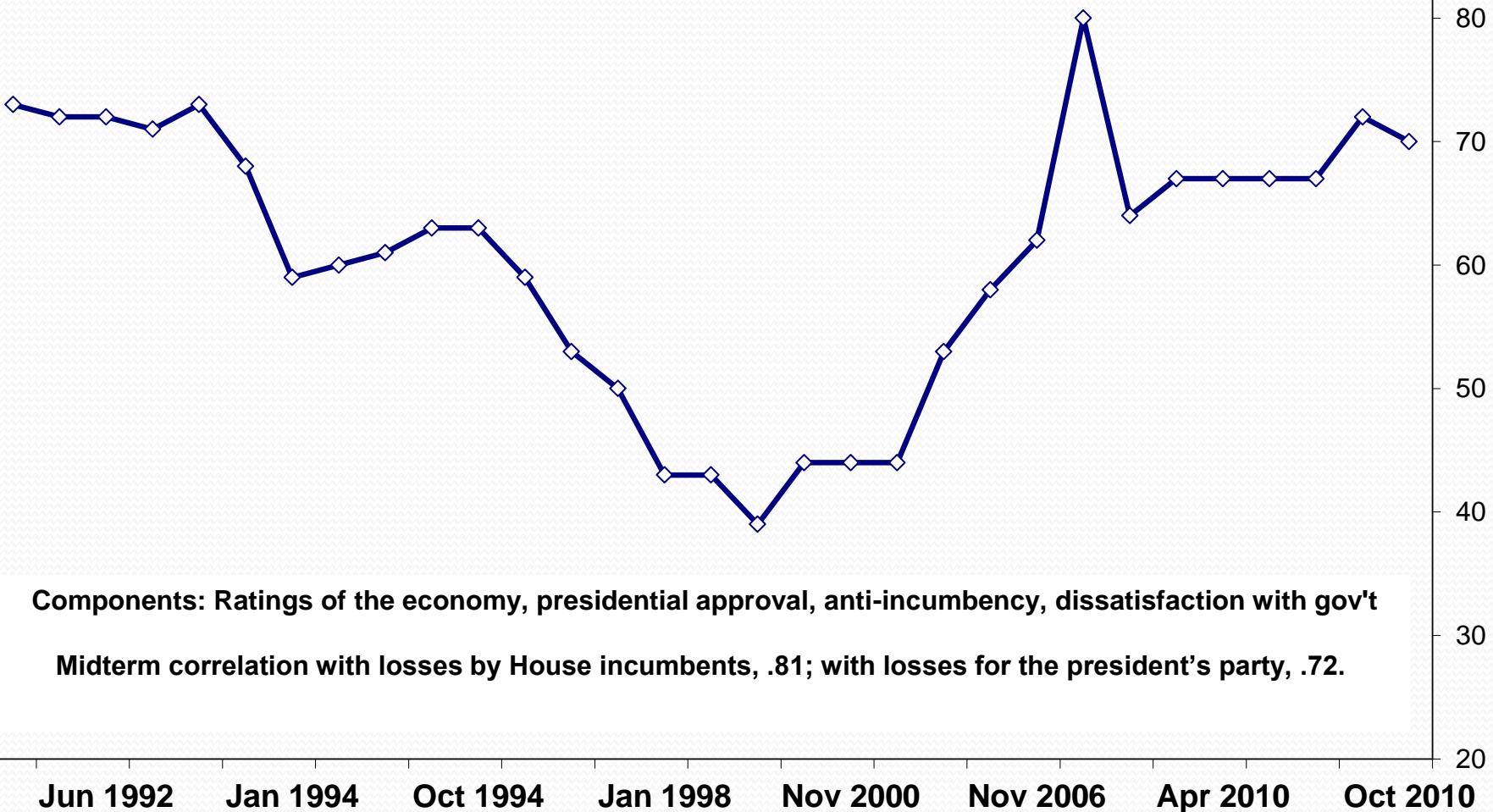
ABC News/Washington Post polls





Sum it up: *Frustration*

ABC News Frustration Index



Components: Ratings of the economy, presidential approval, anti-incumbency, dissatisfaction with gov't

Midterm correlation with losses by House incumbents, .81; with losses for the president's party, .72.

Throw in some stimulus blowback

Q.1. Do you prefer smaller government with fewer services, or larger government with more services?

What do you think Obama prefers?

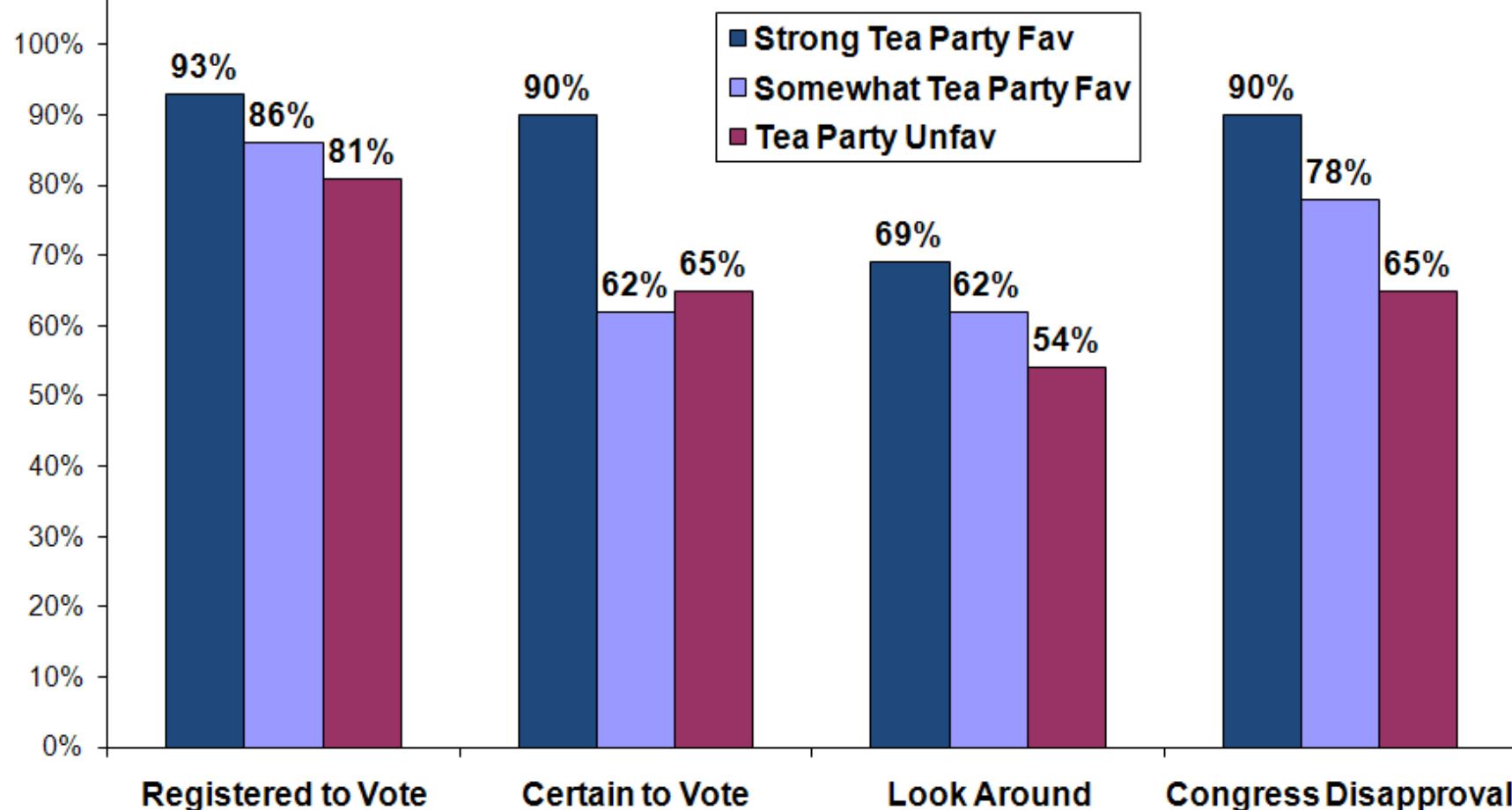
	Smaller	Larger
I prefer	58%	38%
<i>Obama prefers</i>	15%	77%



One place it takes us...

Tea Party Motivation this Midterm Election

ABC News/Washington Post poll



e voila, 2010-style

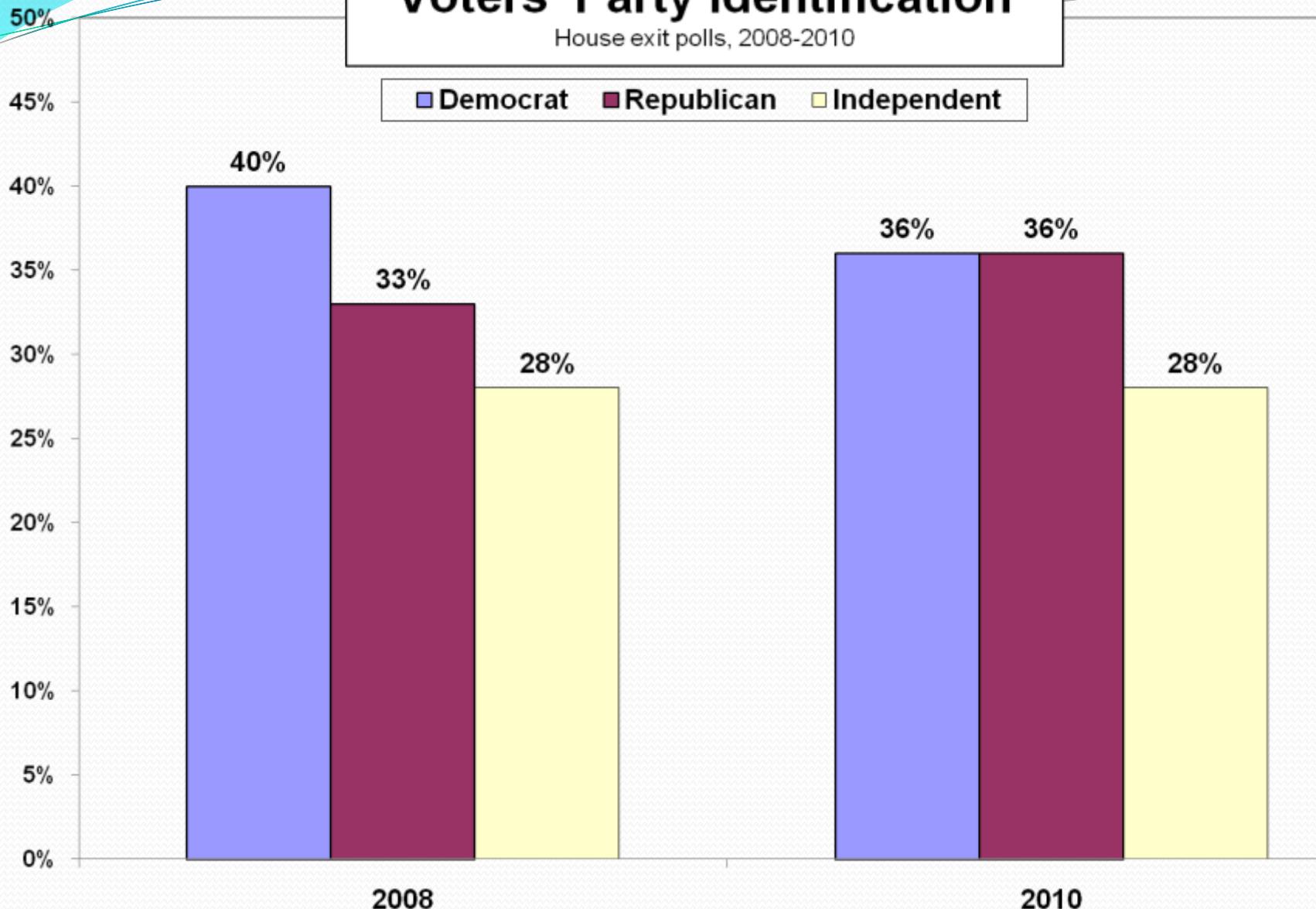
(the election in 3 questions)

