# Franklin & Marshall College Poll

SURVEY OF PENNSYLVANIANS SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

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## **Key Findings**

The August 2011 Franklin & Marshall College Poll of Pennsylvania adults finds that most Pennsylvanians are concerned about the direction of the state and that most believe unemployment and economic concerns are the greatest problems facing the state. The survey also finds that more state voters believe it is time for a change than believe President Obama deserves re-election, but this general sentiment does not provide a specific and equal advantage for every Republican candidate he might face in the 2012 election.

### The Direction of the State

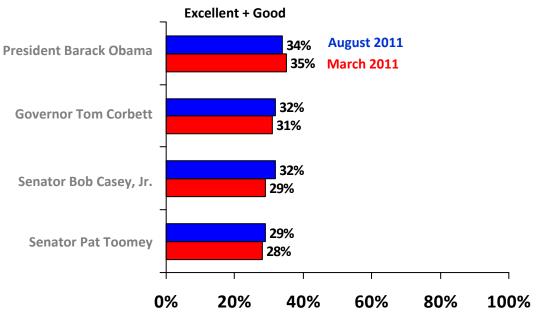
Most (53%) Pennsylvania adults believe the state is headed in the wrong direction, which is consistent with the March 2011 Franklin & Marshall Poll. About half (47%) of the state's residents cite unemployment and the economy as the biggest problems facing the Commonwealth.

As they were in March, Pennsylvania voters are as pessimistic about the performance of the state's leading political figures as they are about the economy and direction of the state. The job performance ratings for President Obama, Governor Corbett, and Senators Casey and Toomey are each more negative than positive (see Figure 1). Governor Corbett's job performance rating is well below the ratings Ed Rendell and Tom Ridge received at this early point in their gubernatorial tenures. In 30 surveys conducted between 1991 and 2011, the average positive gubernatorial job performance rating is 46%. Attachment A displays job performance ratings by partisan affiliation.



## Figure 1: Job Performance of Political Figures, Pennsylvania

How would you rate the way that [fill name] is handling his job as [fill title]? Would you say he is doing...an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job as [fill title]?



Note: Chart displays registered voters.

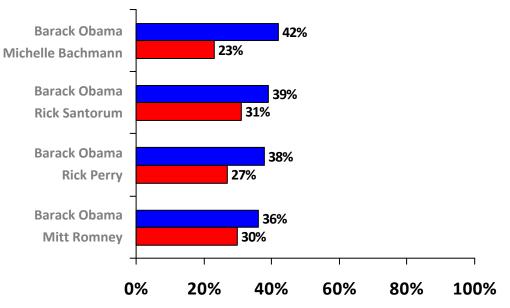


## **Presidential Politics**

More (52%) of the state's voters believe it is time for a change than believe President Obama deserves re-election (41%). Attachment B displays the hard reelect question by selected demographic characteristics. Still, Pennsylvania is a state where Democrats hold a tremendous voter registration advantage over Republicans. Consequently, President Obama leads in match-ups with several Republican opponents (see Figure 2), but a large number of voters remain undecided in each of these match-ups. Mitt Romney fares best against the president in Pennsylvania, while Michelle Bachmann trails the president significantly.

#### Figure 2: Presidential Horse Races, Pennsylvania

If the November 2012 general election for president were being held today and the candidates were [rotate] [fill candidate] the Republican and Barack Obama the Democrat, would you vote for [rotate] [fill candidate] or Barack Obama, some other candidate, or aren't vou sure how you would vote?



Note: Chart displays registered voters.



## State Government's Fall Agenda

The state legislature is expected to discuss a tax on natural gas extraction and the sale of the state's liquor stores during its fall legislative session. A majority of Pennsylvanians favor both selling the state-owned liquor stores (56% favor and 30% oppose) and taxing companies that extract and sell natural gas (65% favor and 21% oppose). Among those who favor a natural gas tax, most (72%) believe the proceeds from the tax should be shared by both the state and the local communities where drilling takes place. Few (12%) residents believe the proceeds from a natural gas tax should be dedicated solely to the local communities where the drilling takes place.



