

New Models Economy, Healthcare, Taxes

January 2012

OVERVIEW

Presentation Testing conducted two mixed-gender focus groups in Tampa, FL on January 26, 2012. One group contained 10 McCain-voting moderate Independents, and the other contained 12 Obama-voting moderate Independents. All respondents had at least some college education, and were age 22 or older.

KEY FINDINGS

- 1) When it comes to the economy, McCain-voting Independents say President Obama's top economic "steps not taken" were not showing leadership on the national debt and not curtailing Congressional pensions. Obama-voting Independents say the President should have held Wall Street accountable and communicated and negotiated more with Congress**

In a white board exercise we asked respondents: "Please list for me all the things President Obama has done in the past three years to help our economy that actually had a positive effect."

McCain-voting Independents said:

- Reduced donut hole in Medicare
- Tax rebate
- \$8,000 homebuyers tax credit
- Saving U.S. auto industry
- Rebate for fuel-economic appliances, windows, doors, A/C, electronics
- Pulled troops out of Iraq
- Road construction

Obama-voting Independents said:

- Saved GM
- Stimulus
- Emphasized green industry
- Direct student loans
- More insured in healthcare
- Pushed for payroll tax cut and extension of unemployment benefits

Next, we asked, “Please list for me all the things President Obama has done in the past three years to help our economy but that had no effect.”

McCain-voting Independents said:

- Stimulus
- TARP
- Banking reform
- Extended unemployment
- Helping banks

Obama-voting Independents said:

- Stimulus
- Payroll tax cut
- Healthcare reform
- Dodd-Frank—consumer protection
- Pulled out of Iraq

Next we asked, “Please list for me all the things President Obama has done in the past three years to help our economy but actually had a negative effect.”

McCain-voting Independents said:

- Healthcare reform
- \$8,000 for homebuyers—They are under water and have to pay \$8,000 back
- Stimulus
- Helping auto industry
- Solyndra and other solar companies

Obama-voting Independents said:

- Stimulus
- Paid money to banks—not saving people’s mortgages
- Printed more money
- TARP and how it was executed—not accountable for how money was spent
- Solyndra

And last in this sequence we asked, “Please list for me all the things President Obama should have done to help our economy but didn’t do.”

McCain-voting Independents said¹:

- Kept space program going (0)
- Embraced Simpson-Bowles (1)
- Stopped jobs from going overseas—offer incentives to companies (3)

¹ Each person got two votes; vote tallies are in parentheses with top-scoring in red type

- Signed off on Keystone (1)
- Investigated banks—they were double-dipping (0)
- Reformed tax code instead of increasing IRS workforce (0)
- Shrunk bureaucracy (0)
- **Shown leadership on reducing the national debt (8)**
- Put stricter regulations on oil drilling to protect fishing industry (0)
- Listened to the voice of the people (0)
- Allowed oil drilling (2)
- **Curtailed Congressional pensions (5)**
- Pulled out of Afghanistan (0)

Obama-voting Independents said:

- **Communicate, build consensus, and negotiate with Congress (4)**
- Communicating with the other party (1)
- Pulled out of Iraq sooner (1)
- Passed Simpson-Bowles (2)
- Put more checks and balances in bailout (3)
- Support cannabis (1)
- Create jobs in the private sector (2)
- Support oil exploration (0)
- Get tax incentives to bring workers back to the U.S. (3)
- **Hold Wall Street accountable (6)**
- Limit imports to the U.S. (1)

2) There is very little awareness among Independents of what the House Republicans did to help the economy. What Obama-voting Independents think House Republicans should have done, but didn't do, was hold Wall Street accountable, try to come to consensus, and reform Congress itself. McCain-voting Independents thought House Republicans should have compromised and not been gridlocked over the budget.

Following the first white board exercise, we asked, “Please list for me all the things the Republicans in the House of Representatives have done in the past year to help our economy that actually had a positive effect, or would have had a positive effect had it become law.”

McCain-voting Independents said:

- The Ryan plan
- Had a spending plan

Obama-voting Independents said:

- Keystone
- Payroll tax reduction and extend unemployment
- Raising national debt limit

- Put a cap on debt ceiling

Next we asked, “Please list for me all the things the Republicans in the House of Representatives have done in the past year to help our economy but would have had no effect had it become law.”