Q. 1: Who came to the party?

Voters' Party Identification

House exit polls, 2008-2010

■ Democrat ■ Republican ■ Independent



Proportion of Obama and McCain Voters

Exit polls, 2008 - 2010

80%

70%

60%

50%

40%

30%

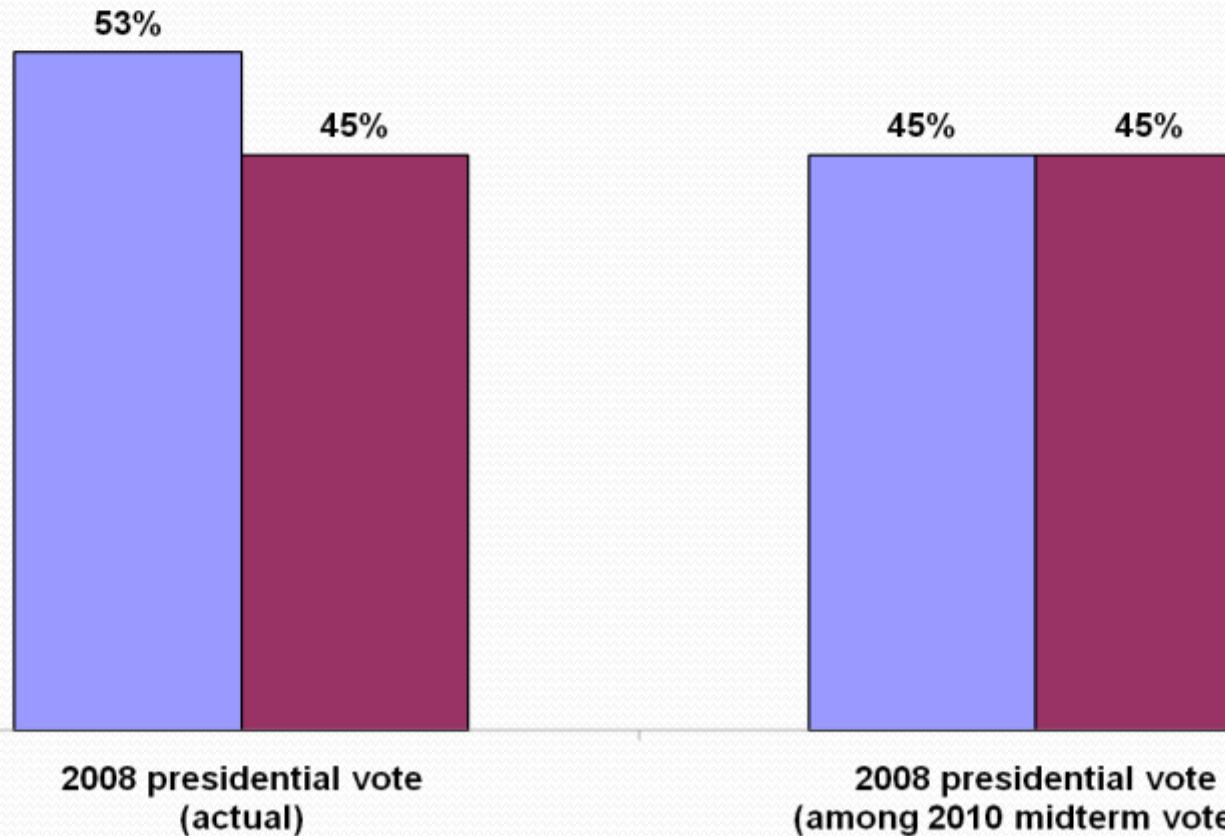
20%

10%

0%

Obama voters

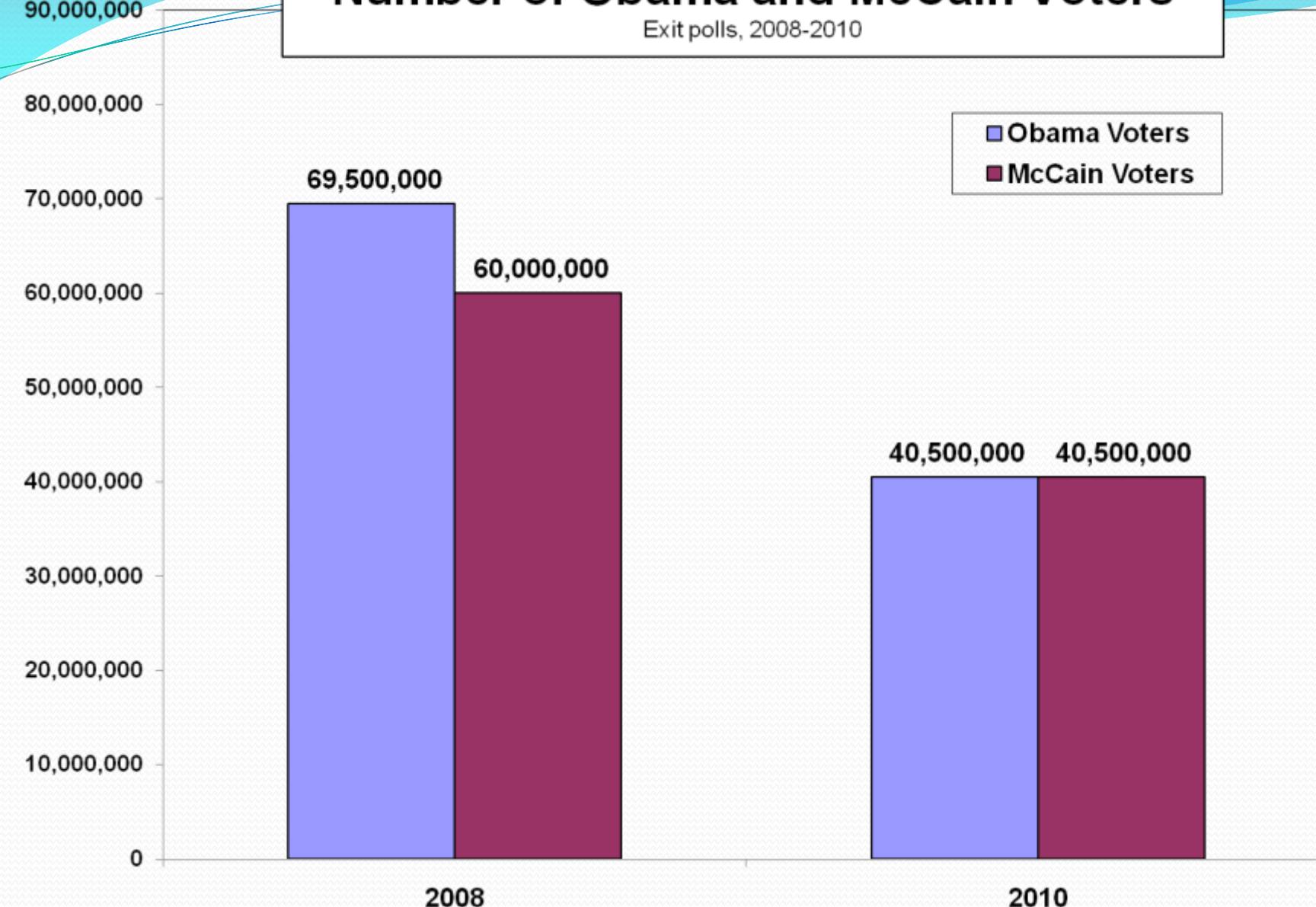
McCain voters



Number of Obama and McCain Voters

Exit polls, 2008-2010

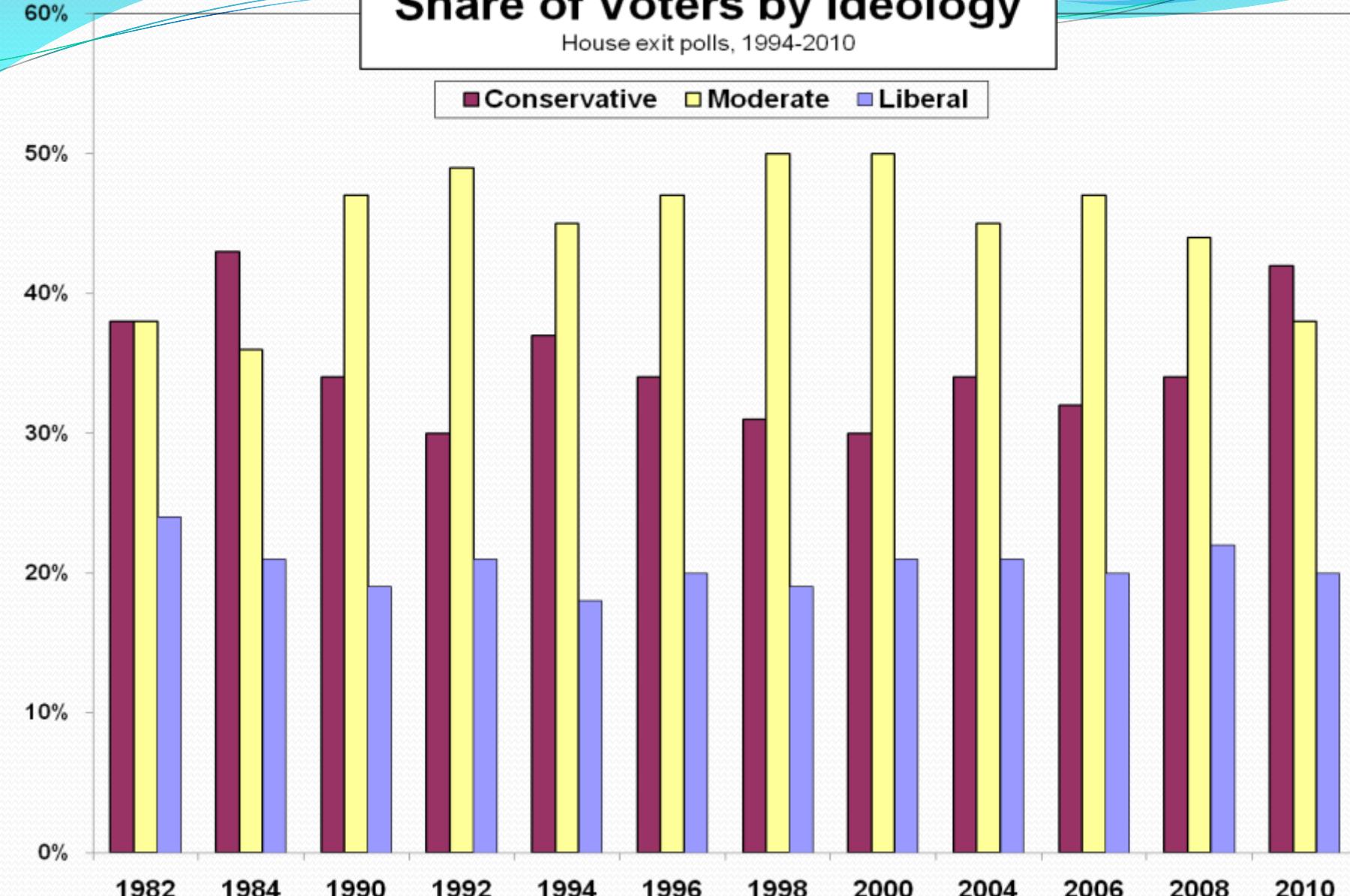
■ Obama Voters
■ McCain Voters



Share of Voters by Ideology

House exit polls, 1994-2010

■ Conservative ■ Moderate ■ Liberal



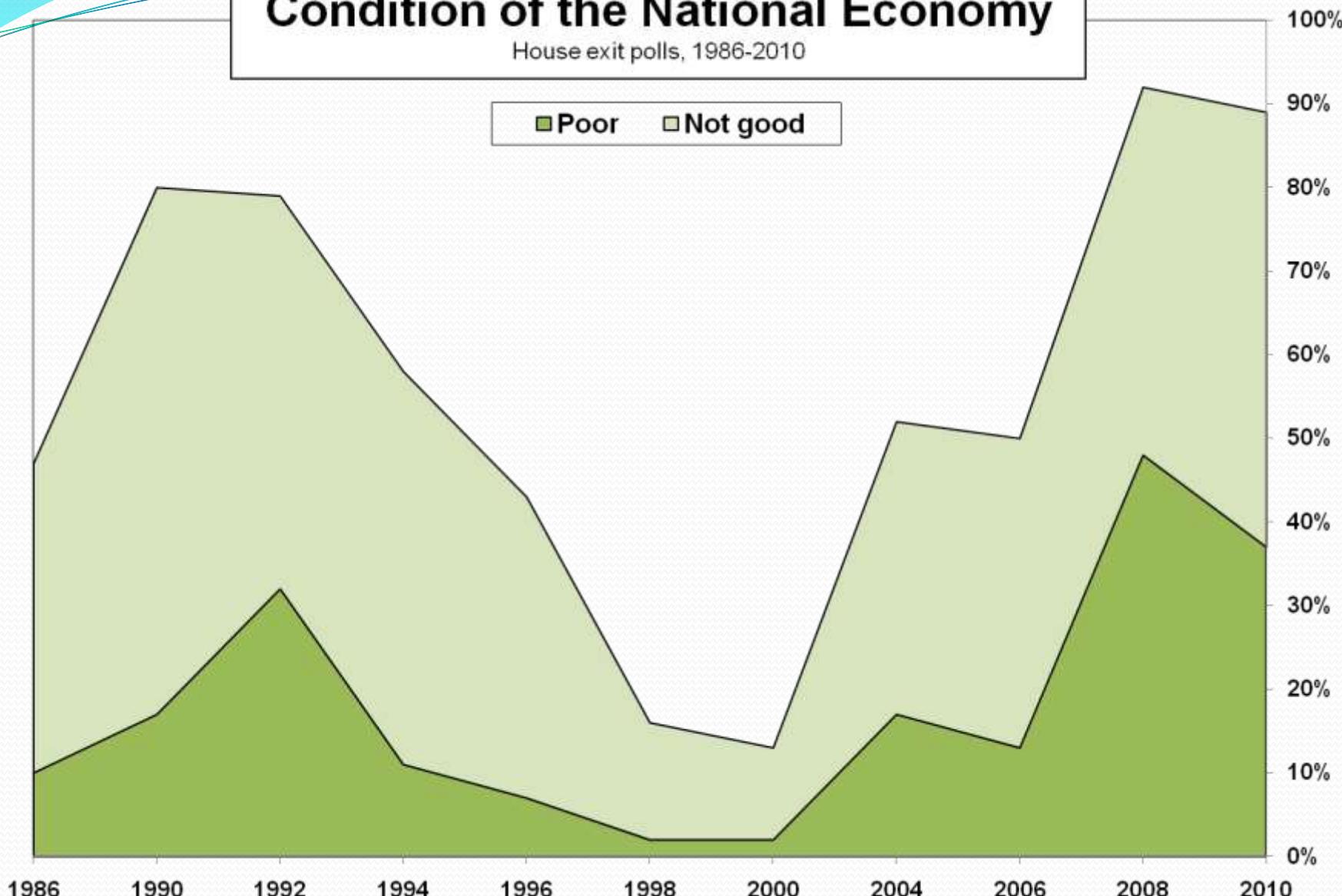


Q.2: What'd they think?

