

TO: Penny Nance, President
Concerned Women for America

FROM: Kellyanne Conway, President & CEO
Erin Norman, Project Manager
the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend

DATE: November 22, 2011

RE: Analysis of Findings – Surveys of Likely Primary Voters in
New Hampshire and South Carolina

METHODOLOGY

the polling company™, inc./WomanTrend is pleased to present to Concerned Women for America (CWA) this analysis of findings from two questions added to recent surveys of 500 Likely Republican Primary Voters in New Hampshire and 505 Likely Republican Primary Voters in South Carolina.

The surveys ran concurrently. Interviews were conducted from November 18 to November 21, 2011 at a Computer-Assisted Telephone Interviewing (CATI) facility using live callers. In New Hampshire, respondents were selected randomly from lists of registered Republicans and unaffiliated voters eligible to participate in the Republican primary. In South Carolina, respondents were selected randomly from lists of voters as the state has an open primary where all registered voters are eligible to participate in either party's primary. In both instances random-digit dialing from the lists was used to select participants.

Upon connecting with an adult in the household, the potential respondent was screened to ensure that they are a) registered to vote in the state and b) describe themselves as “definitely” or “probably” going to participate in the primary to select the Republican nominee for President.

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 according to turnout data available from the 2008 New Hampshire and South Carolina primaries. Controls were also used to ensure the sample evenly represented all regions within the states¹. Data were NOT weighted.

¹ **New Hampshire** Central region includes Merrimack, Belknap, and Strafford counties
Northern/Western region includes Carroll, Coos, Grafton, Sullivan, and Cheshire counties
Rockingham county
Hillsborough county



The surveys each have an overall margin of sampling error of $\pm 4.4\%$ at the 95% confidence interval, meaning that in 19 out of 20 cases, the data obtained would not differ by more than 4.4 percentage points in either direction if the survey were repeated multiple times across the same universe and employing the same methodology and sampling method.

South Carolina Northwest region includes Anderson, Cherokee, Chester, Greenville, Lancaster, Laurens, Oconee, Pickens, Spartanburg, Union, and York counties
Central region includes Calhoun, Fairfield, Kershaw, Lexington, Newberry, Richland, and Saluda counties
Southeast region includes Beaufort, Berkeley, Charleston, Colleton, Dorchester, Hampton, and Jasper counties
Western region includes Aiken, Greenwood, Abbeville, Allendale, Bamberg, Barnwell, Orangeburg, Edgefield, and McCormick counties
Eastern region includes Chesterfield, Clarendon, Darlington, Dillon, Florence, Georgetown, Horry, Lee, Marion, Marlboro, Sumter, and Williamsburg counties



Analysis of Findings – New Hampshire

Nearly Nine-in-Ten New Hampshireites Connect the Dots Between Spending and Lack of Economic Expansion

Hot on the heels of the so called Congressional Supercommittee’s failure to produce meaningful work and national debt reaching an unfortunate \$15 trillion milestone, 89% of likely Republican Primary voters across New Hampshire agreed that the Fed getting deeper into the red is stifling economic opportunities and employment solutions for Americans. An overwhelming 78% **STRONGLY** concurred with this sentiment, while just 6% **STRONGLY** disagreed.

No less than 83% of all demographic cohorts and majorities of all political ideological subgroups accorded. No significant differences existed between the tested demographics, including age, gender, region, household income and education.

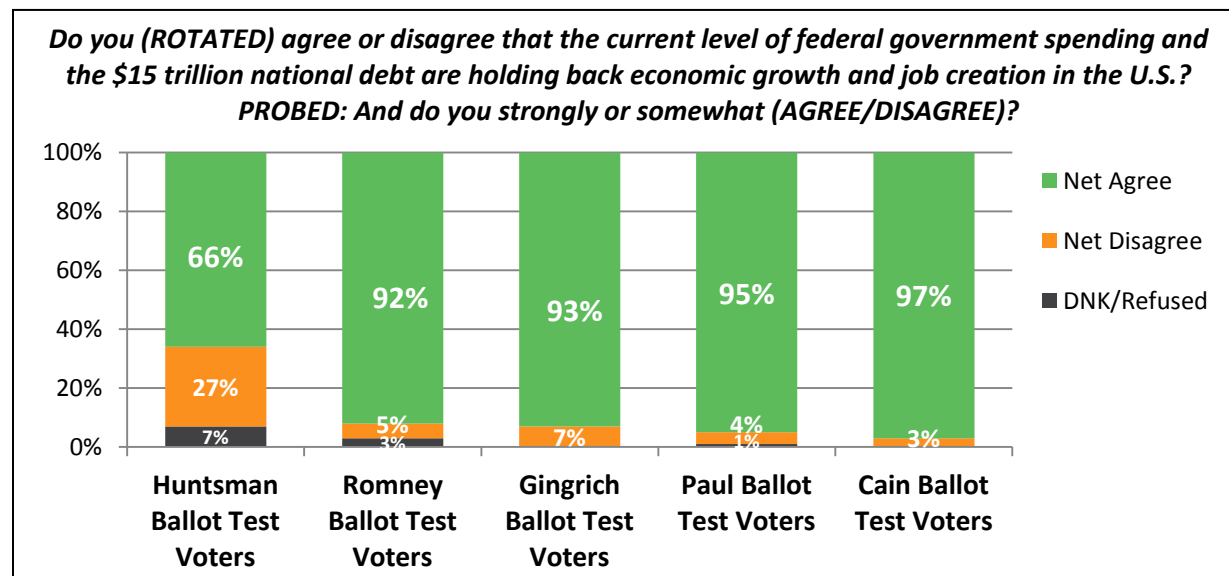
At least **94% affirmed a nexus of government spending and limited economic opportunity among key ideological subgroups**, including those who self-identify as “very conservative,” (96%), “somewhat conservative” (95%), Tea Party supporters (96%), registered Republicans (94%), and 2008 McCain voters (94%). As shown in the nearby graph, Huntsman supporters were significantly more likely to push back on the tested statement, yet nearly two-thirds still concurred.

