

**GREENBERG QUINLAN ROSNER** RESEARCH

**REPUBLICAN-OBAMA BATTLEGROUND  
CONTESTED**

March 25, 2011



**DEMOCRACY CORPS**  
C A R V I L L E ♦ G R E E N B E R G

## Methodology and Overview

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This presentation is based on research conducted by Greenberg Quinlan Rosner Research for Democracy Corps from March 9-17, 2011

### **Qualitative research:**

- Focus groups with college educated women and non-college men in Chicago, IL March 9, 2011
- Focus groups with college educated men and non-college women in Bala Cynwyd, PA March 10, 2011

### **Quantitative research:**

- Survey of 1000 likely 2012 voters (1000 weighted) in 50 battleground districts, March 13-17, 2011
- Unless otherwise noted, margin of error= +/- 3.1 percentage points at 95% confidence.

## The Republican-Obama Battleground Districts

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- **The 2012 Democracy Corps Congressional battleground research focuses intensely on the Republican-Obama districts; 44 of our 50 districts were won by Barack Obama in 2008 but claimed by Republicans in the 2010 midterm.**
- **Our battleground also includes the 6 most competitive districts falling outside the Republican-Obama definition. This hybrid model, which includes the 50 most crucial battleground districts, allows Democracy Corps to track public opinion in ways that will define, shape, and structure the public debate going into 2012.**
- **Redistricting will obviously affect some of these districts, but this study is meant as an instructive look at the districts, and voters, who have swung between the parties over the past four years.**
- **The districts are divided into 2 tiers. Tier 1 includes the 25 most competitive districts; Tier 2 is composed of secondary targets.**

## 2012 Battleground: Tier 1

District	2008 Presidential vote margin	2010 Congressional vote margin	Representative	Cook PVI
CA-3	Obama +0	Rep +8	Dan Lungren	R +6
FL-22	Obama +4	Rep +8	Allen West	D +1
IL-8	Obama +13	Rep +1	Joe Walsh	R +1
IL-10	Obama +23	Rep +2	Robert Dold	D +6
IL-13	Obama +9	Rep +28	Judy Biggert	R +1
IL-17	Obama +15	Rep +10	Bobby Schilling	D +3
MN-8	Obama +8	Rep +1	Chip Cravaack	D +3
NV-3	Obama +12	Rep +1	Joe Heck	D +2
NH-1	Obama +6	Rep +11	Frank Guinta	Even
NH-2	Obama +13	Rep +1	Charlie Bass	D +3
NJ-3	Obama +5	Rep +3	Jon Runyan	R +1
NY-19	Obama +3	Rep +6	Nan Hayworth	R +3
NY-25	Obama +13	Rep +0	Ann Marie Buerkle	D +3
NC-2	Obama +5	Rep +2	Renee Ellmers	R +2
OH-1	Obama +11	Rep +7	Steve Chabot	D +1
OH-6	McCain +2	Rep +5	Bill Johnson	R +2
PA-6	Obama +17	Rep +14	Jim Gerlach	D +4
PA-7	Obama +13	Rep +11	Pat Meehan	D +3
PA-8	Obama +9	Rep + 8	Mike Fitzpatrick	D +2
PA-11	Obama +15	Rep +10	Lou Barletta	D +4
PA-15	Obama +13	Rep +15	Charlie Dent	D +2
TX-23	Obama +3	Rep +5	Francisco Canseco	R +4
TX-27	Obama +7	Rep +1	Blake Farenthold	R +2
WA-8	Obama +15	Rep +6	Dave Reichert	D +3
WI-7	Obama +13	Rep +8	Sean Duffy	D +3

## 2012 Battleground: Tier 2

District	2008 Presidential vote margin	2010 Congressional vote margin	Representative	Cook PVI
AR-1	McCain +21	Rep +9	Rick Crawford	R +8
AZ-1	McCain +10	Rep +7	Paul Gosar	R +6
CA-26	Obama +4	Rep +17	David Dreier	R +3
CA-44	Obama +1	Rep +12	Ken Calvert	R +6
CA-45	Obama +5	Rep +10	Mary Bono Mack	R +3
CO-3	McCain +2	Rep +4	Scott Tipton	R +5
FL-8	Obama +5	Rep +18	Dan Webster	R +2
FL-10	Obama +5	Rep +32	C.W. Bill Young	R +1
IL-6	Obama +13	Rep +28	Peter Roskam	Even
IL-11	Obama +8	Rep +14	Adam Kinzinger	R +1
IL-14	Obama +11	Rep +6	Randy Hultgren	R +1
IL-16	Obama +7	Rep +34	Don Manzullo	R +2
IN-9	McCain +1	Rep +10	Todd Young	R +6
MI-1	Obama +2	Rep +11	Dan Benishek	R +3
MI-11	Obama +9	Rep +20	Thad McCotter	Even
MN-3	Obama +6	Rep +22	Erik Paulsen	Even
NJ-7	Obama +1	Rep +18	Leonard Lance	R +3
NY-20	Obama +3	Rep +10	Chris Gibson	R +2
NY-24	Obama +3	Rep +6	Richard Hanna	R +2
OH-12	Obama +7	Rep +16	Patrick Tiberi	D +1
OH-15	Obama +9	Rep +14	Steve Stivers	D +1
VA-2	Obama +2	Rep +10	Scott Rigell	R +5
WA-3	Obama +6	Rep +6	Jaime Herrera	Even
WI-8	Obama +9	Rep +10	Reid Ribble	R +2
WV-1	McCain +15	Rep +0	David McKinley	R +9

## 2012 Battleground: By typology

### Rural

#### Rural- 1

New Hampshire-2  
New York-20

#### Rural- 2

Arkansas-1  
Michigan-1  
Minnesota-8  
Ohio-6  
Wisconsin-7

### Exurban

#### Exurban- 1

Arizona-1  
Colorado-3

#### Exurban- 2

Arizona-1  
Colorado-3  
Indiana-9  
New York-24  
North Carolina-2  
Wisconsin-8  
West Virginia-1

### Suburban

#### Suburban-1

California-3  
California-26  
California-44  
Florida-22  
Illinois-6  
Illinois-8  
Illinois-10  
Illinois-13  
Michigan-11  
Minnesota-3  
Nevada-3  
New Hampshire-1  
New Jersey-3  
New Jersey-7  
New York-19  
Ohio-12  
Pennsylvania-6  
Pennsylvania-7  
Pennsylvania-8  
Pennsylvania-15  
Washington-8  
West Virginia-1

#### Suburban-2

California-45  
Florida-10  
Pennsylvania-11

### Metro

#### Metro-1

Florida-8  
Illinois-11  
Illinois-14  
Illinois-16  
New York-25  
Washington-3

#### Metro-2

Illinois-17  
Ohio-1  
Texas-23  
Texas-27

### Urban

#### Urban- 1

Ohio-15  
Virginia-2

1: middle/high income, middle/high education

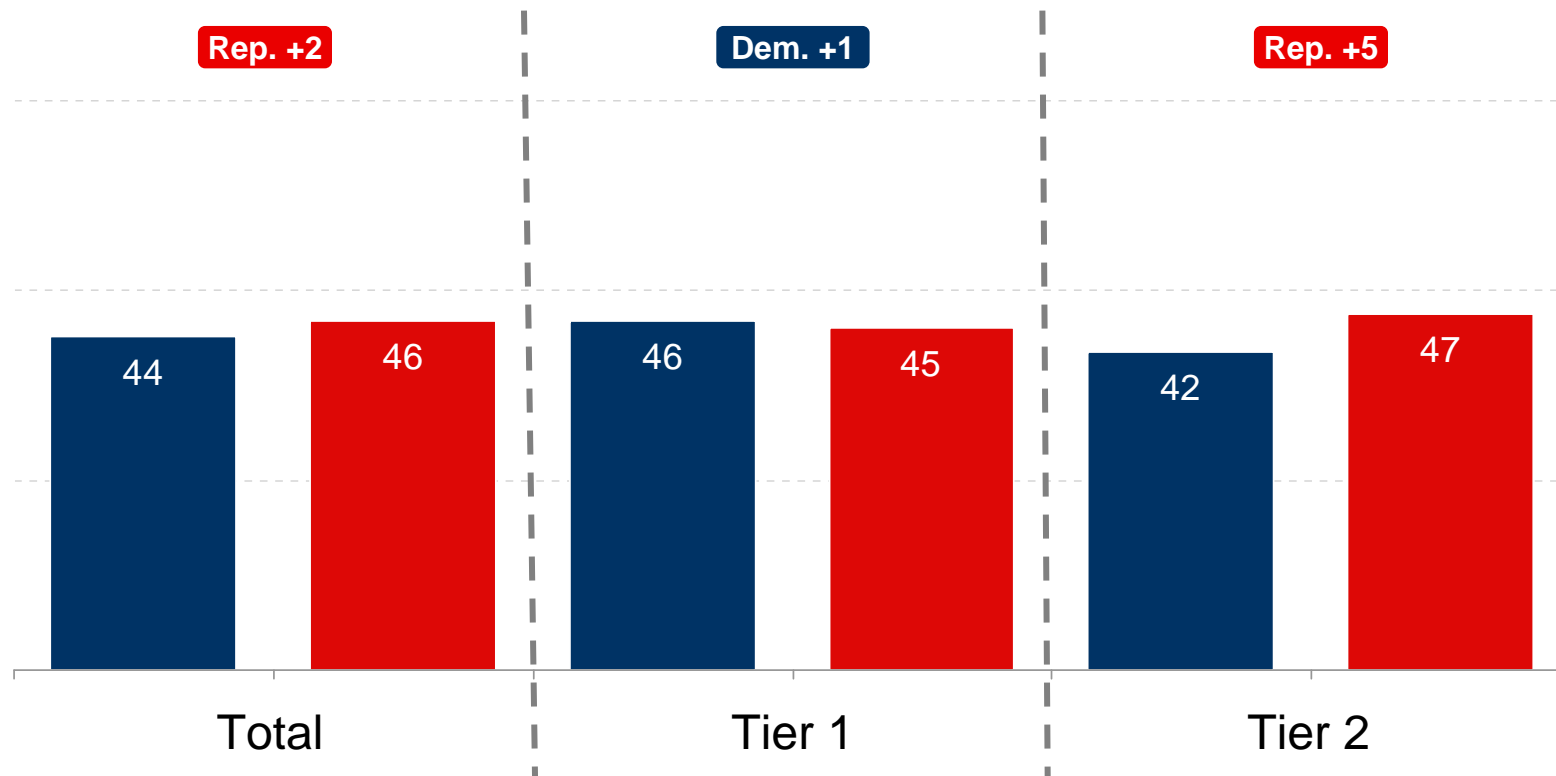
2: low/middle income, low/middle education

# The battle begins

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## Dead heat and incumbent below 50 percent in GOP battleground

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress next year, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)?*