Condition of the National Economy

House exit polls, 1986-2010

■ Poor □ Not good



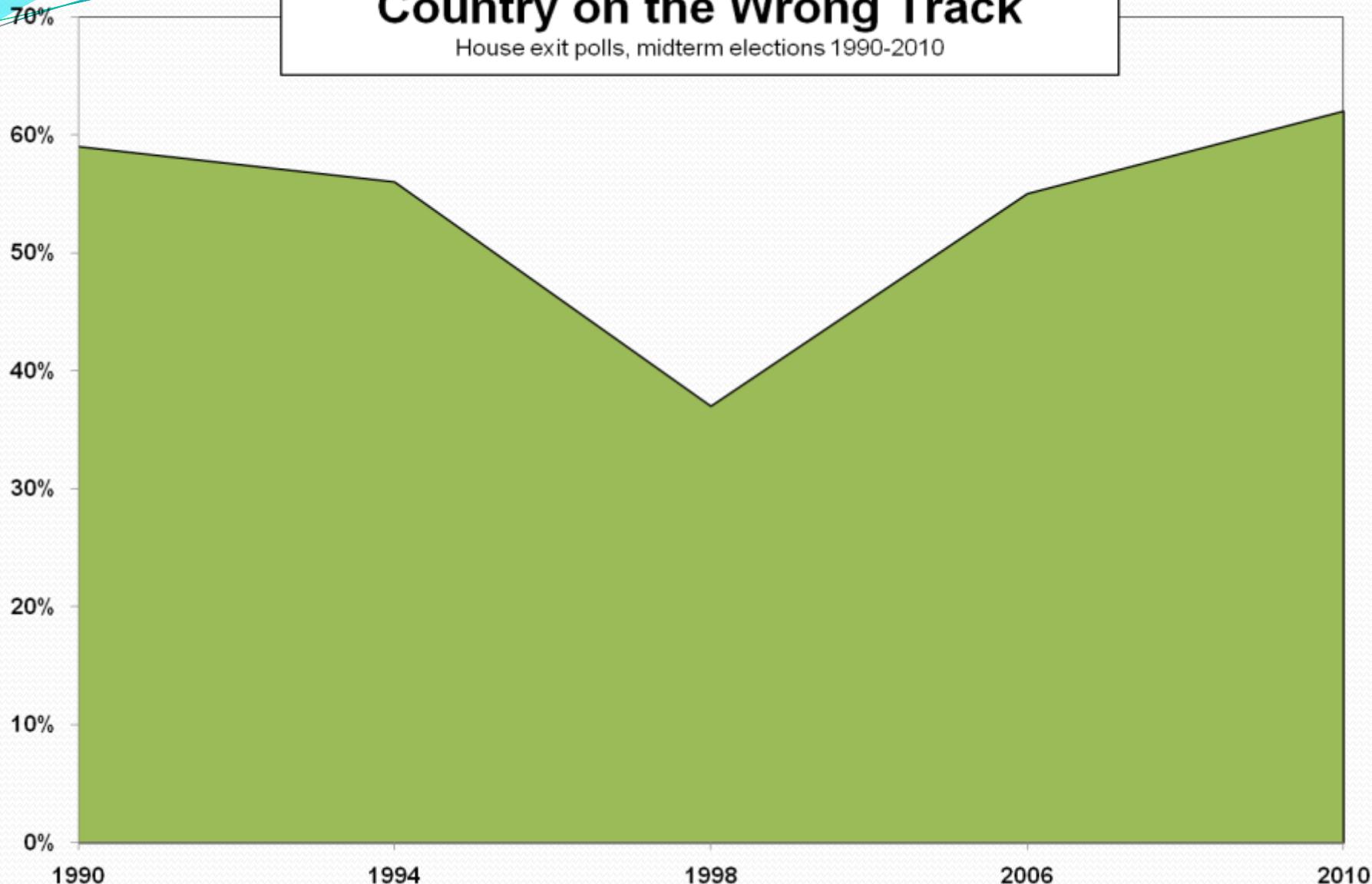
Financial Situation Getting Worse

House exit polls, 1984-2010



Country on the Wrong Track

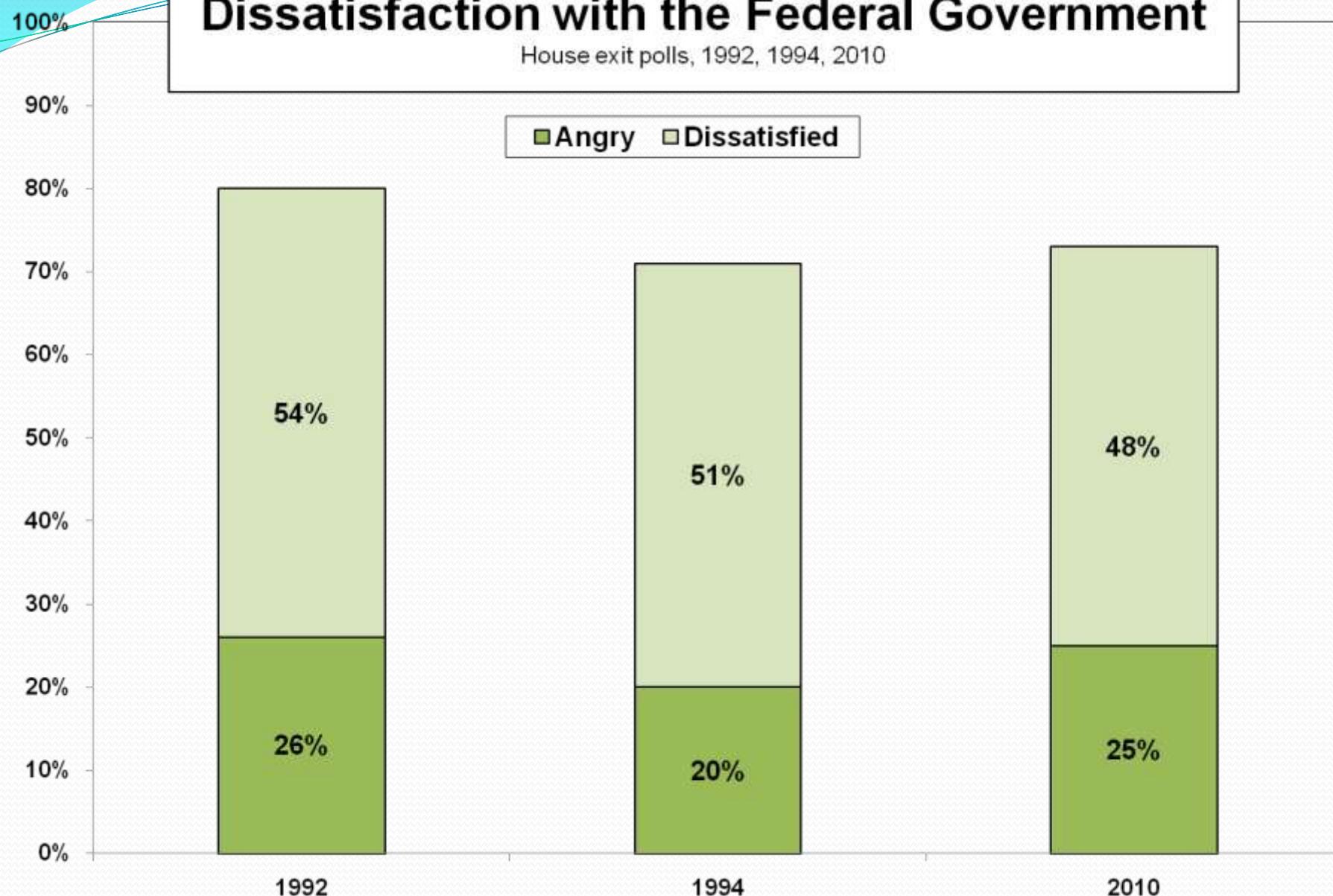
House exit polls, midterm elections 1990-2010

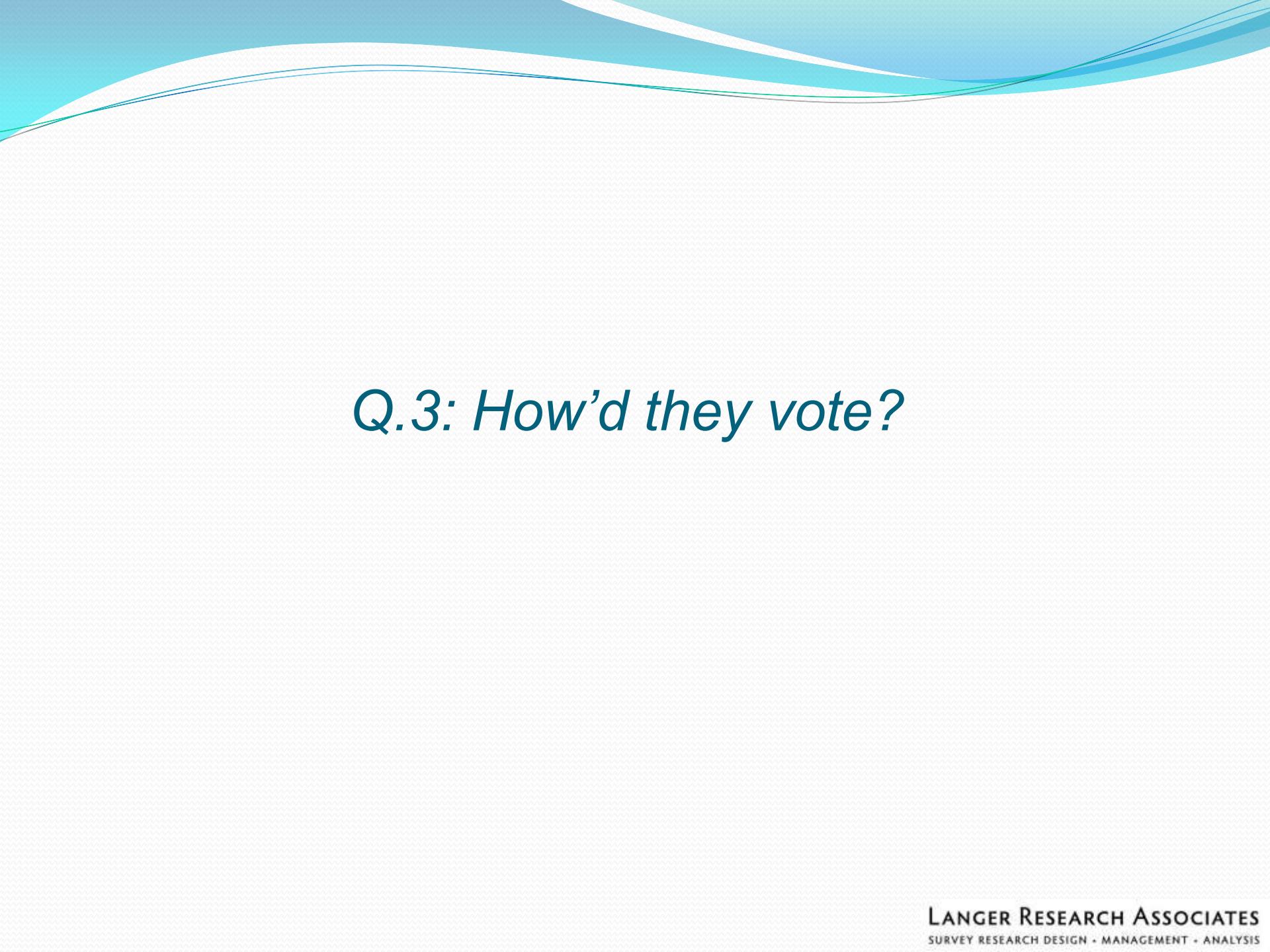


Dissatisfaction with the Federal Government

House exit polls, 1992, 1994, 2010

■ Angry ■ Dissatisfied

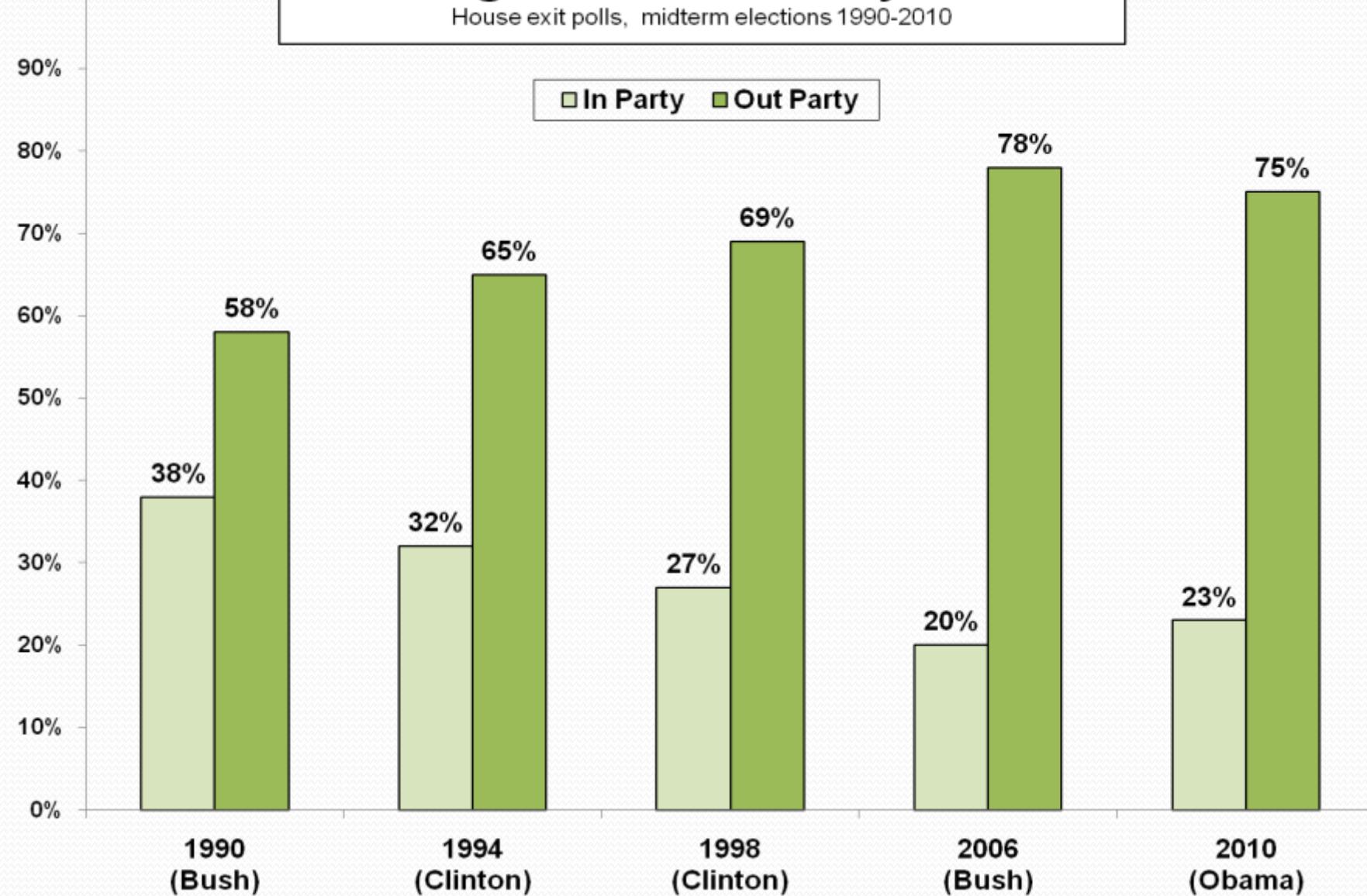




Q.3: How'd they vote?