Do you (ROTATED) agree or disagree that the current level of federal government spending and the \$15 trillion national debt are holding back economic growth and job creation in the U.S.?
PROBED: And do you strongly or somewhat (AGREE/DISAGREE)?

89% TOTAL AGREE (NET)
 78% STRONGLY AGREE
 11% SOMEWHAT AGREE

8% TOTAL DISAGREE (NET)
 2% SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
 6% STRONGLY DISAGREE

2% DO NOT KNOW/CANNOT JUDGE (VOL.)
 1% REFUSED (VOL.)



Lower, Flatter, Fairer Taxes Seen as Sound Policy to Tackle Trillions in Debt

In a separate question, likely GOP primary voters in the “Live Free or Die” state were asked which, if any, of 11 plans to reduce or reform taxation in this country they thought could help pay down the national debt. Answers varied, highlighting just how complex the current tax problems, and potential solutions, can be. Still, there was a single-mindedness that something – in fact, many things – could be done to make the system fairer and less confusing.

The plurality of those surveyed (44%) favored “a flat income tax,” the runaway winner in the top spot. Other **leading solutions mostly favored lowering or eliminating certain tax burdens** (26% “lower corporate taxes rates,” 25% “eliminating the capital gains tax,” 23% “lower personal income tax rates,”). An “all pay” enforcement of across-the-board taxation proved popular for nearly one-quarter of respondents (24%).

The only proposal for increased taxes that garnered a double-digit percentage of responses was “higher corporate tax rates” (18%). The rest of the tested tax system changes were dismissed as largely ineffective at bringing the nation out of debt.

The national debt is currently at \$15 trillion and Presidential candidates have proposed a variety of tax reforms to address the debt. Which of the following tax system changes, if any, do you think would best help the United States reduce its debt? You may select all that apply. (READ LIST) (ACCEPTED MULTIPLE RESPONSES) (ROTATED TOP-TO-BOTTOM AND BOTTOM-TO-TOP)

- 44% A FLAT INCOME TAX
- 26% LOWER CORPORATE TAX RATES
- 25% ELIMINATING THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX
- 24% MAKING ALL TAXPAYERS PAY INCOME TAXES, EVEN THOSE WITH THE LOWEST INCOMES
- 23% LOWER PERSONAL INCOME TAX RATES
- 20% CORPORATE TAX CREDITS FOR EQUIPMENT INVESTMENT
- 18% HIGHER CORPORATE TAX RATES
- 9% ELIMINATING THE NATIONAL INCOME TAX
- 9% NATIONAL SALES TAX
- 8% HIGHER PERSONAL INCOME TAX RATES
- 4% VALUE-ADDED TAX OR VAT
- 9% OTHER (SPECIFIED)
 - 2% MAKE WEALTHIEST AMERICANS PAY THEIR FAIR SHARE
 - 1% CLOSE TAX LOOPHOLES
 - 1% CUT SPENDING/CUT FOREIGN SPENDING
 - 1% COMBINATION OF THE ABOVE CHANGES
 - 1% STOP GIVING HANDOUTS
 - 1% GET RID OF OBAMA/OBAMACARE
 - 1% MAKE CONGRESS PAY TAXES
 - 1% WRITE NEW TAX CODE FROM SCRATCH
 - * RAISE CAPITAL GAINS TAX
 - 1% MISCELLANEOUS
- 4% NONE OF THE ABOVE (VOLUNTEERED)
- 4% REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)

A flat income tax was the preferred option for pluralities of all major demographic and regional subgroups.

- Few demographic cohorts demonstrated statistically-signification deviations from the mean for each reform, with the **noteworthy exception of higher income brackets showing higher-than-average support for a flat tax** (51% among those with household



incomes \$100,000 or more vs. 35% of those earning less than \$50,000 annually). **Men preferred a flat tax compared to women by 11 points (49% vs. 38%).**

- Political Ideological subgroups more inclined to support the various tax reforms are depicted in the next series of charts.