McCain-voting Independents said:

- [None]

Obama-voting Independents said:

- [None]

Third, we asked, “Please list for me all the things the Republicans in the House of Representatives have done in the past year to help our economy but actually would have had a negative effect had it become law.”

McCain-voting Independents said:

- Two month tax debate

Obama-voting Independents said:

- Change Social Security age
- Not approving raising the debt ceiling
- Change Medicare
- Ryan plan

Finally, we asked, “Please list for me all the things the Republicans in the House of Representatives should have done to help our economy but didn’t do.”

McCain-voting Independents said:

- Not been gridlocked over the budget
- Compromise

Obama-voting Independents said:

- Try to come to consensus (7)
- Support Simpson-Bowles (1)
- Hold Wall Street accountable (8)
- Agree on a budget (2)
- Reform Congress itself (6)

Note how many fewer items in total our respondents were able to cite about House Republicans as compared to the President.

3) Tampa Independents skipped the State of the Union Address and the rebuttal

	McCain-voting INDS	Obama-voting INDS
How much of the State of the Union Address did you watch this week?		
1=All	1	3
2=Most	1	3
3=Less than half	4	0
4=None	4	6
How much of Indiana Governor Mitch Daniels’s response to State of the Union Address did you watch?		
1=All	2	1
2=Most	0	0
3=Less than half	1	3
4=None	7	8

4) The highest Federal income tax rate any American should pay is well below the 30% figure for millionaires cited by President Obama in the State of the Union. Importantly, several of our Tampa Independents (even those who voted for Obama) want to move to a low flat tax as a way to reform the system and force tax-avoiding wealthy people to pay at least something.

We asked our respondents at the beginning of the session: “What is the highest Federal income tax rate any American should pay in a given year? (This does NOT include FICA taxes for Social Security and Medicare).” McCain-voting Independents said 25%, and Obama-voting Independents said 22%.

When we discussed this with the Obama-voting Independents, we heard:

“I just feel like anything over 20 percent is too high. I think what you work for, you should be able to take more of that home and live off of the money that you work for and not have to give it away to the government for them to make the decisions for you on how they’re going to spend the money. I don’t think they’re responsible in the decisions that they make. I think they throw large amounts of money around like it’s Monopoly money. I don’t think they watch their budgets like we have to every day.” – Dave, Obama-voting Independent

“What I’m saying is that I don’t think anyone should be paying any more than anybody else. Everybody should be paying – an even playing field. I don’t think it’s even right now.” – Alex, Obama-voting Independent

“We’re talking about the high end, why doesn’t everybody pay the same amount? That means, also, people on the low end would pay 20 percent.” – David, Obama-voting Independent

Note: There is some consensus among Obama-voting Independents that there is so much tax evasion, and there are so many loopholes for the wealthy, that having a lower flat tax would actually force the wealthy to pay more in taxes than they are paying now because all the loopholes would not exist.

We asked McCain-voting Independents if they believe people earning \$1,000,000 per year should pay 30 percent or more in federal income taxes. At least half of McCain-voting Independents agreed with the idea that there should be a flat income tax rate of 10 percent (not 30 percent), suggesting that they oppose having a progressive tax system – one where people pay a higher rate of tax as they earn more money.

We also asked McCain-voting Independents to imagine that they were earning \$500,000 per year and to tell us how they would react if they were told they would have to pay much higher taxes – returning to tax rates that existed under President Clinton. In our group, we heard:

“I’m not hedging, but if I’m that person, here’s how I think. If I pay the taxes, is it going to help – I’m altruistic but not that altruistic – is it going to help society? Is it going to be used better if it goes to the government as a conduit? Or is it going to be better if I keep it and I’m going to create some jobs? I’m posing that as a hypothetical. That’s the crux of this whole issue why the country is divided because if we knew where that money was going and if it wasn’t being – pardon my French – pissed away, then those [who could use the money more effectively] would step up to the plate.” – Ron, McCain-voting Independent

There was a consensus among McCain-voting Independents that their resistance to higher taxes on anyone was rooted in the idea that the federal government would just waste that money. The moderator asked McCain-voting Independents if they would feel better about paying higher taxes if they were certain that money would be used to pay down the national debt. In our group, we heard:

“No, because they’re still spending too much money. If they’re still spending too much money and trying to pay off the debt, the debt is not going anywhere because you’re still spending too much money.” - Lisa, McCain-voting Independent

5) What payroll tax cut?