Wrong Track: How They Voted

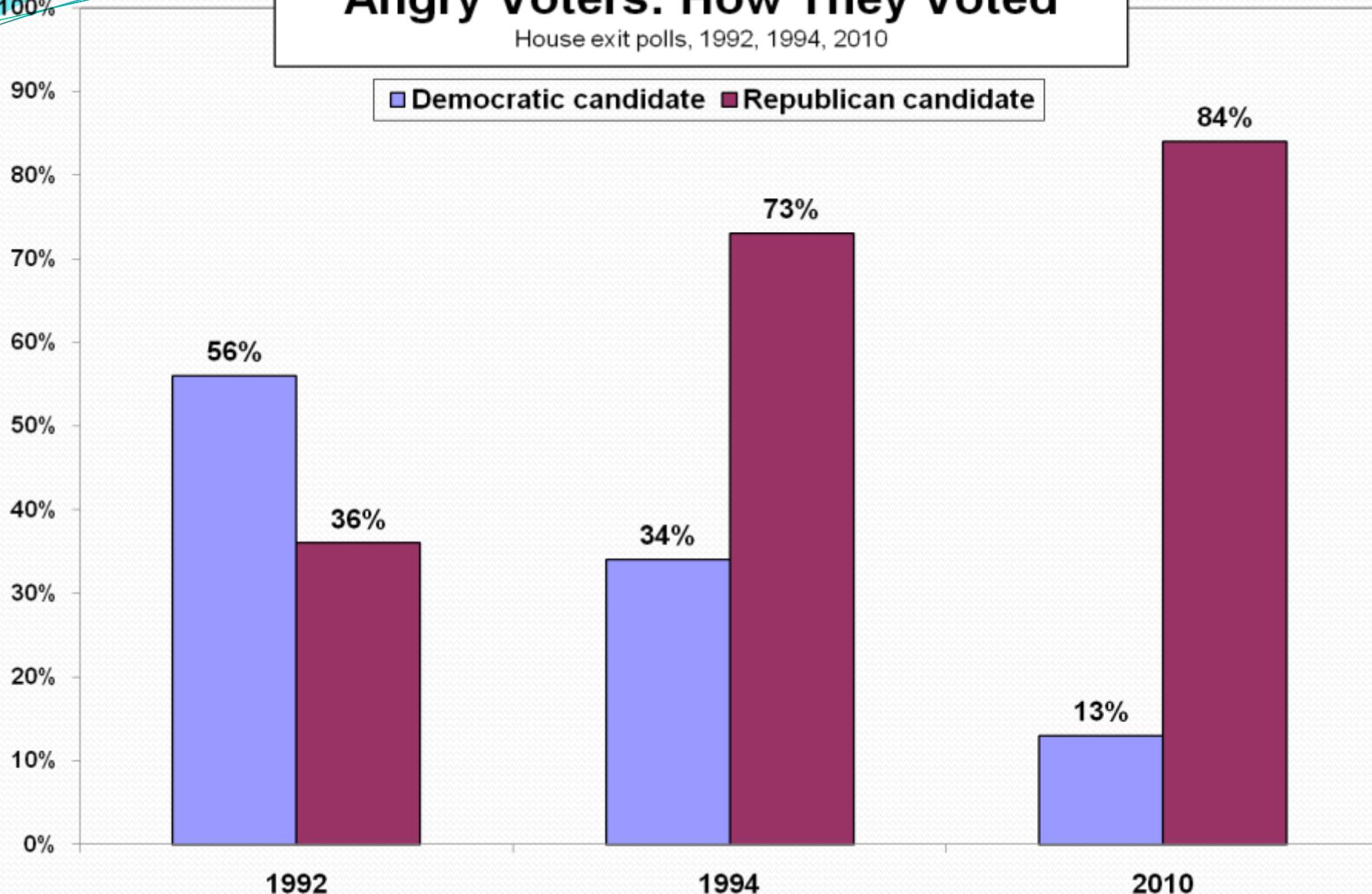
House exit polls, midterm elections 1990-2010



Angry Voters: How They Voted

House exit polls, 1992, 1994, 2010

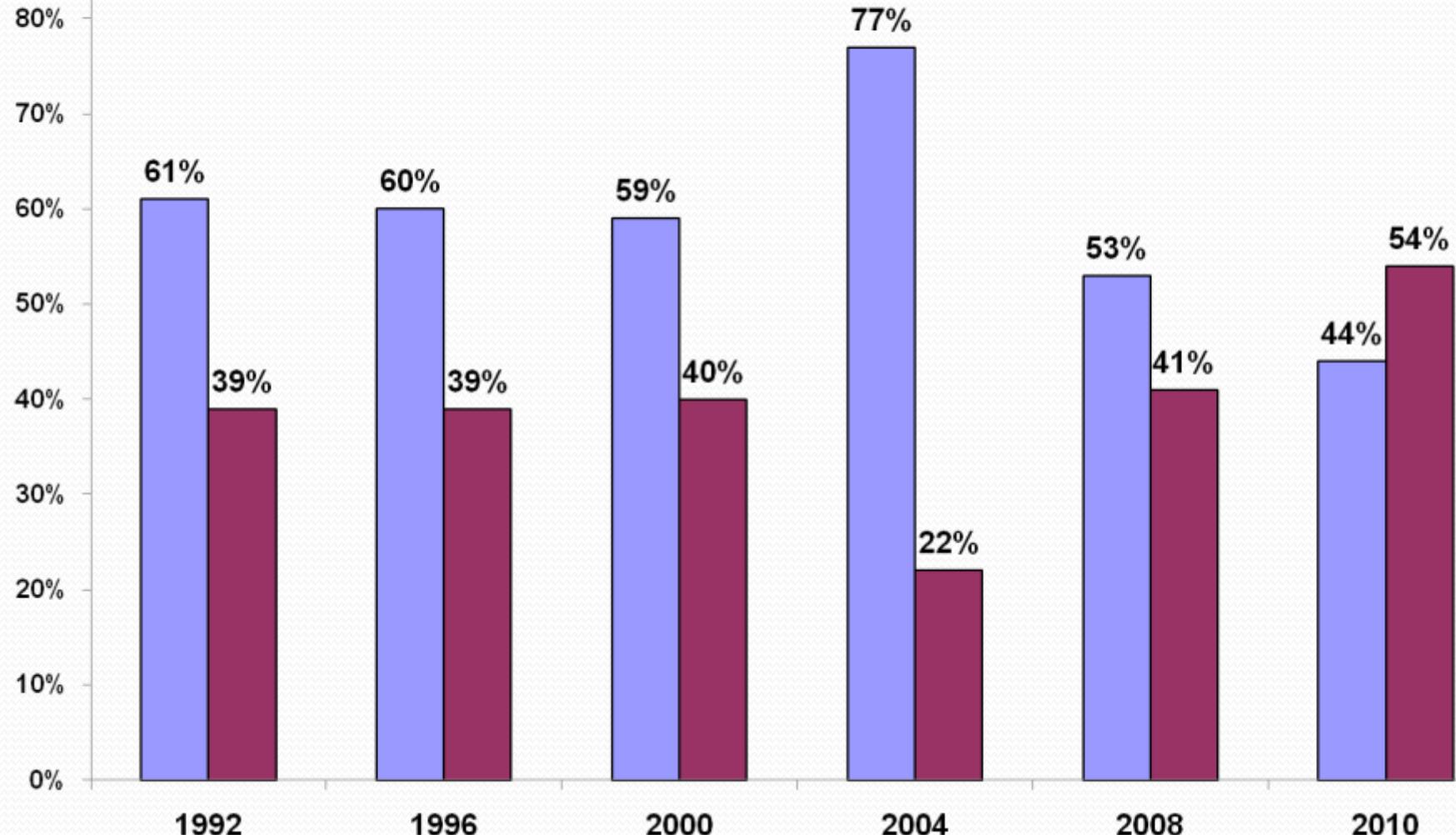
■ Democratic candidate ■ Republican candidate