Conservatives, McCain voters in the 2008 Presidential elections, and **Tea Party supporters** were significantly more apt than their counterparts to support slashed or shared tax responsibilities.

	Flat income tax	Lower corporate income tax	Eliminate capital gains tax	Make all pay income tax	Lower personal income tax
Very Conservative	54%	38%	34%	27%	30%
Somewhat Conservative	50%	28%	23%	30%	20%
Not Conservative	34%	15%	17%	16%	19%
2008 McCain Voter	51%	30%	29%	26%	26%
2008 Obama Voter	24%	9%	10%	15%	13%
Support Tea Party	56%	39%	32%	31%	29%
Oppose Tea Party	24%	8%	14%	9%	12%

This next table shows where reforms received higher-than-average support from voters backing a particular candidate in the head-to-head presidential ballot test with the exception of Mitt Romney’s supporters who favored his tax reforms approximately as much as the average.

	Proposed Tax Reform	% Supporters*
MITT ROMNEY	LOWER CORPORATE INCOME TAX RATES	28%
	LOWER PERSONAL INCOME TAX	25%
	ELIMINATING THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX**	24%
HERMAN CAIN	A FLAT INCOME TAX	66%
	LOWER CORPORATE INCOME TAX	45%
	ELIMINATING THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX	39%
NEWT GINGRICH	A FLAT INCOME TAX	54%
	LOWER CORPORATE TAX RATES	35%
RON PAUL	ELIMINATING THE NATIONAL INCOME TAX	23%

*Candidates omitted did not have a sufficient base size for analysis

**Romney favors eliminating the Capital Gains tax on those earning less than \$200,000 annually



Presidential Primary Ballot Test - New Hampshire

The "governor next door," Mitt Romney, rose to the top of a crowded field of Republican presidential hopefuls in New Hampshire, realizing 35% of the vote among likely GOP primary voters. One-fifth (20%) are "definitely" committed to voting for him in the upcoming primary.

Newt Gingrich took 18% for a solid second place showing behind Romney, followed by Ron Paul at 10%. All other candidates were in single digits: Jon Huntsman (8%), Herman Cain (8%), Rick Perry (4%), Michele Bachmann (4%), Rick Santorum (2%) and Gary Johnson (<0.5%). One-in-ten were firmly undecided.

If the Republican primary for President were tomorrow and between (ROTATED) Minnesota Representative Michele Bachmann, Businessman Herman Cain, Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, Former Utah Governor Jon Huntsman, Former New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson, Texas Representative Ron Paul, Texas Governor Rick Perry, Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, or Former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum, for whom would you vote?

(PROBED THOSE WHO OFFERED ONE OF THE LISTED NAMES: And would that be DEFINITELY or PROBABLY vote for [INSERT CANDIDATE]?)

(PROBED THOSE WHO VOLUNTEERED "UNDECIDED" OR "DO NOT KNOW": TOWARD WHICH CANDIDATE DO YOU LEAN?)

35%	<u>TOTAL ROMNEY (NET)</u>	4%	<u>TOTAL PERRY (NET)</u>
20%	DEFINITELY MITT ROMNEY	1%	DEFINITELY RICK PERRY
10%	PROBABLY MITT ROMNEY	2%	PROBABLY RICK PERRY
4%	LEAN MITT ROMNEY	*	LEAN RICK PERRY
18%	<u>TOTAL GINGRICH (NET)</u>	4%	<u>TOTAL BACHMANN (NET)</u>
10%	DEFINITELY NEWT GINGRICH	2%	DEFINITELY MICHELE BACHMANN
5%	PROBABLY NEWT GINGRICH	1%	PROBABLY MICHELE BACHMANN
3%	LEAN NEWT GINGRICH	*	LEAN MICHELE BACHMANN
11%	<u>TOTAL PAUL (NET)</u>	2%	<u>TOTAL SANTORUM (NET)</u>
7%	DEFINITELY RON PAUL	1%	DEFINITELY RICK SANTORUM
3%	PROBABLY RON PAUL	*	PROBABLY RICK SANTORUM
1%	LEAN RON PAUL	-	LEAN RICK SANTORUM
8%	<u>TOTAL CAIN (NET)</u>	*	<u>TOTAL JOHNSON (NET)</u>
5%	DEFINITELY HERMAN CAIN	*	DEFINITELY GARY JOHNSON
1%	PROBABLY HERMAN CAIN	-	PROBABLY GARY JOHNSON
2%	LEAN HERMAN CAIN	-	LEAN GARY JOHNSON
8%	<u>TOTAL HUNTSMAN (NET)</u>	10%	HARD UNDECIDED/DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
4%	DEFINITELY JON HUNTSMAN	2%	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)
3%	PROBABLY JON HUNTSMAN		
1%	LEAN JON HUNTSMAN		