Despite all the debate over the payroll tax cut, most of our Tampa respondents don’t think workers paid less in FICA taxes in 2011 than in 2009.

	McCain-voting INDS	Obama-voting INDS
Imagine a worker earned gross wages of \$40,000 in 2009, and again earned \$40,000 in gross wages in 2011. When it comes to the FICA taxes that this person paid for Social Security and Medicare in 2011, was his FICA tax rate in 2011...		
1=lower than in 2009	2	5
2=the same as in 2009	4	3
3=higher than in 2009	4	4
President Obama says he wants Congress to extend the (FICA) payroll tax cut this year. Did you and/or the workers you know get a payroll tax cut last year?		
1=Yes	1	7
2=No	2	0
3=Don't know	7	5

Clearly the Obama-voting Independents were more aware of the payroll tax cut than the McCain-voting Independents were.

6) Ryan Plan? What's that?

What's the difference between McCain-voting Independents and Obama-voting Independents when it comes to last year's Medicare reform vote? The McCain-voting Independents didn't know it happened, and also didn't know virtually anything about something called the "Ryan Plan." The Obama-voting Independents were more familiar with the reform, but also didn't know it was called the "Ryan Plan."

Early in the sessions we asked:

	McCain-voting INDS	Obama-voting INDS
In the past year, did the House of Representatives vote to make major changes to the Medicare system for future retirees?		
1=Yes	1	7
2=No	4	2
3=Don't know?	5	3
In the past year, did the House of Representatives vote to make major changes to the Social Security system for future retirees?		
1=Yes	3	1
2=No	2	8
3=Don't know?	5	3

This chart clearly shows the Obama-voting Independents were far better informed, particularly when we inserted that second question, above, related to Social Security. But that level of informed-ness melted when we conducted a written exercise later in the session. We asked two questions and got these replies:

A) If a Congressman voted for the 'Ryan Plan' last year, what exactly did he/she vote to have happen?

Among 10 Independents who voted for McCain in 2008:

1 person wrote "vouchers"

1 person wrote "balance budget, limit debt, more equitable formula for 'entitlements'"

1 person wrote "not sure but -- 1 family member in wartime" (*who knows what that means?--RT*)

7 left it blank

Among 12 Independents who voted for Obama in 2008:

1 person wrote "to fundamentally change the Medicare program for everyone 50 and under.

Some of the change includes private premium support, reduced benefit payments, and voluntary enrollment"

11 left it blank

B) Who is the 'Ryan' referred to in the Ryan Plan?

Among 10 Independents who voted for McCain in 2008:

1 person wrote "Paul Ryan"

1 person wrote "Congressman Paul Ryan of the Midwest"

1 person wrote "Congressman"

7 left it blank

Among 12 Independents who voted for Obama in 2008:

1 person wrote "Paul Ryan--R Rep from Wisconsin"

1 person wrote "Paul Ryan"

10 left it blank

7) George W. Bush still gets, relative to Barack Obama, disproportionate levels of blame for the current economic problems in the country. Among Obama Independents, there are three reasons: launching the wars overseas, Wall Street, and the housing meltdown

	McCain-voting INDS	Obama-voting INDS
Who is more to blame for the current economic problems in the country?		
1=George W. Bush	2	7
2=Barack Obama	3	0
3=Both	1	2
4=Neither	4	3

We asked Obama-voting Independents why they place the blame for the current economic problems in the country on George W. Bush. We heard:

“I think that the war was certainly a major part of it. I think entering the war without clearly thinking things through. I think that Dick Cheney made a lot of decisions to encourage our position based on his profitability at the end of the day. He’s certainly culpable in this. I think a lot of the legislation on Wall Street and for the private sector started with Bush and cronyism.” – Lynn, Obama-voting Independent

8) President Obama wins the tax fairness argument with moderate Independents, period. Republican replies to the State of the Union address related to the Buffett Rule were middling at best in their effectiveness

In each session we asked respondents to review two single-page texts. The first was a direct quote from the State of the Union Address, and the second was from GOP replies by Members of Congress after the speech. The texts read as follows:

Statement 1:

We need to change our tax code so that people like me, and an awful lot of Members of Congress, pay our fair share of taxes. Tax reform should follow the Buffett rule: If you make more than \$1 million a year, you should not pay less than 30 percent in taxes. And my Republican friend Tom Coburn is right: Washington should stop subsidizing millionaires. In fact, if you're earning a million dollars a year, you shouldn't get special tax subsidies or deductions. On the other hand, if you make under \$250,000 a year, like 98 percent of American families, your taxes shouldn't go up. You're the ones struggling with rising costs and stagnant wages. You're the ones who need relief.