Economy Voters: How They Voted

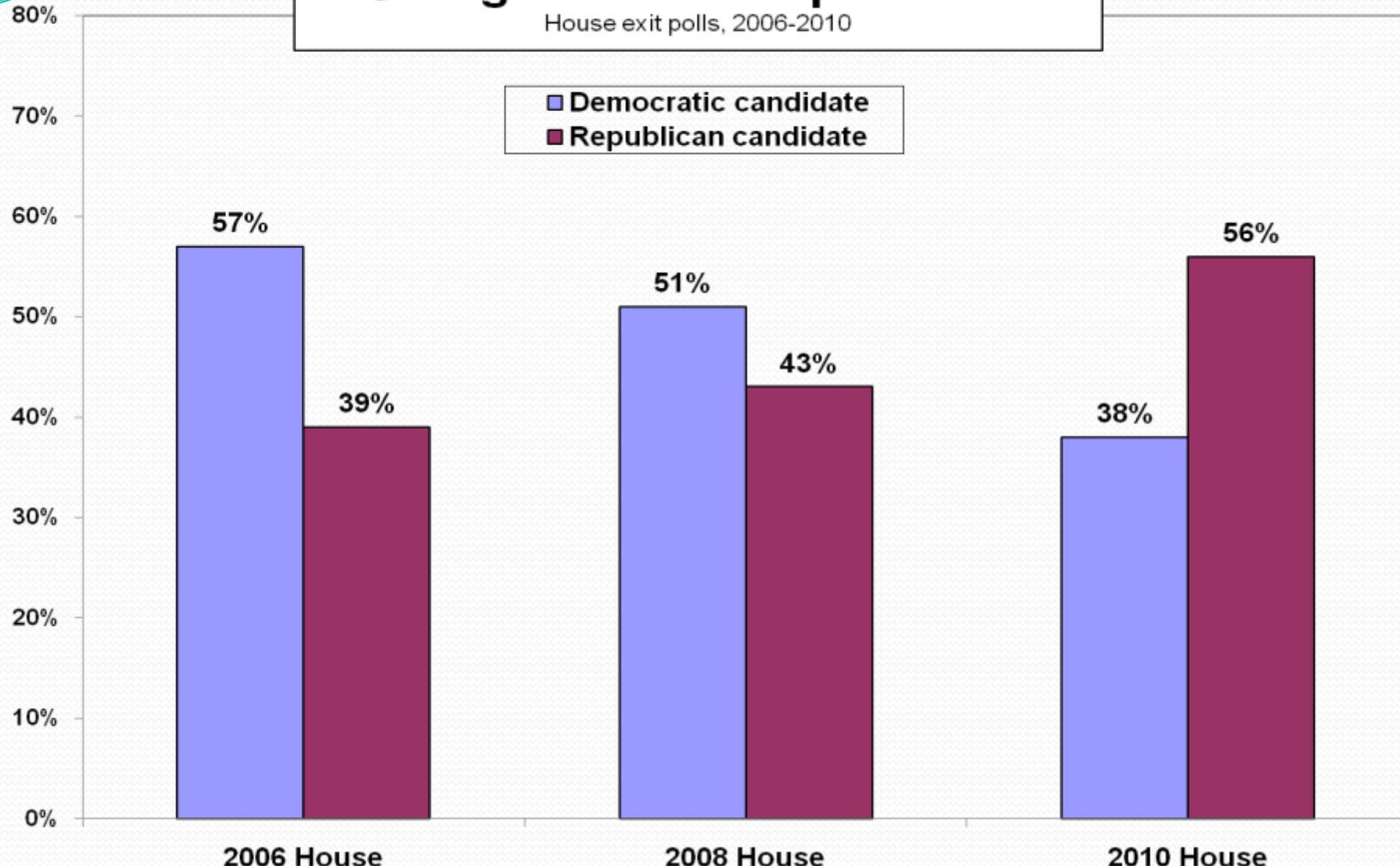
House exit polls, 1992-2010

■ Democratic candidate ■ Republican candidate



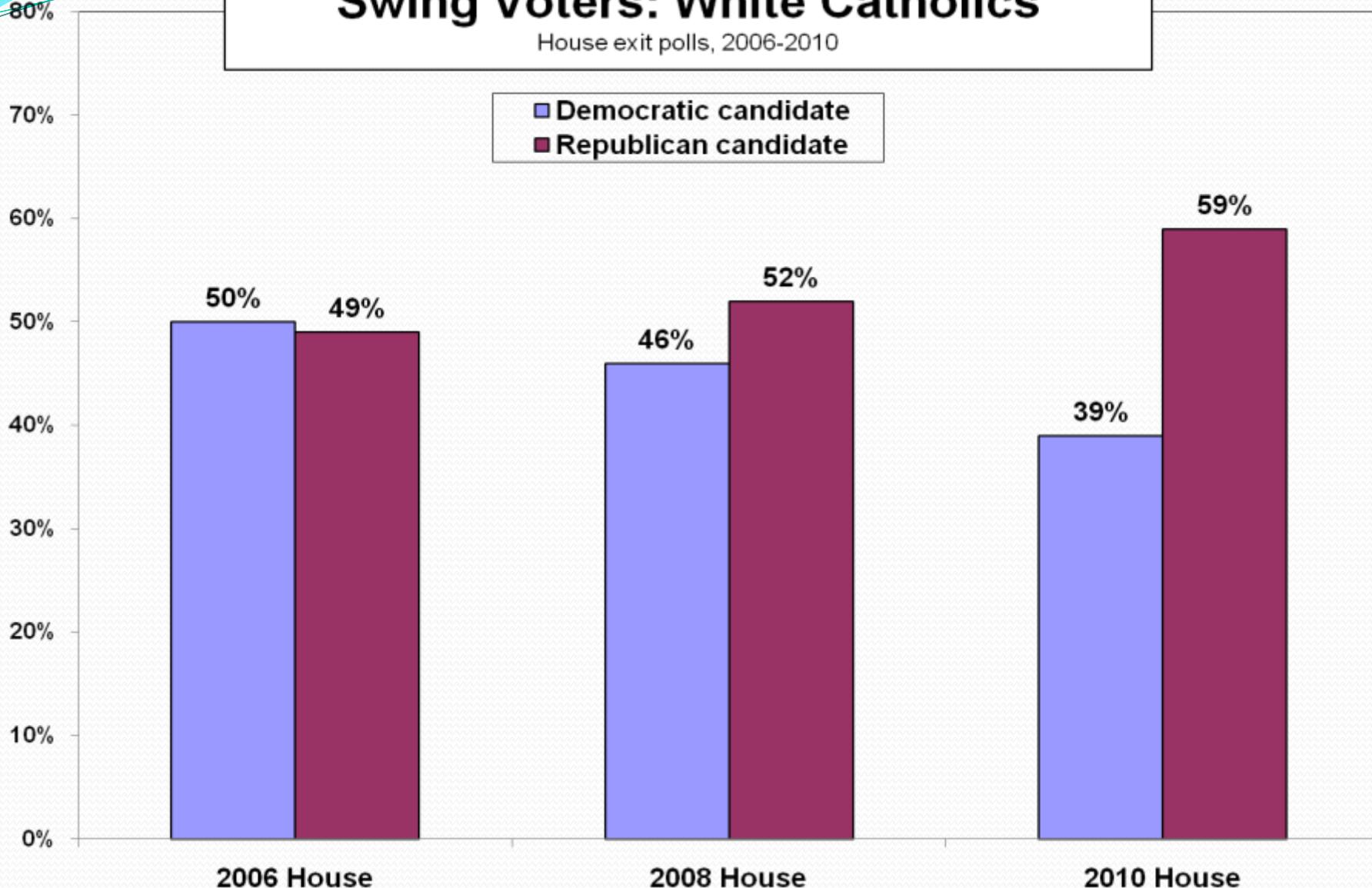
Swing Voters: Independents

House exit polls, 2006-2010

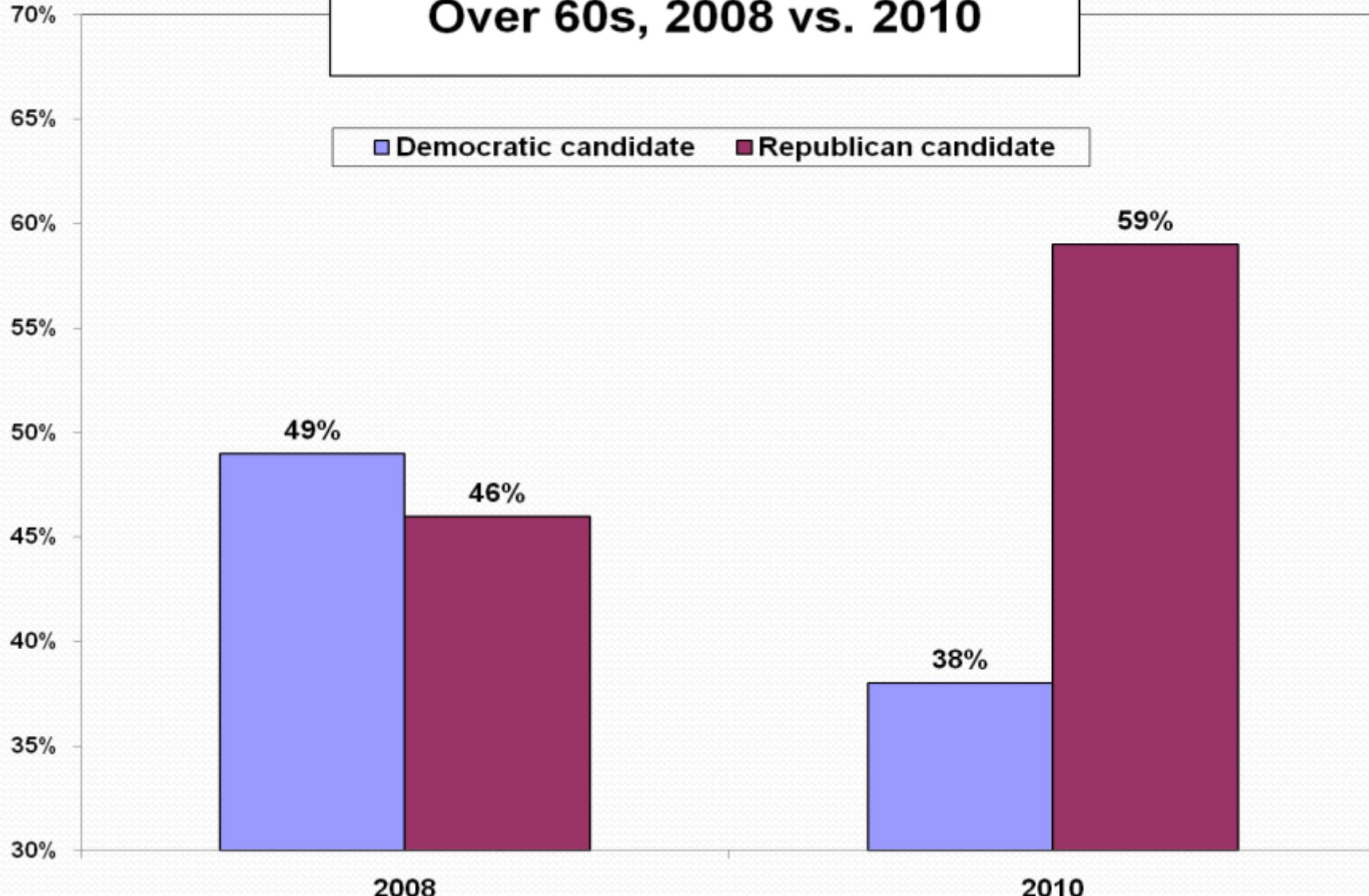


Swing Voters: White Catholics

House exit polls, 2006-2010



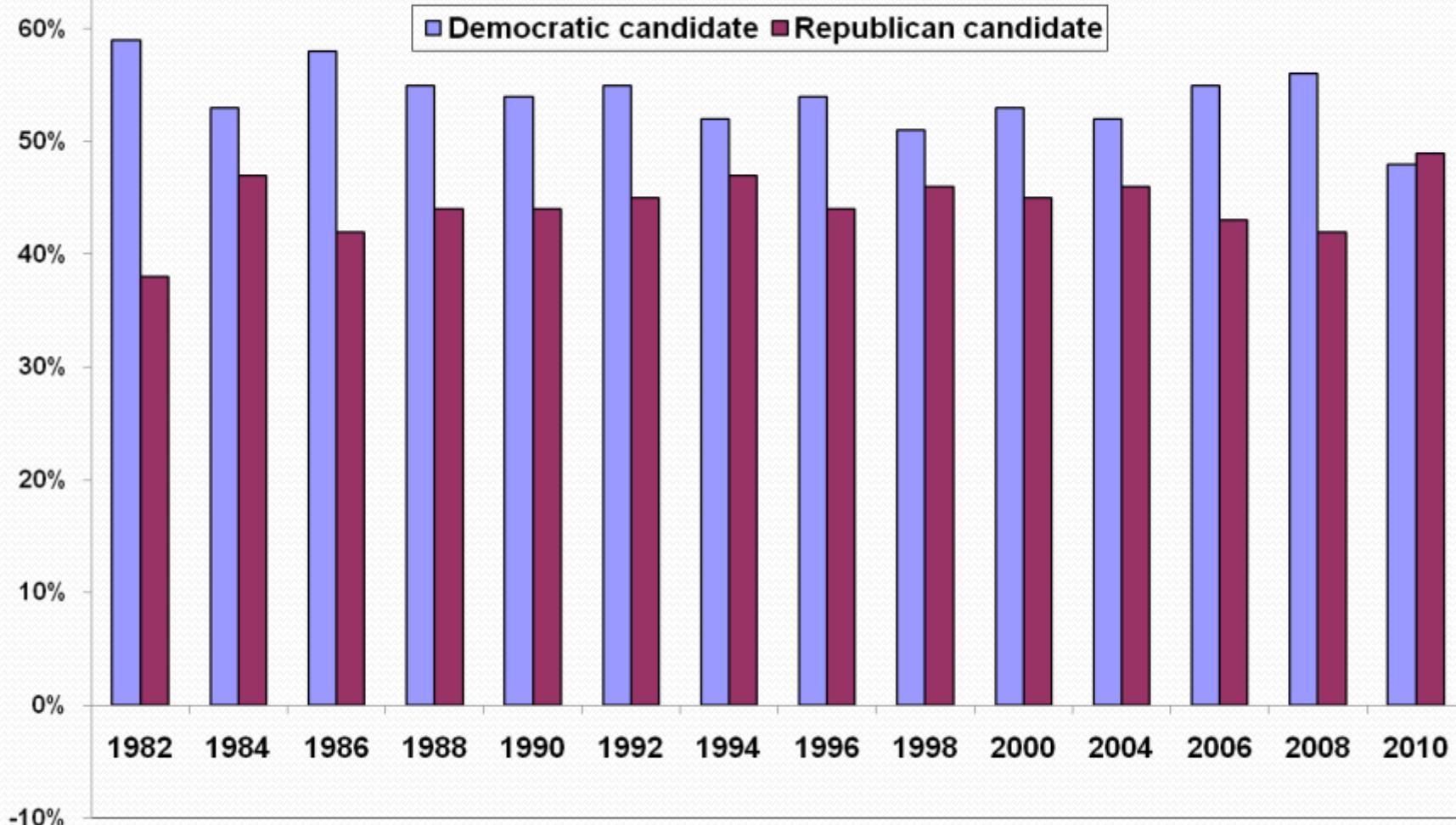
Over 60s, 2008 vs. 2010



Women: How They Voted

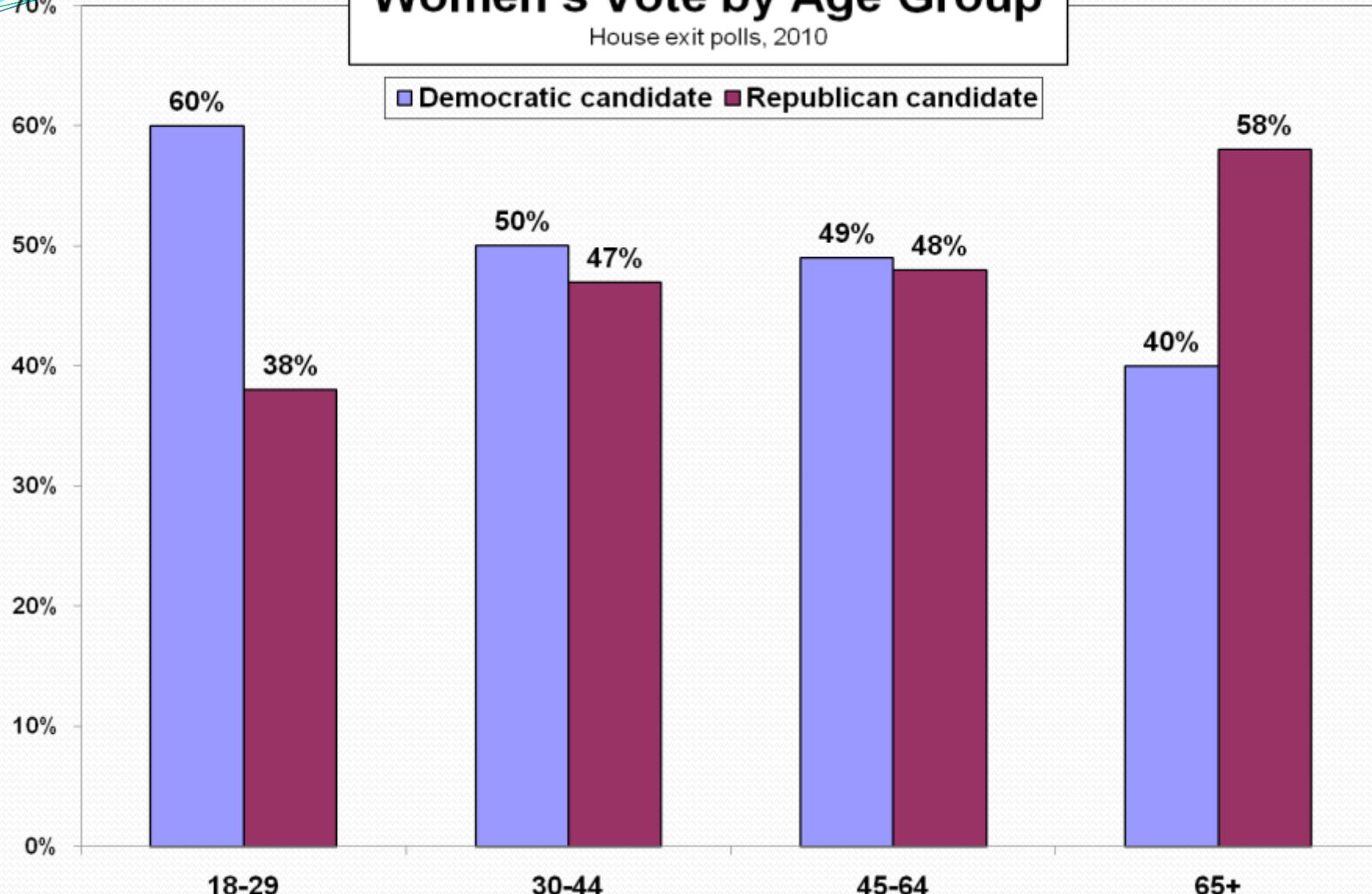
House exit polls, 1982-2010