- Both **men (33%) and women (36%) chose Romney as their preferred candidate**, and supported all Republican candidates at statistically-similar levels across the ballot, including those who remained undecided (10% of men, 9% of women).
- Pluralities in each age bracket supported Romney in New Hampshire, reaching a peak of 43% among 18-29 year olds (14% of the total sample). Ron Paul placed second among the under 30 set (13%), with Gingrich garnering the second-highest vote totals among all other age ranges (20% among voters aged 30-44, 18% among voters aged 45-54, and 26% among voters 65+).
- **Voters in each region were more inclined to rally behind Romney than any other single potential Presidential nominee**, ranging from a high of 39% in Hillsborough County to 29% in the central area. Candidates counted on consistent levels of support across the state, with Herman Cain demonstrating a slight uptick in the Northwest region (12% compared with 8% statewide). Hillsborough County had the largest share of voters still up-for-grabs (12% undecided).
- Romney was particularly well-regarded among the wealthiest GOP primary voters in New Hampshire: 44% of the registered Republicans and Unaffiliateds with household incomes \$100,000+/year (26% of the total sample) favored his candidacy. Newt Gingrich (26%) nudged out Romney (24%) among voters with household incomes of \$49,999 or less (20% of the total sample).
- There was a significant ideological split. **Gingrich (32%) and Romney (31%) essentially tied among those who describe themselves as “very conservative,”** but Romney had a 22-point lead over the next closest competitor among “somewhat” conservative voters (39% to 17% for Gingrich) and a 2-to-1 margin among “not very” conservative voters (36% to 18% for Huntsman).
- One-third (33%) of Tea Party supporters aligned with Gingrich, compared to 26% for Romney.

Presidential Primary Second Choice Ballot

Respondents were asked to name their first runner-ups for this first in the nation primary. Each respondent's first choice was removed from the second ballot. **Gingrich (22%) and Romney (21%) were statistically tied on this.**

Beyond the front-runners, **support for the remaining field proved relatively consistent to the candidates' performances on the initial ballot test.** Ron Paul (9%) and Herman Cain (8%) finished as the third- and fourth- most favored “second choice” candidates, respectively. Michele Bachmann experienced a slight surge in the second-choice ballot (7% compared to 4% in the first ballot), while Jon Huntsman (7%), Rick Perry (5%), Rick Santorum (3%) and Gary Johnson (<0.5%) fell within a percentage point of their tallies from the earlier ballot.



And, who would be your second choice for the Republican presidential nominee here in the New Hampshire primary if the candidates were (REMOVED RESPONDENT'S FIRST CHOICE FROM PREVIOUS QUESTION) (ROTATED) Minnesota Representative Michele Bachmann, Businessman Herman Cain, Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, Former Utah Governor Jon Huntsman, Former New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson, Texas Representative Ron Paul, Texas Governor Rick Perry, Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, or Former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum?

(PROBED THOSE WHO OFFERED ONE OF THE LISTED NAMES: And would that be DEFINITELY or PROBABLY vote for [INSERTED CANDIDATE]?)

(PROBED THOSE WHO VOLUNTEERED "UNDECIDED" OR "DO NOT KNOW": TOWARD WHICH CANDIDATE DO YOU LEAN?)