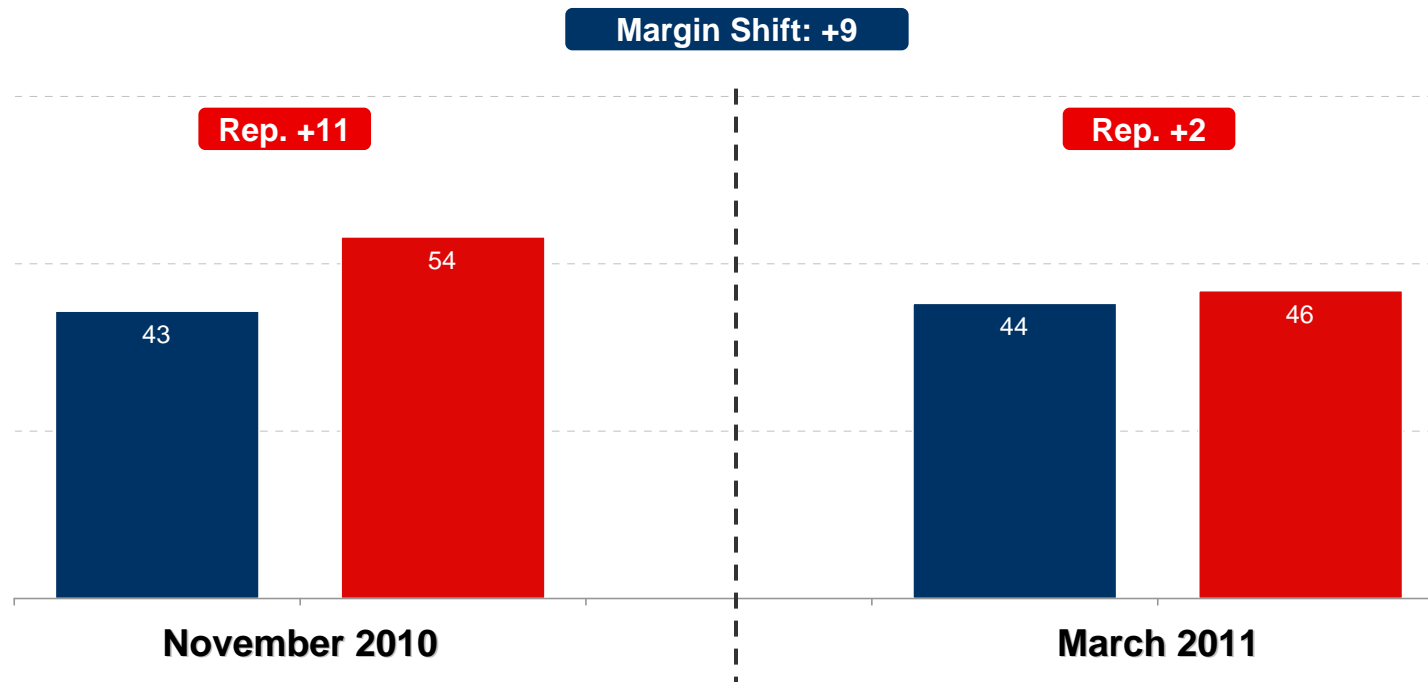


*\*Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate."*



## These named-Republican members down 9 points since election

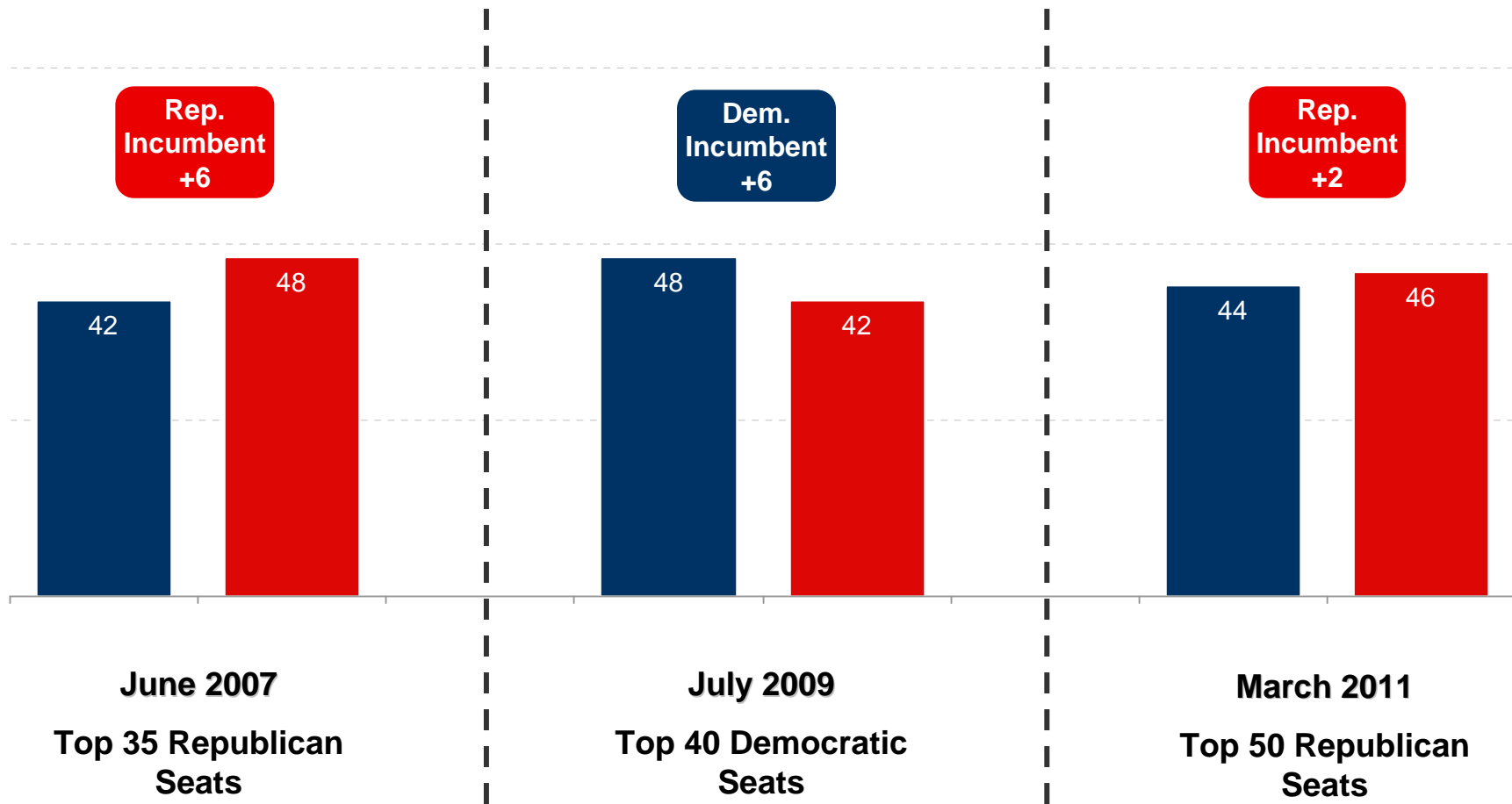
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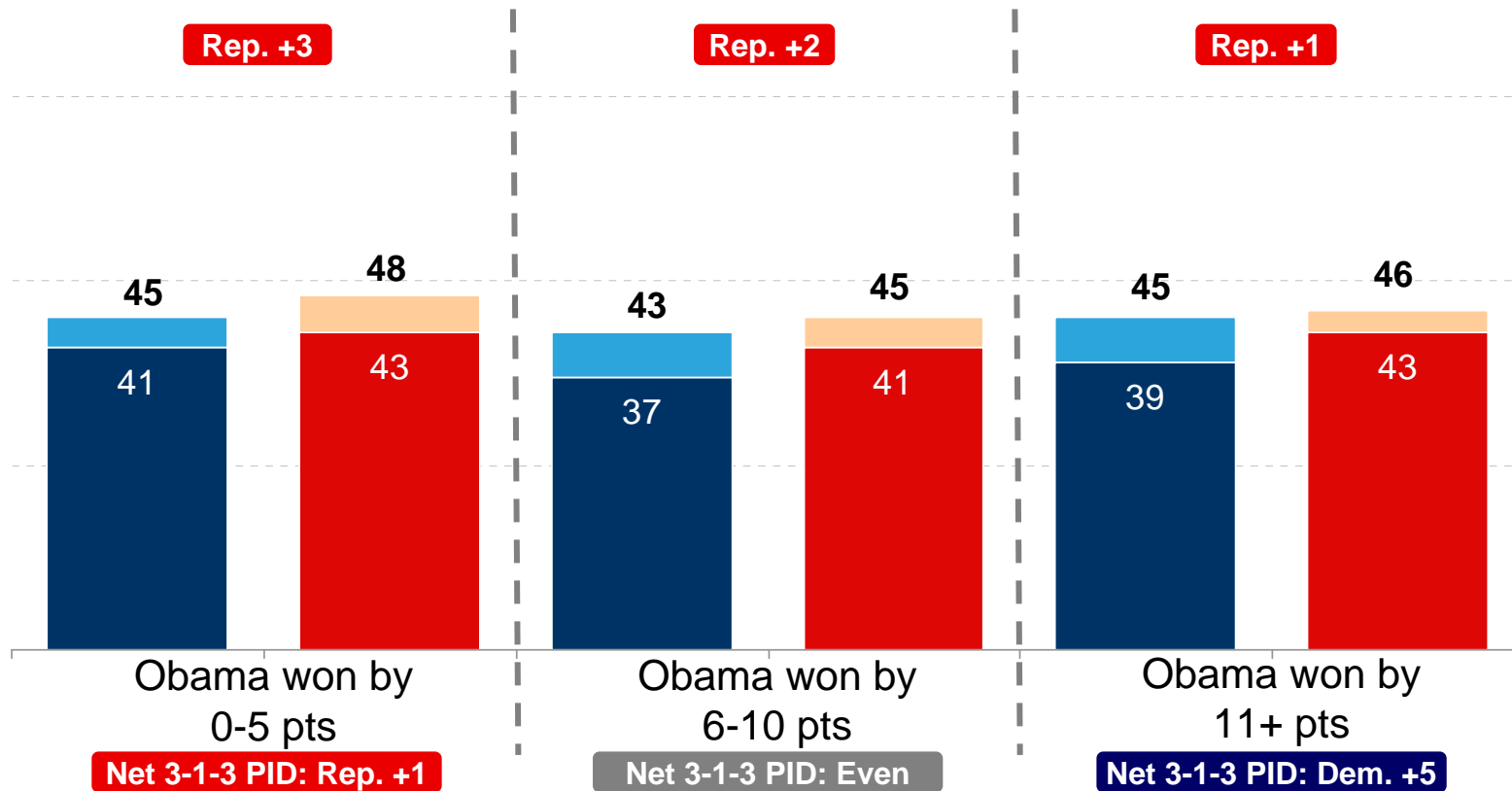
## GOP Incumbents doing worse than incumbents in 2007 and 2009

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress next year, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)?*