■ Democratic candidate ■ Republican candidate



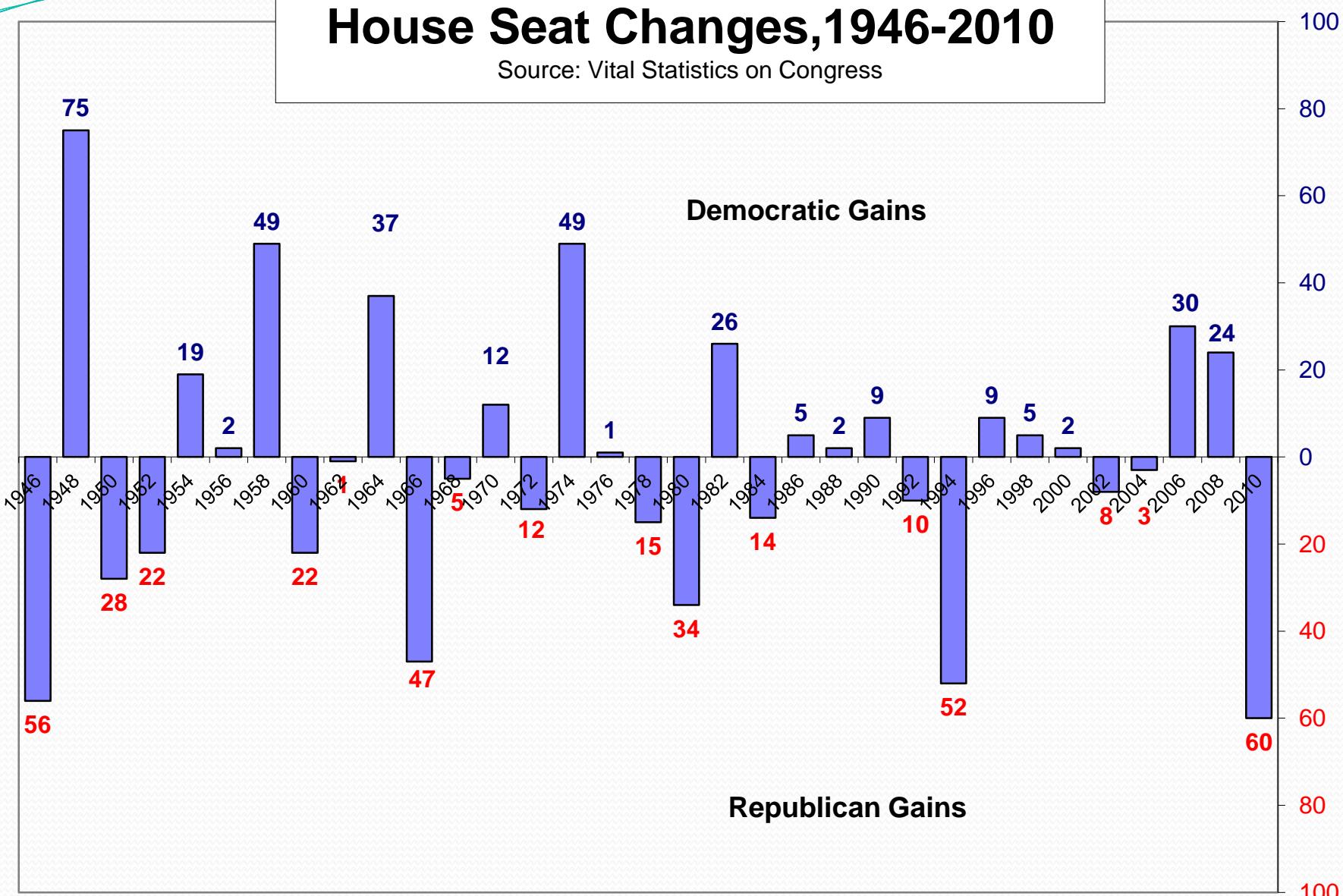
Women's Vote by Age Group

House exit polls, 2010



House Seat Changes, 1946-2010

Source: Vital Statistics on Congress

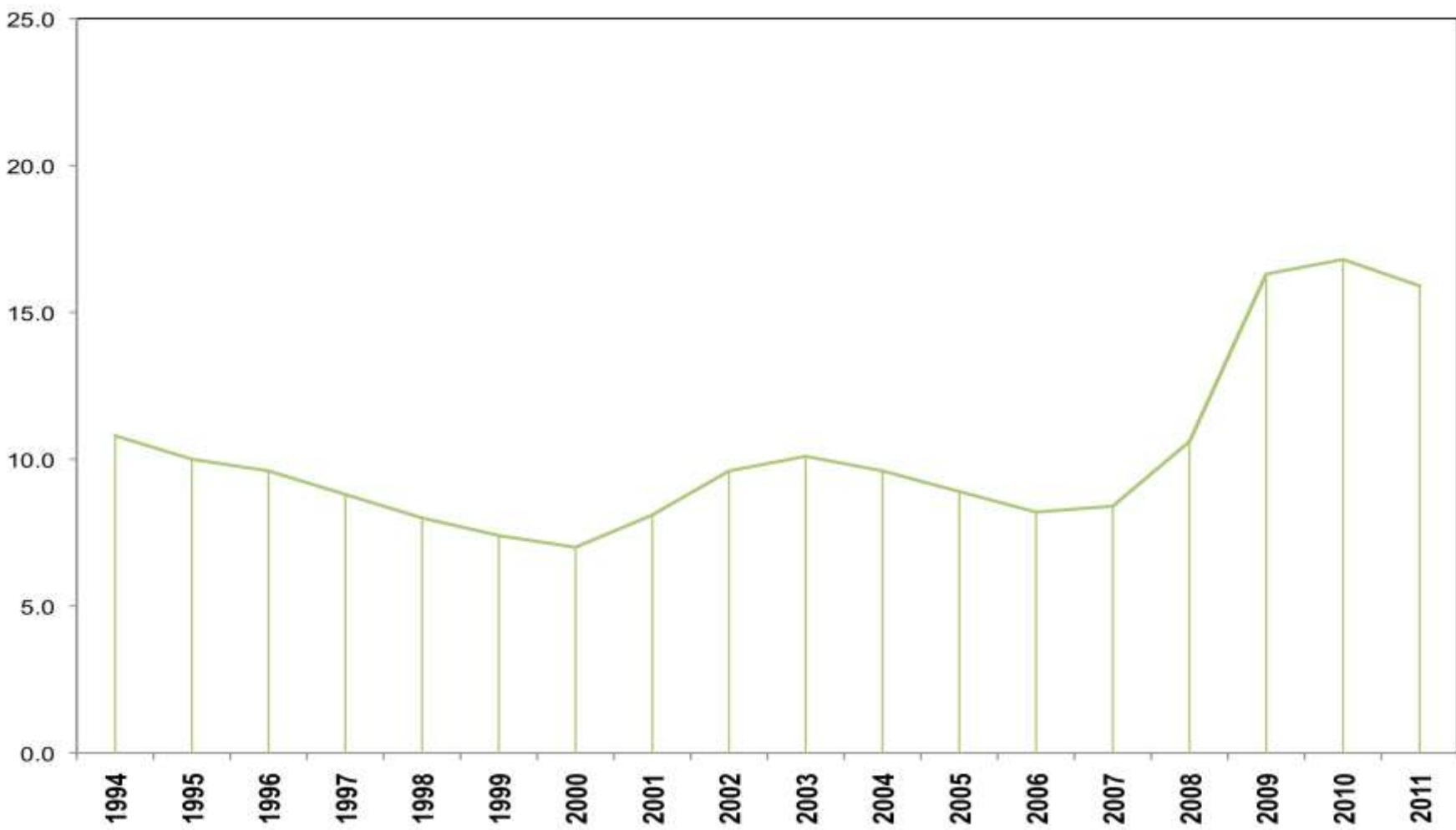




Portents for 2012?

U6 Rate

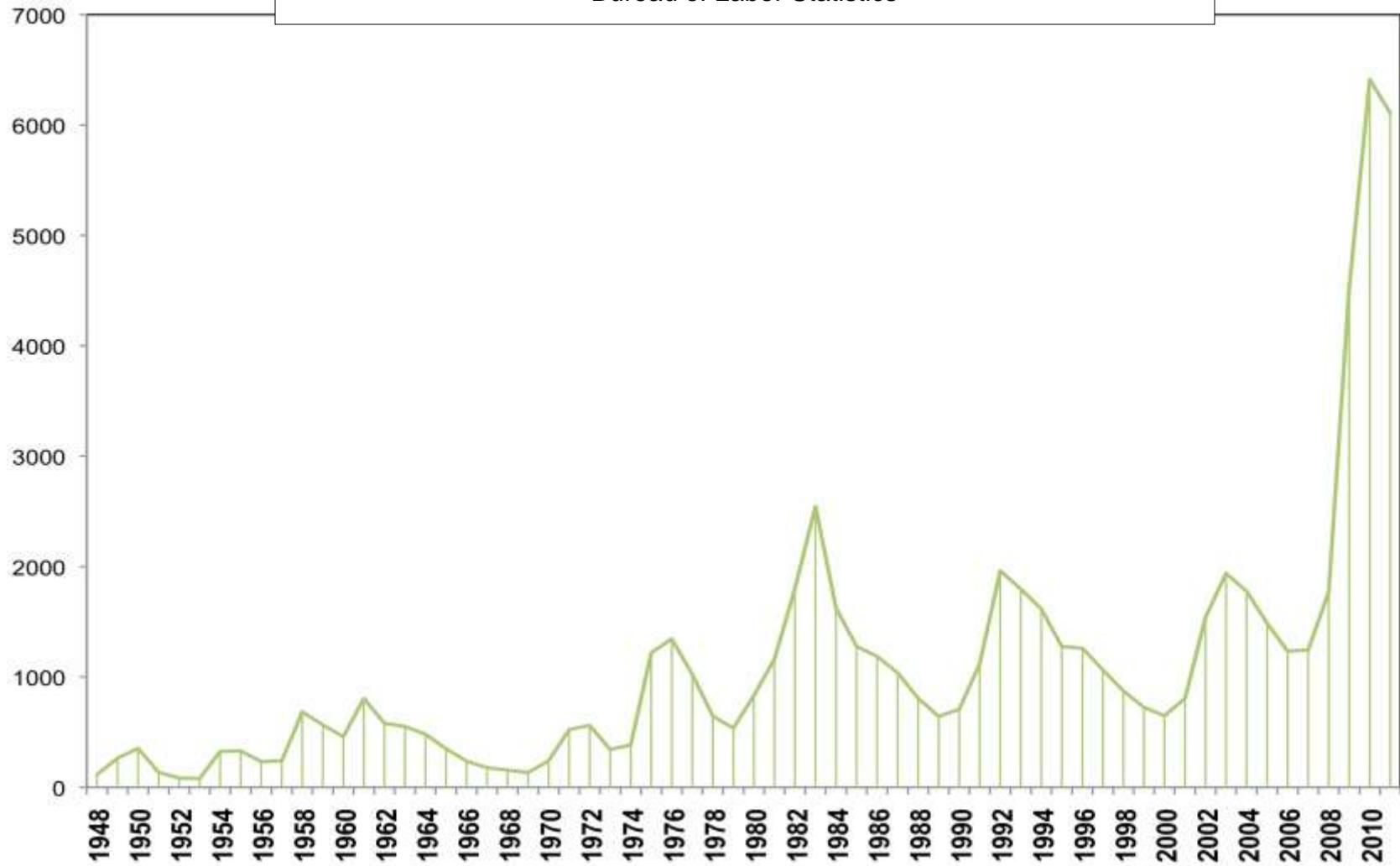
Percent unemployed or marginally attached
Bureau of Labor Statistics



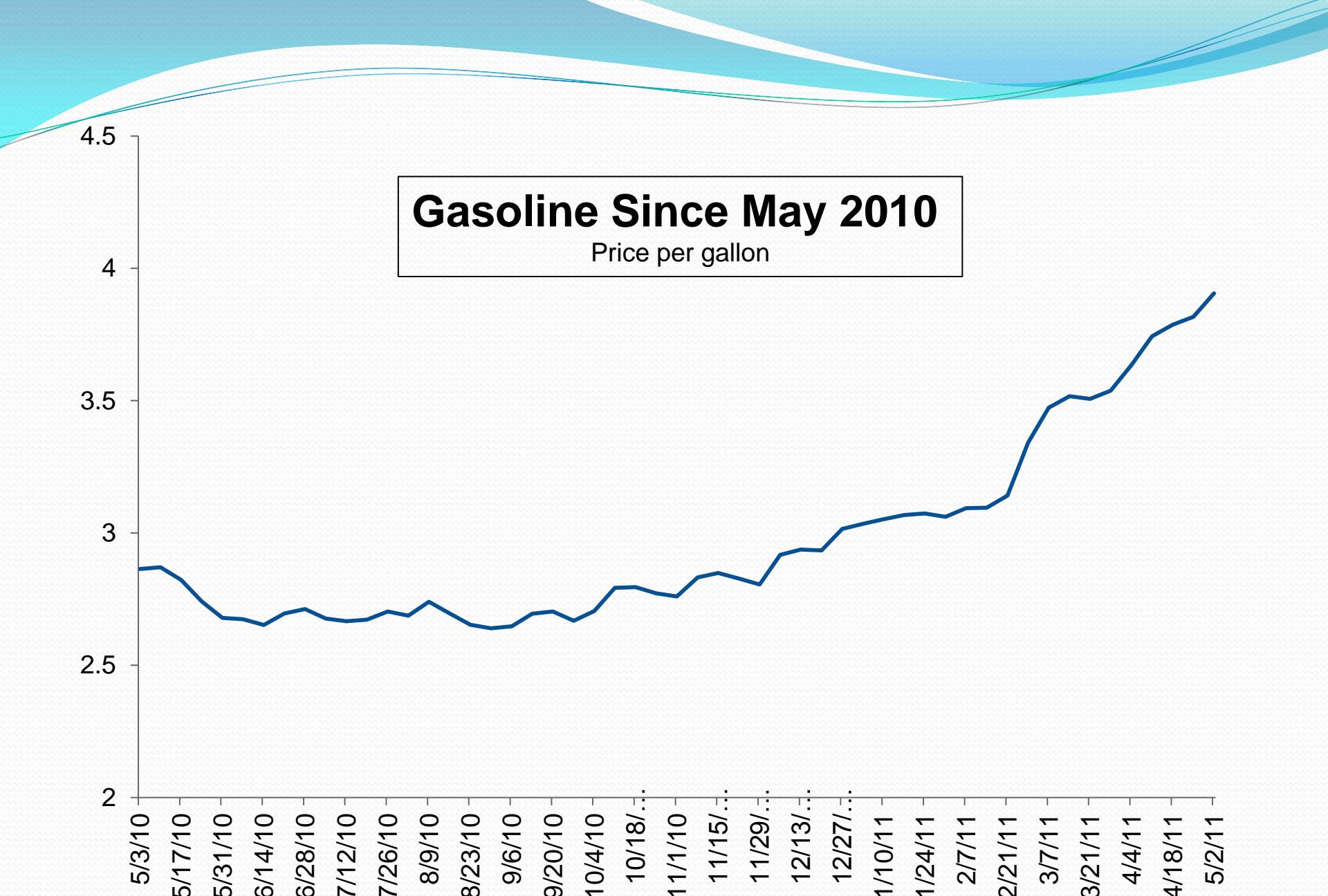
Long-term Unemployment

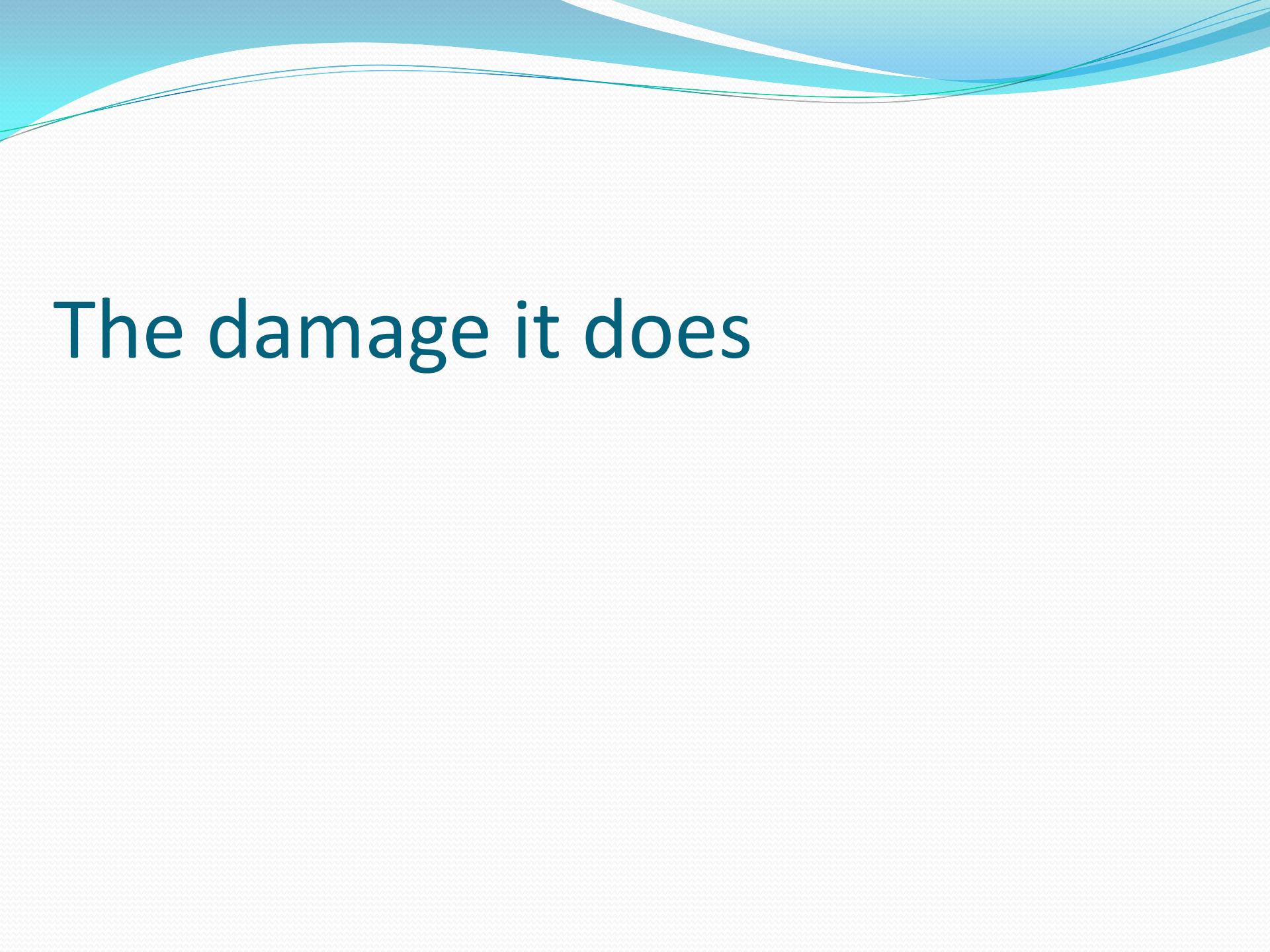
Number unemployed for 27 weeks or more, in thousands