## **Methodology**

The survey findings presented in this release are based on the results of interviews conducted August 22-29, 2011. The interviews were conducted at the Center for Opinion Research at Franklin & Marshall College under the direction of the poll's Director Dr. G. Terry Madonna, Head Methodologist Berwood Yost, and Senior Project Manager Angela Knittle. The data included in this release represent the responses of 525 adult residents of Pennsylvania, including 407 registered adults (216 Democrats, 140 Republicans, 42 registered as Independent/Other, and 9 who refused to identify party). Telephone numbers for the survey were generated using random digit dialing with a cell phone supplement, and respondents were randomly selected from within each household. Survey results were weighted (age, education, race, region, and gender) using an iterative weighting algorithm.

The sample error for this survey is +/- 4.3 percentage points. The sample error for registered adults is +/- 4.9 percentage points. In addition to sampling error, this poll is also subject to other sources of non-sampling error. Generally speaking, two sources of error concern researchers most. Non-response bias is created when selected participants either choose not to participate in the survey or are unavailable for interviewing. Response errors are the product of the question and answer process. Surveys that rely on self-reported behaviors and attitudes are susceptible to biases related to the way respondents process and respond to survey questions.



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# **Attachment A**

#### Job Performance of Political Figures by Party, Pennsylvania

How would you rate the way that [fill name] is handling his job as [fill title]? Would you say he is doing an...an excellent job, a good job, only a fair job, or a poor job as [fill title]?

		Column %					
		Republican		Democrat		Indepe Otł	
		March 2011	Aug 2011	March 2011	Aug 2011	March 2011	Aug 2011
Governor Corbett - Job Rating	Excellent + Good	45%	49%	21%	19%	20%	39%
	Fair + Poor	41%	46%	62%	73%	58%	39%
	Do not know	14%	6%	18%	9%	22%	22%
Senator Casey - Job Rating	Excellent + Good	26%	28%	37%	37%	20%	15%
	Fair + Poor	55%	56%	42%	48%	45%	68%
	Do not know	19%	17%	21%	15%	35%	18%
Senator Toomey - Job Rating	Excellent + Good	39%	38%	21%	24%	21%	24%
	Fair + Poor	38%	42%	53%	55%	43%	59%
	Do not know	23%	20%	27%	22%	36%	17%
President Obama - Job Rating	Excellent + Good	15%	12%	50%	49%	46%	20%
	Fair + Poor	84%	88%	49%	50%	54%	80%
	Do not know	1%	0%	0%	1%	0%	0%



# **Attachment B**

#### President Obama Hard Re-elect, Pennsylvania August 2011

Do you believe that Barack Obama has done a good enough job as President to deserve reelection, or do you believe it is time for a change? (407 registered voters)

	Deserves Reelection	Time for a change	Do not know
Political Party*			
Republican	11%	83%	6%
Democrat	61%	32%	7%
Independent/Other	33%	61%	6%
Gender			
Male	37%	56%	7%
Female	44%	49%	7%
Age*			
18-34	55%	39%	6%
35-54	40%	53%	7%
55 and over	34%	58%	8%
Education*	0170		0/0
High school or less	33%	61%	5%
Some college	50%	43%	8%
College degree	46%	45%	9%
Household Income	40 /0	-+J /0	3 /0
Less than \$35,000	49%	47%	4%
\$35-75,000	49% 43%	47% 52%	4% 5%
Over \$75,000	43 <i>%</i> 34%	58%	8%
Race*	34%	30%	0 70
Non-white	77%	20%	3%
White	34%	58%	8%
Marital Status*	34 /0	3876	0 /0
Not currently married	420/	E0%	70/
	43% 60%	50% 33%	7% 7%
Single, never married			
Married Religious Affiliation*	31%	63%	7%
Other/unaffiliated	500/	05%	00/
	58%	35%	6%
Protestant	29%	64%	7%
Catholic	34%	59%	6%
Born Again Christian or Fundamer			
Yes	43%	53%	4%
No	40%	52%	9%
Household Union Member			
Yes	32%	59%	9%
No	43%	51%	6%
Military Veteran			
Yes	30%	64%	6%
No	43%	50%	7%
Region*			
Northeast	40%	58%	2%
Philadelphia	71%	29%	0%
Southeast	51%	39%	11%
Northwest	29%	61%	10%
Central	29%	62%	8%
Allegheny	40%	57%	3%
Southwest	31%	58%	11%
Employment			
Fulltime	38%	53%	9%
Other	46%	47%	7%



# Marginal Frequency Report

Responses may not total 100% due to rounding.