## Republicans fall short regardless of Obama margin in CD

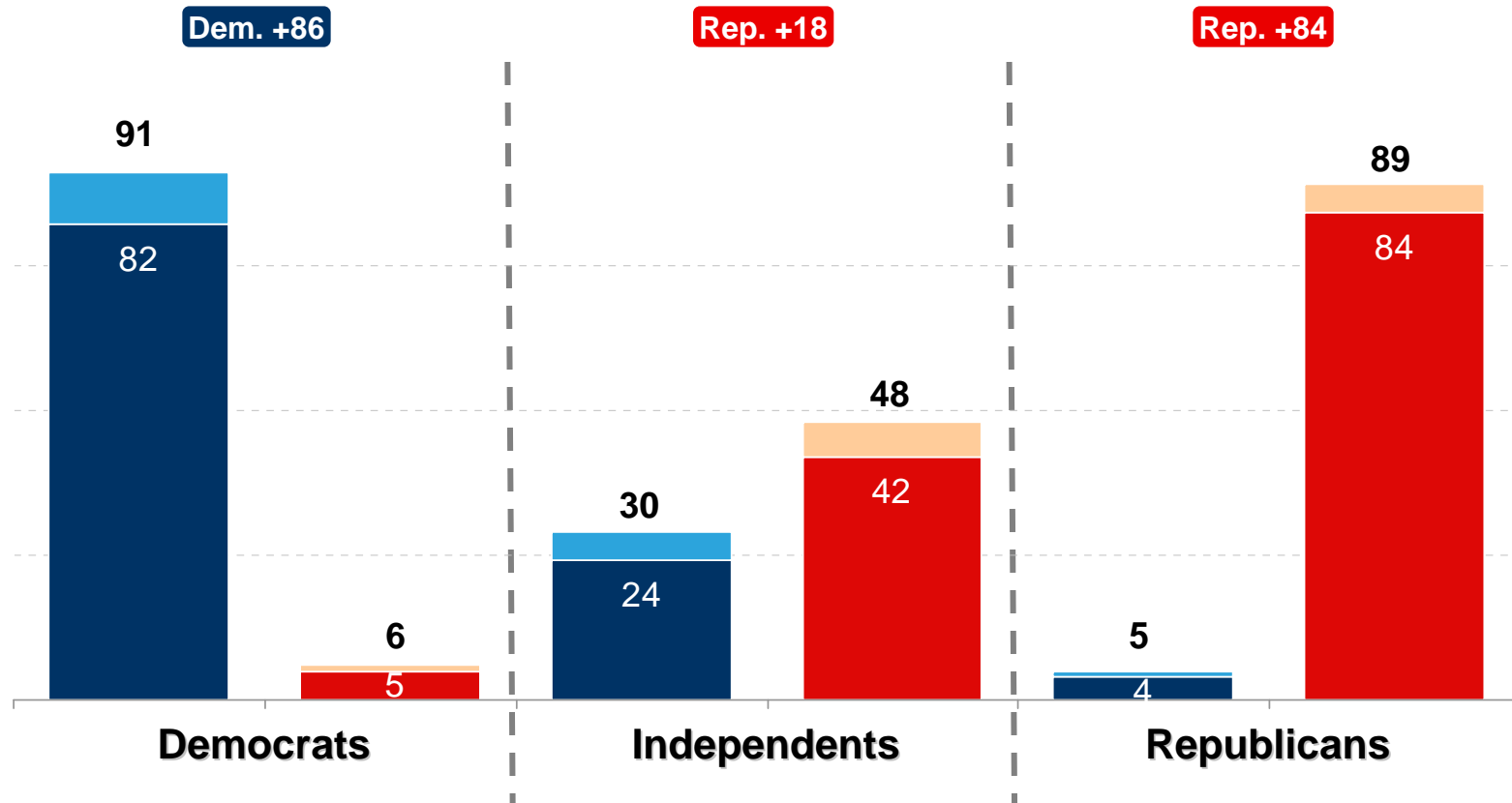
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## Dem and GOP voters equal solidity, but independents to GOP

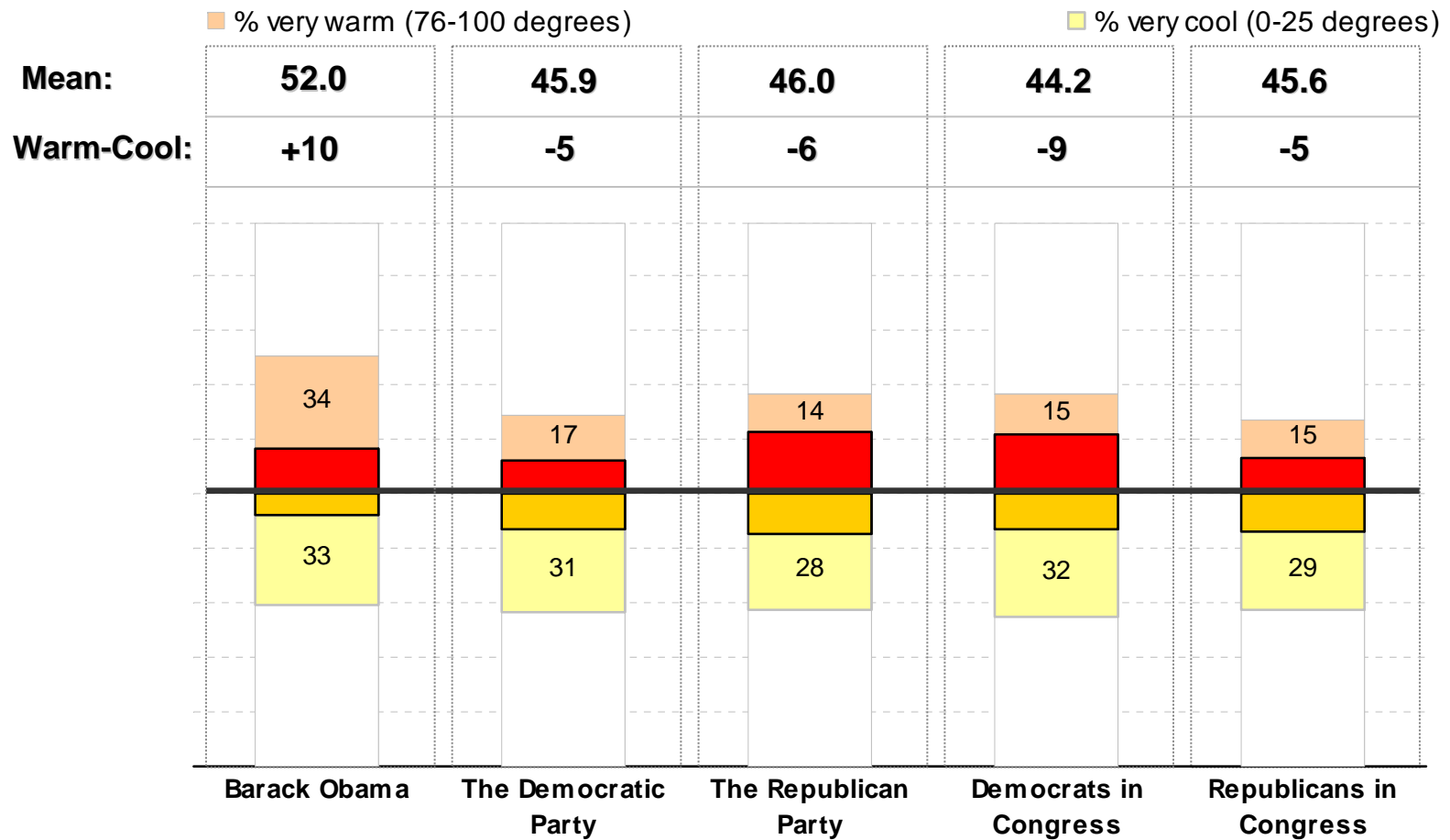
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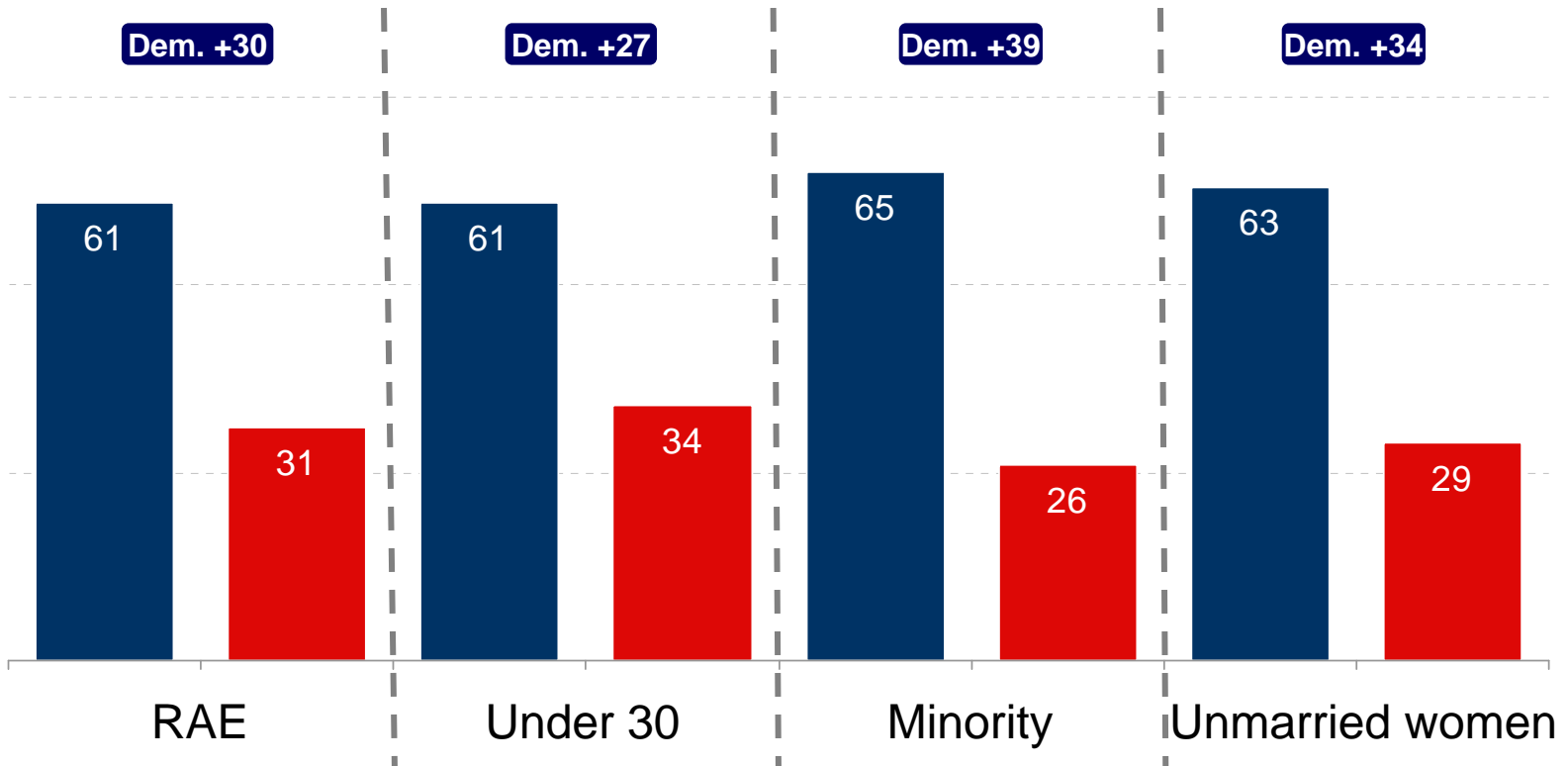
## Parties at parity in Republican-Obama battleground

Now, I'd like to rate your feelings toward some people and organizations, with one hundred meaning a VERY WARM, FAVORABLE feeling; zero meaning a VERY COLD, UNFAVORABLE feeling; and fifty meaning not particularly warm or cold.