Now, you can call this class warfare all you want. But asking a billionaire to pay at least as much as his secretary in taxes? Most Americans would call that common sense.

We don't begrudge financial success in this country. We admire it. When Americans talk about folks like me paying my fair share of taxes, it's not because they envy the rich. It's because they understand that when I get tax breaks I don't need and the country can't afford, it either adds to the deficit, or somebody else has to make up the difference - like a

senior on a fixed income; or a student trying to get through school; or a family trying to make ends meet. That's not right. Americans know it's not right. They know that this generation's success is only possible because past generations felt a responsibility to each other, and to their country's future, and they know our way of life will only endure if we feel that same sense of shared responsibility. That's how we'll reduce our deficit. That's an America built to last.

Statement 2:

I don't think that ever in modern American history have we ever seen a national leader so blatantly try to divide Americans against each other – stand up before the country and basically say that the only way that some of us can be better off is to make other people worse off – that the only way some of us can progress is by making sure other people have less money. I think it's important that we try to unite the country and not divide citizens economically because we have a lot of problems in this country that we need to solve together.

It's not part of our heritage as a people to be divided against each other. The argument President Obama is making is not intellectually honest. For example, Warren Buffett, for whom the Buffett Rule is named after, does not really pay a lower tax rate than his secretary. He pays 15 percent on capital gains, but you have to remember that same money was taxed at 35 percent at the corporate level. You could figure that those dollars were taxed at 50 percent, not 15 percent.

The richest Americans make their money from investment income, which means they are making money available to other companies by investing in them, so those other companies can create middle-class jobs. Why would we ever discourage people from investing money in companies to create middle-class jobs?

Also, President Obama isn't telling people that if we raise taxes, it'll destroy jobs.

The revenues that would come from his tax increases would not even come close to making a dent on this massive \$15 trillion debt our country has. Republicans have already said that we need to reform the tax code. We need to make it a fairer tax code, do away on the corporate side with a lot of those deductions, but at the same time, bring down the rates.

When we asked which statement better reflected their views, four McCain voting Independents said statement 1 (the Obama text). Six said statement 2 (the GOP text). Eleven of the 12 Obama-voting Independents said the Obama text better reflected their views.

Those McCain-voting Independents who preferred the Obama text explained why this way:

“I truly, truly feel that I'm getting the fuzzy end of the lollipop. First of all, I am on Social Security, period, so you know that I'm limited. More importantly, when I was working, I had to pay my fair tax, of course. Then, you would see other people - bigger,

much wealthier people, and again you don't begrudge them, but I do begrudge them when they can find ways to hide their money. They are not paying taxes on that [money]. I really have a problem with that because it is hidden and they are not paying taxes on that [money]. Even if we did something like the one percent across the board, they would still have ways of hiding their money. Maybe \$100 to me could be \$1,000,000 to them. That \$1,000,000 into the coffers would be a big, big help and big chunk of money— hopefully, without the politicians being big, fat crooks – sorry. I'm not sorry – I mean that. [Politicians] wouldn't get it. It would go as it should go. One of the things that I would have a problem with, too, that we brushed lightly is our military. I don't know anybody who is actively in the military right now. Those guys and girls go over there. They're still taxed. Their families are over here and they're not making a decent income regardless of what their rent is. Those people are starving and don't have enough correct health benefits. Even military health benefits are not as good as they could be. My answer is the wealthy...have too many ways to hide their money and they are the ears of the Congress, etc.” – Mickey, McCain-voting Independent

“I basically like this one [the Obama text] because in the third paragraph, it said, ‘They know that this generation’s success is only possible because past generations felt a responsibility to each other, and to their country’s future, and they know our way of life will only endure if we feel that same shared responsibility.’ We don’t have any. I love America and so on, but it’s just going to pot. That’s why I like this [Obama text].” – Leslie, McCain-voting Independent

The Obama-voting Independents who preferred the Obama text explained why this way:

“I felt just the overall tone, even in the first paragraph, was much more positive in the way it’s written. When I read [the Obama text and GOP text] back to back, the [McCain text] feels more divisive...In general, what I feel about this topic is that there’s only so much money that you can spend once you become disgustingly rich. I don’t feel really bad for you if you have to pay a little bit more or equal to what the rest of us are paying. I think that’s what [this text] is getting at – they’re asking everybody to just be more equal.” – Dave, Obama-voting Independent

“The key phrase to me is the ‘special tax subsidies and deductions.’ That says it all. That’s why these people don’t pay the same rate as you and I do. That leads into all the fairness issues but that’s the key phrase.” – Mary, Obama-voting Independent

Note: The following statement was a key reason cited by several of the Obama-voting Independents as to why they preferred the Obama text:

“They know that this generation’s success is only possible because past generations felt a responsibility to each other, and to their country’s future, and they know our way of life will only endure if we feel that same sense of shared responsibility.” – Statement 1

Those McCain-voting Independents who preferred the GOP text explained why this way:

“Well, one of many - ‘Obama isn’t telling people that if we raise taxes, it’ll destroy jobs’ because that is true. We can’t raise taxes more than we already have. We just need to reform them. I think people don’t understand when someone who is wealthy is getting taxed on their capital gains, they’re getting taxed 50 percent. They really are. They’re getting taxed. If we continue to add more taxes onto the wealthy, there is not going to be job creation. We need job creation – not more taxes. We definitely need tax reform. People need to know that the wealthy are being taxed a lot.” – Lisa, McCain-voting Independent

“Paragraph one - Obama came in as the great uniter, but he’s really the great divider. It’s like pitting the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Paragraph two – ‘not intellectually honest.’ It’s a nice way of calling him a liar because [Warren Buffett’s] secretary doesn’t pay more taxes than Warren Buffett. He calls people that earn \$200,000 ‘millionaires and billionaires.’ They’re not millionaires and billionaires. They’re the job creators. It’s just creating a disincentive for them to invest their money and a lot of money is on the sidelines as a result.” – Mitch, McCain-voting Independent

“[There are] three key points I want to make. I feel very strongly. I had a very visceral effect when they paraded out Buffett’s secretary as a prop during the State of the Union and she’s nodding there on cue. Like what we’re saying, who do they think they’re fooling that she’s paying more taxes than her boss? It’s been said already, he’s paying more. We’re giving a false impression. I resent, as being a part of the American electorate, we would be treated like we’re that stupid. Secondly, I think there should be greater emphasis on Congress uniting and getting rid of loopholes is where we would do some good... I am livid and incredulous that Congress men and women can do insider trading in this day and age. I wish I was 20 years younger. I’d run for Congress and put an end to that. It’s not quite here, but it needs to be. That’s criminal... That is a biggie. People have gone to jail for less.” – Ron, McCain-voting Independent

The one Obama-voting Independent, David, who preferred the GOP text explained why this way:

“Second paragraph, maybe the second sentence, it says, ‘For example, Warren Buffett, for whom the Buffett Rule is named after, does not really pay a lower tax rate than his secretary. He pays 15 percent on capital gains, but you have to remember that same money was taxed at 35 percent at the corporate level. You could figure that those dollars were taxed at 50 percent, not 15 percent.’ I’m not an accountant, and then it goes on to say, ‘The richest Americans make their money from investment income, which means they are making money available to other companies by investing in them, so those other companies can create middle class jobs.’ The bottom says, ‘We need to make it a fairer tax code, do away on the corporate side with a lot of those deductions, but at the same time, bring down the rates.’ I’m a registered Independent like everybody else, but I don’t think we need to take sides. I see some of both [statements]. We need reform, but at the same time, we don’t need to make it good guy/bad guy, capitalism versus socialism versus communism. Capitalism means making money, investing money, spreading money around, so on and so forth.” – David, Obama-voting Independent

9) If a small business owned entirely by a single individual turns a profit, the taxes the corporation pays are viewed as corporate taxes, not personal taxes

We examined in some depth an assertion made by Sen. Charles Grassley in his response to the State of the Union when he said that Warren Buffett, for whom the ‘Buffett Rule’ is named, does not really pay a lower tax rate than his secretary. Grassley said, “He pays 15 percent on capital gains, but you have to remember that same money was taxed at 35 percent at the corporate level. You could figure that those dollars were taxed at 50 percent, not 15 percent.”