Bureau of Labor Statistics





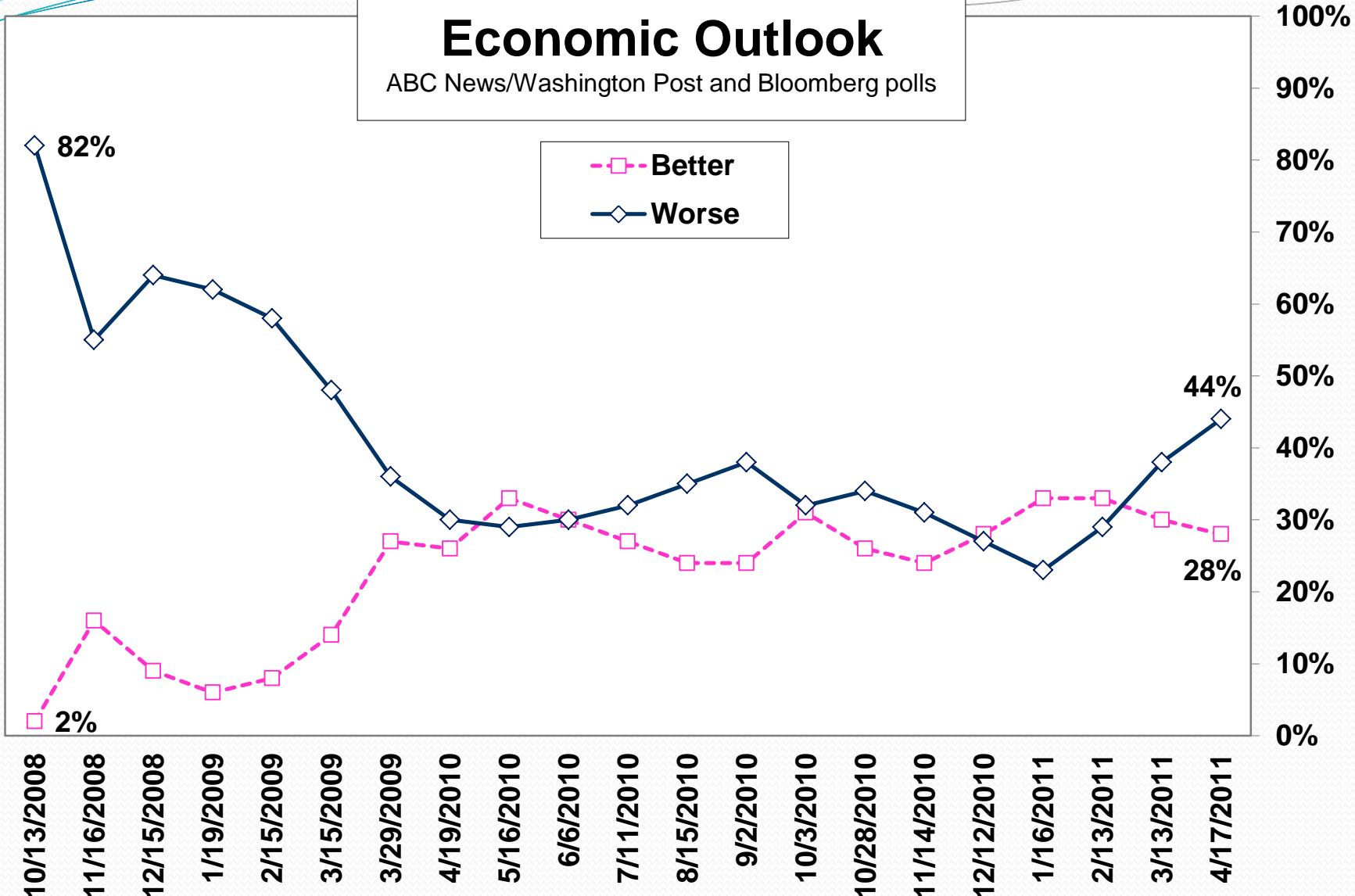




The damage it does

Economic Outlook

ABC News/Washington Post and Bloomberg polls

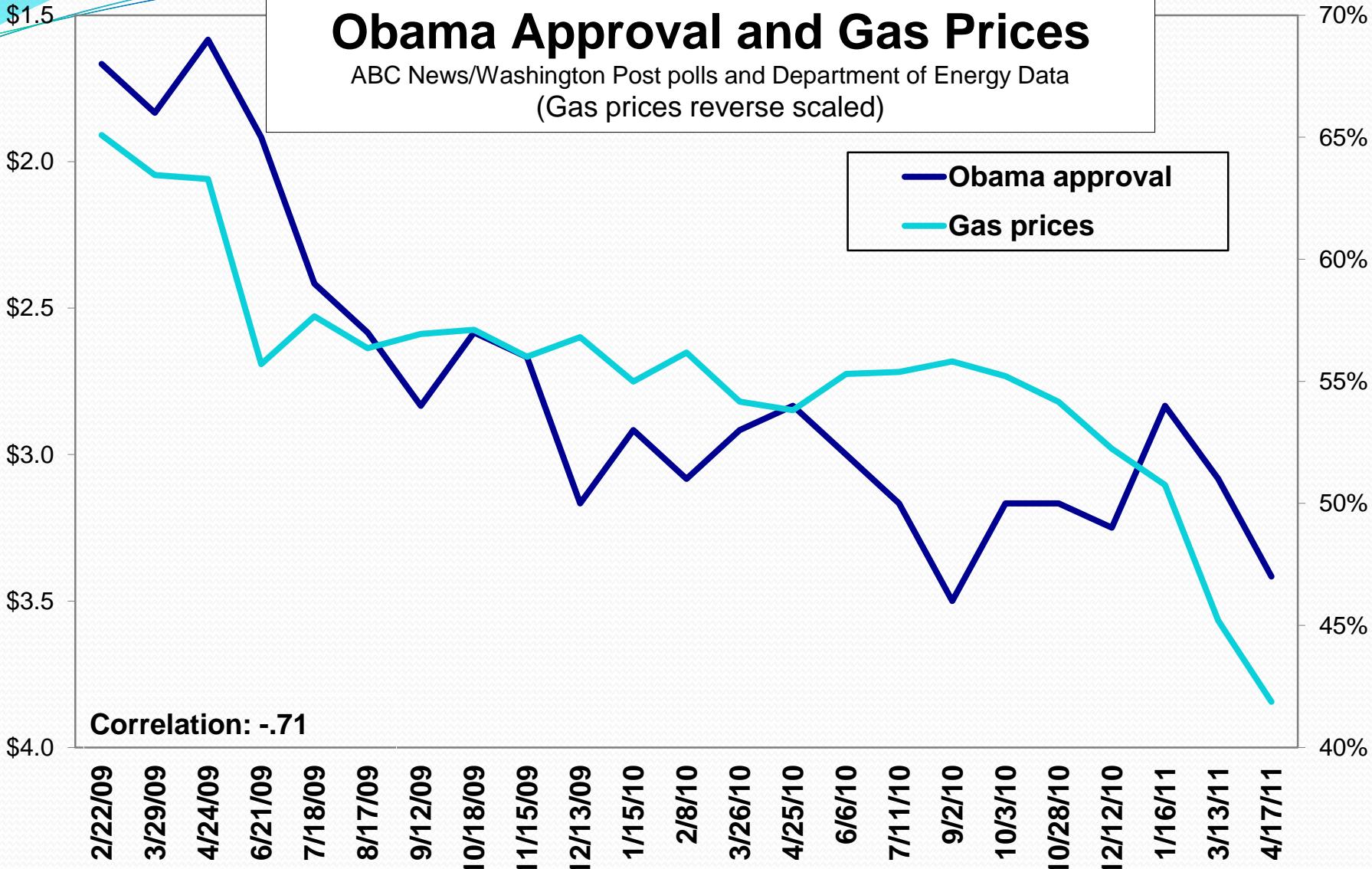


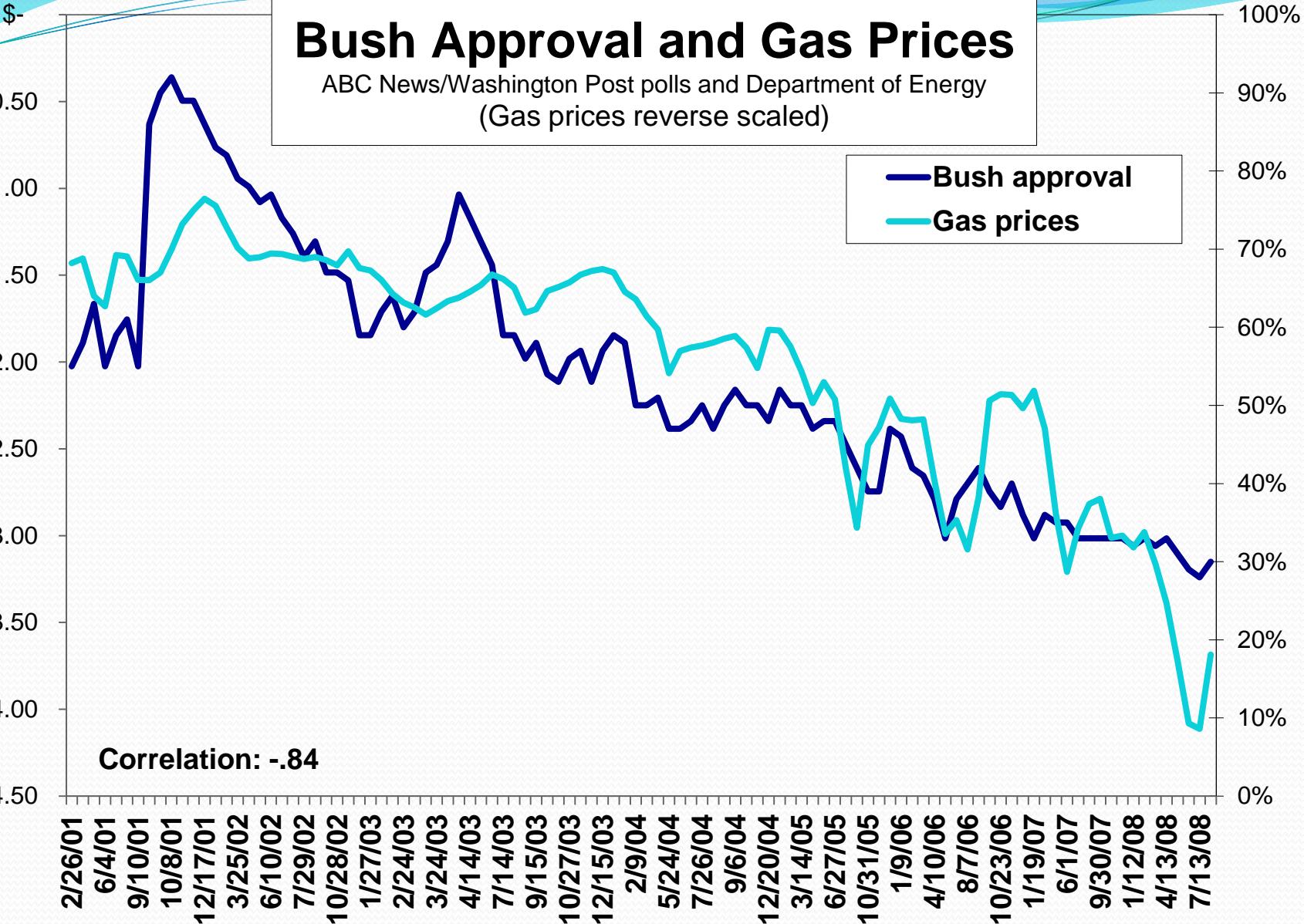
Obama Approval and Gas Prices

ABC News/Washington Post polls and Department of Energy Data
(Gas prices reverse scaled)

— Obama approval
— Gas prices

Correlation: -.71



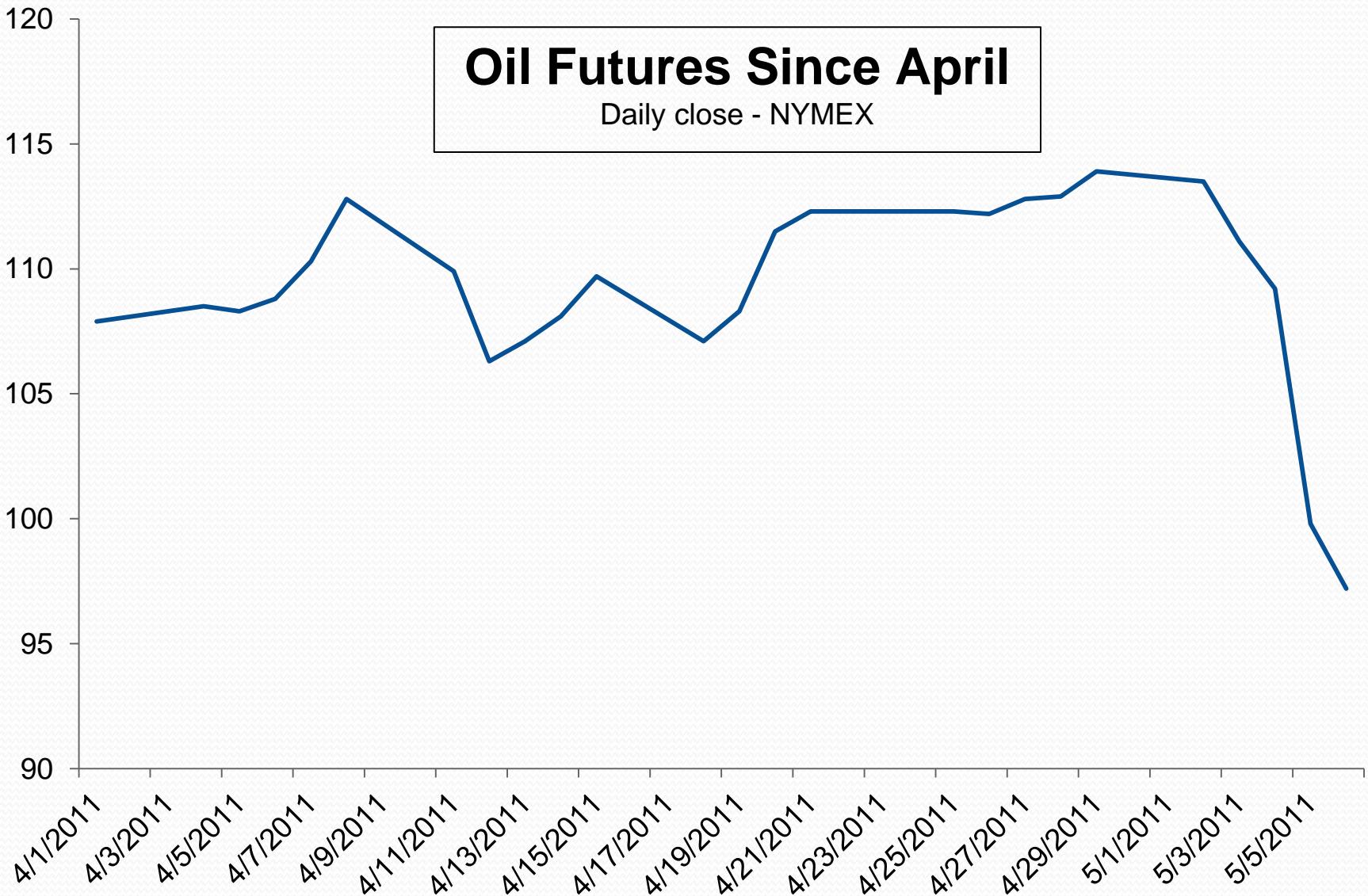


Tell me if this hurts

	Financial hardship/gas prices		
	Serious	Not serious	None
Economy: Getting worse	54%	38%	34%
Obama: Approve	39%	50%	56%
Obama: Will not support	53%	40%	39%