## Democratic base is consolidated

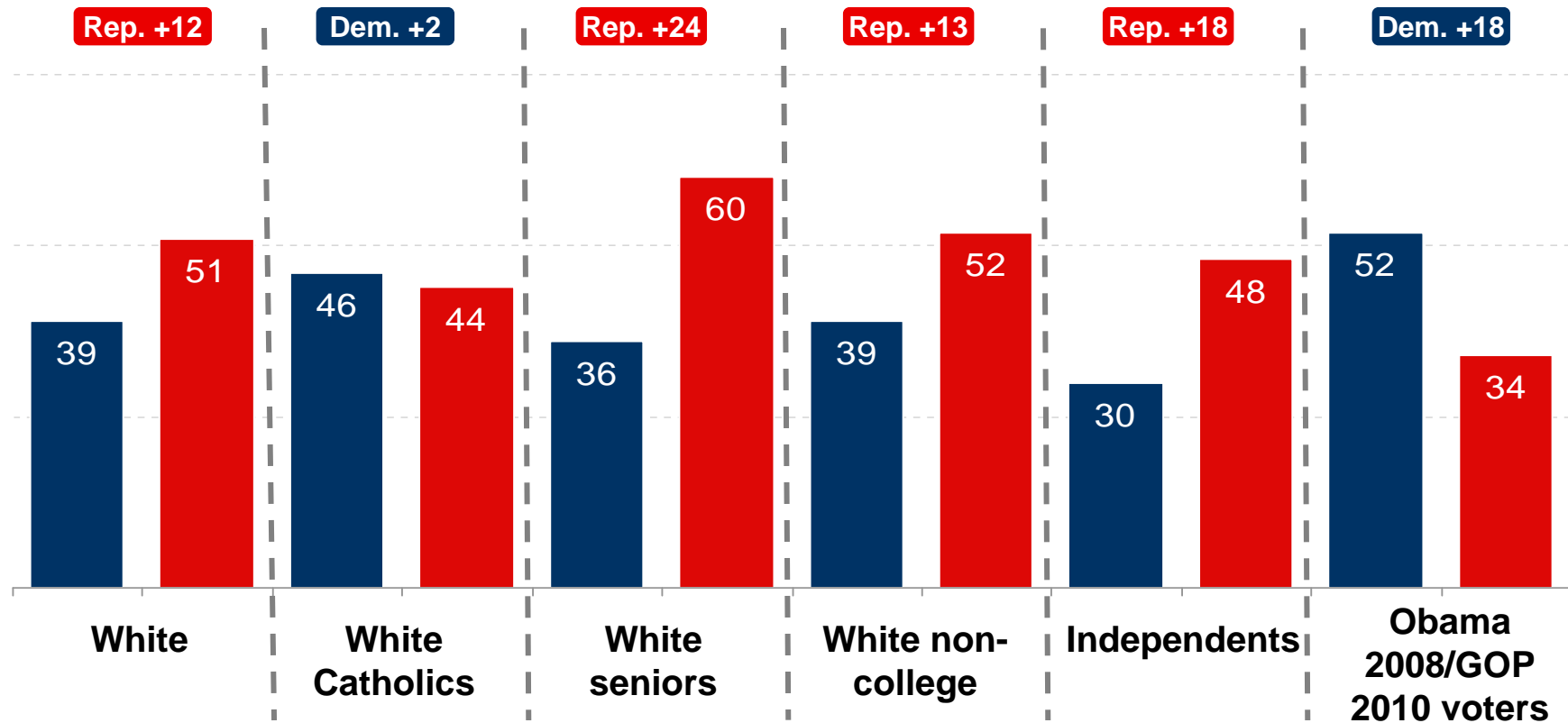
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*\*Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification. Generic challengers were inserted as "The Democratic Candidate." RAE = "Rising American Electorate" and is comprised of voters under 30, minorities and unmarried women*

## Swing groups have not moved back from the election

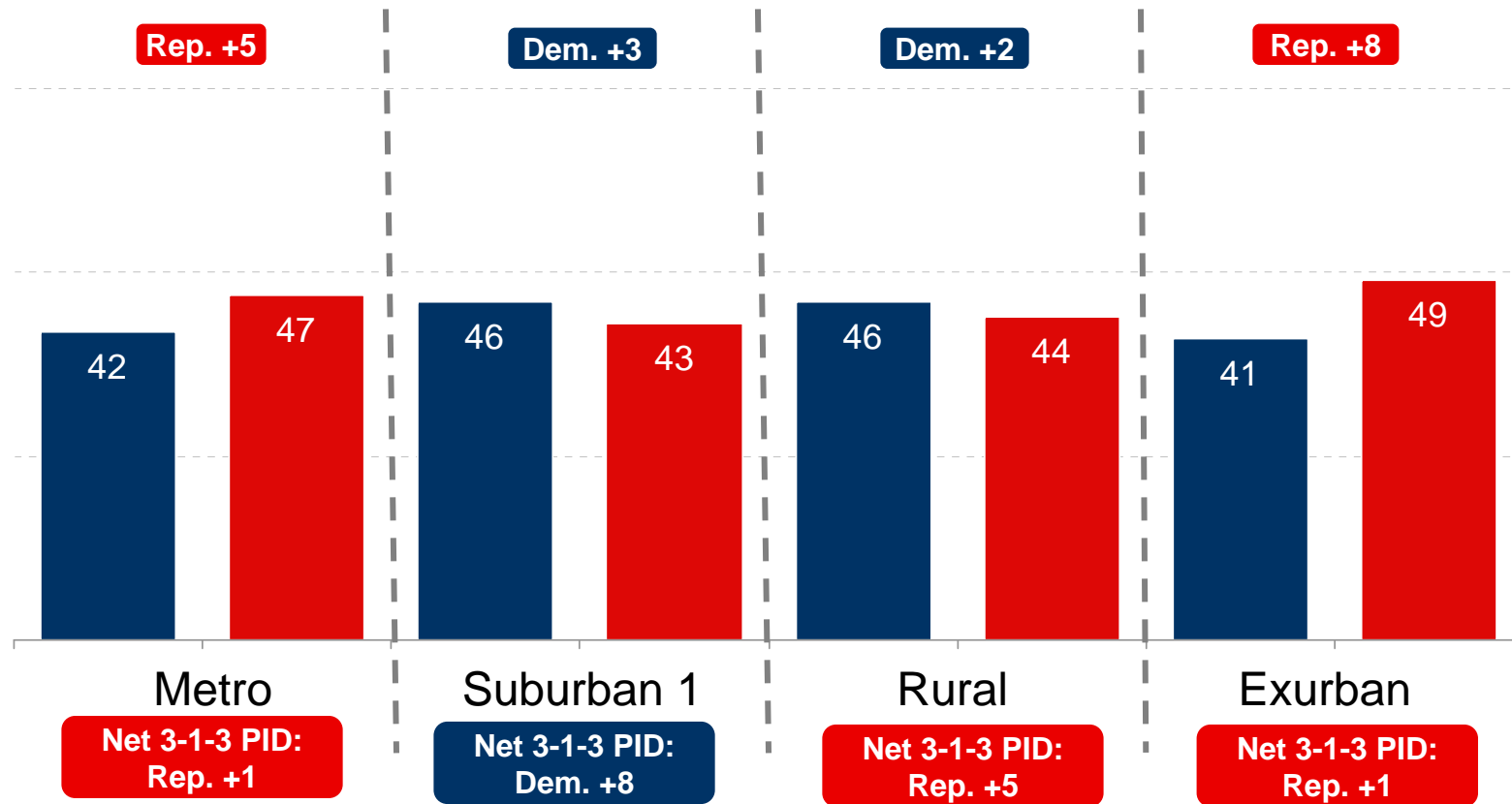
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## Democrats doing best in upscale suburbs and rural seats

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress next year, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)?*

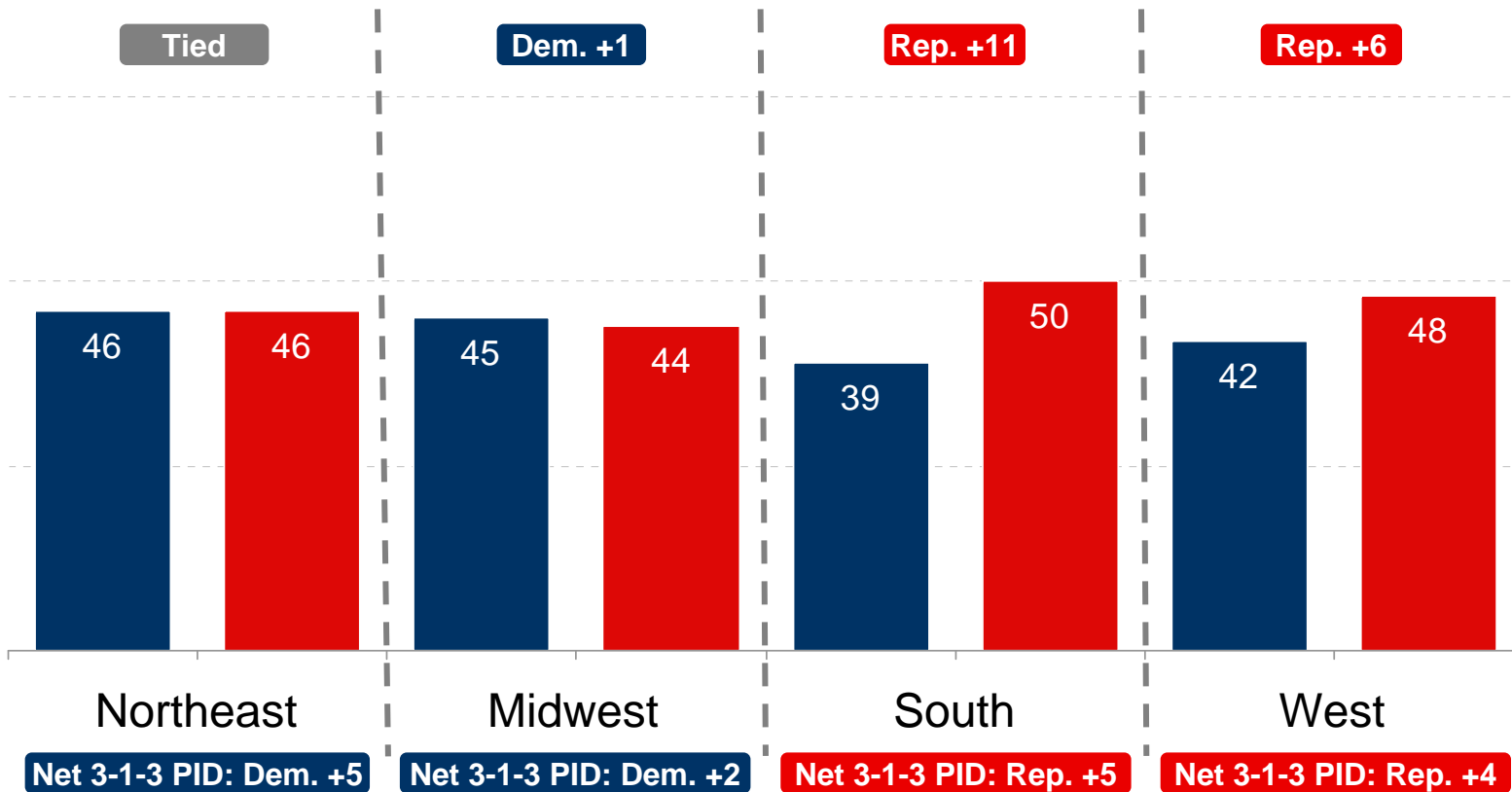


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## Dead even in Northeast and Midwest battleground seats