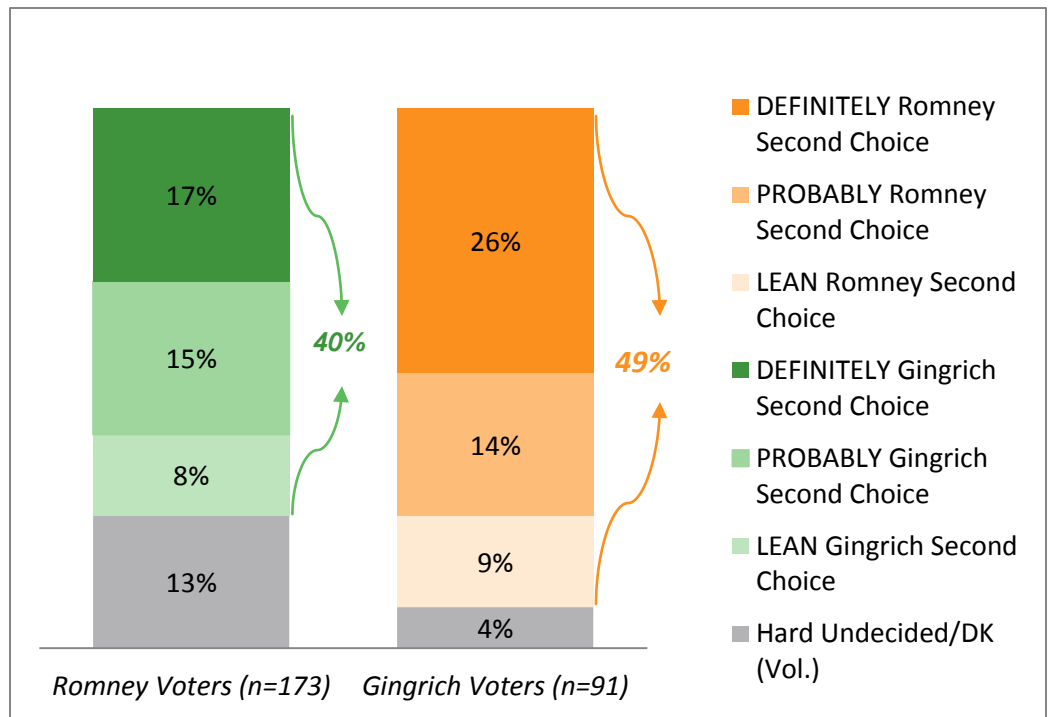
<u>22%</u>	<u>TOTAL GINGRICH (NET)</u>	<u>7%</u>	<u>TOTAL HUNTSMAN (NET)</u>
11%	DEFINITELY NEWT GINGRICH	2%	DEFINITELY JON HUNTSMAN
7%	PROBABLY NEWT GINGRICH	3%	PROBABLY JON HUNTSMAN
4%	LEAN NEWT GINGRICH	2%	LEAN JON HUNTSMAN
<u>21%</u>	<u>TOTAL ROMNEY (NET)</u>	<u>5%</u>	<u>TOTAL PERRY (NET)</u>
11%	DEFINITELY MITT ROMNEY	1%	DEFINITELY RICK PERRY
7%	PROBABLY MITT ROMNEY	3%	PROBABLY RICK PERRY
4%	LEAN MITT ROMNEY	1%	LEAN RICK PERRY
<u>9%</u>	<u>TOTAL PAUL (NET)</u>	<u>3%</u>	<u>TOTAL SANTORUM (NET)</u>
3%	DEFINITELY RON PAUL	1%	DEFINITELY RICK SANTORUM
5%	PROBABLY RON PAUL	1%	PROBABLY RICK SANTORUM
1%	LEAN RON PAUL	*	LEAN RICK SANTORUM
<u>8%</u>	<u>TOTAL CAIN (NET)</u>	<u>1%</u>	<u>TOTAL JOHNSON (NET)</u>
3%	DEFINITELY HERMAN CAIN	*	DEFINITELY GARY JOHNSON
3%	PROBABLY HERMAN CAIN	*	PROBABLY GARY JOHNSON
2%	LEAN HERMAN CAIN	*	LEAN GARY JOHNSON
<u>7%</u>	<u>TOTAL BACHMANN (NET)</u>	14%	HARD UNDECIDED/DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
4%	DEFINITELY MICHELE BACHMANN	4%	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)
2%	PROBABLY MICHELE BACHMANN		
1%	LEAN MICHELE BACHMANN		



As further evidence of the current "two-man" race between Romney and Gingrich in New Hampshire, **pluralities of voters supporting either candidate in the first ballot listed the other as their preferred "second choice" candidate.**

Nearly half (49%) of Gingrich enthusiasts on the first ballot preferred Mitt Romney as their next most favored nominee, with 26% **DEFINITELY** considering him the superior

alternative. Similarly, 40% of those initially backing Romney flocked to Gingrich in his absence, with 17% **DEFINITELY** claiming him as their second choice.



Presidential Primary Combined Ballot Tests

Candidate	Combined Ballot Results ²	First-Choice Ballot	Second-Choice Ballot
Mitt Romney	56%	35%	21%
Newt Gingrich	40%	18%	22%
Ron Paul	20%	11%	9%
Jon Huntsman	16%	8%	7%
Herman Cain	15%	8%	8%
Michele Bachmann	10%	3%	6%
Rick Perry	9%	4%	5%
Rick Santorum	5%	2%	3%
Gary Johnson	1%	*	1%

² Combined percentages have a ±1% margin of error due to rounding.



Analysis of Findings – South Carolina

Intensity Runs High in South Carolina as Voters Point Finger at the Fed’s Red Ink
Likely GOP primary voters across the Palmetto State were **nearly unanimous** in their affirmation of a connection between government spending and limited economic opportunity. Fully **87% concurred with the statement**, and an overwhelming **three-in-four (76%) voters STRONGLY agreed**. This dwarfed the total 10% that disagreed, with just 5% strongly so.

No less than 82% of all demographic cohorts and **majorities of all political ideological subgroups were in accord**. Cohorts more apt than average to agree or disagree with the tested statement are detailed in the following chart.

Do you (ROTATED) agree or disagree that the current level of federal government spending and the \$15 trillion national debt are holding back economic growth and job creation in the U.S.?
PROBED: And do you strongly or somewhat (AGREE/DISAGREE)?

87% TOTAL AGREE (NET)
76% STRONGLY AGREE
11% SOMEWHAT AGREE

10% TOTAL DISAGREE (NET)
4% SOMEWHAT DISAGREE
5% STRONGLY DISAGREE

3% DO NOT KNOW/CANNOT JUDGE (VOL.)
1% REFUSED (VOL.)