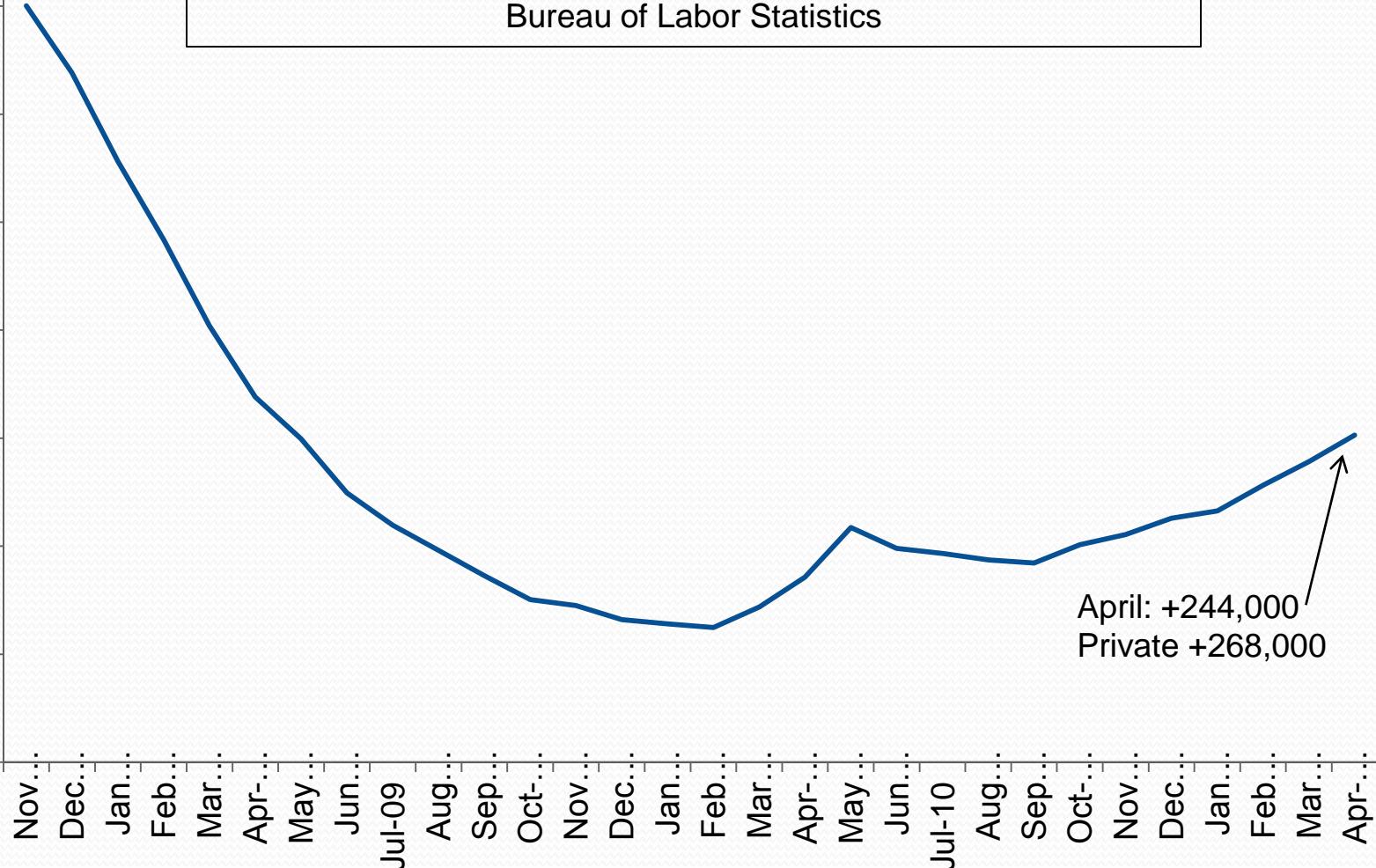
Oil Futures Since April

Daily close - NYMEX



Total Nonfarm Payroll Employment

Bureau of Labor Statistics



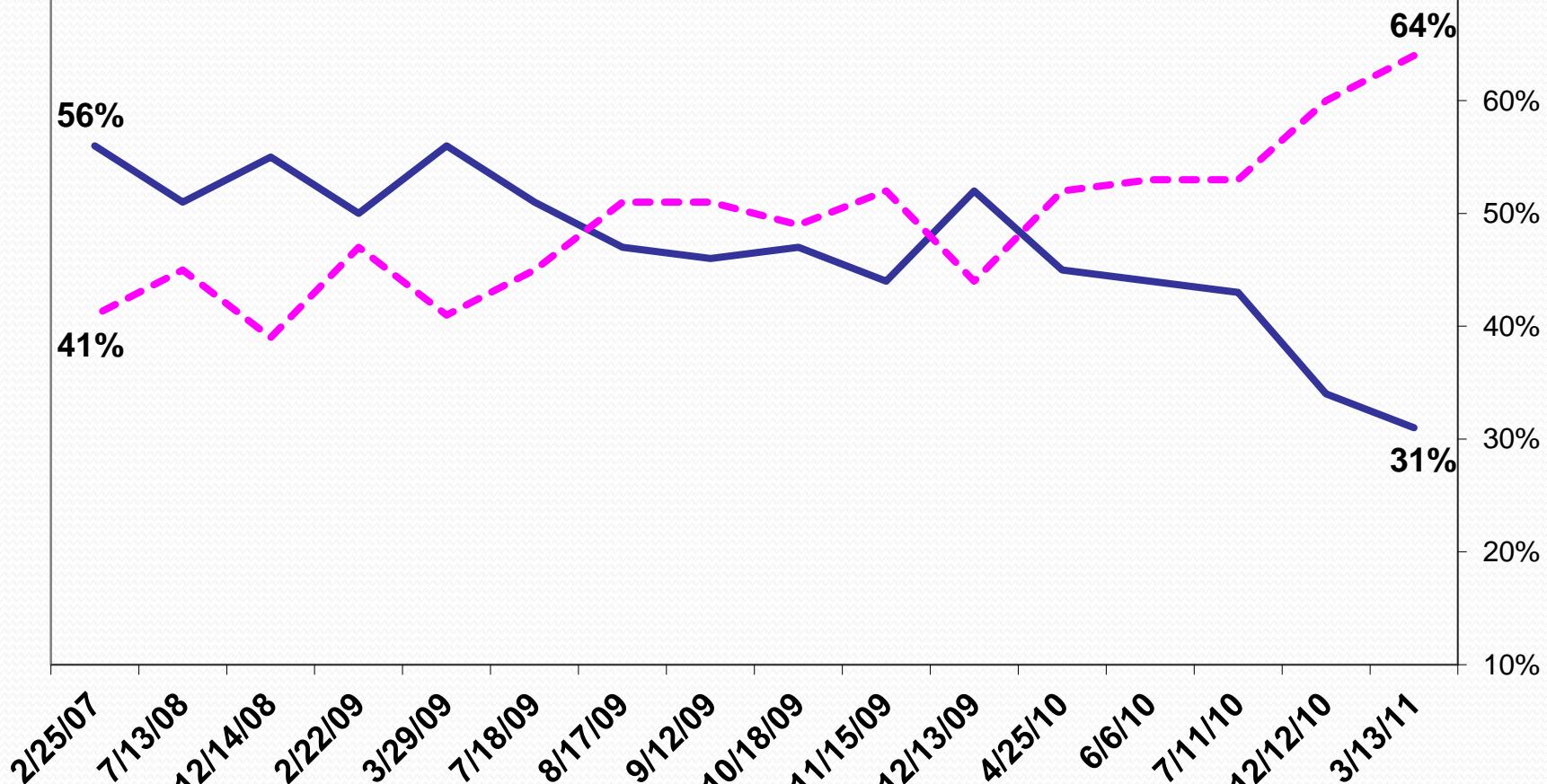
Et tu?



Afghanistan: War Worth Fighting?

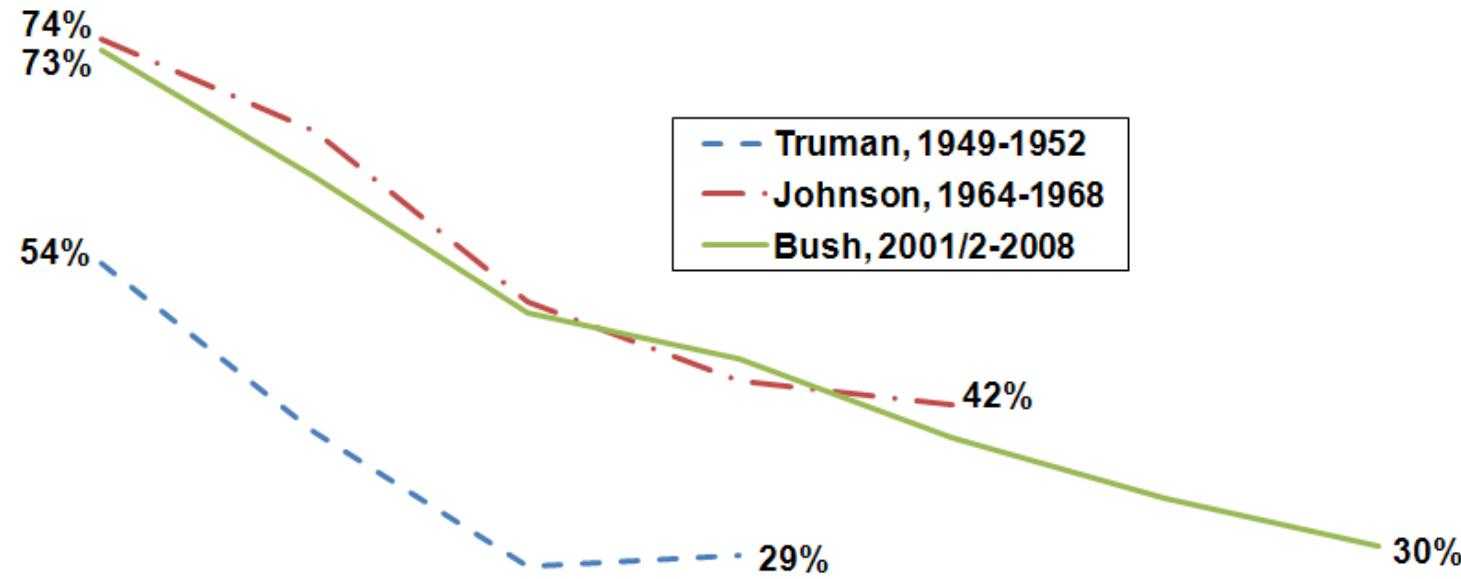
ABC News/Washington Post poll

— Worth fighting - - - Not worth fighting



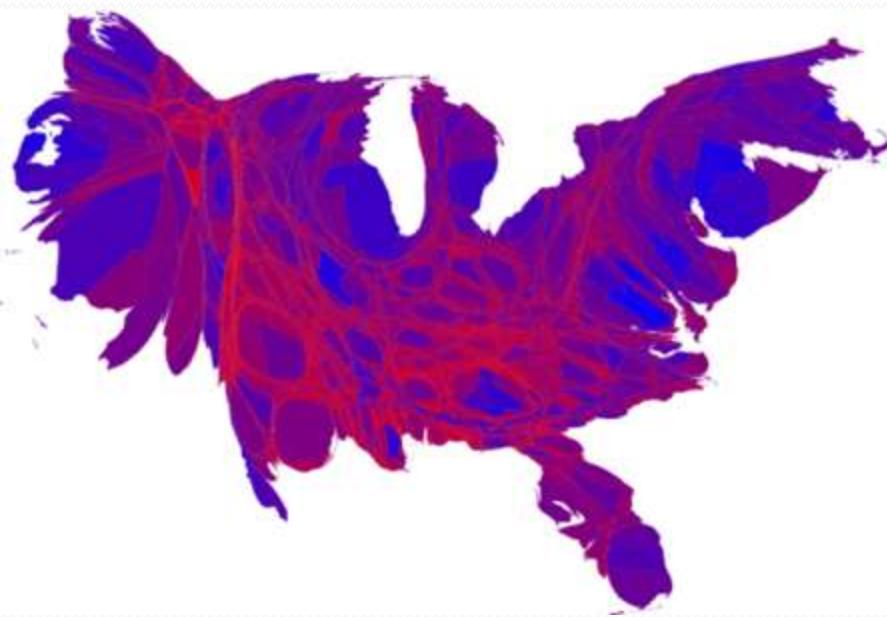
Average Annual Approval Ratings in Wartime: Truman, Johnson and G. W. Bush

ABC News/Washington Post and Gallup polls



Peering ahead...

- See who the GOP runs; you can't beat someone with no one;
- The more centrist nominee is probably the hardest to nominate;
- Watch the economy first, the war second;
- And remember that in *this* country...



Anything's possible

Thank you!

Gary Langer
Langer Research Associates
glander@langerresearch.com

AAPOR – May 14, 2011