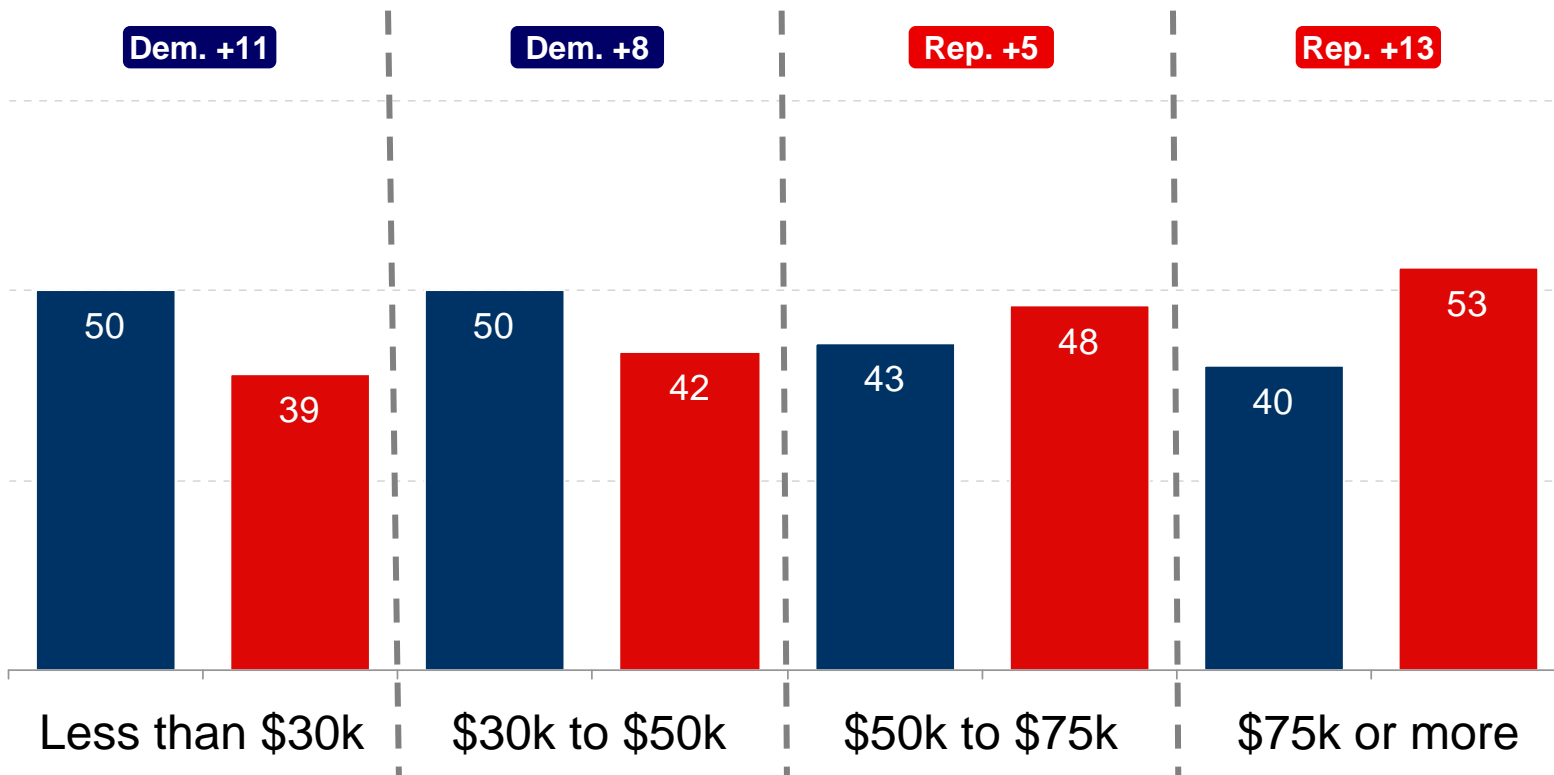
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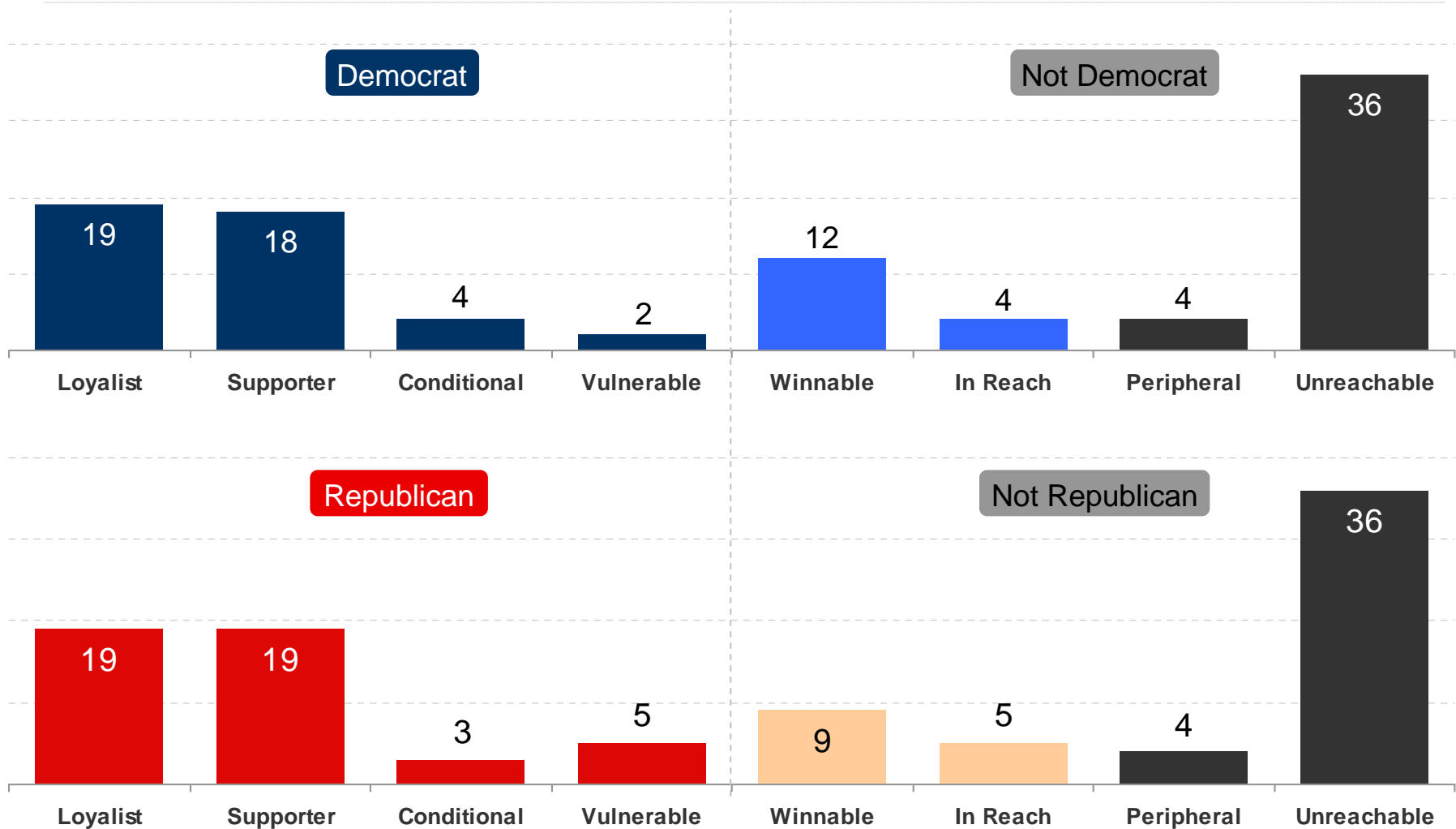
## Congressional Vote: Strong correlation with income

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress next year, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)?*



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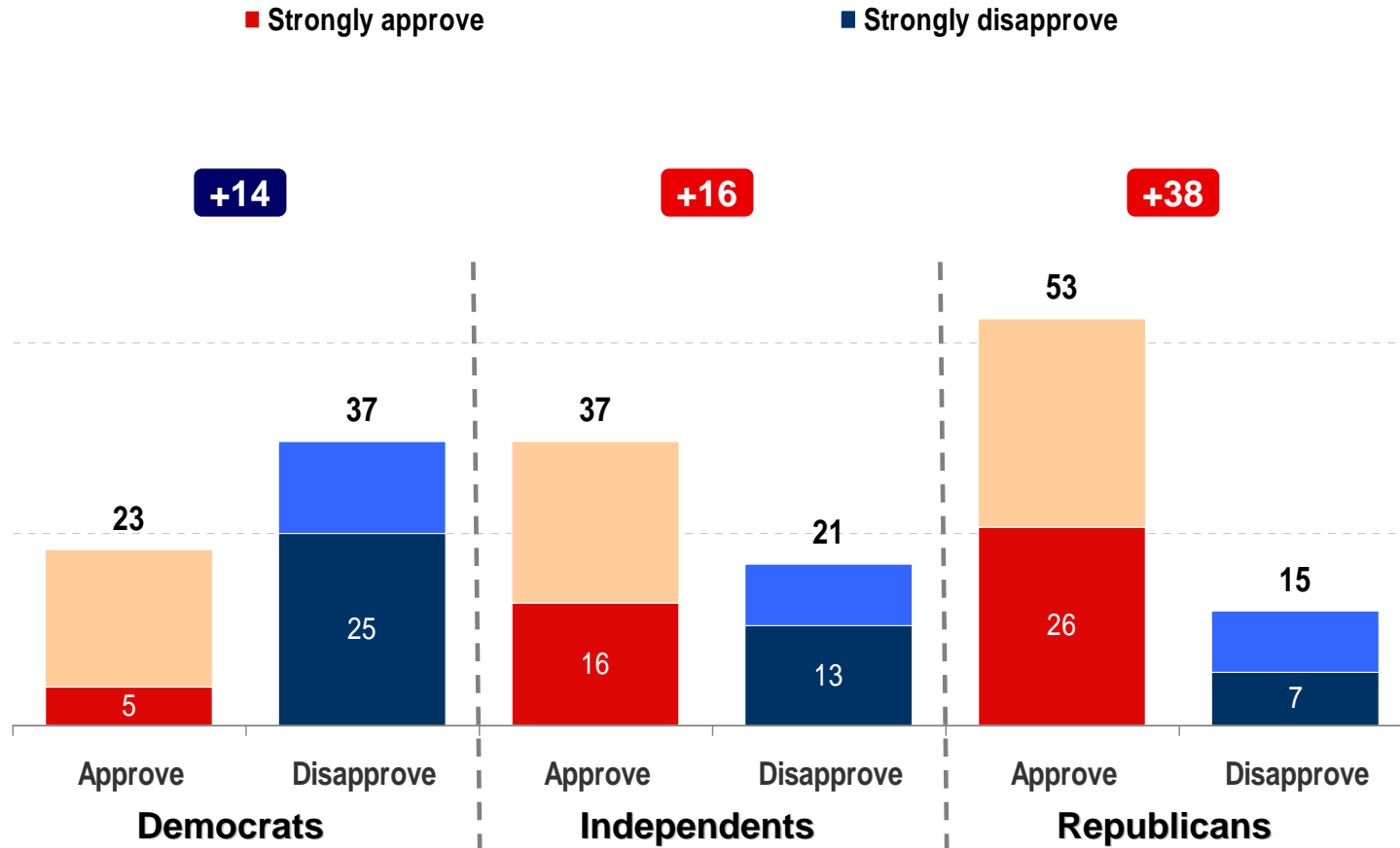
## Equal intensity and Democrats more potential to expand vote





## Same with independents

Do you approve or disapprove of the way (Republican Incumbent) is handling his/her job as a member of the U.S. Congress?



\*Note: Incumbent names were inserted with party identification.