AGREE (87% overall)	DISAGREE (10% overall)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Those living in the Western and Eastern regions of the state (96%, West and 94%, East vs. 85%, N. West; 83%, S. East; and 82%, Central) Those with an annual household income of \$75,000-\$99,999 (93%) McCain voters in 2008 Presidential election (91% vs. 55%, Obama) Those that identify as “very” or “somewhat Conservative” (94% and 90%, respectively) Tea Party supporters (94 vs. 60%, Tea Party opposition) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Those residing in the S. East region of South Carolina (15% vs. 5%, East and 2%, West) Members of affluent household (17%, \$100,000 or more) Obama voters in 2008 Presidential election (39% vs. 7%, McCain) Those self-identifying as “not Conservative” (27%) Those that oppose the Tea Party movement (36% vs. 5%, support)



High-propensity Primary Voters in Palmetto State Favor Flat Tax or “All Pay” Reform as the Path to Debt Reduction

In a separate question, likely GOP primary voters across South Carolina were asked which, if any, of 11 plans to reduce or reform taxation in this country they thought could help pay down the national debt. Although there were clear winners and losers, responses were varied underscoring the complexity of the problem and the notion that solutions are out there for government to enact.

South Carolinians demonstrated a preference for **across-the-board taxation structure**, with a **“flat income tax” (50%)** and **“making all taxpayers pay income taxes” (35%)** taking the top spots.

Three proposed changes that either **slashed or eliminated taxes** altogether were **backed by approximately one-quarter of those surveyed**, including **“lower personal income tax rates” (25%)**, **“lower corporate taxes rates” (25%)**, and **“eliminating the capital gains tax” (24%)**.

Proposals calling for **new or increased taxes** were **not met with enthusiasm** from Palmetto State residents, such as **“higher corporate taxes rates,” (12%)** **“value-added tax or ‘VAT’,” (7%)** and **“higher personal income tax rates” (6%)**.

A flat income tax was the preferred option for pluralities of all major demographic and political ideological subgroups. Demographic groups more inclined to endorse each of the top five tax reform strategies to tackle the \$15 trillion debt are detailed in the chart on the following page.

The national debt is currently at \$15 trillion and Presidential candidates have proposed a variety of tax reforms to address the debt. Which of the following tax system changes, if any, do you think would best help the United States reduce its debt? You may select all that apply. (READ LIST) (ACCEPTED MULTIPLE RESPONSES) (ROTATED TOP-TO-BOTTOM AND BOTTOM-TO-TOP)

50%	A FLAT INCOME TAX
35%	MAKING ALL TAXPAYERS PAY INCOME TAXES, EVEN THOSE WITH THE LOWEST INCOMES
25%	LOWER PERSONAL INCOME TAX RATES
25%	LOWER CORPORATE TAX RATES
24%	ELIMINATING THE CAPITAL GAINS TAX
20%	NATIONAL SALES TAX
18%	CORPORATE TAX CREDITS FOR EQUIPMENT INVESTMENT
15%	ELIMINATING THE NATIONAL INCOME TAX
12%	HIGHER CORPORATE TAX RATES
7%	VALUE-ADDED TAX OR VAT
6%	HIGHER PERSONAL INCOME TAX RATES
6% OTHER (SPECIFIED)	
2%	CUT GOVERNMENT SPENDING
1%	CLOSE TAX LOOPHOLES
1%	MAKE WEALTHIEST AMERICANS PAY THEIR FAIR SHARE
1%	MAKE GOVERNMENT EMPLOYEES/POLITICIANS PAY THEIR FAIR SHARE
1%	FAIR TAX REFORM
*	CAIN’S 999 TAX REFORM
*	WRITE NEW TAX CODE FROM SCRATCH
1%	MISCELLANEOUS
4%	NONE OF THE ABOVE (VOL.)
5%	REFUSED (VOL.)



DEMOGRAPHIC GROUP MORE APT THAN AVERAGE TO SELECT...		
Flat income tax (50% overall)		Make all taxpayers pay income tax (35% overall)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adults ages 45-64 (56%) Those residing in the S. East region of the state (57%) Member of households with an annual income of \$75,000-\$99,999 and \$100,000 or more (55% and 56%, respectively) 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adults ages 30-34 (41%) Those living in the Central and Eastern regions of South Carolina (40%, both) Those with an annual household income of \$75,000-\$99,999 (47%)
Lower personal income tax (25% overall)	Lower corporate income tax (25% overall)	Eliminate capital gains tax (24% overall)
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adults ages 30-34 (32% vs. 20%, 65+) Those dwelling in the Central and Western regions of South Carolina (31% for both) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Adults ages 30-44 (30%) Men (30% vs. 18%, women) Those with an annual household income of \$75,000-\$99,999 and \$100,000 or more (33% and 32%, respectively vs. 22%, Less than \$50,000) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> College graduates (31%) Young adults (33%, 18-29) Men (29% vs. women 17%) Members of households with an annual income of \$75,000-\$99,999 (29%)

Self-identified conservatives, McCain voters in the 2008 Presidential election, and **Tea Party supporters** were significantly more apt than their counterparts to support slashed or shared tax responsibilities.