RightDir. All in all, do you think things in PENNSYLVANIA are generally headed in the RIGHT DIRECTION, or do you feel that things are off on the WRONG TRACK?

	Headed in	Off on the	Don't know
A	right direction	wrong track	
Aug 2011	34%	53%	13%
Mar 2011	37%	53%	10%
Oct 2010	27%	64%	9%
Sep 2010	31%	59%	10%
Aug 2010	30%	58%	12%
May 2010	35%	55%	10%
Mar 2010	32%	58%	10%
Feb 2010	37%	50%	13%
Jan 2010	39%	53%	8%
Oct 2009	32%	60%	8%
Aug 2009	33%	59%	8%
Jun 2009	44%	48%	8%
Mar 2009	48%	41%	11%
Feb 2009	40%	49%	11%
Aug 2007	47%	44%	9%
Jun 2007	42%	45%	13%
Feb 2007	46%	42%	12%
Oct 2006*	47%	42%	11%
Sep 2006*	52%	36%	12%
Aug 2006*	50%	40%	10%
Feb 2006	45%	46%	9%
Nov 2005	39%	52%	10%
Sep 2005	46%	46%	8%
Jun 2005	43%	45%	12%
Mar 2005	50%	44%	6%
Oct 2004*	48%	39%	13%
Sep 2004*	46%	41%	13%
Aug 2004*	43%	40%	17%
Mar 2004*	33%	50%	18%
Feb 2004	37%	49%	14%
Nov 2003	45%	45%	10%
	55%	33%	12%
Apr 2003 Sep 2002*	52%	33%	12%
Jun 2002*	55%	32%	13%
Jul 1999	64%	27%	9%
Sep 1998*	67%	15%	18%
Jul 1998	60%	26%	14%
Mar 1998	65%	24%	11%
Oct 1996	49%	31%	21%
Sep 1996*	49%	34%	17%
Jul 1996	41%	41%	18%
Apr 1995	52%	32%	17%



Mar	Jun	Sep	Nov	Feb	Aug	Aug	Oct	Aug	
2005	2005	2005	2005	2006	2006*	2007*	2010	2011	
26%	24%	25%	23%	23%	17%	15%	39%	9%	Economy
15%	18%	15%	16%	18%	18%	12%	8%	5%	Taxes
4%	6%	3%	5%	8%	8%	11%	1%	1%	Crime, drugs, violence
10%	8%	9%	6%	7%	10%	10%	4%	12%	Education, school
8%	6%	5%	5%	8%	7%	10%	7%	2%	Healthcare, insurance
8%	6%	8%	8%	7%	7%	9%	14%	11%	Government, politicians
3%	2%	2%	1%	3%	1%	7%	1%	3%	Roads, infrastructure
2%	1%	1%	0%	1%	4%	2%	1%	2%	Senior issues, social security
2%	3%	1%	3%	1%	2%	2%	1%	2%	Social issues
0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	2%	1%	0%	Retaining, attracting businesses
0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	2%	0%	0%	Immigration
0%	2%	2%	1%	2%	4%	1%	0%	1%	Gambling, slot machines
2%	1%	1%	2%	2%	2%	1%	2%	2%	Environment
0%	1%	9%	3%	2%	2%	1%	0%	3%	Energy issues, gas prices
2%	4%	1%	1%	1%	1%	1%	0%	0%	Population, urban sprawl
1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	2%	Welfare
0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	1%	1%	0%	1%	Values, morals
1%	2%	0%	2%	1%	0%	1%	1%	0%	Public transportation
0%	0%	0%	0%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	Population loss
0%	1%	1%	0%	0%	2%	1%	0%	0%	Foreign policy, terrorism, war
0%	0%	2%	3%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	Legislative pay raise
3%	2%	1%	3%	1%	0%	0%	17%	38%	Unemployment, personal finances
1%	0%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%	0%	2%	Housing, real estate
0%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	Justice system
1%	2%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	Nothing
4%	8%	8%	8%	10%	8%	7%	3%	6%	Don't know
8%	4%	6%	7%	6%	5%	5%	1%	1%	Other

MIP\_PA. What do you think is the MOST IMPORTANT problem facing PENNSYLVANIA TODAY?

\*Question asked of registered respondents only

REG. Some people are registered to vote, and many others are not. Are you CURRENTLY REGISTERED to vote at your present address?