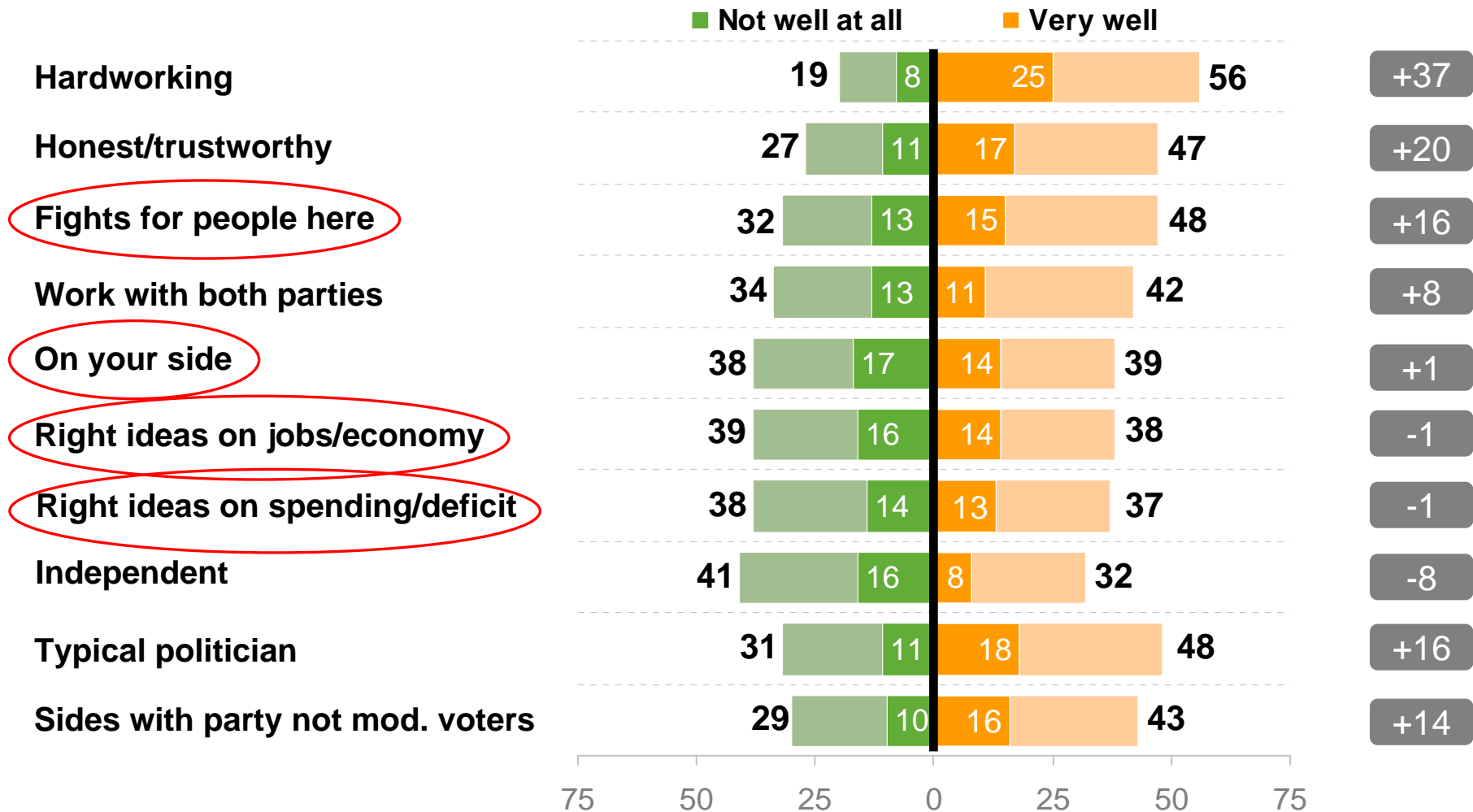
# Republican incumbents

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# Incumbent Traits: Hardworking and honest but typical partisan pols

Now, I am going to read you a list of words and phrases which people use to describe political figures. For each word or phrase, please tell me whether it describes (HOUSE INCUMBENT) very well, well, not too well or not well at all.

**Well – Not Well**



## Traits drive disapproval

Incumbent Disapproval by Traits						
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	P > z	95% conf		z
Incumbent is a typical politician	1.53	0.237	2.720	1.125	2.068	0.007
Incumbent is on your side	0.47	0.114	-3.120	0.288	0.753	0.002
Incumbent has the right approach to the economy and jobs	0.44	0.100	-3.620	0.278	0.683	0.000
R-Square = .33 N = 482						

Incumbent Disapproval by Traits						
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	P > z	95% conf interval.		z
Incumbent sides with (his/her) party, and not with the center and moderate voters	1.52	0.220	2.880	1.143	2.017	0.004
Incumbent fights for people here	0.51	0.089	-3.870	0.362	0.717	0.000
Incumbent has the right approach to spending and deficits	0.30	0.069	-5.230	0.191	0.472	0.000
R-Square = .30 N = 482						



## Traits drive congressional vote

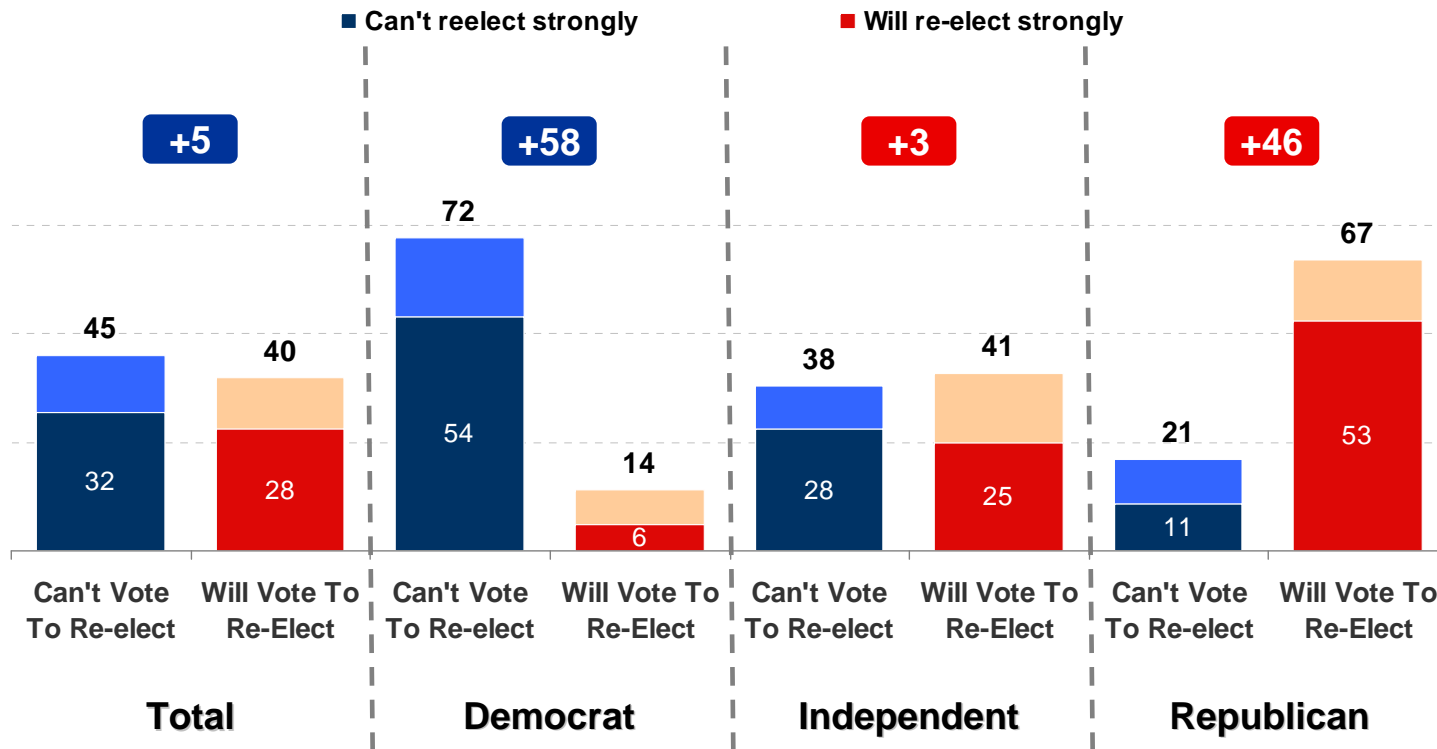
Initial Congressional Vote by Traits						
	Odds Ratio	Std. Err.	P > z	95% conf		z
Incumbent is a typical politician	1.85	0.399	2.840	1.209	2.821	0.005
Incumbent is on your Side	0.46	0.119	-3.000	0.276	0.763	0.003
Incumbent has the Right Approach to the Economy and Jobs	0.44	0.116	-3.100	0.266	0.742	0.002
R-Square = .68 N = 482						

# Plurality now say *can't* vote to re-elect incumbent in battleground

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the *FIRST* statement or the *SECOND* statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**STATEMENT 1:** Next year, I **CAN'T** vote to reelect **(HOUSE INCUMBENT)** because we need new people that will fix Washington and get things done.

**STATEMENT 2:** Next year, I **WILL** vote to reelect **(HOUSE INCUMBENT)** because **(HE/SHE)** is doing a good job and addressing issues that are important to us.



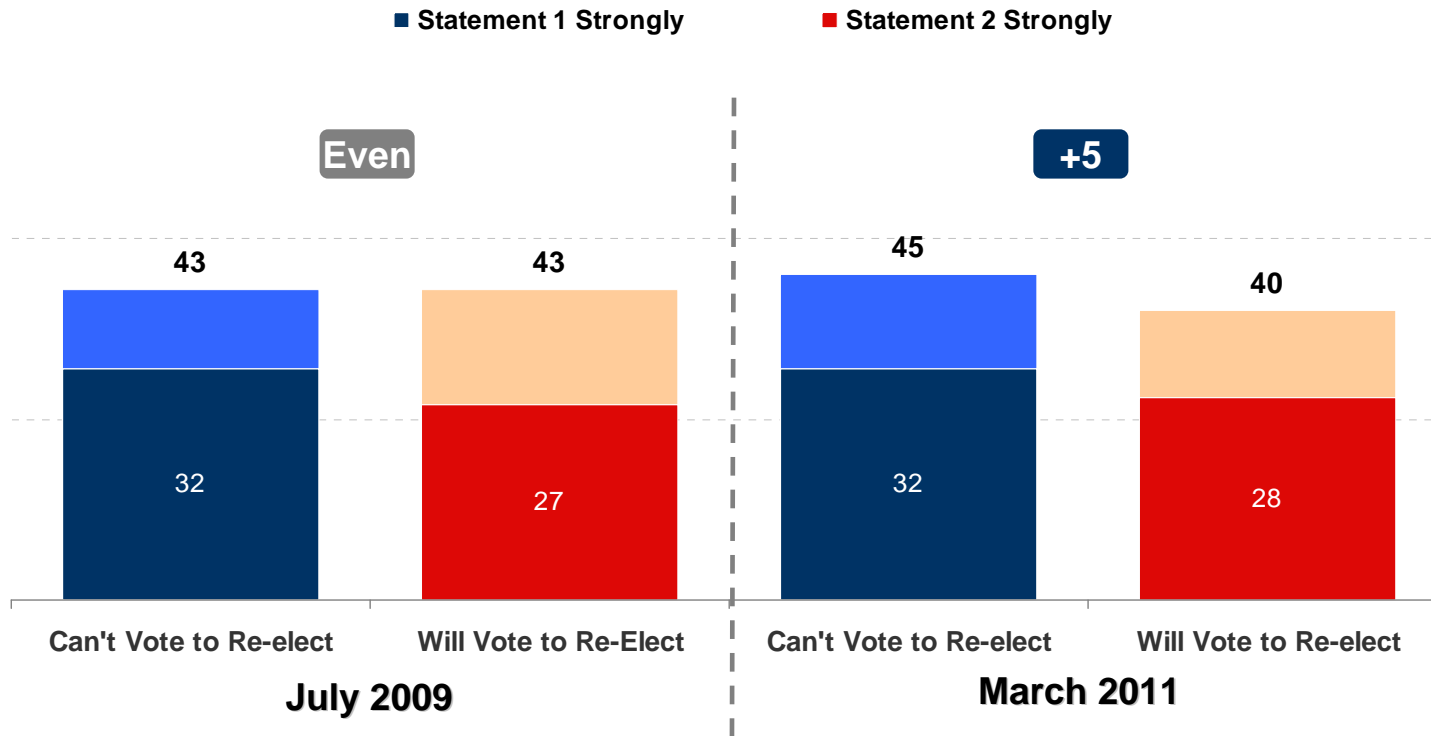
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## Republicans in battleground fare worse than Democrats 2 years ago

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**STATEMENT 1:** Next year, I CAN'T vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) because we need new people that will fix Washington and get things done.

**STATEMENT 2:** Next year, I WILL vote to reelect (HOUSE INCUMBENT) because he/she is doing a good job and addressing issues that are important to us.