	Flat income tax	Make all pay income tax	Lower personal income tax	Lower corporate income tax	Eliminate capital gains tax
Very Conservative	54%	35%	25%	28%	26%
Somewhat Conservative	46%	38%	29%	24%	27%
Not Conservative	44%	28%	24%	16%	14%
2008 McCain Voter	51%	37%	28%	27%	25%
2008 Obama Voter	43%	23%	9%	11%	11%
Support Tea Party	56%	40%	29%	33%	30%
Oppose Tea Party	29%	22%	18%	22%	18%



This next table shows where specific reforms received higher-than-average support from voters backing a particular candidate in the head-to-head presidential primary ballot test.

	Proposed Tax Reform	% Supporters*
NEWT GINGRICH	A FLAT INCOME TAX	56%
	MAKING ALL TAX PAYERS PAY INCOME TAXES	43%
	CORPORATE TAX CREDITS FOR EQUIPMENT INVESTMENT	23%
	ELIMINATING THE NATIONAL INCOME TAX	20%
HERMAN CAIN	A FLAT INCOME TAX	57%
	LOWER CORPORATE INCOME TAX	35%
	LOWER PERSONAL INCOME TAX	32%
	NATIONAL SALES TAX	30%
MITT ROMNEY	CORPORATE TAX CREDITS FOR EQUIPMENT INVESTMENT	27%
RICK PERRY	VALUE-ADDED TAX OR VAT	18%

*Candidates omitted did not have a sufficient base size for analysis



Presidential Primary Ballot Test – South Carolina

Former Georgia Congressman and Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich surged to the top of the field in South Carolina collecting 31% of the share among likely primary voters there.

Gingrich's regional roots helped spur him to a 14-point edge over another Southerner in Georgia businessman Herman Cain (17%). Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney (16%) finished just behind Cain, while none of the other Republican Presidential hopefuls reached double-digits in the Palmetto State.

Gingrich's lead overall was mirrored in intensity. Among those certain of their presidential primary vote, 18% were DEFINITELY committed to voting for him, once again followed by Cain (10% DEFINITELY) and Romney (8% DEFINITELY).



If the Republican primary for President were tomorrow and between (ROTATED) Minnesota Representative Michelle Bachmann, Businessman Herman Cain, Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, Former Utah Governor Jon Huntsman, Former New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson, Texas Representative Ron Paul, Texas Governor Rick Perry, Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, or Former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum, for whom would you vote?

(PROBED THOSE WHO OFFERED ONE OF THE LISTED NAMES: And would that be DEFINITELY or PROBABLY vote for [INSERT CANDIDATE]?)

(PROBED THOSE WHO VOLUNTEERED "UNDECIDED" OR "DO NOT KNOW": TOWARD WHICH CANDIDATE DO YOU LEAN?)

31%	TOTAL GINGRICH (NET)³	5%	TOTAL BACHMANN (NET)
18%	DEFINITELY NEWT GINGRICH	2%	DEFINITELY MICHELE BACHMANN
8%	PROBABLY NEWT GINGRICH	3%	PROBABLY MICHELE BACHMANN
4%	LEAN NEWT GINGRICH	1%	LEAN MICHELE BACHMAN
17%	TOTAL CAIN (NET)	3%	TOTAL HUNTSMAN (NET)
10%	DEFINITELY HERMAN CAIN	2%	DEFINITELY JON HUNTSMAN
5%	PROBABLY HERMAN CAIN	1%	PROBABLY JON HUNTSMAN
2%	LEAN HERMAN CAIN	-	LEAN JON HUNTSMAN
16%	TOTAL ROMNEY (NET)	1%	TOTAL SANTORUM (NET)
8%	DEFINITELY MITT ROMNEY	*	DEFINITELY RICK SANTORUM
5%	PROBABLY MITT ROMNEY	*	PROBABLY RICK SANTORUM
3%	LEAN MITT ROMNEY	*	LEAN RICK SANTORUM
6%	TOTAL PERRY (NET)	*	TOTAL JOHNSON (NET)
3%	DEFINITELY RICK PERRY	*	DEFINITELY GARY JOHNSON
2%	PROBABLY RICK PERRY	-	PROBABLY GARY JOHNSON
1%	LEAN RICK PERRY	-	LEAN GARY JOHNSON
5%	TOTAL PAUL (NET)	15%	HARD UNDECIDED/DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
3%	DEFINITELY RON PAUL	2%	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)
1%	PROBABLY RON PAUL		
1%	LEAN RON PAUL		

³ Combined percentages have a ±1% margin of error due to rounding.



- There was a noticeable gender gap in the first ballot test: although **Gingrich claimed a plurality among both genders, he was a much clearer favorite among men (37% for Gingrich, followed by Cain with 19%) than women**, among whom Gingrich (25%) was six points out in front of his next- closest competitor (Mitt Romney, 19%).
- **Gingrich carried the lead among each age bracket**, ranging from a commanding 40%-plurality among those aged 65+ or older, to a 2-point (25%-23%) edge over Herman Cain among voters aged 18-29.
- **South Carolina’s Central and Eastern regions represented Gingrich’s strongest bases of support**, as he claimed 40% among voters in each of these areas. Gingrich also secured a 29%-plurality in the Northwest region, but fell to second place in both the Southeast and Western regions. Romney rose to capture a 28%-plurality of voters in the Southeast, while Cain carried the day for a 26%-plurality of primary voters in the Western counties.
- Ideologically **right-of-center voters coalesced behind Gingrich’s candidacy, as he won a 37%-plurality of “very” conservative voters and 31%- plurality of “somewhat” conservative voters**. Romney was the most preferred candidate among self-described “not very” conservative voters, earning 26% of their vote and trailed by Gingrich with 15%.
 - Tea Party supporters exhibited similar enthusiasm for Gingrich as he claimed 37% within this subgroup, surpassing the next-closest competitor by 17 points (Herman Cain, 20%)