- 78% Yes
- 22% No

RegPARTY. Are you currently registered as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or as something else? (407 registered respondents)

- 35% Republican
- 54% Democrat
- 10% Independent
- 1% Something else



Pres12MR. If the November 2012 general election for president was being held today and the candidates were [rotate] Mitt Romney the Republican and Barack Obama the Democrat, would you vote for: [rotate] Mitt Romney or Barack Obama, some other candidate, or aren't you sure how you would vote? (407 registered respondents)

- 30% Romney36% Obama8% Other
- 27% Do not know

Pres12MB. If the November 2012 general election for president was being held today and the candidates were [rotate] Michelle Bachmann the Republican and Barack Obama the Democrat, would you vote for: [rotate] Michelle Bachmann or Barack Obama, some other candidate, or aren't you sure how you would vote? (407 registered respondents)

- 23% Bachmann
- 42% Obama
- 12% Other
- 22% Do not know

Pres12RP. If the November 2012 general election for president was being held today and the candidates were [rotate] Rick Perry the Republican and Barack Obama the Democrat, would you vote for: [rotate] Rick Perry or Barack Obama, some other candidate, or aren't you sure how you would vote? (407 registered respondents)

- 27% Perry38% Obama10% Other
- 26% Do not know

Pres12RS. If the November 2012 general election for president was being held today and the candidates were [rotate] Rick Santorum the Republican and Barack Obama the Democrat, would you vote for: [rotate] Rick Santorum or Barack Obama, some other candidate, or aren't you sure how you would vote? *(407 registered respondents)* 

- 31% Santorum
- 39% Obama
- 10% Other
- 20% Do not know

IntQ9. Do you favor or oppose the following measures as a way for the state of Pennsylvania to balance its budget? Do you favor or oppose...

	Strongly Favor	Somewhat Favor	Somewhat Oppose	Strongly Oppose	Do Not Know
Selling the state-owned	liquor stores to	private comp	anies		
Aug 2011	31%	25%	13%	17%	15%
Mar 2011	45%	19%	11%	15%	11%
Taxing companies that e	extract and sel	l natural gas			
Aug 2011	45%	20%	10%	11%	14%
Mar 2011	41%	21%	13%	17%	8%



MS1. Do you think taxes collected on natural gas extraction should benefit the entire state, should only go to the local communities where the drilling takes place, or should be shared by both state and local communities?

- 14% Benefit the entire state
- 12% Only go to the local communities
- 72% Shared by state and local communities
- 2% Do not know

MS2. Is your opinion of the natural gas drilling industry favorable or unfavorable? [probe: strongly, somewhat]

- 31% Strongly favor
- 35% Somewhat favor
- 12% Somewhat oppose
- 11% Strongly oppose
- 11% Do not know

MS3. Do you believe the potential economic benefits of natural gas drilling outweigh the possible environmental damage that drilling might cause OR do you think the potential environmental risks of drilling outweigh the potential economic benefits?

- 39% Benefits of drilling outweigh environmental damage
- 35% Potential environmental risks outweigh the economic benefits
- 26% Do not know

MS4. Do you think that natural gas drilling in Pennsylvania has improved or reduced the quality of life in those communities where drilling is taking place?

- 15% Strongly improved
- 20% Somewhat improved
- 17% Somewhat reduced
- 9% Strongly reduced
- 40% Do not know

MS5. The state of Pennsylvania currently allows natural gas drilling in state-owned forests. About half of the state forests with natural gas deposits have been leased to natural gas drilling companies. Some state officials have proposed that all state forestland with natural gas deposits should be opened for natural gas drilling, but the state agency that manages the state's forests believes additional drilling is likely to harm the forests. Do you favor or oppose opening more of the state's forestland to natural gas drilling?

- 10% Strongly favor
- 12% Somewhat favor
- 18% Somewhat oppose
- 54% Strongly oppose
- 6% Do not know



CU1. The state legislature is considering several proposals related to gay marriage and civil unions. Would you favor or oppose a constitutional amendment that would allow homosexual couples to get legally married?

	Strongly favor	Somewhat favor	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know
Aug 2011	33%	17%	5%	37%	8%
Jun 2009	27%	15%	12%	40%	6%

CU2. Would you favor or oppose a state law that would allow homosexual couples to legally form civil unions, giving them some of the legal rights of married couples?