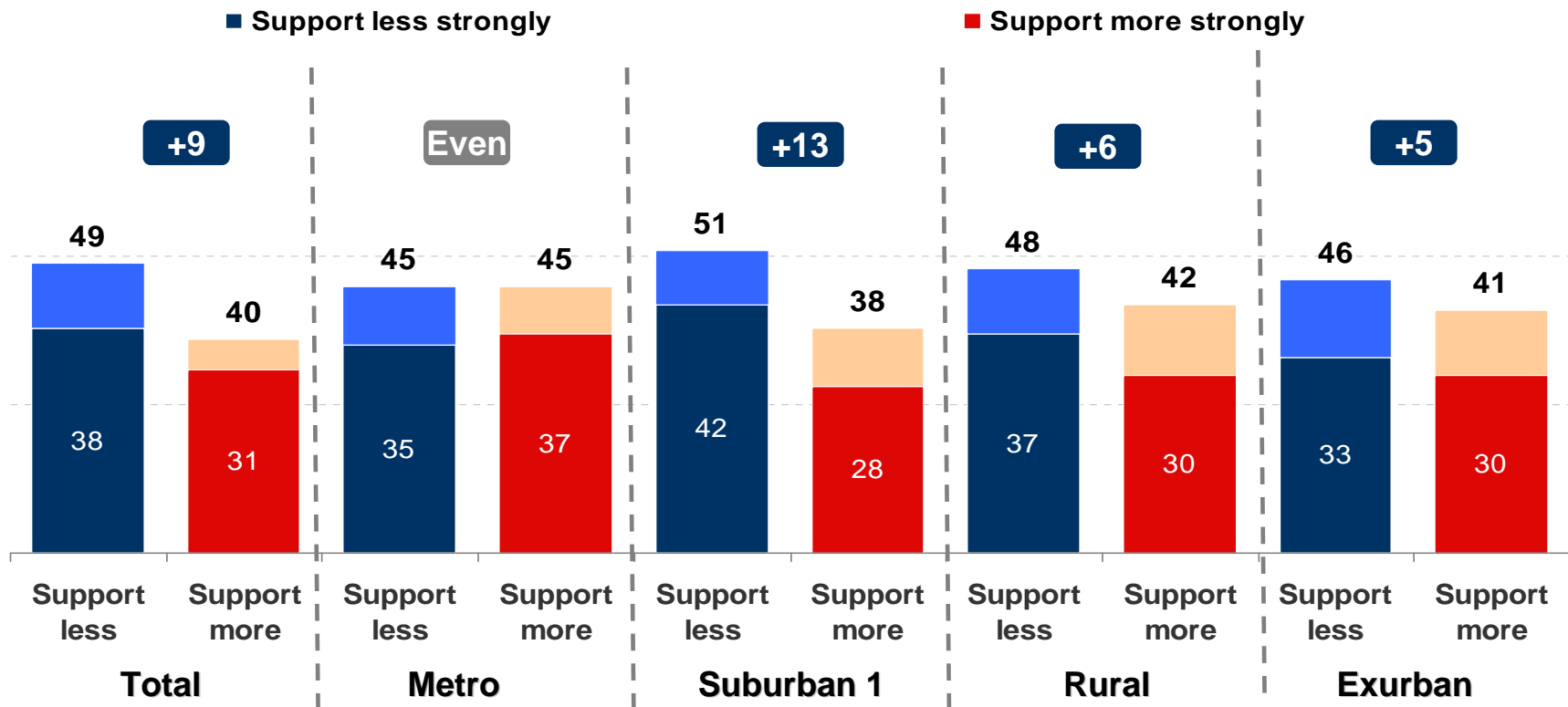
\*Note: In 2011, HOUSE INCUMBENT refers to a Republican; in 2009, HOUSE INCUMBENT refers to a Democrat.

# Support for Tea Party means less support in GOP battleground

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**STATEMENT 1:** If my member of Congress supports the Tea Party agenda, I'm less likely to support them.

**STATEMENT 2:** If my member of Congress supports the Tea Party agenda, I'm more likely to support them.

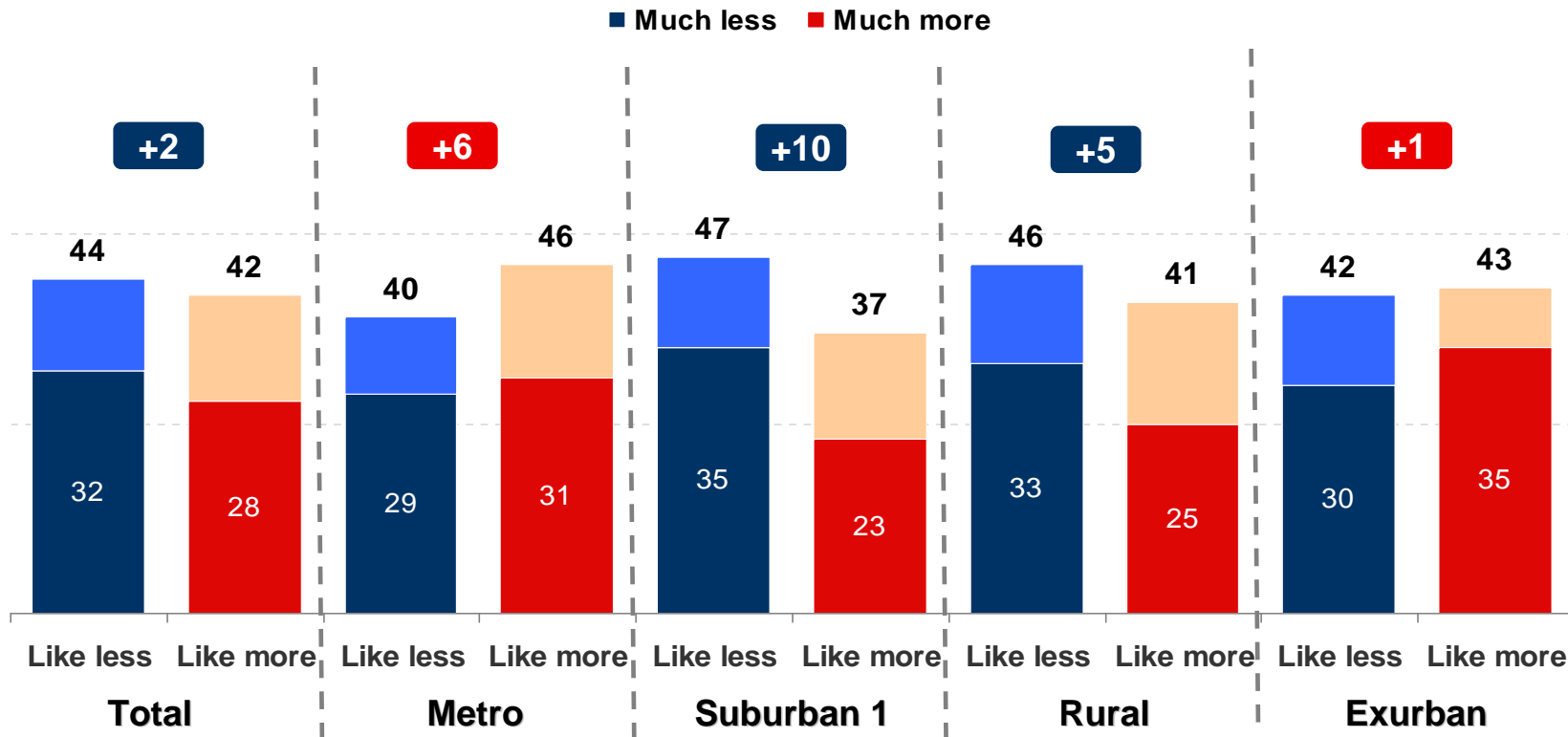


# The more they hear about Republicans, the less they like

Now I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. After I read each pair, please tell me whether the FIRST statement or the SECOND statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right.

**STATEMENT 1:** The more I hear from Republicans in Congress like (HOUSE INCUMBENT), the less I like.

**STATEMENT 2:** The more I hear from Republicans in Congress like (HOUSE INCUMBENT), the more I like.



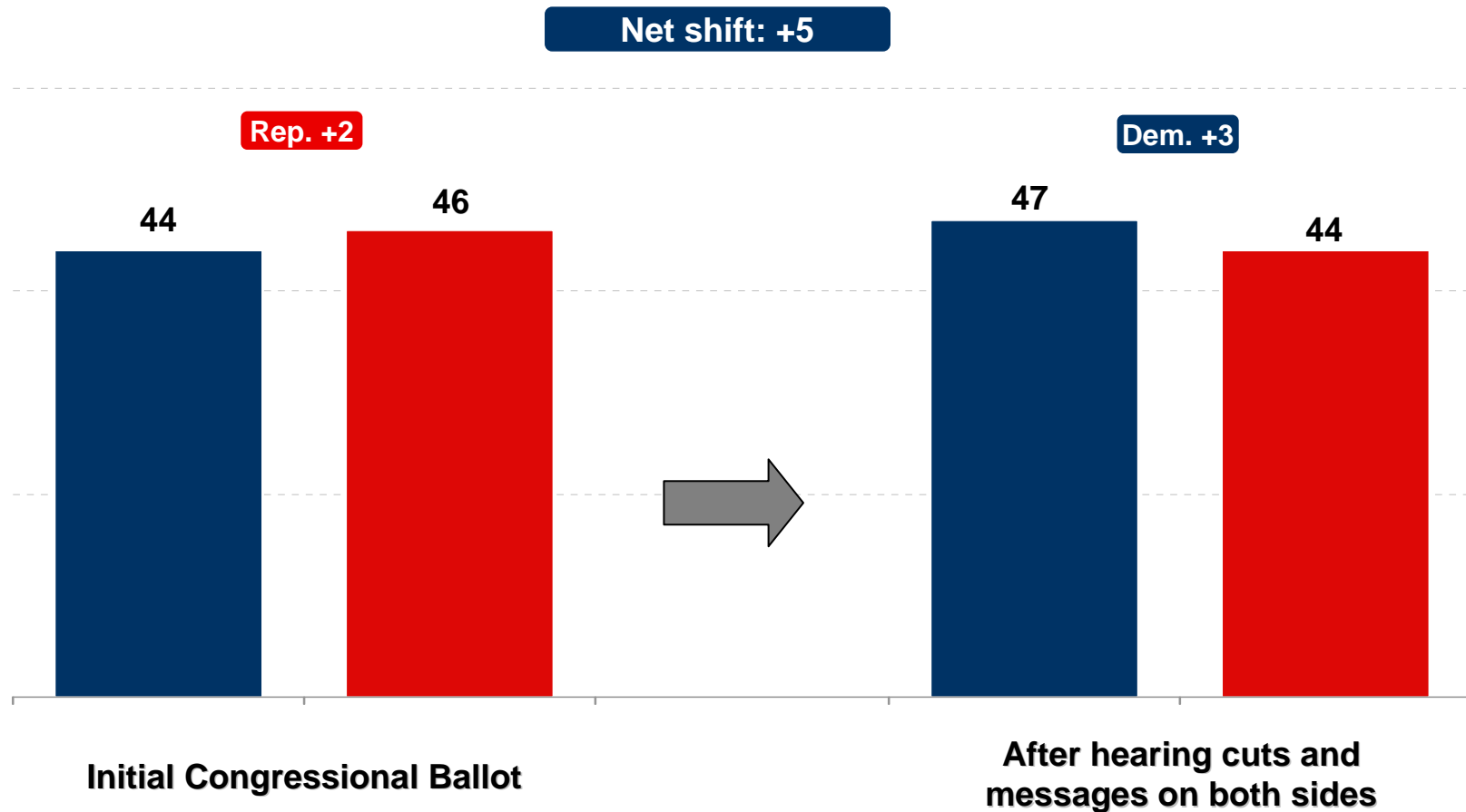
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# Shifts

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## Messages and information shift the vote