Well, that’s not how our focus group respondents see it.

We asked all respondents to consider the example that they are the only owner of a small business. Last year, this small business earned \$1 million in profit and had to pay \$350,000 in corporate taxes. In addition, the small business owner paid himself a salary of \$100,000 and paid \$20,000 of that salary in federal income taxes. We asked respondents if they would consider their tax payments for the year to total only the \$20,000 they paid in federal income taxes or the \$370,000 that they paid in corporate taxes and federal income taxes, combined.

In our discussion with McCain-voting Independents, we heard:

“I would say [this small business owner is paying] the 20 percent because the \$350,000 [in corporate taxes] for the \$1 million [profit] is coming out of the business – not his pocket, not his personal account... I would be feeling the corporation is paying [the corporate tax].” – Mickey, McCain-voting Independent

In our discussion with Obama-voting Independents, we heard:

“It’s the corporation’s money because he isn’t actually taking personal ownership of that money and putting it into his account. It’s still in the business account to be used for business purposes... Once I pay [part of the profit] to myself, then it becomes my personal income. Even though I own the business, if it becomes my salary when I take it and put it in my account, then it should be taxable as my personal taxes. If it stays in the business for business purposes, it should get taxed as a part of the business.” – Randy, Obama-voting Independent

“You have a separate identity when you’re a sole owner. I’ve owned my own business. I am myself and then I’m the owner of a company. It’s separate. I exist separately as an entity, as a company with employees, with expenses. Then there’s me, the individual, who is on salary.” – Mary, Obama-voting Independent

10) Good news, bad news: Respondents are very angry when they know for sure that the Senate has not passed a budget in more than 1,000 days. The problem is they don’t believe that the Senate has failed to do this.

Most respondents had not heard any news that the Senate had failed to pass a budget in the past 1,000 days. But when told that, respondents found it hard to believe, mainly because the government is still operating and hasn't shut down. In other words—and *this is critical*—making an assertion that the Senate has not passed a budget is not understood within the larger context of how people think Congress operates.

Importantly—when we offered the Obama Independents an analogy, that is, when we described a family that spends money without drawing up an annual budget for how it will spend it, respondents completely got what the problem was—and how it is tied to a lack of discipline and over-spending.

We asked all respondents to rate on a scale from zero (completely false) to 10 (completely true) how factually accurate the following statement sounds to them: “The U.S. Senate has not passed a budget in more than 1,000 days.” McCain-voting Independents scored that statement at 5.1 while Obama-voting Independents rated that statement 3.2.

In our discussion with Obama-voting Independents, we heard:

“I thought the government couldn't be open for business unless they passed a budget.” – Dave, Obama-voting Independent

“I don't think the average American, even if we're well-read, that's not something that's publicized. Somebody should write that up all the time. Somebody should be blowing the whistle on these guys. Maybe we'd take more interest in our Senatorial elections instead of the President.” – Mary, Obama-voting Independent

We asked Obama Independents to assume it was true that the Senate had not passed and budget and then asked why it bothered them so much. We then heard:

“If I worked like [Congress], I'd be fired. It affects me quite a bit because I'm a federal employee. I was actually shut down for a month with no pay coming in. I'm a single dad with two daughters and that really pisses me off.” – Randy, Obama-voting Independent

In our discussion with McCain-voting Independents, we asked why they did not believe that the Senate had failed to pass a budget for 1,000+ days. They said:

“I don't have an answer except for just common sense. They had to fiddle and diddle and pass some kind of budget somewhere along the line.” – Arlene, McCain-voting Independent

“In the news, it filtered through. I couldn't believe it so it stuck with me...It's like a train wreck. How can you run a country without a budget for three years, basically?” – Ron, McCain-voting Independent

“I scored it low because I knew a budget hadn’t been passed, but I didn’t know how many days it was until the second question. I didn’t know if it was more or less.” – Leslie, McCain-voting Independent

We asked McCain Independents to assume it was true that the Senate had not passed and budget and then asked why it bothered them so much. We then heard:

“[It shows a] lack of leadership. Where’s the leadership? Where is the consensus in this country?” – Ron, McCain-voting Independent

“[Democrats] had two years with a full, one party Congress. They could have passed anything and they did not pass a budget.” – Lisa, McCain-voting Independent