Presidential Primary Second Choice Ballot

Republican Primary voters provided their re-assessment of the field once their top-choice candidate was removed in a follow-up ballot question. **Gingrich claimed the top spot on this “second choice” ballot as well, 4-points out in front of Herman Cain (22%-18%).** Romney (16%) ran a strong third, with Rick Perry placing “fourth for second” at 12%. The remaining candidates failed to eclipse 5% and performed within a percentage point of their tally from the first ballot question.

And, who would be your second choice for the Republican presidential nominee here in the South Carolina primary if the candidates were (REMOVED RESPONDENT’S FIRST CHOICE FROM PREVIOUS QUESTION) (ROTATED) Minnesota Representative Michelle Bachmann, Businessman Herman Cain, Former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich, Former Utah Governor Jon Huntsman, Former New Mexico Governor Gary Johnson, Texas Representative Ron Paul, Texas Governor Rick Perry, Former Massachusetts Governor Mitt Romney, or Former Pennsylvania Senator Rick Santorum?

(PROBED THOSE WHO OFFERED ONE OF THE LISTED NAMES: And would that be DEFINITELY or PROBABLY vote for [INSERTED CANDIDATE]?)

(PROBED THOSE WHO VOLUNTEERED “UNDECIDED” OR “DO NOT KNOW”: TOWARD WHICH CANDIDATE DO YOU LEAN?)

22%	TOTAL GINGRICH (NET)	4%	TOTAL PAUL (NET)
9%	DEFINITELY NEWT GINGRICH	2%	DEFINITELY RON PAUL
8%	PROBABLY NEWT GINGRICH	1%	PROBABLY RON PAUL
5%	LEAN NEWT GINGRICH	1%	LEAN RON PAUL
18%	TOTAL CAIN (NET)	4%	TOTAL SANTORUM (NET)
7%	DEFINITELY HERMAN CAIN	2%	DEFINITELY RICK SANTORUM
6%	PROBABLY HERMAN CAIN	2%	PROBABLY RICK SANTORUM
5%	LEAN HERMAN CAIN	-	LEAN RICK SANTORUM
16%	TOTAL ROMNEY (NET)	2%	TOTAL HUNTSMAN (NET)
9%	DEFINITELY MITT ROMNEY	1%	DEFINITELY JON HUNTSMAN
5%	PROBABLY MITT ROMNEY	*	PROBABLY JON HUNTSMAN
2%	LEAN MITT ROMNEY	*	LEAN JON HUNTSMAN
12%	TOTAL PERRY (NET)	*	TOTAL JOHNSON (NET)
3%	DEFINITELY RICK PERRY	-	DEFINITELY GARY JOHNSON
5%	PROBABLY RICK PERRY	-	PROBABLY GARY JOHNSON
4%	LEAN RICK PERRY	*	LEAN GARY JOHNSON
5%	TOTAL BACHMANN (NET)	11%	HARD UNDECIDED/DO NOT KNOW (VOLUNTEERED)
3%	DEFINITELY MICHELE BACHMANN	5%	REFUSED (VOLUNTEERED)
2%	PROBABLY MICHELE BACHMANN		
*	LEAN MICHELE BACHMANN		



Presidential Primary Combined Ballot Tests

Aggregate results from both questions show South Carolina to be essentially a three-horse race, with Gingrich holding a significant – though not insurmountable – 20-point lead on the combined ballot. Herman Cain and Mitt Romney are running neck-and-neck with each other and within striking distance of the front-runner.

Candidate	Combined Ballot Results⁴	First-Choice Ballot	Second-Choice Ballot
<i>Newt Gingrich</i>	53%	31%	23%
<i>Herman Cain</i>	33%	17%	17%
<i>Mitt Romney</i>	33%	16%	17%
<i>Rick Perry</i>	18%	7%	12%
<i>Michele Bachmann</i>	10%	5%	5%
<i>Ron Paul</i>	8%	5%	4%
<i>Jon Huntsman</i>	5%	3%	2%
<i>Rick Santorum</i>	4%	1%	4%
<i>Gary Johnson</i>	*	*	* ⁵

However, Gingrich’s advantage on the second-choice ballot suggests that he stands to gain an even larger advantage should the field of candidates begin to winnow down. Southern governor Rick Perry is an increasing long-shot despite an uptick on the second-choice ballot, while South Carolinians posted limited broad-based support for any of the remaining candidates in the field.

⁴ Combined percentages have a ±1% margin of error due to rounding.