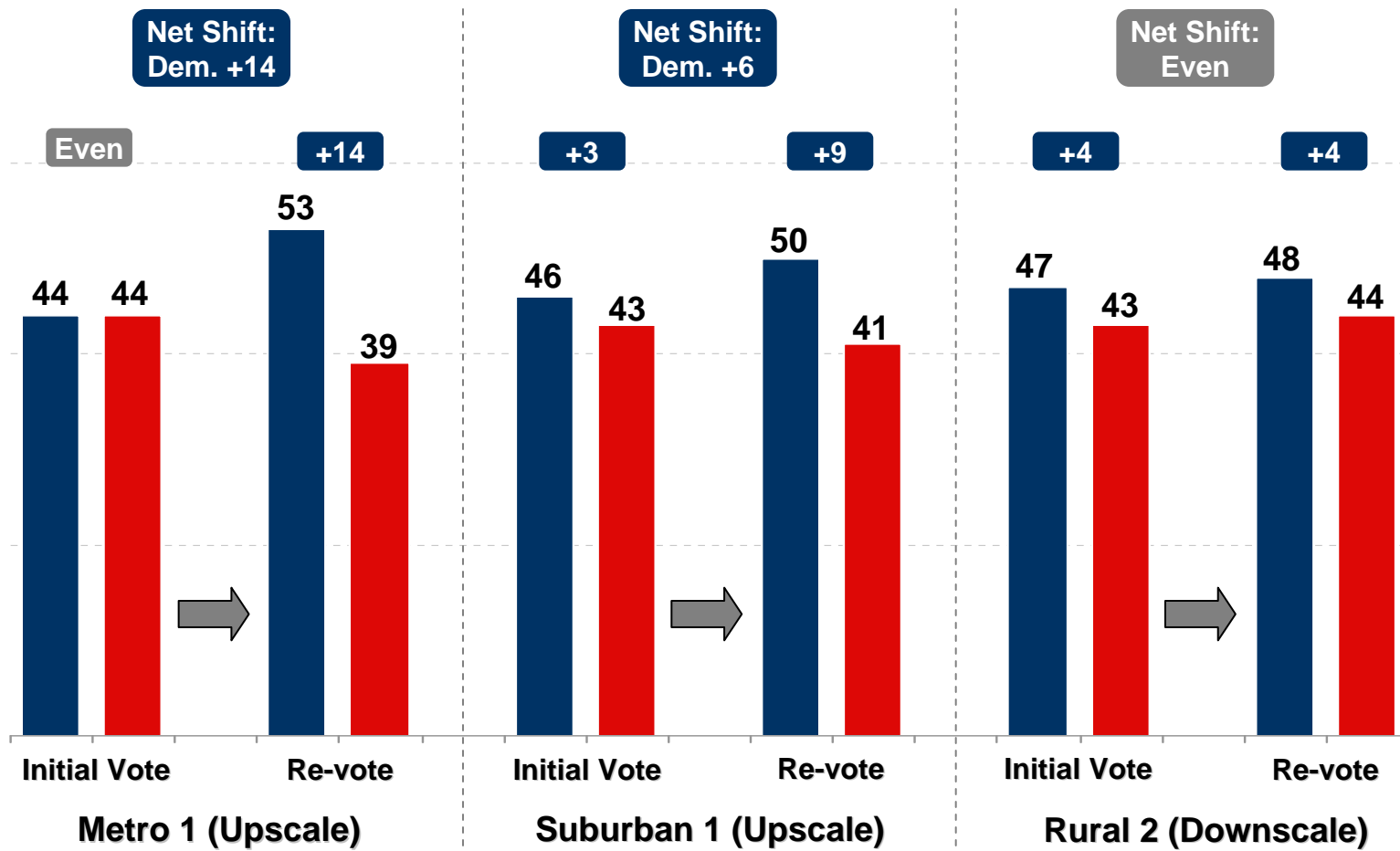
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## Big shift in upscale metropolitan districts, not in rural seats

*I know it's a long way off, but thinking about the election for Congress next year, if the election for U.S. Congress were held today, would you be voting for – (DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATE) or (REPUBLICAN CANDIDATE)?*



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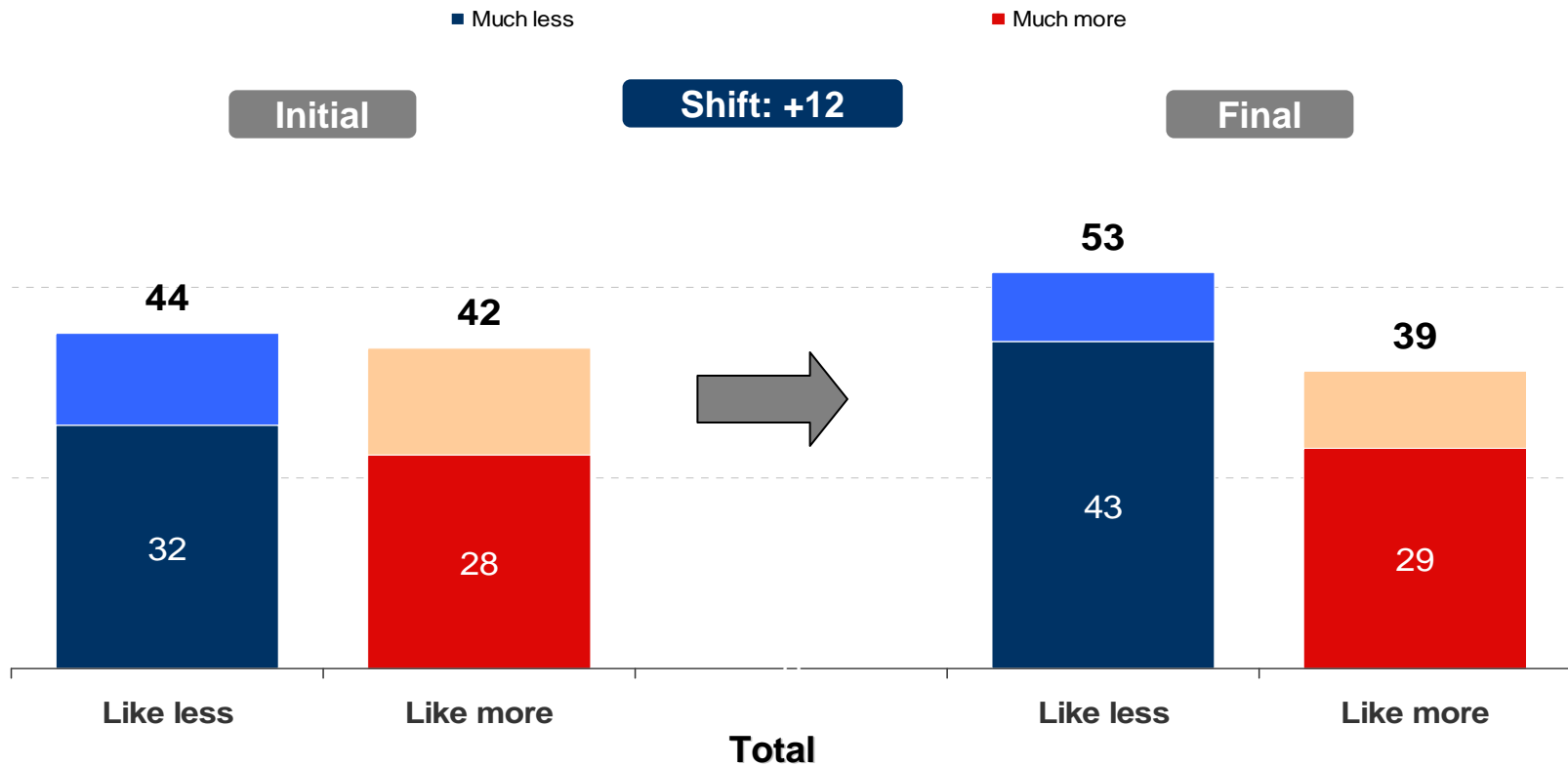


# Big shift – voters do not like what they hear from Republicans

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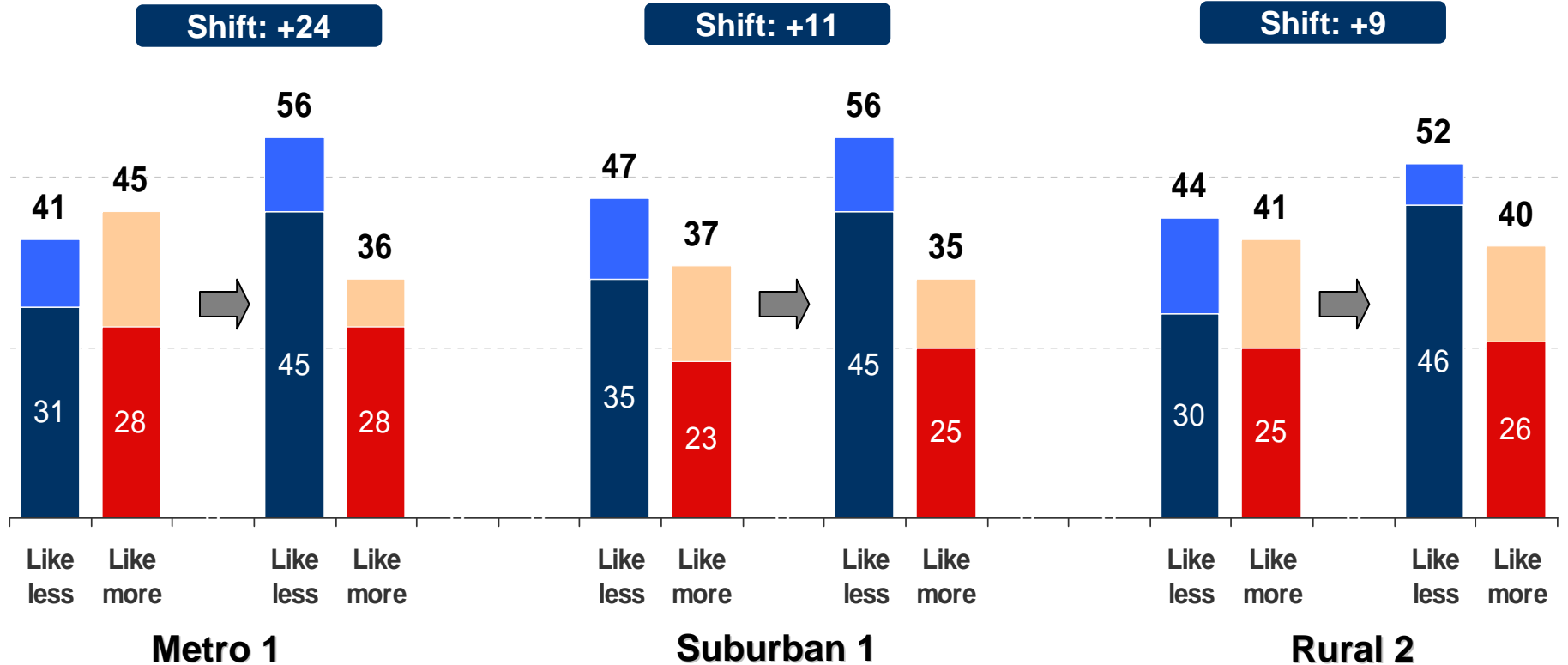
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# Big shift in upscale metropolitan districts

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## Potential Target Groups

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- **Upscale Metro districts**
- **Upscale Suburban districts**
- **Midwestern districts**
- **Eastern districts**
- **Independents**
- **Voters under 40**
- **Irregular Protestants**
- **White younger non-college voters**
- **Hispanics**

*Based on the groups that showed the largest shifts on the vote, budget and “the more I hear, the more I like;” that had the largest number of persuadable and undecided voters on these categories; and that underperformed partisanship the greatest in these categories*

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