	Strongly favor	Somewhat favor	Somewhat oppose	Strongly oppose	Don't know
Aug 2011	37%	25%	5%	29%	5%
Jun 2009	33%	25%	7%	30%	5%
Feb 2004	21%	21%	11%	39%	8%

Rate\_Gov. How would you rate the way that Tom Corbett is handling his job as Governor? Would you say he is doing an... (407 registered respondents)

	Excellent Job	Good Job	Only a Fair Job	Poor Job	Don't Know
Aug 2011	6%	26%	46%	14%	9%
Mar 2011	5%	26%	39%	13%	18%

RateSenC. How would you rate the way that Bob Casey, JR. is handling his job as U.S. SENATOR? Would you say he is doing an... (407 registered respondents)

	Excellent Job	Good Job	Only a Fair Job	Poor Job	Don't Know
Aug 2011	5%	27%	43%	9%	16%
Mar 2011	3%	26%	39%	9%	23%
Feb 2009	7%	31%	32%	10%	20%
Aug 2007	5%	37%	36%	7%	15%

RateSenT. How would you rate the way that Pat Toomey is handling his job as U.S. SENATOR? Would you say he is doing an... (407 registered respondents)

	Excellent Job	Good Job	Only a Fair Job	Poor Job	Don't Know
Aug 2011	5%	24%	37%	14%	20%
Mar 2011	3%	25%	36%	10%	27%



RatePres. How would you rate the way that Barack Obama is handling his job as president? (407 registered respondents)

	Excellent job	Good job	Only a fair job	Poor job	Don't know
Aug 2011	9%	25%	33%	33%	1%
Mar 2011	7%	28%	30%	34%	1%
Oct 2010	8%	24%	31%	36%	1%
Sep 2010	10%	26%	33%	30%	0%
Aug 2010	9%	28%	28%	35%	1%
May 2010	14%	24%	32%	29%	1%
Mar 2010	12%	28%	27%	32%	1%
Feb 2010	12%	29%	32%	27%	0%
Jan 2010	11%	27%	32%	29%	1%
Oct 2009	17%	23%	31%	28%	1%
Aug 2009	14%	33%	29%	24%	0%
Jun 2009	20%	35%	25%	19%	1%
Mar 2009	23%	37%	22%	14%	4%
Feb 2009	25%	30%	23%	13%	9%

DesRePres Do you believe that Barack Obama has done a good enough job as President to deserve re-election, or do you believe it is time for a change? (407 registered respondents)

	Deserves reelection	Time for a change	Do not know
Aug 2011	41%	52%	7%

IntAH [The Center for Opinion Research included questions AH1 to AH4 for independent research purposes] Now, I'm going to ask you a few questions about a potential candidate for governor. [rotated] (John/Joan) Smith has recently announced his/her plans to run for governor. Mister/Ms Smith has been described by colleagues as an intelligent, trustworthy and honest person. He/she graduated from an elite law school and has been actively involved in local politics for ten years as a lawyer, a city councilman/woman, and a state representative. He/she has an exceptional track record of getting things done for the community. He/she tends to be economically conservative and socially liberal. He/she believes his/her most important tasks as governor are to help create jobs, improve the state's infrastructure, and preserve its environmental assets. Smith, a longtime resident of western Pennsylvania, is 40 years old and [rotated] (is openly gay/is a lesbian or married with two children).

AH1. Do you think Mister/Ms Smith is qualified or not qualified to be governor? [aggregate data]

68%	Yes
12%	No
20%	Do not know



AH2. Do you think Mister/Mrs Smith would be an excellent, good, fair, or poor candidate for governor? [aggregate data]

- 9% Excellent
- 35% Good
- 24% Fair
- 9% Poor
- 23% Do not know

AH3. Do you believe Mister/Ms Smith's positions on most issues would be similar to or different than yours? [aggregate data]

- 9% Very similar45% Somewhat similar
- 12% Not very similar
- 11% Not at all similar
- 24% Do not know

AH4. How likely would you be to vote for Mister/Ms Smith for governor? [aggregate data]

- 12% Very likely
- 48% Somewhat likely
- 9% Not very likely
- 13% Not at all likely
- 18% Do not know

DEMO I now have a final few questions for statistical purposes only.

CNTY. Region of state (What is the name of the county you live in?)

- 10% Philadelphia
- 13% Northeast
- 8% Allegheny
- 12% Southwest
- 10% Northwest
- 28% Central
- 20% Southeast

RESD. How many years have you lived at your current residence?

16.0 Mean

AGE. What was your age on your last birthday?

10%	18-24
17%	25-34
15%	35-44
23%	45-54
14%	55-64
21%	65 and older



EDUC. What was the highest grade level of schooling you have completed?

- 9% Non high school graduate
- 43% High school graduate or GED
- 14% Some college
- 8% Two-year or tech degree
- 14% Four year college degree
- 12% Post graduate degree

MAR. What is your CURRENT marital status, are you single, married, separated, divorced, or a widower?

- 33% Single, Never Married
- 49% Married
- 3% Separated
- 8% Divorced
- 8% Widow or widower



	Liberal	Moderate	Conservative	Don't know
Aug 2011	24%	32%	37%	7%
Mar 2011	16%	33%	41%	10%
Oct 2010	16%	37%	39%	8%
Sep 2010	15%	34%	40%	10%
Aug 2010	19%	32%	40%	9%
May 2010	19%	32%	40%	9%
Mar 2010	17%	35%	40%	8%
Feb 2010	21%	33%	37%	9%
Jan 2010	19%	30%	42%	9%
Oct 2009	16%	36%	39%	9%
Aug 2009	16%	36%	43%	5%
Jun 2009	19%	34%	37%	10%
Feb 2008	20%	41%	35%	4%
Jan 2008	18%	40%	38%	4%
Aug 2007	21%	44%	31%	4%
Jun 2007	19%	42%	35%	4%
Feb 2007	21%	41%	32%	6%
Oct 2006	17%	42%	35%	6%
Sep 2006	20%	39%	36%	5%
Aug 2006	19%	38%	38%	5%
May 2006	16%	43%	35%	6%
Feb 2006	21%	41%	34%	4%
Nov 2005	17%	42%	35%	7%
Sep 2005	22%	38%	35%	5%
Jun 2005*	19%	42%	33%	7%
Mar 2005*	16%	40%	38%	6%
Oct 2004	16%	39%	38%	7%
Sep 2004	16%	52%	29%	4%
Aug 2004	15%	48%	33%	3%
Mar 2004	16%	44%	34%	6%
Feb 2004	20%	41%	33%	7%
Nov 2003	21%	42%	31%	7%
Apr 2003*	19%	41%	35%	5%
Oct 2002	16%	41%	35%	8%
Sep 2002	18%	41%	35%	6%
Jun 2002	19%	43%	33%	5%
Oct 2001	20%	38%	36%	6%
Apr 2001	19%	36%	35%	9%
Oct 2000	22%	37%	33%	8%
Feb 2000	19%	44%	37%	0%
Jul 1999	18%	37%	39%	6%

IDEO. Politically speaking, do you consider yourself to be a liberal, a moderate, or a conservative?

\*Question asked of all respondents regardless of registration status

LABR. Are you or is any member of your household a member of a LABOR UNION?

 19%
 Yes

 80%
 No

 1%
 Don't Know

OPINION RESEARCH



VET. Are you a military veteran?

14% Yes 86% No

Hisp. Are you Hispanic or Latino, or not?

4% Yes 96% No

RACE. Which of the following categories best describes your racial background?

86%	White
10%	Non-white
1%	Asian
3%	Other

REL. Do you consider yourself to be Protestant, Catholic, some other religion, or not affiliated with any religion?

- 31% Protestant
- 29% Catholic
- 21% Some other religion
- 20% Not affiliated with any religion

BAC. Do you consider yourself to be a born-again Christian or fundamentalist, or not?

- 31% Yes
- 66% No
- 3% Don't know

NumA. Including yourself, how many adults 18 years of age or OLDER CURRENTLY live in this household?

27% One
54% Two
12% Three
8% Four or more

WORK. Are you currently working FULL-time, PART-time, going to school, keeping house or something else?

- 41% Full-time
  13% Part-time
  6% Going to school
  8% Keeping house
  6% Unemployed
- 7% Disabled
- 20% Retired



INC1. And, just for statistical purposes, we need to know if your total family income is above or below \$50,000 per year?

 18%
 Under \$25,000

 22%
 \$25-\$35,000

 11%
 \$35-50,000

 20%
 \$50-75,000

 10%
 \$75-100,000

 15%
 Over \$100,000

 5%
 Don't know

DONE. Sex of respondent:

- 48% Female
- 52% Male

